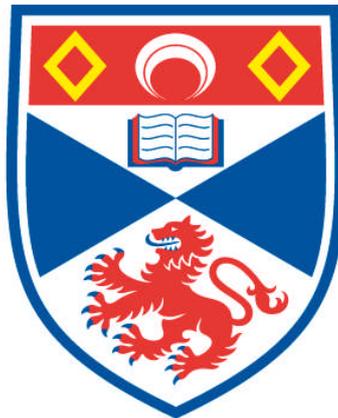


**THE SACRED-SECULAR DISTINCTION IN MUSIC DURING
THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES IN
AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA**

Christoph David Mayr

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
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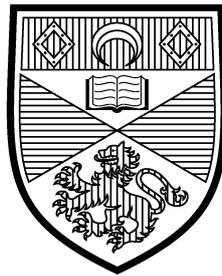
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The Sacred–Secular Distinction in Music
during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries
in Austria and Bavaria

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of MPhil
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Abstract

This thesis explores the sacred–secular distinction in the musical life of Austria and Bavaria during the eighteenth and nineteenth century with particular focus on its legitimacy and feasibility. It examines the attempts made by Joseph II of Austria to separate sacred and secular sphere by banning secular music from the church and finds them to have failed. Joseph’s endeavours are compared to those of the Cecilian Movement, which, although similar in their aim, are found to be motivated very differently, yet equally unsuccessful. A study of the rise of the public concert and choral societies points towards new *loci* for secular music as well as the spiritual experience of music. Finally Anton Bruckner is discussed as an example for filling old and new *loci* with a successful synthesis of sacred and secular, both in his lived life and his musical composition. Bringing sacred and secular together conforms to the natural state of Christian life in the world and bears the potential for mutual benefit which outweighs the presumed advantages of distinct lines of separation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Nowadays, when we open catalogues of works for most composers, we find sacred and secular music sharply distinguished. However, clear cut definitions of either one are harder to find¹ and deeper reflection suggests elements of sacred and secular music overlap. The purpose of the thesis is to explore how legitimate this distinction is, particularly with regards to eighteenth- and nineteenth -century Bavaria and Austria. Before outlining how this is conducted I will first launch into a brief introduction of the history of sacred and secular.

The distinction between secular and sacred is neither an invention of recent centuries, nor does it date back to a time immemorial. It is the result of a development that we can trace back to Roman times, a world in which the sacred was fully integrated into ordinary life. While earlier perspectives on secular and sacred might be worth exploring, we will content ourselves with a look at the Empire from the language of which we are taking those two keywords. We will find that sacredness existed in various shades, and it is worth reminding ourselves that the Bible itself knows degrees of dedication to God: while every part of the world is holy, there are increasing stages of holiness moving from the creation to the Holy Land, the Holy City, and the Temple with its tiers of holiness, ending in its inner sanctuary, the Holy of Holies.

The Latin word *sacer* has been used to express a variety of meanings. They range from ‘consecrated to a deity’ (Rome’s holy mountain, *mons sacer*; which was dedicated to Jupiter serves as an example) to “under divine patronage”, may convey a notion of

¹ Cf. Grove, s.v. “secular music”.

inviolability or sacrosanctity, indicate celestial origin, or may be applied to members or attributes of the Imperial house and sometimes of the Roman people (such use was made by Ovid in *Fasti* or by Statius in *Silvae*). Most unexpected perhaps to the modern reader is its meaning of ‘execrable’ or ‘detestable’ (as used in the *Aeneid*).² Lewis and Short make sense of these highly negative meanings (for which they suggest addition translations of accursed, criminal, wicked, infamous) as they are applied to those ‘devoted to a divinity for destruction.’³ Most important for our study is the word *sacer*’s use to express that something is ‘holy’ or ‘sacred ... by association with religious use [and] practice.’⁴

The word *saecularis* describes things pertaining to a *saeculum* and is documented initially in its use describing the Secular Games (*ludi saeculares*), which were held in Rome to celebrate the beginning of new periods or “ages”,⁵ or of a hymn sung at these games (*Carmen saeculare*).⁶ A *saeculum* in turn can take a number of meanings, practically all of which are related to time or a certain span of time in some sense, for example the time of a human lifespan, all humans within a generation of a family, the present time, to name a few. It can furthermore take the meaning of ‘human life’ or ‘the world’. In its plural, it can refer to ‘a long or indefinite period.’⁷

While the words ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ bear thus distinctly different, even contrary meanings today, representing the religious and the decidedly not religious spheres, there

² *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “sacer”.

³ Lewis and Short. *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon 1922), s.v. “sacer”.

⁴ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “sacer”.

⁵ *Religion Past and Present*, 4th ed., s.v. “Secular Games”.

⁶ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “saecularis”.

⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. “saeculum”.

are still traces in some of their uses that hint towards the former unity of the two concepts. Denoting clergy as secular may to the unaware reader appear as an oxymoron. Far from it: ‘secular clergy’ are clergy that live “in the world” and not in monastic seclusion.⁸ They are distinguished from “religious” clergy, who belong to monastic orders, and who are bound by their orders. This terminology is not meant to denigrate the religiosity of those clergy or indicate that they belong to the Church to a lesser extent. It is used because they live in and amongst “the world”. The world as an expression is used to talk about the current and visible world as opposed to the eternal one. It is in effect its “temporality” that makes “the world” a *secular* place.⁹

The so called secular arm is a term used in canon law for any lay authority, such as the state, intervening in ecclesiastical cases. While an appeal of individuals who were in disagreement with a verdict according to canon law was considered hostile and could lead to excommunication, Church courts in medieval times would often seek the help of this secular arm by handing over those convicted of heresy to the authority of secular courts to see them punished more gravely (usually either by mutilation or death) than their own legislation would allow.¹⁰

A key to understanding the relationship between sacred and secular in ancient Rome lies in understanding the word itself. Defining the word ‘religion’ for Ancient Rome has challenged numerous writers, and some as prolific as Mary Beard have chosen to forego

⁸ *OED*, 2nd ed., s.v. “secular”.

⁹ Another place where the distinction between belonging to the Church and belonging to the lay authority of the world is expressed in this way in modern day English is the House of Lords, where next to the Lords Spiritual, the represented bishops of the Church of England, we find the Lords Temporal (whose peerage is for life and in some cases still hereditary and might therefore appear less temporal than the membership of the bishops, which ceases with retirement).

¹⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed., s.v. “secular arm”.

a formal definition.¹¹ For our purposes, we do not need to define it, but we need to understand what role religion (or what might be conceived as it) played in Roman life. It is nowadays widely understood that *'religio'* literally means 'that which binds'.¹² It was omnipresent in ancient Rome, binding and holding together society and shares its linguistic root with our 'ligaments'. While the official Roman religion displayed significant levels of diversity,¹³ it served as a means of unifying the nation in a cult worshipping a shared canon of gods, and, most importantly, the Emperor. Worship of the Emperor was not only a defining feature of a Roman, but also a pillar of Roman society: the shared cult established not only a shared sense of identity but also signified a shared agreement on, and submission to, a set of norms and rules, to which it bound everybody who belonged to the Roman society.

Religion played a role in every part of Roman life, both at home and in public. Domestic worship was something most distinctly Roman; its shrines, hearths, and sacrifices made the Roman citizen's house a sacred and a safe place. A Roman's day began with reflection on what divine message might have been contained in their dreams and an offering, for example of flour and salt. At meals, first choice pickings were offered to the gods and thrown into the fire. Every aspect of sexuality had its specific deity, whether loosening the bride's girdle, ending her virginity, or providing

¹¹ Jeffrey Brodd, 'Religion, Roman Religion, Emperor Worship', *Rome and Religion : A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue On The Imperial Cult*, ed. Jeffrey Brodd & Jonathan Reed (Atlanta: SBL, 2001), 36.

¹² *OED*, s.v. "religion". (Cicero connected the word to *relegere*, which means 'to read over again'; later writers have favoured the now commonly accepted interpretation that the word stems from *religare*, meaning 'to bind'). Accordingly, the word religion may describe 'a state of life bound by monastic vows.' While now obsolete, 'man of religion' was once a term to describe 'one *bound* by monastic vows or in holy orders.'

¹³ Karl Galinsky, 'The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?', in *Rome and Religion*, ed. Brodd & Reed, 8.

the seed and granting it access. Following successful conception, women would undo their hair and pray to Juno for a gentle delivery.¹⁴

The aforementioned *ludi saeculares* were, in spite of what their name might suggest, a religious institution. The early games honoured the gods Dis and Proserpina and were directed by the *duumviri sacris faciundis*, two men with priestly duties and particularly a responsibility for the Sibylline Books. While the gods honoured and the titles of the directors changed over time, the games remained a religious institution. Offerings and sacrifices were as essential a part of the games as the entertainment for the people itself.¹⁵

The exclusivity of Judaism and Christianity, however, which forbids its followers to worship other gods, was incompatible with the Roman cults and caused a separation between two spheres where before there had only been one. While entertainment, such as drama, had so far been an integral part of religious festivals, Christianity was wary and suspicious of it. For Christians, not everything had its place under the umbrella of religion anymore. Two parts of life were now separated (with the potential of rejecting one of them). A new term was needed to make this distinction clear. Accordingly, '*saecularis*' came to adopt a new meaning in the sense of 'of this world and/or age'. Such use of the word '*saeculum*' referring to human life and the world can be found in Quintillian's *Declamationes Miores*, and can be used to place it as early as the first century AD.¹⁶ Rather than denoting a period of time, '*saecularis*' could now be

¹⁴ Robert Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome : Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2000), 14-19.

¹⁵ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Secular Games".

¹⁶ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "saeculum". (While the attribution to Quintillian is sometimes debated, other potential authors of the work would have been his contemporaries; regardless of the authenticity of Quintillian's authorship, the work therefore dates from the first centuries.)

expressed to signify something as ‘bad’ – which for many of the church fathers was the same as ‘worldly’.

Even so, one must not exaggerate the extent to which such a distinction was maintained. By the sixteenth century, the deciding factor over whether something was secular or sacred had less to do with its form and content than with its *locus*: in music, parody, a technique by which musical material is borrowed from one source and used in another composition, usually adding text or changing the original words, had become popular. While this method of composition can be found in compositions dating back to the fourteenth century, it was not until the sixteenth that the principle would be fully established and become important particularly in the composition of mass settings. The original composition would often be acknowledged in the wording of the title: ‘*Missa super...*’ or ‘*Missa ad imitationem*’.¹⁷ Composers would draw on ‘secular’ tunes and melodies and work them into their compositions of liturgical music. In some cases, secular compositions were left almost unchanged apart from the text. In the early eighteenth century, Johann Sebastian Bach recycled many of his secular cantatas into sacred ones (while he would never profane religious works). Large portions of his Christmas Oratorio resemble very closely material from the secular cantatas BWV 213 (Hercules at the crossroads) and 214 (birthday cantata for Queen Maria Josepha of Poland).

With regards to the arts and especially music, the OED defines secular as ‘not concerned with or devoted to the service of religion.’¹⁸ It quotes Busby’s Dictionary of Music with an entry from 1801 that defines ‘Secular-Music [as] whatever is composed

¹⁷ Grove, s.v. “Parody (i)”.

¹⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “secular”.

for the theatre or chamber [and the] expression [as one that is] used in opposition to sacred music.¹⁹ Busby's definition, which makes no mention of the concert hall, supports the view that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the performance space was the deciding criterion in whether a piece of music was religious or not, and not its form. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced a number of attempts to sharpen the contrast between secular and sacred music by defining music not only by its context but also by its form. This reveals just how inadequate the existing distinction between secular and sacred was seen during that time.

Rather than attempt to follow the outlined developments in detail or give a comprehensive history of the sacred-secular distinction as such, this thesis will examine two of those attempts to create a clearer distinction between secular and sacred. The aim is not to determine whether these were novel occurrences but to evaluate their success. It will be considered in which ways they aided or hindered the spiritual life of the people affected by them. These case studies will then be contrasted with a more unifying and less divisive approach to music.

It is interesting to note that *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG)*,²⁰ one of the largest encyclopedias of music, does not have entries for '*geistliche Musik*' or '*Sakralmusik*' (sacred music), nor for '*weltliche Musik*' or '*Säkularmusik*' (secular music) in any of their possible spelling variations. We do find an entry for '*Kirchenmusik*' (church music) and then for various genres that might traditionally have been considered secular music, such as opera or the symphony. This observation may at first seem puzzling, but there is a plausible explanation: as will become particularly

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed.

obvious from chapters four and five, defining these latter genres as non-sacred music has become increasingly difficult since the days of Busby. While *church music* might be defined with reasonable ease as music composed specifically for use within the liturgy, distinguishing between sacred and secular music categorically is beset with problems. For the purpose of this thesis, the terms *religious music* and *sacred music* are going to be used in as wide a sense as possible: besides church music according to the definition above, they also include music that is ‘religiously infused’; that is music that was inspired by religious experience or religious themes, music that was written as an act of worship, music that is set to a religious text, or music that is intended to convey or aid religious experience in the listener.

Whatever the individual answers may be, the fact that questions can be asked such as whether it is appropriate to combine secular and sacred music in the same performance or whether secular music can appropriately be performed in a service suggests that there is some sort of reasonably widespread awareness that some form of line can be drawn between the two. Whether or not it should be drawn, and how rigid this line should be, naturally varies in the opinion of the person asked. To help in forming an educated opinion on the matter, this thesis aims to examine the potential that is lost or gained when this line is drawn or overstepped. For this purpose, attempts at both separating and unifying approaches will be explored.

The examples chosen are all taken from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (a timespan that has shaped strongly who we are and how we see and approach the distinction between secular and sacred) with particular reference to Austria and Bavaria. While a border divides them, they both share a strong influence and sense of belonging

to the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in comparison to the Protestant North of Germany, as well as cultural similarities and a common history. There has always been a close connection between the two. Indeed, up until the time of Joseph II, the Catholic Church in Austria was under the control of Bavarian bishops.²¹

As an attempted division of sacred and secular from the side of the state, the church music reforms of Joseph II of Austria will be examined in chapter two. Joseph ended centuries of traditional Catholic domination over Austria and drastically changed the relationship between state and church and between the secular and sacred spheres. He thoroughly redefined how far the influence of both Church and the state reached and by this also ultimately redefined the lines that confine sacred and secular themselves. His reforms covered practically every aspect of Austrian life, including liturgy and church music. Many of them were shortlived and were repealed after his death. Nonetheless, they had a deep impact and left enough traces to spark controversy even today.

In chapter three, as an example of attempts to divide sacred and secular from within the Church, the *Allgemeiner Cäcilienverband (ACV)*, the official body of the Cecilian movement, will be considered. Its seat was, and still is, across the Austrian-German border in the diocesan town of Regensburg in Bavaria, but it remains responsible even today, according to the papal decree from 1870, by which it was granted both authority and protection from the Holy See, for the church music of the German-speaking countries. While Cecilianism existed in Austria, it was, in most places, not as extreme as the form found in Regensburg. Cecilianism is, however, best understood from its roots.

Because of the discord within the greater structure of the ACV, it is most helpful to

²¹ Josef Lenzenweger. 'Die Errichtung der Diözese Linz im Rahmen der kirchenpolitischen Maßnahmen Kaiser Josephs II', *Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz: Anton Bruckner Institut, 1988), 20-21.

examine the movement in its more extreme form, as it was found in Regensburg. By not restricting our perspective on the Cecilian movement to Austria, the key points that we need to address, and which are prevalent to varying extents in all branches of Cecilianism, become more visible.

Some of the declared goals of the ACV are astonishingly similar to some of Joseph's reforms regarding church music. Both share a determination to eradicate 'inappropriate' worldly tunes and setting and to counteract the church being a place of simple musical consumption. Their motivation, however, was different and they do, of course, disagree on some fundamental issues; neither would endorse the other's authority to make the changes they propose. Considering the authority the ACV was given by the Holy See, and which it still holds, its small influence over the years and indeed lack of prominence today indicate that its mission is a problematic one.

In chapter four, the impact of the evolving concert culture and the choral societies throughout the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries will be discussed. A particular focus will be put on the musical life of Vienna. The core questions of this chapter are the extent to which the developments discussed establish a new locus for secular music and thus a home for music that might be considered as inappropriate for performance in church, how the changed patronage impacts the shift of musical predominance of Church and court, how far these developments are related to the Josephine reforms discussed in chapter two, and in how far they served to separate the sacred and secular spheres and how much they brought them closer together. In the discussion of venues for secular music, opera as a genre has been excluded from this study; the instructions regarding the running of the theatres attached to the Imperial

court given by Maria Theresa suggest that opera was perceived foremost as a musical variation on theatre rather than a primarily musical genre.

Finally, in chapter five, Anton Bruckner is considered as a specific example of how a musician might unite the sacred and secular spheres. His symphonies will be understood as examples of sacred music for the concert hall, even if they are so on a less explicit and more subtle level than the hybrids by Mendelssohn and Mahler.²² The focus here will lie on trying to follow how Bruckner came, without specific programmatic considerations, to understand sacred and secular performance space as not distinctly different. In particular, the environment in which he grew up, his professional work environment, and the question in how far he would have experienced or not experienced separation between secular and sacred there, will be examined. Attention will be given to his organ playing and the mark living among the Augustinian canons in the abbey of St Florian had left on his life.

Drawing on the findings of those four chapters, this thesis will then attempt to determine the advantages or disadvantages of a sharp distinction between sacred and secular in music for belief and practice in Christian life. An answer will be attempted to the question which approach shows the greatest potential for spiritual fulfilment and could, at the same time, most profit life in the public sphere.

²² For example Mendelssohn's Second Symphony, "Song of Praise", or Mahler's Resurrection Symphony.

Chapter 2

Joseph II of Austria: The End to Centuries of Amalgamation between State and Church?

Attempts to separate the secular and the sacred spheres have been made numerous times. While the motives behind these attempts varied, some of the measures and effects bear striking analogies. Even more, the lack of success of these attempts unites those behind them against their will.

This thesis examines two such attempts. The first of them is the focus of this chapter and bears the marks of the Enlightenment. In the eighteenth century, Joseph II of Austria made a whole number of severe changes to the way the Austrian monarchy and the state functioned as well as to the spiritual life of his subjects. He redefined the links and boundaries between the public sphere and that of the church. This affected not only the role religion played in secular contexts, but also the role music played in the religious life of the mid- and late eighteenth century. New decrees regulated what kind of music was suitable for the use in service and what kind was not, how it was to be performed, and whether, for example, music composed for a secular occasion could be played in church. These issues lie at the heart of this chapter, but they can only be understood in the wider context of Joseph's reforms. After an introduction of what religious life in Austria looked like before Joseph's reforms, an overview of some of the most poignant policy changes on the emperor's agenda will inform our understanding of his reforms of liturgy and church music.

The Enlightenment is generally portrayed as hostile to any form of religion; this chapter will show that the reign of the ‘Enlightened Emperor’ Joseph II differs from that conception. While the role of religion changes drastically and while many of the reforms conducted must seem like attacks on the religious life of the Austrians, there are often, in fact, well-meaning intentions to be found. Not the removal of religion from Austrian life is enforced but the secession of the religious from secular life in the Empire. Instead of a banning of religion we find an attempt to separate the religious and the secular and to give them each their own domains.

The environment in which Joseph’s reforms took place and which would be so drastically reshaped was the legacy of generations of Austrian rulers and their close links to the Holy See. For centuries, Austria had maintained close relations with the Vatican. Ruled by Catholic monarchs, the country had proven valuable to the papacy and made the most of its geographical position. It acted as a Catholic bastion in Europe, fighting back Islam to the one side and keeping German Protestantism at bay on the other. Being a Catholic was the most natural and normal state for an Austrian, and Rome rewarded this with political and financial support.²³ It was not until Joseph II became ruler of Austria that this would change.

The Pietas Austriaca

The *Pietas Austriaca* was exercised by the Habsburg dynasty, which ruled Austria and from which all Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had come but one (Charles VII, 1742-1745) since the fifteenth century. It was exercised not only in the form of

²³ Alan J. Reinerman, *Austria and the Papacy in the Age of Metternich : Between Conflict and Cooperation 1809-1830* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1979), 21-24.

public rituals but lived as a form of personal piety. Its authenticity was reflected in the piety of the Austrians. Of particular importance to this piety were the observation and veneration of the Eucharistic sacrament, faith in and veneration of the Cross of Christ and the Sacred Heart, a piety directed to Mary, and the veneration of saints.²⁴

Processions were frequent, more frequent, in fact, than in other Catholic countries. Occasions were manifold. While they could be found for state occasions such as the death of Charles VI, the *Erbhuldigung* of *Maria Theresa* or the birth²⁵ or wedding of Joseph II (then Archduke Joseph), they were held throughout the year according to the church calendar as well and were splendid events. For Corpus Christi the Emperor and the whole imperial family would follow the Host in the procession.²⁶ Depending on the feast, people from all classes were brought together to participate in one event. Marian feasts were celebrated with processions or pilgrimages as well as the feasts of the fourteen *Nothelfer*²⁷, who were valued highly and venerated particularly in Vienna. More important even than the patron saints of Austria, Leopold and Joseph, seem the patron saints of the capital, St Anne and St Bridget. The reason for their influential role still has to be traced back, but it is assumed that exceeding popularity helped them gain their position. On their feast days considerable merry-making took place. Between services there were dances, musical undertakings, walking tours, picnics and similar

²⁴ Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004), 7-8.

²⁵ The birth of the later Emperor was celebrated with free public musical performances all over the city.

²⁶ Janet K. Page, 'Music and the Royal Procession in Maria Theresia's Vienna', *Early Music*, 27.1 (1999), 96-100.

²⁷ The 14 "helpers in need" or "14 Holy Helpers" are an established group of intercessors with attributed "remits". Among them are St George, St Giles, St Christopher, and St Barbara as well as several saints which are much less known nowadays, for example St Eustace. The grouping originates from Germany, where the most famous *Nothelfer* church is standing: The *Basilika Vierzehnheiligen*. The feast day for the *14 Nothelfer* is 8 August.

acts of rejoicing.²⁸ As these two days were in July, it is likely that seasonal weather supported the repeated success of celebrating these days in such an exuberant way.

Of the utmost importance was the Virgin Mary. She was believed to have saved Vienna from the Turks as well as from the plague and cholera. The *Mária Pócs*²⁹ *Gnadenbild* at the St Stephen's Cathedral became an interface which was approached "officially" in times of great need. In 1713 *Charles VI* undertook a procession with the icon and the relics of St Charles Borromeo and pledged to build a church (the *Karlskirche*) when this threat had passed.³⁰ A basilica dedicated to the Virgin Mary was the most important pilgrimage site in the country: *Mariazell*. To the present day pilgrims visit the Romanesque limewood statue of Mary, which according to legend split a boulder that blocked the way of a travelling monk when he turned to it. The statue became known as *Magna Mater Austriae*.³¹

Worship and piety were, at least in the public sphere, very much male domains. The sole exception made in Vienna was the Empress. Only men would sing in church. The underlying argument was, *mulier tacet in ecclesia*, derived from Paul's advice in 1 Cor 14:34-35. The same applied to the processions, where the picture was dominated by members of various orders and fraternities, military, and clergy. Towards the late eighteenth century this "monopoly" on public religious life slowly vanished. With the

²⁸ Marcel Brion, *Daily Life in the Vienna of Mozart and Schubert* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), 38-42.

²⁹ This icon, which originally comes from the Hungarian church *Mária Pócs*, shows the Virgin with the child Jesus. The icon is said to have shed real tears on at least two incidents.

³⁰ Thomas Hochradner and Géza Michael Vörösmarty, 'Zur Musikpflege am Altar *Mária Pócs* (Maria Pötsch) in St. Stephan in Wien', *Studia Musicologica, Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41 (2000), 150.

³¹ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, 51-69.

Enlightenment, values in society changed, and this change was reflected in the structures and conventions inside the church. As women became the centre of families, they came more into focus and had a publicly more important role.³² They could not be left out anymore. At the beginning only wives and daughters of the responsible organist in countryside parishes assisted with the music making, but it did not take long for them to be more than stand-ins in exceptional cases.³³

The vernacular played hardly any role in church. While we know of *Lieder*,³⁴ written in German, hymns in German would only begin to play a greater role decades later, in the 1770s. Those *Lieder* survive only to a limited extent, yet it remains unclear whether the music was disposed of because it did not conform to what was regarded as suitable later, because it was not modern enough,³⁵ or because the sheet music was in very bad condition due to frequent use.³⁶ Mass itself was held in Latin and vernacular elements, where in existence, only showed up in parts of the music sung. German hymns were seen as Protestant and therefore looked upon with suspicion. Vernacular had its place in religious life not in Mass but in the veneration of saints and in religious drama (*Volksschauspiel*).³⁷

³² Hochradner and Vörösmarty, 'Musikpflege', 148.

³³ Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Versuch einer Geschichte der Landmesse', *Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik*, ed. by Othmar Wessely (Linz: Anton Bruckner Institut, 1988), 65.

³⁴ The German "Lieder" is unclear as to whether these were actual hymns or whether they were sung pieces of music which were used elsewhere in the liturgy.

³⁵ As we will see when talking about concert programmes, often only the latest music was regarded as fashionable and something that had been performed already was no longer interesting. In terms of music, eighteenth century Austria can very well be called a throw-away society.

³⁶ Hochradner and Vörösmarty, 'Musikpflege', 150 & 165.

³⁷ Thomas Hochradner, 'Von der "Deutschen Messe" zur "Mundartmesse"', *Viertelakt*, 1 (2003), 2;11-13.

Beginning change under Maria Theresa

Whereas Charles VI had left a regime that was characterised by superstition and bigotry and promoted a most restrictive Catholicism,³⁸ Maria Theresa initiated severe changes. Most importantly she destroyed the Jesuits' virtual monopoly over the censorship of all books, the education of practically all clerics, most secondary schools and the teaching of philosophy and theology at university. Non-Jesuits were introduced to influential posts connected with these tasks. While maintaining a deep piety herself³⁹ – she even sent her son Joseph on pilgrimage to Mariazell on her behalf⁴⁰ – the Empress reduced the number of feast days already before her son joined her in her reign in 1765.

Pope Benedict XIV published his encyclical *Annus qui* in 1749 and gave new regulations for the use of music in church. Castratos and certain instruments were rejected as well as a theatrical style. Music was supposed to facilitate devotion and meditation and was expected to be affective. It had to be directed towards the liturgy, devotion, and solemnity. Naturally, this was not in accordance with the zeitgeist. Soon, the purpose of music would no longer be to aid meditation but to transmit humanist ideals. Empress Maria Theresa complied and put some of Benedict's regulations into practice. She criticised orchestral masses and banned trumpets and timpani from use in church. This was, however, mostly a national policy measure: these instruments were symbols of the imperial regiment; Maria Theresa wished to keep them exclusive.

³⁸ Derek Beales, *Joseph II : In the Shadow of Maria Theresa 1741-1780* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), 441-442.

³⁹ William J. McGill, *Maria Theresa* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), 119.

⁴⁰ Beales, *Joseph II*, 25.

Sponsorship gained a greater role in church music and sponsors wished to be represented and associated with grandeur. As a result, these regulations were mostly ignored and eventually repealed in 1767.⁴¹

Joseph and the religious motives in his reforms

It is often suggested that Joseph's reforms were motivated by anything but care for the state of religion in his state. While it is true that Joseph did not show the same piety as his mother and while some of his reforms do appear to follow worldly aims, this picture is lopsided. Religion was something Joseph did instrumentalise, but it was not solely a means to an end.

Joseph's wife Isabella died early. She suffered from spiritual crises and fears caused by various superstitions,⁴² which were without doubt partly responsible for her bad health. Joseph was struck heavily by her death, and it may well have encouraged him in his endeavour to rid the religious lives of his subjects from superstition once he was monarch.

While Joseph's mother had ensured his Catholic upbringing and education, he had also enjoyed the influence of progressive teachers. Like many leaders, he was to some extent influenced by Jansenism. The German Jansenist Christian Wolff, known for his *Institutiones Iuris Naturae* (1720) and promoter of the thesis that the state was responsible for the cultus within its borders, was the teacher of Joseph Freiherr von Heincke, who was to become one of Joseph's most important advisors with regards to

⁴¹ Flotzinger, 'Epoche', 108.

⁴² Isabella is said to have dwelt on her own death after a gypsy had prophesised her an early death. Paul P. Bernard, *Joseph II* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968), 26-27.

church politics. Equally, Febronius' belief that the main purpose of the Church was to administer the sacraments made a lasting impression on Joseph and inspired his policies.⁴³

Joseph began to undermine the established position of the Catholic Church during his joint reign with Maria Theresa. After the death of his mother he intensified these efforts, leading to the visit of Pope Pius VI to Vienna in 1782. The welcome at court is said to have been polite but reserved.⁴⁴ The enthusiasm with which the people welcomed Pius, however, is a clear sign that Joseph's attempts could not change the attitudes of his subjects as deeply as he had wished.

Although Joseph's beliefs were based on rationalism and many of his reforms were revolutionary and brought advantages to many of his lesser subjects, it is wrong to understand him as the antecedent of a democrat.⁴⁵ He insisted he did not care for the opinion of the people, but even despised it. Where they gained advantages from his policies and where he weakened the social and class hierarchy he did so hoping for advantages for the state as a whole. Joseph centralised and assimilated most areas of life in his empire. He removed many class privileges and so gained both more immediate power over his empire and a more efficient system at less expense. He introduced a new legal system based on natural law and utilitarianism. All his citizens were subject to this system; a police force was established. This new equality is only one example of how class privileges perished.⁴⁶ Incurring the hatred of the privileged (even beyond his

⁴³ Hugo Hantsch, *Die Geschichte Österreichs*, vol. 2 (Graz: Styria, 1968), 219.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁴⁶ Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765-1918 : From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (Houndmills: Macmillan 2001), 49.

death), Joseph abolished the old system of serfdom. In practice, he himself became feudal lord to the farmers. He ensured that all duties could be paid for in money; vassals no longer had to work on the land of their suzerain which had formerly often forced them to leave their own fields untilled. Import restrictions guaranteed prosperity within Austria; wine growers profited especially from a ban on Hungarian wine.⁴⁷

While a lot of these reforms ensured him the sympathy of the ordinary people, his reforms concerning the Church were not so popular there. The fact that the Church has a deep influence on people is the reason why rulers with absolutist tendencies have always both feared and valued it. So it cannot come as a surprise that Joseph did all he could to bring it further under his influence. The most plausible reasons for his reforms are the stabilisation of power, economic benefits, and educational purposes. It will become apparent that this is partly true, but also falls short as an explanation.

Joseph decreased the influence of Rome dramatically: only with regards to dogma remained the Church in Joseph's Austria dependent on the Pope. After 1770, the *placetum regium* required the Vatican to seek Joseph's placet even for dogmatic proclamations. Bishops, on the other hand, could only address the Pope through Joseph, which protected him from unwanted complaints or uprisings.⁴⁸ New dioceses were founded, namely Linz, Sankt Pölten, and Budweis. Until 1779 the diocese of Passau had partially belonged to Bavaria, before those last parts became Austrian in the Bavarian War of Succession. Apart from the city diocese of Vienna, Austria had no diocese of its own. Only after the death of the prince-bishop of Passau in 1783, Joseph could quickly ban Passau's law-giving power in Austria and create the diocese of Linz. He made

⁴⁷ Hantsch, *Geschichte*, 231.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 220.

Heberstein, who had gone through a church career and who had proven loyal to the court, the new bishop.⁴⁹ Joseph removed the privilege of the aristocracy on bishops' sees and installed his new bishops as civil servants, thus ensuring little resistance against his reform measures. While quite ruthless in his seeking to gain control over the church, he did use this power towards what he saw as the betterment of the people.

His edict of toleration (1782) brought new rights to non-Catholics throughout Joseph's empire. He took the wind out of the sails of religious dissenters, and at the same time demonstrated his own Christian principles: he claimed this edict was built on the commandment of love and charity. Stressing that this was taken from the New Testament, he still insisted, however, that this was a charitable act of toleration and not a new equality. It was not in his interest to give up the predominance of the state Church. Joseph's true reasons are likely to have been of an economic nature. By ensuring dissenters would not be suppressed and could live their religion freely, he made his realm attractive to foreign merchants and traders, who would ensure the wealth of his country. No freedom of choice was intended with regards to denominations. Dissenters had to register, converts were called to a hearing to test the depth of their convictions, and proselytising by non-Catholics was forbidden. Protestant churches were not allowed a spire, nor an entry from a main road. Converting or converting back to Catholicism was made easy. The new freedom was supposed to serve those who were of different belief already, not Catholics who wished to become Protestants.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Lenzenweger, 'Errichtung', 20-21.

⁵⁰ Charles H. O'Brien, 'Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II : A Study of the Enlightenment among Catholics in Austria', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 59.7 (1969), 5-6; 22; 26-27.

This was important, since Joseph used the church as an educational means. Therefore he needed the vast majority of his subjects to remain or become Catholic. The main function of the Church for Joseph was to fight decay of both material and intellectual nature, and to establish morality. In this he seems to be in accord with the Enlightenment movement. But while the followers of this movement were in favour of natural law and a reformed Catholicism to serve the moral bettering of the people, they did not so much approve of the established church and the way Joseph used it to patronise his subjects. Joseph could be accused of a certain superficiality behind his philosophical agenda. He did want to “better humanity” and “improve the citizen” (the stress lies on *citizen*), but not only with a purely humanist interest at heart.

In the countryside, priests had to fulfil civil functions as well. Joseph had introduced civil marriage, which was still carried out by a priest but now in his capacity as a civil servant. A whole lot of other administrative tasks were given to the ministers in rural areas as well. This meant an increase of power and influence on one side, but a tremendous burden and an increasing workload on the other. Congregations were split up into smaller parishes in order to give the priest more time for his entrusted flock. By this, greater control could be gained over people. The ideal of a priest was a *pastor bonus*,⁵¹ who could serve as an example to his congregation. His pastoral functions were considered his top priority.⁵² From this followed the need for a higher number of priests. To “produce” such was, in Joseph’s eyes, the main task of monasteries. They were a gathering place for future ministers. For this reason the sovereign interfered with a high

⁵¹ Johannes Obstraet’s book ‘Pastor bonus’ (1689) had widely left a lasting impression. See Hantsch, *Geschichte*, 219.

⁵² Hanna Domandl, *Kulturgeschichte Österreichs : Von den Anfängen bis 1938* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1993), 439.

number of orders, forcing those to close which he did not consider productive enough, namely contemplative orders. All property of suppressed orders fell to the state and was kept in a special fund called *Religionsfond*. Particularly the breaking apart of monastic libraries caused huge cultural damage. The remaining orders had to accept deep changes to their everyday life.

Joseph was not simply enriching himself, nor was he uncaring about the spiritual well-being of his people. The savings caused by the reforms were not used to fill the emperor's personal accounts. They went to the *Religionsfond* and were reinvested in the church. Although the emperor had an interest in making these investments, they were also for the benefit of the people. Before Joseph's restructuring of parishes in rural areas, many people had had to walk for hours to attend mass or receive other sacraments. People profited from a much better supply of clerical services.⁵³ Joseph's interest behind this was, of course, to get a better chance to 'educate' people, but at the same time there might indeed have been a deep feeling of responsibility for the religious well-being of his subjects, as Lenzenweger suggests.⁵⁴ Only with the new framework, obligations such as the weekly attendance of a Sunday mass could be instituted; adults who for whatever reason had to miss a service in the morning were required to attend Sunday school in the afternoon. At Mass, new laws were proclaimed, but it was also a place for teaching. Topics for sermons were prescribed; these were, however, not simply an opportunity for political indoctrination. Even though not spiritually enriching, the teaching was supposed to have practical use for the well-being of the people and to be

⁵³ P. G. M. Dickson, 'Joseph II's Reshaping of the Austrian Church', *The Historical Journal*, 36.1 (1993): Tables 4 and 5, pp. 103 & 105.

⁵⁴ Lenzenweger, 'Errichtung', 17.

practical advice. At Christmas, for example, in light of the birth in a stable, the sermon was to talk about the necessity of feeding the animals in one's stable well. On Easter Monday the Emmaus story was used as a prompt to explain the benefit of going for walks to the congregation.⁵⁵

The closing of monasteries did not only bring money into the *Religionsfond*. The reduction to just over half the number of monasteries in Austria and Hungary ensured a more stable existence for the remaining ones and might well be the reason that in comparison with Germany and France, where the results of the Enlightenment asked for a much bigger tribute, Austria remains a country of monasteries. It is worth comparing the effect of the German *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* in 1803 with its following secularisation to the effects of the secularisation on Austria. As the princedoms of princes spiritual were secularised, the number of palace chapels in the German-speaking territories was diminished by ninety per cent. Abbeys survived only in Austria.

Changes to liturgy and church music

Joseph demanded the simplification of the service and a greater participation of the congregation. Communal worship and better understanding was supposed to result in greater edification. The simplification brought about a "purification". Anything that could be regarded as superstitious was to be removed from churches and liturgy. Ornaments, which could distract from the essential, were in Joseph's eyes the enemy of greater understanding. Altars and statues were removed from their places. Particularly rural congregations – although favoured through the abolishment of serfdom – were

⁵⁵ Ibid., 19.

taken aback by the loss of colour in their liturgy. Religious holidays were reduced to a minimum as they hindered productivity. The veneration of saints and the Virgin Mary in particular were forced back. Pilgrimages were banned as well, as they mainly served such veneration, but we can suspect that they were also seen as an opportunity for the congregation to withdraw from the influence and supervision of their parish priest.⁵⁶ The vernacular was introduced, but after stirring protests throughout the country and of various bishops, what was meant to be a decree became a recommendation. Congregational hymn singing in German was introduced, in any case. In 1783, an official order of service was published, with variations for different areas in the following time. Not only the number of holidays was reduced, but also the number of services on both feast and ordinary days itself. To ensure this, priests no longer had to say mass daily, and several offices in the liturgy of the hours were discontinued. In addition, schedules regulated not only the number but also the times of services in bigger towns. This guaranteed that neighbouring churches would not celebrate mass at the same times. These regulations helped to achieve further savings and to release resources for pastoral and administrative work, as well as for the education of new clergy within the remaining orders.⁵⁷

While encouraged by the Church, Gregorian chant was argued against by Joseph. It led, he suggested, to physical exertion and was therefore both a danger to the health of monks and a waste of their time, which should be used to study for the furthering of

⁵⁶ In Germany, particular care was taken in the choice of priests for pilgrimage sites in the years of the *Gesangbuchstreit*, as resistant Catholics would go there and sing unwelcome hymns.

⁵⁷ Reinhard G. Pauly, 'The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II', *The Musical Quarterly*, 43.3 (1957), 372-382.

scientific knowledge and the education of new ministers.⁵⁸ While startling to modern readers, we must remember that the positive effects of music on both mental and physical health were yet undiscovered in Joseph's days, and only in the last century has it become a serious field of research. Therefore, Joseph's concern for the health of the monks is consistent with his overall concern for the well-being of his citizens and by extension the well-being of his state. It is also in line with the sense of efficiency that characterises his reforms: healthy monks were able to work harder. Removing Gregorian chant from their daily worship regime freed up both time and energy resources that could be used to educate and counsel the citizens, but also to keep an eye on them and to do administrative work.

Among the many discontinued services were particularly those with musical participation. Litanies, benedictions, and vespers with musical participation were to be abandoned completely. The reasons for this were almost exclusively of economical nature: when the Archbishop of Vienna insisted on continuing to celebrate his vespers with the familiar splendour, Joseph had no objections whatsoever, given that the Archbishop was going to pay for the music out of his own funds.⁵⁹ Calculating as this seems, it must be considered that the savings ensured the new system (with an increased number of parishes) could be run.

Regulations varied slightly from area to area, mostly depending on the amount of resistance. For Anton Bruckner's home area of Upper Austria, regulations were published in 1784; like in many other areas exceptions for services with musical participation were only made in sparingly, in places where such services had been

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 379.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 377.

established before. The bequests that had previously paid for much of the music were incorporated into the *Religionsfond*. Additional legislation to ban musical services proved unnecessary, as with the new regulations simply no new bequests were made. For the remaining services (mainly masses), instrumental music was restricted. The participation of instruments was restricted to Sundays and holidays, and in many places the organ was the only instrument left. This was a cost factor, but according to Joseph also decreased the burden on the clergy. Purely instrumental music, as had become common practice for example for the gradual, was banned from the use in Church. These restrictions influenced the kind of church music which was written during the time of Joseph's reign. Many composers began to write rather simple choral music with only organ accompaniment for use on Sundays. While the regulations were in place, Mozart for example refrained completely from writing any church music. What "great" sacred music survives, especially oratorios, was written for the increasingly important concerts. Although Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg insisted that the badly performed music which had formerly been found in churches in rural areas was bad for the people and antagonised proper edification, congregations were highly offended. They were unwilling to give up the music in their services, however poor in quality. In border regions, particularly in areas close to Bavaria, people would cross the border to attend services which were free from such intervention and where elaborate music could be heard during mass. Naturally, not only congregations were opposed to the new regulations but also professional musicians. Even where their pay was continued, instrumentalists were not satisfied to be made ordinary choir members, leading the congregation in song. It is unquestionable that such inadequate use of musicians added

to the decline of quality. Quality was of secondary importance to the reformers, and only considered where it provided a welcome argument against existing practice. The decay in quality applied not only to the standards of performance but also to compositions. Musical composing, maybe driven by the seemingly smaller requirements of smaller choirs without instrumental accompaniment, flourished as a hobby, and the amount of at the best mediocre, but often also inferior music written during this period is immense.⁶⁰

At the same time, only Joseph's reforms made it possible for lay people to get involved in the music in their church. Earlier, choirs had been made up by clerics.⁶¹ It was no longer congregations who would travel to attend a service wherever the nearest accumulation of clerics was, but smaller numbers of clerics now 'came to the people'. Therefore choirs had to be provided in the parish. Participation in music making also achieved social integration.

Organs and galleries were, where not in existence yet, installed in older churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The musicians later moved into those galleries, stressing the separation from the congregation and reducing the people to an audience.⁶² This might be due to an interest of the congregations themselves in becoming consumers at church, an attitude that Josephinism tried to tackle but also partly caused: the life of peasants had significantly improved under Joseph, and not only their financial situation but also their confidence now allowed them to adopt a new role

⁶⁰ A. C. Howie, 'Traditional and Novel Elements in Bruckner's Sacred Music', *The Musical Quarterly*, 67.4 (1981), 545-547.

⁶¹ Flotzinger, 'Landmesse', 62.

⁶² *Ibid.*

(that of consumers) and wish for some entertainment. It was this kind of behaviour that Colloredo sought to combat with the demands to include the whole congregation into the celebration of the mass, which he expressed in a pastoral letter in 1782, and when he commissioned Michael Haydn to compose simple settings of the Proper (of which about 160 are surviving).⁶³ The ‘entertaining’ character, which a consumer-oriented music brought in its train, is what met not only the objection of Josephine minds but also later that of the followers of the Cecilian movement.

Control over music was easy to achieve in cathedrals, city churches, and in abbeys. Although Josephinism took some control over musical performances in the countryside, what had been established there before broke through again soon after Joseph’s death. Demands that the ordinary of the mass should be complete as well as understandable in musical settings were often not followed in smaller congregations. Reasons may have been that often neither the organist nor the congregation knew Latin, and omitted lines would go unnoticed. As the celebrant was required to read the text of the ordinary at the same time, no actual liturgical problems were caused by such omissions. We find mention of compositions where the whole creed is shortened to six bars.⁶⁴ Considering that this was music written for ‘simple’ musicians it is unlikely that those bars were just incredibly long. Regulations of what could be omitted and what could not are not noted; they were clearly not enforced with the same rigour with which Cecilianism would later tackle the same problem.

⁶³ Michael Nagy, *Johann Michael Haydn (1737 – 1806): Leben – Werk – Bedeutung* (Vienna: Joseph Haydn Gesellschaft, 1981), 17.

⁶⁴ Elisabeth Maier, ‘Der Choral in den Kirchenwerken Bruckners’, *Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik*, ed. Wessely, 113.

The predominant music in rural churches were the so-called *Landmessen*. They were composed to provide flexible arrangements which could be changed according to needs and which would not overstrain the resources in both the number and musicality of the performers. From the eighteenth century on, we find *Schulmeistermessen* for organ plus one voice among those works, designed so the teacher of a village could perform them alone or with his wife.⁶⁵ In the person of the teacher the public sphere and church life touch again. In many arrangements we find the violin (an instrument typically to be played by teachers, as it also allowed them to earn some additional money playing at dance events) and horns added to the organ. Trombones and trumpets were mostly used at court. Hunting horns, however, were available in the countryside. A different way of playing them allowed the creation of a sound similar to that of trumpets (at least to the ears of the villagers). Joseph's restriction on the use of instruments were met with complaints from congregations in all Austrian dioceses and resulted in the lifting of the ban in 1790 by Leopold II. After Joseph's death even timpani and trumpets could be found in countryside churches, particularly for introits on feast days. It is assumed that trumpets and horns were played by the same musicians in rural congregations and could therefore be alternated easily. In the nineteenth century, clay substitutes for expensive brass instruments became available, providing even poor areas with wind music. Although the masses were also called *Sonntagsmessen*, it is likely that small congregations would only have them on feast days and only somewhat bigger churches would have them performed each Sunday.

⁶⁵ Flotzinger, 'Landmesse', 65.

The greater involvement of the people in the music-making and the growing wealth and confidence of farmers, who had been freed from serfdom, encouraged people to support the church music financially. This support became quickly institutionalised. Flotzinger suggests that the forming of church music associations followed the example and model of associations for concert music.⁶⁶

German hymns

A lot of the changes to church music happened *en passant*, for example in the publication of new orders of service. One major change, on which Joseph spent a great deal of dedication, was the introduction of German language hymns. While there had been German hymnals before, the reformers put particular weight on congregational singing. For Joseph, congregational singing in the vernacular was an excellent means of reaching a congregation and teaching them, even more effectively than by preaching ('sung catechism lessons')⁶⁷. Apart from vernacular settings of the ordinary (most noteworthy Johann Michael Haydn's '*Hier liegt vor Deiner Majestät*'⁶⁸), a lot of hymns were written and introduced to the services. A collection of hymns by Franz Seraph Kohlbrenner (1777) proved most effective, particularly in its later revision by Michael Haydn. Pope Pius VI himself expressed his compliments and praised the work.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁶ Ibid. 68.

⁶⁷ Leopold Kantner, 'Franz Schuberts Kirchenmusik auf dem Hintergrund stilistischer Zusammenhänge und persönlicher Einstellung', *Schubert-Studien*, ed. Franz Grasberger (Vienna: Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 132.

⁶⁸ Nagy, *Johann Michael Haydn*, 30.

⁶⁹ Pauly, 'Reforms', 375.

Archbishop of Salzburg Colloredo made known that he did not wish to hear any hymns which were not part of this collection at services he attended.

Not everybody was as pleased with the new hymns; they, too, were considered a manifestation of poor quality by many. The tunes were found monotonous and over-embellished at the same time and the texts lacked the heart-elevating spirit of Protestant hymns. This is unsurprising, as the hymns were essentially didactic texts. They were meant to elevate the mind rather than the heart, which seems only natural considering Joseph's attachment to the Enlightenment, and to promote a "practical Christianity".

Joseph's legacy

While some changes, mainly in the field of liturgy, remained in effect, many of Joseph's reforms did not survive long. Both the reform movement, who believed them to be patronising, and the conservatives, who complained about a loss of edification and the destruction of the unity of the Church and tradition, offered resistance. Finally, Joseph's reforms proved inefficient for the purpose of education. The tool had become blunt through its improper use: the deep touch of Christian faith had been lost as its meaning had been reduced to humanist morals. It was no longer inner faith which motivated people to go to church; being a Christian had merely become a civil duty. People had been turned rationalist, so they no longer needed a church. Those who resisted this turn were immune to the indoctrination anyway. The religion the state had prescribed did not have an effect on people's personal life anymore. The Church's means to touch had been removed from liturgy. Where people wanted to live their life as Christians they did so despite the educational work of the state Church, and they did not

follow its course. The flattening of the Church hierarchy had cost the clergy some of its respect. The excitement of the people at the Pope's visit shows both that they had not been convinced by the reforms and that they had unsatisfied spiritual needs. By the early nineteenth century, a spiritual vacuum had been created, which gave room for a movement dedicated to the renewal of the Church. A group formed around the charismatic preacher Klemens Maria Hofbauer, among them Brentano and Eichendorff, as well as Augustin Gruber (later Archbishop of Salzburg). Their agenda was to touch the heart again so that a piety which came "from the heart" could be formed. In the interest of the unity of the Church they turned to Rome.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Josephinism gives a fine example of how promoting a stricter differentiation between the secular and the sacred is bound to fail. It is impossible to cut an apple in half without the blade of the knife touching both halves of the apple. Yet in the case of an apple, the blade is not part of what it separates. Separating the spheres of secular and sacred, however, means to meddle with reality and life itself. Whoever attempts this task will belong to at least one of the spheres and touch both of them. He or she might act with a particular concern for one of the spheres in mind, thus reshaping the other to fit the needs of the first (even if these needs are not to interfere). In the case of Joseph, a monarch claims authority in the domain of the church in order to separate the spheres of church and state. The result, of course, is that the secular sphere flows into the religious one. Consequently, the worldly is brought into the church.

⁷⁰ Domandl, *Kulturgeschichte*, 440-441.

Can we interpret Joseph's actions as those of a man who he is rooted in both spheres (in both words of the 'Catholic monarchy') and tries to mediate between them, for the good of both of them? Even if we adopt the most benevolent view of the emperor's intentions, we must deem his attempts failed. School teachers are responsible for music in church and parish priests fulfil administrative duties in the secular sphere. People cannot live their spirituality in church anymore and have to find it in other parts of their lives. While at the beginning of the century *Volksschauspiel* is the main place where the Christian narrative is made graspable in the vernacular, and pilgrimage and the veneration of saints offer an opportunity to worship in the vernacular, it is exactly those two things which the movement that seeks to bring greater understanding into the church abolishes.

Music which was not originally composed for the use in church is removed from the liturgy (particularly instrumental interludes for the gradual, often chosen anything but carefully). Hymns replace instrumental pieces of music that often had originally been written for the theatre. These hymns, however, feature content which is more rationalistic than religious. Furthermore, a decrease or even lack of artistic quality is noticed, both in the words of the hymns (with regards to their poetic virtuosity) and in the hymn tunes, as well as in the general performance of music in church. This hints at a direction which will become even more obvious in the chapter on the Cecilian movement: wherever art is bound by imposed regulations, it turns into no more than applied craftsmanship. For Joseph, the artistic value of church music was not of great interest; the effectiveness for it to reach the congregation and convey a pre-determined message, however, was. Wherever art is simply instrumentalised to promote an agenda

it ceases to be art and becomes propaganda. Unlike art that is inspired by a strong personal conviction of the artist, artistic work made to order as well as art that does not genuinely seek to have a respectful relationship with its beholder must always stay behind its true potential.

Chapter 3

The Cecilian Movement: Following the Heritage of Separation

Many (though not all⁷¹) of the Josephine demands for the purification of music in the space of the Church bear a strong resemblance to those pursued by the Cecilian Movement almost a century later. While Joseph's interests were guided by his role as head of state, the Cecilian Movement approached many of the same issues from the perspective of the Roman Catholic Church. Where Joseph had severed the overly close ties between Austria and the Holy See, the followers of the Cecilian Movement would soon be allowed to act on the authority of the Pope. Both aimed at separation, but with quite different purposes in mind.

The *Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verein* – A Papal Watchdog

On 16 December 1870, Pope Pius IX granted the status of a '*kirchlicher Verein päpstlichen Rechts*' to an association that had dedicated itself to the purging of church music, the *Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verein* (ACV). This association had been founded by a Bavarian priest, Franz Xaver Witt, in 1868 at the assembly of German Catholics (*Katholikentag*) in Bamberg. Earlier in 1870, during the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), twenty-nine bishops of German-speaking dioceses (led by those of Vienna

⁷¹ Exceptions are namely Gregorian chant (championed by the Cecilian movement yet suppressed by Joseph), vernacular hymns (promoted heavily by Joseph yet rejected by a majority of the Cecilians), and the position of women in the congregation (who under Joseph became an active part of musical life in the church but were deemed unsuitable as performers by the Cecilian movement).

and Prague) petitioned Pius to grant the ACV this official approbation.⁷² This gave them papal authority to pursue their declared aims, which were defined in the papal brief *Multum ad movendos animos*⁷³ as follows:

1. The practice of Gregorian chant is to be encouraged and fostered.
2. Figural, polyphonic vocal music is to be encouraged where it follows the norms of the Church.
3. Congregational hymns are to be tolerated to the extent that canon law allows.
4. Existing regulations regarding the use of musical instruments are to be followed.
5. Parishes that are not ready to comply with these regulations immediately are to be enabled to do so in due course by all means.

It is evident from this list that the ACV was not given autonomy to govern church music according to their own discretion. Rather, they were given the role of a watchdog to ensure existing regulations were observed. Nonetheless it would be foolish to underestimate the importance of this approbation. While no new regulations were attached to the papal brief, it reinforced the value of a number of older (and at that point neglected) ones. It explicitly commended the aims and efforts of the ACV to rid the churches of what was seen as musical profanity. Furthermore, the granting of papal authority to guide and enforce the right musical practice in worship on a day-to-day basis effectively entrusted the ACV with the interpretation of the existing statutes on a

⁷² Karl G. Fellerer, 'Die Aufgabe des Cäcilienverbandes', in *In Caritate Et Veritate* (Saarbrücken: Minerva 1973), 41.

⁷³ Pius PP. IX, 'Ad futuram rei memoriam', in *Der Allgemeine Cäcilien-Verband für die Länder der Deutschen Sprache*, ed. Johannes Overath (Cologne: Das Sekretariat des ACV, 1961), 28-30.

level that is comparable to that of judicial power. The level of trust expressed in this is underlined by the fact that the authority conferred in this document is, explicitly, given perpetually.⁷⁴

Heinrich Flatten explains the legal nuances of the brief further: the ACV was accountable to the Holy See. While the respective local bishops had jurisdiction over it, they could not change its constitution or statutes nor could they dissolve it.⁷⁵ Again the highest level of protection granted becomes obvious and it would appear that this secures a sense of unity that stretched across the borders of dioceses and countries.

Pursuing the previously listed aims of the association has, through the brief, become its duty. The territory for which this responsibility is given to the ACV is defined as all lands of German tongue. Within this territory, all music that is to be performed in the space of the church and thus to be seen as church music is committed to the association's care. No other association is entrusted or charged with the care for church music in the German-speaking countries. While certain constitutional key points, such as the election of president and the protectorate of a responsible cardinal, are addressed, little is said about the structure of the ACV. Whether it is to act as an umbrella organisation for a number of associated societies or as one centrally governed body is left open here.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Following the Second Vatican Council, the ACV lost this approbation.

⁷⁵ Heinrich Flatten, 'Die Päpstliche Bestätigungsurkunde des Allgemeinen Cäcilienvereins in ihrer Rechtlichen Tragweite', *Der Allgemeine*, ed. Overath, 38.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-43.

Only two years passed between the private initiative that led to the association's foundation in 1868 and its elevation to a papally approved society in 1870. This is even more remarkable given that its founder Witt had begun to publish the first one of his periodicals to promote his ideas for reform, the *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik*, only in 1866. In 1867, he undertook a first attempt to found the ACV at the *Katholikentag* in Innsbruck but failed.⁷⁷ While this appears to be a rapid development, the climate in nineteenth-century Bavaria was not unfavourable to Witt's ideas; organisations concerned with the a cappella ideal of sacred music and named after St Cecilia are found across Europe already in the 1700s.⁷⁸ *Fliegende Blätter*, however, was the first publication of its scope and Witt was more forceful than thinkers of the same tradition. In 1867, his audience was likely overpowered by the radicalness of his ideas. A year later, he could take advantage of the discourse he had started the year before; his aims had become familiar and the *Fliegende Blätter* had established his ideals in Catholic thought more widely. The history of an intellectual, centrally organised Cecilian movement with its epicentre in Regensburg, however, started more than half a century before Vatican I with a speech by its probably most nuanced thinker.

The Origins – Johann Michael Sailer's *Rede vom Bunde*

In 1808, Johann Michael Sailer, then professor of theology in Landshut, about 40 miles south of Regensburg, gave a lecture on the occasion of the induction of a young priest of Bamberg to the 'choir of doctors', addressing students and faculty alike on the

⁷⁷ Witt and his ideology, which shaped the ACV like no other are discussed in more details on p. 50 and from p.60 onwards.

⁷⁸ *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Cecilian movement,' by Siegfried Gmeinwieser, accessed 18 May 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

issue of art and religion. This influential, trendsetting speech became known under the title ‘On the alliance of religion and art’ and its transcript is one of the earliest records of what was to become the Cecilian movement during the following decades.

Sailer identified two streams in the understanding of religion in his time, both of which were extremes and therefore fully in the spirit of their time: one stream, particularly held by the younger generation, knew religion only as an ‘aesthetic religion’ with the only purpose to keep ‘irrational reason’ at bay; the other sought to have religion entirely separated from all aesthetics, to hold off phantasies and reveries. In this tension neither art nor religion were treated justly. The truth had to lie in the middle, Sailer suggested. The core sentence of his speech laid the foundation for all Cecilian thought:

‘Religion is in a league with the arts, not by coincidence, nor agreed on, but as necessary and essential [in the very sense of the word]; a league that has not emerged today or yesterday, but that is eternal.’⁷⁹

Sailer stressed that he was talking about the one true religion as held by the first man and as revealed by Christ. In this he was not seeking to formally exclude other faiths or denominations. This was no pressing issue in nineteenth century Bavaria. He was attempting to draw a clear line against instrumentalised religion (for example for the sake of morals and as an instrument of politics) and religion that has any other object but God himself (such as conscience and the independence of the virtuous). That

⁷⁹ Johann M. Sailer, ‘Von dem Bunde der Religion mit der Kunst’, *Vorlesungen aus der Pastoraltheologie*, vol. 18.3.2 of *Johann Michael Sailer’s Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Widmer (Sulzbach: Seidel’sche Buchhandlung, 1835), 164. (All quotes from Sailer are my translation.)

‘one, true, eternal religion’⁸⁰ he examined in its ‘inner living being in man’, in other words as it becomes manifest and is alive inside every human being – very much an approach orientated on experience. Within the spectrum of his time that places Sailer more on the Romantic side than on the Enlightened side, which will become more evident as we follow the development of his argument.

In Sailer’s understanding, religion can only become visible as a manifestation of the inner religion seeking to reveal itself and permeate all that is susceptible to it. In this permeating it becomes (or shows itself as) a communal and unifying religion, linking countless members in one body. For this, religion needs tools (‘organs’) of revelation as a means of uniting humanity. These tools are as great and holy and heavenly as their purpose and user and object, which is religion. Sailer calls them ‘the one holy art, which reveals the life of religion on the outside’.⁸¹ In its essence this art is always the same (and therefore truly eternal). Starting with architecture and the building of places for communal worship and for revelation, for the sake of which the one holy art becomes the art of building, Sailer argues that, not content with what it has created in architecture alone, this one art then becomes the art of painting, sculpture, and poetry. Considering Sailer’s importance for the Cecilian movement, one would expect that once that art reaches music, it would be satisfied. Far from it. Neither can it reach fulfilment as the ‘tongue of the bell’ summoning the peoples of the world for worship. Only using all that is pure, beautiful, and harmonic can it truly find fulfilment and exalt the souls of all who

⁸⁰ Ibid., 165.

⁸¹ Ibid., 166.

are receptive to it. So Sailer chooses an holistic approach. The one holy art is the ‘epitome of the fine arts and friend of all other arts.’⁸²

Sailer talks about all things beautiful, glamorous, and precious yet at the same time recognises that neither Christ, nor the Virgin Mary, nor the apostles or any ‘great men’ were rich or oriented towards worldly treasures. Although he is not explicit about this, it appears that he is far from suggesting that ‘Art’ *needs* gold, silver, and gems to make its point but it is not afraid to use them as symbols for that inner state of elevation and beauty it seeks to make visible. Yet it does not shrink back from using anything it can to make its point, and as long as worldly treasures that can be incorporated are available they will be most representative of the preciousness of that inner religion. This argument is consistent with Sailer’s point in another of his lectures, ‘*Der Grundsatz aller Liturgie*’ (‘The Principle of All Liturgy’) that while simplicity has its place over floridness and despite the way in which poverty is regarded in Christianity, the ‘manifold’ can be more helpful than ‘the simple’ for the purpose of revealing religion in a congregation. Sailer’s argues that religion is love, and love is liberal by nature (‘liberal’ is here most likely to be understood as the opposite of restrictive: as generous) .If religion is to be revealed as love, it must show that liberality, too.⁸³

The one true religion does not only act outwards, though, but also inwards and backwards. After rising to become that religion visible on the outside and after uniting with the external reflections of others’ religion it comes back to preserve and rekindle

⁸² Ibid., 169.

⁸³ Johann Michael Sailer, ‘Der Grundsatz aller Liturgie’, *Vorlesungen aus der Pastoraltheologie*, vol. 18.3.2 of *Johann Michael Sailer’s Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Widmer (Sulzbach: Seidel’sche Buchhandlung, 1835).

itself with massively increased might in its source. This bestows a higher level of dignity on art, the organ of religion that not only presents it to the outside world but keeps it alive and renews it.⁸⁴

With Sailer, somebody from within the church had opened a discussion about the relationship between religion and art. In times of extreme positions it took a man like him to invite the Church to reconsider this relationship and be accepted. On the other hand, little of what Sailer suggested can be found in the programmatic speech with which the first president of the ACV, Franz Xaver Witt, addressed its first general assembly in 1868. Conrad Donakowski suggests that Sailer's clerical career was slowed down by his own liberalism and calls it ironic that a theologian as appreciative of non-Catholic and non-Christian culture could be so important to the ultramontane Cecilians.⁸⁵ Sailer's liberal streak had indeed seen the former Jesuit novice⁸⁶ deposed from his chair for pastoral theology and ethics at Dillingen University, Bavaria: after a lengthy inquiry into suspicions of promotion of Enlightenment ideas (*'Aufklärerei'*), Sailer was relieved of his duties and position at the academy in 1794.⁸⁷ He became professor for pastoral and moral theology at the new university in Landshut in 1800.⁸⁸ The implied liberalism certainly will have led to reservations among more conservative Cecilians and might explain how the focus from a mutual relationship between religion

⁸⁴ Sailer, 'Bunde', 170.

⁸⁵ Conrad L. Donakowski, 'The Age of Revolutions', *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 385.

⁸⁶ The suppression of the order in 1773 preempted Sailer's professing perpetual vows.

⁸⁷ Remigius Stöltzle, *Johann Michael Sailer; seine Maßregelung an der Akademie zu Dillingen und seine Berufung nach Ingolstadt* (Kempten: Verlag der Joseph Kösel'schen Buchhandlung, 1910), 125-130.

⁸⁸ Philipp Harnoncourt, 'Der Liturgiebegriff bei den Frühcäcilianern und seine Anwendung auf die Kirchenmusik', *Der Caecilianismus: Anfänge, Grundlagen, Wirkungen*, ed. Hubert Unverricht (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 79.

and art can turn to a relationship between music and liturgy in which music is strongly subordinate, or how the man who is named prominently in modern writing about Cecilianism is merely mentioned in one single footnote, only by surname and in a long list of clerics, in the Cecilian Cardinal Katschthaler's history of music.⁸⁹

It is his closing section with which Sailer instigated the history of Cecilianism: the fine arts, he suggests there, have become unholy. For an open-minded liberal like him the choice of wording – ‘degeneration’ (*Entartung*) of art – was surprisingly harsh. That he was a recognised Catholic theologian *and* a liberal lent credibility to his claim. Following his preceding remarks on the league or union of religion and the arts, Sailer can present a more nuanced picture than just the condemnation of all art: for him it comes as no surprise that the arts are corrupted since their manifestations are human handiwork; they are as far removed from the goodness of their genesis as man is from his. However, Sailer resists the temptation to paint an unnecessarily grim picture. He encounters the arts in three different ‘vestures’: in those of a slave, those of workaday life, and in festive robes. The first of these symbolises art that seeks to appeal to the fashion of the day and to glorify vices and debauchment. The second one, a mean and tidy dress, stands for art that sweetens everyday life, such as harmless songs or dance music – far removed from the glory of its origin but too honest and upright to associate with the first. The last one represents art that serves only the Holy.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Johannes Katschthaler, *Kurze Geschichte der Kirchenmusik* (Regensburg: Alfred Coppenrath, 1893), 262.

⁹⁰ Sailer, ‘Bunde’, 173-174; Sailer seems to assume a wide understanding of serving the Holy, especially in his example of music that helps win battles for the Fatherland in a war. Given his previous language, where ‘Heimat’ (a possible synonym for Fatherland) is used to describe the origin of art (that is the Holy itself), we have to accept some ambiguity as to what he means with this example.

The *first* miracle (or masterpiece) of this art is displayed not in buildings, paintings, poems, or songs, but on the faces, the acts, and the whole life of a human who is imbued with religion.⁹¹ The living of religion is itself the most glorious work of art. The *highest* miracle is the life of all the religious people in communion. If their individual lives are works of art then all of them together build one single whole great masterpiece: the life of the Church. The arts as the organs of religion in their manifestations as paintings, poems, songs, and the like spring up from the first and lead to the highest miracle. They unite all Christians into one body.⁹²

The appeal Sailer's ideas had, for the conservative forces in the Roman Catholic Church, becomes more understandable in the light of this shorter section at the end of his speech: Christian art is in most of its manifestations tainted, but it is also redeemable. Even more so, it is an essential part of religion (which in itself must have felt, to conservative Catholics, like a statement against Protestants) and it has the potential (if not the duty) to unite the Church.

Protagonists of the Cecilian Agenda

As will become evident, there was never one entirely undisputed Cecilian programme. Biba goes as far as to call the Cecilian movement a construction of

⁹¹ Again, this is very much in line with Sailer's positions in 'Grundsatz', 264f, where he asserts that religious song 'in the mouth of opera singers, who only seek to shine' can only be disgusting – a position that the most conservative Cecilians would share wholeheartedly and without any reservations or alterations even decades later – but that if led by and coming from pious and godly hearts, the sound of a singing congregation would reflect that inner bliss. This expression and outer appearance, rather than a verbal one, is the primary language of worship.

⁹² Sailer, 'Bunde', 174-176.

historians.⁹³ This chapter pays special attention the work of the ACV⁹⁴ and in particular of its founder and first president general, Franz Xaver Witt. In the ACV the movement constituted itself formally and should therefore be undisputed in its existence. Beyond that the work of a number of key figures is included. While one of them was not a member of the ACV, the first to be mentioned, he helps bridge the development from Sailer to Witt's foundation of the ACV. These shed light on its most widely supported claims and aims. Four Cecilians have been chosen for closer inspection.

Firstly there is Carl Proske, a student of Sailer's and later canon at Regensburg.⁹⁵ He provides the link between Sailer and the following generation of Cecilians. His advocacy of Gregorian chant and sixteenth century polyphony in writing is surpassed by his extensive work in editing and publishing works of the "old masters"⁹⁶ and provide church choirs not only with the music but also with background information and commentary to aid their choice and performance. His 1829 publication *'Bemerkungen über den zunehmenden Verfall der Kirchenmusik im Dom zu Regensburg nebst Vorschlägen zur Verbesserung derselben'* convinced King Louis I of Bavaria to have chant reinstated in its old fashion. It also gained Proske royal mandate to oversee the music at the cathedral in Regensburg, where with Schrems and later Haberl he found

⁹³ Otto Biba, 'Der Cäcilianismus', *Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz: Anton Bruckner Institut, 1988), 123.

⁹⁴ As the ACV still exists, it is important to note that this chapter engages with the nineteenth century Cecilian movement. The work and positions of the ACV in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is not assessed nor addressed in the chapter's judgements.

⁹⁵ *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 60, s.v. 'Proske, Carl'.

⁹⁶ The expression "old masters" will, in accordance with the use of *'die Alten'* in Cecilian writing, be used to speak of Palestrina, Victoria, and their contemporaries. More detail will be given as the thesis progresses.

two likeminded enthusiasts to fill the post of director of music.⁹⁷ Proske lived in Rome for several years and studied with Guiseppe Bainsi, an expert on Palestrina and Director of Music at the papal chapel.⁹⁸ Proske died in 1861, seven years before the foundation of the ACV.

Then there is Franz Xaver Witt, whose work Proske saw as evidence that contemporary composers still were able to compose in the correct manner.⁹⁹ He would rise to become the founder and president general of the ACV and the most prominent face of Cecilianism. Following his initial election as president general he was re-elected three more times.¹⁰⁰ Considering particularly his own statement that ‘where the president general is, there is (according to Canon Law) the [Cecilian] Society’,¹⁰¹ the repeated success in these elections suggests that to engage with his positions is to engage with core positions of the ACV: Witt’s positions, as we find them expressed in his speeches, in his *Fliegende Blätter* and his *Musica Sacra*, would be the ones most widely accepted.

Franz Xaver Haberl was not only Director of Music at Regensburg Cathedral but also succeeded Witt as president general. As a close colleague of Proske’s he further connects his tradition with the ACV, which was founded only after Proske had died in

⁹⁷ Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform* (Chicago: Hillenbrand, 2007), 85-86. Also Harnoncourt, ‘Liturgiebegriff’, 84-85.

⁹⁸ Zsuzsanna Domokos, ‘The Performance Practice of the Cappella Sistina as Reflected in Liszt’s Church Music’, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41.4 (2000): 394.

⁹⁹ Anton Walter, *Franz Xaver Witt, Gründer und erster Generalpräses des Cäcilienvereins: Ein Lebensbild* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1889), 34-35.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁰¹ Franz Xaver Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1878, 5, cit. in Franz Xaver Witt, *Reden an den Cäcilien-Verein*, ed. Christoph Lickleder (Regensburg: Feuchtinger & Gleichauf, 1983), 58.

1861. Like Proske, he was allowed to work in the music archives of the Sistine Chapel¹⁰² and was, at his death in 1910, considered ‘unrivalled as an authority on Roman Catholic church music.’¹⁰³ After he played a lone hand and founded the Kirchenmusikschule in Regensburg (which Witt had been propagating for years) the relationship between him and Witt was broken.¹⁰⁴

Lastly there is Johann Baptist Katschthaler, later Cardinal and Archbishop of Salzburg, who might appear to be an unusual choice, being not only at work in Austria but also at his most active decades after Witt. While Salzburg was Austrian at the time, part of its former territory remained Bavarian; so there remains a connection.¹⁰⁵ Church music and Cecilianism in Austria were not identical with the Bavarian approach, yet with Katschthaler we have a confessed Cecilian who was removed from the heart of the conflict. Both a cleric and an academic theologian, as well as equipped with musical experience through teaching Gregorian chant and directing early polyphonic vocal music long before the heyday of the Regensburg movement, his ‘Short History of Church Music’ is one of the most comprehensive, thoroughly composed Cecilian perspectives on the history of Church music. It offers invaluable insight into the Cecilian understanding of the past, which the movement’s thought is so centred around.

¹⁰² Zsuzsanna Domokos, ‘Wagner’s Edition of Palestrina’s Stabat Mater’, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47.2 (2006), 225.

¹⁰³ ‘Obituary: Dr. Franz Xaver Haberl’, *The Musical Times* 51.812 (1 Oct. 1910), 649.

¹⁰⁴ Jürgen Libbert, ‘Franz Liszt und seine Beziehungen zu Regensburg. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Regensburger Kirchenmusikschule und der Budapester Musikakademie’, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 42.1/2 (2001), 161; 180.

¹⁰⁵ While there was disagreement between the Austrian and the Bavarian Cecilians on matters like instrumental music, it was important for the society to assert ‘the bonds between the Bavarian and Austrian Catholics in opposition to the political realities of imperial Germany.’ (James Garratt, ‘Prophets Looking Backwards: German Romantic Historicism and the Representation of Renaissance Music’, *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 125 (2000), 202).

Originally a series of articles and first published as a monograph in 1893, it can look back not only on the history of Christian worship but also on more than two decades of established Cecilian work.¹⁰⁶ Katschthaler's work will aid our understanding where Witt only makes allusions and lend a more academically refined argument where Witt, caught in the heat of the matter, presents merely strongly worded assertions.

History and Tradition – The Building Set for Ideals

Nothing could express the Cecilians' focus on the past in their separation of sacred and secular world more fittingly than the opening words of Carl Proske's first published collection of music in his *Musica Divina*. He juxtaposes 'the saving power of faith' against 'the corrupting powers of the current life of the world'. He does not associate the former with the world to come and to be anticipated, however, but with memories 'of better, even the best times of the past'.¹⁰⁷ These past times are split into three major periods by Katschthaler: a first period, in which church music developed, between the death of Christ and 600; a second, in which that music existed unharmed and flourished, from 600 until 1600; thirdly, the period between 1600-1830, with its demise; these three are followed by a concluding period of restoration, the beginning of which he dates to roughly 1830 and which is still underway at his time of writing.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ For a more detailed account of Katschthaler's life see Ernst Tittel, 'Kardinal Katschthaler, ein Cäcilianer auf dem Salzburger Fürstenthron', *Musicae Sacrae Ministerium : Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusikalischen Erneuerung im XIX. Jahrhundert*, ed. Johannes Overath (Cologne: Luthe-Druck, 1962), esp. 200-206.

¹⁰⁷ Carl Proske, 'Prospectus', *Musica Divinia*, 1.1 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1853), v.

¹⁰⁸ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 12.

Like Witt,¹⁰⁹ Katschthaler describes the music of the early Church as restricted to unaccompanied chanting and suggests that the early Christian psalmodies are to be understood as a form of solemn speaking rather than singing. It is the words that matter most.¹¹⁰ This period of development is concluded by the papacy of Gregory the Great (590-604), described as the father of church music.¹¹¹ Gregory collected, sifted, and collated existing music. He determined which parts of the service were to be sung by the whole congregation and which ones were not, leaving the congregation only with those of little difficulty and which would be repeated unchanged in every service, such as the *Kyrie eleison*. The leading principle of his reforms was to furnish the service appropriately for the dignity and nobility of the divine majesty without neglecting the rules of art. Everything in it had to support the Church's teachings and to establish and maintain unity: it had to connect everybody with Rome. This Gregorian chant, in German also referred to as the '*Choral*', helped in the romantic view of the nineteenth century not only to overcome the division of tongues among Christians outside of worship but also all other diversity and tension by the sharing of the same music.¹¹²

This '*Choral*', which is not to be confused with the much later Protestant variety, is, in the Cecilian mind, the ideal form and natural state of church music and any form of singing appropriate in church has to be built on it, using its tunes or derivatives thereof. Polyphonic vocal music using counterpoint, as it was at his height during the

¹⁰⁹ Christoph Lickleder, *Choral und figurierte Kirchenmusik in der Sicht Franz Xaver Witts anhand der Fliegenden Blätter und der Musica Sacra* (Regensburg: Feuchtinger & Gleichauf, 1988), 148-149.

¹¹⁰ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 9-25.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 42-53.

sixteenth century and dominated by composers like Palestrina and Lassus, is in an excellent position for this because in counterpoint the melody of the chant finds its way in some form into every single part. Therefore all parts treat the music in the appropriate declamatory way and are (mostly) moving within diatonic scales.

This was the ideal and was shaped by the newly found academic field of historic scholarship that provided fertile ground for the Cecilian movement to grow. Its growth, as well as the advent of historical musicology, gave the Cecilians ammunition in their fight and helped to shape a vision of what Proske called ‘the best of times’. Ruff suggests ‘a romantic notion of old music as holy’¹¹³ as well as ‘a desire to strengthen Catholic identity in a secularist society’¹¹⁴ contributed further to the development of institutionalised Cecilianism. It will become evident, however, that these endeavours were led by a rather subjective view of the past, in which the idea of referring back to a romanticised vision of the days of early Christianity was more attractive than engaging with the reality of past times. Legalism was ultimately more important than historical accuracy, which is ironic since the authority of the legislative was founded and asserted on a historical basis.

¹¹³ Ruff, *Reform*, 88.

Anthony Ruff OSB is one of the few writers who have engaged with Cecilianism on an academic level and who do not maintain membership or close (visible) personal ties to today’s ACV. Without this bias, his study engages with Cecilianism on a critical yet not polemic level that is rarely found.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Affirming The Ideal By Rebuking The Improper

While Witt and Katschthaler agree that the centuries leading up to 1600 were one of preservation of the *Choral* on one side and flourishing of polyphonic vocal church music, the early stages of a demise are also identified during this period, when mensural music first came into life. In this form of music the individual lines are harmonically connected but move independently. In addition, they often feature descants sung over the melody of the chant. This style of music threatened the supreme position of the *Choral* as early as in the twelfth century. Combined with practices of theatrical presentation by the singers, who in some places were found to “support” the music unduly with gestures and facial expression, and adding the sound of instruments, this generated a sense of jollity and amusement unbecoming to the majesty of God. A papal decree of John XXII from 1322, *Docta Sanctorum Patrum*, attests these reports, takes action in a way that at the same time underlines the Cecilians’ view of preservation, and gives them their first authoritative piece of papal writing regulating church music.

Docta sanctorum

There are a number of different assessments of *Docta sanctorum*. Whether or not it has to be seen as a legally binding document is debated by Hucke, Klaper, and Fellerer. As far as this thesis is concerned this debate is futile: the claim that only Pius’ X *Motu proprio* (1903) constituted something like a legal code regarding the right character of church music is challenged by the fact that *Ad futuram rei memoriam* confers the authority to enforce existing regulations onto the ACV. While neglected by

the debate, this implicitly confirms that binding and comprehensive regulations are in place already in 1870. Since they are not explicitly named, it is safe to assume that the Cecilian would have understood any regulation of papal or conciliar origin as one of them. That *Docta sanctorum* was used in the debate at Trent and referred to in the other explicit papal document on the matter, the encyclical *Annus qui hunc* (1749), it would have given it outstanding authority. *Docta sanctorum* was widely distributed considering it fell within the Avignon period. A noticeable increase in the number of references to and debates about it can be found in the sixteenth century.¹¹⁵ This added to the high esteem in which the sixteenth century was held.

The decree attests a sweet sound to the singing worshippers. However, two qualifications are added instantly: the condition of a heart open for God, and, even more striking, the speaking of words.¹¹⁶ The importance of the verbal part of singing in worship is already indicated in the third sentence of the decree. Singing adds to the power of words by kindling the worshippers' devotion.¹¹⁷ In a much less theological manner, the following paragraph provides a list of condemnable features of church music: the introduction of new, short note values, addition of notes, descants, *hoqueti*,¹¹⁸ or second or third parts in the vernacular; furthermore abandoning or alienation of the *toni* and replacing them with *lascivum* (usually by adding in notes), as well as gesturing on the part of the performers. John criticises ignorance with regards to the old basics on

¹¹⁵ Michael Klaper, 'Verbindliches kirchenmusikalisches Gesetz oder belanglose Augenblickseingebung? Zur Constitutio Docta sanctorum Papst Johannes' XXII', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 60.1 (2003), 88.

¹¹⁶ ('*dum loquuntur verbis*')- John PP. XXII, 'Docta sanctorum patrum', *Decretalium Collectiones*, vol. 2 of *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Emil Richter & Emil Friedberg (Lipsiae: Tauchnitz, 1881), 1255.

¹¹⁷ ('*ut fidelium devotio excitetur*')- *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Complementary melodies that are broken up and shared across voices.

the one side, but implicitly also the self-importance of those anarchical enough to follow their personal likes and wishes rather than the tradition of truth. The term the Cecilians will later use for such arbitrary acts is subjectivism. John allows the occasional use of a simple polyphony (the addition of perfect intervals such as fourths, fifths, and octaves underneath the melody), mostly on feast days, as long as these *consonantiae* allow the melody to be recognised. He restricts himself to regulating church music, but also does not seek to pass judgement on music performed outside church.

The Council of Trent

The authority of the Council of Trent is held in the highest esteem by the Cecilians and its importance is underlined throughout Cecilian writing.¹¹⁹ However, the passed canons of the council have little to say about church music. Session 22 is the most explicit, yet even here we find only very general instruction on the character of music for use in the sacrifice of the Mass: all music that has any elements of *impurum aut lascivum*, whether in the organ part or the singing, is to be banished from the celebration of the Mass. In more general terms and not restricted to music, everything worldly and profane (for example conversations and walking about) is banished. Session 22 furthermore specifies that the Mass may not be celebrated in the vernacular but that the mysteries should be explained to the congregation regularly. Session 23 includes singing as part of the required training to be offered at seminaries for clerics, and especially in the training up of boys as young as 12 years old. Session 24 refers the

¹¹⁹ Indeed Witt's first important publication, *Der Zustand der Katholischen Kirchenmusik zunächst in Altbayern* (Regensburg: Alfred Coppenrath, 1865), opens with the words 'Eine Vorschrift des Concils von Trient' (5) as the heading of its first section.

issue of the proper way of singing and chanting and the issue of assembling and maintaining the choir to provincial synods.

Katschthaler's history relates that the twenty-second session dealt with polyphonic music, whereas sessions 23 and 24 discussed the *Choral*. That the rather short and general instructions of session 22 were not amended with a ban on all figural music is at least in part the result of imperial intercession.¹²⁰ Almost as important for the Cecilians as the canons passed at the council themselves is the story of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, which was one of a number of commissions instigated by a committee under Pius IV in 1564, for works that should demonstrate whether it was possible to maintain the intelligibility of the liturgical text while setting it to polyphonic music. At the evaluation, the committee agreed that if compositions kept to this style, there was no reason to ban polyphony from the church. It is because of this that Palestrina is subsequently often referred to as the saviour of polyphonic singing in the church.¹²¹

Katschthaler also names a number of provincial councils that produced more specific instructions for the right execution of chanting. He concludes that they all agreed the *Choral* had to be sung with good enunciation and that neither priests nor

¹²⁰ Karl Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), 4-6. Karl Gustav Fellerer, ('Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik', *Vom Tridentinum bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2 of *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirchenmusik*, ed. Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 7-9) points out how much longer the initial proposition that was debated in session twenty-two was compared to the agreed wording of the canon, in particularly the condemnation of '*inanem aurium oblectationem*'.

Patrick Bergin (*Preces Speciales: Prototype of Tridentine Musical Reform*, accessed 18 May 2014, <http://osomjournal.org/issues/2/bergin/>) attributes this phrase to canon eight, which was never passed and which he nonetheless believes to have been quoted extensively out of ignorance. The only passed canon on church music is canon twelve.

¹²¹ At the same time Hugo Leichtentritt ('The Reform of Trent and Its Effect on Music', *The Musical Quarterly* 30.3 (1944), 24) relates that while some efforts were made to follow the Tridentine guidelines, neither Palestrina nor 'the other masters of the Roman School were intent on changing their style fundamentally in order to meet the new requirements.'

choirs were allowed to omit or shorten any part of it. The only other consequences of Trent that are named are indirect: since missals and the like were to be revised following the council, the chant books had to be revised as well. In Rome Palestrina was commissioned with this task.¹²²

The encyclical *Annus qui*

The aforementioned encyclical *Annus qui* (1749), addressed to the bishops of the Papal States, expands on the list of grievances and adds some clear restrictions to church music: music that is profane, mundane, or theatrical has no place in Church. The composition must never obscure the words of the liturgical text. Again the attributes lascivious or impure are used to describe music inappropriate for the performance in Church. It is instrumental music that is discussed with particular focus in this encyclical, drawing on various writers in favour of and opposing it. As a result the following measures are taken: while the use of the organ, the double bass, the cello, the viola, the violin, and the bassoon remains permissible, timpani, horns, trumpets, oboes, flutes and recorders, pianos, and mandolins are banned. Furthermore any sort of concert-like performances, for example the singing of arias or duos is not allowed. Noteworthy, *Annus qui* does not oppose purely instrumental music, but curtails its use so it may neither slow down the course of the liturgy nor cause boredom.¹²³ Roughly a century later, a set of instructions from the Vicar General to all directors of music in the Roman

¹²² Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 134.

¹²³ Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Die Enzyklika "Annus qui" des Papstes Benedikt XIV.', *Vom Tridentinum*, 150.

diocese affirms Benedict's encyclical with another ban on arias, duos, trios, and recitatives.¹²⁴

Despite all these instructions, the state of music reached extremes that contradicted the existing regulations so completely that it gave the Cecilians cause not only to follow up on this incongruence but also acted as a springboard for their strong rhetoric. Among the most lamented examples are settings of the *Kyries*, a Glory and a *Lauda Sion* set to music from Mozart's 'Don Giovanni'.¹²⁵ In the second half of the eighteenth century E.T.A. Hoffmann laments the state of liturgical church music as so shallow that it would not have been worthy to be used in an *opera seria*.¹²⁶ Berlioz confirms similar impressions during his Italian travels, claiming that apart from the Sistine Chapel, churches in Rome made ample use of tunes taken from operas and allowed their music to deteriorate to an abominable state, losing both dignity and solemnity, and turning the service into a laughable affair, while many important characters, including a number of cardinals, were present.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Witt, *Zustand*, 5.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 6. It is notable that although the title of Witt's publication claims to deal with the state of church music in *Bavaria* he draws on other areas to be able to include his most extreme examples. Christoph Lickleder, 'Einführung', *Reden an den Cäcilien-Verein*, 10.

¹²⁶ Ruff, *Reform*, 80.

¹²⁷ David Cairns, trans., *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz* (London: Gollancz, 1969), 182-184.

The Core Principles Of Cecilianism And The Means By Which To Achieve Them

Out of this legacy, the Cecilians deduced their principal aims and core principles. Their most commendable aim and most successful achievement¹²⁸ concerned provision of proper training to those involved in church music. It was the basis for instilling the others most widely. The promotion of Gregorian chant and polyphonic vocal music according to the style of the sixteenth century are well known principles. However, what lay behind them is interesting. The Cecilians believed that some music had a prerogative because it was the traditional music of the Church. Hand in hand with the focus on tradition went, as we will see, a rejection of any use of the vernacular within the liturgy of the Mass. The two were closely connected to the central role the verbal plays in Cecilian worship. Out of the importance of the verbal came an opposition to any music in which the text is shortened, modified, or not comprehensible in its fullness and right order. From this followed a cautious, even hostile attitude towards musical instruments. Furthermore, Cecilians held to the principle that church music was subordinate to the liturgy and assumed the position of a servant. This meant it had to accommodate certain actions and was not allowed to provide a stage for either composer or performer. Certain musical features such as the use of chromaticism or rhythmical devices were judged as unhelpful, because they were seen to have a negative influence on the worshipper's mind. Worldly features or anything reminiscent thereof were to be kept away.

¹²⁸ As a result of these measures, present-day Germany has dedicated *Kirchenmusikhochschulen*, in which church musicians are trained to a high standard specifically as church musicians.

These principles were primarily enforced by the use of education. The ACV lobbied strongly for singing schools for boys and lay people, as well as for specific training as part of the training courses for teachers and priests. By this they hoped to achieve three things: shape a more theologically informed understanding of those who performing the music, enable competence to judge a piece of music on its suitability for the service by those in charge of liturgical music, and to teach a knowledge of the chant and the right style of its singing so that it could be performed in a dignified manner. It was bad performance of the *Choral* in particular that made people wrongly believe it is dull or inferior music.¹²⁹

To raise the quality of singing, singing schools stood high on the Cecilian agenda. They were to be run by local Cecilian societies (*'Pfarrcäcilienvereine'*) and taught in particular the singing in Latin. All members were required both to attend rehearsal and sing at Sunday and feast day services.¹³⁰ Singing schools followed in the tradition of Gregory the Great who had instituted a school where the singing of the changing and more difficult parts of the liturgy, which could not be sung by the congregation, was taught to a select choir,¹³¹ and also the aforementioned twenty-third session of the Council of Trent, which recommended their institution. They were also suggested to be a place where a Christian spirit and morals (*'Sittlichkeit'*) could be taught, eventually leading to a moral betterment of society. For Witt, moral purity was an essential

¹²⁹ Witt suggests that the Gregorian chant is performed so badly that it might even drive people from the church. (Witt, *Zustand*, 21). Katschthaler (*Kirchenmusik*, 134) names several councils (among others Cologne 1536 and Trier 1549) that banned the use of Gregorian chant in the Divine Office, because it was studied so little and sung so carelessly that it resulted in 'dreadful howling (*boatus*)'.

¹³⁰ Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1878, 30f., cit. in *Reden*, ed. Lickleder 59.

¹³¹ Cf. Katschthaler, *Kirchengeschichte*, 43.

property of a church singer.¹³² It is obvious why Witt made that point: he rooted the choir's high dignity in its participation in the antiphony with the priest.¹³³ In responding to the priest, the choir would not sing a music of its own but become part of the one whole that is the celebration at the altar. In a way the choir would become the priest. Ruff goes as far as to suggest that Witt's view of the 'priestly character of the choir' means 'that ideally all the singers would be capable of receiving minor orders and the tonsure, and thus that women should not sing in the choir.'¹³⁴ Katschthaler deduced from '*mulier taceat in ecclesia*' that women were not allowed to sing in the choirs in the highly regarded tradition of the early church and refers to the tradition, which he wrongly assumed still to be upheld in the papal chapel, that only clerics were allowed as part of the choir.¹³⁵ Meanwhile, Witt recognised a differing reality, in which mixed choirs existed, when he warned that the coming together of male and female singers under the potentially corrupting influence of music posed a risk to moral behaviour and thus further increased the need for an emphasis on morals.¹³⁶ Priestly in character or not, considering Jesus dined with the lowest and most corrupt of sinners¹³⁷ Witt put expectations on the choir that missed the heart of Christianity.

Singing schools as described above required sufficiently trained teachers. To guarantee a qualified supply, Witt envisaged a music school to train these up. Such a

¹³² Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1869, 78f, cit. in: *Reden*, 34.

¹³³ Lickleder, *Choral*, 51.

¹³⁴ Ruff, *Reform*, 99.

¹³⁵ Katschthaler, *Kirchengeschichte*.

¹³⁶ Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1882, 55, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 48.

¹³⁷ Mt 9:10-11.

school would also provide piano and violin lessons to enable the so qualified musicians to support their living through private lessons.¹³⁸ Additionally, Witt and the ACV lobbied for a stronger focus on genuine Catholic church music (*'ächtkatholische Kirchenmusik'*), in particular the Gregorian chant, in the training of both teachers and priests.¹³⁹ Singing lesson for clerics in training were to start sooner, be more comprehensive, and not exclude those who have difficulty holding a tune. Not only technical aspects of singing and music theory were to be taught but also a deeper understanding of church music. Every future cleric should be required to take singing lessons and every clerical seminary was to have a proficient lecturer on church music. While Witt opposed the right of the state to appoint sacristans and choir masters,¹⁴⁰ he held the worldly government responsible for the care of church music. His 1872 address to the general assembly of the ACV demanded that 'everything sacred and secular, congregation, state, and church work together to ensure a good preparatory training for teachers and clerics, and that funds are made available for societies at parish level [concerned with church music].'¹⁴¹ The grounding for Witt's assertion of the state's responsibility for church music lay in a government's responsibility for its subjects: as long as a people were Roman Catholics, the state would have to make provisions.¹⁴² Nonetheless Witt pushed towards a deeper investment of the church in musical

¹³⁸ Witt, *Musica Sacra* 1876: 100, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 60.

¹³⁹ So to be found in Witt's motions that were passed and recommended for episcopal consideration at the *Katholikenversammlung* (1867), cf. Walter, *Lebensbild*, 56, his propositions brought forward in *Zustand*, 26-30, as well as in several of his speeches.

¹⁴⁰ Witt, *Musica Sacra* 1883: 124, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 59.

¹⁴¹ Franz Xaver Witt, 'Rede an die 3. Generalversammlung in Eichstätt 1871, Witt, *Reden*, 56.

¹⁴² Franz Xaver Witt, *An das kgl-bayer. Cultus-Ministerium*, ed. Christoph Lickleder (Regensburg: Feuchtinger & Gleichauf, 1983), 51.

education. The ideologically grounded wish for music colleges that belonged to the church and which could train musicians according to the needs of the church rather than leaving it dependent on musicians that had been trained to serve the demands of worldly musical life was given pragmatic justification when the state of Baden allowed its teachers to freely choose whether they wanted to continue their service of singing and directing music in local churches in 1868/9.¹⁴³ The risk of being left without directors of music and the vulnerability to salary negotiations made Witt's vision a more pressing issue.

To round off the educational efforts, information was sent out and music was made accessible to clerics, choir masters, and any interested lay people. Witt's *Fliegende Blätter* and his *Musica Sacra* provided theoretical writings to further an understanding of both church music and the liturgy in the Cecilian way. Furthermore the ACV compiled a constantly expanded catalogue of music that was deemed acceptable for inclusion in the liturgy of the Mass. While the statutes passed at the first general assembly of the ACV in 1868 included the 'censorship of unchurchly¹⁴⁴ works of music',¹⁴⁵ Haberl's suggestion to institute an *index librorum prohibitorum musicorum* in addition to the existing catalogue in 1869 was rejected by Witt on the basis that such an index would be impractical without the means and authority to police what music was held by church choir libraries.¹⁴⁶ The nearest thing to such censorship can be found in

¹⁴³ Cf. Witt, 'Reden an die 1. Generalversammlung in Bamberg 1868', Witt, *Reden*, 19.

¹⁴⁴ For music to be 'churchly' (*kirchlich*) in Witt's book, it has to declaim the liturgical text as is called for by the liturgical action and as is deemed proper for a service, particularly a sacrifice, and therefore does not contain anything theatrical or worldly. (Lickleder, *Choral*, 48)

¹⁴⁵ Lickleder, *Choral*, 69.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

the *Fliegende Blätter* and the *Musica Sacra*, which contain warnings against particularly problematic composers. While Witt did not understand his catalogue as exclusive or infallible, it effectively constituted a white list of approved works and therefore an implied, negative censorship. Witt claimed that for a composer having work published became significantly more difficult if it was not included in the ACV catalogue.

All theoretical argument for the Cecilian reform programme on its own could do as little for its success as all teaching and studying of the theory and laws of church music and the liturgy could do for a proper understanding of these. They had to be accompanied by first-hand experience of the right music.¹⁴⁷ Performances on their own merit could benefit the listener, and the more often and more deeply a listener was immersed into “good” church music the more their understanding, appreciation, and ability to produce good church music themselves would grow. Yet even greater and equally necessary was the experience of such music in its rightful place, embedded in the liturgy. Church music was not fully perceived outside the liturgy.¹⁴⁸ Good church music in the Cecilian sense was not meant to stand by itself but was written to serve the liturgy. For this reason the ACV and its regional branches provided not only the framework for intellectual discourse but also entertained performances of *ächtkatholische Kirchenmusik*.

As an ultimate means, Witt’s rhetoric added a strong psychological element to support its cause: fear. When it came to music, Witt equated everything theatrical and

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 67.

¹⁴⁸ Witt, *Zustand*, 33.

worldly with unchurchly. Unchurchly in turn translated to ‘sinful’.¹⁴⁹ If this did not itself induce a state of concern or even hasty obedience in the listener, Witt had more explicit words to offer: the salvation of a choir master and the ‘verdict of the eternal judge’¹⁵⁰ depended on a flawless service to the liturgy. Lack of conscience and indifference led to the musician’s soul not being saved. The apparent logic behind this makes sense: if the right church music could raise the morals of the listener, the person responsible for the music also bore a pastoral responsibility for the souls of those who perform and listen.¹⁵¹ Witt referred to an apostolic exhortation of Pope Alexander VII that declared the *excommunicatio latae sententiae* (by imposed sentence) along with other punishments onto anyone responsible for church choirs performing music that was more reminiscent of profane music than of sacred.¹⁵² Reminding his reader of this was a clever tactical device: instead of the uncertainty with regards to their religious state of grace that Alexander’s words evoke, Witt set out to offer a clear set of rules that would lead to safety.

The idea that mere education could solve the problems that Witt saw in contemporary church music seems delusional. At the second general assembly in 1869, Witt suggested that if church music was inappropriate despite the best intentions of the

¹⁴⁹ Lickleder, *Choral*, 49.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁵¹ In *Zustand*, 10, Witt goes in league with Protestant Thibaut, whom he quotes not only in the main text but also on frontispiece. Exposure to music that might have negative influence on the listener’s morals can be avoided when it is played in the theatre. When it is played in church, where attendance for the Christian is not optional, it cannot be avoided.

¹⁵² Witt, *Zustand*, 5.

composers, then a lack of education in the tradition of liturgical music was to blame.¹⁵³ If, however, as Witt seems to have suggested, a full immersion in the “right” kind of music alone could lead any listener to “see the light”, and if such a perfect state of church music had ever existed in tradition, then it is hard to explain why any composer would have ever strayed from the path. A lack of knowledge of early music is an unconvincing explanation for the incompatibility of, for example, Joseph Haydn’s music with the Cecilian view of tradition. The much more important question would be why a composer well acquainted with music from different eras would have decided to forgo one style for another, or why so devout a composer should get it wrong. This question is as difficult to answer as what shapes the taste of a listener will always be based on speculation. Lack of knowledge of a musical ideal, however, is unlikely.

The Individual Points In Close-Up

The prerogative of the *Choral* and the importance of tradition and legality

It was undisputed among Cecilians that Gregorian chant was the epitome of Catholic church music. While they did not demand that it be the only music performed in the liturgy they stressed its prerogative. As the genuine and natural music of the Church which holds an inherent beauty, it had to be protected against the threat of suppression by other forms of music, or even extinction. It combines a number of key features of ideal church music, some of which are of a practical nature: it does not require a large ensemble of musicians, is not artistic, and can be performed a capella. Its

¹⁵³ Franz Xaver Witt, ‘Rede an die 2. Generalversammlung in Regensburg 1869’, Witt, *Reden*, 39.

intervals are free from chromaticism. It also offers an efficient and speedy way to present text in an easily comprehensible manner and it stands in direct connection to the music of the earliest Christians. Proske called the *cantus gregorianus* the Holy Scripture of church music¹⁵⁴ and Witt went as far as to call it a ‘liturgical law’,¹⁵⁵ based on the fact that it is contained in the missals. Whenever the missals mark text to be sung they expect it to be chanted in the Gregorian fashion. This “traditional” music, though recognised to be in part an inheritance from the Jewish tradition, was the Church’s own and a specifically Christian music. Adopting a more modern style and including operatic and monodic¹⁵⁶ elements meant, first of all, including a style that had not originated and grown from within the Church. The boundaries that tradition had set provided protection from what Kaschthaler called ‘subjectivism’, a striving towards a clearer expression of feelings, sentimentality, and passion.¹⁵⁷ In his very first public writing on church music,¹⁵⁸ Witt’s core statement reads: ‘The Church has not left its liturgical singing to subjective arbitrariness but has standardised it. Gregorian chant is its basis; only compositions built on its scales are true church music.’¹⁵⁹ He furthermore claimed in a defence of such boundaries that the greatest fallacies with regards to dogma had

¹⁵⁴ Carl Proske, ‘Vorrede’, *Musica Divina* 1.1, xxvi.

¹⁵⁵ Witt, *Zustand*, 15. He actually makes the phrase ‘The Choral – A Liturgical Law’ a section heading. That exemptions and variations were granted by the Holy See as well as various regional councils implies the legal status further.

¹⁵⁶ Monody describes music in which a sung solo line of melody is accompanied by instruments. Effectively the use of monody in church music meant the advent of solo arias.

¹⁵⁷ Kaschthaler, *Kirchengeschichte*, 117-128.

¹⁵⁸ Franz Xaver Witt, ‘Die kirchliche Musik im Allgemeinen, besonders in Regensburg und München’, *Augsburger Postzeitung*, 1859.

¹⁵⁹ This citation is in fact taken from the anonymous critical response published by the same newspaper ‘Ein Wort über Kirchenmusik’ (Augsburg: Collmann, 1860), 6.

been committed whenever tradition had been abandoned. The same, he believed was applicable to church music.¹⁶⁰

How serious the Cecilians really were about consistently keeping with tradition is put into perspective by their persistence in defending their own *Editio Ratisbonensis* as the only edition of the Gregorian chant heritage officially approved by the Holy See. They did so even though the Solesmes edition was based on archaeological study and ancient manuscript rather than graduals and office books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (as were used as a basis for the Regensburg edition¹⁶¹) and was historically more accurate. Through strong personal connections to the Roman curia they had arranged for their edition to be declared authentic and to be recommended for liturgical use.¹⁶² The obsession with authority (ideally in the form of papal approval) over historical accuracy is symptomatic for what was even more important to the Cecilian mind than tradition: legalism.

A prerequisite for any composer of church music was, according to Witt, the ‘piety of a saint’.¹⁶³ If piety is understood as an inner state rather than an action, then this does not appear to be a legalistic condition. For Witt, however, the meaning of piety lay in a person’s conduct: ‘doing what the liturgy demands is piety of the highest degree.’¹⁶⁴ In short: church music had to follow the law set by higher authority. A

¹⁶⁰ Witt, ‘Im Allgemeinen’, cit. in Walter, *Lebensbild*, 25.

¹⁶¹ The Medicean Gradual uncovered by Haberl and favoured above all other editions gained its high approval by erroneously being mistaken for Palestrina’s work.

¹⁶² Ruff, *Reform*, 117-121.

¹⁶³ Witt, *Musica Sacra* 1879: 133, cit. in Witt, *Reden*, 29.

¹⁶⁴ Witt, *Musica Sacra* 1881: 124, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 29.

church musician had, if instructed by a superior to perform a piece of impure music, to follow the request of his superior as long as the request was made out of ignorance of the rules and not knowingly.¹⁶⁵ How heavily authoritative decrees weighed in becomes evident in one of Witt's later works: 'If the bishops and the Pope were to allow today that [objectionable] music was to be tolerated or that there be German singing at the High Mass or that the text be mutilated [...], then we would most willingly submit to that.'¹⁶⁶ While he insisted that the work itself would not gain anything from this higher approval, he pledged to bow to the authority and 'go quiet immediately.'¹⁶⁷ Ritual regulations were understood as 'what God wants':¹⁶⁸ 'To do the will of the Father who is in heaven, that is conformity to the law (*legalitas*), takes precedence over any private act of piety.'¹⁶⁹

Ruff suggests disregard similar to the one for truly authentic Gregorian chant existed for the repertoire of the sixteenth century polyphonists: while their style was idealised the actual repertoire was not held in such high esteem.¹⁷⁰ It is true that Witt repeatedly highlighted the potential of his contemporary Cecilian composers to overcome the weaknesses of sixteenth century compositions (namely their 'flourishing wideness')¹⁷¹, that he attested entire lack of churchly expression to over 200 of

¹⁶⁵ Lickleder, *Choral*, 77. Note that bishop or canons are expected to know what is impure and what is not.

¹⁶⁶ Witt, *Cultus-Ministerium*, 29-30, (original page numbers 65-66).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁶⁸ Lickleder, *Choral*, 51.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Ruff, *Reform*, 106.

¹⁷¹ This is an expression often used in Cecilian language, referring to music that was seen as indulgent and without focus (due to lengthy digressions).

Palestrina's motets, that even the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was not flawless in his eyes,¹⁷² and that he not only helped countless of his contemporary Cecilian composers disseminate their music but also, with sheer appalling confidence, described his own writing as '*etwas eminent Kirchliches*'.¹⁷³ On the other side, the part that Cecilians, with Proske leading the way, played in uncovering and editing sixteenth century works must not be underestimated. Proske's priorities were clear: 'The task of a music researcher is more important today than multiplying the number of musical works by composition.'¹⁷⁴ While in later years Witt criticised Proske for being lax and too generous,¹⁷⁵ it is important to understand that Witt himself used to share Proske's preference for the old masters, and that the young Witt's compositions were commended by Proske, who saw a beacon of hope in him.¹⁷⁶ In 1859, Witt wrote: 'The question is: do we want to return completely to the old masters? The answer is yes. For as long as it takes our new [composers] to understand and write truly churchly ... works.'¹⁷⁷ It seems it was visionary enthusiasm that carried him away and led him to proclaim in 1868 that if it was the will of God and in their power, the ACV would bring to pass 'a new era for modern church music, even more splendid than the sixteenth century was.'¹⁷⁸ It is not beyond the bounds of imagination that the Cecilian enthusiasm for new works in the old

¹⁷² Cf. e.g. Witt, *Musica Sacra* 1885, 79, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 23-24.

¹⁷³ Lickleder, *Choral*, 49.

¹⁷⁴ James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 143.

¹⁷⁵ According to Witt, Proske put too much emphasis on artistic considerations when judging music and too little on churchly expression. His work might not have propagated seriously problematic music, but provided a forum for unnecessarily florid music that did not help to convey its text. His personal like of the motet led to an unnecessary focus on that genre. (Lickleder, *Choral*, 28-29).

¹⁷⁶ Walter, *Lebensbild*, 17.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Witt, 'Rede 1868', 18.

spirit was borne out of the expectation typical for the nineteenth century that music was only attractive as long as it was novel. In light of the opposition of many unhappy congregations, offering vast amounts of new music may have been a way to appease those hungering for change. If composing was, like Witt suggested, an act of exercising religion just as painting was,¹⁷⁹ composers had to be given a purpose. The shift in focus from old music to new was an (unsuccessful) step to acknowledge the reality of the nineteenth century. Terry suspects that part of this reality were amateur choirs for whom the music collected by Proske was too demanding. They were in need of easier alternatives that had yet to be written.¹⁸⁰ Witt justified the resulting music, again, legally: if it followed the liturgical laws, the new church music was equal to the old in worthiness.¹⁸¹

The Cecilian legalism went hand in hand with an ecclesiastical centralism in which everything that was done was done with view to Rome. Ruff sees this confirmed in the early appeal to the Holy See for approbation.¹⁸² Such centralism had, first and foremost, one purpose: the unity of the Church. Complying with the same regulations was in itself a common denominator. Of course, in effect, it led to a shared outcome of actions. The sharing of a common style of worship had to potential to keep the Church together, in some cases even where schism had rent it asunder: Katschthaler recognised the musical style of worship in the Church of England as such an element. Even though

¹⁷⁹ Witt, *Musica Sacra* 1873: 42, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 29.

¹⁸⁰ R. R. Terry, 'Sidelights on German Art: The Great Church-Music Imposture', *The Musical Times* 56.870 (1 Aug. 1915), 457.

¹⁸¹ Witt, *Zustand*, iii.

¹⁸² Ruff, *Reform*, 93.

the English Church did (and does) not follow the rules set by Rome, its choice of music connected it to its mother in Rome for many years after the split, despite all rejection and dogmatic disagreement.¹⁸³

Latin and the rejection of the vernacular

Like keeping with tradition, the use of Latin as the common language could be seen to act as a unifying factor to the life of the Church. Cecilians did not all agree on the arguments they brought up in favour of it, but they were united in their advocacy in its favour. While *Volksgesang*, the singing in the vernacular, was named in the statutes of the ACV, this mostly appears to have been lip service. It can be observed how its position on the official agenda came to rank lower and lower over time. In a speech given in 1868 to rally support for his endeavour to found a Cecilian society, Witt ranked congregational vernacular hymns second out of five on his list of priorities, beaten only by Gregorian chant. Ruff suggests that he ‘was playing to his audience’,¹⁸⁴ both with vernacular hymns and with his inclusion of new and instrumental music. It is likely that Witt was indeed pragmatic about how to get the most support for his endeavour. By the time of the papal brief in 1870, vernacular hymns had moved to third position and were no more than to be tolerated, and even that only outside High Mass. In 1885, Witt called vernacular singing at High Mass ‘one of our main adversaries’.¹⁸⁵ In *Das kgl. bayerische Cultus-Ministerium* (1886), vernacular singing ranks last in the priorities and

¹⁸³ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 103.

¹⁸⁴ Ruff, *Reform*, 89.

¹⁸⁵ Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1885: 107, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 25.

is called an ‘out of place, alien element’¹⁸⁶ and a ‘mutilation’¹⁸⁷ of the solemn mass. While there was toleration at Low Mass and at devotions and there was Cecilian collaboration in the edition of Catholic hymnals,¹⁸⁸ it took until 1916 for ‘a real community hymnal’ to be produced by the Cecilian movement.¹⁸⁹

Witt argued that Latin was both invariant and constant, which were necessities to maintain meaning, dignity, solemnity, unity, and universality. He insisted that one Church sharing one sacrifice had to celebrate that using one liturgy – in one common and shared language. According to him, the true catholicity of the Church lay in the fact that it exceeded linguistic borders and was still not separated by them: through the use of Latin they acted ‘quasi internationally’.¹⁹⁰ Less plausible as an argument is Witt’s claim that bishops and the pope would not be able to communicate with each other if it were not for their shared language, Latin,¹⁹¹ while a lingua franca is necessary for the communication of the church leadership (who are learned enough to actually understand it) to communicate, this is not an argument for why it should be imposed on the liturgy of (locally celebrated) services.

Apart from another legalistic argument, a not further specified decree of the Congregation of Rites, which disallowed the use of the vernacular even in motets, Witt

¹⁸⁶ Cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 27.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ruff, *Reform*, 103. Witt wrote the preface to the 2nd edition of *Cantica Spiritualia: Die 300 schönsten geistlichen Lieder*, Regensburg: Pustet, 1869 (cf. Franz Poloczek, ‘Zur Geschichte und Arbeit des Kirchenlied-Archivs des ACV’, *In Caritate Et Veritate*, ed. Hans Lonnendonker (Saarbrücken: Minerva, 1973), 51).

¹⁸⁹ Gmeinwieser, ‘Cecilian Movement’. For a list of those 23 standard hymns, see Karl-Günter Peusquens, ‘Einheitsgesangbuch - Oder Zerstörung der Liederinheit’, *In Caritate Et Veritate*, 153-154.

¹⁹⁰ Lickleder, *Choral*, 53.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

had one major argument left and that concerned tradition: the apostolic character of the Church demanded it celebrate the Eucharist in the language in which the Prince of the Apostles, St Peter had celebrated it.¹⁹² Latin might have been the language Peter used once he travelled to Rome, but it was not the language in which Jesus had instituted the Eucharist nor that of the earliest Christian worship. The Bible of the early Christians was a vernacular one, and from that the readings were taken. The Jewish scriptures were mostly read in Hebrew in Palestine and in the Greek of the Septuagint elsewhere, while the scriptures that came to form the New Testament, which include some of the earliest Christian hymns, as for example Philippians 2 or Colossians 1, exist not only in the original Greek, but also in various other early translations. It is in that Greek original that we find the words of institution of the Lord's Supper. These form probably the earliest core of the Eucharistic liturgy – recorded and used in the language of the people. If tradition is about reconnecting with undiluted roots, a Latin liturgy misses the point. A Greek liturgy would miss the point of a religion in which Christ taught his disciples to pray in their own language. But it would be closer to original worship in a literal sense. It would be the evangelical interpretation of tradition. In that sense, Cecilian movement fails to follow through with its idea. Even more though, the fact that Peter chose to use Latin as tradition asserts should in fact have counted as proof that the Prince of Apostles was willing to translate the traditional words and thus adapt to his environment: the very thing the Cecilians opposed in the name of his succession.

In Katschthaler's eyes, the fact that the *Volksgesang* was given too much space was a major factor in the demise of church music. He conceded that the participation of the

¹⁹² Ibid.

faithful had been in the interest of the Church since of old. Use of song had been documented by Philo, Ignatius, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Chrysostom. Such song, however, was thought to have been liturgical, as it only comprised part of the official liturgy. That the language the early Christians spoke and understood was the same as the language of the liturgy was dismissed as irrelevant. When the liturgical language and the native languages of the people started to diverge, congregational religious song in the vernacular was allowed as long as it did not get in the way of the liturgical one. Katschthaler called on Melancthon as a witness for the amplitude of vernacular song in pre-Reformation times.¹⁹³ At least since the Middle Ages, an alternative liturgical form could be found in use in Germany: the German High Mass (The '*Deutsche Hochamt*'). The priest celebrant would still sing everything in Latin but the congregation would intersperse this with sung pieces in the vernacular, either doubling the words of the priest or even replacing them in some cases.¹⁹⁴ Despite having a long tradition, this form was not popular with the Cecilians. This praxis, as far as it did not meddle with or delay the words or actions of the celebrant, was called *praeter rubricas* (adding to the rubrics, the prescribed), and while not a sin of the same gravity as acting *contra rubricas*, Witt saw it as merely an unhelpful concession to local customs in an attempt to avoid actual regression of church music.¹⁹⁵

As we will discuss in a moment, the intelligibility of words was a key concern of Cecilian thought. It is supported by all the major legal documents discussed above. Here Plato and Aristotle, earlier rejected for the pagan spirit their undue revival in the

¹⁹³ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 180-182.

¹⁹⁴ Ruff, *Reform*, 300.

¹⁹⁵ Lickleder, *Choral*, 77.

Renaissance infused into Christianity,¹⁹⁶ conveniently served as authorities to vouch not only for the possible positive and negative effects but also for the necessity of intelligible words: without text the melody could not express ‘what it wants’ and ‘has to remain in the dark’.¹⁹⁷ What good, however, was the intelligibility of the words, if the congregation did not understand them because they were in a foreign language. For Katschthaler, Aquinas gave the explanation: even if the congregation did not understand the Latin words of the *Choral*, they recognised what the melody wanted to express from the outer circumstances, namely the fact that it was sung in a service.¹⁹⁸ For Witt, the argument ran that the Ordinary could easily be taught to the people. He admitted that the Proper and the Vespers were more problematic but trusted the congregation could gather the general sense of the Latin words. At the same time, he insinuated that they would not have comprehended the words even if they had been in German.¹⁹⁹ Cecilian argument was certainly opportunistic: objectionable philosophers became trustworthy authorities where they supported the right position, and congregations lacked the intellectual capabilities to understand the words of scripture or liturgy even when expressed in their mother tongue, yet were smart enough to work out their meaning in Latin.

¹⁹⁶ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 117-128

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Umberto Eco, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 135, interprets this thus: the only function of sacred music ‘is to edify us by its effect upon our psychology.’ Even though music might make words less comprehensible, ‘the words are of secondary importance to the surge of religious feeling which arises in singers and listeners.’

¹⁹⁹ Lickleder, *Choral*, 53.

Even though they insisted the vernacular had played a role in worship long before the Reformation,²⁰⁰ the Cecilians feared that any concessions towards the vernacular within the liturgy would make them look less distinct from the Protestants and might even have looked like concessions towards them were being made. After all, Katschthaler believed that Luther had utilised the *Volksgesang* out of necessity to make up for his lack of liturgical material, as a means of teaching his ‘new’ teachings and to distinguish himself from anything Catholic.²⁰¹ In reality Bavaria encountered so little Protestantism that some unexpected graciousness can be found: the Protestant Richard Wagner was treated courteously and used as a model²⁰² – more courteously at times than the Catholic and Cecilian sympathiser Franz Liszt, who had received minor orders in Rome.²⁰³ Witt’s allegiance with Thibaut has been mentioned before. With so little reserve towards Protestant neighbours it seems the fear of “looking Protestant” should have been easily overcome and not interposed between the Cecilians and the vernacular.

²⁰⁰ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 182.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 190.

²⁰² Witt was accused of currying favour with Wagner to instrumentalise his fame for the ACV. (Witt, *Reden*, 62) Despite theological and philosophical disagreements (after all Wagner supported Feuerbach and Schopenhauer), Wagner received favourable treatment in Witt’s publications. This is surprising, considering for example that in 1842 already, Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* had been called blasphemy in the *Salzburger Kirchenblatt*. (Kirchmeyer, *Aus den religiös-*, 80) Witt, on the other side, finds the Lohengrin wedding march more appropriate for the church than much of the music by French, Italian, and Spanish organists, strongly recommends the *Liebesmahl der Apostel* to be performed by choral societies, and defends the grail scene in *Parsifal*, suggesting Wagner deliberately used the *Dresdener Responsorien* as motivic material to show they are liturgically wrong. (Witt, *Reden*, 64-65)

²⁰³ Jean Pierre Schmit, ‘Der Volkschoral vor und nach dem Konzil’, *In Caritate Et Veritate*, 137. Liszt had not only been most complimentary about the music he experienced at the 3rd General Assembly of the ACV (Witt, *Reden*, 61), but also announced to the Fürstin von Wittgenstein that he was willingly, but without exaggeration, following Witt’s Cecilian endeavours. (Libbert: ‘Beziehungen’, 150) He was also in correspondence with both Witt and Haberl (who maintained a reserved relationship to him because Liszt had three illegitimate children) and was a financial benefactor of the Kirchenmusikschule Regensburg. (*Ibid.*, 173 & 178). For a prominent Catholic composer looking favourable on the ACV and incorporating Cecilian aims in his composing, he received surprisingly strong criticism for his use of enharmonic changes and chromaticism for the purpose of painting words. This just shows how radical the Regensburg circle were in their criticism. Liszt was given a lot of attention in Witt’s publications though.

The focus on the verbal

It seems ironic for a Protestant to lay a charge of an obsession with the word against a nineteenth century Roman Catholic. The truth is that with the *Logos*, Christianity has given a uniquely central position to the verbal. With this, however, comes the temptation of playing with words. The *Logos* is so infinitely more than just a word as found in human language. The biblical and doctrinal importance of the word do not simply give approval or preference to anything on the basis that it is written or said. Much more, it identifies the Christian God as a communicating god: one that reveals himself and thus enters a relationship with creation; one who by the power of his word alone can call whole worlds into being. It is thus God's word that has incomparable authority. John the Baptist, whose position was certainly a favoured one, is clearly identified as 'not the Word' (John 1), despite by his word doing God's work. Being mouthpieces for God and repeating (or amplifying, just as instruments) his words does not give the Christian as the speaker the authority of the creator. The *Logos* cannot become the Christian's instrument, but the Christian is the instrument of the *Logos*. Furthermore, if the word as a communicative element identifies God as a God in relationship, then the verbal layer is only one part of this. If the Word indeed became flesh, God's communication with man has moved beyond the limitations of Exodus 3. God has entered into community and the sensuality of the flesh. In living among humans, the *Logos* had to make use of other layers of communication. The meaning of a gesture, a smile, a kind eye, or decided not-speaking, as for instance in front of Pilate (John 19), all of a sudden became important. The intonation of a phrase or a weeping was now a conspicuous part of what he communicated. His mere presence was a

message in itself. None of these things can be reduced to words alone. Since Christ is the Word, the ‘Yes’ of creation, so to speak, the word is still central and unique. But it cannot be reduced to letters on a page and taken as an excuse to glorify the spoken or sung word. The Word became flesh and made itself subject to sensual impacts and emotions.

Because of the Cecilian focus on the verbal, the task of a melody was to both underline and transfigure the text. Melody was there to serve the text.²⁰⁴ Long and stressed syllables should either go on heavy beats in a bar and not stressed ones on the light beats, or stressed ones should be longer or higher than not stressed ones.²⁰⁵ One of Witt’s main criteria when judging compositions was whether the sacred words were set appropriately²⁰⁶ and the text was treated so it flowed. He saw homophonic harmonisation as helpful.²⁰⁷ The latter might be surprising given the Palestrina ideal. However, Haberl remarked that homophony was overrepresented in the works of Palestrina with which the Cecilians were familiar, since a large part of his published music was for the Triduum of Holy Week.²⁰⁸ If relating text was so important, it is unclear how recitatives, whose only function are to efficiently present text, were objectionable.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, the focus on a speech-like recitation can hinder the

²⁰⁴ Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1878: 5, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 42.

²⁰⁵ Lickleder, *Choral*, 94.

²⁰⁶ He supposes that if modern composer like Gänsbacher treat the words like a minor matter, it would be better to play profane compositions like Haydn’s minuets rather than to desecrate the text. (Lickleder, *Choral*, 40).

²⁰⁷ Witt, *Fliegende Blätter* 1872: 60, cit. in: Witt, *Reden*, 42.

²⁰⁸ Garratt, ‘Prophets’, 183. Domokos (‘Performance’, 390) goes even as far as to claim that it is not the technical aspects of its polyphony nineteenth century writers refer to when they talk about Palestrina’s style but the intelligibility of the text.

²⁰⁹ Witt, *Zustand*, 5.

potential music has to offer to the understanding of religious texts. Particularly familiar texts are in danger of not being “heard” anymore. It is when they are heard in an unexpected way that the listener refocusses and listens again. So breaking up the conventional speech rhythm through the use of syncopation and comparable means can help against the feared effect of “lulling the listener to sleep”.

Musical instruments

Witt insisted that he did not ask for the abolition of instrumental music because instruments were ‘innocent things, which are used for the sake of good and bad alike.’²¹⁰ Under his influence, however, major Catholic cathedrals, including Regensburg, abandoned instrumental music entirely even though they had more than sufficient resources for it.²¹¹ In Austria alternative Cecilian societies were founded²¹² because the German position on instrumental music was seen as too uncompromising.²¹³

For Witt, the supremacy of a cappella music was based on the fact that instruments are material but the human voice is immaterial and thus transcends instruments. The advantage of the instruments lay mostly in the support they lent to the singers: the colours of instruments could bring some variety to the table and give singers time to breathe and help them pitch. At the same time they could be a disturbance and make it more difficult to control a choir. Moreover, good instrumentalists were rarer than good

²¹⁰ Walter, *Lebensbild*, 55.

²¹¹ Ruff, *Reform*, 89 & 100.

²¹² Johannes Evangelist Habert’s Oberösterreichischer CV as well as his Österreichischer.

²¹³ Ruff, *Reform*, 100.

singers.²¹⁴ Proske claimed the superiority of music over the visual arts lay in the fact that it did not just breathe a soul into lifeless matter but that it turned something with a soul (the matter or body that carries the human voice) into something higher. Consequently this argument could be used to support Witt's claim that the human voice was superior to instruments. However, Proske did not take this step himself.²¹⁵

Witt's reservations about instruments were founded on the origin of orchestration in the theatre. In his eyes, instruments carried operatic (and later symphonic) effect into the church. Where they were used they had to be used merely for accompaniment and remain subordinate to the human voice. Wind instruments were most suited to support the voice. Brass instruments were not allowed be used like fanfares: their notes had to be sustained. Percussion could not be obligato; tom-toms, cymbal, bass and snare drum were banned.²¹⁶ It is striking that, like the lyre that was banned in *Annus qui*, the cymbals are an instrument that plays a role in biblical worship. The lyre is even mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as one of the few instruments used in the early Christian congregation.²¹⁷ The justification for this abandoning of Biblical tradition probably lies in arguments of the Church fathers as related by Jungmann²¹⁸ and Katschthaler. The early Christians saw in their lack of instruments a sign of superiority over the Jewish community, who 'needed' and relied on the instruments to awaken their religious spirits. Chrysostom's treatment was even blunter: the praise David brought

²¹⁴ Lickleder, *Choral*, 178.

²¹⁵ Proske, 'Vorrede', xxxi.

²¹⁶ Lickleder, *Choral*, 179-180.

²¹⁷ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 151.

²¹⁸ Lickleder, *Choral*, 47: He wrote an *Ästhetik* understood to be fully in the Cecilian spirit.

before God in the psalms is ours to do – but not with instruments but *‘per vitam et bona opera; per carnis nostrae mortificationem’*.²¹⁹ In his opinion, the Jews had been allowed to make use of instruments because of their weakness. He characterised them as uneducated, sluggish, and stupid, and the use of instruments was God’s endeavour to wake them up and let them experience worship not just as a duty but also as something they enjoyed. Katschthaler related this unquestioned and without any qualification. Instead he associated Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine with the same position, but without going into detail. It is likely that establishing superiority and demarcation were the original intentions behind these polemical writings. While much could be brought forth against these arguments from a modern perspective, the anti-Jewishness contained in them has to be read historically. Antisemitism was widespread in the nineteenth century. The in retrospect most prominent example, even outside the Catholic church and even outside the politically conservative camp, is that of Wagner and his highly aggressive essay *‘Das Judenthum in der Musik’*. While still published under a pseudonym in 1850, he had it republished in 1869 under his own name – an indicator of the general acceptability of antisemitic statements. If one were to engage with the above argument nonetheless and assumed the comparative assessment of enthusiasm between Christians and Jews were right, one could easily interpret it as a symptom of the novelty of Christianity and the closeness of first hand experience of Christ – something that would likely not be sustainable over centuries in the same way and could be said about present day Christianity as well.

²¹⁹ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 156.

Biblical imperatives for the use of instruments in worship such as those of Psalm 150 were explained as metaphors:²²⁰ the word ‘organ’ was a cipher for our body and by strings its nerves were meant that carry the vibrations that create harmony in this body. The drums represented the ear drums, and the zither was to be understood as our lips, which are played by the Holy Spirit. The cymbals stood for the tongue. The sound of the trumpets and drums signified a future vision of the majestic sounds at the raising of the dead, which all Christians were to anticipate. Man himself was an instrument of peace, and the only instrument he needed to praise God was the *Logos*.²²¹ No word was mentioned of Christians participating in war here, a reality that by Katschthaler’s time was well-established.

This negative treatment of instruments neglected the fact that instruments are not something entirely external to man. They are man-made and, when used for example in war, work to amplify a hostility that is already present in (and potentially intrinsic to) man. While there are biblical arguments for quiet contemplation (for example Psalm 62, ‘For God alone my soul waits in silence’) there are also calls to ‘make a joyful noise to the Lord’ (Psalm 100). Both have their place in worship as do preaching and silent prayer. The affirmation of one thing does not mean the automatic negation of its opposite.

Witt condoned the use of trombones in church under certain circumstances. They could be used outside, for processions or funerals. They were well suited to play a *Dies*

²²⁰ Praise him with trumpet sound; praise him with lute and harp! Praise him with timbrel and dance; praise him with strings and pipe! Praise him with sounding cymbals; praise him with loud clashing cymbals! (vv.3-5; RSV)

²²¹ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 154-156.

irae, as long as they were not used as virtuoso instruments.²²² More surprising still is Witt's general attitude towards purely instrumental music: musical masterpieces like quartets and symphonies could open the mind for the good, holy, and beautiful. They distracted the listener from the material world, which was positive. Indeed he agreed that much instrumental music had more '*religiösen Gehalt*' than many mass settings and vespers: they challenged the listener to think more severely and moved the soul into a solemn state.²²³ This positive view had no practical effects, however, for the treatment of instrumental music in church. While *Annus qui* did not oppose it, Witt did: since it was not part of the liturgy it had no place at the High Mass.

The argument that church music is a servant of the liturgy and must accommodate liturgical actions

Any setting of the liturgy should offer simple recitation of the given text, complete and as quickly as possible. Repetition of the melody in every verse was seen to help meditation and to immerse in the thoughts and feelings of the prayer. The *ministri* would all kneel at '*et incarnatus est*' and rise at '*et homo factus est*', rendering a repetition of the '*et incarnatus est*' in the music unacceptable. The awkwardness if only half the altar party arose would be inappropriate for Mass.²²⁴ The rubrics of liturgy are binding regulations equal to laws that regulate, among other things, outward actions like

²²² Witt, *Zustand*, 14.

²²³ Lickleder, *Choral*, 54, 61.

²²⁴ Witt, 'Rede 1869', 36-37.

the folding of the hands, bending of the knee, et cetera. It was sin to act *contra rubricas*.²²⁵

Liturgical action were not allowed to be hindered, this included kneeling, getting up, taking off the biretta. Words were not to be repeated. A Sanctus was allowed to be two minutes at the most, a Benedictus three minutes maximum. The priest could not be delayed by the music.²²⁶ Mass settings had to allow for the intonation of the Glory and Creed to be sung by the priest.²²⁷ Since certain liturgical actions coincided with certain words or phrases, they had to be distinguishable at all times: overlapping of words was unacceptable. There is little that can be argued against these expectations. Whether the criterion of efficiency is compatible with the dignity of the Eucharist is questionable though. Taking more time than absolutely necessary might have added to the sacrificial quality of worship and deepened contemplation.

Monody and “showy” music

For the Cecilians, any music that was written so an individual, whether composer or performer, could shine at least touched the unchurchly.²²⁸ It distracted from God’s glory and pointed towards the glory of the musician. This was a difficult criterion though, because just because music might *allow* an individual to shine that does not mean it was written for that purpose. An example might be Allegri’s famous ‘Miserere’, performed in the papal chapel and held in high esteem by the most conservative of church musicians. For a soprano, it offers the chance to show off the top end of their

²²⁵ Lickleder, *Choral*, 77.

²²⁶ Witt, *Reden*, 45. See also Lickleder, *Choral*, 52.

²²⁷ Lickleder, *Choral*, 82.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 & 49.

range. That does not make it objectionable, however. The question of intention is one almost impossible to answer. The aria was specifically condemned by the Cecilians. It had been brought into church music by the early operas and had led to its decline. Modern composers were to fear it and its influence ‘like the devil the cross’.²²⁹ Instead, the listener might have been encouraged to recognise the beauty of creation and the created, which always mirrors the beauty of God, even though never in its completeness.

Wordpainting and chroma

The Cecilians opposed onomatopoeic word-painting, as they believed it to miss the point. The music for the Creed was not to attempt to depict the contents of the Creed (for example resurrection or ascension), but kindle the feelings of thanksgiving and prayer (faith, love, and hope) in the faithful; as they were reminded of these things they prepared for the sacrifice that was about to be celebrated.²³⁰ The old masters were known to use word-painting, but not excessively. It could be legitimately used to express inner feelings, such as grief, pain, joy, love, and calm but never outward things like an earthquake, trembling, the ripping of the curtain in the temple, and so on.²³¹ Similarly, music was never allowed to attempt to express the feelings of God, but always aimed to illustrate the listener’s own reaction to the message he heard.²³² Mozart and Cherubini were guilty of realising wrath, passions, and darkness in their music. Witt

²²⁹ Witt, ‘Rede vor der 5. Generalversammlung in Regensburg , 1874’, Witt, *Reden*, 71.

²³⁰ Lickleder, Choral, 117.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

²³² Witt, *Reden*, 43.

saw it as improper for these things to be stoked up in church.²³³ It is unlikely that such restrictions would have been given to preachers. Nineteenth century sermons certainly did not exclude hell and firepits of damnation.

In his very first piece of writing on church music, Witt asked the question: ‘What is the crucial thing for church compositions? ... The observance of the church modes.’²³⁴ This distinguished church music from all other music, regardless of its solemnity or potential to edify. Proske admitted, however, that even profane madrigals often used church modes.²³⁵ Berlioz called it a ‘delusion to suppose that Palestrina set his sacred texts in a kind of ideal sanctity of expression’, using his (not unerotic) madrigals as examples for music by the same composer that is ‘indistinguishable from those of his so-called religious compositions.’²³⁶ Palestrina’s ‘Cantica canticorum’ was, in Witt’s eyes, and despite its biblical text, very different from his *musica sacra*. Even though composed technically in the same way it had more ‘sweetness of expression’.²³⁷ Proske found this particular piece to be the most beautiful music ever and in all likelihood he would have disagreed and counted it as sacred music. For Witt, however, it showed that the old masters generally were freer in their choice of keys, use of accidentals and choice of rhythm when composing worldly music. *Parlando* was a key feature of comic texts, but never found in sacred music.

²³³ Ibid., 45.

²³⁴ Witt, ‘Im Allgemeinen’, 25.

²³⁵ Proske, ‘Einleitung’, xxvii, fn17.

²³⁶ Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 183.

²³⁷ Lickleder, *Choral*, 173.

The Cecilians warned of the use of chromaticism and enharmonic changes, features that were often seen as erotic and causing indecent excitement,²³⁸ but Witt qualified this: chroma tolerated by the Church and not per se objectionable; anyone who was more churchly than the Church actually distanced himself from the Church's toleration. It depended how chroma was used. Sparingly it could be used to add colour. That was exactly what the word means, and that was how it should be used. Painting a canvas all in white is as little effective as pouring out all the colours over it. Chromaticism and enharmonic changes are comparable to hand gestures when preaching: used very sparingly and in the right places, they can be appropriate and enhance expression. A harmonic piece cannot build entirely without harmony; even Palestrina required some chroma.²³⁹

High Mass versus other forms of worship

At Low Mass and non-liturgical devotions, more freedom was given to musicians and congregations. Vernacular hymns would be allowed as well as music in oratorio style. Both Low Mass and devotions can, unlike High Mass, be celebrated without music. Witt stipulated: you can have a sacrifice without music, but you cannot celebrate it without music.²⁴⁰ If certain music was *inappropriate* for High Mass, why was it not so at Low Mass? Did the sacrifice at Low Mass not command the same dignity? It looks as though Witt offered a concession to congregations to appease those overly unhappy with the Cecilian restrictions. If only the most worthy is good enough for the sacrifice

²³⁸ Katschthaler, *Kirchenmusik*, 131-132.

²³⁹ Lickleder, *Choral*, 100-108

²⁴⁰ *Opfer vs. Opferfest* – Lickleder, *Choral*, 37. See also 112, and Witt, 'Rede 1869', 34.

of the Eucharist, however, it follows that what is good enough for Low Mass has to be good enough for High Mass, or as Witt calls it, the *Missa Cantata*. Anything else would be guilty of defining the Mass via the music rather than its central sacrifice – the very thing Cecilians opposed.

Likewise it makes little sense to ban music that is thought to have edifying qualities to devotions. During any personal devotions the worshipper can be seen as vulnerable. If music is deemed safe enough to be played or sung at devotions, it will not spoil them at Mass. If music helps the worshipper achieve a state of devotion it makes no sense to withhold it at High Mass. Devotion should be, after all, an integral part of the worship at Mass. Without it, it loses all credibility and becomes what the Cecilians reject so much: theatre.

How much “world” is too much?

Witt had a surprising technique for building tunes. He observed that waltzes and marches are usually very diatonic, yet of course, thanks to their rhythm, far from churchly. The use of motifs and themes from worldly songs, waltzes, *et cetera* was not explicitly rejected by the Council of Trent and Witt deemed it acceptable. He then extracted the notes of the tune and adapted the rhythm to create a new melody that was hardly recognisable as the old piece and used it as a *cantus firmus* for church music. Not acceptable, however, was what he called ‘*Reminiszenzenjägeri*’, the deliberate allusion to recognisable tunes.²⁴¹ One might argue, that the exclusion of ‘everything worldly and

²⁴¹ Lickleder, Choral, 97 & 174.

profane' at Trent properly included Witt's waltzes, and his general objection to anything bordering on the worldly in church music appears inconsistent.

In a fixation on liturgical music, the criteria for inclusion in the Cecilian catalogue named nativity plays and religious dramas as 'serving secular purposes'.²⁴² Church music that was edifying but flattered fashion was unchurchly and had to be rejected.²⁴³ In his claim that vocal polyphony was originally exclusively the music of the church and that for a composer in Palestrina's time choosing that style made his music automatically (*'ipso facto'*) church music, he contradicted himself.²⁴⁴ Church music was not the place for entertainment and distraction because they hindered true devotion and prayer;²⁴⁵ everything that provided such diversion was therefore not churchly and was, in Witt's book, worldly.

Worldly music created in the listener a spirit inappropriate for worship, whether that was because of instrumentation, (excessive) use of chroma, worldly connotations of tunes, or certain rhythms. Music with one or several of these features could be distracting, arousing (and thus bring up inappropriate thoughts), or lull the listener to sleep. The music may create in the listener a state in which he focused only on the music and its aesthetic value, but not any more on its subject and the subject of the religious service in which he was participating. It is not beyond the range of possibility that some musical interludes can cause people to lose focus. This, however, cannot be avoided by the simple application of certain kinds of musical features. In fact, this

²⁴² Ibid., 83.

²⁴³ Ibid., 49.

²⁴⁴ Witt, 'Reden 1874', 71.

²⁴⁵ Witt, *Reden*, 48.

might not be avoided at all. The same thing might happen during sermons. While a certain quality of preaching might help prevent this, snoozing members of the congregation have been known to the best of preachers. Likewise, even some badly prepared and even more badly executed sermons have been known to speak to members of a congregation deeply, not least due to the – uncontrollable – moving of the Spirit. So while this first concern is not entirely unfounded, a restriction on musical material, features, and qualities cannot prevent the potential loss of concentration or focus by a member of the congregation.

Worldly pomp and circumstance, as often associated with the sound percussion and fanfares might aid a sense of divine majesty. While worldly pomp cannot give an accurate representation of God’s glory, this association gives the listener something to which they can relate. This is particularly important in a society where not everybody is a well-read theologian and has spent significant amounts of time on the question of how God’s majesty might differ fundamentally from our worldly counterparts.²⁴⁶ Likewise, it might evoke feelings of humility or elevate some into a state that might resemble snoozing but in which they are particularly open to hearing God.

A familiar worldly tune might connect the message behind a piece of music to the mundane life of the listener. In return, religious connotations will resonate once the worldly piece is heard again. By this, the believer’s life outside the church and his religious life are fused together. The phenomenon of the “Sunday Christian” is counteracted.

²⁴⁶ This might help explain how the chorale might be perfectly sufficient in a community of monks who dedicate their every moment to the understanding of God’s incomparability.

What the Cecilians failed to see was this: it is impossible to predict an individual human's associations. There might be more and less likely reactions to a certain trigger. However, these are not universal, and such triggers might be much more (yet still by far not entirely) unambiguous in, for example, the visual arts than in music. One could say that the Cecilian principles did not allow for the individuality of the human mind and its independence of thought. Much more grave (even in their own sight) though, should be the oversight of the power of the Holy Spirit. The Cecilian movement's approach to the minds of others was deeply patronising. With the Church's authority comes the responsibility to take each member of the flock and their needs seriously, rather than decreeing what "is good for them". This responsibility includes an honest assessment of their spiritual needs and potential shortcomings in understanding God and what could help them individually.

Both Witt and Proske attempted the use of moderate language. They attempted to look less extreme and more agreeable, but their general words are unmatched by their programme. Proske claimed not to object to what the 'art' had introduced to the church but to the 'absolute rule of the admissible over that which has the prerogative'.²⁴⁷ Witt admitted that he had much enthusiasm for many of the classical composers, including Mozart and both Haydns. He used to be upset at the thought of fanatically throwing away the beauty of their music but realised that they had to be banned.²⁴⁸ He suggested that he was sacrificing his own musical enjoyment for the greater good. While his claim that he did not demand exclusive use of the Gregorian chant is right and his lament that it was hardly ever sung is not unfounded, he used it as an argument to radically cut back

²⁴⁷ Proske, 'Einleitung', xxxii

²⁴⁸ Walter, *Lebensbild*, 24.

on all church music from the recent centuries. Furthermore, he used it for his own purposes: Witt defended his rather sterile style of composition with the claim that richness in melody and form were prerogative of geniuses. Derived from Gregorian chant, church music had to restrict itself. Therefore his sterility was a virtue.²⁴⁹ Early on, Witt stressed ‘We are no puritans.’²⁵⁰ For the solemn Eucharist ceremonial pomp of church music was wanted, but everything had to happen in the right place and at the right time. All he did, however, was to redefine ceremonial pomp.

Ruff calls the ‘estrangement between the influential reform movement and leading composers of the day ... one of the tragedies of nineteenth-century church music’ and references numerous composers who could have enriched Cecilian music if only it had been more tolerant and open, among them at the time Rheinberger and Reger.²⁵¹ Rheinberger claimed that it is passion rather than musically competent thoroughness that characterised Witt’s polemic writings and lamented that his music lacked the warmth and authenticity of the old masters because it was ‘only willed, not grown.’²⁵² A more in depth example of critical contemporary reception of the Cecilian movement can be found in Anton Bruckner, who will be treated extensively in chapter five.

Terry, who is highly sympathetic to the Cecilian cause, finds fault in the scholarly standards of Haberl’s editions of old music and calls the newer Cecilian music deplorable.²⁵³ It is ironic that neither the *Editio Ratisbonensis* of chant nor Cecilian-

²⁴⁹ Witt, *Reden*, 59.

²⁵⁰ Walter, *Lebensbild*, 65.

²⁵¹ Ruff, *Reform*, 102.

²⁵² Lickleder, *Choral*, 13.

²⁵³ Terry, ‘Sidelights’, 457-459.

composed choral music survived in use while many of their hymns do.²⁵⁴ The Cecilian hope that the Church would act as ‘art school of the common man’, and by its music shape common taste, and thus indirectly eventually even influence worldly music, was therefore bound to fail.²⁵⁵

Conclusion

The foundations Sailer’s *Rede vom Bunde* laid were promising. There was real potential there to engage music and liturgy in a mutually beneficial dialogue. Sailer’s ideas were built on the principle of a religion that is love and that is generous. They were interested in the potential that lay in this league between the religion and the arts, not least for the members of the Church: art could help them engage, rekindle the Christian faith, and express it where it was already. Sailer, the pastoral theologian, was concerned with the people of God and their part in the life of the Church. The following generations of Cecilians, inspired by him and the circles of his students, approached the idea from a far more conservative angle and removed all generosity and care for the individual from it. Their extremism perverted Sailer’s ideas to the extent that it is almost hard to believe that the Cecilian movement grew out of them.

The nineteenth century Cecilian movement’s attempts to reconnect with the traditional music of the Church and to purify its music from worldly influences were riddled with flaws. It understood tradition as selected points in history rather than a continuous line of living history. In its selective attempts to define what music from the history of the

²⁵⁴ Ruff, *Reform*, 107

²⁵⁵ Witt, *Reden*, 47.

Church was part of its heritage, and what was not, it not only disconnected the worship of its time from the true history of the Church. It also drew a line between the music of the Church and the music of the outside world. Criteria were established that aimed to exclude. Most of these criteria were flawed in themselves. The lives of the people of the Church were shut out from worship. The reality of their lives was left behind at the church doors. The language in which they thought and lived their lives had little place in the Eucharist, which was celebrated for rather than with them. Instead of music they could relate to, they were served tradition from a bygone era alongside a diet of music that had been artificially developed rather than naturally grown. The constant Cecilian fight to suppress subjectivity resulted in a worship that was out of touch with the congregations. Choosing musical styles and features people could relate to would have meant meeting them where they are. Instead those styles were shut out. The potential of music as a valid language of its own, and one that is fit to express the *Word* no less than verbal language can (but which carries more meaning to the lay person than a Latin phrase) had been recognised by Witt. Yet the Cecilians refused to open up that huge potential. Connotations and associations that are brought into the church from outside have the potential to help understand difficult to grasp contexts or emotional aspects of faith that words (even if they are understood) fail to express. Rather than condemning subjectivity, it should be embraced: according to well-known principles of hermeneutics, no two humans can ever perceive and interpret the same information the same way. That means catering for different people, and utilising their horizon of experience. Where Latin chorale provides one option, a piece of purely instrumental

music, carrying no less information for the lay listener who does not understand Latin, could provide an alternative.

The Cecilians did not seek to actively regulate music as a whole but only the music of the Church. By musically drawing such a clear line between the sacred and the secular world, it was suggested to the congregations that their religious life and their everyday life were two separate spheres. Their ability to understand (not only intellectually but also emotionally) their religion was impeded and they were discouraged to carry their religion out into the world. Both liturgy and music fell short of their potential.

As many Cecilians were not opposed to secular music per se, they would be open towards such music being performed in alternative venues and contexts. This chapter claimed that the secular world cannot and should not be excluded from the musical life of the church. The next chapter will explore what alternative venues and contexts the rise of public concerts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created. It will examine whether these were places for secular music alone and in how far they can or should be seen as places of spiritual and religious experiences.

Chapter 4

Concerts: A New Space for the Secular Sphere

Any separation demands an allocation of space. If two children are separated, because they are fighting or are simply trouble together, they often get sent to different corners of a room and told to stay there. Thus they are out of each other's way. Rather than undertaking the endless endeavour of defining all the places where they should not be, each is given their dedicated personal zone of belonging. This image can be transferred onto an attempted separation of the religious and the secular. For the separation to stand a chance at succeeding, each sphere needs to be allotted its permitted space. While it might seem obvious that the appropriate zone for sacred music is the church, the corresponding zone for secular music is less self-evident.

While secular music had existed and been performed before the eighteenth century, it was then that the arrival of the concert gave it a new place to be performed. This chapter will illustrate the beginnings of the concert with particular focus on Vienna, and will assess what role it played in providing a new environment for secular music. It is important to understand that the public concert as an event was not invented to aid the separation of secular and sacred but that it evolved as a consequence of other developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is important to note that given the overall scope of this thesis, this chapter had to draw heavily on secondary literature for the historical overview that sets it up. Particularly important were the writings of Dahlhaus and Morrow. In addition, independent conclusions were drawn from lists of concert programmes and from contemporary accounts such as Eduard

Hanslick's work on the history of the concert, which is unsurpassed in comprehensiveness among his contemporaries, although naturally not without bias.

Until the death of Charles VI, the main sponsors of music in Austria had been the Imperial court and the Church. Of the latter, particularly monasteries had played a major role in the commissioning of music and their composers were highly productive. Chapter one has already pointed out the cuts that were made to spendings on church music under Joseph II. Not only these enlightened measures and the spreading Reform Catholicism reshaped the musical landscape though: with the accession to the throne of Maria Theresa, the War of the Austrian Succession had broken out. This and the Seven Years' War caused a severe yet not unexpected hole in the budget of the court and led to austerity measures which in part led to the decline of the orchestra at the Habsburg court. With Caldara and Fux, two of its best composers and conductors had died in 1736 and 1741 respectively.²⁵⁶ During the period of Georg Reutter Jr's Kapellmeistership (officially from 1769 to 1772, but effectively from 1751) the Hofkapelle degenerated drastically. Part of the fault certainly lay with Reutter's bad management. Only the names of aged players can be found in the lists of its members during his years; when they retired or died they were rarely replaced. In 1772 there was no cellist, no double bass player and no organist employed by the Hofkapelle.²⁵⁷ This demise of the previously most important ensemble in the land naturally caused the landscape of music within the empire to change drastically. As a result of further austerity measures, the ceremonial at court changed significantly. Elaborate vocal music and operas for the sake

²⁵⁶ Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Die Epoche zwischen den Epochen', *Musikgeschichte Österreichs: Vom Barock zum Vormärz*, ed. Gernot Gruber (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 79-81; 107.

²⁵⁷ Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle in Wien von 1543-1867* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), 12.

of representation were now played rarely or not at all. It is only logical that the decreased musical capacity of the court and the changed demands for ceremonial music affected each other and caused a downwards spiral. Court was no longer the epicentre of musical life, making space for new contexts of performance and new audiences; the concert could grow as an institution. The positions traditionally held by court and church were now taken over by aristocracy and bourgeoisie, even if Vienna was significantly slower to involve the bourgeoisie than Northern cities such as Hamburg and Leipzig. New main sponsors of music were being found.

Relatively little is written about concerts in Vienna, but opera and theatre were still prevalent in the cultural life of the capital. What we do know of concerts both public and private is how they were very different from a concert today. The quiet and stationary audience only developed in the nineteenth century. Before that, concerts were first of all social gatherings. It is often said that concerts lasted at least three hours, although a more critical reconstruction assumes a maximum time span of 160 minutes. This is the time the actual music could add up to, but it might be possible that there were breaks or intervals. Audiences expected a variety of music during this time, and would listen selectively according to interest. The single medium concert is, similar to the silent audience, an invention of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, cantatas and oratorios were mixed with unrelated symphonies, overtures and concerti.²⁵⁸ It has to be considered that music itself had to act as a noise-killer. While today the dimming of the lights in a concert hall is a widely understood cue that the concert is about to begin, such a thing was impossible during a time where artificial light could

²⁵⁸ J. Peter Burkholder et al., *A History of Western Music* (New York: W. W. Norton 2010), 472.

only come from candles and in fact most concerts were held during daylight hours. Just like overtures in the theatre, opening pieces of concerts were mainly ignored and primarily had to be loud enough to be heard. This function was often fulfilled by symphonies.²⁵⁹ Where larger works featured in a concert, often only selected movements were played, as for example with Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*. Oratorios were normally only performed at charity fundraisers and often only given few or even just one performance. Exceptions to this were rare and more or less restricted to the very popular works by Handel and Joseph Haydn. To be attractive and interesting, music had to be new. The main interest of audiences in Vienna up to the 1840s was to hear novel music rather than old and established composers. A respected and celebrated canon of great masters only evolved well into the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰

Masses and sacred cantatas featured only rarely in secular concerts. In the nineteenth century, censorship was applied to ensure this, though few specific examples are known. One known case of such censorship took place in May 1824, when Beethoven was warned not to go ahead with one of his concerts as it contained movements of his previously mentioned *Missa Solemnis*. As liturgical music these were not allowed in a secular concert. As a compromise, Beethoven agreed to title the other works on the programme 'Hymnen', but also threatened to cancel the concert altogether, should the performance of the movements from the mass not be allowed. It is believed that the authorities gave in to pressure of the patron hosting the concert, Baron

²⁵⁹ Mary S. Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press 1989), 141-149.

²⁶⁰ William Weber, 'Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870,' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8.1 (1977), 5.

Lichnowsky.²⁶¹

Controlled by the Jesuits until Maria Teresa's reforms, as mentioned in chapter two, censorship became more liberal under Joseph II, who saw it merely as a means to keep direct political opposition quiet rather than to control ideologies. With Gerard van Swieten he appointed an outspoken liberal as president of the censorship commission in Vienna, and later, in 1781, Gerard's son Gottfried – the very same who this chapter recognises as one of the most important patrons of the early concerts.²⁶² In light of unrests in the Habsburg Empire in 1788 and even more with the outbreak of the French Revolution the following year, liberal tendencies were met with less tolerance; in 1791, Leopold II discharged van Swieten and dissolved the commission. In 1793, he founded the *Polizeihofstelle*, a centralised police force under imperial control, which he put in charge of censorship in 1801. Until 1848, the police and censoring authorities would together form the *Polizei- und Zensurhofstelle*.²⁶³ Censorship was applied to printed books and newspapers, but also the theatre, where not only the texts of plays were policed but also the way they were acted out. Music was censored based on its text, the images printed on cover pages, dedications (a set of hymns dedicated to Pius X was forbidden, for example, as he was thought to have liberal leanings), but also musical tunes (for example such were banned that were reminiscent of the Marseillaise or songs of the liberal student fraternities). Concert programmes had to be approved and were, as mentioned above, also considered with regards to the combination of pieces of music

²⁶¹ Alice Hanson, *Die zensurierte Muse* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1987), 60.

²⁶² Ernst Wangermann, 'Lockerung und Verschärfung der Zensur unter Joseph II. und Leopold II.', *Justiz und Zeitgeschichte VIII: Symposion Zensur in Österreich 1780 bis 1989*, ed. by Erika Weinzierl & Rudolf Ardel (Vienna: Geyer 1991), 1-5.

²⁶³ Julius Marx, *Die Österreichische Zensur im Vormärz* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1959), 11-12.

that were offered.²⁶⁴ The reason that little is known of other concerts that faced censorship on the same ground as Beethoven's mentioned above has likely to do with the fact that the censors were hopelessly overworked and badly trained. Policing concert programmes must have been relatively low on their list of duties, the ultimate aim of which was to prevent political unrest. What was considered appropriate or not in terms of religion was of secondary importance for the censors compared with political statements. Grillparzer calls music the freest of all the arts.

The new *loci* of music can be split into a number of categories: the first one was domestic music making, which could be linked with the second, which were private concerts. Then there were public concerts, which can be split into concerts at the theatres and others. Choral societies built the bridge between amateur music making, which had its beginnings in the domestic environment, and public concerts.

Domestic music and private concerts

Domestic music making is described by Hanslick²⁶⁵ as something that happened mostly within the circle of the family. More common at first in aristocratic circles, it soon extended to the upper middle-class. For the bourgeoisie, art came to serve as a *Gegenwelt* to the world of employment.²⁶⁶ Involvement in it provided evidence of being at home among the educated and cultivated. For this purpose people built libraries and collected art, but they also practised music at home. This development was aided by

²⁶⁴ Walter Obermaier, 'Zensur im Vormärz und im Jahr 1848', *Justiz*, ed. Weinzierl, 7-29.

²⁶⁵ Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), 68.

²⁶⁶ Gunilla Budde, *Blütezeit des Bürgertums: Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2009), 61-63.

the advancements in the construction of the piano, which became the dominant instrument of domestic music, since whole symphonies could be brought into the bourgeois parlour and performed by one or two people. The hammerclavier in its developed form as it came after 1744 enjoyed increasing popularity.²⁶⁷ Much music published in the 1750s and 60s is already written and marketed for a new audience of addressees. The titles of keyboard music by C.P.E. Bach, for example, no longer include dedications to princes and the like as a norm, but are designated '*für Kenner und Liebhaber*' (for connoisseurs and aficionados).²⁶⁸ Classifications in the title would often advertise them as 'easy'; no longer was music making reserved to technically proficient professionals. The years between 1780 and 1850 saw rapid technological developments that made the mass publication of music possible; entrepreneurs in marketing grew a new branch.²⁶⁹ A plenitude of sheet music for the purpose of transforming the bourgeois parlour into a place of culture was available, and more music was written for this new audience ('*Salonstücke*'). One of the favourite pieces of this kind was Thekla von Barzewska-Baranowska's '*Gebet der Jungfrau*'. The piano served not only as a musical instrument, but also as a piece of furniture that exhibited both the wealth and sophistication of its owner to any visitor.

It was considered important to cultivate music (or art in general) as part of one's

²⁶⁷ Sceptics who hold the opinion that hammerclaviers were an instrument not known to Vienna until the beginning nineteenth century and who want to suggest that this phenomenon is not to be found there are directed towards Badura-Skoda's remarks explaining the difference in the use of term: in Austria and Italy, that which was in other places known as a *fortepiano* or *hammerclavier* was often still called a *cembalo* (i.e. harpsichord) until 1800, even though it was not. See Eva Badura-Skoda, "Die 'Clavier'-Musik in Wien Zwischen 1750 und 1770," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 34 (1984), 78.

²⁶⁸ Carl Dahlhaus, 'Formen und Funktionen der Klaviermusik', *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Darmstadt: WBG, 1997), 216-217.

²⁶⁹ Weber, 'Mass Culture', 10.

private life. A person of good standing would, however, not have engaged in it in a professional manner. This becomes apparent in the English practice where a professional musician who was performing at a private concert could choose between being paid or playing as an amateur yet being treated as a gentleman. In this mixture of appreciation of music and apprehension about the social status of the musician lies the success of the music societies: culturally interested citizens assembled and connected; they were amateurs (*Dilettanten*) with another profession and an ‘honourable’ job.

Count Fekete’s portrayal of Vienna in 1787 suggests that while there was little inter-class mingling, the variously high ranking levels of aristocracy and the higher bourgeoisie showed little difference in their behaviour: ‘[it is] needless to give more details; the knowledge of the first class is sufficient, since by that one knows all the others; only their good and bad traits decrease in intensity.’²⁷⁰ This is not surprising: the higher aristocrats sought to imitate court, and the lower aristocrats sought to imitate the higher ones. As the *Hofkapelle* rose and fell, private ensembles (*Hauskapellen*) came to rise and fall. These were modelled on the court ensemble and reached their height between 1750 and 1755.²⁷¹ Later wind bands, called *Harmoniemusiken*, were the poorer aristocrats’ *Hauskapellen*. Yet even those were found up at the highest level, for example at the imperial court of Joseph II from 1782.²⁷² The practice of modelling oneself on court became so common that courtlike forms of representation were soon

²⁷⁰ ‘Überflüssig mehr Einzelheiten zu geben, und man kann sich mit der Kenntnis der ersten Klasse bescheiden, weil man dann alle anderen kennt, nur vermindern sich jeweils die guten und schlechten Eigenschaften der jeweiligen Kreise.’ Johann Graf Fekete De Galantha, *Wien im Jahre 1787: Skizze eines lebenden Bildes von Wien, entworfen von einem Weltbürger* (Vienna: Rikola, 1921), 60. (translation CDM).

²⁷¹ Tia DeNora, ‘Musical Patronage and Social Change in Beethoven’s Vienna’, *American Journal of Sociology* 97.2 (1991), 327.

²⁷² Grove, “Harmoniemusik”.

expected of anyone of decent class. In addition to any potential musical interest, living up to these expectations was at least part of the motivation for providing musical patronage.

A singularly important source with regards to the private concerts was Count Zinzendorf, who, as a high-ranking government official of highly respectable descent, had access to most of the highest circles of society.²⁷³ Not least thanks to him we can identify Baron van Swieten as the driving spirit of many of the private concerts, particularly in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. His concerts usually featured one major work, often an oratorio. Among the performed pieces were many of religious content. The list of private concerts to which Zinzendorf was invited give us only limited insight into what would have been accessible performances for a man of lower social standing. While he mentions concerts hosted by the middle classes, Mozart's records of these are more detailed. Zinzendorf's interest in these occasions was more of a social one than a musical one. Among the musical entertainments listed in his diaries are domestic music provided by hosting members of the lower aristocracy, where professional musicians were rarely employed, and after dinner performances of professional musicians. Neither of these, however, were the main purpose for a gathering. Actual concerts form a third category, where the core musicians were professional, although sometimes joined by aristocrats.

Esterházy became a great sponsor of van Swieten's oratorio performances; the court librarian had become acquainted with the music of Bach and Handel during his early years in Berlin. Esterházy set up a *Kavaliers-Gesellschaft* for the purpose of

²⁷³ Dorothea Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122.2 (1997), 206.

funding these performances. The concerts Esterházy hosted included oratorios and operas alike, for example, *Messiah* and *Acis and Galatea*.

Private concerts fulfilled a number of functions. Not only did they make courtly life accessible to those did not have access to parties there or give an excuse for social gatherings. Ambassadors hosted concerts to lighten up part of their official duties; again oratorios and secular cantatas are mentioned.²⁷⁴ They were a means for travelling musicians to recruit audiences for their concert performances in the court theatres: aristocratic patrons would host private concerts as ‘tasters’. The hosts of these concerts for friends, family, or the local community would often not only have to pay a fee to hire a professional musician to support the musical ventures of the evening but also undergo an obligation to subscribe to their public concert performances. As public concerts became an institution, those were seen by the aristocracy as a chance to show off to a wider public those whom they had won to perform for them privately already.²⁷⁵

It is suggested that it was in the 1780s and 90s that private concerts became less exclusive to the aristocracy and were hosted increasingly by the bourgeoisie. These often relied on personal acquaintances with musicians as the expense was otherwise hardly sustainable.²⁷⁶ While the lower nobility and the upper middle classes had the highest interest in public concerts, they also hosted their own. The only differences that can be identified are a lower density of professionals and, somewhat surprisingly, a greater regularity.²⁷⁷ For the rising middle classes, concerts that made use of the pool of

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 210.

²⁷⁵ DeNora, ‘Patronage’, 316.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 315.

²⁷⁷ Link, ‘Musical Life’, 230.

freelance musicians provided an opportunity to listen to the same music as those standing above them in society.²⁷⁸

While there is little evidence for an economic downfall of the aristocracy, it is sometimes suggested that it were economic difficulties in this class which led to the dissolution of most *Hauskapellen*.²⁷⁹ by Mozart's time, only two *Harmoniemusiken* were left in town and musicians for private concerts were mostly hired on an ad hoc basis.²⁸⁰ It is, however, more likely that the fall was connected to fashion just as the rise had been.²⁸¹ The more the lower classes got involved in music, the less interesting it remained for the higher ones. Musical patronage of the aristocracy continued, but was less clearly defined. Despite the growing importance of the bourgeoisie, the nobility and their private endeavours still played an important role as late as the mid or late nineteenth century.²⁸² The public did not take 'Control of the concert life' until the mid-nineteenth century.²⁸³

Public concerts

Nonetheless the beginnings of public concert life lie in the eighteenth century. In comparison with the rest of Europe, Vienna took much longer to develop a concert culture. The first *Concert spirituel* took place in Paris in 1725. The *Academy of Ancient*

²⁷⁸ DeNora, 'Patronage', 340.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 330.

²⁸⁰ Link, 'Musical Life', 226-227.

²⁸¹ DeNora, 'Patronage', 329-330.

²⁸² Carl Dahlhaus, 'Bürgerliche Musikkultur, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Dahlhaus (Darmstadt: WBG, 1997), 37.

²⁸³ DeNora, 'Patronage', 329-330.

Music was founded in London in 1726 and apart from establishing concert life in London it became a place of engagement with music from past centuries²⁸⁴ – noteworthy considering the *Cecilian movement* felt the need for a revival of Renaissance music a good one hundred years later. In Vienna, public concerts only became an institution in the 1740s. Unlike in many other places, there were no notable societies of friends of music or suchlike in the early days. A commercially functioning music market, with more or less central organisation of the serious musical activities of the city as it existed, for example in London, had not developed in Vienna even in Beethoven's time (around 1800). Financial stability was still best guaranteed through good relationships with the aristocracy.²⁸⁵

As in Paris, the first public concerts were prompted by the fact that theatres were forbidden to stage drama, spoken or sung, during Lent and Advent. Concerts promised to be an alternative entertainment during this time. In Vienna, however, the concerts took place under the management of the theatres in which they were performed. There were only two public theatres, the *Burgtheater* and the *Kärntnertheater*. Both of them stood under imperial jurisdiction. In 1752, Empress Maria Theresa reduced the days on which theatre performances were allowed from 260 to 210 in her *Norma* edict. Several religious holidays, for example Corpus Christi as well as days of deaths of members of the royal family had been added to the list of theatre-free days. Effectively, *Norma* created another fifty days on which concerts could be performed.²⁸⁶

The appointment of Gluck as composer for theatre and the chamber at the

²⁸⁴ Burkholder et. al., *History*, 472.

²⁸⁵ DeNora, 'Patronage', 341.

²⁸⁶ Morrow, *Concert Life Haydn*, 37-39.

Imperial court by the then new director Durazzo in 1754 shows how integral a part of the life of the theatre these concerts were: among his named responsibilities was composing music for the concert academies.²⁸⁷ Haas reports that Gluck was actually put in charge of them, although he does not specify what responsibility exactly this charge held.²⁸⁸ We know that these concerts or *Academies de musique* were held during the fasting periods on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays between 6 and 9pm. They were introduced in 1750, and unless the *Mehlgrubenkonzerte* predate their first mention in December 1752 in the *Wienerische Diarium* (later the *Wiener Zeitung*), these were the earliest public concerts in Vienna. A contemporary report of the first *Fastenkoncert* under Durazzo's directorship speaks of a variety of 'sacred and moral cantatas', arias, choruses, oratorios, madrigals, symphonies, capricci and others. The *Répertoire* reports concerts happened every Friday and for holidays and instrumental and vocal music was performed, namely oratorios, cantatas, concerts, arias, and choruses. Travelling musicians, both singers and instrumental virtuosos, who came to Vienna would make sure to be heard at the theatre. The orchestra of the *Comédie-Française* played, if necessary with extra players.²⁸⁹ Solo concerts were written for these travelling virtuosos and for an extended audience. Mozart described them as of medium difficulty and comprehensibility for both the many and the few.²⁹⁰ Even though Zinzendorf reports his attendance to several of these public concerts, his interest lay in actual theatrical performances or, when those were not available, private concerts and functions, leaving

²⁸⁷ Alfred Einstein, *Gluck : Sein Leben - Seine Werke* (Zurich: Pan Verlag, s.a.), 65-66.

²⁸⁸ Robert Haas, *Gluck und Durazzo im Burgtheater* (Zurich: Amalthea, 1925), 23.

²⁸⁹ Haas, *Gluck und Durazzo*, 27.

²⁹⁰ Wulf Konold, 'Das Instrumentalkonzert', *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Dahlhaus, 297.

us with little records of these concerts.²⁹¹

The middle classes were enthusiastic attenders at the court theatres. In the eighteenth century they were not yet strong enough to support the theatres themselves. Significant subsidies from the court were necessary to keep them running.²⁹² At least for the late 50s and early 60s it appears that unlike the other business of the theatre, the *Fastenkonzerte* generated enough profit to sustain themselves and did not need further subsidy.²⁹³

Subsequently, the theatres were taken under control of the Emperor and the *Burgtheater* was made a national theatre by Joseph II in 1776. This had been requested by a number of actors, who due to changing arrangements feared for the stability of the theatre's management.²⁹⁴ In the same year, the court monopoly on theatre was ended and the first of a number of private theatres, the *Theater in der Josephstadt* was founded.²⁹⁵ This was the most suited theatre for the middle classes, as, to today's knowledge, it offered by far the cheapest tickets.²⁹⁶ The emergence of these new private theatres created an opportunity for regular employment of a larger number of musicians and attracted many, increasing the pool of musicians in town who could be hired for ad hoc orchestras to play for private concerts.²⁹⁷

Thinking in terms of sacred and secular spheres, theatres can of course not be

²⁹¹ Haas, *Gluck und Durazzo*, 67.

²⁹² Link, 'Musical Life', 215; 231.

²⁹³ Haas, *Gluck und Durazzo*, 53.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁹⁶ DeNora, 'Patronage', 318.

²⁹⁷ Link, 'Musical Life', 226-227.

counted as obviously sacred. That restrictions were put on them, not only for Lent but also for numerous holidays of a less sombre nature, shows that what was performed there was considered as suited for holy days. At the same time the restrictions suggest an interference of the religious with an area of public life that was not dedicatedly religious. It must be remembered that these restrictions date back to the days when the Catholic Monarchy had not yet been stripped of many of its Catholic elements by Joseph. Nonetheless theatres were made to conform to the Church's calendar. It was attempted to make them more appropriate, thus making them slightly more religious.²⁹⁸ It is likely, though, that within short time this became no more than a mask and a superficial custom: in 1790, following Joseph's death, Lenten concerts did not take place.²⁹⁹ This can serve as an indication that the institution of concerts being held in the place of theatrical performance during what liturgically should be seen as times of preparation and grief was being upheld out of tradition, or else this would suggest that the grief for the emperor outranked the solemnity of the religious seasons and holidays.

Until 1831 Vienna did not have a dedicated concert hall. Musicians started to organise concerts to earn money, but when in 1794 the court theatres refused musicians the right to hire the building, alternative venues had to be found.³⁰⁰ They were, however, limited in space. This slowed down the growth of the concert and at the same time kept the aforementioned private concerts and music salons alive.

One alternative venue that is actually mentioned as early as 1740 is the

²⁹⁸ At the same time censorship ensured that no intended or unintended offence could be caused to religion, increasingly more so in the nineteenth century. Staged performances could not make reference to biblical names or stories, and clerical dress on stage was forbidden. See Hanson, *Musie*, 55.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 229.

³⁰⁰ Morrow, *Concert Life Haydn*, 48; 65.

Mehlgrube, which was a *Gasthaus* and dance hall. Dance and music was provided at least during *Fasching* (before the Lenten concert season). We definitely know of dilettanti concerts there from 1781, which were moved to the *Augarten* for the summer months the following year, where they provided cheap entertainment every Sunday.³⁰¹ There is debate about how freely classes mixed at the public concerts, particularly at the Mehlgrube. Link suggests that while many aristocrats subscribed to concerts there, maybe out of a habit of generosity towards the artistic activity, few actually attended.³⁰² Sources are conflicting, for example Fekete, who speaks of little mingling between the classes and Leopold Mozart who reports of a concert at the Mehlgrube where many of the aristocratic class were present.

Weber describes promenades as the earliest form of ‘mass concerts’ in the 1830s in many European cities. These were held during the winter in dance halls or in parks over the summer and were most affordable also for the not so high middle classes and the first concerts for really big audiences.³⁰³ It is unclear how Weber defines ‘mass’, which might explain his surprisingly late date for these events. It is, however, likely that the *Augarten-Konzerte* were one of the early prototypes of these promenades. According to Hanslick the Mehlgrube and the Augarten were the only places that provided really public and regular concert entertainment beside the theatres. Like at most private functions, the concerts in the Mehlgrube were not the sole entertainment available: here opportunities to gamble were provided.³⁰⁴ DeNora suggests that ‘both

³⁰¹ Ibid., 48; 98; 53.

³⁰² Link, ‘Musical Life’, 229.

³⁰³ Weber, ‘Mass Culture’, 13.

³⁰⁴ Hanslick, *Geschichte*, 69.

the number of public concerts and the number of non-court-controlled concert locations rose steadily after 1795.³⁰⁵

We know of concerts that involved Mozart in the 1780s that music from operas and symphonies as well as sacred cantatas were played.³⁰⁶

The Theater an der Wien saw numerous concerts of sacred music. Towards the end of the eighteenth and in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century many performances of oratorios, organised through the Tonkünstler-Societät, a society founded by Court Kapellmeister Gassmann to raise funds for a retirement fund and to pay towards the pension of orphans and widows of the Kapelle's former members,³⁰⁷ are recorded. Hanslick speaks of *akademisierte Opernmusik*, by which he probably means concert performances of music written in operatic style. The list of music he provides includes operas like Süssmayer's *Moses*, Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, and Mozart's *La Clemenza di Tito*, as well as parts of a Cherubini mass, Mozart's *Requiem*, and oratorios and cantatas like Beethoven's *Christus am Oelberg*, *Messiah*, the *Creation*, Mozart's *Davide Penitente*, and others. The Tonkünstler-Societät and the organisers of the *concerts spirituel* did not see the oratorio as their mission, but still had many performed. The list of both works and venues is considerable and varied. Another example of a seemingly secular space being used for a performance of a religious work is Stadler's *Befreiung von Jerusalem* in the Universitätssaal in 1813.³⁰⁸

While the symphonic concert became an important institution next to the opera,

³⁰⁵ DeNora, 'Patronage', 315.

³⁰⁶ Morrow, 'Concert Life Mozart', 453-454.

³⁰⁷ Morrow, *Concert Life Haydn*, 48.

³⁰⁸ Hanslick, *Geschichte*, 192-199.

Dahlhaus warns not to overrate its uncertain beginnings in the eighteenth century. He states that it still did not mean serious competition for the music at court, partly due to the *Dilettanten* performing. Bourgeois culture of music exists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, too, and the influence of the aristocracy is not to be underestimated; they played an equally important role in the setting up of the Leipziger Großes Konzert in 1743, which would become the Gewandhauskonzerte. How important was the bourgeoisie for the shaping of music before the mid-nineteenth century? Judgement of what was appropriate still lay with the aristocracy: Beethoven might have had his debut in the Burgtheater in 1800, but he was well established by that time. We need to understand that Dahlhaus' interest is the development of aesthetics. The questions of who shaped music, and how, are at the heart of his assessment rather than the existence of an alternative place for music to be performed. The interest of this thesis is not to say that the eighteenth century saw the handing over of the reins to mere citizens, but that new *loci* for music established themselves. Dahlhaus is responding to the claim that the early forms of the concert were the main feature of the eighteenth century.³⁰⁹

While we should not overestimate the social change signified by the formation of these public concerts, it does deserve a mention. In Vienna, unlike in London, *Dilletanten* participated in public concerts even after 1840, diminishing its quality greatly. Both aristocrats and bourgeoisie were found among them.³¹⁰ The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, founded in 1842, was one of the few in Europe that did not ever have a very restrictive policy for the purchase of tickets that limited access for both

³⁰⁹ Dahlhaus, 'Einleitung', *Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Dahlhaus, 32.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36

the lower classes and occasional concert goers.³¹¹ In the *Liedertafeln* of the nineteenth century, aristocrats could be found among the members.³¹²

The Oratorio and the upsurge of choral societies

At this point this chapter will briefly address the practice of performing oratorios in the eighteenth and particularly nineteenth century, beyond the concert performances of various works that have been mentioned already. Have oratorios always been understood as sacred or church music? Handel's *Messiah*, more closely related to his operas than to Bach's church music for example, arrived in Germany and Austria around 1770 and was not seen as church music. In Handel's lifetime it had only been performed in theatres and concert halls. Only its 1784 performance in Westminster Abbey saw it first performed in church and the grandeur of that production changed its reception. It found great popularity with the bourgeois *Liebhaber* in the nineteenth century because they found it was written in a way that gave them a chance to participate actively in '*große Kunstmusik*'.³¹³ Not only participation in art, however, but also in their own salvation was what the big choral society productions offered to their singers: by joining the songs of praise they could take responsibility for their salvation.³¹⁴ This is an act of emancipation from the Church.

Oratorios in the Italian tradition were closely related to the opera. In the Protestant

³¹¹ Weber, 'Mass Culture', 14-15.

³¹² Dahlhaus, 'Bürgerliche Musikkultur', 35.

³¹³ Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Händel und das Oratorium', *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Dahlhaus, 188.

³¹⁴ Martin Geck, *Die Geburtsstunde des 'Mythos Bach': Mendelssohns Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspassion* (Stuttgart: Carus, 1998), 30.

North of Germany oratorio performance was much more closely integrated in worship and attributed to service. Only there were Passions closely linked to church services. This connection was loosened but not entirely given up in the eighteenth century. Kantner suggests the main *loci* of the oratorio in France were the concert hall for the *concerts spirituel* as well as the liturgy in form of *Grand Motets*.³¹⁵

It was in the Protestant North that Mendelssohn revived Bach's Matthäuspasion in 1829. While Bach had worked with a small choir, out of necessity, the Berliner Singakademie, which usually but not exclusively performed a capella music, was one of those big aforementioned choral societies, and the first one of a grander scheme. Geck suggests that the Matthäuspasion is absolute music – not in the sense of Hanslick but in Beethoven's understanding: it is a piece of art of ideas (*Ideenkunstwerk*) that goes beyond the traditional lines of genres (*Gattungen*) and conventions; it expresses truths that can only be expressed through music. Since Beethoven, every musical work had to be a little cosmos.³¹⁶ For Mendelssohn, this work is both a 'monument to Christian tradition and an *Ideenkunstwerk*.'³¹⁷ Performed in this new context of the concert, even people like labour leader Karl Liebknecht cannot withstand being touched by it.

Maybe one of the greatest achievements of Mendelssohn's project was to inspire people to think. Adolf Bernhard Marx speaks of not a *Kunstfest* but of a *religiöse Hochfeier* in a time in which Christianity is not 'locking itself up in the holy rooms of its churches anymore'³¹⁸ – for him Beethoven tapped nature as a new pantheon and in

³¹⁵ Leopold Kantner, 'Kirchenmusik und Oratorium seit der Aufklärung', *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Dahlhaus, 379-381.

³¹⁶ Geck. *Mythos*, 7-11; 27.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14-15, translation CDM.

Bach's music, the universality of religion becomes visible. Wagner draws a connection from Bach's chorale of the congregation to Beethoven's Ode to Joy as the 'chorale of the new congregation.'³¹⁹

Both sacred and secular oratorios were absorbed into concert repertoire in the nineteenth century. The few stylistic differences that were sometimes made in their composition include the incorporation of chorales in some of them, like in Mendelssohn's Paulus, which did however provoke some critics, who called this 'stillos' (roughly: "bad style") and found the placement of chorales in the concert hall inappropriate. Krummacher speaks of reconciliation of art and religion in Mendelssohn's Paulus. Ironically enough, the work was written for the Cäcilienverein Frankfurt, which was a choral society rather than part of the ACV. Lines between secular and religious oratorios became more difficult to draw when in the later nineteenth century oratorios came up that border on both historical and religious topics, such as Luther in Worms or Constantin.³²⁰

Spiritual experience in the concert hall

The late eighteenth and in particular the nineteenth century saw a lot of writing on music and spiritual experience. For Schopenhauer, the composer reveals the '*innerste Wesen der Welt*'.³²¹ Poet and music critic Ludwig Rellstab struggles to find other words

³¹⁹ Ibid., 17.

³²⁰ Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 133-134; Friedhelm Krummacher. 'Religiosität und Kunstcharakter: Über Mendelssohns Oratorium "Paulus"', in *Geistliche Musik: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Funktion im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Constantin Floros et al. (Laaber: Laaber, 1985), 97.

³²¹ Arthur Schopenhauer: *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, chapter 54, <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/die-welt-als-wille-und-vorstellung-band-i-7134/54>.

to express his experience of Beethoven's Quartet in E flat than 'I was stirred at heart, deeply and in a holy way.'³²² Haydn claims that *concert* performances of his Creation inspired thousands of listeners to deeper contemplation than many a fiery sermon.³²³ The most famous and explicit expression of such spiritual experience goes back to Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder. Wackenroder, neither poet nor critic, believed that music expresses human feelings in a superhuman way. He marks the beginning of a new chapter in the musical aesthetics in the Romantic period. Opposed to any analysis of music, he sees it as expressing what language cannot. He attributes a holiness to it, founded in the mathematical order that holds it together, but that must be left a mystery. It is noteworthy that Wackenroder was among those burning with excitement about the rediscovery of the sacred polyphony of the Renaissance and Palestrina, but found even greater love for the Gregorian chant.³²⁴ In his novella *Berglinger* (1797) he remarks

when Joseph was at one of the great concerts, he sat down in a corner, without so much as looking at the glamorous assemblage of listeners, and listened with the same devotion as if he were in Church: just as quiet and motionless and with his eyes directed to the ground. He made not the smallest noise and at the end he was flaccid and exhausted by the intent concentration he had paid.³²⁵

This does reinforce the view that church services could become a consumer event,

³²² Albert Leitzmann, *Beethovens Persönlichkeit: Urteile der Zeitgenossen*, vol. 2, (Leipzig: Insel, 1914), 347.

³²³ Heinrich Schwab, 'Zur Präsenz von Gebet und Choral auf der Opernbühne', *Religion zwischen Kunst und Politik*, ed. by Manfred Jakobowski-Tiessen (Wallstein, 2004), 86.

³²⁴ Enrico Fubini, *Geschichte der Musikaästhetik: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), 209-212.

³²⁵ Wilhelm Wackenroder, *Das merkwürdige musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berglinger*, <http://www.zeno.org/Literatur/M/Wackenroder,+Wilhelm+Heinrich/Schriften+und+Dichtungen/Herzensergie%C3%9Fungen+eines+kunstliebenden+Klosterbruders/Das+merkw%C3%BCrdige+musikalische+Leben+des+Tonk%C3%BCnstlers+Joseph+Berglinger/Erstes+Hauptst%C3%BCck> translation CDM.

exactly as Joseph had feared and the Cecilians were keen to avoid, but at the same time this autobiographically inspired testimony gives credit to the contemplative quality of mere passive participation in a musical performance or service of some sort.

Conclusion

In summary, the early beginnings of the concert show no separation of secular and sacred. The early programmes seem random and arbitrary. Since concerts served as reasons for social gatherings and lasted for a long time during which the listeners' attention was divided, the selection of music first of all had to fill the time. Deeper thoughts on how to provide a 'coherent' programme were untypical of the early years. While Dahlhaus holds the belief that the mixture of genres found in the early concert programmes is not an arbitrary one but the result of a holistic ideal of education, ultimately resulting in hybrids such as Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang* (1839/40) and Schumann and Schubert writing requiems for the concert hall,³²⁶ this probably applies much more to the early nineteenth century than to the eighteenth. In the second half of the nineteenth century we find the varied assortments of music in concert replaced by a more fixed structure of overture, solo concert, and symphony.

Only after the separation between secular and sacred music in concerts became more established and whole concerts would be dedicated to one sphere or the other, only as an independence developed and a growing awareness for the differences, did concepts like *Kunstreligion* and talk of *Erhabenheit* come up. As if to fill a vacuum an entire new generation of thinkers evolved as concerts entirely made up of secular music

³²⁶ Dahlhaus. *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 135-136, 52.

could be found and concerts with sacred music outside the church were challenged. People sought to identify something more spiritual in their experiences outside the church as if to supply a want for reconciliation. De Botton sees the museums and art galleries as the cathedrals of our time;³²⁷ in the nineteenth century the Berliner Singakademie, the symphonic concert houses, and Bayreuth all unite the idea of the one temple of music.³²⁸ Concert halls with fronts of classical temples³²⁹ signify how a new holistic approach to the world is applied to music.

³²⁷ Alain De Botton. *Religion for Atheists: A Non-Believer's Guide to the Uses of Religion* (Penguin, 2012), 208.

³²⁸ Geck, *Mythos*, 16.

³²⁹ Dahlhaus. *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1980), 135.

Chapter 5

Anton Bruckner: A Lived and Musically Achieved Unity of Secular and Sacred

Joseph II and the Cecilian movement fought to separate sacred and secular spheres in places where they had long become used to touching – with little success, as the previous chapters have shown. The newly established concert halls on the other hand offered a new space for spiritual experience that could not have been more suitable for the desires of the Romantic world. Religion spilled beyond the boundaries of the established Church; it found itself new scopes and reclaimed others. Anton Bruckner's life shows tangents with both Josephinism and Cecilianism. His work is often considered universally religious. While he moved from the church as the main space for which he composed to the concert hall, the programme of his music did not change: it continued to be 'the Absolute'.³³⁰

Premise: Symphonic Masses and Sacred Symphonies

Bruckner's creative life can largely be divided in two sections: a first period, in which he composed pieces on a smaller scale, especially motets and other church music (roughly until the early 1860s), and second period, during which he composed almost exclusively symphonies. In between the two lies a transition period (spanning the majority of the 1860s), which is characterised by his three orchestral masses in D, E, and F minor. These three works anticipate both the symphonic style in which his later

³³⁰ But in quite a different sense from the absolute in music.

works are written and their scope. During the same decade Bruckner began to work on his symphonic oeuvre. After 1868 Bruckner wrote hardly any music for dedicated use within the liturgy at all.

The most obvious explanation would be a shift in Bruckner's piety. His reputation as a deeply devout Catholic precedes the composer. For him to no longer devote himself to the creation of music to be used in worship would require a loss of faith, or so we might assume. Far from it: Anton Bruckner made a note of every prayer he said. These first hand records of his devotions³³¹ show not the slightest wavering. While Bruckner went through personally challenging times, battling with mental and physical illness, his faith appears to have been unaffected.

For a deeply religious man who had dedicated much of his creative process to the aid of worship to withdraw his energies from this field entirely to dedicate them to the composition of music which is for consumption (and potentially entertainment) rather than for use seems consequential. For Bruckner, whose notes show that he was convinced every *Ave Maria* mattered, to abandon the field of liturgical music and not to feel he was abandon the *opus Dei* can only have one explanation: he continued to understand his work as part of it. His Ninth Symphony is dedicated to God Almighty himself.

Bruckner's music itself, too, shows a continuous line that connects sacred and secular works and unites them in one body. We find themes and motifs as well as structural elements that appear and reappear in Bruckner's music, on either side of the invisible dateline separating his sacred and secular compositions. Unsurprisingly, and in

³³¹ Elisabeth Maier, *Verborgene Persönlichkeit : Anton Bruckner in seinen privaten Aufzeichnungen* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2001).

conjunction with Bruckner's well known piety, they have sparked not only a cult of Bruckner as 'God's musician' but also a multitude of comments and interpretations of oeuvre, to various degrees of plausibility or sentimentality.

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht suggest that where Bruckner uses quotations from his masses in his symphonies, the respective text is implied, as for example in the Finale of the Second, where the '*eleison*' from F minor mass reappears.³³² Among other things, Constantin Floros identifies the fall down the octave via the fifth as a symbol of majesty, shared between the *Te Deum* and the Third Symphony, where it is found in the trumpet, as well as in the Finale of the Ninth (which would eventually be replaced by the *Te Deum*).³³³ Elisabeth Maier finds analogies between chords related by a major third in the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* and the main theme of the Finale of the Eighth. Again, the musical language signifies majesty in both cases: that of the *Sacerdos Magnus* and of three emperors (so Bruckner's own interpretation of the latter) respectively.³³⁴

The opening lines of the *Te Deum* and of the big orchestral chorus Helgoland bear striking likeness to each other. It is almost as if Helgoland, as a majestic example of God's fine creation, serves to demonstrate why *Deum laudamus*. It is possible to suggest Helgoland justifies the *Te Deum*.

Unverifiable as it may be, the *Adagio* of the Seventh is now most commonly read as a requiem to Richard Wagner, of whose death Bruckner learned around the time when

³³² Hans Eggebrecht, *Musik im Abendland* (Munich: Piper, 1996), 704.

³³³ Constantin Floros, *Anton Bruckner* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2004), 103-105.

³³⁴ Elisabeth Maier, 'Ecce sacerdos magnus', *Anton Bruckner : Ein Handbuch*, ed. Uwe Harten (Vienna: Residenz, 1996), 139-140.

he was writing this movement. That the dirgelike theme with which the movement opens is superseded by an unmistakable quotation of the line *Non confundar* from the *Te Deum* has added fuel to this interpretation. For Max Auer the C major (traditionally the key signature symbolising light and clarity) at the climax of the movement signifies the overcoming of the dark powers of death.³³⁵

It is often suggested that Bruckner made use of chorales (in the Protestant sense) in his symphonies.³³⁶ We will return to this claim later, but for now suffice it that music of a religious genre is recognisable in Bruckner's symphonies. In a similar manner, Bruckner's liking for the old scales, in other words the church modes, connects his compositions of both sacred and secular nature.

Bruckner's use of orchestration has often been compared to the registration of an organ, an instrument most closely associated with church music. Instruments tend to appear group together in sections, which are then alternated.³³⁷ This resembles the use of different manuals and divisions of the organ. To add to or subtract from this terraced dynamic, individual voices were added to or removed from the sections, much like adding stops on the organ to increase or decrease volume.³³⁸ The distinct general rests are a feature typical to organ music, naturally caused by changes of registration.³³⁹

³³⁵ Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner : Sein Leben und Werk* (Zurich: Amalthea, 1947), 10.

³³⁶ Walter Wiora, 'Über den Religiösen Gehalt in Bruckners Symphonien', *Anton Bruckner : Studien zu Werk und Wirkung* ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), 257-258.

³³⁷ Erwin Horn, 'Satztechnik', *Anton Bruckner : Ein Handbuch*, ed. Uwe Harten (Vienna: Residenz, 1996), 382.

³³⁸ Herman Jeurissen, 'To build high towers', *Orgelpark Research Reports*, ed. Hans Fidom, §35. The principle is the same as that of a *rollschweller* or *crescendowalze*, though it is doubtful that Bruckner was accustomed to those.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, §33.

To add another layer of possible analogies, Erwin Horn makes out analogies between the Adagio of Bruckner's Eighth Symphony and the facade of St Florian Abbey.³⁴⁰ Roger Allen discovers certain symmetries between the symphony's Finale and the Credo of the Mass in F minor.³⁴¹

Bruckner had no trouble performing his masses in concert halls. His first orchestral mass in D minor was performed in the Redoutensaal³⁴² in Linz with the support of Bishop Rudigier after a most successful first performance in its natural habitat in the Old Cathedral in Linz. The Te Deum's first performance was not even given in a church but in the Musikvereinssaal in Vienna. Likewise he incorporated worldly tunes, including themes from his symphonies, in his playing when he played church organs.

That the large orchestral masses, large in scale, dramatic, and orchestrated in a maturer symphonic style, build a smooth transition from Bruckner's early church music to his symphonies, underlines the claim that the symphonies are a continuation of Bruckner's church music. That Bruckner saw his Te Deum fit (and appropriate) to be performed in place of the unfinished Finale of his Ninth and final symphony (the one dedicated to God) comes to show that Bruckner saw his church music and the music he had written for the concert hall. Both from the perspective of the composer and from that of many who have listened to or studied his music, the lines between Bruckner's

³⁴⁰ Erwin Horn, 'Raum und Klang. Anton Bruckners Musik in der Stiftskirche St. Florian.' *Stiftskirche St. Florian. Raum und Klang zum Lob Gottes und zur Freude der Menschen* (St. Florian: Stift, 1996), 88.

³⁴¹ Roger Allen: 'Symmetries in Anton Bruckner's Mass No. 3 and Symphony No. 8', paper given at St Mary's College, University of St Andrews, 6 May 2011.

³⁴² This room was traditionally used for celebratory ceremonies, concerts, or balls organised by members of the middle classes, often with musical support from the musicians of the theatre. See Zamazal: 'Johann Baptist Schiedermaier', 132-133.

church music and music for the concert hall blur. Bruckner's symphonies are part of the composer's *opus Dei*. While they contain elements, such as the *ländler*s, which Bruckner would probably not have included to be played during the most holy liturgy, their themes are related to religious ones and both the composer's inspiration and aspiration and the music's spiritual effect on the listener cannot be separated from that which can be found in the same composer's church music. Even if calling Bruckner's symphonies 'masses for the concert hall' is a rhetorical figure that has gone a step too far (too great would Bruckner's respect of the sacrament have been to call anything a mass that was not), we must understand them as religious music: a religious offering, saturated with musical language taken from the church, and a potential place for religious encounter.

In that sense, Bruckner makes use of the concert hall as a performance place for religious music just as much as the Romantic listeners conceive it a place for spiritual experience. This will be this chapter's premise. Its focus is not to find more arguments for the unity of Bruckner's works in one religious oeuvre. It is interested in how Bruckner's approach to composition, which does not separate sacred and secular spheres, ties in with his life and whether it was a revolutionary departure from the given or whether the environment (shaped among other things by Josephinism and Cecilianism) predisposed him that way.

Approach

The approach to composition suggested by our premise might be called a holistic one: one that does not restrict itself to either secular or sacred sphere or does indeed

consciously distinguish them at all. It suggests itself that Bruckner had the same approach to life in general. He would not have been able to compose in a way divergent from the rest of his life and convictions at such a fundamental level. To examine this, we will focus on Bruckner's early years. This might at first seem incoherent as the allegedly religious symphonies were written in latter years. We know there is no point at which Bruckner, after careful consideration, consciously decided to move the sacred into a new context; no letters or other written evidence suggests such a thought process ever took place. It is highly unlikely Bruckner would have taken such a step without conferring with others, particularly people of theological authority. Considering also that the shift from writing liturgical music to writing concert music occurred during a time in which Bruckner was seriously unwell and exchanged a number of existential letters from his health resort in Bad Kreuzen, it seems almost certain that evidence of such conscious consideration would exist have existed. That leads us to believe that only if the early years reveal some origin or foundation of Bruckner's holistic worldview, the claim that his symphonies are the natural continuation of his church music can be upheld and it can only be understood coming from those early years up to the time of crisis in 1867/68. The more fruitful discussion is not what Bruckner's music looked like after the shift, but how the initial shift came about: not how the shift was sustained but why it could occur so seemingly naturally in the first place.

The legacy of Josephinism tangible in Bruckner's life

For Bruckner's hometown Ansfelden, Joseph's reforms meant that the parish would be supplied with clerical support from the Augustinian abbey of St Florian. When

Bruckner was born in 1824, thirty-four years after Joseph's death, two canons from the close-by abbey (the distance between the two places is roughly 4-5 miles) served in the parish, one of them acting as parish priest. Particularly after the danger of suppression of the monastery had eased off after the death of Joseph, a certain influence of the abbey over its assigned parishes cannot be denied. The abbey could decide whom to send to say mass as well as whom to entrust with the pastoral care. For the latter, a number of authorised lay people (*plebani*) were available as well. We can assume that Bruckner's home parish was well supplied with human resources.³⁴³ Beyond this, the responsibility of secular administration and patronage of schools in its parishes lay with the abbey as well, and they were interdependent.³⁴⁴ That the Bruckners' life would be intertwined with the abbey comes at no surprise. The composer's father was the teacher in the village and played the organ as well. From papers of an association for the promoting of "real church music" (dating from 1840, when Bruckner would have been 16 years old) we know that it was generally expected of teachers in rural areas to play the organ, be well-versed in continuo playing and figured bass, and to be familiar with Gregorian chorale singing.³⁴⁵ It is worth keeping in mind that the composer himself had originally embarked on a career as a school teacher.

In 1829, when the number of canons, which Joseph had restricted to 18, had reached 72 again, 30 of the 72 ordained priests acted as vicars, 29 thereof outside the abbey. Another 23 acted as *cooperatores*,³⁴⁶ others as inspectors in the school district or taught

³⁴³ Joachim Angerer, 'Bruckner und die klösterlichen Lebensformen seiner Zeit', *Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz: ABI, 1988), 43.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

³⁴⁶ Priests who provided their services to a parish without being its parish priest.

at the grammar school in Linz, leaving only 14 canons as residents in the convent.³⁴⁷ While this means the surrounding area received a lot of support from the work of those clerics, it also means that despite the notable growing numbers monastic life in St Florian was somehow diminished. Certainly the convent was bigger than to be expected after Joseph's reforms and can be called flourishing if one considers all the occupied offices from Provost and Dean to Cellarer. The attendance at the Divine Offices, however, would include all possible *juniores* not have exceeded twenty men.

In 1839 and the following years we find clearly distinguished prescriptions for the use of figural music and the chorale in service. Distinctions can be made both for different days and offices, and for the abbey church and associated parish churches. From the year 1855 dates a testimony of St Florian's provost Friedrich that the *juniores* were to be taught Gregorian chant.³⁴⁸ What we know of the musical practice is fragmentary, but it can be said that during Bruckner's time in St Florian occasional participation of the congregation in the singing (whether hymns or otherwise is not specified) took place. Bruckner left St Florian in the same year, and he was well-versed in accompanying chorale as both his reference from the abbey and the minutes of a later examination testify.³⁴⁹

As a chorister and even more so as the abbey's organist Bruckner will have taken part in the daily celebration of the offices. The extent of his participation is, however, subject to speculation. Matins and Lauds were only sung together in the nights of Easter and Christmas. Six other offices remained to be observed communally as well as the

³⁴⁷ Angerer, 'Lebensformen', 43.

³⁴⁸ 'Juniores autem cantum Gregorianum ut edoceantur, opto ac volo.' See Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Angerer, 'Lebensformen', 46.

Office of the Dead and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. The questions who sang and what was sung choraliter or figuraliter remain unanswered. We know the chorale had to be accompanied, but we know not whether one of the canons was able to play the organ as well. Considering the small number of resident canons it seems unlikely that one of them would have played the organ if the dedicated organist was at hand. We still have to acknowledge some uncertainty. Joseph's reforms might mean that Bruckner did not experience the musical abbey life in the fullness which it must have had before the reforms. At the same time the low numbers of singers can be used to suggest he was used as an organist more than it would have been necessary with a fully sized convent. Some influence in either direction cannot be denied, but the explicit nature is ambiguous.

Bruckner's experience of Cecilianism

By the time the Cecilian movement had gained significant momentum, Bruckner had left the monastic surroundings of St Florian and was approaching the end of his time as a composer of mainly church music. Nonetheless he had several fleeting points of contact with Cecilianism. The most obvious and pronounced lay in Ignaz Traumihler, *regens chori* at St Florian from 1852 to 1884, and like his predecessor Franz Xaver Schäfer a confessed Cecilian.³⁵⁰ Bruckner's well-known motet *Os justi* harks back to a invitation by Traumihler to set this text to music for St Augustine's Day (in all likelihood a very important day in the liturgical life of St Florian) and was eventually

³⁵⁰ Garratt, *Palestrina*, 183.

dedicated to him.³⁵¹ The genesis of this work reveals the tension between the composer's world of thought and creation and that of the reformers: as he was aware of Traumihler's Cecilian ideals, Bruckner wrote the work in the Lydian mode, one of the ancient church modes held in high regard by the reformers. Bruckner's accompanying letter to Traumihler points out specifically that there is no use of accidentals, six-four chord, chords with four or five different notes, nor of chords on the seventh scale step.³⁵² Traumihler was still unable to understand the harmonic structure as well as the fugue Bruckner used (though inspired by the Cecilian polyphonic ideal) and Bruckner had to make changes until Traumihler approved of the piece. Eventually the choir director was well pleased with the work, accepted its dedication to him gladly, and had it performed on St Augustine's Day annually.³⁵³ Nonetheless we get a clear sense of how difficult it was for Bruckner's creative genius to be contained within the narrow boundaries of the Cecilian mindset even when the composer consciously put his mind to achieving this.

Traumihler used to monitor the *Kirchlichkeit* of Bruckner's organ playing and was known to slap him on the fingers with his baton whenever his organ playing became too chromatic. It was Traumihler who wrote the reference that attested that Bruckner was well versed in accompanying the 'Choral' on the organ, when Bruckner left St Florian for Linz.

³⁵¹ A. Crawford Howie, 'Bruckner and the motet', *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 60.

³⁵² Anton Bruckner, '25 July 1879', in *Briefe 1852-1886*, vol. 1, 188.

³⁵³ August Göllerich & Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, II.1, 269.

Immediately after its first publication in 1853, the Stift bought a copy of Proske's *Musica divina*.³⁵⁴ While without comment on its use we cannot finally answer how committed to the Cecilian cause the St Floreans were, this purchase gives a clear indication that some real enthusiasm and a keen interest in the movement's work were held at least by some in St Florian.

Furthermore Bruckner maintained a close personal friendship with Georg Armingier, parish priest of Steyr from 1868 and president of the Diocesan Cecilian Society from 1878. Armingier was a moderate Cecilian. While he appreciated the idea of restricting accompaniment of church music to the organ alone, he favoured a solution where other instruments were used in moderation, to accommodate Austrian tradition and show respect towards the status quo. He is said to have been a personal supporter of Bruckner's and hosted the composer many times. Not least thanks to him Steyr became a much loved summer retreat for Bruckner, where he could compose, worship, and perform on the organ both during the liturgy and in concert.³⁵⁵

Garratt suggest that in his early liturgical compositions Bruckner is continuing the Fuxian tradition of a cappella composition, in which plainchant and simple homophony alternate, much more than that of Palestrina. He illustrates this and backs his claim up by comparing the respective versions of *Asperges me* by Bruckner and Fux, which bear a striking likeness in style to each other, despite the fact that their composition lies more than a century apart.³⁵⁶ In Bruckner's later compositions (post 1870) the influence of

³⁵⁴ Hartmut Krones, 'Bruckners Kirchenmusik im Spiegel des Cäcilianismus', *Anton Bruckner : Tradition und Fortschritt in der Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Sinzig: Studio, 2001), 94.

³⁵⁵ Erich Partsch, *Anton Bruckner in Steyr* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag), 159; 203-217.

³⁵⁶ Garratt, *Palestrina*, 184.

Palestrina is more prominent. Garratt recognises that this does not necessarily have to be a consequence of Cecilian influence but can in fact be caused by the influence of Palestrina himself (or by the influence of Palestrina handed down through tradition). However, a number of Bruckner's motets show a closer relationship to the Cecilian language beyond merely matching the tone of Palestrina.

While the story of the *Os justi* has already been related it is worth mentioning that the other piece of liturgical music in which the Palestrina heritage is most prominent is the *Tantum ergo*, which was first published in Witt's *Musica sacra* (famously with unauthorised alterations). Bruckner repeatedly dedicated music to Traumihler, who was a close ally of Witt's on Austrian ground. In Linz, there was more support for Habert's more moderate strand of Cecilianism, organised in the *Oberösterreichischer Cäcilienverein*. At the Hofkapelle, there was little interest in the Cecilian reforms and performances of Palestrina's music was mostly restricted to Lent and Advent. It is therefore interesting that Bruckner's compositions for Linz or St Florian (for example *Tota pulchra es*, *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, and *Vexilla regis*) show significantly more traces of Palestrina's musical language than those written for the Hofkapelle (the two settings of *Christus factus est*).³⁵⁷ While Bruckner did not actively take part in the Cecilian initiative it is obvious that he was sensitive to their expectations and capable of catering to their needs. Rather than support for the Cecilian cause it is likely that Bruckner picked his battles wisely: it was his symphonies where he did not allow anything to constrain his creativity.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 184-206.

That Bruckner can serve as an example of a well-known composer in the Cecilian tradition, as Dickson-Wilson advocates,³⁵⁸ is a claim that cannot in fact be sustained. Bruckner did not engage in their debates. Arguments that suggest a Cecilian subordination of music under the liturgy are only ever to be found where Bruckner is hoping for a specific outcome. For example, when he underlines the importance of a well supported Choral in his letters to the ordinariate at various points, he is hoping to achieve an expansion of the organ³⁵⁹ to fit his Romantic taste for big organs³⁶⁰ at one time, and to have the parish church removed from his responsibilities on the other.³⁶¹ Despite close personal ties with Cecilians, his undisguised thoughts on their movement can be summarised in one word of his own choosing: he considered them a ‘disease’.³⁶²

Anton Bruckner as Teacher: A Position in between State and Church

The life of a school teacher was familiar to Bruckner; his father had been the village’s teacher, and he himself trained to be and began to work as teacher as well. In Bruckner’s Austria, teachers (particularly in villages) were responsible not only for teaching at the local school but also for the music in church. They would accompany the singers on the organ or direct whatever musicians were available (in many cases their own family). Often ringing the church bells was part of their remit, too; Bruckner’s father was among those teachers to whom such duty fell.

³⁵⁸ Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *A Brief History of Christian Music* (Oxford: Lion, 1997), 213-214.

³⁵⁹ Letter to the ordinariate Linz, 14 January 1857, Briefe, vol. 1, 13.

³⁶⁰ Cf. for example Rudolf Quoika, *Die Orgelwelt um Anton Bruckner* (Ludwigsburg: Walker, 1966), 41.

³⁶¹ Letter to the ordinariate Linz, 27 October 1858, Briefe, vol. 1, 16-17.

³⁶² Franz Gräflinger, *Anton Bruckner* (Berlin: Hesse, 1927), 290. The context of this remark is not known as it is only from a side remark of Karl Waldeck, an organ student of Bruckner’s and his successor in Linz.

While teaching predominantly played a role during the early, formative decades of Bruckner's life, it is important to note that he never gave up a connection to the profession. From 1870 on he taught at the St Anna training college for teachers, both being in immediate contact with the next generation of teachers and acting as one himself. When speaking before a congregation of teachers in 1891, he insisted that he had been thinking of himself as a teacher all his life long.³⁶³ While this sentiment can partly be put down to Bruckner's sense of pathos and his desire to please, it cannot be dismissed on that basis. His most familiar interaction with his students – students of the arts, no less – appeared to his contemporaries practically as fraternisation with a group closely associated with the 1848 revolution and gives us an indication that he cared more about the tradition of knowledge than about meeting the approval of the wider society.³⁶⁴ It is also worth noting that Bruckner widely travelled across Upper Austria, to receive musical tuition and to play various organs as a young man as well as for recreational visits and would have been familiar with the situation of teachers not only in the villages where he taught himself, but also where he visited.³⁶⁵

The life of a teacher in rural Austria during the nineteenth century was hard and unlikely to be satisfying. Up until the 1840s, 70 per cent of Upper Austrian and Styrian councillors could not write their own name.³⁶⁶ This gives an indication of the regard in

³⁶³ Göllicher/Auer, *Bruckner*, vol. 4.3, 175.

³⁶⁴ Johannes-Leopold Mayer, 'Musik als gesellschaftliches Ärgernis', *Anton Bruckner in Wien*, ed. Franz Grasberger (Linz: ABIL, 1980), 105-106.

³⁶⁵ An example for such traditions Bruckner experienced on his travels might be that of the *Thurner* or *Türmer*, originally civic town guards who provided brass music at certain times of day in larger towns, later musicians employed by a town, and were required to assist the school teachers musically for important services.

³⁶⁶ Reinhard Kannonier, 'Lehrer sein in Oberösterreich zur Zeit Anton Bruckners', *Anton Bruckner als Schüler und Lehrer*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz: ABIL, 1992), 16.

which education was held here. Maria Theresa and Joseph had made school attendance from the age of six to twelve years old compulsory in 1774.³⁶⁷ A tuition fee, payable weekly according to actual attendance, as well as tributes of produce from the village people made up a considerable part of a teacher's income.³⁶⁸ This naturally decreased the inclination towards actual attendance. The most considerable part a teacher's income came from the duties he fulfilled for the local church as an organist and sacristan. This longstanding tradition had been cemented by Joseph II to ensure teachers' pay while saving the state considerable expense. Naturally the financial impact of Joseph's reforms saw parishes with little means, leading to repeated salary cuts.³⁶⁹

A parish's priest was also responsible for the oversight of the school there. A Dean or Vice-Dean supervised education for a district. A member of the Cathedral chapter fulfilled this task on a diocesan level.³⁷⁰ Despite numerous educational reforms this only changed in 1869, when a liberal parliament passed a number of laws repealing the concordat which had ensured the existing practice of clerical oversight over schools formally in 1855. Up until the 1860s church and state had seen the schools as instruments to keep a mutual enemy at bay: liberalism.³⁷¹ The curricular focus in the first half of the nineteenth century had therefore been religious instruction and the education of the youth to lead a "morally good" life.³⁷²

³⁶⁷ Franz Zamazal, 'Anton Bruckner als Volksschullehrer', *Lehrer sein*, 31.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁶⁹ Karl Mitterschiffthaler, 'Mesner, Schulmeister, Organisten', *Künstler und Gesellschaft im Biedermeier*, ed. Andrea Harrandt (Tutzing: Schneider, 2002), 141.

³⁷⁰ Zamazal, 'Volksschullehrer', 29.

³⁷¹ Andrea Meissner, *Die Nationalisierung der Volksschule* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2009), 255.

³⁷² Josef Schermaier, *Geschichte und Gegenwart des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens in Österreich* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1990), 139.

As a young teacher Bruckner had experienced shared employment by church and state as well as clerical oversight over teaching that had been designed by the Imperial Ministry of Education. The same applies to his teacher training at the Normalhauptschule Linz: the director of this institution, Johann Nepomuk Pausperthl von Drachenthal, was a priest. On Sundays, the candidates for teaching were required to sing at the Minoritenkirche in Linz.³⁷³

Given Bruckner's reputation as fearful of authority, it would seem unlikely that he might have defied either Emperor or Church. Even more surprisingly, what we know of Bruckner's teaching shows us that he maintained his independence: because of a lack of satisfying evidence the Church had ensured that astronomical problems such as the earth's rotation around the sun were not included in the imperial curriculum. Bruckner, fascinated with the topic and without fear of the authorities, included the subject in his lessons in 1848 nonetheless.³⁷⁴

Repertoire experienced in St Florian

Growing up in a religious environment and space as a monastery must have made a lasting impression on a young boy like Anton Bruckner. At least to some extent, the abbey, inconceivably holy to most who saw it from afar, must have been his childhood playground. Between this and witnessing the life of the brothers we can assume that the following two must have been among Bruckner's experiences: firstly, that if all of life happens in a monastery, then that means that there is space for the most profane aspects of human life within a religious environment; secondly, that there is a religious

³⁷³ Othmar Wessely, 'Anton Bruckner's Präparandenzeit', *Anton Bruckner als Schüler und Lehrer*, 22.

³⁷⁴ Mayer, 'Ärgernis', 101.

perspective the goes beyond the boundaries of the most obvious religious service and worship and can define how a religious person sees any aspect of life, even if it lies beyond the abbey walls.

A brief look at the music Bruckner encountered during his time at the abbey confirms that the abbey was by no means a place free from secular music. Michael Arneth, Provost of St Florian Abbey from 1823 to 1854, had introduced a regulation that saw the boy choristers introduced to both church and chamber music by their teacher at the abbey school – a decision that affected Bruckner as a pupil, but probably more consciously as a teacher.³⁷⁵

The musical life of St Florian during the first half of the nineteenth century was heavily influenced by two of its provosts, Michael Ziegler and Michael Arneth. Ziegler, previously teacher and librarian at the abbey and provost from 1793, contributed to the music collection of the abbey with large amounts of sheet music, particularly music for piano solo, violin and piano, piano trios, and string quartets. He furthermore placed a focus in his acquisitions on *Lied*, as well as excerpts from operas and, to a minor extent, oratorios.³⁷⁶ After his death in 1823, Arneth succeeded him and quickly increased the number of evenings on which music would be performed and concerts would be given within the Stift. These *Kammermusikabende* were driven by a love of Romantic music, particularly *Lied*. Monks of nearby monasteries were often guests on these evenings, and on more than one occasion professional singers, including Antonie Adamberger, a singer at the Hofburgtheater in Vienna. Schubert himself visited the monastery and

³⁷⁵ Andrea Harrandt, 'Musical Life in Upper Austria in the mid-nineteenth century', *Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, 16.

³⁷⁶ Andreas Lindner, 'Weltliche Musik in den oberösterreichischen Stiften im Umfeld des jungen Anton Bruckner', *Bruckner-Tagung 2005 : Der junge Bruckner* (Vienna: MWV, 2008), 43-46.

commented in a letter from July 1825 on the large number of his compositions held by the abbey's archive. The largest number of *Lieder* in the repertoire at St Florian had God or nature as their subject, but only insignificantly fewer dealt with love, followed eventually by other themes of Romantic song, such as yearning and mortality. Around ten per cent fit the category 'entertainment'.³⁷⁷

In the early nineteenth century, performances take mostly place by invitation only for guests and take place in the music room of the abbey. Under Michael Arneith they become a more public affair. We know of around sixty concerts between 1832 and 1839. The repertoire was usually a mixture of instrumental solo music, chamber and some orchestral music, as well as arias, ensembles and choruses from operas and oratorios. An increased number of concerts could be found during the *Fasching* period, leading up to Lent.³⁷⁸

Bruckner participated in these activities actively during his time as a boy chorister. A list of transcripts shows that he also made use of the abbey's library for his personal study and to build his own collection of sheet music. In addition to a large number of sacred pieces, complete or in fragments, like for example Michael Haydn's German mass, an Offertorium by Cherubini and various mass settings, we also find secular music like the *Lied* "*Ännchen von Tharau*" or various piano music. That the majority of pieces copied are sacred music is notable, but might at least in part be explained with Bruckner's study of organ parts in particular.³⁷⁹ What can be said for certain is that

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 46-50.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 50-51.

³⁷⁹ Paul Hawkshaw, 'Bruckners Abschriften von Werken anderer Komponisten', *Der junge Bruckner*, ed. Antonicek et al., 173-183.

Bruckner came into contact with a wide range of music both sacred and secular in St Florian, both during time his time in the archive and in performance. Music was present in the life of the abbey, at the service at the altar but also distinctly elsewhere.

Bruckner in Linz – musicians serving multiple masters

Bruckner's employment in Linz as an organist at the Cathedral and the Stadtpfarrkirche was relatively straightforward. It is worth mentioning that this situation is much simpler than many of his colleagues there and musicians Bruckner worked with experienced.

Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, one of Bruckner's predecessors in Linz, had held the posts of organist, composer of entertainment music, music teacher, and correpetiteur and later *Kapellmeister* at the theatre until his death in 1840. His employment at the theatre secured the sufficient income which his post as organist could not provide, following the inflation after the Napoleonic wars and the national bankruptcy of 1811. Due to the pressures of his numerous commitments he would on occasion use dance music he had prepared for the following evening in his organ playing at mass.³⁸⁰

Franz Xaver Glöggl, *Kapellmeister* for Cathedral and Stadtpfarrkirche in Linz before Bruckner's arrival there began his career in the town as director of the orchestra at the theatre before becoming *Turnermeister*, essentially a town's director of music, often for ceremonial purposes and eventually taking on the post of Director of Music to both Linz Cathedral and Stadtpfarrkirche until his death in 1839. Karl Zappe the Elder was

³⁸⁰ Franz Zamazal: 'Johann Baptist Schiedermayr : Ein Vorgänger Bruckners', *Musikstadt Linz – Musikland Oberösterreich*, ed. Renate Grasberger (Vienna: MWV, 1993), 119-134.

director of the orchestra at the theatre from 1834 and had the post of *regens chori* of both churches added to his remit in 1840/42.³⁸¹

While Bruckner did not hold similar civic posts himself, the heritage of this musical tradition was still well known in Linz. Both singers and orchestral players were shared between the theatre and the churches. The panel to fill Schiedermayr's post at the Cathedral also had several members that represented the secular side of music in Linz, for example the conductor of the Gesangsverein Frohsinn. Little distinction between working for church or theatre was part of the heritage in Linz, the place where Bruckner's transition to the symphony took place.

Bruckner and the organ

Music cannot live in a vacuum. Any performance of a piece of music happens within a specific space. That space, with all its features and qualities (and lack thereof) becomes part of the performance – and in a way part of the instrument on which the music is performed. A conductor has to master the acoustic of a place as much as the orchestra itself. How much more then does this apply to an instrument that is not transportable and custom-built for a specific space, like the organ? The space in which it is installed (in Bruckner's time as today in most cases a church³⁸²) is part of that instrument in the same way as the body of a violin and the space inside it are part of the violin help determine its sound. When we talk about Bruckner playing the organ, we

³⁸¹ Elisabeth Maier, 'Kirchenmusik auf schiefen Bahnen', *Musikstadt Linz*, 109-110.

³⁸² The first big organ installed in a secular space in Austria was that in the Great Hall of the Musikverein. Cf. Scaling. It was installed in 1872 (60 years after the Musikverein was established and two after the Great Hall first opened), Markus Funck, 'Die neue Rieger-Orgel im Goldenen Saal der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde', *Ars Organi* 60.2 (June 2012), 79.)

therefore have to think of him, as it were, playing a church as well. Whether the playing is part of the liturgy of a service or not, it utilises a dedicated space of worship.

Relatively little of Bruckner's organ music survives, partly due to his great improvisational skills: there was little need for him to write down music. As the organ is effectively an orchestra that can (in an artistic sense anyway) be controlled by a single person, Bruckner did not rely on sheet music that could be shared with other players to have his music performed. The accounts of what he played are limited, but it is possible to gain some insight. The question for us is: was Bruckner as happy to perform 'secular' music on the organ in a church (or put more provocatively: perform it "on the church") as he was for his masses (and of course his sacred symphonies) to be performed in a concert hall?

Otto Biba claims that Bruckner would have seen the organ as an instrument of the Church, which was to be used for the liturgy. As such it would have been a mere object of utility. According to Biba, the competitions at which Bruckner played and his concerts on organs in concert halls were only short episodes.³⁸³ There are numerous reasons why this assessment is most likely to be wrong.

The personal relationship Bruckner is said to have had with some of the organs in his life contradicts the view of them as mere objects of utility. Whether the 'Farewell' scribbled in pencil on the console of the organ of the old cathedral in Linz was Bruckner's doing, as is usually alleged, cannot be proven with certainty.³⁸⁴ Together with the anecdote that he asked the organ in St Florian for advice before accepting the

³⁸³ Otto Biba, 'Brahms, Bruckner und die Orgel', *Johannes Brahms und Anton Bruckner*, ed. Othmar Wessely, 194.

³⁸⁴ Biba himself hints that it is most likely that the words are Bruckner's. Biba, 'Die Orgel im Alten Dom zu Linz', *Bruckner-Jahrbuch 1982/83*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz: ABIL, 1984), 78.

post at the conservatory in Vienna,³⁸⁵ those stories, though apparently merely anecdotal, do suggest a less utilitarian view of the organ.

It is noteworthy that in his first application to the Mozarteum for the post of director,³⁸⁶ which had been founded in 1841 for the restoration of church music and the reanimation of Mozart's art, Bruckner made practically no reference to his manifold experience as a church musician, but points towards his experience in directing secular music. This in itself is interesting, because even though it can be shown that Bruckner had both the brain power and the readiness to manipulate people (as well as plenty of experience to demonstrate his expertise in church music), yet he seemed unable to tailor an application to an institute which at the time had such a clear focus on church music. This can only mean that a separation of music into sacred and secular simply did not occur to him. What is more to say about this application is that Bruckner did mention his proficiency as an organist (even though he pointed out he was aware that he was not applying for an organist's post). He suggests the Mozarteum might profit from having him available to play for solemn occasions and that his reputation would lend excellence to the institute. Though he also calls the organ the most noble of church instruments, it seems clear that he does not view it as a utility for musical worship here but a provider of solemnity wherever it is needed as well as a carrier of his own fame as a virtuoso, of which he is undoubtedly proud. So little did Bruckner see the distinction between sacred and secular that despite the role's most obvious requirements and his eminent qualifications for it he submitted an application that must have appeared to be written by an absolute amateur.

³⁸⁵ Elisabeth Maier, 'Anton Bruckners Arbeitswelt', *Anton Bruckner in Wien*, 186.

³⁸⁶ *Briefe*, vol.1, 29.

When he requested to be examined by the Conservatorium in Vienna in November 1861, he admitted he was not allowing himself to compose freely until after that examination had been taken; to keep himself from ‘dryness’, however, he improvised on the organ and attended many concerts in Vienna. This clearly suggest that he did not regard the organ as a merely liturgical utility but also as an instrument for music making for music’s sake and something that paired up well with the concerts offered in Vienna.³⁸⁷ Biba may also be thinking of Bruckner’s dislike for rehearsing the repertoire for the organ (the word ‘*einwirken*’,³⁸⁸ which he used for ‘rehearsing’ suggests he found it tedious) and his complaint that due to the low pay for organists it was hardly worth the effort. That Bruckner did find practising repertoire unrewarding was mainly because he found it unchallenging and boring: he considered repertoire to be for people without imagination. Creating was closer to his heart than interpreting. When Biba calls him a ‘church organist and great improviser’ he seems to imply what Bruckner is not: a concert organist. That it was the creative challenge that determined his choice of improvisations over repertoire pieces serves to prove Biba wrong: Bruckner was playing for himself as much as for an audience, and not simply following given requirements like those of a liturgy. At the same time he wanted to present his audience with something new and created by him (in part certainly thanks to his well documented desire for affirmation). For Bruckner the organ (and by our opening argument hence the church) is not just a place for church music. His concertante (worldly) desires, too, have their place in religious space.

³⁸⁷ *Briefe*, vol. 1, 34.

³⁸⁸ Maier, ‘Arbeitswelt’, 172 // Bruckner an Weinwurm, 25 February 1864.

In Catholic Austria, the church was no place for concerts. The few organ concerts that were performed in Austrian churches at the time all took place in Protestant churches. In Catholic churches, organ performances would only be heard in a liturgical context; long and loud pieces could only be found at the end of a Mass.³⁸⁹ Bruckner's concert performances on the organ were therefore in so far episodic as they had to take place either in concert halls or abroad. While this might have been the state of affairs at least in the 1860s, it would be wrong to say Bruckner never performed in churches outside a liturgy. He received and accepted invitations from Germany, France, and England, and we can assume that at least some of these were extended by clergy in charge of the churches in question. If Bruckner had felt apprehensive about giving concerts in churches or playing competitively in churches (possibly even more questionable) then the behaviour of these clergy would have assured him. Naturally his practice, at least in the years before his move to Vienna, would have taken place in churches. Bishop Rudigier regularly came to listen when Bruckner practised in Linz,³⁹⁰ turning Bruckner's practice practically into a private concert for high standing clergy.

Karl Seiberl remembers an improvisation over Haydn's Kaiser-Hymne in Kronstorf in 1845, though the context is unclear.³⁹¹ Whether restrictions were loosened in general in the 1870s or whether Bruckner just achieved exceptions peculiar to him, we do know of organ concerts held in churches. In April 1870, the *Wiener Männergesangsverein*

³⁸⁹ Peter Planyavsky, 'Scaling the peaks of improvisation in a flat musical landscape : Anton Bruckner's organ improvisations', *Orgelpark Research Reports* 1, 75; 90.

³⁹⁰ Rudigier compared Bruckner to King Saul, as he found it impossible to pray during his playing but was captivated to listen. Quoika, *Orgelwelt*, 21.

³⁹¹ Göllerich/Auer, *Bruckner*, I, 279.

(*WMGV*) performed a concert of sacred music in the Augustinerkirche in Vienna, at the beginning and end of which Bruckner played solo pieces on the organ.

This cooperation is interesting as the world of male choral societies, a distinctly bourgeois institution, provides another link between concert culture and the church. The *WMGV* decided during a general meeting in 1877, that, given the interconfessional character of the society, sacred music should only be performed outwith any ritual or liturgical context of any denomination. If it was impossible to procure a church as concert venue under this condition, a concert hall would be hired, a moderate entrance fee would be charged, and any money left over after expenses would be given to the poor or other humanitarian causes.³⁹² In other singing societies, the ties with the church were even closer: High Mass was held to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the *Linzer Liedertafel Frohsinn* every year. We know that at least on 22 March 1857, Anton Bruckner played the organ for this.³⁹³ While the *Liedertafel's* concerts usually took place in the *Redoutensaal*, the theatre, or the civic gardens, we also know they regularly participated in the performance of masses at the cathedral. When they went on excursions (*Saengerfahrten*), High Mass always featured on the schedule.³⁹⁴ Secular music making without the blessing of the church was hardly thinkable in Upper Austria.

Returning to Bruckner's concerts, there was a recital in the parish church in Steyr in August 1875, where Bruckner improvised over Handel's Hallelujah Chorus, one of the

³⁹² Mayer, 'Ärgernis', 119.

³⁹³ Österreichisches Bürgerblatt (30 March 1857). in: *Anton Bruckner als Linzer Dom- und Stadtpfarrorganist*, ed. Theophil Antonicek (Vienna: MWV, 2009), 142.

³⁹⁴ Andrea Harrant, 'Aus dem Archiv der Liedertafel Frohsinn. Zum Chorwesen im 19. Jahrhundert', *Musikstadt Linz*, 57-58.

pieces he is said to have improvised most often. A witness describes the audience as struggling to not give applause in an inappropriate manner for the sacred environment,³⁹⁵ suggesting at least some level of awareness for the differences between sacred and secular venues.

In September 1891, Bruckner played a concert of improvisations (venue uncertain) over themes from his Seventh and a Choral from the Ninth, on which he was working at the time.³⁹⁶ Most striking though is the concert in 1885, in which ‘St Florian became Little Bayreuth’.³⁹⁷ A very large laurel wreath with the words ‘*Dem Meister deutscher Tonkunst*’ (to the master of musical art) was put up in the choir of the abbey church. Bruckner’s playing included the lament at Siegfried’s death from *Goetterdaemmerung*, music from the Adagio of his Seventh (the ‘Wagner requiem’), and improvisations on Walsungen and Siegfried motifs from Wagner’s Ring Cycle.

Less formal than public concerts were the demonstrations of his organs, particularly the one in St Florian, Bruckner used to give to friends and visitors. On one occasion, Bruckner was asked to play for visiting military. Wanting to present them with something ‘appropriate’ but stuck for a tune over which he could improvise he accepted the suggestion of one of the St Florian clergy, to use the *Retraite*, the military retreat signal (which was later used in the first movement of his Sixth).³⁹⁸

³⁹⁵ Partsch, *Steyr*, 211-212.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 255.

³⁹⁷ Karl Almeroth in Linzer Tagespost, 1 September 1885. In Partsch, *Steyr*, 243.

³⁹⁸ Göllerich/Auer, *Bruckner*, II.1, 270

We know that Bruckner often failed to subject himself and his organ playing to the liturgy. There are various complaints about him bringing the liturgical action to a halt with his excessive interludes. In his late years his performance at the *Hofmusikkapelle* was considered below standard, but first complaints about his liturgy-hindering organ playing date back to 1878.³⁹⁹ Similar concerns were expressed in St Florian decades earlier. It is not surprising that Bruckner should have conceived the liturgy as a place for a concert like performance: countless newspaper reviews, particularly from his time in Linz, show that critics would review services, including the music, at least at the cathedral, and write about them in the local newspapers.⁴⁰⁰ To think of his performances in this context as related to concerts and consumer-oriented only makes sense. Stories that he was seen praying while playing the organ⁴⁰¹ in his St Florian years are as anecdotal as speculative (since the witness was no expert lip reader but a mere child), but constitute no contradiction. They underline that performing for an audience does not automatically contradict performing for God. That a musician should be able to perform a work for both is ultimately biblical; in a loose adaption of Matthew 25:40 one might say: if the least of one's brothers enjoy a performance so will God.

³⁹⁹ Maier, 'Arbeitswelt', 205-206.

⁴⁰⁰ See the extensive selection of reviews appended to *Anton Bruckner in Linz*.

⁴⁰¹ Boy chorister Franz Wiesner remembers (Partsch, *Steyr*, 244) that there was 'something holy about it, when the *Meister* preluded during Mass and meanwhile, in prayer, moved his lips and smiled at us boys if he noticed us looking up reverently.' (transl. CDM)

Structural similarities as a sign for unconscious, deeply embedded associations and frameworks

Much can be said about quotations from his own (or others') religious music in Bruckner's symphonies. A few comparisons have been drawn at the beginning of this chapter. A further analysis of these is not the subject of this thesis. I also mentioned two approaches which show structural similarities between Bruckner's symphonic writing and both his church music and architectural features of St Florian Abbey. These models are both tentative explorations of potential ways to understand Bruckner's music a bit better. Neither of them claim certainty, and it is not fruitful for us to seek to disprove them. It is, however, worth exploring the models mentioned that among the attempts to explain why and how Bruckner's symphonic music is of course also religious (or at least religiously infused) music there are also less often used and so far more hesitantly proposed models that show structural similarities between Bruckner's symphonic and liturgic composition or symphonic composition and architecture respectively.

Roger Allen⁴⁰² has suggested that the structure of the Finale of the Eighth, which has long kept musicologists speculating and arguing, never finding a fitting model to explain it, does indeed show strong similarities to that of the Credo of the F Minor mass. The structure is not identical, and we cannot simply write the words of the Credo down above the bars of the Finale. But the similarities in the construction of the two are striking. It is not likely that Bruckner would have sat down, wondering how to structure that final movement and decided to recycle a structure used before, either in the hope that nobody would notice or to convey (or even just hide) an underlying message. It is

⁴⁰² Allen, 'Symmetries'.

much more likely, that his familiarity with the structures found in almost all aspects of religious service, be it during in the Divine Office, the Eucharist, (both of which he attended and accompanied regularly) or his private prayers, left themselves so engrained that they became second nature and would simply pour out of him, like somebody who has been reading in a foreign language all day might write down his shopping list in that language in the evening without even noticing. The process suggested is not a conscious transfer of structures between genres but exemplifies a form of musical rhetoric shared by Mass and Symphony.

William Carragan identifies a structure of ‘arches’ throughout Bruckner’s writing, from the Finale of the String Quintet to that of the Sixth and the Seventh, as well as in the Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, and the Te Deum.⁴⁰³ This is interesting considering arches are also the feature that dominates the architecture of the St Florian’s abbey church most strikingly. Might they have left their impression on the aesthetic tastes of Bruckner? The abbey was undoubtedly the grandest and certainly most *impressive* building young Anton would have seen in his early life. Nothing quite prepares the visitor for the sheer dimensions of the monastery as they come through the main gate. The fact that everything that surrounds the abbey is small in the most quaint and rural sense only intensifies this impression. If today’s visitors still get this impression, as I did on a recent visit, how much greater and more impressing must St Florian have appeared to a boy of around ten,⁴⁰⁴ having walked the five miles from his home village Ansfelden with his father. Such an arrival in the dark for midnight Mass on Christmas Eve or for

⁴⁰³ William Carragan, ‘Bruckner’s Golden Arches’, *Bruckner Journal* 9.1 (March 2005), 18-24.

⁴⁰⁴ This is roughly the age he would have had around his first visit. Hans Hubert Schoenzeler, *Bruckner* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1970), 16.

Easter Vigil could have only increased the immensity which the boy would have perceived.

Standing in the abbey church of St Florian today and sensing the space and the acoustics, Bruckner's music makes sense. It fits. It almost seems to have been written with those acoustics in mind. Leopold Nowak picks up on this and dedicates an entire article⁴⁰⁵ to the 'wideness' and dimensions of St Florian. He claims that these are tangible in Bruckner's music. Not only was Bruckner noticeably 'at home'⁴⁰⁶ in large spaces (primarily the abbey church, but also the rest of the abbey and other church spaces later on), but he absorbed wideness in St Florian even from the wideness of St Augustine's Rule. Yet however plausible the rest of Nowak's argument, the claim of tangible wideness in St Augustine's rule seems somewhat farfetched. The schoolteacher's house in Ansfelden, in which Bruckner spent his first years, is a prime example of a confined space. By contrast, the in every way spatially excessive St Florian became his 'home' when he was 13. Naturally, moving from one extreme to the other, his sense of space and "standard dimensions" was challenged. The most obvious expression of this St Florian 'wideness' is the sheer length of many of Bruckner's compositions.⁴⁰⁷ The use of big and perfect intervals is another: the majestic clarity of a big and dignified space is achieved by the use of fourths, fifths, and octaves in Bruckner's tunes; this way he builds open and unconstricted lines that appear like the

⁴⁰⁵ Leopold Nowak, 'Der Begriff der Weite in Anton Bruckners Musik', *Sankt Florian : Erbe und Vermächtnis* (Graz: Böhlau, 1971).

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 400.

⁴⁰⁷ It is important to acknowledge, that the length of Bruckner's symphonies is in line with a general development, in which symphonies after Beethoven become longer and longer. Cf. Mark Evan Bonds, 'Beethoven's Shadow: The Nineteenth Century', *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. Julian Horton (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), 329-343.

abbey with its wide space, pillars, and arches: generous, and clearly structured. The range of one motif can reach two octaves, like the first theme of the first movement of the Seventh or the melody of the Andante of the Fourth, furthering this impression even more. Not only vertical, but also horizontal wideness is found in the tunes and their treatment: the melody of the Trio in the Scherzo of the Third stretches across 16 bars. The height of expansion is reached in the Finale of the Eighth, where the principal theme is piled up over 22 bars and across several octaves in its reprise.⁴⁰⁸

Erwin Horn also suggests an approach to interpreting the structure of Bruckner's music architecturally. He understands Bruckner's architectural structuring in some of the works, such as the *Locus Iste*, which he describes as structured like a church tower, as deliberate and well thought through.⁴⁰⁹ Here Horn argues against the claim that Bruckner composed with religious fanaticism and without reflection. He also acknowledges that 'the architectonic impressions from Bruckner's childhood found, through the unconscious, their way into the tonal architectures of the mature symphony composer.'⁴¹⁰ Though he admits this is a subjective interpretation, he suggest the facade of St Florian can be recognised in the Adagio of the Eighth (1890 version). Bars 215 to 243 adds up segments comparable to the row of windows and reaches its climax in the two towers of the abbey. About halfway (in bar 225 of the Adagio, or where we would find the tower above the entrance to the inner quadrangle in the silhouette of the abbey) an intermediate climax is reached. Again adding up the segments (or windows), a

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 402-405, 409.

⁴⁰⁹ Erwin Horn, 'Satzstrukturen und Textdeutung in Anton Bruckners kirchenmusikalischen Werken', *Bruckner zwischen Idolatrie und Ideologie*, ed. Andrea Harrandt (Vienna: MWV, 2004), 117-130.

⁴¹⁰ Unpublished lecture & personal correspondence. Translated CDM

double climax is reached at rehearsal letter V. The climaxes (bars 239 and 243 respectively) are connected by an arch like the one stretching in between the two towers and over the entrance to the abbey church.⁴¹¹ The theory is hard to prove, but it is possible to follow the analogy (and more it does not claim to be) with a score quite easily. That the place which had become so familiar throughout so many of his formative years and that would become his spiritual home and place of comfort (particularly once he could return as a visitor and see it as removed from day to day chores) had left a mark on Bruckner's aesthetic is more than plausible. For a resonance of that homestead of Bruckner's spirituality to be found in his Eighth would essentially mean he was (unconsciously) going (or being taken) "home" to the place where his piety was formed, while he was composing.

A brief word on genuineness of belief

Much has been said about Bruckner's piety and it has been used by many writers to underlay claims that his entire oeuvre is to be seen as religious music. It is most striking that while an abundance of writers have commented, often in passing, on what they believe to be a very clear influence of religion on Bruckner's music, the one article that addresses this most directly⁴¹² is the one to challenge this stance firmly. Given the premise of this chapter a short response, which redefines the potential of Kantner's work, is necessary.

Kantner's work shows deep knowledge of, and true engagement with, Bruckner's life and environment and is in particular one of the most comprehensive depictions of the

⁴¹¹ Ibid., cf also Horn, 'Raum und Klang', 88.

⁴¹² Leopold Kantner, 'Die Frömmigkeit Anton Bruckners', *Anton Bruckner in Wien*.

religious influences surrounding the composer. In a few essential places, however, its argument falls short. Kantner suggests that Bruckner's religiosity, as we reconstruct and imagine it, is a fairly standard manifestation of the spirit of his time and not as special as is usually assumed by scholars.⁴¹³

Whether or not Bruckner's attitude towards performance space is a singular phenomenon in the nineteenth century or not is of limited relevance to this thesis. If Kantner's claim is true, though, it tells us how much of a child of his time Bruckner was. Considering Bruckner remained a controversial figure and did not simply change according to external expectations throughout his life (musically as well as in his behaviour towards other people), we have to assume that most of his religious character traits were cultivated rather than unconsciously adopted. Kantner bases his observations on the milieu in which Bruckner grew up. This milieu is most certainly not the prevalent form of religious life Bruckner would have encountered in Vienna. His lack of adaptation (manifest for example when he interrupted a lecture to pray at the sound of the Angelus bell⁴¹⁴) made him stand out in the social circles of Vienna; in all likelihood this is how the image of pious Bruckner developed in the first place.

What seems to be Kantner's heaviest argument, however, is probably also his most misguided one, for it only works in a sandbox and not in conjunction with human reality: in an attempt to demystify Bruckner's religiosity, he singles out Bruckner's striving for a career as a musician as the predominant motive behind all his work and reduces his religious practice to a calculating attempt to fulfil the conditions for salvation.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 241.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 258.

His early St Florian years, when Bruckner considered studying law and a career as a civil servant,⁴¹⁵ might indeed have been directed towards making a career in any field and for the sake of it, but such an idea would have been appealing to many a young man. That Bruckner did dream about career advancement does not contradict the ‘musical sense of mission’,⁴¹⁶ which for Kantner is a romanticising exaggeration of later years. On the contrary, if Bruckner dreamt of a successful career and still chose the uncertain path of a life in music surely that lends credibility to his action. The sense of entitlement Bruckner displayed in his later life⁴¹⁷ is anchored in exactly this sense of mission.

Bruckner expressed his frustration, for example in a letter to Ignaz Assmayr in 1852, in which he lamented that music and musicians were treated as if they did not matter at the Stift. He also mentions the performance of a psalm composition he wrote and dedicated to Assmayr, which was performed in the music room at the Stift, and finds it important to note that even musicians from Vienna participated and that there was much applause. It does indeed look as if at this stage Bruckner cared more about the appreciation of music connoisseurs than about the theological judgement of those living in a monastery.

An even less flattering picture is drawn by a letter from Robert Führer, over whom Bruckner won his position in Linz, to Ignaz Traumihler at St Florian. Before the audition Bruckner allegedly announced to “play to wreck all those poor

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 245.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. correspondence with both the Linzer Bischoefliches Ordinariat and the Wiener Hofmusikkapelle, for example *Briefe*, vol. 1, 16-17.

devils” (referring to his competitors). This shows indeed a disturbing level of arrogance, but we also must remember that Führer had just lost out on a job he had applied for and, in addition to feeling bitter, was also wanting a job from Traumihler. He stresses that there was more honour to be gained from the position in Linz, but that he preferred a post in St Florian, undisturbed from the noise of the world and free to dedicate himself to the *musica sacra*. Bruckner might simply have been so settled and confident in his faith that he did not fear any threat to it from “louder” environments, but Führer’s letter is nonetheless as much suggestive of Bruckner’s careless striving upwards in his career rather than spiritually, as it is of Führer’s own world view.⁴¹⁸

Kantner is familiar with large numbers of direct and indirect testimonies of Bruckner’s beliefs and does not question that they played a significant role in his life. But for him they are infiltrated with what he calls ‘heathen superstitions’⁴¹⁹ and not at the heart of a religious unity in the oeuvre. Beliefs held for true are different from genuine piety in his eyes. He is right to question the nobility of this unity. But whether purposefully achieved by the composer to go along with his beliefs or incidental, it is no less meaningful.

The danger of Kantner’s work is that it is easily used to invalidate a lot that has been said about the connection of Bruckner’s religion and his music, when in fact it does not. The article can leave us biased against Bruckner’s religiosity, when in fact it enables us to drop our bias in its favour. What Kantner successfully does is demystify Bruckner’s piety. He is right to do so, and he is right to do so exactly because it is neither our place nor helpful to understanding Bruckner’s music to assess or judge the man’s *success* at

⁴¹⁸ Robert Führer, ‘16 December 1845’, *Briefe*, vol. 1, 5-7.

⁴¹⁹ Kantner, ‘Frömmigkeit’, 235.

living a Christian life (or in other words, “being a good Christian”). His shortcomings, whether he strayed or not, whether he failed to live by values set by his chosen (or maybe rather inherited) religion does not reflect upon how genuine the beliefs he held and his religious feelings were. If anything, it shows us the humanity of the composer, in a struggle in between his fallen and redeemed nature: a most Christian humanity of a most human Christian, made visible in the tension between profane desires and striving towards the sacred. In other words: it places Bruckner at the heart of the sacred-secular line, with one foot on either side.

Life and death as a metaphor

Despite the often reported fascination or even obsession Bruckner is said to have had with death, there are comparatively few references to be found in his music: unlike Liszt and Rachmaninov he does not constantly use the *Dies irae* plainchant or references, nor does he display a liking for funeral marches to the same extent Mahler does.⁴²⁰ Nonetheless some death-related motives can be found (even beyond the often frequently invoked and by now mystified slow movement of the Seventh that has found its place in the minds of many listeners as Wagner’s requiem) and even if they are not as many as might be expected they are too significant to be ignored.

Elisabeth Maier quite plausibly suggests that what is often described as “brass chorales” in Bruckner’s symphonies are in fact not so much derivatives or sections of chorale (in neither the Catholic nor the Protestant sense, even though they are easily mistaken particularly for the latter), but are much more closely related to the aequale.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ Ken Ward, ‘The Shadow of Death in Bruckner’s Symphonies’, *Bruckner Journal* 8.1 (March 04), 17.

⁴²¹ Maier, ‘Choral’, 111.

An aequale is a piece for three to six trombones to be played at a funeral, usually outside at the open grave. Apart from the obvious practicality of trombones as instruments that can easily and effectively be used outside, as the instruments of the eschaton, they carry symbolic meaning: the German translation for the Greek word *σάλπιγξ* in the Book of Revelation is trombone rather than trumpet, which is used in most English translations.⁴²² Playing an aequale is therefore a final gift to the departed and understood as giving them the certitude of resurrection. (One might suspect that it also serves as a reminder of the certainty of judgement to come to those who are left behind.) In Upper Austria these aequales are only known to have been used since the early eighteenth century (and most prominently through *Three Equali* composed by Beethoven for Linz Cathedral for their other possible use, on All Souls' Day in 1812⁴²³ – among the very few survivors of this genre) and (apart from some music inspired by this form, such as Stravinsky's *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*⁴²⁴) their history seems to end with Bruckner, who wrote two. His other compositions of genres related to funeral music are his Requiem in D minor as well as a number of *Totenlieder*, songs to be sung at the bier or the funeral and which were a commonly found genre in his environment.⁴²⁵

Rather than from the much invoked Seventh, much insight can be gained from the Third. Bruckner allegedly told a friend that the second theme of the slow movement of

⁴²² Compare Rev 8:6 in Luther 1545 & 1984 / NIV / NTG Nestle-Aland.

⁴²³ Jane Bellingham. 'equale', *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2296>.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Othmar Wessely, 'Oberösterreichische Totenlieder aus dem Umkreis des jungen Bruckner', *Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik*, 73-74.

this symphony was dedicated to the memory of his late mother (who had died twelve years before he composed it). It comes across less as a contemplation of death or an expression of grief than as an invocation of the memory of his mother. (In other words: it goes back to the memories of the deceased as she was still alive.) The Finale of the Third then combines a funeral chorale with a polka, not in a competing but a complementing way. This was inspired by a specific experience Bruckner had: he became particularly conscious of the proximity of life and death when he was walking past a house where ball music was being played and then, in its immediate vicinity, past a house where he knew a recently departed person lay on a bier. According to Simpson, Bruckner wanted to show the immediate proximity of the life and death in his Third.⁴²⁶

A ball next to such a viewing, and a polka next to funeral music: not only do the trivial and the solemn meet here. In death, the secular sphere (the world on a clock, so to speak) and eternity come closer than ever and the former transitions into the latter. Life and death signify, in a way, secular and sacred sphere. The secular (timely measured and measurable) life of the profane and earthly world is confronted with the unending eternity of the heavenly sphere. This might have made out some of the fascination Bruckner had with death. As he contemplated it regularly, the proximity of the two was natural and familiar to him.

On similar grounds it is interesting that Bruckner understood his Ninth to also contain his ‘farewell to the world.’⁴²⁷ This means he was looking in both directions: towards God and his future in eternity, but also back on the world in which he has lived, unable to deny either. Again he might be accused of not having his mind set on God as

⁴²⁶ Ward, ‘Shadow of Death’, 17-18.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 19.

much as the pious Bruckner image cultivated by himself and most who wrote about him suggests. Whether or not that is to be interpreted as the failure of a Christian life depends on the standpoint and beliefs of the reader: it depends on whether they see abandoning all love for and attachment to the world as an exclusive necessity in following Christ and entering his discipleship, or whether they give weight to embracing God's creation and enjoying its reality as a divine gift. Again the question is not, however, whether Bruckner was a good Christian. It is whether he saw sacred and secular world separated. The answer is simple: he did not, nor did it occur to him that he might.

A comparison with Brahms

Bruckner and Brahms are often contrasted as two opposite poles of the Viennese musical life. Not only their musical differences seem to invite comparison, but also the religious aspect of their lives: where Bruckner stands for Austrian Catholicism, Brahms stands for the Protestantism of North Germany. Where Bruckner is portrayed as devout and pious, Brahms is often seen as not only a liberal (and thus associated with the anti-clerical camp) but an atheist. The relationship between Brahms and religion has puzzled many.⁴²⁸ He surrounded himself with many anticlerical people, called himself a heathen and godless, yet he was a keen and thorough reader of pious Catholic prayer books and his bible was covered in annotations and highlights. Brahms showed a deep interest in lamentations of both the individual and the people. This is also reflected in his choice of texts that he set to music; many of them relate to being forsaken. It is notable that he

⁴²⁸ Heinrich Herzogenberg discussed the issue as early as 1897. More recent authors include Martin Meiser, Hanns Christian Stekel, and Robert Henried.

focuses on the Old Testament; while he engages with biblical texts and issues his response is not a traditionally Christian one.⁴²⁹ Whether or not Brahms was religious is difficult to answer and in the end deeply irrelevant. It almost appears that his liberal political attitude coins his response to religion and how he presents himself with view to religion. Even more importantly, he takes a most human – and very biblical at that – condition seriously: by focussing on man in his loneliness and often a hopeless state, he addresses an issue at the heart of the Bibel. He proves insight into a deep level of Biblical theology that is often ignored by more openly religious writers. The number of his Marian songs and motets setting Old Testament texts is vast: where Bruckner approaches the concert hall from his Christian perspective, Brahms seems to move in exactly the opposite direction: informed by the world he experiences (the secular world, that of the *people*), he approaches a sphere he does not claim as his own (that of religion). Like Bruckner, he does not declare a deeply thought out agenda; like Bruckner he simply combines the secular and the sacred, though in a most different approach.

Conclusion

From the early days of life, Bruckner experienced sacred and secular spheres as immediately interconnected: as son to a school teacher fulfilling both secular and sacred duties; in a parish where priests from St Florian were responsible for spiritual as well as temporal matters; as a boy growing up inside the walls of a monastery; he found music of both secular and sacred within the abbey walls, and he devoured both alike wherever

⁴²⁹ Jan Brachmann, *Kunst - Krise - Religion: Der Fall Brahms* (Kassel: Bärenreiter 2003), 13-30, 480-490.

he found them: he studied what he could get his hands on: music for all occasions and contexts became his teacher to write music for (almost) all occasions and contexts; as a teacher as well as a musician it was normal to serve more than one master, with the Church being one of them. The time spent in the monastic environment of St Florian and in church music in general left its mark on Bruckner's unconscious and on the layout of his music. Like life and death, by which Bruckner was so fascinated, sacred and secular are inseparable in Bruckner's world. The connection of the two is not a constructed one. It is a unity of two things that both try to claim Bruckner's life and that in the process also compete. But they do not question each other: they are part of the same life of Anton Bruckner. The religiosity of Bruckner's secular life and music is unduly romanticised. If we allow ourselves to look beyond the image of the "model Catholic" painted so often, Bruckner's compositional journey and music draws a touchingly honest picture of what being a Christian and a human means, and how even those two traits, which are not simply harmoniously compatible, can become one to the extent that they are almost impossible to separate. Bruckner's religion so deeply permeated his life that nothing threatened its existence. All attempts to see divisions are misconceived. Religion pervades it all, whether secular or sacred, without needing to think about it.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine the potential of approaches separating the sacred and the secular in music and to compare them to the potential of a more holistic approach. With the reforms of Joseph II and the Cecilian movement on the one side and the evolving of concert culture and the life and work of Anton Bruckner on the other, strongly contrasting examples have been examined. Have these explorations shed any more light on the issue?

Josephinism

Joseph II aimed to remove from the church all pomp that distracted from worship, in other words, all that was not sacred. At the heart of this purge was music that he deemed inappropriate for the service: music imported straight from the theatre or other secular places of enjoyment, or music that was reminiscent thereof. Music that could merely be consumed rather than participated in was banned from the church. In the eyes of Joseph, the church was very definitely not a concert hall, and needed to be separated from such venues. Ultimately, however, we find that this was more claim than aim.

Joseph's reforms have to be seen in their wider context. The reforms of church music stand in a line of reforms in which he at once rearranged the balance of sacred and secular in the life of his citizens and cut costs to balance his budget. His foremost aim was to contain the role the Roman church played in Austria. By separating the sacred and secular spheres he could not only protect the sacred from the secular, but also keep

the sacred, or more specifically the Catholic Church, out of the secular sphere. The primary purpose of the lines he drew were to keep Rome out. Joseph's secularisation process began as a fight to claim power and influence over the Catholic flock away from the Holy See.

A true separation of the sacred and secular spheres was not achieved for several reasons. By the mere fact that the state rearranged the life of the Church, the two touched. The fact that parish priests were compelled to fulfil civic duties and school teachers were involved in the music of their local churches, as part of their job, signifies a very active connection between the two. While Rome lost influence over the Austrian Empire, the Habsburg monarchy gained influence over the Catholic church in its land.⁴³⁰

The introduction and enforcement of the vernacular in worship might have offered the congregations a true opportunity to find common ground between their everyday life and their Christian life within the liturgy. However, the liturgy was treated as a mere utility to shape the citizen, not so much spiritually than for their usefulness outside of church, according to the Emperor's wishes. Next to imperially prescribed sermons, educational hymns were introduced to replace the "worldly entertainment music" that had been banned. As they were composed as tools, their aesthetic quality fails the standards of musical beauty and their content lacks theological integrity. Their aim was not to transform Christian life, but Austrian life. The church was made a smithy to forge and mould the person that would live in the secular world.

⁴³⁰ As late as 1903, Austria made use of its *ius exclusivae* to veto the election of Mariano Rampolla as successor of Pope Leo XIII.

The state, representing the secular sphere, cannot competently reform the inner life of the Church. Anything that it has to offer the Church beyond challenging dialogue is patronising and shortsighted. If the church is no longer a place for spiritual renewal and Christian nurture it loses both its function and its deep influence over its flock – the same deep influence that made it appear to be an attractive education instrument to the state in the first place.

Cecilianism

Acting from within the Church and deeply rooted in its tradition and doctrines, the Cecilian movement shared many of the Josephine concerns about the entertainment value of music and distinct qualities that could distract from worship. However, the Cecilian aim to purify church music from within its own tradition was short sighted on several levels.

The lives of worshipping Christians are to be left at the church doors as if they could be taken off like a coat and hung on a rack. This is most visible in the disregard of large and influential parts of the movement for the vernacular in worship. The Cecilian choice of Latin as the language of worship was inconsistent with the drive towards worship based on that of the early Church on two levels: neither Jesus nor the earliest Christians would have spoken or prayed in a tongue other than the vernacular; even in their case, the vernacular was not Latin either. Besides this inconsistency and failure to comply with its own norms and aspirations, in its rejection of the vernacular the movement showed its disregard for the experienced world of Christians and for Christianity as a religion anchored in the real world.

In their struggle to prevent subjectivity in worship, the nineteenth century Cecilians set up artificial criteria to be fulfilled by church music. They failed to see that the reactions which they anticipated certain musical features would cause were in themselves highly subjective and did not allow for individual experience. Rather than embracing the potential of connotations and associations from the outside world, they rejected them as inappropriately profane. It escaped their radical approach that musical features, whether motifs borrowed from secular music or the use of certain instruments, can contribute to the understanding of the ungraspable Divine on a subconscious, sensual level in the same way comparisons and references to the outside world can be used in sermons to make a point on an intellectual level.

Essentially, the Cecilian movement failed to acknowledge that Christian life happens in the current world and not in a sandbox. The challenges of this world are an integral part of the Christian journey and not just unpleasant stepping stones. The world in which we live is a place in which to experience Christianity and in which to live it. Its reality becomes evident in Matthew 25:40 (in Jesus' promise that 'whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me'). What we give and receive in this world is neither illusion nor simply a test for us to earn our entry into Paradise, where we get to live eternally in the presence of Jesus; this world is already where we build and live our relationship with Jesus – a world validated by the incarnation.

The Cecilian movement stood for a church that, in an attempt to escape the temptations of the world, closed its mind to its reality and cloisters itself away from a world validated by the Incarnation. It serves as a prime example for how an individual's

experience and reaction is assumed through a constructed norm that is wrongly believed to be objective. By assuming this reaction to be universal, it undermines the individual worshipper's potential to link their experience of the liturgy to the wealth of experience they have collected in their own life and allow it to become concrete.

Concert life

The emergence of concerts, both private and even more public, signifies two things before all others: a change in patronage and the creation of a new *locus*.

The demise of music at court and in church was initially caused by austerity measures, as well as ill-management. With cuts affecting both the ceremonial at court and means available for music in church, new sponsors had to be found to fund the continued existence and development of music. To guarantee the upkeep of music, composers as well professional performers had to be paid. In part, the increased participation of amateurs in the creation and performance of music compensated for the significant decrease in funds coming from court and the depleted human resources in the monasteries, particularly in the aftermath of the Josephine reforms. In part, aristocracy and lower nobility, later also the bourgeoisie, adopted the responsibility that had once been the prerogative of court and church. What once had been a fairly exclusive privilege became, over time, to be held by the wider public.

Opera has been excluded from this study as, in its original performance context, we can count it as a variation of theatre rather than a musical genre. Other forms of secular music had formerly not had a dedicated performance space in the same way the church had been the natural and self-evident performance space of sacred music. The new

patrons needed to identify new spaces where they could put on their performances. Among the emerging venues we find at first mostly private houses, then guesthouses and inns, theatres, but also rooms in other public buildings, as for example the Great Hall of the university. Eventually, dedicated concert halls were built, most prominently the Wiener Musikverein. Now a variety of venues were available, none of which were dedicated as religious space.

Within these newly created spaces, performance formats evolved that were directed towards the participation of amateur musicians as well as towards the consumption of music by an audience. Nonetheless, neither the new venues nor the new format of the concert were exclusive to secular music. A considerable number of the concerts were organised as a direct effect of the church year. They served as an alternative to the entertainment of the theatre when the religious season did not permit staged performances, or where they were deemed inappropriate. A large proportion of the music performed was secular, but besides full performances of large oratorios of religious content, we also find concert programmes with almost random compilations of secular and sacred music. The former was a speciality particularly of the widely growing choral societies, which were effectively secular congregations of the intellectual classes. The latter give an even clearer indication that the concert was not perceived as a place for secular music only, and that enjoyment in listening could be taken from religious and non-religious music alike.

Religious music was allowed to permeate the homes in which private concerts were given as well as the public performance spaces. Audiences embraced the depth of experience that they could draw from a musical performance, whether religious or not.

Just as the Romantic spirit displayed an openness to experiencing the Divine in nature, concert-goers reported personal and touching experiences of spiritual depth. Once dedicated concert halls were opened as single purpose buildings, churches found themselves in competition with ‘temples of music’ when it came to providing a contemplative and spiritual environment.

Anton Bruckner

For Anton Bruckner, sacred and secular had been intertwined for the entirety of his life. Growing up in a village where civil matters lay in the hands of the clergy, living through adolescence within the walls of a priory, and being subordinate as an employee to demands from both secular and religious authorities are only a few of the examples. He found a wide range of secular music in St Florian and experienced performances of secular music being given within the abbey in no small number.

As an organist he was mostly confined to playing an instrument in church, both within and outside the liturgy. During his study period this was the only place where Bruckner allowed his creative imagination to flow. His improvisations drew on music both sacred and secular; the church instrument served him as a means to entertain audiences and to make a name for himself as well as to aid the worship of God.

All these factors influenced Bruckner’s work heavily. His compositions lend themselves to comparisons and analogies. The wide space of St Florian’s abbey church left its mark on Bruckner’s unconscious, as did his involvement in the *opus Dei* of the canons. The acoustics he experienced impacted on the way he wrote. His music, including his symphonic music can only be understood with the development of sound

in St Florian in mind. His use of the orchestra in ‘terrace-like’ sets and groups equals that of an organist’s use of registration. Structural similarities with both the architecture of the abbey and his settings of sacred texts, with which he would have been so familiar that they pervaded his subconscious, can be found in Bruckner’s symphonies.

Bruckner was open to his sacred music being performed in secular spaces just as much as he was open to draw on secular themes when he played the organ in a church. Already the second performance of his D minor mass took place in a venue that was otherwise used for symphonic concerts and balls. His symphonies, despite the religious marks they bear, were written for performance in the concert hall. This includes the Ninth, dedicated to God and to be performed with the *Te Deum* in place of the Finale.⁴³¹

Bruckner’s piety did not change in a way that explains his shift from church music to symphonies as his preferred genre of composition. It is often idealised and the byname ‘God’s musician’ has infiltrated Bruckner scholarship at a deep level. Bruckner did, however, by far not live what might be considered a perfect Christian life. His musical passion and his sense of self-importance can in places appear to use the church as a venue for self-promotion and suggest his piety was false. What they really show, however, is the man’s struggle with perfectly human desires and the fact that he was rooted in this world as much as in the world to come. His religious background informed his work for the secular sphere in an unconscious way to such an extent that

⁴³¹ There is some debate about whether the *Te Deum* should indeed be played in the place of the *Finale*, which Bruckner never managed to finish. It appears Bruckner changed his mind about the use of the *Te Deum* for this purpose on more than one occasion. While I am inclined to follow John A. Phillips (John A. Phillips: “The facts behind a ‘legend’: the Ninth Symphony and the *Te Deum*”, *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. by Crawford Howie et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), 270-281) in his assessment that the performance of the performance of the *Te Deum* as a fourth movement is what the composer would have wanted, I believe that for our purposes the relevant point is not what Bruckner’s opinion was at the very moment of his death, but the fact that he felt free to even consider the option of using the *Te Deum* in his symphony.

the two cannot be taken apart. They had come to form such a natural unity that Bruckner was not aware of the lines between secular and sacred.

Bringing the four together

In Joseph's reforms of church music we see a failed attempt of the secular sphere attempting to control and redefine the balance of sacred and secular, and to divide the two spheres. They instrumentalised the Church for the state and undermined its potential for spiritual nurture. The Cecilian movement attempted the separation of these spheres from within the Church, locking the secular out of its realm. By this it denied not only the nature of Christian religion as a religion in the world but also denied worshippers the connection of their liturgical experience with the experience of their life outside church. It failed to make use of that life experience as a means to engaging with and understanding the complexities of Christianity and omitted to exploit its potential to integrate their religion into their everyday lives. In both cases, worship and life became detached from each other: in the former case because the Church could no longer offer spiritual nurture, in the latter because the world was now refused the chance to inform the spiritual life of the faithful and root one in the other.

With the rise of concerts, patron roles originally held by the Church opened up for a wider public and new performance spaces, which were not dedicated as religious, evolved. Religious music was allowed a place in these secular surroundings, secular societies got involved in the upkeep of oratorios, and concert halls became a place of potential spiritual experience outside church. While new non-religious spaces were created they allowed the lines between secular and sacred to be blurred at the same

time, offering the potential of integrating one in the other just as Josephinism and Cecilianism denied that opportunity. Anton Bruckner serves as an example of someone in whose life and work these lines are blurred beyond recognition. The new spaces and the church alike become places in which music can be spiritually stimulating or serve as a vehicle of worship, but also a venue of enjoyment and musical experience for music's own sake. Because the line distinguishing sacred and secular is no longer clearly visible this might seem inconsistent. It might appear irreverent. It might cause situations that are liturgically questionable or invite behaviour that can be considered as inappropriate in church. These faults remind us of our human condition. They are a small price to pay for life and faith to walk hand in hand. Piety is not perfection. It is the acceptance of our fallible human lives into our religion and the true integration of our faith into our life in the world. As Anton Bruckner showed us, music has the potential to connect the two.

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