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Nineteenth Century Sacred Music: Bruckner and the rise of the Cäcilien-Verein

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Nineteenth Century Sacred Music: Bruckner and the rise of the Cäcilien-Verein

By

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Nineteenth Century Sacred Music; Bruckner and the rise of the Cäcilien-Verein

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of

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In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Music

by
Nicholas Bygate
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Abstract

Nineteenth century music is known for its grandiose over-the-top performances. Larger-than-life orchestras, choruses, settings, length of works, and even harmonic language were all commonplace at this time. Hidden in among all of this was a movement pulling entirely in the opposite direction. Sacred music performed during the worship service had always been more conservative than its secular counterpart, but a new movement began to push for sacred music to regain what it had lost since the days of the Renaissance masters. The *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein* (The Cecilian Society) was formed with the hope of reducing sacred music to its core to allow for space for the contemplation of God and the listeners and participants. The Society, founded in Germany, grew and expanded as far as the New World, and with the encyclical *Motu proprio* of 1903 vanished even more quickly than it had begun. This thesis discusses the origins of this society and the figures responsible for it. The focal point is Anton Bruckner.

Anton Bruckner is a composer most known for his symphonies. Choral practitioners will have heard his more popular motets, such as *Os justi* and *Locus iste*, but his Masses and other motets are infrequently performed. One of the reasons that these motets are so popular is that they combine the simplicity of earlier music with various aspects of nineteenth-century harmony and structure that creates a special mix not found many other places. It is debatable whether or not Bruckner was influenced by the *Cäcilien-Verein* and if he even had any kind of relationship with them outside of a few encounters. His music reflects their suggestions on how sacred music should be written.

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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the music of the nineteenth century and why, when it came to their sacred compositions, composers were more influenced stylistically by music from the Renaissance than music of that time. Although there was a clear divide between sacred and secular music, the two had progressed at a similar rate, with a constant borrowing of ideas passing between them. As time progressed the gap between the two slowly grew with the first culmination[1] of sorts occurring during the nineteenth century. This study also offers an objective overview of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein* and its activities. There is a lot about the early days of the society that is unknown, and there are many differing views on various composers as to how much the society influenced them. This study aims to present as complete a picture as possible, without drawing final conclusions due to insufficient evidence. There are places where clear ties and direct correlations are available and provable, just as there are places where the ties are non-existent, and it could be viewed as invidious to try and create a connection where there is no proof that any exist.

This topic bears studying as this movement did not only affect music, but was a part of a larger shift away from sacred life, as well as sacred society looking back to the Renaissance, as the pinnacle of sacred life. There is still work to be done on the *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein* (hereinafter designated as ACV) and the similar

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[1] First culmination is used as there is potential to compare and contrast the state of secular and sacred music and find other peaks throughout the 20th and 21st centuries at which point the two differ or not depending on the variables examined.

organizations as to just how far their influence reached. The *ACV* that still exists today is much different from the one conceived by its founders. The current *ACV* releases its journal, *Musica Sacra*, six times a year with the current-day journals covering a vast range of topics. The current *ACV* no longer attempts to impose any ideals on composers, but acts as a place for work and discussion around sacred music to be shared. One of the lenses that this study examines the *ACV* through, is that of its relationship to Anton Bruckner and his works. Bruckner's relationship with the *Cäcilien-Verein* is somewhat complicated, mostly due to the lack of information available. There are a few instances of interactions between himself and the *ACV,* but there is a lack of evidence that the *ACV* had any influence on his writing like many other composers. That being said, it does not mean that the evidence does not exist, it is just that there is little that has been found to date. The reason Bruckner was chosen as a sample study was that his sacred compositions, more specifically his motets, ebb and flow in and out of what the *ACV* had mandated for sacred music at the time. It should also be noted that his motets and other sacred works are not totally unique in this as there were other composers whose compositions were similar stylistically who also had little or no ties to the *ACV* or any of the similar groups. Bruckner is also an interesting case study as many other well-known sacred composers of the time, such as Franz Liszt and Johannes Brahms, started out their careers writing secular music, whereas Bruckner began his career by composing sacred music and only switched to secular music later in life. If there is one thing that is very clear in this somewhat murky topic, it is that there is still more work to do and more to discover.

This work often refers to reforming and restoring sacred music and so those terms will be present. It is important to note that this reformation has no correlation to the Reformation associated with Martin Luther that occurred a few centuries prior.

This study was conducted under a few restrictions and limitations. First, all the sources examined needed to be English translations, and therefore there is an inherited loss of information that comes from translation. Second, work on the *ACV* has not been thoroughly conducted by a majority of scholars who frequently mentioned it in various footnotes and other references, though there has been quite a bit of work on the subject in various graduate-level studies, as can be seen in the bibliography. In the final chapter of the study there are some examples from Bruckner's works in order to provide additional context and examples of the topics discussed herein. These examinations of Bruckner's music are not intended to be considered as in-depth analyses of the works, but rather a more holistic contextual examination. Any in-depth analysis of these works was considered inappropriate as there would need to be a more comprehensive look into nineteenth century music as a whole, which is beyond the scope of this project. As mentioned above, with the *ACV* still being in existence today and continuing to produce journals and other relevant content, a much deeper study into the *ACV*'s work throughout the nineteenth and twentieth Century is needed.

Chapter 1: Sacred Music Reform

The Protestant church had grown considerably by the middle of the eighteenth century moving into the nineteenth. By the end of the eighteenth century Martin Luther's idea of a single church for all the people had created two mainstreams of Christianity in Europe as well as smaller offshoots. Early on in the nineteenth century Protestantism was thus fragmented throughout Europe, with a small pocket in the New World. Where Catholicism clung to the older conservative traditions, some Protestant theologians, such as Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768 – 1834) and Albrecht Ritschl (1822 – 1889), found new ways to bring life to the Lutheran doctrine through rationalism and the new ways of thinking from the eighteenth century. The Protestant view of the church had shifted from formality, ritualism, and the Mass, to a more inner and personal relationship with Christ. There were those, who mainly considered themselves to be devout believers, who thought that these changes negatively affected faith, and by the midpoint of the nineteenth century they were disturbed by the trends that were taking place. A major point of contention among those involved in the church, both the Catholic and Protestant, was sacred music, with the focal point on both sides concerned the quality of the music.

It seemed to be a popular opinion among musicians and scholars at the time that Protestant church music had begun to decline after the death of Johann Sebastian Bach compared to what the genre had been able to achieve earlier. Friedrich Blume noted that the discontent was noted by many of those whose musical talents and knowledge were respected:

> As early as the second half of the 18th century, voices began to be heard deploring the low level of church music and its steady decline: Adlung in 1758, Albrecht in 1764, Steinberg in 1766, Knecht in 1783, Türk in 1878, Spazier in 1788, Hiller in 1791, and many others. Complaints became more numerous soon after 1800; they did not cease throughout the century.[2]

He goes on to point out that one must be wary of labelling the music post-Bach as poor or "deteriorating," but rather consider the possibility of a change in taste, a possible decline in performance versus a decline in actual composition, and a general decline in the musical and the ecclesiastical aspects of the art. As with any form of reform or revolution, the picture is actually quite complicated, and even though the general opinion of decline was shared by many, it would be an oversimplification to state that all areas of Protestant music went through an equal deterioration concurrently. Blume takes this statement one step further:

> In the field of church cantata, for instance, the late Baroque works of Seibert, Glaser, Wirbach, and Wundsch show clearer signs of decay than do later cantatas of composers such as Vierling. Nor can one state simply that an absolute low point was reached in the nineteenth century and that after this a gradual, steady improvement took place.[3]

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[2] Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music* (New York: 1974), p. 319.
[3] Ibid. p. 319.

One of the main causes of the decline of church music in both Protestant and Catholic worlds alike was the so-called Age of Enlightenment, which was the main intellectual development of the previous century. The Enlightenment focused on reason and rationalism, giving birth to the famous Latin saying *Sapere aude* (Dare to know, Dare to be wise, or Dare to think for yourself). Enlightenment scholars cautioned against the political power of organized religion in order to avoid anything like the Thirty Years War from reoccurring. The thinking of the common people had shifted from a spiritual and complacence with their day-to-day existence to one based upon logic, reason, and science, which touched all aspects of life; philosophy, politics, art, etc. The Enlightenment produced many more inventions, laws, and revolutions than in previous generations due to the new way people were thinking. There was also the discussion of Deism, which can be described as a belief system where the followers believe in God as the Creator of the universe and all things in it but rejects the idea of direct manifestations or interference, such as miracles. It was thought that a rational man did not believe in things such as miracles, as they could not be rationally explained.

The accession of Fredrick the Great to the Prussian throne in 1740 was a major turning point in the development of the German Enlightenment. He brought forth ideas to better the lives of those under him. In one of his letters he declares: “My principal occupation is to combat ignorance and prejudice . . . to enlighten minds, cultivate morality, and to make people as happy as it suits human nature, and as the means at my

disposal permit."[4] With this new wave of rationalism, the middle class of the Germanic regions became increasingly distanced from the church. Blume goes into further detail:

> In the name of Deism 'unnatural' dogmas were refused; instead, one practiced a 'natural' religion. The dogmatic foundations of theology itself were softened by 'neology' and its offspring, rationalism, which had replaced Pietism since about 1770. "*Sapere aude*!" Have the courage to use you own intellect! This is the motto of the Enlightenment.[5]

The church and state were beginning to converge on the ideas of freedom of consciousness. It was generally agreed upon by many that no government should control what its people thought, and this was being passed along to the church, as well. The Enlightenment critics did not exclude the traditions of Protestant church music from their scrutiny. They shook them to their foundations, severed their ties with the liturgy, and supplied new goals. Only later did it become evident that the rational, reformatory zeal of the Enlightenment was not the right focus, for it led all aspects of the church, including music, into a decline in congregational participation. The Enlightenment thus created many issues for the church, as well as for its music. As the people lost interest in the church itself, the music also suffered. Blume paints a dreary picture of the state of the church and its music:

> Congregational singing that dragged along laboriously; an impoverished liturgy in which music filled a role of questionable value; organ music and organ playing

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[4] Giles MacDonogh, *Frederick the Great: A Life in Deed and Letters* (New York: 2000), p. 341.
[5] Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, p. 320.

> which either cultivate a gallant, pianistic stile or was stiff and pompous; cantatas of slight musical substance and choral music that was sentimental and bombastic. This was the situation at the time the restoration set in. It was part of a general religious reaction to the dissolution of Christian beliefs during the Enlightenment.[6]

The church soon began to view contemporary sacred compositions as being representatives of this new anarchical thinking, and therefore, ironically, the new idea was to go back to a time when sacred music was pure, simple, and clearly delivered the Word of God.

Restoration and Reform

Historians generally have seen 1817 as a noteworthy year and the possible beginning of the restoration, or re-reformation, of the Protestant church along with its music. It was the 300th anniversary of Martin Luther's protest against the Catholic Church. Klaus Harms (1778 – 1855), a pastor from Kiel, republished Luther's original theses along with 95 of his own condemning rationalism. He wished to restore Lutheran hymns to their original state and began researching their original texts, which he was mostly successful in finding. This was a new beginning for the Protestant church, a "rejuvenation of orthodox Lutheranism," as Blume puts it.[7] However, this rejuvenation was limited to those who still worshipped in the church; the rest of populace would be slow to return. The church was no longer the major regulating power that it had been, nor was it the center of intellectual activity. The middle class was growing, with more and

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[6] Ibid. p. 376.
[7] Ibid. p. 378.

more people being able to read and think for themselves; moreover, life was becoming more secularized outside of the church. The church was losing its hold over the populace. The ecclesiastical authorities were having difficulty maintaining their power and their importance under this strain, and music in the church was no longer at the center of musical life, the concert hall and opera house having taken over in its stead. Works based on gods and mythical creatures, other than the "One True God" filled the theatres, and the prospect of the supernatural outside of the Christian faith was a major draw. Not only were there a large number of public concerts, but the new middle class could hold concerts or gatherings of musicians in their own homes, and therefore the development of music as a whole had been somewhat ostracized from the church. In 1813 August Jakob Rambach wrote a treatise *Über Dr. M. Luthers Verdienste um den Kirchengesang* (*On Dr. Martin Luther's Contributions to Church Hymnology*) to go along with the thesis of Harms. It was a work that focused on Luther's views on music for the church, but more importantly it showed that people were starting to become aware of its historical origins. Different musical areas of the Protestant church were now being studied, such as hymnology, liturgy, organ music, and the history of polyphony. There was now an attempt to incorporate this information into contemporaneous musical works, such as the style of the rhythmic chorale of sixteenth-century Lutheran liturgy. However, Romantic ideals were too popular and too engrained in the parishioners, and sacred music itself had shifted to focusing more on chant. Johann Friedrich W. Naue (1787 – 1858), a German composer, theorist, and organist, published the book *Versuch einer musikalischen Agende* (*Treatise on a Musical Agenda*) in 1812. The book focused on the

restoration of chant, and in 1822 the Prussian cabinet had the book sent out to all of the Prussian churches with the request that it be the basis for the *ordinarium* and *proprium*, as well as other ecclesiastical ceremonies. He would not be the first to decide that sacred music should revert to the chant.

Zelter and Thibaut

Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832) and Anton Thibaut (1772-1840) were two of the sacred music restoration movement's most important leaders. Their works and influence apply to both the Catholic and Protestant restoration, though Thibaut tends to be more associated with the Catholic restoration, as the Cecilian movement has a strong basis in his work. Carl Friedrich Zelter is known today chiefly as Felix Mendelssohn's teacher, a friend of author Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and an important person in the development of nineteenth-century Berlin's musical scene. Upon taking over the *Singakademie* from Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736-1800), son of the famous composer Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688-1758), the *Singakademie* became one of the preeminent choral establishments in Germany. The *Singakademie* started out as a group of music lovers coming together and singing informally. Zelter describes it as: "One gathered in the evening, drank tea, spoke, talked, in short entertained oneself; and the matter itself was only secondary."[8] In 1807 upon taking over from Fasch, Zelter established an orchestra to accompany the group, and the following year he founded a men's choir, the *Liedertafel*, which would be the model that many male choruses, such as

[8] Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Selbstdarstellungen* (Zurich: Manesse, 1955), p. 64.

the *Liedertafel Frohsinn,* would follow. These choirs were very important throughout the nineteenth century for the development of a German national music. As for the *Singakademie,* when it began, the bulk of its members belonged to the wealthy class in Berlin, and it would grow to be a few hundred members throughout the century. Zelter's private students included: August Wilhelm Bach, Adolf Bernard Marx, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Gustav Wilhelm Teschner, Otto Nicolai, and the two most important, Mendelssohn and Eduard Grell, both of whom were also members of the *Singakademie*. It is interesting to note that the idea of changing liturgical music for the Protestant church did not stem from the church itself, but rather from these singing groups, for they were the ones to push for the performance and emulation of Renaissance music. Early on, these Renaissance works were performed *a cappella*, which was somewhat strange at the time, since vocal works were now mostly accompanied. Along with the *Singakademie*, an equally important singing society was Thibaut's singing group in Heidelberg, which built upon Zelter's model and flourished later in the nineteenth century. It is important to note that, although these two are where this study begins, there were others involved before and contemporaneous with them, but which do not have a direct connection with this subject.

In 1809, Willhelm von Humboldt, at the time the Prussian Minister for Education and Religious Affairs, proclaimed Zelter's *Singakademie* a model of the societal benefits resulting from the cultivation of church music. Humboldt puts an emphasis on the idea: "No other art form is capable of having such a beneficial effect on the lowest members of

society or of creating such a natural bond between the upper and lower classes."[9] These choruses had become so popular that they were appearing everywhere. Although the original *Singakademie* was mostly from the upper class, others allowed for people of all levels of society to participate. Thibaut argued that the benefits of musical reform were the most likely to have an effect on the regular people, though all of the praise of Zelter and Thibaut from various contemporaneous sources must be considered carefully, as their various singing groups were quite socially exclusive. The *Singakadmie* restricted membership to those who "possess the required level of moral and artistic cultivations,"[10] and Thibaut also only accepted singers of a certain social status. Both groups seldom performed in public at first, and when they did perform, the audience was limited to influential friends. Those who did not agree with the musical tastes of the group were not invited back. Thibaut's choir only allowed an audience four times a year, whereas Zelter was somewhat more generous with his group's performances. These singing groups were a main factor in the resurgence of Renaissance music, as Thibaut and Zelter both believed that modern music was not of the same quality as the old masters. As such, the singing groups performed mostly music from the Renaissance, which had a hand in the rebirth of its popularity. Thibaut and Zelter frequently condemned the degeneracy of modern musical culture and tended to focus their arguments on the complete dominance of instrumental music.

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[9] Quoted in James Garrat, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 63-64.
[10] Ibid p. 64.

Both Zelter and Thibaut viewed their choral societies as counterweights to the predominance of instrumental music in modern culture. Although they didn't take this as far as some of their students, they both pointed to instrumental music as being one of the main causes for the decline in the quality of church music. Thibaut and Zelter were champions of the *a cappella* setting, allowing them to give voice to their displeasure with instrumental music. As a consequence, not only did this lead to the revival of Renaissance music, but it also encouraged the elimination of orchestral instruments during performances. For Zelter, this meant rearranging music from the eighteenth century for *a cappella* choir, such as Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum* for eight-part choir and works by Joseph Haydn, Niccolò Jommelli, Carl Phillip Emmanuel Bach and Johann Sebastian Bach. Thibaut, however, did not focus on similar arrangements, though he still argued for all performances being *a cappella*. Interestingly, the terms *a cappella* and *for voices only* did not mean a totally unaccompanied performance, but rather simply meant the exclusion of orchestral instruments. Thibaut provided a piano accompaniment for his "*a cappella"* works, while the Berlin *Singakademie* required the habitual use of a keyboard doubling the voices, sometimes supplemented by a single cello or double bass.[11]

Shifting focus from the "quasi-liturgical" choral societies to church music itself leads to the work of Carl Georg Vivigens von Winterfeld (1784-1852). Throughout the

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[11] Ibid. p. 66.

early nineteenth century, a shift in the restoration brought a focus on Giovanni Perluigi Palestrina (1525-1594). His music was viewed by most as the epitome of all church music, whether Protestant or Catholic. Palestrina's time therefore was viewed as the Golden Age of Church Music, and although Palestrina was at the center, there was a new push by German musicologists to reconsider Palestrina's German contemporaries. With the Prussian church having given official sanction to the *a cappella* concept, and the spreading of Naue's book as a starting point, the only thing left was to find more specific content. Winterfeld led the way through his studies of the history of Protestant church music. His answer was found in the works of Johannes Eccard (1553-1611), a German composer and student of Orlando di Lasso, though his works were mostly associated with the original Reformation. Winterfeld had been one of those who wanted a German composer to examine rather than an Italian one. Eccard's *Festlieder* received his highest praise for music for the worship service, and his next choices following Eccard were the Catholic masters. Without question, Winterfeld had adopted the view that Protestant Church music must not take away from the text of the music nor of the service itself. It should not express any form of passion, and the music should bring out a prayerful attitude in its listeners. The music of two of the other Protestant masters, Heinrich Schütz and Sebastian Bach, could not conform to these views, and hence Winterfeld chose Eccard as his prime example. Behind Eccard was Palestrina and his contemporaries and, even though Eccard was Winterfeld's first choice, it would be Palestrina and the Renaissance masters who would have the bigger impact on this movement moving forward.

Bellermann and Grell

During the peak of the Romantic period theatrical sets, orchestras, performers, and other things were intended to be big and flashy, with some exceptions, and yet for all of this, the sacred music of Protestantism and Catholicism began breaking everything down to its most basic components through the revival of Palestrina and his music. The restoration in Berlin reached its zenith in the work of Eduard Grell (1800-1886) and his pupil Heinrich Bellermann (1832-1903). Their significance to the revival was not confined merely to their compositions, but also due to their position at the heart of the Berlin musical establishment and their influential theoretical and polemical writings. Grell was associated with the institutions at the center of the Palestrina revival, the *Singakademie* and the *Domchor* (the Berlin Cathedral Choir). He served as cathedral organist from 1839 to 1857 and as director of the *Singakademie* from 1853 to 1876. While Grell's contributions to the revival were largely in the fields of composition and performance, Bellermann embraced music theory and historical musicology, as well. His composition treatise *Der Contrapunkt* from 1862 is the most significant nineteenth-century codification of the musical language of Palestrina. More so than their predecessors, Grell and Bellermann felt that sacred music should be performed by voices alone, and more importantly, music that contained instruments was of a much lesser quality, and even borderline offensive. For Thibaut and Zelter, *a cappella* music had been used to balance the dominance of instrumental music not only in the church but also in modern culture in general. With Grell and Bellermann, however, this idea was taken one step further, with Grell taking it the furthest of the two. Bellermann still had respect for great musical works that included

instrumentation. Grell, on the other hand, noted that "without the word, music is dead, meaningless and soulless, and that a genuine musical artwork can exist only in song."[12]

These extreme views were shared by others, but to a lesser degree. How far one was willing to take the idea of pure *a cappella* music being superior depended on a few things, the foremost being exposure to this type of music. The Sistine Chapel still used a lot of *a cappella* music in its services, especially during Holy Week, but the further away from Rome the less it was the case. Second, the compositions of the Renaissance masters were now being widely published and distributed, and if a composer was able to obtain a manuscript or print, he might be tempted to try to emulate that style. Finally, composers might acquire an extensive understanding of Renaissance music, like Bellermann and Grell, having studied it in depth and understanding the musical syntax and other stylistic choices from that time. Bellermann and Grell in their own works chose to directly quote and borrow from Palestrina and others, which led them to receiving criticism for their literal replication of Palestrina's music, as it was felt by some, such as Mendelssohn, that direct replication had a negative effect on the aesthetic value of the music.

Bellermann and Grell's quest to promote *a cappella* music as the preeminent music was inspired by other philosophical ideas that suggested that only this style of music would contribute to the improvement of the individual and society. Bellermann argued in his work, *Der Kontrapunkt*: "Only through the propagation of singing can music regain its ancient glory and become a medium for cultural improvements as in antiquity."[13] *Der*

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[12] Ibid. p. 110.
[13] Ibid. p. 111.

Kontrapunkt was the standard textbook of the Palestrina style in Germany until the appearance of Knud Jeppensen's *Kontrapunkt* in 1935, which brought the Palestrinan ideals into the twentieth century. Both Grell and Bellermann were champions of *a cappella* singing as the core of music education. For Grell, the purpose and value of *a cappella* singing was not its contemplative style, but rather the benefit that the music had on those participating: "In the musical arts, the work of art consists more in the uplifting and cultivating of heart and spirit in the producer [i.e. performer] than in what is produced, which makes the work of art seem more the *effect* of art than artistic *product.*"[14] This demonstrates the thinking surrounding the quality of the music, as well as the belief that the music's artistic value being secondary to its sacred or liturgical value was the crux of the Cecilian movement that would come in the following years.

In 1843 Grell became the singing teacher of the newly formed *Domchor*, and it was here that he devoted much of his time to copying out and analyzing Renaissance music. Throughout this period Grell had been copying out motets from various composers, writing out eighty-one motets between 1841 and 1842, and by 1845 he had copied out a total of five books of motets for five to eight voices. Grell's compositional style has, in the past, been oversimplified as an attempt to polarize his methods against those of Felix Mendelssohn. For instance, Mendelssohn thought in his later liturgical compositions that one should fuse a composer's own style with that of the Renaissance masters, whereas Grell was more in favor of a model of reusing the already-composed material. A few

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[14] Ibid. p. 112.

instances have been noted where some composers had mistaken Grell's music for that of Palestrina, for he truly captured the essence of Palestrina's works unlike anyone else[15]. Mendelssohn, however, took a different approach of combining his own musical style with that of the Renaissance to create something new.

Mendelssohn

Jakob Ludwig Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809-1847) is one of the most well-known composers of the nineteenth century. His life and music are well documented along with the Mendelssohn family's contribution to music as a whole.[16] Zelter, and to a somewhat lesser degree Thibaut, were key to Mendelssohn's views on liturgical music. Abraham Mendelssohn, Felix's father, wrote: "Without Zelter, your musical tendencies would be entirely different."[17] As mentioned previously, the Mendelssohn family were active participants in the Berlin *Singakademie*. Both Felix and his sister Fanny Mendelssohn began composition lessons with Zelter in 1819, and both were admitted to the *Singakademie* in October of 1820. The choir's constant performances of Renaissance music, perhaps even more so than the actual religion, shaped Mendelssohn's perspective of liturgical music. In addition to this, Mendelssohn had been reading Thibaut's *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst* (On Purity of Music), and he thanked Thibaut for teaching him truly how to appreciate older Italian music. In 1821 Zelter took the young Mendelssohn to

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[15] This is somewhat due to the fact that Grell copied out a lot of Palestrinas motets and most likely borrowed some material here and there.
[16] For Mendelssohn biographical material see R. Larry Todd's *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[17] James Garrat, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, p. 79.

see Goethe. Goethe is reported to have been very impressed with the young musician's talent, and Mendelssohn was invited back to meet with Goethe on a second occasion. His encounters with Goethe also deepened his knowledge of music history and other arts. With Goethe, Thibaut, and Zelter all putting an emphasis on the past, they pushed Mendelssohn in the direction of considering styles of the past and combining old ways of thinking with new materials. All of this led to Mendelssohn hearing the Papal choir, whereupon his compositional style began to incorporate the older styles. Prior to this, Mendelssohn had completed only three pieces for the Berlin *Singakademie* that demonstrated his search for his own voice in church music.

Mendelssohn's father had made it quite clear that he did not believe in the revelation of the Bible. He, like others of the Enlightenment generation, regarded the books of the Bible as mythology, the stories in the Bible often being viewed as myths and legends, more so than doctrine, by the new rational thinkers of the age. Felix, however had his own view of the church, as explained by Garrat:

> In 1830 the tricentennial of the Augsburg Confession was to be celebrated. Felix reflected on the life of Luther and was overwhelmed. That a persecuted man hiding in the Wartburg under the pseudonym of Junker Jörg, in peril of death, should have set himself the task of translating the Bible for the German people, seemed to him a miracle. And to pay tribute to the greatness of Luther as the translator of the Bible, he wrote his "Reformation" Symphony (Opus 107). It was

one of the mightiest of his orchestral works, though he was only twenty when he undertook it.[18]

At the *Singakademie*, Mendelssohn's exposure to church music had been through the quasi-liturgical music performed here. On his trip to Rome he was free to explore the ceremonies of the Sistine Chapel, which opened up his thoughts to the special requirements and needs of music for the church. Mendelssohn had this feeling about the music: "The starkly homophonic music performed in Holy Week, while artistically restricted, is perfectly attuned to its liturgical context."[19] These services had shown Mendelssohn that the success of liturgical music came from not only the music, but the ceremony as a whole. The big difference for Mendelssohn from others such as Grell was that he admitted that his works represented a combination or transfiguration of styles and a continuation of elements rather than direct replication. He wanted to bring that music into the modern age with modern tonality and aesthetics, rather than to rely completely on older music.

This divide on the Protestant side of liturgical music would not be quite the same when it came to Catholicism. The Catholic reforms would be more organized and more focused, which in turn would lean more towards replication than Mendelssohn's idea to reinvigorate and reinvent the style. One Catholic who would fall into Mendelssohn's camp, however, was Anton Bruckner (1824-1896). His motets too combine the old with the new, although occasionally with a larger focus on incorporating chant. Others

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[18] Ibid. p. 230.
[19] Ibid. p. 84.

following this trend include the lesser-known Joseph Rheinberger (1839 – 1901), but this Catholic musical reformation was short-lived would die out by the end of the century.

Chapter 2 - The *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein*

By the nineteenth century there was a plethora of Roman Catholic music available for use, though many of the pieces had been written for specific events or dedications and were somewhat segregated in areas around Europe. Elwyn Wienandt describes the environment of sacred music in the Romantic period:

> Many composers who lived well into the Romantic period do not come to mind when we mention religious music. One reason is their prominence in other musical fields; we think of composer X as a symphonist and of composer Y as an opera specialist. Large numbers of these same people paid their spiritual debt to the church through their art, with more or less success, depending on how completely they could leave their secular habits behind or adapt them to religious expression. It will not be necessary to emphasize the fact that some of those who achieved the greatest acclaim did so with works that were similar to their pieces for the stage or concert hall. We must remember also that some composers, after making a career with secular music, turned almost entirely to church music in their later years.[20]

This is an important statement, because when it comes to Bruckner and many others, this rings especially true. Bruckner is today almost always considered a symphonist first, even

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[20] Elwyn A. Wienandt. *Choral Music of the Church* (New York: Free Press, 1980), p. 412.

though his roots and many of his compositions lie within the liturgical realm.[21] The reason for this is that most of the attention of the Romantic Period seems to be given to symphonies and operas, as they were the new and exciting thing happening in music. This has led to some sacred music from the nineteenth century being somewhat ignored and needing further examination save for a few monumental works, such as Verdi's Requiem.

Although less taken into account when discussing the Catholic musical reform, E.T.A. Hoffmann still deserves a mention, for the Catholic reform was not that entirely different from that of the Protestant. In fact, those involved with the *Cäcilien-Verein* would use Hoffmann's writings on sacred music, such as the *Alte und neue Kirchenmusik* (Old and New Music) of 1814, as part of the foundation of their ideals. Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776 – 1822)[22] was a ubiquitous figure in nineteenth century life. He was a renowned author, composer, and music critic.[23] His stories had a profound influence on Romantic literature, and he helped shape the landscape of stories of a mythical and fantasy nature. Many composers used Hoffmann's stories as a basis for their works, or formulated their music around the stories he wrote. His success as a literary giant aside, his criticisms of contemporary music were also greatly valued by composers. Hoffmann wrote on many subjects, not just stories and music. Although involved with the Protestant movement for musical reform, Hoffmann's writings were not solely the

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[21] Another well-known composer known mostly for his symphonies is Brahms, but especially later in his life he too wrote a fair amount of sacred music.
[22] For a biographical work, see Detlef Kremer's E.T.A. Hoffmann: Leben, Werk, Wirkung.
[23] One of his best-known works is the story of the Nutcracker and the Mouse King which was the basis for Tchaikovsky's ballet.

purview of Protestants, for Hoffmann was universally respected, and his commentaries were followed by those of different faiths. Garrat elaborates:

> Hoffmann was neither the first nor the most influential German Romantic writer to idealize the music of Palestrina and to agitate for church music reform: the significance of his essays lie primarily in its synthesis of existing ideas on reform and on the revival of old music. But while much of what Hoffmann wrote had been said before (in particular in earlier issues of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*), he was the first author to single out Palestrina for particular attention and to justify his elevation as the paradigm of church music through detailed historical and aesthetic arguments."[24]

The *Cäcilien-Verein* later on would not look only to Palestrina for their revival efforts, but his music would be viewed as the pinnacle of Catholic sacred music. For Hoffmann, Palestrina took symbolic form as the musician of spiritual simplicity and power, the renewer of church music and its rescuer from the decline into which it had fallen.[25]

The Rise of Cecilianism

Palestrina had always been the favorite of the Catholic Church in Rome, though not everywhere else. Some viewed his music as antiquated compared to the music heard in the concert halls, but it would be Palestrina, and the others of his style of composition, who would be put on a pedestal as the greatest figure in sacred music by the Cecilians. When looking at the Catholic musical reforms of the nineteenth century, the focal point

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[24] James Garrat. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination,* p. 36.
[25] Marvin, Clara. *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: A Research Guide,* p. 372.

must be the music and ideals of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein*. They were the most active in the pursuit of change for sacred music, and their ideas caused the creation of other groups similar to them across Europe. It should be understood that the *Cäcilien-Verein* held no formal power in matters of church music, though their ideas led to the creation of Ceciliansim, and were also adopted by the Catholic Church in the early twentieth century. Garrat offers a description of the meaning of the term *Ceciliansim*:

> This term originated in the late nineteenth century as a polemical description of the activities of the *Cäcilian-Verein*; in modern usage it is however much less clearly defined, embracing not merely Catholic liturgical and musical reform but broader development in the nineteenth century intellectual and cultural history.[26]

Garrat goes on to discuss the dangers that are inherent with using a term such as *Cecilianism*. His main point is that the ideas of Palestrina, and other Catholic composers of that time, influenced the *Cäcilien-Verein* not only through reform, but also according to a continual tradition. The Catholic Church had been using the music of early composers from their time up until the nineteenth century, but part of the problem of the reform, however, is related to the fact that the further one travelled from Rome, the more liberties were being taken by churches, which for various reasons were not able to use older music. Perhaps a church or monastery in a small town could not afford the necessary manuscripts, or maybe they did not have the skill level required of the players and/or singers. The most common issue, however, was that they simply did not like this

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[26] James Garrat. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination,* pp. 133 – 134.

"old" style of music, when elsewhere outside of the church music was becoming more interesting and pushing the boundaries of what was conventional. Whatever the reasons, the *Cäcilien-Verein* and their sympathizers felt a strong need to return sacred music to its roots. The modern music that people had been enjoying for years was now viewed by them as inappropriate for the church, for it did not allow enough space for the listener to reflect on their own beliefs. Although not prominent until later in the nineteenth century, the roots of the Cecilian movement can be traced earlier in the century directly to the Regensburg Cathedral.[27] The first major influence from Regensburg was Carl Proske (1794-1861).

Proske and the Regensburg Cathedral

One of the founding places of the Cecilian movement was Regensburg. During the 1820s, the cathedral there began to replace its modern repertory with older music, which to them represented a superior church style. Regensburg had musical sanctions introduced by Bavarian King Ludwig I in 1830. According to James Garrat, these sanctions were designed to "reestablish the old, good style for the improvement of the singing and music in our churches, and by the end of the decade the traditional concerted repertory had been ousted from the cathedral."[28] The task of actually following through with the sanctions was given to Carl Proske, who Ludwig regarded as "the best founded hope for complete restoration of choral singing."[29] Proske was made canon of the *Alte Kapelle* at

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[27] There is sufficient evidence to merit deeper research into the influence of the Regensburg cathedral on the Cecilian movements, for many of those involved had at least at one time been to or studied there.
[28] Ibid. p. 141.
[29] Ibid. p. 141.

Regensburg, and through this position he began to procure early music. It was through the Renaissance masters that Proske felt he could reverse what he considered to be the "invariable degeneracy of modern church music"[30] as Garrat puts it. Proske began his career as a medical doctor, but in 1821 he entered the seminary and was ordained as a priest in 1826. Proske spent the rest of his life at Regensburg, where he not only spent the church's money to purchase new music, but he also spent a considerable amount of his own income in travelling to Rome and other cities collecting music for the cathedral library. In one of his writings, *Musica Divina*, Proske complained about how the profane attractions of an artistic dictatorship from outside the church was having a negative influence on sacred music. Interestingly, Proske acknowledged the contributions of Winterfeld in making others aware of the value of early church music, as well as referring to Thibaut as a "man of great zeal who championed purity in music with fiery speech."[31] Proske viewed music by the Renaissance masters (Palestrina, Lasso, et al.) as "the product of a golden age of Catholicism in which genius and religious enthusiasm went hand in hand."[32] Proske also believed that the appropriate model for liturgical music must be the plainchant. Following Proske's lead, the reformation of church music began to spread. Cardinal Johannes von Grießel (1796-1864) brought the issue before the Cologne Provincial Council meeting in 1860. The council then released a decree that "choir directors should revert to those works which are written in a sublime and devout style, of

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[30] Ibid. p. 141
[31] Ibid. p. 141
[32] Ibid. p. 142

which the author in first place is Johannes Aloysius Praenestinus [Palestrina] and second is Orlandus Lassus."[33] This was the first political support the movement had, and it would turn out to be one of the few instances anything official came of it until the twentieth century. Regensburg would also produce the Cecilian movement's most influential member, Franz Xavier Witt (1834-1888). Although Proske and Witt did not always see eye to eye on issues, it is undeniable that Proske had a great influence on Witt.

Franz Xavier Witt

Franz Xavier Witt (1834 – 1888) was to become one of the most well-known leaders of the Cecilian movement. Witt was a priest, musician, composer, and writer who undertook his studies at the Regensburg Seminary, where the ongoing process of reforming the music library must have had an impact on him. Witt had almost become a type of protégé of Proske but found his ideas not entirely realistic. Witt criticized Proske for his "impractical attitude as a major obstacle to the cause,"[34] and Garrat further notes regarding the formation of Witt's articles and the *Cäcilien-Verein*:

> Dissatisfied that the liturgical revival of Renaissance music had not spread beyond the cathedral and *Alten Kapelle* in Regensburg, Witt sought to 'reshape the entire world of church music.' He set out his reforming agenda in the pamphlet *Der Zustand der katholischen Kirchenmusik zunächst in Altbayern* (1865) and through the foundation of two popular periodicals: *Fliegende Blätter für katholische Kirchenmusik* (1886) and *Musica sacra* (1868). These activities cultivated in the

[33] Ibid. p. 144
[34] Ibid. p. 144.

foundation of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein*, with Witt as general president, in 1868.[35]

It was through these periodicals that Witt would look to expand the membership of the *Cäcilien-Verein*.

The *Cäcilien-Verein* grew rapidly from the few hundred members at its formation into thousands within a few months. Along with the activities of the *Cäcilien-Verein,* there was a parallel shift in Catholicism itself with the papacy of Pope Pius IX, who had issued two major proclamations: The *Ineffabilis Deus* (The Immaculate Conception) and the *Pastor aeternus* (otherwise known as the Declaration of Papal Infallibility). These were viewed as strengthening Catholicism against outside influences, for the Age of Enlightenment had raised many questions and shaken the faith of some in the church, mainly from the middle class. This was a major contributor to the *Cäcilien-Verein's* popularity, as their idea of reforming church music was also viewed as an attempt to strengthen Catholicism, which in turn led to Witt being viewed as the "Pope" of the Cecilians. Witt's ideas were viewed as defending not only the music, but faith itself. Though the members of the *Cäcilien-Verein* believed in Witt's ideas, they did not follow him in the same manner as Catholics followed the Pope; however, it is also important to note that, although he was the one who brought popularity to the Cecilian movement, Witt's ideas on how modern composers should deal with these issues were quite complicated and inconsistent. This inconsistency led to confusion among many

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[35] Ibid. p. 145.

composers and others who were members of the *Cäcilien-Verein*, and this was the main contributing factor to the precepts of Cecilian music remaining in a state of constant flux. What some members liked was not liked by others, and the interpretation of the rules set forth by the society began to expand as confusion set in.

The Cecilian Style

As has been stated previously herein, the Cecilians revered the so-called "ancient" musical style of the Renaissance. This meant basically *a cappella* music. However, as time passed, Witt and the *Cäcilien-Verein* began to promote new church music with organ or orchestral accompaniment as well. Along with this came an emphasis on chant as the main liturgical musical vehicle, in addition to vernacular hymns. German musicologist Karl Gustav Fellerer is best known today for his scholarship on Catholic Church music, especially music of the Renaissance with a specific focus on Palestrina. In his work on the history of Catholic church music, Fellerer emphasized the use of chant and the vernacular hymns and stated that they had a special place in these reforms. The first reformers attempted to ban the vernacular hymn altogether from the liturgical service, though this did not occur universally. Artistry in the new chant-based compositions was not as important as their liturgical function, and therefore their harmonic and melodic progressions followed a model set forth by what Fellerer describes as "ancient classical polyphony".[36] Those composing new pieces of chant utilized *fauxbourdon* to increase the

[36] Fellerer, Karl Gustav. *The History of Catholic Church Music* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979). p. 191.

ease with which the listeners could understand the chant. The numerous editions from the sixteenth century, as well as these new *fauxbourdon* style compositions, made it possible to avoid straight Gregorian chant and led to the development of music in the vernacular.

The reason Witt wanted to include music in the vernacular was that he was not only targeting larger cities and cathedrals, but also wanted to see his reforms brought into small village churches. This went against the society's own directions, which can be seen as an underlying issue when it comes to the *Cäcilien-Verein*. The constant battle between ideas led to much confusion as to what was allowed and what was not, which in turn led to composers simply composing what they believed best fell in line with their own vision of the society's ideals. Witt believed that music was the "foremost medium for the improvement of the masses."[37] He fought for the right of the ordinary people, who outside of the church may not have had that experience, to experience art. Witt frequently examined the works of Thibaut, who also wrote extensively on this subject. These smaller churches lacked the resources to hire large groups of trained singers to sing Latin polyphonic music and usually had to rely on local musicians for any orchestral accompaniment. Pushing for music that could appeal to all walks of life, in turn, invited everyone involved to compose music in the Cecilian style. The effect of this was that many of what were considered poor works were submitted to the *Cäcilien-Verein*. These were submitted by their composers perhaps to gain favor with the church, grow their

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[37] Garrat. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination*, p. 146.

reputations, or even to try and better church music as they saw it. It was easy for composers of lesser fame to get their works circulated, for as long as the composition was focused on the text, it was thought to be acceptable.

This was the major negative issue of the *Cäcilien-Verein.* As long as the compositions focused on the text and the music was somewhat simple and mostly diatonic, it was deemed as good enough to be printed. Works would be submitted to the *Cäcilien-Verein* for consideration, which would then be examined by a panel. This panel would then decide which to allow to be published in a monthly periodical, the *CäcilienVereins-Catalog kirchenmusikalischer Werke* (Cecilian Catalogue of Church Music Works), which would then be distributed across Europe. The criteria for a "successful" submission depended greatly on who was on the panel at the time. A benefit of having a resurgence of this older style, as well as having almost anyone who could compose this style of music, was to use it as a tool for teaching. Bellermann's work *Kontrapunkt* mentioned in the first chapter was their main theoretical work in the nineteenth century. However, many works by Franz Nekes, Peter Piel, August Wiltberger, among others, were using it as a model for teaching church music alongside ideals put forward by Witt. This led to a major division in the development of such music, as outside of the church secular music was moving in a very different direction. Those who were on the side of modern music viewed what these church musicians were doing as old and stale, while the church composers themselves believed the others were too corrupted by common secular musical genres, such as opera or the symphony. The operas of the day had evolved into large extravagant works, such as those by Wagner and his contemporaries, and similarly

in the world of symphonic music, composers were now writing extravagant tone poems. These were symphonic or chamber works based on poetry and stories rather than following a set musical form of any kind, and the stories upon which many operas and tone poems were based went against things portrayed in the Bible. To the church elitists, these would have been viewed as sacrilegious.

The ideals put forth by Witt were not completely shared by the other members of the *Cäcilien-Verein*. Even though he was the head of the group, Witt did not always disapprove of the fusion of modern techniques with those from the Renaissance. Witt had the idea that not all of the compositions of the Renaissance masters were perfect. Witt believed also that Proske was too willing to follow these so-called masters blindly. However, this view was unique to Witt and few others, as the majority held Palestrina's works in the highest regard. Garrat explains Witt's view:

> Witt argues that many of their works are neither ideal for the liturgy nor of great artistic merit, and therefore cannot provide models for the modern composer… Witt condemns Palestrina and his contemporaries for indulging in 'lyrical diffuseness', the imitative spinning out of a theme leading to latitude in the treatment of the text and a neglect of speech rhythms. Equally heinous in Witt's eyes is the use of extensive cyclic repetition in the mass, since this leads to an incorrect conception of particular portions of the text (he especially condemns the

Sanctus and Benedictus of Palestrina's *Missa Dum complerentur* for their reiteration of earlier material.[38]

Thus, there were even some cases where Witt did not approve a piece, even if it had not broken any of the Cecilian rules.

The main vehicle for the dissemination of the *Cäcilien-Verein's* ideals was the aforementioned *Vereins-Catalog*. It first appeared in 1870 and contained lists and comments regarding both old and new church music, along with a list of the approved pieces. Every piece submitted to the catalogue had to conform to the criteria laid out by the *Cäcilien-Verein* in order to be selected for publication. The selection process was left up to the president and two others, whose comments about the pieces were also included. The rules set out for entry were not very helpful to composers, as they mostly contained what not to do rather than any ideas on what to write. There was also the issue of different members of the panel holding different ideas and weighing things differently from each other, as noted above.

The guidelines for each composition as Witt saw it were:

1. The use of Renaissance polyphony with little accompaniment;
2. The singing of hymns in the vernacular;
3. The use of chant in the liturgy.

These guidelines were not shared by everyone, for each member of the selection committee would have an idea of their own for criteria, although usually they would be somewhat similar with the main idea that held them together, this being the first point in

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[38] Ibid. pp. 147 – 148.

Witt's guidelines. Within the catalogue itself, Witt commented how it was not a seal of approval for the pieces but simply a list of compositions that were not unsuitable for performance in the church. As Garrat points out, there were many pieces that the referees allowed in simply on liturgical merit alone, thus ignoring their artistic value:

> Many reviews in the catalogue – such as Witt's report on the *Missa Dixit Maria* by J. B. Kümin – note explicitly that a piece has been accepted only because of its practicality and liturgical correctness, while Witt described the masses of Franz Schöpf as a necessary evil, suitable only for choirs incapable of singing anything better.[39]

The guidelines ignored the artistic prowess of a piece, and Witt defended this judgement by changing the lens with which art was viewed, from its strength as art to how well it fulfilled its function. In Witt's view, the artistic value of a composition, whether or not it was even considered musical and "good," was wholly dictated by how well the music served the church. It is for this main reason that much of the music composed under the *Cäcilien-Verein* structure was considered static, unartistic, and unmusical by many at the time.

The catalogue's offerings for smaller churches and village choirs left much to be desired. Here, the artistic quality was already at a low ebb and almost completely disregarded, with a large portion of the music being either in unison or other simple arrangements. Witt's comments on Valentin Molitor's *Missa Tota pulchra es Maria*, *Missa*

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[39] Ibid. p. 175.

in honorem S. Fidelis a sigmaringa Martyris, and *Missa in Honorem S. Angelorum custodum*, for example, provide insight into how he viewed these compositions on a personal level, even if he included them in the catalogue:

> The artistic value of these three masses is slight… There prevails in them such a poverty of melodic invention and of rhythmic life that one must hope that our choirs will not want to trail behind with such trifling exercises but use them only in cases of dire need.[40]

Witt therefore viewed these works as mere exercises more than artworks. They are liturgically valid, because they do not include theatrical elements or any other complex compositional techniques. Carl Dahlhaus, a musicologist from Berlin, wrote on Ceciliansim and the *Cäcilien-Verein,* attempting to demonstrate how their music and musical ideals were of poor artistic quality. Dahlhaus constantly argued that Cecilian music was nothing more than the reproduction of older music with very little artistic value. He viewed it as "trivial without denying it."[41] Hermann-Josef Burbach also examined Cecilian music in a similar vein. Interestingly, where Witt spoke poorly of Molitor's music, Burbach comes to its defense, commenting how it should be viewed through the lens of where and for whom it was composed. Burbach defended the integrity of the pieces and believed them to be a decent introduction for amateurs to choral music in general.

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[40] Ibid. p. 177.
[41] Ibid. p. 179.

Cecilianism Abroad

Cecilianism was not confined to Germany, although this is where it began and was the most successful. The idea of reforming church music spread throughout Europe and even beyond. A *Schola Gregoriana* was formed in Rome in 1880, the Society of St. Cyril was formed in then Bohemia in 1873, and other places, such as Yugoslavia, Ireland, Hungary, Holland, Belgium, and Spain had their own societies; in all of these places, however, the issues of confusion and discontinuity rose again to the forefront. Each society, although identical in concept, had slightly different ideas of how to reach their goals effectively. The greatest success, however, was in the United States. The leader of the efforts there was John B. Singenberger (1848-1924). Originally from Switzerland, Singenberger was a composer, teacher, and editor, who spent a good deal of his life studying and working with Catholic Church music. He studied composition at the University of Innsbrück under Carl Geith, who himself was himself a musician at the cathedral in St. Gall. Before moving to the United States in 1873, Singenberger completed his academic studies under Witt at Regensburg. Prior to his arrival, a Catholic Normal School had been formed in 1871, and when Singenberger arrived at this school, he began teaching immediately. Within a few months of his arrival the formal institution of the American Caecilian Society had been convened. Being isolated from the rest of Europe benefitted Singenberger, as he followed Witt's teachings with no influence from other types music. In fact, his ties to Witt were so strong that the American Caecilian Society published not only a journal in English, *Echo*, but one in German as well. The German journal was named the *Cacellia,* and it eventually outlasted *Echo* by a considerable length

of time. Singenberger and the society grew very quickly in numbers and popularity, and he became a major advocate for reforms in church music across the American Midwest. Throughout his life he was viewed by the Catholic Church as a champion of Catholicism, earning accolades from three Popes; Leo XIII, Pius X, and Pius XI for his contributions to sacred music not only through his compositions, but also his writings such as the *Guide to Catholic Church Music* published in Milwaukee in 1905. Where much of Cecilian music was seen by the general public and secular composers as lacking interest, Singenberger's was not. His works were frequently performed by both musicians in America, as well as back in Europe. Towards the end of the century, though, much like in Europe the growth of the society slowed, and it would stop growing all together with the papal decree called *Motu proprio.*

The Collapse of the Cecilian Movement

The *Motu proprio* of Pope Pius X entitled *Tra le sollecitudini* was issued in November of 1903. It was here that many of the Cecilian ideals were formally declared and transformed into precise rules to be followed. The Pope opened the declaration with the concern of promoting decorum in the House of God, noting how nothing ought to disturb the piety of the faithful. One of the main points he brought up was sacred music. Pius admitted that part of the problem was the natural evolution of music, with changing tastes and styles that were to be considered transitory. In his view, theatre and opera were having a huge negative impact on sacred music, with much of their content being viewed as blasphemous and against the views that the church wanted to portray. The Age of Enlightenment was held to blame for forcing many disbelievers away from the church,

and, moreover, it had led to many questioning the church's purpose and whether or not God had any real power. A major part of this too was the rapid development of new technologies that were undermining the power of the church. People were becoming freer thinking and also wanting to be free of the church both physically and mentally. The skeptics who had brought a sense of profanity with them into church were not only members of the congregation, but in some cases were the priests themselves. The lack of clarity that had plagued the Cecilians was now put to rest, for Pius clearly dictated terms to composers and performers of church music as to what would be acceptable and what would not. The list included many items that may be viewed from many sources.[42] For the purposes of this study, it can be stated that most of the ideals put forth by Witt and his contemporaries were now officially adopted and absorbed into these rules. Some of the examples will sound familiar: sacred music which, as a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, shares in the overall purpose of the liturgy; that is, to express the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. The *Motu proprio* itself comments on sacred music:

> Sacred music contributes to the decorum and the splendor of the ceremonies of the Church. Now, the principal function of sacred music is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical text proposed for the understanding of the faithful. Therefore, its purpose is to add greater efficacy to the text. This is done so that, through the music, the faithful will be more easily inspired, better disposed to

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[42] See Appendix B. As one can see from this extensive list, the rules and items were numerous. The complete text of the Motu Proprio can be found here.

> receive the benefits of the grace that comes from the celebration of the holy mysteries.

It states further:

> Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music. Therefore, it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule: In its movement, inspiration, and mood, the more closely a church composition approaches the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes. The more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.[43]

A pair of interesting items noted by Pope Pius are worth discussing at this juncture. He states that the only language to be sung in the church should be Latin. This is something goes directly against what Witt was trying to accomplish by promoting hymns in the vernacular. It is interesting because, in a time when the church was losing its power and its membership, such a proposal may have alienated potential members. Along these same lines, there are points about who the singers ought to be: they should be known for their piety and modesty and should sing with the "correct" character. These sorts of restrictions are suitable for a city with a large population and the many resources to be had there, but in smaller villages where there were few of choice of singers, this would most likely have proven difficult on many levels.

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[43] Appendix B, M*otu proprio.*

One would think that with this decree that Cecilianism would flourish, but it actually had the reverse effect. Many felt that, with the decree, they no longer had a personal drive to fight for a cause: they were already victorious. They had fought to improve church music, and with a mandate from the Pope they had assurance of doing just that. The growing Cecilian movement collapsed in on itself, beginning with the societies furthest away from Germany, such as the American Cecilia Society, which after the publication of the *Motu proprio* no longer held assemblies. The reforms had come to a head, and as these had been put into a Papal decree, there was no more work to be done. As new forms of music and entertainment enthralled the world, the growth of technology would also play a huge part in the evolution of music, for people became bored with so-called "old" music. Electricity and other new inventions, such as the radio, were things to hold people's attention. Meanwhile, the world was also beginning to become politically unstable, and with so much going on in the life of the average person, whatever sort of music that was to be heard in church held little or no value to them. Music itself was already becoming somewhat formalized or institutionalized, and what the common people were listening to was once again shifting. It would not be long before the church would completely lose a lot of its influence throughout the world.

There were numerous composers writing music for the church during the time that these changes were happening, many of whom may or may not have been directly influenced by the *Cäcilien-Verein* in Europe, and not necessarily were they all Catholic like Josef Rheinberger and Anton Bruckner. As mentioned earlier, with the ideals of the *Cäcilien-Verein* not becoming official until 1903, there were composers who somewhat

disregarded what the *Cäcilien-Verein* had to say altogether. Concerning these three composers in particular, the *Motu proprio* was issued after they had all died, and so any connections were lacking.

This is especially true of Anton Bruckner. Where Bruckner is concerned, there is very little mention of any dealings with the *Cäcilien-Verein*, short of a few sporadic interactions. The reason for this is one that has not been addressed in studies of his life, and thus the reasons are vague. Bruckner may have been stubborn and confident in his style of sacred composition and chosen to ignore them, or perhaps the *Cäcilien-Verein's* reach did not come to the cities where he was working early on in his life. There simply is not enough information currently available to make an accurate speculation on his feelings towards the *Cäcilien-Verein* and its activities, even though there are examples of his works falling directly in line with Cecilian ideals. Moreover, there are also works of his that are very much outside of what the Cecilians had deemed as appropriate. For the former, it can be said that some of Bruckner's motets blend Cecilian ideals beautifully with nineteenth century harmony, and other musical elements are done so seamlessly that it is worth investigating him and his music further in just this context. Even though there will be an examination of Bruckner and his works, it is important to note that a complete and thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this project.

Chapter 3 - Bruckner's Sacred Music

The Age of Enlightenment had provided the world with many advancements in different fields, with the scientific discoveries, such as steam power, being some of the most prominent. People's thought patterns had changed to value reason, logic, and liberty above all. There were those, such as the famous philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who criticized this way of thinking for taking humanity away from nature and from its true spirit. With the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, sacred music and the church in general had suffered from these new advancements in philosophical thought. Part of this was due to Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II's attempts to take power away from the Catholic Church through secular laws, some of which were subsequently repealed by his successor, but for some of the rural areas in his realm the damage had already been done. The church was also, as noted, beginning to have more competition from the concert hall in terms of more exciting music, better venues to perform in, not to mention the growing cost of maintaining a choir and/or orchestra, which led to more amateur performances. This in turn led to weaker performances and the change in musical taste, all of which conspired against sacred music and the direction it was going. School teachers in some smaller rural towns were in charge of the music for the entire town, as was the case of where Bruckner lived, but other towns had to suffer through musical activities run by subpar musicians, many of whom were self-taught. Austrians had been living in a feudal society in the time leading up to the revolution of 1848. The state had held complete control over many of the affairs of the area, and this was supported by the Roman Catholic Church, which itself

held the devotion of the lower classes somewhat in thrall, although this power was fading. It was during these times of strife and revolution that Anton Bruckner was born and grew up.

Bruckner was born in 1824 in Ansfeld, which is near Linz in Upper Austria. He was named Josef Anton Bruckner after his grandfather and father. The lives of famous composers are sometimes portrayed as a grand adventure in an almost novelistic or cinematic style, with the composer being the hero overcoming all of the odds. Bruckner's life was just the opposite, as he was quite ordinary and plain even to the extent of being ridiculed once he moved to vivacious and trendy Vienna. His story is interesting, for he did overcome his own obstacles, disappointments, and strife, but he was hardly the stereotypical hero type. He did not travel to any of the major musical centers until much later in his life as most of the greats did, but he was fully dedicated to his music. By the age of four he was learning to play violin, mostly church hymns, and he even ventured as far as to play his father's spinet. Bruckner's father was quite a good musician in his own right and encouraged his eldest son's passion for music in every way. This support led to Anton being skilled enough to fill in for his father on the organ at St. Florian Cathedral from the age of ten. Bruckner is known by all to have been very quirky and sometimes came across as odd to those who met him, something he would not grow out of even when he finally made the move to Vienna at a later age. In Vienna, a city guided by fashion and sophisticated trends, Bruckner kept his humble rural clothing, speech, and cautious manner. Bruckner was always humble to his superiors, as well as his patrons, unlike some other composers such as Beethoven. Through all personal turmoil, Bruckner

remained an unquestioning believer in the church, and Bruckner's home church for the entirety of his life was the St. Florian Cathedral. He would work other places but always return and visit when able, as the cathedral held a special place in his heart, more so than even the town itself.

St. Florian Monastery

Bruckner attended Mass from his early childhood, where the music that he heard was a mix of graduals and offertories, often by Michael Haydn or a local composer basing their music on Haydn's style. Bruckner's father was a member of the Linz Music Association and saw early on his son's potential as a musician. As noted, when Bruckner was ten he would on occasion fill in for his father on organ and, as Derek Watson states: "By that time he had come to know what was to remain his lifelong spiritual home, the Austrian monastery of St. Florian."[44] In 1836 Bruckner's father became very ill, rumored to be from a life of drinking, and he died that same year. Now tasked with maintaining a somewhat large family, Bruckner's mother pleaded with Micheal Arneth (1771 - 1854), to accept the young Bruckner as a chorister at St. Florian. St. Florian monastery was and is still quite large. There are various buildings that were used for teaching, a great library, and the cathedral itself. Watson gives a picturesque account of St. Florian at that time:

> Nestling in the terraces of the Upper Austrian hills, it is one of Austria's finest examples of Baroque architecture, and not only was it to shelter Bruckner in his days as a scholar but also throughout his career remained his retreat from the

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[44] Derek Watson. *Bruckner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3. This biography is the most recent and most complete on his life.

> world and represents much of what characterizes Bruckner the man and artist. Baroque splendour, the high towers, the hundreds of windows, the elegant marble, the paintings, the treasures of the library and, above all, the Stiftkirche itself with its three organs made a profound impression of the boy which should not be underrated. The great organ (now known as the 'Bruckner Organ') was built in 1771 and had at least 74 stops.[45]

Bruckner remained a choirboy at St. Florian for three short years, and it played a major role in his development both as a man and musician. From the origin of his devout Roman Catholicism to his great skills as an organist, all of this flourished because of St. Florian, and when Bruckner began his stay as a chorister, the attached monastery was enjoying success under the leadership of Arneth. It is important to note that, even with its importance, the musical ensemble at St. Florian was actually quite small: They had some young boy singers, a few adult singers, an organist, and a few residential orchestral performers such as Bruckner's violin teacher (Franz Gruber, the original composer of *Silent Night*), an oboist (Josef Heybal), and a horn player (Franz Schimatschek), who would go on to be one of Bruckner's copyists through the 1860s. Those regular forces would then be supplemented by people from the town or neighboring towns for special feast days or celebratory occasions. They performed a Mass, a gradual, and an offertory every Sunday, and at major feast days of the year, such as Christmas and Easter, any additional large celebrations, and the occasional wedding. Bruckner's responsibilities with

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[45] Ibid. pp. 3-4.

this group were important for someone so young, but the musical experience gained here would be the crux of his musical career. He was expected to sing, play violin, or to play organ for the various performances. St. Florian had an impressive musical library of roughly 30,000 pieces of music from many different Austrian or Italian composers such as Antonio Caldara, Antonio Lotti, Joseph Eybler, Michael Haydn, Johann Albrechtsberger, Joseph Haydn, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

In the winter of 1840, Bruckner was sent by the priests to the Normal-Hauptschule in Linz to follow in his father's footsteps and become a schoolteacher in the monastery's parishes. By 1841 he was appointed as an assistant teacher in Windhagg, a small village near Freystadt in Austria. This was a teacher training school, and there has been some speculation as to why Bruckner decided to go here. There seems to be two different schools of thoughts on this issue. One is that Bruckner's mother sent her son here to continue in his father's footsteps, as he had recently died in 1837. The second claims that Bruckner himself decided on the move in order to be a schoolteacher like his father. Although the two are very similar and the differences may seem somewhat arbitrary, it did turned out to be an important decision in his life, for not only at this school would he learn the teaching profession, but he would also participate in musical studies as most schoolmasters were involved with the music in the church. This was a challenging time for Bruckner. His teacher, Franz Fuchs, gave him hour upon hour of menial tasks and would openly humiliate Bruckner in front of others. Fuchs was well-known for not only being a strict teacher, but overall an unpleasant man to deal with on any occasion. When Arneth came to Windhaag on a tour of inspection, Fuchs took the opportunity to express

his extreme dissatisfaction with Bruckner, who had particularly irked him by failing to do manual duties in the fields, such as shifting manure, and who had further upset him by showing such keen musical ambitions. Bruckner had already been composing some smaller works, as well as a Mass in C major for solo contralto, which was performed accompanied by himself at organ and with some other musicians from the outlying area. Arneth actually dealt out a promotion rather than a punishment, and Bruckner found himself transferred to Kronstorf on January 23, 1843.[46] This shift was important for Bruckner in many respects. He had the privilege of no longer being under Fuchs, his annual salary, which was a pitiful twelve florins, was raised to twenty florins, and his days were filled with music-making. It is also in Kronstorf where Bruckner went from being a good organist to a great one under the tutelage of Leopold von Zenetti (1805 – 1892), who himself was considered to be a good organist. Bruckner spent a few days a week with Zenetti studying various musical topics and figured bass. Zenetti had a personal music library, which was of interest to Bruckner, and Bruckner would occasionally borrow things from him. Zenetti became friends with Bruckner, and they remained so for their entire lives, with Bruckner seeking advice from Zenetti, or simply visiting with him when he could.

[46] Ibid. p. 6.

Changes

Once Bruckner completed his exams and became qualified to become a teacher in 1845, he headed back to St. Florian, as they had an opening for an assistant teacher. His salary once again increased, this time to thirty-six florins. He continued to study Bach and others on improvisation and fugue. Bruckner was now writing for chorus more than anything else and would dedicate works to friends and colleagues. Watson notes: "The organ music which has survived is unimportant, and probably none of his works at this time reflects his growing skill at improvisation."[47] These organ works have no way of telling just how proficient his playing actually was, as he did not write out his improvisations. Bruckner had begun to doubt his career as a teacher, and because he was still very much involved with music, both composition and as a singer in a men's chorus, he began to feel the pull toward a career as a musician instead of a teacher. This came with many doubts, the stability of receiving his salary being the main one. He tried to supplement his income through various civil jobs, not unlike other composers throughout history such as E.T.A. Hoffmann, but very little came of these attempts. However, because these concerns plagued his thoughts, he took the safer option by attending a course in Linz that would make him a high school teacher, rather than the lower elementary level he was currently teaching. Bruckner had taken over as organist for St. Florian in 1848, and his salary had risen by then to forty-four florins. He now had free room and board, but the challenges of a professional music career and the doubts

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[47] Ibid. p. 8.

surrounding it still haunted him. Early in 1852 Bruckner paid his first visit Vienna, in order to see Ignaz Aßmayer (1790 – 1862), court conductor and notable composer of sacred music, a pupil of Michael Haydn, and a friend of Schubert. He completed settings of Psalm 114 (dedicated to Aßmayer) and Psalm 22, as well as an impressive Magnificat in B flat major. Mendelssohn and the Viennese classics were still his principal models at this time, and in an interesting letter of September 1853, his friend Franz Scharschmidt (a lawyer in Linz) advised him to give up the idea of becoming a civil servant or changing his job, but to concentrate upon music: "You are making a mistake if you look exclusively to Mendelssohn for your instruction. In any case you should take from the sources he did, that is Sebastian Bach, whom you should study thoroughly."[48] Bruckner had been studying Mendelssohn's music and had drawn inspiration from it on many occasions, more specifically for some of his Psalms. As mentioned earlier, Mendelssohn had been composing his version of the new sacred music, as had Bruckner , but Scharschmidt urged Bruckner to examine Bach more closely, as Bruckner's knowledge of Bach's music at the time was limited to chorales and keyboard music.

Linz

On March 24, 1854, Bruckner suffered a major loss with the death of Michael Arneth, who had fought for Bruckner many times, provided opportunity for him, and above all else had been a dear friend and colleague. January 1855 saw Bruckner complete his qualifications for teaching high school, excelling in all subjects. In November 1855, the

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[48] Ibid. p. 10.

post of cathedral organist in Linz became available, but Bruckner attended the auditions simply to observe, being too nervous to audition himself. Upon the failure of most of the applicants to provide a good fugal improvisation, Bruckner was asked to play. He easily outshone everyone else who had attended with his mastery both of improvisation and counterpoint, and subsequently after a second hearing he was offered the position. The leaders at St. Florian blessed Bruckner's choice to leave and even offered for his position to remain open for two years, should he wish to return. Bruckner, now thirty-two, had finally begun his career as a professional musician, much later in his life than many other composers. Linz was an incredibly busy time for Bruckner. He held two organist jobs and was librarian of the Linz Choral Society, but he had a new salary of around 450 florins which, as Watson noted, was "ten times his St. Florian stipend."[49]

In Linz, Bruckner was now considered to be a great performer and talented composer, although he had not really been that well-known outside of St. Florian previously. Bruckner spent the next eight years developing his musical skills. His own compositional output dipped considerably during this Linz period, but he studied counterpoint with theorist Simon Sechter (1788 – 1867) until 1861, when he then went on to study form and orchestration until 1863 with Otto Kitzler (1834 – 1915), who at the time was the conductor of the Linz Theatre Orchestra. Bruckner visited Vienna on average twice a year, staying with one of his teachers. Toward the end of 1860, Bruckner became a member of the *Liedertafel Frohsinn*. This was, in a sense, a men's chorus, but it was

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[49] Ibid. p. 13.

actually much more than that. Getting together and singing was an integral part of life in Linz on a social, political, and musical level, and Bruckner would later become the archivist for the *Liedertafel,* as well as on a few occasions act as the concertmaster in 1861 and 1868.

Through his studies with Kitzler, Bruckner was introduced to the music of Richard Wagner. There has been some discussion surrounding whether Bruckner's music should be subsequently viewed through a Wagnerian lens or not. In February of 1863, Kitzler brought a performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* to Linz, and Bruckner studied the score along with him. It is debatable to what degree Wagner's works that Bruckner had heard during the 1860s had an effect on him. He was already in his thirties, with a musical foundation already laid through the works of the Baroque masters and early Romantics such as Franz Schubert, Carl Maria von Weber, and Felix Mendelssohn. Some of Bruckner's works at the time do show the use of some Wagnerian techniques, such as sudden dynamic shifts in one his *Ave Maria* settings, and thus rumor spread of him being a Wagnerian. It was not until later when Bruckner's true feelings towards Wagner would come to be known. A few years passed in Linz, with Bruckner composing and continuing his work until 1866, when he had a mental breakdown. Bruckner, as previously stated, was known to have many character quirks, with the most severe manifesting themselves in this breakdown. He had been working at an incredible rate, but had many fears and anxieties about things to come. He was admitted to a sanitarium on May 8, 1867 and in his letters from this time he speaks about his malady:

> Impending madness, threatening suicide, and regarding himself as utterly forsaken by the world. He also developed numeromania - an obsessive, neurotic condition which impelled him to count the leaves on trees, grains of sand, the stars, logs in a woodpile, and so on.[50]

He finally left the sanitarium on August 8 of the same year mostly cured of his depression. However, the numeromania would recur through the rest of his life in many different forms. In 1868, Bruckner received an offer to work at the Vienna Conservatory, and just like his move from St. Florian to Linz, he was paralyzed with indecision and doubt. He had a good salary which included a pension that he was afraid to give up, and so he did not commit to the move until it was confirmed that his new salary would be 800 florins, plus the guarantee that his job in Linz would remain open, exactly like at St. Florian. Only then did Bruckner decide to move to Vienna. Watson comments on the state of Vienna upon Bruckner's arrival:

> When Bruckner arrived in Vienna, it was the heyday of Johann Strauss the younger, and the city was a backcloth of elegant boulevards for a sparkling society and for a frivolous gaiety, waltzes, and operettas. It was also the home Brahms, whom most of the musical circles in the city, including the mightiest of the critics, Hanslick, regarded as the heir to Beethoven. The antipode of Brahms was Wagner, and after him Liszt.[51]

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[50] Ibid. p. 20.
[51] Ibid. p. 23.

Vienna

His job at the *Hofkapelle* (e.g. the Conservatory) included working as the organist, serving as assistant librarian, and second singing teacher for the choir. While Bruckner was already considered a great composer, he was considered by many, such as Liszt, to be only a moderate performer and conductor. Vienna was a much bigger stage and musical scene than that which Bruckner had been used to, and his works and performances came under more scrutiny than previously. Most of Bruckner's focus was now on composing symphonies and larger works, while constantly revising his own smaller pieces. He was also travelling more than he had previously in his life. Up until this point he had mostly stayed close to whichever town he was working in, but this was no longer the case. He had earned a reputation and was invited frequently to perform or conduct around Europe. After a brief visit to France, Bruckner returned to Linz at the end of September of 1869. October saw the premiere of his motet *Locus iste,* and he was made an official honorary member of the Linz *Liedertafel*. 1870 saw Bruckner take on even more responsibilities and get another raise of 400 florins as a teacher of piano, organ, and theory. Bruckner spent the next few years working on various symphonies and Masses, with the F minor Mass being very well received critically.

Wagner

In September of 1873, Bruckner attempted to meet with Wagner in Bayreuth. Bruckner describes the meeting in a letter to Hans von Wolzogen:

> I said: 'Master, I have no right to rob you of even five minutes, but I am convinced that the highly acute glance of the Master would only have to see the themes and

> the Master would know what to think of it all.' Then the Master said to me: 'Very well then, come along!' And he went with me into the drawing room and looked at the Second Symphony. 'Very nice', he said, but none the less it did not seem bold enough for him (at that time the Viennese had made me very timid) and he took the Third (D minor) and with the words, 'Look! Look! I say! I say!' he went through the entire first part (commenting particularly on the trumpet) and then he said: 'Leave this work here; after lunch I will have another look at it.' I thought, dare I ask him before he says I may? Very shyly and with a pounding heart I then said to the Master: 'Master! There is something in my heart that I lack courage to speak of.' The Master said: 'Out with it! You know how I like you!' Then I presented my petition (that is the intention of dedicating the work to him), but only if the Master was more or less satisfied, as I did not wish to do sacrilege to his most celebrated name. The Master said: 'This evening at five o'clock you are invited to Wahnfried; you will see me then; after I have a good look at the D minor Symphony, we can discuss the matter.'[52]

Wagner was happy to accept the dedication and after its first performance some critics said they could hear Wagner's influence in it. The Third symphony also includes quotes from some of Wagner's works, most notably the *Ring* and *Tristan*. Shortly after this Bruckner joined the *Akademischer Richard Wagner-Verein*. Wagner on a few occasions recognized Bruckner as a friend both in public and in private, but Wagner never took any

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[52] Westernhagen, Curt Von. *1864-1883, Volume 2 of Wagner*. p. 466

steps to encourage Bruckner's success. Bruckner would return to Bayreuth on occasion throughout the rest of his life, and after the death of Wagner he would pray at his grave.

Work in Vienna

Bruckner's post of piano teacher, organist, and theory teacher was terminated in 1874 for financial reasons, and Bruckner tried to find other places to work. He had represented Austria in a series of recitals in London a few years prior and was now regretting his decision to stay in Vienna and not move to London. Bruckner even admitted that if he had known what being in Vienna was like, he would have stayed in Linz. In 1875, after a few failed attempts to find employment, Bruckner was hired to teach at the University of Vienna. Eduard Hanslick, who was often critical of Bruckner and his works, was the Dean of the Music Faculty and had previously sent reports to those who decided on Bruckner's application. He reported that Bruckner had nothing to offer that Hanslick himself did not in his own lectures and so with Bruckner's 1875 application, Hanslick once again voiced his concerns about Bruckner, though Bruckner was still granted an honorary position. Bruckner was beloved by his students, and he was known for treating them well, as equals, and occasionally having a beer with them outside of class. Bruckner spent the next few years struggling to get his symphonies performed, and he was constantly revising his works in hopes of getting critics to like them. In 1878 Bruckner was appointed a full member of the *Hofkapelle,* and they raised his annual salary. Almost every summer Bruckner would leave Vienna and return to St. Florian, as many people would often leave Vienna during the summer due to the terrible dust storms and the weather being much nicer in other parts of Europe.

Bruckner's major choral work while living in Vienna was his *Te Deum*, which was completed early in 1884. He was still writing sacred music every now and then: the motets *Os justi* and *Christus factus est* were completed in 1879; one of his *Ave Maria* settings was completed in 1881; the motets *Ecce sacerdos* and*Virga Jesse floruit* in 1885; and he continued to revise his Masses. Finally, Bruckner had a breakthrough in 1886, when he was awarded the Order of Franz-Josef, which came with a purse of 300 florins. His symphonies were now becoming more frequently performed not only in Europe but in the New World in New York, Boston, and Chicago. His works were being published, both the large works as well as the smaller sacred ones. All of this led to Bruckner completing his eighth symphony, which would bring all the success he was now enjoying to an end.

Decline and Death

The combination of events of his friends disapproving of his newly finished symphony and Hanslick's constant criticisms of his works in performance led to another mental breakdown for Bruckner. His neurotic tendencies returned, and he began an extensive period of manic revisions. He had the help of his students, who were now some of his closest friends, with doing these revisions. This in turn led to many errors throughout many of the scores that Bruckner had to try and correct, sometimes only after they were sent to the publisher for printing. Bruckner never finished another symphony, and only composed one piece during this period entitled *Träumen und Wachen*, a short piece for men's chorus. One of the happiest moments for Bruckner during this time was in October of 1895 when he received an honorary doctorate from the University of

Vienna; Watson notes that it was the first time it had ever been awarded to a musician.[53] The university held a gala in Bruckner's honor, which had an attendance of almost three thousand people. November of 1894 saw Bruckner resigning from all his university duties. He was becoming quite lonely in his old age, and his health was now beginning to fail. He was constantly travelling to see performances of his works, which were almost always criticized in a rather hostile manner by Hanslick, who had become his loudest critic. He had begun missing performances due to his ailing health, but on his seventieth birthday Bruckner received numerous telegrams congratulating him and others inviting him to be an honorary member of one society or another. The final concert that Bruckner attended was on January 12, 1896, when he was so ill that he had to be carried into the concert hall. His last months and weeks were said to have been filled with a religious mania, and he was constantly praying for God to give him the time to finish his Ninth Symphony. [54] On October 11, 1896, Bruckner died peacefully. Bruckner's funeral was a public, ticketed event, and there were throngs of people who attended. His remains were put in a sarcophagus in the catacombs of St. Florian. Watson notes Bruckner's thoughts on death:

> One of the many remarks attributed to him was his reply prepared for the day when his beloved God would call him to account for the use he made of his earthly talents: 'I will present to him the score of my Te Deum, and he will judge me mercifully.'[55]

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[53] Derek Watson. *Bruckner*. p. 41.
[54] Ibid. p. 44.
[55] Ibid. p. 44.

Throughout his life Bruckner never lost his faith in God. There were times when people were talking to him, but he had to abruptly end their discussion and go pray. Some of his students said that on occasion he would even pray during their classes.

Sacred Music

Bruckner composed sacred music throughout his career, even though he was mostly concerned with large-scale symphonic works in the later years. Of the sacred works from the early years, Watson notes that two settings of *Asperges me* and the *Tantum ergo* in A Major deserve mention. The first *Asperges me* (WAB 3) begins polyphonically and is in the Aeolian mode, while the second has a more interesting story. It (WAB 4) was originally thought to have dated from the late Linz years, but has recently been re-dated to the Kronstorf period. It is an example of how Bruckner could transform plainsong into something modern for the time through chromatic harmony. This hymn is in two sections, which appear on either side of a chant. The *Tantum ergo* moves through several keys beginning in A Major and after travelling through E-flat minor ends in B Major.

Prior to his move to Linz, Bruckner's compositional style had been reflective of the composers, whose music was found at the monastery. Bruckner had composed liturgical works, hymns, motets, a Magnificat, and Masses, as well as occasional works in the vernacular, and his two largest works from the St. Florian period are a Requiem and a *Missa solemnis***.** Paul Hawkshaw, in his article on the Austrian choral tradition, describes Bruckner's early composition style:

> Much of Bruckner's choral writing during his early years is homophonic with the orchestra weaving figurations around it in the style of eighteenth-century chorale preludes. Also, conservative are rhetorical gestures such as the use of trombones with texts associated with death. His Latin text setting, while awkward at times, can be effective… Almost all his early works and their individual movements employ repeat structures or are through composed. Only late in his second St. Florian period . . . did Bruckner begin to experiment with an organic motivic process that would become central to later compositions.[56]

Hawkshaw brings up an interesting point towards the end of this quote. Bruckner is first and foremost thought of as a symphonist, and those sacred works which have garnered attention are also from later in his life. When it comes to Bruckner's sacred music, however, his motets are the most important ones to discuss.

Bruckner's Motets and *Cäcilien-Verein*

As far as choral conductors are concerned, Bruckner's motets are the compositions with which they are most familiar. They have been his most frequently performed choral works today, more so than the Masses, Requiems, or other liturgical works, and even more than the popular E minor Mass. The motets are various in length and arrangement and are quite varied stylistically throughout. Interestingly, he reviewed and reworked these much less than his larger works. There are a myriad of possible explanations for

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[56] Paul Hawkshaw, "Anton Bruckner and the Austrian choral tradition: his mass in F minor," in *Nineteenth–Century Choral Music,* ed. Donne di Grazia (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 170.

this, the most popular being that as he aged, his character quirks went from being endearing to devastating flaws that greatly hindered him, even after being "cured" by the asylum. Some believe that this neurotic side of Bruckner was partly the cause of his constant revisions, and in turn, his constant revisions were a great contributor to his mental breakdown. Bruckner's style of writing was something that the Cecilians loved, as well as hated. His frequent use of *a cappella* was one of the things they loved, and although his sacred works seemed to appear on the surface like those of the Renaissance masters, some of his harmony and harmonic progressions were too modern for their tastes. Throughout Bruckner's life as a composer of sacred music, there are two conflicting ideas regarding his relationship with the Cecilian movement. One was that he constantly battled the Cecilian movement, and the other that he paid very little or no attention to it. At times it appeared that he would lose favor with those involved in the movement through one composition, and then gain some of it back in a subsequent work. Never truly devoting himself to the movement's ideals, he wavered back and forth before giving up on them as many had already begun to do. This is interesting, because some of Bruckner's compositions, such as *Os justi*, naturally conform to the ideals set forth by the movement, and in this particular case, surpass his actual attempts at composing according to their principles. That being said, criticism from the Cecilian society still affected him, sometimes on a deep level. Bruckner was someone who valued other people's opinions of his music very much to a fault. If someone he thought of highly made a comment, even just in passing on a section of one of his works, Bruckner would be back revising it that very night. Thus, when some of the Cecilians began criticizing him for his

use of modern techniques, Bruckner had to trust solely his own musicianship, something that was never easy for him.

Franz Xavier Witt had contact with Bruckner on a few occasions, choosing to publish his works, but with his own edits, which upset Bruckner.[57] Watson, Hawkshaw, and Strimple all agree that the E minor Mass is the furthest Bruckner went when it came to the Cecilian ideals, but whether or not it was intentionally done is debatable. Watson describes the situation:

> The Mass in E minor, 1866. Here is music of profound wisdom conveyed with utmost simplicity of expression that embraces romantic, fully Brucknarian, harmony, bold motivic development, and powerful choral and instrumental combinations, together with the devoutness, restraint, poignancy, and austere power of the highest era of Italian Renaissance polyphony. It was keenly received by the Cecilian Movement, who saw in it a realization of their aim of reviving a Palestrinian a cappella style of church music to counter the secular and worldly tones that customarily accompanied mid nineteenth century sacred music. Bruckner's mass is closest to the style of sixteenth century vocal counterpoint in the Kyrie and the Sanctus.[58]

It was important to Bruckner for the Cecilians to accept the Mass, for they had rejected his D minor as well as F minor Masses, much to his disappointment. Even though

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[57] The most famous being Bruckner's *Pange lingua* motet where Witt changed the final cadence that Bruckner had written.
[58] Derek Watson. *Bruckner,* p. 90.

Bruckner had no direct affiliation with the Cecilians, he still greatly valued other people's opinions of his work. A second opinion from Nick Strimple in his work on choral music in the nineteenth century corroborates the opinions of Watson:

> Designed to dwell in the parallel universes of concert hall and worship service, this severely gorgeous work is scored for eight part mixed chorus and fifteen wind instruments…the instrumental accompaniment harkens back to the eighteenth century Austrian tradition of the wind-band Mass, as perfected by Michael Haydn; counterpoint, following the lead of Palestrina, magically projects clear declamation of text; and austere modality mingles freely with Wagnerian chromaticism. Most strict Caecilians, on hearing it, must have been simultaneously enthralled and appalled. But, in fact, Franz Xavier Witt loved it, no doubt rationalizing the use of wind instruments as necessary under the circumstance of outdoor performance for which Bruckner wrote the piece.[59]

Even with the personal relationship between Witt and Bruckner, and the occasional work he sent to them, there is no proof of him actually being a Cecilian. He may have composed his works his own way and found that they somewhat fit, or he may have wished for more fame, or even to have more Christians see his works and find them the most sacred. Fellerer argues that the musical and liturgical orientation of Witt and the *Cäcilien-Verein* were wholly foreign to Bruckner, while Michaela Auchmann has denied that the activities of the Cecilians had any impact on Bruckner's music at all: "The conflict

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[59] Nick Strimple. *Choral Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Amadeus Press, 2008), pp. 48-49.

between the Cecilians and their opponents in Austria did not affect Bruckner. He stands in the Austrian tradition of viewing church music. He wrote his works in the style of his time and of his character."[60] A.C. Howie agrees, arguing that the *Pange lingua* (1868), *Tantum ergo* (1868), and *Os justi* (1879), are simply reflections of Bruckner's knowledge of chant and Renaissance polyphony.[61] Bruckner's own letters point to Witt's edits of Bruckner's music being made for more practical purposes rather than to conform to the ideals of the *Cäcilien-Verein*. One thing to consider, however, is that simply because this is what Witt told Bruckner, it does not mean that it is the truth. Witt knew that editing Bruckner's music upset him, and he potentially could have simply been trying to limit any further conflict by suggesting other reasons to perform edits.

The most difficult part in dealing with Bruckner and his relationship to the Cecilian movement is that all sides provide evidence in the form of compositions and correspondences to support their argument. It may simply be that without being able to ask Bruckner himself, the real truth may never be known, and that all possible sides ought to be considered. While the evidence that supports Bruckner following the *Cäcilien-Verein* is lacking, it is safe to say that he did not try and force his compositions to fit within the movement's guidelines when it came to his compositional process, even if he did submit something after the fact. When it comes to the motets, they generally do not fall in line with the Cecilian ideals, other than in naturally occurring instances. They are *a cappella*, some do have a connection to chant, and they are fairly simple

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[60] James Garrat. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination,* pp. 186-187.
[61] A. C Howie. Traditional and Novel Elements in Bruckner's Sacred Music. P. 557.

harmonically, albeit with a nineteenth century flair. There may be some pieces of this puzzle to be found that will uncover the actual truth about Bruckner's relationship with the *Cäcilien-Verein*, but for now only the existing evidence can be considered.

Chapter 4 – Bruckner's Motets

One of the oldest compositional genres is the motet, covering a wide range of time periods, music, and composers. Motets began as a type of sacred music and were one of the earliest forms to include liturgical text. The motet quickly became a popular genre of music, spreading outside of the church and evolving into a secular art form. The motet has lasted as long as it has mostly due to its flexibility and adaptability. The style of the motet in the nineteenth century had expanded considerably from where motets began, with them having been influenced by the development of music from each generation that passed.

Bruckner's motets are some of his most beautiful compositions and are perhaps the most neglected genre of his works in terms of performance, with his symphonies and Masses taking precedence. Although a select few are very well-known and performed somewhat frequently, the motets as a whole are often viewed as inferior or less important in comparison to his symphonies or larger choral works, such as the Masses. A reason for this may be that when one thinks of influential music from the nineteenth century, especially in the Germanic regions, usually the first thing to come to mind is symphonic music followed closely by opera. A second reason could be an issue that befell several composers who became popular in Germany/Austria around this time. Toward the end of his career Bruckner began to be more associated with Wagner, but after the turn of the century people turned away from Wagner and those associated with him. A third and possible reason may be that the motets are relatively small in number, with only around thirty-two surviving, and most are short in duration, which could lead to them being

viewed as superficial pieces. The Masses provide an interesting comparison to the motets, in as much of the material is common between them. There are sections of the various Masses that contain portions of the various motets or are similar and although they could be a worthwhile study, they are ancillary for this discussion.

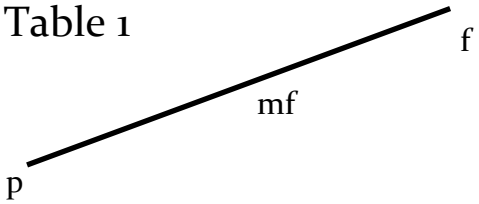
Bruckner is often thought of as a "late bloomer" when it comes to his compositions, when in actuality he had been composing since he was very young. This reputation may have some truth to it, however, due to the fact that his symphonic works and some of his more valued compositions did not come until later on in life. Interestingly, most of the motets were written early in his life, but when he moved to Vienna in 1868, the composition of sacred music took a backseat to his larger works. Almost all of Bruckner's motets were composed for specific events and contain special dedications, because Bruckner had been responsible from early in his career for composing music for the church feast days, and other liturgical ceremonies. That being said, it is somewhat strange to find only a small number of motets surviving, though not every piece composed for such an event needed to be a motet. The following four examples are from different periods in Bruckner's career with the *Tantum ergo* being the earliest of the four. They each have something to offer, not only being from different points in his career, but also with various aspects in relation to the Cecilian ideals.

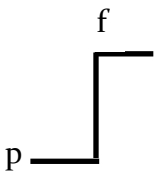
Tantum ergo

Between February and June of 1846 while at St. Florian, Bruckner wrote five settings of the hymn *Tantum ergo*: E-flat Major, C Major, B-flat Major, A-flat Major, and D Major. The first four were written for *a cappella* mixed chorus in four parts, while the D

Major is in five parts, SSATB, with an organ accompaniment. This *Tantum ergo*, intended for a larger ensemble, is the most adventurous of the five. There are many examples of unconventional chromatic progressions to be found throughout the short piece. Beginning in the fifth bar, the bass goes through a chromatic descending pattern, with a similar one recurring at the climax of the piece in bar twenty-one, which can be seen in the complete score in Appendix A-1. This climax contains a good example of Bruckner's use of dynamics. Throughout many of his motets, he quickly changes dynamics, sometimes quite suddenly as will be seen in the *Ave Maria*, and sometimes in a more prepared manner, as seen in this work. These can be labelled step dynamics. One imagines a staircase of stairs versus a ramp; the ramp has a smooth incline to reach the top, whereas the stairs go up sharply and quickly, having vertical breaks that can be very sudden (Table 1*)*.

Table 1





With respect to the *Tantum ergo,* the preparation is quick, as it moves from piano to double forte over five bars without crescendo, with only a mezzo forte in between. When looking at the end of the piece, there is a difference depending on which version is being observed. The five *Tantum ergos* mentioned here were eventually revisited by Bruckner, a very common place occurrence as mentioned before, and upon being edited in 1888 were published sometime in the last decade of the century by Johann Groß. The

edits Bruckner did to these motets were not extensive, and the only change to the fifth *Tantum ergo* was the ending. The original is twenty-four bars in length, while the revised one is thirty-one, and in the revised edition Bruckner added a plagal cadence to match the end of the other *Tantum ergos* in the set. This text is from a hymn by Saint Thomas Aquinas as is noted on the score. Bruckner was drawn to this text, for he set it as a motet eight times in all. This may not seem like a lot, but considering there are only 32 motets extant, it is a quarter of the entire output.

When comparing this motet and the precepts of the Cecilian movement, it fulfills the functional aspect, and therefore they would have accepted it based on that point alone. The organ part would not have caused any significant difficulty, for the organ is simply doubling the vocal parts. However, at least one of the other settings of the *Tantum ergo* calls for trombone and other instruments, which would have been viewed as more egregious than the organ, as the organ was deemed a more appropriate instrument for the church. In terms of the plainchant there are some allusions to the original hymn in the shape of some of the lines, but no direct quotes.

Many well-known composers have their compositions divided among different compositional periods, where a set of pieces may be tied together by a few factors such as where the composer was living. An interesting fact with Bruckner's motets is that, regardless of when they were written, with a few exceptions they are all similar. There is no early or late Bruckner "sound" when it comes to the motets, so even though the *Ave Maria* to be discussed next was written fifteen years later, it contains the same step dynamics, and other qualities that make a motet Brucknarian.

Ave Maria

Bruckner's *Ave Maria* in F major for seven voices debuted for the first time on May 12, 1861 for the sixteenth anniversary celebration of the *Frohsinn choir*, which Bruckner had the privilege to conduct on the occasion for the performance. It was well-received by both the public and the press. This motet was the first of what can be seen as the big three of Bruckner's motets. [62] These are the best known of the motets to date, having been recorded and performed the most, usually with some combination of them as a set. In the *Ave Maria*, Bruckner showcases the tradition of the polychoral motet up to the twentieth bar by having the women and men divided until the climax on the word "Jesus". Once again, this climax shows Bruckner's use of a sudden dynamic shift. It has been argued by Nick Strimple that this climax represents an homage to Wagner with its grandiose range and volume and the dramatic pause that ensues.[63] The pause following the climax is something that had become and would continue to be a part of Bruckner's individual style. When questioned about these pauses, Bruckner replied: "Whenever I have something new and important to say, I must stop and take a breath first."[64] This moment can be found in the complete score, in Appendix A-2. Bar seventeen is a soft *piano* without crescendo or any preparation, but only a measure later the choir comes back *fortissimo*. Opening the second portion of the work is the phrase "Sancta Maria, mater Dei," which contains both seventh and ninth chords leading to the second climax of the

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[62] This is not an official term, but one I have decided to use to describe the three most popular of Bruckner's motets that are still performed frequently together today : *Ave Maria, Locus iste, and Os justi.*
[63] Nick Strimple. Choral Music in the Nineteenth Century. p. 50.
[64] Derek Watson. *Bruckner*, p. 67.

piece. These two small sections are important, because the harmony and quick dynamic shifts may not have appreciated by the Cecilians but would have been favored by the audiences, as it was more commonplace at this time. There are other examples herein of both overarching climaxes, as well as climaxes from phrase to phrase, that Bruckner uses to emphasize the text. He uses similar word stress to that of the original chant with the tension and release of the harmony. Going back to the first four bars of the piece is a great example of this, with the tensions appearing on the "ri" of *Maria* and the "ple" of *plena,* which is a direct reflection of the original chant. Here, Bruckner's fusion of Renaissance and modernism comes through strongly. As stated, the use of the multiple choirs combined with modern nineteenth century chromaticism show Bruckner's fusion of the two genres, which had developed and would continue to grow into Bruckner's personal style. The Renaissance influence is stronger in both *Locus iste* and *Os justi,* which will be examined next.

Locus iste

Locus iste was second of the big three written in 1869 while Bruckner was in Vienna. *Locus iste* is the most accessible and frequently performed motet today, other than the *Os justi*. The work is in a clear ternary form of A-B-A-coda, but the range is one of the main reasons the piece is so accessible, providing no real difficulty for the singers as most of the notes are on the staff. The work is highly homophonic, with the basses usually commencing the phrases, which also adds to the accessibility of the work. The variation in the B section is quite small, with dotted rhythms on the text "irreprehensibilis est." The final section recapitulates the first section followed by a subdivision of the word

"Deo," moving to a low finale of prayer and contemplation on a C major chord, as can be seen in Appendix A-3.

When it comes to the *Cäcilien-Verein*, *Locus iste* can be seen as a motet that would have met all of their criteria. While there is no official communication between anyone in the *Cäcilien-Verein* and Bruckner about the motet, it mostly falls within the guidelines set forth by the society. The only thing that they could perhaps could have taken issue with would have been some of the leaps in the vocal parts, as well as the typical large dynamic shifts that Bruckner employs. The main difference between this motet and *Os justi*, which will be examined briefly next, is an artistic one. They both follow similar guidelines, save that *Os justi* is a much more complex piece.

Os justi

Composed for the festival of St. Augustine in 1879, *Os justi* is considered the final and most successful of the big three. *Os justi* is set for eight-part mixed chorus. Bruckner dedicated this work to his longtime friend and mentor, Ignaz Traumihler, who was the choir director at St. Florian. There is a quote from Bruckner's letters that he sent to Traumihler along with the score: "It would make me very glad if Your Reverence should gain pleasure from it. It is without sharps, flats, without seventh chords, without six-four chords and without chords of four or five notes."[65] This quote is often used as an example of Bruckner writing music according the Cecilian guidelines, and yet there is no documentary proof of this relationship. Traumihler was conservative in his views on

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[65] James Garrat. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination,* p. 189

music, and it is more than likely that Bruckner knew this. Bruckner could have simply been trying to write something he knew that his friend would enjoy, rather than conforming to some sort of outside set of ideals forced upon him. Regardless of how Traumihler viewed the work, he was not fully pleased with it. Bruckner then revised the composition, adding a verse of "Inveni David" followed by a second Alleluja ending. Strangely, in the first edition of the work this revision was misplaced, and so it was published in the original form Bruckner had sent to Traumihler.[66]

Similar to the *Ave Maria* in form only, *Os justi* has a ternary form with a short coda at the end (A=mm. 1-16, B=mm. 16-42, A'=mm. 42-65, Coda=mm. 65-70). The opening contains an open choral sound to set the scene, at which point it expands into Bruckner's first climax, which can be seen in Appendix A-4. This climax is the perfect example of his usual dynamic switch. Starting in measure nine, the voice parts are *piano* and by halfway through the tenth measure are *forte*. This dynamic progression recurs exactly the same in the return of A section. The B section is written almost as a fugue, with it breaking the standard structure towards the end. Bruckner brilliantly switches between the polyphony of the fugue and homophony, with parts cutting out and reentering in fugal fashion, even though it remains homophonic. The return of the A section is very similar with different text, leading to a unison "Alleluja" colophon (see Appendix A-4). This motet has enjoyed the greatest success of all of Bruckner's motets. It has been the most frequently performed and transcribed for many different types of instruments, including brass

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[66] Interestingly enough this work has grown to be Bruckner's most successful motet, and still today is performed in this "incomplete" state.

quartets and wind band. Those who know it well consider it to be his best vocal work, even more so than his Masses.

Early on in Bruckner's compositional career of writing church music, his vocal lines are often repeated without any changes other than in the text and the occasional dynamic. The *Tantum ergo* in D Major is a good example of this, especially when compared with the *Os justi*. As the *Os justi* has an ABA' form, the return of the A section mirrors closely that of the first A section. However, this should be viewed as a product of the form, not of Bruckner's special sacred style. As Bruckner grew and learned as a composer, he moved further and further away from the homophony of his early years, although in his sacred music he never fully deviated from it. It is possible that he viewed church music as something that should be simpler than, say, his orchestral works. It is also possible that he saw some value in what the reforms in both Protestant and Catholic music were trying to accomplish and decided he liked them. This in no way labels him as a Cecilian, however. Although Bruckner probably owes the modern-day success of his motets to the reformers of the nineteenth century, one of the main points of the Cecilian movement lacking in Bruckner's sacred music is the use of plainchant. Bruckner seldom uses direct quotations from plainchant, but some of his stylistic elements, idiosyncratic to him, occasionally mirror those of plainchant and have been a consequence of the development of the music rather than an obvious attempt to make the music more chant-like. The homophonic writing usually lines up note for note vertically, with only the occasional polyphonic motion. Bruckner was not so conservative as to have an entire piece be completely homophonic, but once again in comparing the *Tantum ergo* with the

Os justi, one sees the conservative approach of the *Tantum ergo* versus the freedom of the *Os justi*, with the *Ave Maria* being somewhat of a hybrid between the two, leaning towards a more homophonic style. Where Bruckner's use of homophony differs from the traditional is that no one voice is considered the melody or of more importance than any other. Each voice is an integral part of the whole and cannot be separated from it. This stylistic feature is much like that of the Renaissance masters, though it does not imply that Bruckner was simply writing to imitate them or to please the Cecilians. Unlike the Renaissance masters, when Bruckner writes polyphonically, he utilized a balance of both vertical and horizontal phrases, of which *Os justi* is the best example. In the middle of the fugue at measure 30, for example, vertical sections quite suddenly appear, which then separate again and come back together towards the end of the section.

One of the most notable stylistic features of Bruckner's sacred music is his use of the climax. This encompasses everything from a climax within a line to an overarching climax of an entire piece. All three examples provide some examples of this process, but the more mature Bruckner's writing, the more complex the climax gets. Early on, as in the *Tantum ergo*, there is one large climax for the piece, whereas when looking at the *Os justi,* there are numerous climaxes throughout. Bruckner's climaxes do tend to revolve around the pitch level, with the higher the piece moving the more tension involved with a sense of release following. The more mature works can be best described as an ocean, with waves constantly coming in and going out, whereas the early works as more of a mountain with a peak and an ensuing valley.

Some Final Thoughts

Bruckner does not appear to have been a member of the *Cäcilien-Verein*. However, this does not mean that he was not aware of the things they were doing, and maybe even borrow some. The history of composers borrowing from each other is as long as the history of music itself, and it would be naïve to think that Bruckner, and others, did not see or hear the society's music at some point. Protestant born, championed by Catholicism, the *Cäcilien-Verein* did ultimately achieved its goal, although the effects of that achievement were not what they expected. They set out to reform sacred music and by 1903 had done just that, but by doing so lost the reason to fight. Like soldiers in a revolution they had won but all there was to do now was to go home and go back to living life the way it had been. The church had all but lost its hold on the people and like many Papal decrees of the time, it was up to the local clergy whether or not something would be followed, with the likelihood of it being followed decreasing the further away from Rome you went. The revival of an old style fell on deaf ears as secular music was changing considerably. There were those such as Anton Webern (1883-1945), Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), and Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) who were pushing music to new limits. The general populace had no interest in the church and its antiquated ways nor its antiquated music. Not to mention the rising political tensions that would eventually come to a head with the start of the First World War.

The *Cäcilien-Verein* had a relatively short life span while still having a widespread influence. Something that is worth mentioning is the effect the society had on secular music. This study and many of the resources available discuss the Cecilians and how they

influenced sacred music, but there is very little discussion around any influence on secular music. This idea could use more research as the composers who wrote secular music often also wrote other styles of music and there is potential there to see how, if at all, there were any changes in their compositional style during this time. As far as Bruckner is concerned there does not appear to be any shift, but he was not involved with the *Cäcilien-Verein*, and the constant revisions of his works make it difficult to know whether or not there would be any change in his style.

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Appendix A – Scores

A - 1

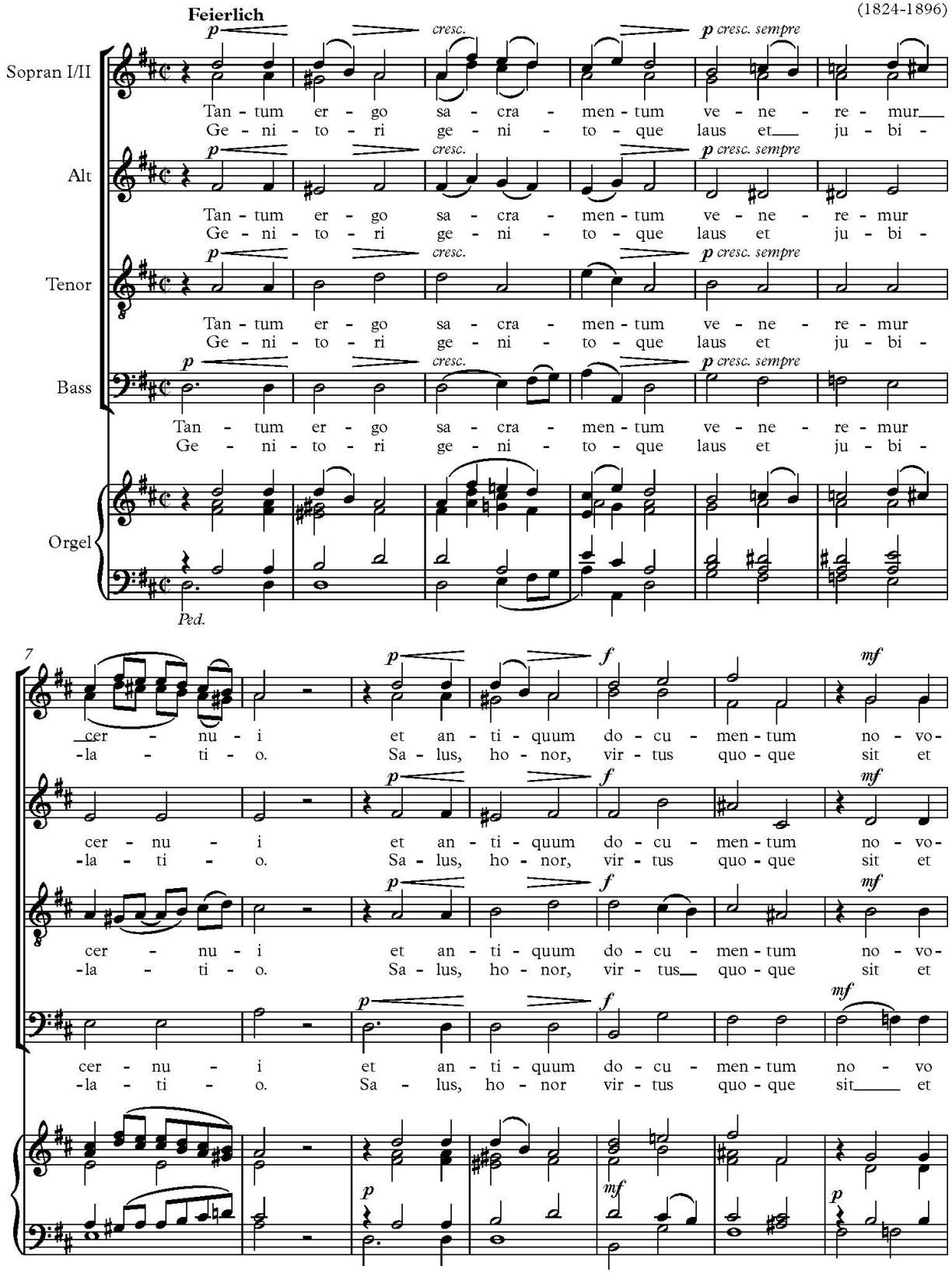
Tantum ergo

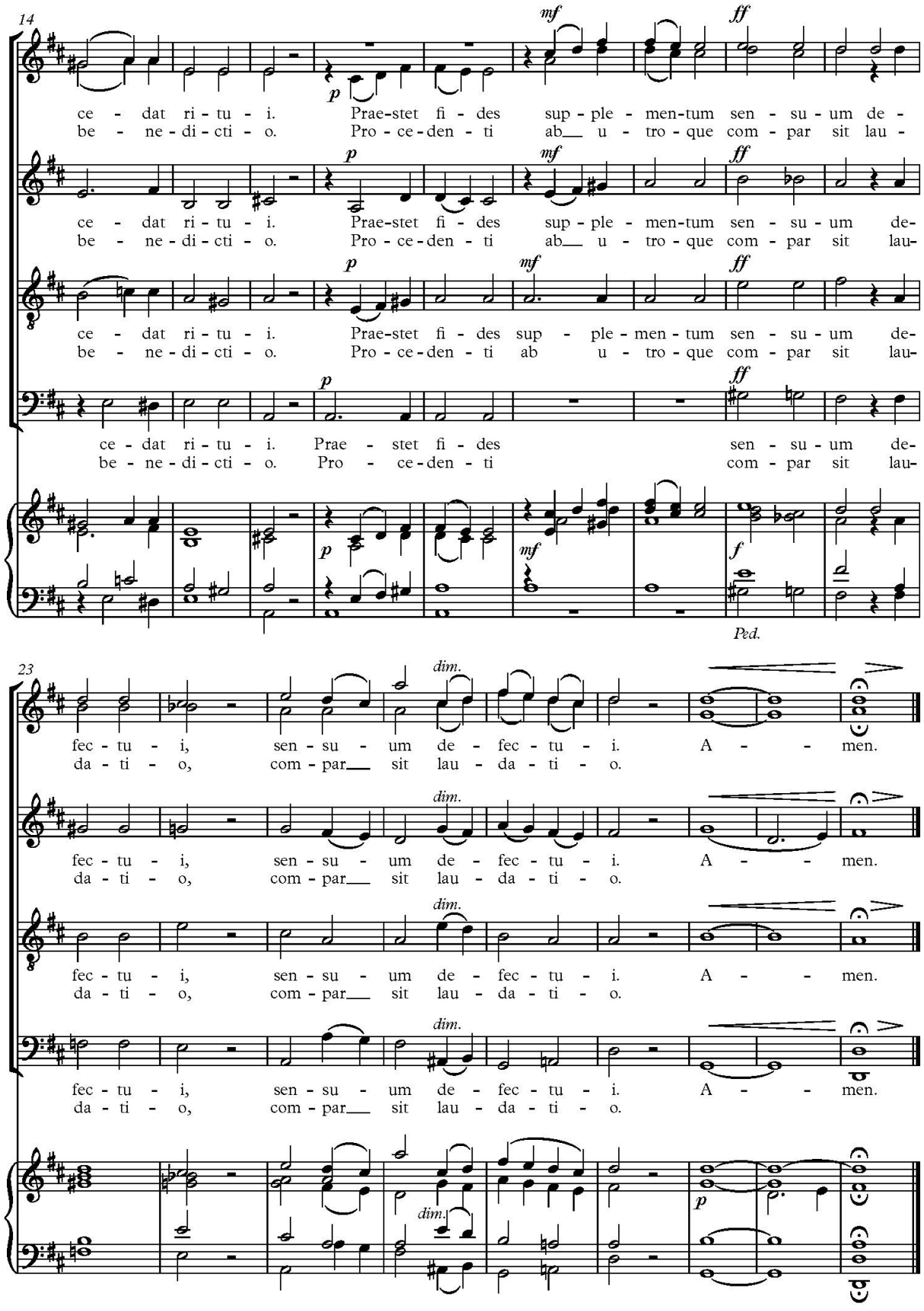
WAB 42

2. Fassung (1888)

Thomas von Aquin

Anton Bruckner
(1824-1896)

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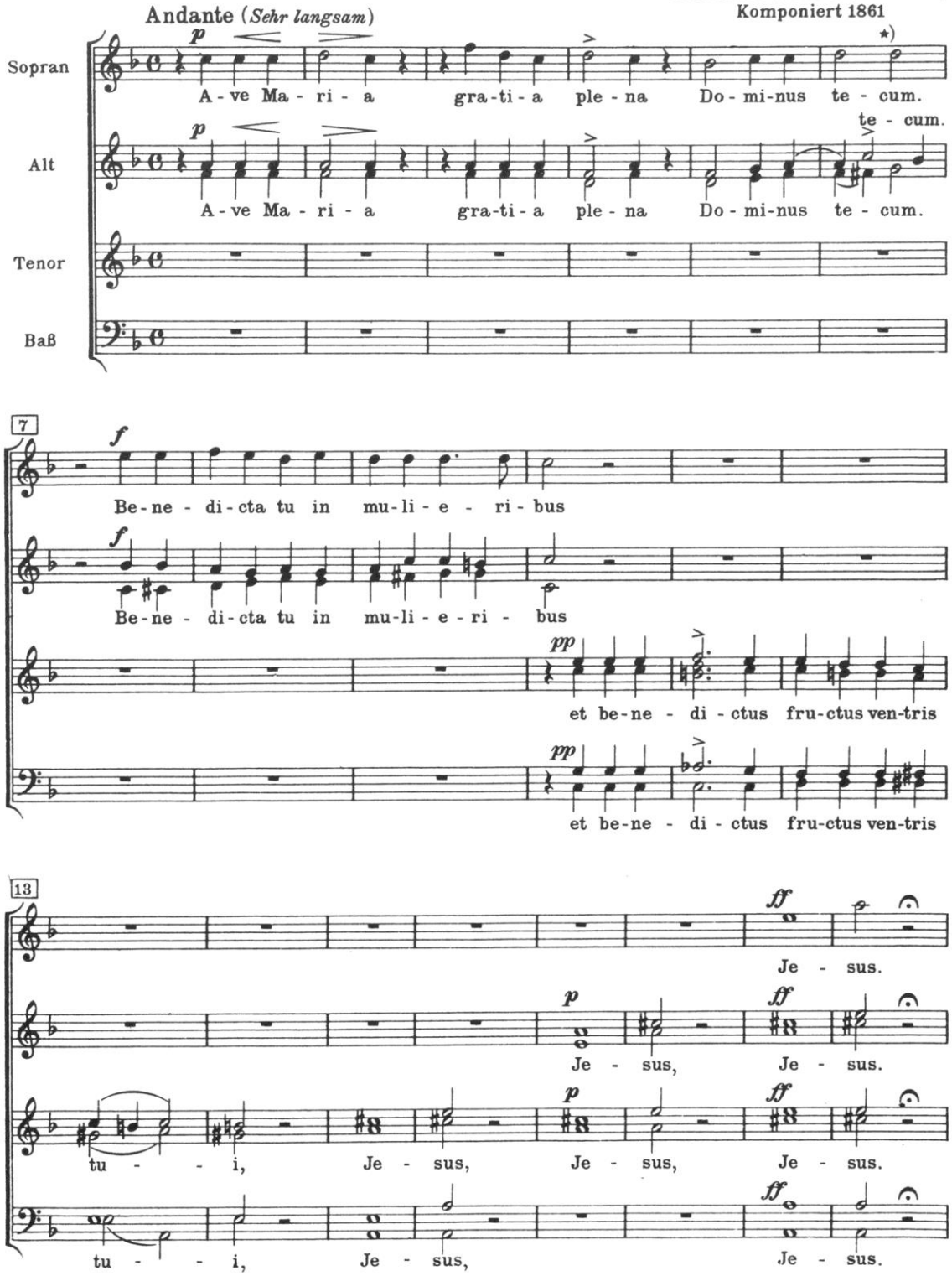
fec - tu - i, sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i. A - - men.
da - ti - o, com - par sit lau - da - ti - o.
fec - tu - i, sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i. A - - men.
da - ti - o, com - par sit lau - da - ti - o.
fec - tu - i, sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i. A - - men.
da - ti - o, com - par sit lau - da - ti - o.
fec - tu - i, sen - su - um de - fec - tu - i. A - - men.
da - ti - o, com - par sit lau - da - ti - o.

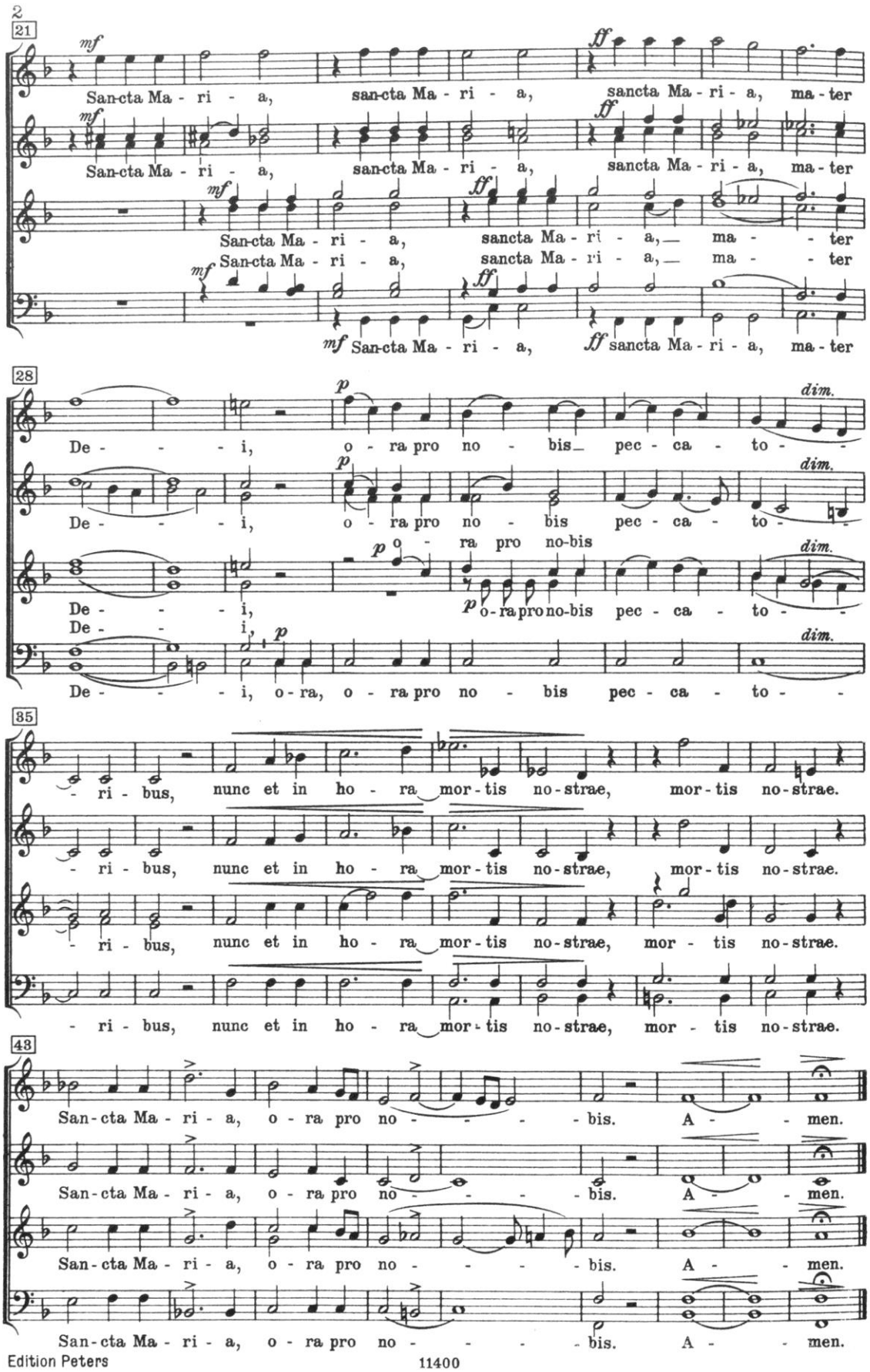
A - 2

1. Ave Maria

Anton Bruckner (1824-1896)
Komponiert 1861



*) andere Lesart *e''*

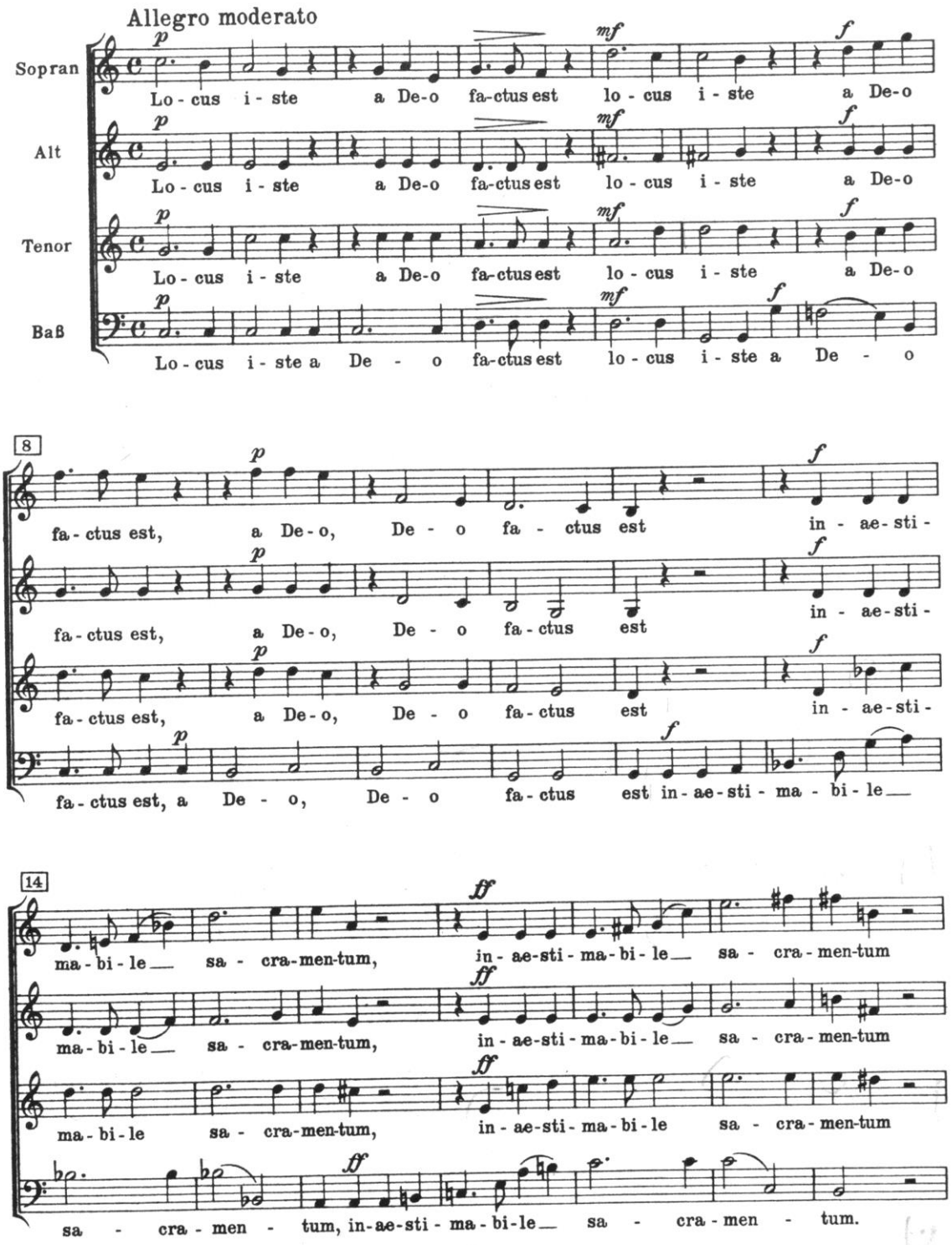

2
21
mf
San-cta Ma - ri - a, san-cta Ma - ri - a, ff sancta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter
mf
San-cta Ma - ri - a, san-cta Ma - ri - a, ff sancta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter
mf
San-cta Ma - ri - a, ff sancta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter
San-cta Ma - ri - a, sancta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter
mf San-cta Ma - ri - a, ff sancta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter
28
p
De - - - i, o - ra pro no - bis pec - ca - to - dim.
p
De - - - i, o - ra pro no - bis pec - ca - to - dim.
p o - ra pro no-bis
De - - - i, p o-ra pro no-bis pec - ca - to - dim.
De - - - i,
p
De - - - i, o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis pec - ca - to - dim.
35
- ri - bus, nunc et in ho - ra mor - tis no - strae, mor - tis no - strae.
- ri - bus, nunc et in ho - ra mor - tis no - strae, mor - tis no - strae.
- ri - bus, nunc et in ho - ra mor - tis no - strae, mor - tis no - strae.
- ri - bus, nunc et in ho - ra mor - tis no - strae, mor - tis no - strae.
43
San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - - - - - bis. A - - men.
San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - - - - - bis. A - - men.
San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - - - - - bis. A - - men.
San - cta Ma - ri - a, o - ra pro no - - - - - bis. A - - men.

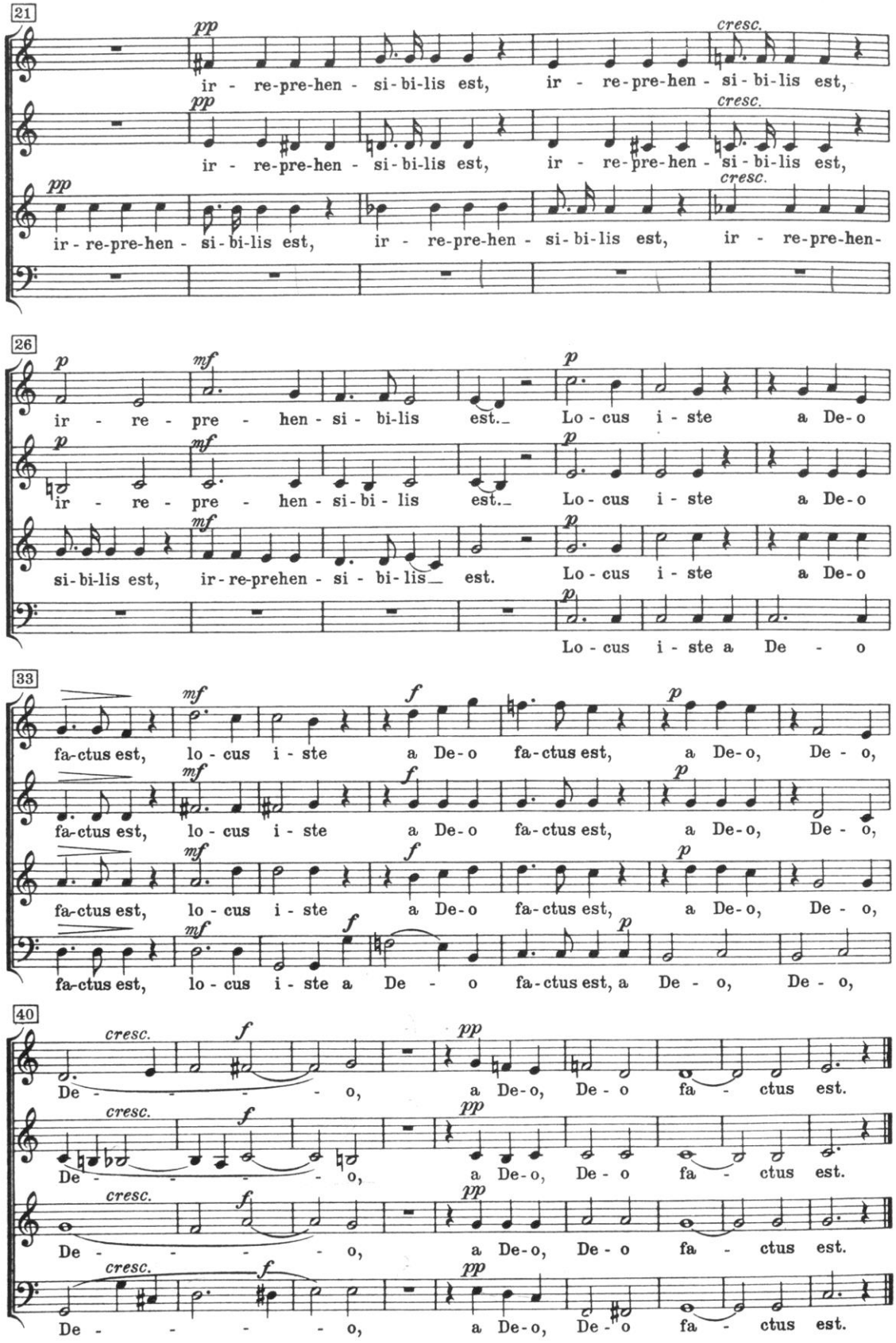
A - 3

H. H. Pater Otto Loidol

4. Graduale

Komponiert 1869



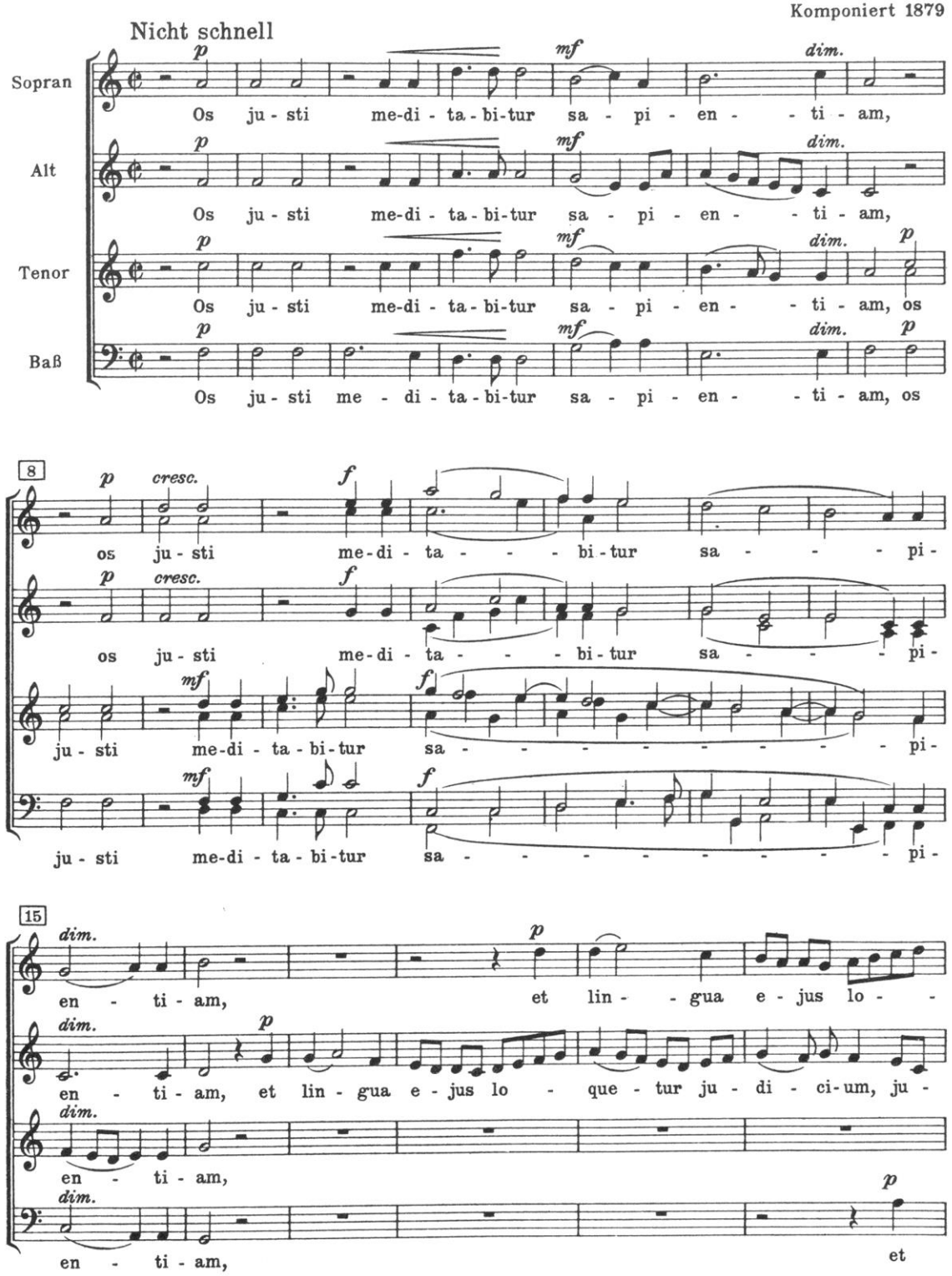

21
pp
cresc.
ir - re-pre-hen - si-bi-lis est, ir - re-pre-hen - si-bi-lis est,
ir - re-pre-hen - si-bi-lis est, ir - re-pre-hen - si-bi-lis est,
ir - re-pre-hen - si-bi-lis est, ir - re-pre-hen - si-bi-lis est, ir - re-pre-hen-
26
p
mf
ir - re - pre - hen - si - bi-lis est. Lo - cus i - ste a De-o
ir - re - pre - hen - si - bi - lis est. Lo - cus i - ste a De-o
si-bi-lis est, ir-re-prehen - si - bi-lis est. Lo - cus i - ste a De-o
Lo - cus i - ste a De - o
33
mf
f
p
fa-ctus est, lo - cus i - ste a De-o fa-ctus est, a De-o, De - o,
fa-ctus est, lo - cus i - ste a De-o fa-ctus est, a De-o, De - o,
fa-ctus est, lo - cus i - ste a De-o fa-ctus est, a De-o, De - o,
fa-ctus est, lo - cus i - ste a De - o fa-ctus est, a De - o, De - o,
40
cresc.
f
pp
De - - - - - o, a De-o, De - o fa - ctus est.
De - - - - - o, a De-o, De - o fa - ctus est.
De - - - - - o, a De-o, De - o fa - ctus est.
De - - - - - o, a De-o, De - o fa - ctus est.

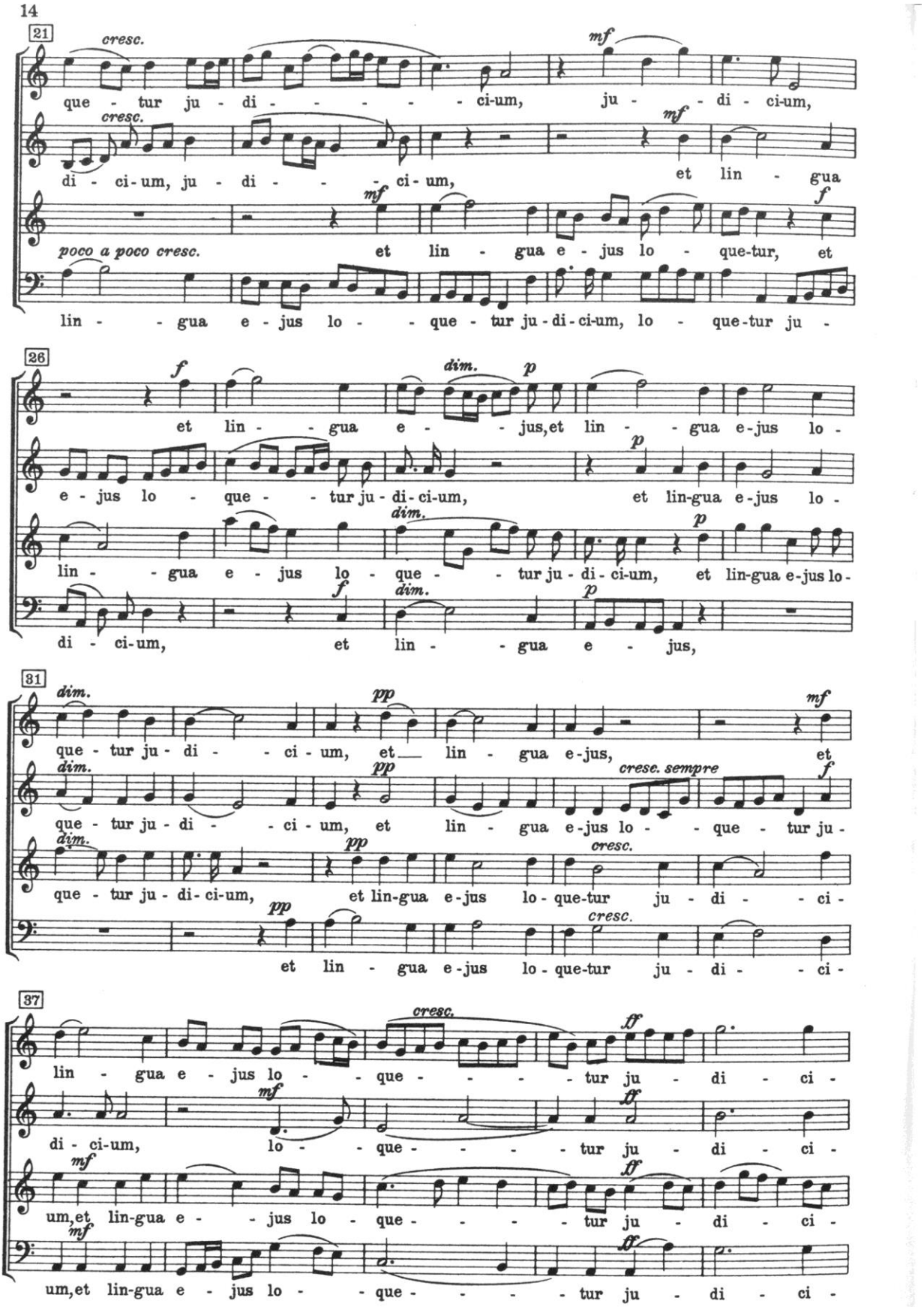
A - 4

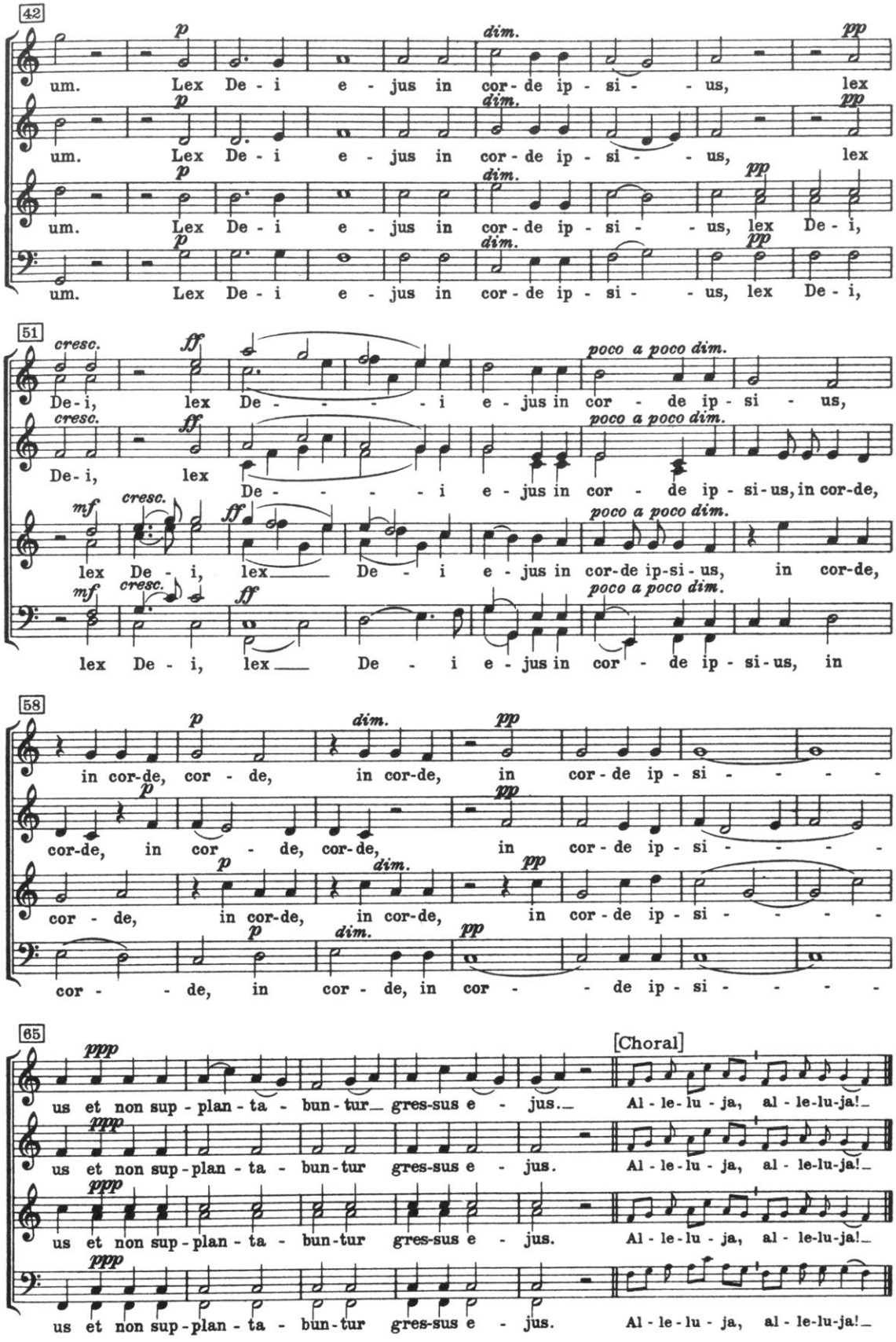
6. Graduale

(Lydisch)

Komponiert 1879




14
21
cresc.
que - tur ju - di - - - - - ci-um, ju - - di - ci-um,
cresc.
di - ci-um, ju - di - - - ci-um, et lin - gua
poco a poco cresc.
et lin - gua e - jus lo - que-tur, et
lin - - gua e - jus lo - - que - tur ju-di-ci-um, lo - que-tur ju -
26
et lin - - gua e - - jus, et lin - - gua e-jus lo -
e - jus lo - que - - tur ju-di-ci-um, et lin-gua e-jus lo -
lin - - gua e - jus lo - que - - tur ju - di - ci-um, et lin-gua e-jus lo-
di - ci-um, et lin - - gua e - jus,
31
que - tur ju - di - - ci - um, et lin - gua e-jus, et
que - tur ju - di - - ci - um, et lin - gua e-jus lo - - que - tur ju -
que - tur ju - di - ci-um, et lin-gua e-jus lo - que-tur ju - di - - ci -
et lin - gua e-jus lo - que-tur ju - di - - ci -
37
lin - gua e - jus lo - - que - - - - - tur ju - di - ci -
di - ci-um, lo - - que - - - - - tur ju - di - ci -
um, et lin-gua e - - jus lo - que - - - - - tur ju - di - ci -
um, et lin-gua e - jus lo - - que - - - - - tur ju - di - ci -


42
p
dim.
pp
um. Lex De - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - - us, lex
um. Lex De - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - - us, lex
um. Lex De - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - - us, lex De - i,
um. Lex De - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - - us, lex De - i,
51
cresc.
ff
poco a poco dim.
De - i, lex De - - - - - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - us,
De - i, lex De - - - - - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - us, in cor-de,
mf
lex De - i, lex De - i e - jus in cor-de ip-si - us, in cor-de,
lex De - i, lex De - i e - jus in cor - de ip - si - us, in
58
in cor-de, cor - de, in cor-de, in cor - de ip - si - - - -
cor-de, in cor - de, cor-de, in cor - de ip - si - - - -
cor - de, in cor-de, in cor-de, in cor - de ip - si - - - -
cor - - de, in cor - de, in cor - - de ip - si - - - -
65
ppp
[Choral]
us et non sup - plan - ta - bun - tur gres-sus e - jus. Al - le - lu - ja, al - le - lu - ja!
us et non sup - plan - ta - bun - tur gres-sus e - jus. Al - le - lu - ja, al - le - lu - ja!
us et non sup - plan - ta - bun - tur gres-sus e - jus. Al - le - lu - ja, al - le - lu - ja!
us et non sup - plan - ta - bun - tur gres-sus e - jus. Al - le - lu - ja, al - le - lu - ja!

Appendix B – Motu proprio 1903

Included is the text from the Motu proprio as well as a letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Cardinal Respighi, stating how it should be implemented.[67]

Among the cares of the pastoral office, not only of this Supreme Chair, which We, though unworthy, occupy through the inscrutable dispositions of Providence, but of every local church, a leading one is without question that of maintaining and promoting the decorum of the House of God in which the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, and where the Christian people assemble to receive the grace of the Sacraments, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar, to adore the most august Sacrament of the Lord's Body and to unite in the common prayer of the Church in the public and solemn liturgical offices. Nothing should have place, therefore, in the temple calculated to disturb or even merely to diminish the piety and devotion of the faithful, nothing that may give reasonable cause for disgust or scandal, nothing, above all, which directly offends the decorum and sanctity of the sacred functions and is thus unworthy of the House of Prayer and of the Majesty of God. We do not touch separately on the abuses in this matter which may arise. Today Our attention is directed to one of the most common of them, one of the most difficult to eradicate, and the existence of which is sometimes to be deplored in places where everything else is deserving of the highest praise -- the beauty and sumptuousness of the temple, the splendor and the accurate performance of the ceremonies, the attendance of the clergy, the gravity and piety of the officiating ministers. Such is the abuse affecting sacred chant and music. And indeed, whether it is owing to the very nature of this art, fluctuating and variable as it is in itself, or to the succeeding changes in tastes and habits with the course of time, or to the fatal influence exercised on sacred art by profane and theatrical art, or to the pleasure that music directly produces, and that is not always easily contained within the right limits, or finally to the many prejudices on the matter, so lightly introduced and so tenaciously maintained even among responsible and pious persons, the fact remains that there is a general tendency to deviate from the right rule, prescribed by the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship and which is set forth very clearly in the ecclesiastical Canons, in the Ordinances of the General and Provincial Councils, in the prescriptions which have at various times emanated from the Sacred Roman Congregations, and from Our Predecessors the Sovereign Pontiffs.

It is with real satisfaction that We acknowledge the large amount of good that has been effected in this respect during the last decade in this Our fostering city of Rome, and in many churches in Our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which illustrious men, full of zeal for the worship of God, have, with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of the Bishops, united in flourishing Societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honor in all their churches and chapels. Still the good work that has been done is very far indeed from being common to all, and when We consult Our own

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[67] Permission to include from Rev. Scott Haynes of St. John Canticus, Chicago.

personal experience and take into account the great number of complaints that have reached Us during the short time that has elapsed since it pleased the Lord to elevate Our humility to the supreme summit of the Roman Pontificate, We consider it Our first duty, without further delay, to raise Our voice at once in reproof and condemnation of all that is seen to be out of harmony with the right rule above indicated, in the functions of public worship and in the performance of the ecclesiastical offices. Filled as We are with a most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish in every respect and be preserved by all the faithful, We deem it necessary to provide before anything else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable font, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church. And it is vain to hope that the blessing of heaven will descend abundantly upon us, when our homage to the Most High, instead of ascending in the odor of sweetness, puts into the hand of the Lord the scourges wherewith of old the Divine Redeemer drove the unworthy profaners from the Temple.

Hence, in order that no one for the future may be able to plead in excuse that he did not clearly understand his duty and that all vagueness may be eliminated from the interpretation of matters which have already been commanded, We have deemed it expedient to point out briefly the principles regulating sacred music in the functions of public worship, and to gather together in a general survey the principal prescriptions of the Church against the more common abuses in this subject. We do therefore publish, *motu proprio* and with certain knowledge, Our present Instruction to which, as to a juridical code of sacred music (*quasi a codice giuridice della musica sacra*), We will with the fullness of Our Apostolic Authority that the force of law be given, and We do by Our present handwriting impose its scrupulous observance on all.

Instruction on Sacred Music

I. General principles

Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of the liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It contributes to the decorum and the splendor of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and since its principal office is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical text proposed for the understanding of the faithful, its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that through it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed for the reception of the fruits of grace belonging to the celebration of the most holy mysteries.

Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and in particular sanctity and goodness of form, which will spontaneously produce the final quality of universality.

It must be holy, and must, therefore, exclude all profanity not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it.

It must be true art, for otherwise it will be impossible for it to exercise on the minds of

those who listen to it that efficacy which the Church aims at obtaining in admitting into her liturgy the art of musical sounds.

But it must, at the same time, be universal in the sense that while every nation is permitted to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which may be said to constitute its native music, still these forms must be subordinated in such a manner to the general characteristics of sacred music that nobody of any nation may receive an impression other than good on hearing them.

II. The different kinds of sacred music

These qualities are to be found, in the highest degree, in Gregorian Chant, which is, consequently the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices, which she directly proposes to the faithful as her own, which she prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.

On these grounds Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music, so that it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule: the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration and savor the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple. The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, in a large measure be restored to the functions of public worship, and the fact must be accepted by all that an ecclesiastical function loses none of its solemnity when accompanied by this music alone.

Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times.

The above-mentioned qualities are also possessed in an excellent degree by Classic Polyphony, especially of the Roman School, which reached its greatest perfection in the fifteenth century, owing to the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and continued subsequently to produce compositions of excellent quality from a liturgical and musical standpoint. Classic Polyphony agrees admirably with Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it has been found worthy of a place side by side with Gregorian Chant, in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must therefore be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.

The Church has always recognized and favored the progress of the arts, admitting to the service of religion everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages -- always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently, modern music is also admitted to the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such

excellence, sobriety and gravity, that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.

Still, since modern music has risen mainly to serve profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theaters, and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces.

Among the different kinds of modern music, that which appears less suitable for accompanying the functions of public worship is the theatrical style, which was in the greatest vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century. This of its very nature is diametrically opposed to Gregorian Chant and classic polyphony, and therefore to the most important law of all good sacred music. Besides the intrinsic structure, the rhythm and what is known as the conventionalism of this style adapt themselves but badly to the requirements of true liturgical music.

III. The liturgical text

The language proper to the Roman Church is Latin. Hence it is forbidden to sing anythingwhatever in the vernacular in solemn liturgical functions -- much more to sing in the vernacular the variable or common parts of the Mass and Office.

As the texts that may be rendered in music, and the order in which they are to be rendered, are determined for every liturgical function, it is not lawful to confuse this order or to change the prescribed texts for others selected at will, or to omit them either entirely or even in part, unless when the rubrics allow that some versicles of the text be supplied with the organ, while these versicles are simply recited in the choir. However, it is permissible, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to sing a motet to the Blessed Sacrament after the Benedictus in a solemn Mass. It is also permitted, after the Offertory prescribed for the mass has been sung, to execute during the time that remains a brief motet to words approved by the Church. The liturgical text must be sung as it is in the books, without alteration or inversion of the words, without undue repetition, without breaking syllables, and always in a manner intelligible to the faithful who listen.

IV. External form of the sacred compositions

The different parts of the mass and the Office must retain, even musically, that particular concept and form which ecclesiastical tradition has assigned to them, and which is admirably brought out by Gregorian Chant. The method of composing an introit, a gradual, an antiphon, a psalm, a hymn, a *Gloria in excelsis*, etc., must therefore be distinct from one another.

In particular the following rules are to be observed:

The *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo*, etc., of the Mass must preserve the unity of composition proper to the text. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose them in separate movements, in such a

way that each of these movements form a complete composition in itself, and be capable of being detached from the rest and substituted by another.

In the office of Vespers it should be the rule to follow the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, which prescribes Gregorian Chant for the psalmody and permits figured music for the versicles of the *Gloria Patri* and the hymn.

It will nevertheless be lawful on greater solemnities to alternate the Gregorian Chant of the choir with the so called falsi-bordoni or with verses similarly composed in a proper manner.

It is also permissible occasionally to render single psalms in their entirety in music, provided the form proper to psalmody be preserved in such compositions; that is to say, provided the singers seem to be psalmodizing among themselves, either with new motifs or with those taken from Gregorian Chant or based upon it.

The psalms known as *di concerto* are therefore forever excluded and prohibited.

In the hymns of the Church the traditional form of the hymn is preserved. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose, for instance, a *Tantum ergo* in such wise that the first strophe presents a romanza, a *cavatina*, an *adagio* and the *Genitori an allegro*.

The antiphons of the Vespers must be as a rule rendered with the Gregorian melody proper to each. Should they, however, in some special case be sung in figured music, they must never have either the form of a concert melody or the fullness of a *motet* or a *cantata*.

V. The singers

With the exception of the melodies proper to the celebrant at the altar and to the ministers, which must be always sung in Gregorian Chant, and without accompaniment of the organ, all the rest of the liturgical chant belongs to the choir of Levites, and, therefore, singers in the church, even when they are laymen, are really taking the place of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence the music rendered by them must, at least for the greater part, retain the character of choral music.

By this it is not to be understood that solos are entirely excluded. But solo singing should never predominate to such an extent as to have the greater part of the liturgical chant executed in that manner; the solo phrase should have the character or hint of a melodic projection (*spunto*), and be strictly bound up with the rest of the choral composition.

On the same principle it follows that singers in church have a real liturgical office, and that therefore women, being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir. Whenever, then, it is desired to employ the acute voices of sopranos and contraltos, these parts must be taken by boys, according to the most ancient usage of the Church.

Finally, only men of known piety and probity of life are to be admitted to form part of the choir of a church, and these men should by their modest and devout bearing during the liturgical functions show that they are worthy of the holy office they exercise. It will also be fitting that singers while singing in church wear the ecclesiastical habit and surplice, and that they be hidden behind gratings when the choir is excessively open to the public gaze.

VI. Organ and instruments

Although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal music, music with the accompaniment of the organ is also permitted. In some special cases, within due limits and with proper safeguards, other instruments may be allowed, but never without the special permission of the Ordinary, according to prescriptions of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*.

As the singing should always have the principal place, the organ or other instruments should merely sustain and never oppress it.

It is not permitted to have the chant preceded by long preludes or to interrupt it with intermezzo pieces.

The sound of the organ as an accompaniment to the chant in preludes, interludes, and the like must be not only governed by the special nature of the instrument, but must participate in all the qualities proper to sacred music as above enumerated.

The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments such as drums, cymbals, bells and the like.

It is strictly forbidden to have bands play in church, and only in special cases with the consent of the Ordinary will it be permissible to admit wind instruments, limited in number, judiciously used, and proportioned to the size of the place provided the composition and accompaniment be written in grave and suitable style, and conform in all respects to that proper to the organ.

In processions outside the church the Ordinary may give permission for a band, provided no profane pieces be executed. It would be desirable in such cases that the band confine itself to accompanying some spiritual canticle sung in Latin or in the vernacular by the singers and the pious associations which take part in the procession.

VII. The length of the liturgical chant

It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. According to the ecclesiastical prescriptions the *Sanctus* of the Mass should be over before the elevation, and therefore the priest must here have regard for the singers. The *Gloria* and the *Credo* ought, according to the Gregorian tradition, to be relatively short. In general it must be considered a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to

appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely apart of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.

VIII. Principal means

For the exact execution of what has been herein laid down, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, are to institute in their dioceses a special Commission composed of persons really competent in sacred music, and to this Commission let them entrust in the manner they find most suitable the task of watching over the music executed in their churches. Nor are they to see merely that the music is good in itself, but also that it is adapted to the powers of the singers and be always wellexecuted.

In seminaries of clerics and in ecclesiastical institutions let the above-mentioned traditional Gregorian Chant be cultivated by all with diligence and love, according to the Tridentine prescriptions, and let the superiors be liberal of encouragement and praise toward their young subjects. In likemanner let a *Schola Cantorum* be established, whenever possible, among the clerics for the execution of sacred polyphony and of good liturgical music.

In the ordinary lessons of Liturgy, Morals, and Canon Law given to the students of theology, let care be taken to touch on those points which regard more directly the principles and laws of sacred music, and let an attempt be made to complete the doctrine with some particular instruction in the aesthetic side of sacred art, so that the clerics may not leave the seminary ignorant of all those subjects so necessary to a full ecclesiastical education.

Let care be taken to restore, at least in the principal churches, the ancient *Scholae Cantorum*, as has been done with excellent fruit in a great many places. It is not difficult for a zealous clergy to institute such Scholae even in smaller churches and country parishes nay, in these last the pastors will find a very easy means of gathering around them both children and adults, to their own profit and the edification of the people.

Let efforts be made to support and promote, in the best way possible, the higher schools ofsacred music where these already exist, and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instruction of her choirmasters, organists, and singers, according to the true principles of sacred art.

IX. Conclusion

Finally, it is recommended to choirmasters, singers, members of the clergy, superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institutions, and religious communities, parish priests and rectors of churches, canons of collegiate churches and cathedrals, and, above all, to the diocesan ordinaries to favor with all zeal these prudent reforms, long desired and demanded with united voice by all; so that the authority of the Church, which herself has repeatedly proposed them, and now inculcates them, may not fall into contempt.

Given from Our Apostolic Palace at the Vatican, on the day of the Virgin and martyr, Saint Cecilia, November 22, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

Pius X, Pope

Appendix C – Letter to the Vicar of Rome

Papal Letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome

The carrying out of the above regulations for the restoration of sacred music is laid upon Cardinal Respighi, Vicar-General of Rome, in the following letter from His Holiness, Pope Pius X.

Lord Cardinal,

A desire to see the decorum, dignity and holiness of the liturgical functions flourishing again in all places has determined Us to make known by a special writing under Our own hand Our will with regard to the sacred music which is employed in the service of public worship. We cherish the hope that all will second Us in this desired restoration, not merely with that blind submission, always laudable though it be, which is accorded out of a pure spirit of obedience to commands that are onerous and contrary to one's own manner of thinking and feeling, but with that alacrity of will which springs from the intimate persuasion of having to do so on grounds duly weighed, clear, evident, and beyond question.

Even a little reflection on the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship, and on the supreme fitness of offering to the Lord only things in themselves good, and where possible excellent, will at once serve to show that the prescriptions of the Church regarding sacred music are but the immediate application of those two fundamental principles. When the clergy and choirmasters are penetrated with them, good sacred music flourishes spontaneously, as has been constantly observed, and continues to be observed in a great many places; when on the contrary those principles are neglected, neither prayers, admonitions, severe and repeated orders nor threats of canonical penalties suffice to effect any change; for passion, and when not passion a shameful and inexcusable ignorance, always finds a means of eluding the will of the Church, and continuing for years in the same reprehensible way.

This alacrity of will We look for in a very special way among the clergy and faithful of this beloved City of Rome, the center of Christendom and the seat of the Supreme Authority of the Church. Indeed it would seem but natural that none should feel more deeply the influence of Our word than those who hear it directly from our mouth, and that the example of loving and filial submission to Our fatherly invitations should be given with greater solicitude by none more than by that first and most noble portion of the flock of Christ, the Church of Rome, which has been specially entrusted to Our pastoral care as Bishop. Besides, This example is to be given in the sight of the whole world. Bishops and the faithful are continually coming here from all lands to honor the Vicar of Christ and to renew their spirit by visiting our venerable basilicas and the tombs of the martyrs, and by

assisting with redoubled fervor at the solemnities which are here celebrated with all pomp and splendor throughout the year. *"Optamus ne moribus nostris offensi recedant,"* said Our predecessor Benedict XIV in his own time in his Encyclical Letter *Annus qui*, speaking of this very subject of sacred music: "We desire that they may not return to their own countries scandalized by our customs."

And farther on, touching on the abuse of instruments which then prevailed, the same Pontiff said: "What opinion will be formed of us by those, who, coming from countries in which instruments are not used in church, hear them in our churches, just as they might in theaters and other profane places? They will come, too, from places and countries where there is singing and music in the churches of the same king as in ours. But if they are persons of sound judgment, they must be grieved not to find in our music that remedy for the evil in their own churches which they came hither to seek." In other times the contradiction between the music usually executed in the churches and the ecclesiastical laws and prescriptions was, perhaps, far less noticeable, and the scandal caused by this contradiction was doubtless more circumscribed, precisely because the evil was more widely diffused and general. But now that so much study has been employed by distinguished men in explaining the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship, now that such consoling, and not infrequently, such splendid results have been obtained in so many churches throughout the world in the restoration of sacred music, notwithstanding the very serious difficulties that had to be faced, and that have been happily overcome; now, in fine, that the necessity of a complete change in the order of things has come to be universally appreciated, every abuse in this matter becomes intolerable, and must be removed.

You, therefore, Lord cardinal, in your high office as Our Vicar in Rome for spiritual matters, will, We are sure, exert yourself with the gentleness that is characteristic of you, but with equal firmness, to the end that the music executed in the churches and the chapels of the secular and regular clergy of this City may be in entire harmony with Our instructions. There is much to be corrected or removed in the chants of the mass, of the Litany of Loretto, of the Eucharistic hymn, but that which needs a thorough renewal is the singing of the Vespers of the feasts celebrated in the different churches and basilicas. The liturgical prescriptions of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* and the beautiful musical traditions of the classical Roman school are no longer to be found. For the devout psalmody of the clergy, in which the people also used to join, there have been substituted interminable musical compositions on the words of the psalms, all of them modeled on old theatrical works, and most of them of such meager artistic value that they would not be tolerated for a moment even in our second-rate concerts. It is certain that Christian piety and devotion are not promoted by them; the curiosity of some of the less intelligent is fed, but the majority, disgusted and scandalized, wonder how it is that such an abuse can still survive. We therefore wish the cause to be completely extirpated, and that the solemnity of Vespers should be celebrated according to the liturgical rules indicated by Us. The Patriarchal basilicas will lead the way by the example of solicitous care and enlightened zeal of the Lord cardinals who preside over them, and with these will vie

especially the minor basilicas, and the collegiate and parochial churches, as well as the churches and chapels of the religious orders. And do you Lord cardinal, neither accept excuses nor concede delays. The difficulty is not diminished but rather augmented by postponement, and since the thing is to be done, let it be done immediately and resolutely. Let all have confidence in Us and in Our word, with which heavenly grace and blessing are united. At first the novelty will produce some wonder among individuals; here and there a leader or director of a choir may find himself somewhat unprepared; but little by little things will right themselves, and in the perfect harmony between the music with the liturgical rules and the nature of the psalmody all will discern a beauty and a goodness which have perhaps never been observed. The Vespers service will indeed be notably shortened. But if the rectors of the churches desire on a special occasion to prolong the function somewhat. in order to detain the people who are wont so laudably to go in the evening to the particular church where the feast is being celebrated, there is nothing to hinder them nay, it will rather be so much gained for the piety and edification of the faithful -- if they have a suitable sermon after the Vespers, closed with Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

Finally, We desire that sacred music be cultivated with special care and in the proper way in all the seminaries and ecclesiastical colleges of Rome, in which such a large and choice body of young clerics from all parts of the world are being educated in the sacred sciences and in the ecclesiastical spirit. We know, and We are greatly comforted by the knowledge, that in some institutions sacred music is in such a flourishing condition that it may serve as a model for others. But there are some seminaries and colleges which leave much to be desired owing to the carelessness of the superiors, or the want of capacity and the imperfect taste of the persons to whom the teaching of chant and the direction of sacred music is entrusted. You, Lord Cardinal, will be good enough to provide a remedy for this also with solicitude, by insisting especially that Gregorian Chant, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and of innumerable other councils, provincial and diocesan in all parts of the world, be studied with particular diligence, and be as a rule preferred in the public and private functions of the institute. It is true that in other times Gregorian Chant was known to most people only through books which were incorrect, vitiated and curtailed. But the accurate and prolonged study that has been given to it by illustrious men who have done a great service to sacred art has changed the face of things. Gregorian Chant restored in such a satisfactory way to its early purity, as it was handed down by the fathers and is found in the codices of the various churches, is sweet, soft, easy to learn and of a beauty so fresh and full of surprises that wherever it has been introduced it has never failed to excite real enthusiasm in the youthful singers. Now, when delights enters into the fulfillment of duty, everything is done with greater alacrity and with more lasting fruit. It is Our will, therefore, that in all seminaries and colleges in this fostering city there be introduced once more the most ancient Roman chant which used to resound in our churches and basilicas and which formed the delight of past generations in the fairest days of Christian piety. And as in former times the chant was spread abroad over the whole Western Church from Rome, so We desire that Our young clerics, educated under Our own eyes, may carry it with them and diffuse it again in their

own dioceses when they return thither as priests to work for the glory of God. We are overjoyed to be able to give these regulations at a time when We are about to celebrate the 15th centenary of the death of the glorious and incomparable Pontiff St. Gregory the Great, to whom an ecclesiastical tradition dating back many centuries has attributed the composition of these sacred melodies and from whom they have derived their name. Let Our dearly-beloved youths exercise themselves in them, for it will be sweet to us to hear them when, as We have been told will be the case, they will assemble at the coming centenary celebrations round the tomb of the Holy Pontiff in the Vatican Basilica during the Sacred Liturgy which, please God, will be celebrated by Us on that auspicious occasion.

Meanwhile as a pledge of Our particular benevolence, receive, Lord Cardinal, the Apostolic Benediction, which from the bottom of Our heart We impart to you, to the clergy, and to all Our most beloved people.

From the Vatican on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of 1903.

Pius X, Pope