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Ge lo bet fersu Ihesu Christ

Lutheran Music Culture

14–16 September 2017

Uppsala University

Welcome!

It is a great privilege and honour to welcome all participants in this conference to Uppsala University. The university was founded in 1477 by a charter from Rome and is thus older than the nation state of Sweden, which generally is understood to count its inception from the dissolution of the Kalmar Union between Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in 1523. The ensuing period of religious upheaval – the era of the Reformation – meant that the University, as well as the archdiocese of Uppsala, had to be reconfigured profoundly, as institutions now outside the auspices of Rome. It is significant that the first Lutheran archbishop Laurentius Petri (1499–1573) was elected archbishop in 1531, in a Church which adhered in all legal and canonic ways to what was seen as the ‘vine’ of the Western Church, and that he died in 1573, in a country where Lutheranism and Swedishness were in many ways already well on their way to becoming inseparable. Uppsala is for this reason a very suitable location for making new assessments of the relationships between religion and musical culture, historically and today.

Can such a thing as Lutheranism be postulated from history, and in which cultural, theological and musical respects? This conference, hosted by the Department of Musicology, is intended to promote a contemporary assessment of such a cultural trajectory, under the aegis of the phrase ‘Lutheran music culture’. While the notion might seem to imply a unitary and coherent tradition, contributors are encouraged both to confirm, discuss or question its historical reality and even the fruitfulness of sketching such a notion in the first place.

It is easy to lose sight of which elements from five hundred years of intellectual history that are universal and which are particular or even idiosyncratic. The deliberate evocation of Luther and other sixteenth-century reformers throughout the wide time span of half a millennium have had a great impact on music and other arts up to the present day. It is our hope that this conference will point new ways forward in scholarship in all disciplines of study, and on all fields of expertise that you as participants represent.

Mattias Lundberg

Maria Schildt

Jonas Lundblad

Scholarly committee:

John Butt (University of Glasgow), Hans Davidsson (Royal Academy of Music, Copenhagen), Robin Leaver (Westminster Choir College, Princeton), Karin Nelson (Norwegian Academy of Music), Thomas Schmidt (University of Manchester), Johann Anselm Steiger (University of Hamburg), Bernice Sundkvist (Åbo Akademi University), Ruth Tatlow (Swedish National Collections of Music), Peter Wollny (Bach-Archiv/University of Leipzig).

The conference is organized by the Department of Musicology at Uppsala University in collaboration with the Church of Sweden in Uppsala and Bälänge and with financial support from The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond).

WEDNESDAY 13 SEPTEMBER

17:00 Registration Ihresalen, Campus Engelska Parken

18:00 Welcome reception Ihresalen, Campus Engelska Parken

THURSDAY 14 SEPTEMBER

08:30 Registration Uppsala University, Main building, Foyer

09:00 Opening Room X

09:15–10:45 Keynote lectures Room X

DIETRICH KORSCH: God's Word and Music in Luther

INGA MAI GROOTE: 'Doctrina de Deo numeris musicis inclusa':
Melanchthonian Models and Ideals for Music's Role in Society

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

11:00–12:30 Session 1A Room VIII • Chair: Eyolf Østrem

GRANTLEY McDONALD: Mass Foundations from the Court of Maximilian I and the Hope for Salvation

ESTHER CRISCUOLA DE LAIX: 'Before Our Time': Latin and Lay Latinity in Early Lutheran Hymnals

MARTIN BERNTSON: The Impact of the Vernacular in Swedish Reformation Hymns and Liturgy

11:00–12:30 Session 1B Room XI • Chair: Ruth Tatlow

BERND HARBECK-PINGEL: Theology of Psalms – Aesthetic and Systematic Perspectives

CHIARA BERTOGLIO: Beyond 'Church-Dividing' Differences: Music and New Ecumenical Perspectives on Justification

DANIEL JOHANSSON: Baptism in Lutheran Hymns and Liturgy: A Discrepancy between Theology and Practice

LUNCH, Foyer

13:30–15:00 Session 2A

Room VIII • Chair: Bernice Sundkvist

ANDERS JARLERT: Old Testament Apocrypha in Early Modern Lutheran Music Culture

TERESIA DERLÉN: Lutheran Hymns as a Swedish Pedagogical Tool: Exploring Two Separate Agendas for German and Swedish Reformers Through Communion Hymns

TORBJÖRN JOHANSSON: Listening the Lutheran Way

13:30–15:00 Session 2B

Room XI • Chair: Bettina Varwig

ANNE HEMINGER: A Search for Unity: Music, Politics, and the Reformed Livonian Service Books of 1530 and 1537

MARIANNE C.E. GILLION: 'Geistlich sanckbuechlein man mich nent / Zu Riga jn Lyfflandt wohl kent': Music, Materiality, and Identity in Early Printed Kirchendienstordnungen for Riga (1530–1559)

SANNA RANINEN: For the Eye and the Ear: Writing Music Manuscripts in Post-Reformation Finland

13:30–15:00 Session 2C

Room I • Chair: Lars Berglund

EVA HELENIUS: Johan Helmich Roman's *Te Deum–Jubilate* and a Lutheran Feast Divine Service

THOMAS SCHMIDT: Failed, Rejected, Misunderstood? On the Misplaced Nature of Mendelssohn's 'Reformation' Symphony

MICHAELA G. GROCHULSKI: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's Hymn of Praise as Attestation of Luther-Reception

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

15:30–17:00 Session 3A

Room VIII • Chair: Grantley McDonald

JAN BAT'Á: Towards the Genesis of the Lutheran Cantional of Tobias Zavorka Lipensky (1602)

ELIŠKA BAT'OVÁ: Liturgical Reforms during the Lutheran Period of the Unity of the Brethren

SCOTT EDWARDS: Confronting Confession, Nation, and Tradition: Ludwig Senfl in the Bohemian Print Anthologies

15:30–17:00 Session 3B

Room XI • Chair: Cecilia Nahnfeldt

ANDERS DILLMAR: The significance of Luther for the Chorale Book Editors J. C. F. Hæffner and Harald Göransson

SAMULI KORKALAINEN: Attempts to Improve Music in the Lutheran Church as a Nationalist and Translocal Phenomenon in Nineteenth-Century Finland

TOMAS APPELQVIST: The Vitality of Lutheran Liturgy: *Sacramentum* and *sacrificium* in Swedish Liturgical Renewal

15:15–17:00 Lecture-recital

Church of Helga Trefaldighet
Chair: Matthias Schneider

JOEL SPEERSTRA and **CHRISTINA EKSTRÖM:** Devotional Dialogue: Exploring the Musical Repertoire for Solo Voice and Clavichord from Reformation Europe

THEO VAN WYK: South African Liturgical Organ Music and the Influence of Lutheran Music Culture: A Practical Approach

19.00 Concert: Lutheran Twentieth-Century Neoclassicism and Modernism

Uppsala Cathedral

S:t Jacob's Chamber Choir, Gary Graden, conductor, Mattias Wager, organ

FRIDAY 15 SEPTEMBER

09:00–10:30 Keynote lectures Room X • Chair: Maria Schildt

BETTINA VARWIG: Early Modern Singing Bodies

ROBIN LEAVER: Did the Choir Introduce German Hymns to the Wittenberg Congregations?

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

10:45–12:15 Session 4A Room VIII • Chair: Thomas Schmidt

EYOLF ØSTREM: 'Musicam semper amavi': What is Remarkable About Luther's Views on Music?

JOYCE IRWIN: Luther, Mattheson, and the Joy of Music

JONAS LUNDBLAD: The Lutheran Style: Retrograde Avant-Garde in Oskar Söhngen's Theological Aesthetics

10:45–12:15 Session 4B Room XI • Chair: Scott Edwards

ÁRNI INGÓLFSSON: A Country Divided: Drafting a New Lutheran Liturgy in Post-Reformation Iceland

MATTIAS LUNDBERG: Musical Peculiarities of the Reformation in Stockholm in the 1520s and '30s

ERKKI TUUPURAINEN: Latin Liturgical Chant in Finnish and Swedish from the Years around 1600

LUNCH, Foyer

13:15–15:30 Session 5

Room VIII • Chair: Martin V. Clarke

MARCELL STEUERNAGEL: Luther's Musical Thought through Time and Space: Performative Negotiations of the Lutheran Tradition of Congregational Music in the Twenty-First Century

JAN HELLBERG: Glocalising Worship Musicking: Examples from a Lutheran Church in Namibia

TSZ WONG: The Sound of Lo Tak: Lutheran School Anthems in Hong Kong

RYOTO AKIYAMA: Sounding and Embodying the Faith: Participatory Brass Ensemble of Posauenchor in the Lutheran Church in Germany

13:30–15:30 Source Session at the University Library

PETER WOLLNY and **MARIA SCHILDT**
Lutheran Music and Material Culture. Workshop on Musical Sources in the Uppsala University Library.

Limited number of participants. Please state your interest to the Organizing Committee in advance.

14:00–17:00 Lecture-recitals

Bälunge Church Chair: Hans Davidsson

MATTHIAS SCHNEIDER: Liturgical Organ Music in Northern Europe during the First 100 Years of the Reformation

HANNA DRAKENGREN: Eighteenth-Century Hymn Playing: A Microhistory of Överselö Church, Södermanland, 1754

PER HÖGBERG: 'Stäm upp för din konung, du stämmornas mö!' On the Organ and the Chorale as Pedagogical Artefacts in the Musical Life of the Congregation

18:00 Concert: Music of the North-European Reformation Movements, Bälunge Church

Daniel Stighäll, Lene Langballe, Anna Maria Friman Henriksen, John Potter, Hans Davidsson

20:00 Conference dinner Linnaeus's garden

SATURDAY 16 SEPTEMBER

09:00–10:30 Session 6A Room VIII • Chair: Peter Wollny

RUTH TATLOW: Reading Belief through Compositional Unity: A Lutheran Theology of Proportions and Bach's Response

ROMAN NASSONOV: Theology of Bach's Passions through 'Herzliebster Jesu' by J. Heermann

PIETER DIRKSEN: J.S. Bach, the fuga contraria, and the Lutheran Concept of Inversion

09:00–10:30 Session 6B Room XI • Chair: Inga Mai Groote

KIM-ERIC WILLIAMS: The Hymnody of Andreas Rudman in New Sweden, Delaware, 1696–1708

OTFRIED CZAİKA: Swedish Hymnals from the Sixteenth Century – What We Know and Do Not Know

CHRISTIANE HAUSMANN: Singing Departure: The 'New' Songs of the Freylinghausen Hymnbook and Their Cultural–Historical Impact

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

10:45–12:15 Session 7A

Room VIII • Chair: Joyce Irwin

SZYMON PACZKOWSKI: Music at the Lutheran Court Chapel in Dresden in the Time of Bach

OLGA GERO: Does Pure Lutheranism Exist? On the Catholic Texts in Protestant Figural Music

10:45–12:15 Session 7B

Room XI • Chair: Anna Maria Böckerman

MARTIN V. CLARKE: 'Come, All You People': Global and Vernacular, Hymns and Liturgical Music in Contemporary British Christianity

SAMUEL EATHERTON: Church Music for Children: Embodied, Formative, Crossgenerational

LUNCH, Foyer

13:15–14:30 Concluding Panel: Trajectories Forward Room X • Chair: Jonas Lundblad

Pieter Dirksen, Anders Jarlert, Bernice Sundkvist, Ruth Tatlow, Peter Wollny

WEDNESDAY 13 SEPTEMBER

17:00 Registration

Ihresalen, Campus Engelska Parken

18:00 Welcome reception

Ihresalen, Campus Engelska Parken

THURSDAY 14 SEPTEMBER

08:30 Registration

Uppsala University, Main building, Foyer

09:00 Opening

Room X

Mattias Lundberg, Maria Schildt, Jonas Lundblad

09:15–10:45 Keynote lectures

Room X • Chair: Mattias Lundberg

DIETRICH KORSCH: God's Word and Music in Luther

In the history of any culture we find an interaction between different cultural parameters in addition to the internal development of each of them. It follows from this that we may observe delays in the way different cultural spheres influence each other, notwithstanding a common ground, which enables mutual stimulation. To evaluate this phenomenon in the case of the Reformation, we must concentrate on the central tenet of Lutheran theology, the fact of listening to God's Word. Hearing the Word signifies being touched by the deepest intuition of God's presence in the human heart. At the same time, it constitutes the ultimate evidence for God's presence. In several respects, this is similar to the way we experience the presence of music: in music we find a transformation of sense impressions of sound into a spiritual or intelligible sense that is able not only to touch and move us, but to connect these sense impressions with the centre of human existence. This paper will focus on the

processes according to which sound is transformed into sense in listening both to preaching and to music, with reference to the more or less noticeable interaction of theological ideas (especially in Luther), musical aesthetics, and the performed music of the age.

Prof. Dr. Dietrich Korsch is Professor Emeritus for Systematic Theology and History of Theology at Philipps University Marburg (Germany). His main working field is the interpretation of reformatory theology in modern perspective, including aesthetics. His latest publications include: Einführung in die evangelische Dogmatik. Im Anschluß an Martin Luthers Kleinen Katechismus, Leipzig 2016; Martin Luther, Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Dietrich Korsch (Große Texte der Christenheit 1), Leipzig 2016; Das Universum im Ohr. Variationen zu einer theologischen Musikästhetik, (ed. together with Klaus Röhrling und Joachim Herten) Leipzig 2011.

INGA MAI GROOTE: 'Doctrina de Deo numeris musicis inclusa': Melancthonian Models and Ideals for Music's Role in Society

In the later sixteenth century, a considerable number of references to Melancthon's texts on music can be observed; they emphasise the importance of music as a powerful means of religious and moral instruction and offer highly elaborate explanations for the effects of music, which were also attractive for music theorists. We have therefore to assume that without the 'Melancthonian' contributions and ideas, Lutheran music culture and musical thought in early modern Germany would not have developed in quite the same way. The paper will discuss which models

for understanding music were shaped and promoted on this basis, how they circulated (especially in networks of Wittenberg-trained teachers and theorists), and trace their impact in musical life and practice.

Inga Mai Groote is Professor of Musicology at the University of Heidelberg. She studied musicology, history, and Italian philology (University of Bonn) and held positions at the universities of Munich, Zurich and Freiburg/Üechtland. She is the author of Musik in italienischen Akademien, Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege 1543–1666 (2007) and editor (together with Iain Fenlon) of Heinrich Glarean's Books: The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist (2013). Her current research interests are the history of early modern music theory and its book culture, the impact of confessional differentiation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German musical culture (amongst others, studies on D. Chytraeus, H. Dedekind), and French music history around 1900.

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

11:00–12:30 Session 1A

Room VIII • Chair: Eyolf Østrem

GRANTLEY MCDONALD: Mass Foundations from the Court of Maximilian I and the Hope for Salvation

One aspect of contemporary piety strongly criticised by Martin Luther, as early as the Ninety-Five Theses of 1517, was the establishment of foundations intended to offer prayers and the sacrifice of the mass in propitiation for the sins of the founder. The present paper will examine several institutions founded by Maximilian I Habsburg and other members of his court, such as those established at Bruges for Mary of Burgundy, or the complex of foundations at Hall in Tirol, established by Maximilian and his trusted adviser Florian Waldauf. First, it will identify the musical aspects of these foundations. Secondly, it will try to identify the explicit and implicit motivation for these foundations, as far as these can be identified from the foundation documents. Thirdly, it will compare these explicit motivations with Luther's critiques of such foundations. Fourthly, it will try to identify how – and indeed if – the theology and liturgical life of the evangeli-

cal church tried to speak to the same hopes for salvation that were expressed in late mediaeval liturgical foundations.

Grantley McDonald studied languages at the University of Melbourne before embarking on a PhD at Melbourne and Freie Universität Berlin, and later as a postgraduate research fellow at the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel) and the Warburg Institute (University of London). His dissertation (completed in 2002) established a firm link between the practice of metrical song in the sixteenth century (the so-called Humanistenode or musique mesurée à l'antique) and the reception of the work of the Florentine Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), and was awarded the inaugural McCredie Medal by the Australian Academy of the Humanities. In 2006 he was awarded a postdoctoral fellowship at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. In 2008 he took up a CNRS ('Le Studium') postdoctoral fellowship at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (Université François-Rabelais de Tours), where he worked on the compilation of a database of singers from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with David Fiala and Camilla Cavicchi. Since July 2010 he has been a postdoctoral researcher (wetenschappelijk medewerker) at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, where he is writing a study of the early Lutheran composer and controversialist Leonhard Päminger with Prof David Burn. His second dissertation (at the Universiteit Leiden, supervised by prof. dr. Henk Jan de Jonge) was on the disputes over Trinitarian theology that arose out of Erasmus's edition of the New Testament; this dissertation is currently under examination. He has published on the work of a number of Renaissance thinkers, poets and musicians, and is also active as a singer and choir-director, and has performed throughout Europe, Japan and Australia besides recording a number of CDs.

ESTHER CRISCUOLA DE LAIX: 'Before Our Time': Latin and Lay Latinity in Early Lutheran Hymnals

The prominence of the Latin language in early Lutheran liturgy, culture, and music is well known. Besides Luther's famous endorsement of Latin liturgy in the *Formula Missae* (1523), service books such as Lucas Lossius's *Psalmodia* (first published 1553) testify to its continued use in the following generations, and Latin odes, psalm paraphrases, and motets were staples of the Latin school music curriculum. Such works are often contrasted with the vernacular devotional literature of the hymnal, catechism, postil, and prayer-book, with the former considered representative of the learned upper classes and the lat-

ter of the less erudite ‘common folk.’ Yet the appearance of Latin and partially Latin songs and prayers in early Lutheran hymnals – the post-child works of early Lutheran vernacular culture – suggest that this dichotomy was not quite so absolute. At a minimum, most hymnals included the popular pre-Reformation Christmas songs ‘Dies est laetitiae’, ‘In dulci jubilo’, and ‘Puer natus in Bethlehem’. Some featured more: besides the Christmas songs, the two Hamburg *Enchiridion* hymnals (1558 and 1565) included the communion responsory *Discubuit Jesus* and versions of Latin chants ‘corrected’ by Hermann Bonnus (1504–48), while several Latin chants appear among the funeral songs at the end of the *Babstsches Gesanbuch* (1545). This paper surveys the Latin items appearing in early Lutheran hymnals, considering their musical and literary characteristics, their roles in contemporary vernacular devotional practice, and the larger question of ‘lay Latinity’ – the role of Latin in the devotional life of the less educated classes.

Esther Criscuola de Laix is a member of the editorial staff of A-R Editions in Middleton, Wisconsin, USA. She holds a PhD in musicology in 2009 from the University of California, Berkeley, as well as a B.Mus. in organ performance from the Oberlin Conservatory of Music. Her research concerns the intersections of music, print, and devotional culture in early modern North Germany from the Reformation era through the early seventeenth century, and she has published and presented widely on these topics. She is currently collaborating with Frederick K. Gable on his edition of the vocal works of Hieronymus Praetorius, forthcoming from the American Institute of Musicology.

MARTIN BERNTSON: The Impact of the Vernacular in Swedish Reformation Hymns and Liturgy

The Reformation in Sweden (of which Finland was then a part) is often described as a smooth transition where many traditional features of late medieval culture of piety remained untouched until the early seventeenth century. While this picture is true in many respects, the practical transformation of the culture of piety in Sweden during the sixteenth century was generally perceived, both by its adherents and its opponents, as constituting something of a revolution in devotional life. Concerning the transformation of the liturgy and the introduction of hymn singing, the

use of the vernacular was a recurrent theme in the criticism and defence of the Reformation. In this paper I will discuss the meaning of the utterances on the vernacular in hymns and liturgical texts and also relate these utterances to Reformation liturgical theology and to the ongoing transformation of the Swedish liturgy. It will be suggested that, even though much of the liturgy was still in Latin, the increasing use of the vernacular remained, while considered as necessary by the reformers, the single most important problem with the new mass in the eyes of the opponents of the Reformation, at least according to the sources which document how and why people reacted strongly to the new liturgical arrangements.

Martin Berntson is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Literature, History of Ideas, and Religion at the University of Gothenburg. He received his doctorate from Gothenburg in 2003 with a dissertation on the dissolution of the monasteries in Sweden during the sixteenth century. Since 2012 he has led a project funded by the Swedish Research Council on ‘Reformation as theatre’, and is currently working on a book about the Swedish reformation for general readership.

11:00–12:30 Session 1B

Room XI • Chair: Ruth Tatlow

BERND HARBECK-PINGEL: Theology of Psalms – Aesthetic and Systematic Perspectives

In Luther’s lectures on Psalms we find a combination of exegesis, dogmatic and poetological reflections. Psalms can be studied in terms of discourse as well as performance, and for this reason allow us to reflect on musicological aspects of a theology of psalms.

In two steps Günter Bader presented an advanced project of such a theology of psaltery, integrating medieval and Lutheran concepts: *Psalterium affectuum palaestra* (1996) may be interpreted as a theory of emotions, while *Psalter-spiel* (2009) advances a theory of meaning based on iconicity, music and poetics.

The paper will first introduce Bader’s project as a model of liturgical theology, with a focus on the relation between musicological and dogmatic aspects. Following this, the focus will shift to Luther’s works on the psaltery, where I will de-

velop a theological-ethical concept of tone, voice and form in order to understand the ethical relevance of expressing religion of emotions.

Bernd Harbeck-Pingel, Prof. Dr. theol., is since 2015 Professor for Systematic Theology at Protestant University of Applied Sciences Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany). After studies in Theology, German literature, linguistics, and history (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn) teaching exams in 1994 and 1997, Doctor of Theology in 1998 (with a dissertation on the relevance of perception and emotions for decision-making in ethics), Habilitation in 2002 (Theory of Society), Privatdozent for Systematic Theology 2003, Associate Professor in 2010. He has written monographs on the theology of the Holy Spirit, the dynamics of social formations, and the dialectics of presence and realization in theology and aesthetics. His current research interests include aesthetics, theology and literature, liturgical theology, contemporary music, and religion.

CHIARA BERTOGLIO: Beyond 'Church-Dividing' Differences: Music and New Ecumenical Perspectives on Justification

During the era of Protestant and Catholic Reformations, the subject of music was debated both within the individual confessions and among them. While it was not the most crucial or urgent issue to be settled, it represented nevertheless a very visible – or rather audible – manifestation of the various perspectives of the Reformers and of their congregations' worship.

There is noteworthy consistency between the Reformers' overall theological views and their concepts of music. With Luther's stress on the *sola gratia* principle, for example, the role of Mass as a sacrifice offered unto God was downplayed, while the increasing level of lay involvement stemmed from the *sola scriptura* principle. Both modified the concept of liturgical music, from an adornment of worship which rendered it more pleasing for God, to an 'educational' instrument for spreading knowledge of the Word and for instilling heartfelt devotion in the congregation. Similarly, the theology of music of the Reformed Church and that of the post-Tridentine Catholicism may be derived, with provisos, from their overall theology. Thus, different views of justification were coherently translated into musical practices, generating distinct confessional traditions.

The recent emergence of a Catholic-Protestant ecumenical dialogue has resulted in a document which highlights the tenets on justification which are held to be true by both Catholics and some Protestant denominations. If the 'divided' theologies inspired different perspectives on sacred music in the sixteenth century and later, which theology of music can be deduced from this joint document? Which role can music play in the ecumenical movement, given the theological rapprochements of the last few decades? How can music and musician contribute to this dialogue, which seeks to heal past fractures in a new perspective which sees difference as a gift?

Chiara Bertoglio is an independent scholar based in Italy. She has a PhD in Music (University of Birmingham 2012) and an MA in Theology (University of Nottingham 2016) and her most recent book, Reforming Music (De Gruyter, 2017) focuses on music and the religious reformations of the sixteenth century. She is active internationally as a solo concert pianist and her research interests include piano performance practice and the relationships between music and theology, especially within an ecumenical framework.

DANIEL JOHANSSON: Baptism in Lutheran Hymns and Liturgy: A Discrepancy between Theology and Practice

Already in 'On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church' (1520), Martin Luther stressed the importance of baptism. However, unlike in the case of the Mass, Luther found no significant misuse of baptismal rites. The problem was rather that baptism was seen to play such an insignificant role in the life of a Christian. Luther urged that Christians must return to their baptisms every day, a point which is stressed and further developed in his Catechisms. Given the significance of baptism in Lutheran theology, and its stress of the dictum *lex orandi – lex credendi*, one would assume an influence on hymn writing as well as the liturgy of baptism. A look at our available sources reveals, however, what seems to be a discrepancy between theology and practice. In this paper I point to the following three areas:

1) Hymns are with a few exceptions absent from the baptismal orders of the sixteenth century. When hymns are included these are sometimes assigned to the choir.

2) Baptismal hymns are few in numbers in the early period, Luther's late 'Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam' (1539) being the dominating one, and appears only with some frequency in the late seventeenth century.

3) Early baptismal orders, including Luther's, do not include the key text Matt 28:18–20 (cf. Luther's catechisms), which in medieval orders was used only at the consecration of baptismal water once a year.

Does the absence of hymns from baptismal orders tell us something about the early understanding and practice of hymn singing? Is there any explanation for the low number of baptismal hymns? Is a lack of controversy in the area of baptism the only explanation for the comparatively less innovative work on baptismal orders (in comparison to the Lord's Supper) undertaken by Luther? These and other questions will be highlighted in this paper.

Daniel Johansson is Lecturer in the New Testament at the Lutheran School of Theology, Gothenburg. He has a Master of Arts in Church Music from the University of Gothenburg, a Master of Sacred Theology from Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft Wayne, IN, USA, and a PhD in the New Testament from the University of Edinburgh. His dissertation is entitled: 'Jesus and God in the Gospel of Mark: Unity and Distinction'. In addition to teaching New Testament and Systematical theology, he also teaches organ at the Lutheran High School, Gothenburg.

LUNCH, Foyer

13:30–15:00 Session 2A

Room VIII • Chair: Bernice Sundkvist

ANDERS JARLERT: Old Testament Apocrypha in Early Modern Lutheran Music Culture

Martin Luther used several quotations from the Apocrypha in his lectures on the Letter to the Hebrews (1517–18). In the Leipzig disputation of 1519, 2. Macc. 12:46 was actualised because of the Roman use of it in support of purgatory. This was repeated in Sweden in Olavus Petri's disputation with Peder Galle, 1527. However, Olavus Petri later wrote in his afterword to the Swedish Mass, 1537, that Ecclesiasticus (i.e. Sirach) and

Sapientia Salomonis could be used for the Epistle readings, as they had been used in the Latin Mass. Olavus also wrote the first Swedish theatre play (for school use), the Tobie Comedia (1550), based on the book of Tobit. In the Church Order 1571 of Archbishop Laurentius Petri, Olavus's brother, a verse from Baruch 6 was used, contradicting the Roman Catholic custom of decorating images with gold, silver, clothes, etc.

The Apocrypha were often used in the so-called Manuals, together with Hymnals or Prayer books. The use of the apocryphal Wisdom literature along with the Canonical literature is especially significant in the Swedish ecclesiastical context, where it was never questioned, because of the absence of both Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches, and to Lutheran Music culture more generally. One of the most important Lutheran thanksgiving hymns, 'Nun danket alle Gott' (1636), is built on Sirach 50. Johann Sebastian Bach used Sirach and Sapientia Salomonis in some of his cantatas. Especially in sermons for special occasions, the apocryphal Wisdom literature was frequently used up to the end of the eighteenth century, but from 1826, 3 million Swedish Bibles, financed from England, were printed without the Apocrypha. Since 2003, five apocryphal texts are again used in the main services of the Church of Sweden.

Anders Jarlert is Professor of Church History at Lund University since 1999. His research concerns Early Modern and Modern Church History, lately especially Biography, Church and National Socialism, and Lutheran preaching in the Early Modern period. He is President of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire et d'Études du Christianisme (CIHEC), and Chairman of the Royal Society of Humanities in Lund. Since 2001 he is the editor of Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift (KÅ). In 2011 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in Theology at the Åbo Akademi University, and in 2013 the Axel Hirsch Prize by the Swedish Academy.

TERESIA DERLÉN: Lutheran Hymns as a Swedish Pedagogical Tool: Exploring Two Separate Agendas for German and Swedish Reformers Through Communion Hymns

One of the first hymns of the Swedish Reformation was a translation of Luther's Communion hymn, 'Jesus Christus, unser Heiland', in Swedish, 'Jesus Kristus är vår hälsa'. Describing the Swed-

ish version as a translation may be stretching the truth, however, since the two songs only have a couple of verses in common. Sven Ingebrand describes Luther's hymn as personal and engaging, whereas the Swedish version is educational. But beyond highlighting questions about varying lyrical styles, the two hymns can help us explore important differences between the German and Swedish church reforms. Luther too, used hymns to instruct and inform, but comparing these two versions of one Communion hymn, we are able to identify two diverse needs that were met in two cultures. As mentioned, Luther's writing moves on a personal level, expressing personal experiences and a divine response to individual needs. This style would have been engaging for a literate middle class, with the means and time to buy and read books. But while the intellectual elite was small in the German states, it was positively tiny in Sweden. The Swedish hymn, then, by contrast, begins by addressing a collective: impersonal and instructive, like a sermon. It was a hymn suitable as a pedagogical tool to reform the religion of an illiterate populace, on a collective level more than on an individual one. These aspects also appear in other Swedish translations. Bernice Sundqvist's study of 'Av himlens höjd' (Luther's Christmas hymn 'Vom Himmel hoch') reveals both pedagogical markers and a preoccupation with doctrine. Sundqvist attributes this to the style of Swedish Lutheran Orthodoxy, and while this may be true of the rhetoric, I would place the Swedish emphasis on pedagogy further back, to the Swedish Reformation. As is exemplified by 'Jesus Kristus är vår hälsa', hymns could be a tool for transforming the religion also of the illiterate, sparsely populated country, where reform came from above. My claim in this paper, then, is that hymns were a primary tool in the active pedagogical agenda of the Swedish reformers.

Teresia Derlén is since 2012 a doctoral student at King's College, London working on a project entitled 'Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi'. This explores lay religiosity and Eucharistic understanding in seventeenth-century Sweden by studying the spiritual tools in a pre-literate society: prayers, catechism, hymns and the visual of the ecclesial space. She received her MA in Theology (2002) at Lund University.

TORBJÖRN JOHANSSON: Listening the Lutheran Way

In this paper I would like to explore some systematic theological aspects of the Lutheran chorale. In parallel to his well-known emphasis on the preaching of the word of God, Luther maintains a less known but nonetheless still weighty emphasis on the idea of listening to the word of God. This notion of listening has some distinct characteristics, all of which relate to – and in some sense promote – the development of the Lutheran chorale.

Firstly, it is a listening that is focused on the external word, the *verbum externum*. According to Luther, God does not give his Spirit except through the word. Therefore listening is not directed toward the inside, into the depth of man, but it is outwardly oriented. The *verba* of a Lutheran chorale are considered as nothing less than the bearers of the Holy Spirit.

Secondly, it is a listening which corresponds to Luther's doctrine of justification. It presupposes a theological anthropology with some specific traits. Luther's doctrine of justification disposes man towards what is outside him when faith reaches out for Christ's righteousness. A phenomenological description which suggests itself here is that the human being in the act of listening is open to what comes from outside. He or she is moved towards something in an eccentric and sometimes even ecstatic movement. The development of the chorale can be well understood in this context.

Thirdly, it is a listening which includes listening to the brothers and sisters of faith. Not only the pastor is to proclaim the word of God; Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers effectively set the congregation free to proclaim the word of God to each other. Singing the chorale is a way of doing this.

Through these and some further theological aspects of the art of listening, I intend to demonstrate a theological pattern which formed a fruitful soil in which the Lutheran chorale could flourish.

Torbjörn Johansson, ThD 1999 (University of Lund, Systematic Theology), is Rector at the Lutheran School of Theology in Gothenburg. His areas of research include the Reformation, the Lutheran Orthodoxy, and the Lutheran Renaissance in the twentieth century. He is a member of

Die Luther-Akademie Sondershausen-Ratzeburg and The International Bonhoeffer Society. One of his publications is 'Das Leiden Christi vom Alten Testament her gedeutet. Beobachtungen zur frühen evangelisch-lutherischen Passionsauslegung', in Hermenutica Sacra. Studies of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Berlin/New York, 2010), eds. T. Johansson, R. Kolb, J. A. Steiger.

13:30–15:00 Session 2B

Room XI • Chair: Bettina Varwig

ANNE HEMINGER: A Search for Unity: Music, Politics, and the Reformed Livonian Service Books of 1530 and 1537

Like elsewhere in the Baltic region, in Riga the early Lutheran Reformation was characterized by theological and liturgical radicalism. Moreover, both its reform-minded preachers and the population at large showed a marked preference for vernacular hymnody in the 1520s, before any official changes to the liturgy had been sanctioned by the local government. Yet this initial fervour, though it continued to shape the musical content of Livonian worship, was tempered by calls for religious uniformity even in its early stages.

This paper examines the substantial musical changes that occurred to the initial, temporary service book and hymnal published for Riga in 1530 when the volume was revised in 1537 for use in all three major Livonian cities (Riga, Reval, and Dorpat). Although these modifications were certainly dependent on theological considerations, I argue that the precarious political situation in Livonia, with its history of conflict between the Archbishop of Riga and the Livonian Order and external threats from neighbouring countries, also played an important role in the decision to put forward a more conservative book in 1537. Whereas the 1530 edition – though attempting to strike a conciliatory tone – possesses contents entirely in the vernacular, the incorporation of Latin-texted liturgical chant in 1537 implies that reformers saw the potential value in retaining closer links to the Catholic liturgy. The continued reliance on vernacular congregational hymns in both editions, however, demonstrates that the compilers shared Luther's

belief that such music had significant import for teaching the new doctrine. These books thus demonstrate that music was integral to the early Reformation in Livonia, while also affirming that musical choices in this period usually reflect a broad variety of political and societal concerns.

Anne Heminger is a PhD candidate in the Department of Musicology at the University of Michigan, specializing in music of the Renaissance. She holds a BA in music from the University of Chicago and an MPhil in musicology from the University of Cambridge, where she was a Gates Scholar. Her research interests include musical practice, print culture, liturgy and ritual, and religious conversion, with a more specific focus on how musical practices shaped and reflected religious belief in the sixteenth century. Her dissertation examines sound, music, and religious identity in London from 1540–1560. Employing materials concerning music-making in London's parishes and homes, in its livery company halls and marketplaces, she investigates the intersections between music, officially sanctioned orthodoxy, and the religious heterodoxy that marked sixteenth-century English life.

MARIANNE C. E. GILLION: 'Geistlich sanckbuechlein man mich nent / Zu Riga jn Lyfflandt wohl kent': Music, Materiality, and Identity in Early Printed Kirchendienstordnungen for Riga (1530–1559)

The Reformation arrived in the Livonian city of Riga in 1521, and beginning in 1526 the city council sought a precise form and official expression for Riga's reformed worship. Johannes Briesmann, during his four-year tenure as pastor of the cathedral (1527–1531), produced the city's first church order. His work marked the beginning of a process of liturgical re-creation that lasted nearly 20 years, and can be charted through editions of *Kirchendienstordnungen* printed for Riga by Ludwig Dietz (Rostock: 1530; 1537) and Georg Richloff (Lübeck: 1548/9; 1559). The experimentation that existed during this period is exemplified in the treatment of music in the church orders. The selection of repertoire, its language, notation (or lack thereof), and printing technique can differ widely between the volumes. The first edition of the *Kurtz Ordnung des Kirchendienstes* includes a lengthy music section consisting mainly of psalms and hymns in Low German. There is no notation, but the final

eleven songs include empty printed staves. The expanded second edition contains, by contrast, music printed by woodcut. Items of plainchant, frequently in both Latin and Low German translations, are added and integrated within the order of service. A number of hymns appear with mensurally notated melodies. The volumes issued by Richolff exhibit significant conceptual changes. The amount of plainchant is again increased, but the use of vernacular texts is circumscribed. Although the chant melodies are set in single-impression nested type, by 1559 there is no longer notation – or even empty staves – for the hymns and psalms. The music in the Rigan *Kirchendeinstordnungen* reflects the shifting priorities as the city's worship was recreated and its new religious identity refined. A conscious musical continuity with the past could coexist alongside the evangelical present, and this combination would come to influence the future of the reformed liturgy in Livonia.

Marianne C. E. Gillion is a research assistant for the FWF project, 'Music Printing in German Speaking Lands: From the 1470s to the mid-sixteenth century' at the University of Salzburg. She completed her MA at Bangor University in 2011. Marianne was awarded her PhD from the University of Manchester in 2015 for her dissertation, "'Diligentissime emendatum, atque correctum'? The Transmission and Revision of Plainchant in Italian Printed Graduals, 1499–1653'. Her research interests include notational semiotics in early printed liturgical books, the interconfessionality of plainchant, and 'Post-Tridentine' chant and liturgies in manuscript and printed sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

SANNA RANINEN: For the Eye and the Ear: Writing Music Manuscripts in Post-Reformation Finland

As many previous studies attest, the Reformation in the Kingdom of Sweden was implemented gradually, with a certain degree of tolerance towards local variants, and this slow pace of change is attested to in the musical sources that survive from the era. The chants familiar from before the Reformation remained in use well into the seventeenth century, and the existing liturgical music manuscripts were phased out throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with some of the books in parchment ending up as binding material for administrative documents.

Despite the emerging print culture in the sixteenth century, music was still mostly acquired and disseminated in manuscript format; even the printed sources usually presented blank staves for the owner of the book to copy the appropriate music in place. The surviving music manuscripts from Finland were usually written by clergymen as *aides-memoire* for themselves or their successors; although the sung verses were for all worshippers to hear, the readership of written music was still limited to very few well-read members of the society. The appearance of these manuscripts may seem modest compared to the books produced by professional scriptoriums or printing houses elsewhere in Europe, but they provide an interesting view on how a music book suitable for 'new' worship at the time was imagined and produced by this relatively small group of educated professionals. What visual hierarchies survived from the preceding liturgical music sources, and how did the material changes in worship affect the appearance of music books? This paper presents a selection of case studies on the preparation and copying of liturgical music manuscripts from the first hundred years following the Reformation, with particular focus on their material properties, and the relation between the text, music, and additional decorative devices.

Sanna Raninen is a researcher of early music, with a special interest in the history of material and visual culture. She completed her PhD at the University of Manchester, as a part of an AHRC-funded project on the Production and Reading of Music Sources 1480–1530, focussing on the production methods and layout in printed sources of polyphony. Sanna is currently a Research Associate at the University of Sheffield for a Leverhulme-funded project on Music in the Art of Renaissance Italy, which is a wide-ranging study on the representation of music in art and objects produced in Italy c. 1420–1540. Her particular research focus is on the depiction of music in Renaissance festivities.

13:30–15:00 Session 2C

Room I • Chair: Lars Berglund

EVA HELENIUS: Johan Helmich Roman's *Te Deum–Jubilate* and a Lutheran Feast Divine Service

Among the church music composed by the Swedish Royal Kapellmeister Johan Helmich Roman (1694–1758) we find two works for choir, orchestra and basso continuo, the *Te Deum* (HRV 405) and the *Jubilate* (HRV 401), whose origin is unclear. When and for which occasion(s) they were composed has remained unknown, which is perhaps surprising considering that, in the Swedish tradition, the *Te Deum* is considered as a kind of standard hymn of praise, regularly connected to important state or church solemn acts. At all national events such as Royal family baptisms, weddings, coronations and funerals or when members of this family made their entries, the *Te Deum* was sung. The close connection between church and state, in which the King was superior to the archbishop, usually gave double reasons for praise and rejoicing.

According to handwriting and paper quality studies made by Ingmar Bengtsson and Ruben Danielson (1955), the two compositions were written around 1730 and should belong together. In the year of 1730 there is one occasion whose character and content seems to correlate with the two choir works. On order by Frederick I a Jubilee divine service was held on June, 25 1730 all over Sweden and Finland to celebrate the memory of the Confession of Augsburg being handed over to emperor Charles V at the 1530 Augsburg Parliament. This was an important church feast, a Lutheran and state church manifestation that needed a praise and thanksgiving service of precisely the kind exemplified in Roman's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, for which Handel's Utrecht *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (1713) was the most likely model.

Later, the two compositions have been reused at different occasions. For example, *Jubilate* was again sung on October, 7 1743, when the nation had regained peace after the unhappy Russian war 1741–1742, and the successor to the Swedish throne, crown prince Adolph Frederick, made his entry in Stockholm. This time, the feast

was also announced in the public statutes. A general study of the statutes for the Intercession Days (Swedish: *Böndagsplakat*) reveals a connection between texts chosen for these Sundays and compositions and arrangements by Roman. Thus, a new group of works by the 'Father of Swedish Music' comes to light, as the music at the Royal divine services is identified.

Eva Helenius is a researcher, archivist, and piano teacher. She studied piano with Gottfrid Boon and viola da gamba with Jan Crafoord, and studied music theory and musicology at Stockholm and Uppsala universities. She defended her doctoral thesis on Swedish clavichord making 1720–1820 in 1986 (Uppsala, supervised by Ingmar Bengtsson). Her research interests include mainly Swedish music history, especially the eighteenth century with composer John Helmich Roman (1694–1758; life and work), organology and Swedish keyboard instrument making. Helenius is currently the curator of the keyboard instrument collection Klaverens Hus.

THOMAS SCHMIDT: Failed, Rejected, Misunderstood? On the Misplaced Nature of Mendelssohn's 'Reformation' Symphony

Mendelssohn's 'Reformation' Symphony, composed in 1830 (and thus really his second composed symphony, though it was not published until 1868 as his 'Fifth'), has always lain in the shadow of its two more famous siblings, the 'Italian' and the 'Scottish'. From the start, it seems almost as though there was a curse on the work: a number of planned performances were cancelled; the eventual premiere in Berlin on 15 November 1832 met with considerable critical hostility; a subsequent performance in 1837 occurred without Mendelssohn's knowledge and permission. In the end, the composer became so frustrated with the work that he wrote to his friend Julius Rietz, 'I cannot stand the Reformation Symphony anymore; I would like to burn it more than any of my other pieces; it must never be published.' Even after the composer's death, the work was set aside for more than two decades before its eventual publication, when it met with relatively little acclaim in Mendelssohn's native Germany. Much has been written about the possible aesthetic reasons why the composition – after all, Mendelssohn's first attempt at the grand symphonic form – met with such misfortune and re-

jection. Rather than add to such speculation about issues intrinsic to the work and its programme, my paper will focus on its context. As it turns out, the work was in many ways a victim of circumstances, always in the wrong place at the wrong time – as far as the composer himself was concerned as well as the world in which he lived. This may help to shed light on attitudes within (and towards) Lutheranism in the nineteenth century more generally.

Thomas Schmidt (b. 1968) is Professor of Music at the University of Manchester. He received his PhD at the University of Heidelberg in 1995, with a dissertation on Mendelssohn's aesthetics. After his Habilitation in musicology (Heidelberg, 2001) with a thesis on text declamation in the fifteenth-century motet, he was Heisenberg Senior Research Fellow of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft from 2002, and Professor of Music and Head of School at Bangor University in Wales from 2005, before moving to Manchester in 2012. His research interests include Music before 1600, music of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Mozart and Mendelssohn in particular), musical editing, and the history of musical genres. Recent publications include editions of Mendelssohn's 'Scottish', 'Italian', and 'Reformation' symphonies for the complete Mendelssohn edition and a major study on the production of polyphonic music manuscripts around 1500 (Brepols, 2017).

MICHAELA G. GROCHULSKI: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's *Hymn of Praise* as Attestation of Lutheran Reception

In 2017 we commemorate 500 years of Reformation and, on 4 November, the 170th anniversary of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's death. This paper intends to shed light on the connections between Luther and Mendelssohn's symphony-cantata, *Lobgesang*, or *Hymn of Praise*. Written for the Gutenberg-Celebrations in Leipzig 1840 it is one of Mendelssohn's most important secular compositions, which, together with the 'Reformation Symphonie', often built the frame for protestant festivities. The tradition of the Gutenberg-Celebrations is connected closely with Luther for well-known reasons. This is reflected in the *Hymn*. Previous research has so far focused on the musical form of the piece, and the libretto and its Lutheran references have yet to be taken into proper consideration. They go far be-

yond including the trombones, which have been established in the bible by Luther.

This paper will examine the work's theological content, and its references to aesthetic texture – as the *Hymn of Praise* is based on quotations of psalm verses and shows parallels to the Psalter in its form – and to look at the Luther-Motto preceding the composition. My thesis is that the references between composition and Lutheran theology make it possible to fit into the context of the Gutenberg-Celebrations and enable a protestant reception, which allows e.g. performances at Reformation- and Luther-Festivities. Using research techniques from both theology and musicology, the paper will contribute to our understanding of the influence of Luther on musical culture, using Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* as an example.

Michaela G. Grochulski studied Music, Musicology, Theology, and German Studies at the Universities of Wuppertal and Bochum. She has worked in music editing, and as a freelance lecturer and researcher, among others for the Robert-Schumann-Research Centre, Düsseldorf. She is currently Research Assistant in Systematic Theology at University of Wuppertal. Her research interests include the field of sacred music of the nineteenth century, especially of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy; reception history, interreligious studies, interdisciplinary studies between Musicology and Theology. She is currently working on an interdisciplinary dissertation on Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's oratorios and their reception in nineteenth and early twentieth century.

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

15:15–17:00 Lecture-recital

Church of Helga Trefaldighet • Chair: Matthias Schneider

JOEL SPEERSTRA and CHRISTINA EKSTRÖM: Devotional Dialogue: Exploring the Musical Repertoire for Solo Voice and Clavichord from Reformation Europe

If one was to make a map of Lutheran Europe from the Thirty Years' War to the Industrial Revolution and place it over a map of the European distribution of the clavichord (that most intensely personal and devotional of keyboard instru-

ments) from the same time period, one would find that the two geographical areas overlap almost exactly. The clavichord was J. S. Bach's favourite instrument for his most refined and personal thoughts, but it was also the traditional dialogue partner in the singing of devotional songs in the home.

Christina Ekström, who has done original work with song collections in the archives of the Moravian Brotherhood in Christiansfeld, Denmark, began to explore this repertoire together with Joel Speerstra in a concert for solo voice and clavichord at the Theological Centre at Løgumkloster in 2013. Here we propose to go deeper into this dialogue and make a musical map of singing with the clavichord in Lutheran Europe, showing how the tradition focuses perhaps less on music as domestic entertainment so much as on music as a sharing practice that reflects and performs Lutheran faith. With a selection of repertoire from this tradition our lecture-recital will attempt to illuminate more of the instrumental, vocal and interpretive aspects of this repertoire when these songs are embodied in a dialogue with the clavichord. Repertoire explored will include Olof Kolmodin's songbooks *Andelig Duwforöst* (1734), J. H. Roman's arrangements of psalter psalms as well as songs from the Moravian Brotherhood in Christiansfeld, Denmark.

Christina Ekström, has a PhD in Musicology and currently works as an opera singer, assistant professor of music and as the programme director of the bachelor's programme in Church Music, the magister programme in choir directing, and the master's programme in organ and related keyboard instruments at the Academy of Music and Drama, University of Gothenburg. Her research interests are primarily related to aspects of the Moravian church and its theology such as: music aesthetics, musical performance, hymnology, emotional culture and musical pedagogy.

Joel Speerstra, PhD in Musicology, organist, assistant professor of music, teaches and researches the organ and related keyboard instruments at the Academy of Music and Drama at the University of Gothenburg. He is active as an instrument builder, performer and musicologist. His doctoral project led to the reconstruction of the Gerstenberg pedal clavichord, and the introduction of the pedal clavichord into teaching into several schools of music in Europe, Asia and North America. His research on the clavichord was awarded the Hilding Rosenberg prize in musicology from the Swedish Academy of Music.

THEO VAN WYK: South African Liturgical Organ Music and the Influence of Lutheran Music Culture: A Practical Approach

The arrival of the Dutch at the Cape, South Africa, in 1652 brought with it a Western-orientated Christian belief system, including the establishment of Lutheran congregations. Liturgical music, too, played an important role in this context, being influenced by an array of existing indigenous cultural traditions. South Africa has a notable and ever-expanding repertoire of organ music, especially those based on chorales. The manner in which definitive musical features have been incorporated into the South African organ idiom has elicited a distinctive framework for works within the general organ repertoire. South African organ composers, writing for a traditional liturgical Lutheran setting to supplement existing repertoire, started developing a distinctly South African style that resonated with the philosophies of the day, as well as searching for a particular identity. Great advances have been made in the conceptualisation and performance techniques influenced by the Lutheran liturgical music culture.

With this lecture-recital, I will endeavour to give an idea of the influence of Lutheran music culture on contemporary liturgical organ music of South Africa by performing selected works of composers who align themselves to this ideology. This will include renditions from the oeuvre of, among others, Richard Behrens, Jacobus Klopers and Winfried Lüdemann. The chorale preludes of these composers will serve as the central genre to exhibit suggested Lutheran liturgical influences and trends. Relevant and applicable aspects such as the composers' recommended registration(s), idiomatic use of manuals and pedal, and influence of the chorale text on compositional techniques will be focused on as detailed practical illustrations.

Theo van Wyk completed a BMus degree and later obtained the University Performer's Licentiate at UNISA in 1998. He completed his BMus (Hons) and MMus degrees at the University of Pretoria in 1999 and 2001, respectively, cum laude. He completed his DMus in 2005 with a thesis entitled 'Die Harmonische Seelenlust (1733) by G. F. Kauffmann (1679–1735): a critical study of his registration indications'. In this regard, Theo became the first person in South Africa to receive this instituted degree in

performance. He is currently Associate Professor of Music and the HoD of UP Arts at the University of Pretoria.

15:30–17:00 Session 3A

Room VIII • Chair: Grantley McDonald

JAN BAT'A: Towards the Genesis of the Lutheran Cantional of Tobias Zavorka Lipensky (1602)

In 1602 the Lutheran priest Tobias Zavorka Lipensky (1553–1612), dean of the church in the Moravian city of Doubravnik, published in Prague a cantional *Pisne chval bozskych* (Songs in Praise of God; Prague: Jiri Jakubuv Daciccky, 1602, 660 ff.). The collection of plainchant, hymns, psalms, and sacred songs remained until the eighteenth century the largest hymnbook printed in Czech Lands. The printed cantional has a manuscript counterpart held at the National Museum Library in Prague (call no. II B 4) that seems to be a pre-print specimen. Such a close connection between these two sources has hitherto not been discovered. The paper will examine all the relevant features (i.e. the layout, repertory etc.) that testify to this interconnection. Moreover, it will focus on the selected details revealing the editorial process that 'polished' texts as well as melodies for the printing press.

Jan Bat'a graduated in musicology from the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, where he also received his PhD in 2011 ('Music and Musical Culture in the Old Town of Prague' 1526–1620). He works at the Institute of Musicology of Charles University in Prague as a lecturer of music history to 1600. His field of research is the musical culture of the Renaissance in Bohemia, especially music in Prague in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He published two critical editions of late sixteenth-century polyphony from the Bohemian sources and more than twenty articles in musicological journals and conference proceedings in the Czech Republic and abroad. In addition to his academic activity, Bat'a is also engaged in popularization in music magazines and in the Czech Radio.

ELIŠKA BAT'OVÁ: Liturgical Reforms during the Lutheran Period of the Unity of the Brethren

The Unity of the Brethren began as a reform movement within Utraquism influenced by Hussite radicalism. In the first period of its existence,

the Unity's worship was based only on biblical patterns. Under the 30-year leadership of Luke of Prague (1460–1528), the liturgy began to become more formalised, although it remained in Czech. Luke reintroduced the use of the liturgical year along with the traditional lectionary and compiled very detailed *Reports on Services of the Priestly Office* (1518, print 1527). After his death, the new generation of the Unity had intensive contacts with Luther and approached critically Luke's works. New agendas were approved in 1531 and the space for reforming the liturgical year was open. Only the agenda for the communion survived. However, we have many references on the new concept of reading and singing for the entire liturgical year.

The most important figure of this generation was Jan Augusta (1500–1572), who was elected a bishop of the Unity in 1532. In his reform, the liturgical year was entirely subordinated to the sequence of the individual articles of the Apostles' Creed, beginning with God the Father, and only thereafter presenting the deeds of Christ. The result is the interesting deviation from liturgical tradition: Preceding Advent is a six-week period dedicated to the first article of the Creed concerning belief in God the Father and His act of creation. Another important aspect is the use of the new Old-Testament pericopes. My paper will attempt to show to what extent this reform was influenced by the early liturgical writings of Martin Luther and to ask the question of Augusta's motivation for these changes. As an important source will be used, the hitherto neglected *Register of Songs [...] Restorted for the Apostolic Faith'* from 1558 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 7452).

Eliška Bat'ová's chief research interests include hymnology and the liturgy of the Bohemian brethren and the Utraquist Church of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. She graduated from Charles University in Prague as PhD in musicology in 2011. Her present project deals with the conception of the hymnology of Jan Blahoslav and Jan Augusta (The Czech Science Foundation, the project holder is the Association for Central European Cultural Studies). She also works as editor and hymnologist at the Central Church Office of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren and teaches flute and recorder at the elementary music school, Přeborn.

SCOTT EDWARDS: Confronting Confession, Nation, and Tradition: Ludwig Senfl in the Bohemian Print Anthologies

Among the final prints of the sixteenth century in which are posthumously transmitted the Latin-texted music of Ludwig Senfl can be found four anthologies edited by Clemens Stephani, a writer and bookseller living in the northern Bohemian town of Eger (today, Cheb, Czech Republic). One striking feature of three of these anthologies is that they are comprised entirely of canons or works that prominently feature canonic composition. Stephani was himself a devout Lutheran, and it has already been observed that canons were central to music pedagogy in sixteenth-century Lutheran schools. In this paper, I will highlight the significance of northern Bohemia not only to Lutheran music production but also to the posthumous reception of Senfl's music. In assembling his anthologies, Stephani was building on a tradition of musical culture already flourishing in the nearby town of Joachimstal, where Johannes Mathesius and David Köler both took inspiration from Luther's advocacy of Senfl in constructing a musical curriculum for the local Latin school. In the confessionally ambiguous society of Bohemia, Lutheran musical expression necessarily adjusted to different surroundings, something we can observe in Stephani's anthologies. The editor's personal aversion toward foreign musical influences is just one manifestation of the prejudices that upheld the later dissemination of Senfl's sacred music.

Scott Edwards is presently working at the University of Vienna as a Research Associate on the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) project Ludwig Senfl: Sämtliche Werke (New Senfl Edition). Prior to this, he served for two years as college fellow in the department of music at Harvard. He completed his dissertation 'Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630' at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2012. Recent articles have appeared in the Journal of Musicology and Diasporas.

15:30–17:00 Session 3B

Room XI • Chair: Cecilia Nahnfeldt

ANDERS DILLMAR: The significance of Luther for the Chorale Book Editors J. C. F. Hæffner and Harald Göransson

In what ways did the sixteenth-century reformer Martin Luther influence the chorale book editors J. C. F. Hæffner and H. Göransson, whose collections appeared in 1820 and 1887 respectively, and have been of great importance for Swedish hymn singing? The considerable time difference between them makes them even more interesting for comparison in relation to the question – especially as both editors explicitly refer to Luther. I intend to compare and contrast these references, and show how two rather disparate and even contradictory pictures of Luther emerge. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Luther seems to have been a relatively unknown person in Sweden despite the country's deep involvement in the Thirty Years' War. A reformation jubilee in 1817 pictured him largely as a 'hero', but Hæffner, with his German upbringing and training, gave a different picture, not least in respect of his understanding of Luther's importance for church music. An analysis shows how he highlighted Luther as a still-valid model in at least nine different ways.

Göransson had long established himself as chief spokesman of Swedish church music when in the late 1960s he became musically responsible for the work on both a new *missale* (church manual) and a hymnbook. Both were adopted in 1986 and still remain in use (unless the Swedish Church Assembly chooses to adopt a new church manual in autumn 2017). Göransson's thoughts on Luther and church music show some development, in half a century the context for the Swedish church changed. Still there remained a strong consistency.

Anders Dillmar works for the Swedish Church in Uppsala. He wrote a dissertation on Hæffner's koralbok in 2001, and was funded by the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond to author a study of the music in the current Swedish ecumenical hymnbook, published in 2015.

SAMULI KORKALAINEN: Attempts to Improve Music in the Lutheran Church as a Nationalist and Translocal Phenomenon in Nineteenth-Century Finland

The aim of this paper is to determine to what extent the wider musical improvements characteristic of Lutheran Europe in the nineteenth century had an impact on church singing and the liturgical melodies used in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. The paper will outline the local improvement process and place it within a wider music-cultural and music-theological context.

In the nineteenth century most of the musicians who wanted to improve church singing in Finland were acting locally, but the phenomenon can better be described as a 'translocal' one, in the sense that a similar process was also under way also in the other states in Lutheran Europe, e.g. in Sweden, Germany, and the Baltic countries. At the same time, the church was not an isolated section of the society; as a result of action by the Fennoman movement in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland, music was considered as an efficient tool to be used to infuse the minds of the common people with nationalist goals. Many churchwardens (*klockare*), organists and even pastors participated in this kind of societal action for example by establishing choirs and brass bands, and by developing popular education.

Samuli Korkalainen holds a Masters Degree in Music and Theology, and is currently a doctoral student at the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki. Korkalainen is also a Lutheran church musician and a pastor.

TOMAS APPELQVIST: The Vitality of Lutheran Liturgy: Sacramentum and sacrificium in Swedish Liturgical Renewal

While the distinction between *sacramentum*, what God gives to his people, and *sacrificium*, what the Christian congregation offers to God, goes back to Luther himself, it became an important theme only in the neo-orthodox theology of the nineteenth century. Separating the two concepts was considered important in upholding an even more fundamental distinction in Lutheran-

ism, the distinction between the Law and the Gospel.

In my paper, I will first make a short study of some main topics in the 1751 Church Order written by the Swedish Archbishop Laurentius Petri. Following this, I will study the way the twentieth-century Swedish theologian Gustaf Aulén (especially in his book *Högmässans förnyelse*) discusses Lutheran themes in his own liturgical thinking. Aulén talks about 'confession', 'prayer' and 'praise' as the three main components in the Swedish reformation liturgy. The concept of praise is inseparably connected to the Gospel, and this is why Luther names praise as one of the seven *notae* of the church. Aulén argues that the Reformation era wanted to make the congregation an active participant in the mass without reducing the importance of the choir. He concludes that the 'basic tone' in the music of the Lutheran early church was never 'unproblematic', since it always had some struggle within it. At the same time he quotes Luther's preface to the songbook from 1545 where Luther rejoices over the liberating Gospel and the 'power that won the power over sin and death'. Happiness and joy was therefore the motto for early Lutheran music. Finally, I will give some brief examples from a current proposal within the Church of Sweden that has totally ignored this fundamental framework, while still claiming to represent a Lutheran liturgy in traditional Swedish style.

Dr Tomas Appelqvist is a lecturer at the University of Karlstad, Sweden. He has a bachelor's degree in fine arts, church music, and for 25 years has served as a part-time organist in several congregations. His research focuses mainly on systematic theology and especially studies about Luther and early Lutheranism. His doctoral dissertation from Lund University is about anthropology and ecclesiology in Luther's theology on prayer (especially commentaries about the Psalms and Lord's Prayer). He has published articles about Lutheran pastoral theology, liturgy and the theory of education. His post-doctoral project concerns political dimensions within early Lutheranism.

19.00 Concert Uppsala Cathedral Lutheran Twentieth-Century Neoclassicism and Modernism

S:t Jacob's Chamber Choir, Gary Graden, conductor, Mattias Wager, organ

FRIDAY 15 SEPTEMBER

09:00–10:30 Keynote lectures

University Building, Room X • Chair: Maria Schildt

BETTINA VARWIG: Early Modern Singing Bodies

What was it like for an early modern Lutheran congregant to listen to and participate in the practice of communal hymn singing? The Protestant hymn repertory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has long been recognised for its effectiveness in spreading the Reformation message. Yet I argue that this consistent focus on the pedagogical or doctrinal aspect of the hymns has sidelined the affective, bodily dimensions of early modern congregational song. With a critical eye towards contemporary affect theory, this paper develops an understanding of Lutheran hymnody as an integrated corporeal-spiritual practice, grounded in a historically situated conception of the human body and its capacities for sensual perception, affective contagion and musical resonance.

Bettina Varwig is Senior Lecturer in Music at King's College London. She is a cultural historian of early modern music, with particular interests in German Lutheran repertoires of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. She has published widely on the music of Heinrich Schütz and Johann Sebastian Bach, addressing issues of musical meaning, affect and expression, as well as historical listening practices and reception history. Her monograph, Histories of Heinrich Schütz, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2011. Her current research project concerns the intersections of music and bodies in the early modern period.

ROBIN LEAVER: Did the Choir Introduce German Hymns to the Wittenberg Congregations?

The earliest extant Wittenberg hymnal is Johann Walter's so-called *Chorgesangbuch*, published in 1524. However, this is not a hymnal for congregational use but rather a set of choral part-books. The implication that has been frequently drawn from this source is that choirs must therefore have been responsible for introducing the

new hymns to the congregations, and that it was not until 1529 that the people in Wittenberg had access to a hymnal specifically compiled for their use. In the late nineteenth century a hymnal, published in Wittenberg in 1526, a unicum, was discovered which has a similar content to the *Chorgesangbuch*. In Luther studies this collection of hymns has generally been regarded as a secondary source, derived from the Walter part-books, but there is evidence that suggests that this was not a first imprint. Indeed, there is reason to believe it was the third edition of such a congregational hymnal, and therefore should be considered a primary source, whose first iteration coincided with the publication of the *Chorgesangbuch* in 1524. This lecture will review the evidence in the context of the rapid expansion of vernacular hymnody from Wittenberg that was taking place during these early years.

Robin A. Leaver is emeritus professor of sacred music at Westminster Choir College, Princeton, New Jersey, and honorary professor at Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK. He has also taught liturgical studies at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, Bach studies at the Juilliard School, New York City, and more recently courses on Bach, music history, and hymnology at the Institute of Sacred Music, Yale University. He graduated from Trinity College, Bristol, England, and holds a doctorate from the Rijksuniversiteit, Groningen, the Netherlands. Dr. Leaver is a past president of both the Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie and the American Bach Society. He is the author of numerous books, articles, and entries in reference works in the cross-disciplinary areas of liturgy, church music, theology, and hymnology, published on four continents, with significant contributions to Luther, Schütz, and Bach studies. Recent publications include: Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications (Eerdmans, 2007); Exploring Bach's B-Minor Mass (Cambridge University Press, 2013), which he co-edited with Yo Tomita and Jan Smaczny; The Routledge Research Companion to Johann Sebastian Bach (Routledge, 2017); and 'The Whole Church Sings': Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg (Eerdmans, 2017).

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

10:45–12:15 Session 4A

Room VIII • Chair: Thomas Schmidt

EYOLF ØSTREM: 'Musicam semper amavi': What is Remarkable About Luther's Views on Music?

Martin Luther's statements about music have been scrutinized by musicologists – and for good reason: hardly any figure in the history of ideas outside of the musical world has said so much interesting about music.

On the other hand, scholars have pointed out that his views on the quadrivial heritage are similar to his fellow reformers, that his *Tischreden* are often spurious, that his music theory is largely taken from his predecessors and contemporaries at Wittenberg, etc. so that when everything that was either common knowledge or taken from someone else is stripped off, the only thing that remains seems to be that *he liked music* – 'Musicam semper amavi'.

This may lead us to the second part of the title: what, then, is remarkable about Luther? In the paper I suggest that the two elements are related: that Luther's love of music may be a non-trivial key to his statements about contemporary music; to his use of musical examples to explain the mysterious relationship between Law and Gospel; to his particular take in certain cases on some of the commonplaces about music at the time, such as his views on music's place in Creation, including its potentially harmful effects. Lastly Luther's professed love of music may also be a valuable control parameter regarding our expectations as scholars: do we as musicologists like Luther better because he liked music better?

Eyolf Østrem (PhD in Musicology, Uppsala University) has been employed at the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals, Copenhagen University. His research focus has been on issues of historiography and of aesthetics before 1750, music in lay confraternities in Italy in the early modern period, including the polyphonic lauda (Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy (with Nils Holger Petersen, Brepols 2008)), and popular music, especially the music of Bob Dylan (Things Twice, in publication).

JOYCE IRWIN: Luther, Mattheson, and the Joy of Music

Miikka Anttila's recent book, *Luther's theology of music: spiritual beauty and pleasure* (Berlin, 2013), highlights the role of joy in Luther's theology in general, and does so specifically in relation to music. Anttila notes that there has been little scholarly attention paid to the notion of joy in Luther's thought but that the word *Freude* appears a remarkable 1184 times in the complete edition of Luther's works. Appearing next to love in Paul's list of the fruits of the spirit (Galatians 5:22), joy is for Luther a consequence of faith. Anttila also observes, however, that the road to joy leads through despair in one's own works to acknowledgement of the redeeming work of Christ. The resulting freedom of conscience results in a joy that overflows with song, speech, and love of neighbour.

More than two centuries after Luther, Johann Mattheson published two lengthy volumes on the biblical basis of joyful worship. As was true of all his theological writings, his motivation was to promote church music as an indispensable component of Christian worship. Although not explicitly polemical, the works allude to Pietist, Calvinist, and Enlightenment denigration of music. The worship practices of ancient Hebrews serve as Mattheson's model for Christian worship, and thus biblical references from the Old Testament predominate. While he does interpret many of these passages Christologically, it seems that the soteriological work of Christ is either taken for granted or minimized.

Whether there are substantive theological differences or merely differences in emphasis between Luther and Mattheson, it is evident that Mattheson regarded himself as within the Lutheran tradition. In emphasizing the joy of music and the affective power of music, Mattheson was, I will argue, closer to Luther than many other music theorists of his age.

Joyce Irwin (PhD in Religious Studies, Yale) has taught at the University of Georgia and Colgate University (Hamilton, NY) and is currently affiliated with the Princeton Research Forum (Princeton, NJ). Her research focuses on Lutheran theological approaches to music in the early modern period. Her publications include Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque (Peter Lang, 1993) and Foretastes of Heaven in

Lutheran Church Music Tradition: Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity (Rowman & Littlefield, 2015). She is also active as church organist and choir director.

JONAS LUNDBLAD: The Lutheran Style: Retrograde Avant-Garde in Oskar Söhngen's Theological Aesthetics

The theological writings of Oskar Söhngen (1900–1983) are widely regarded as pivotal to the establishment of a systematic Lutheran account of music. Notwithstanding such acknowledgements, Söhngen's aesthetics of music is contested in several regards.

First, his ambiguous ontology of music has recurrently been highlighted as a major theological and aesthetic problem. Söhngen on the one hand invokes central traits of the early Lutheran heritage and widens the scope of a theological aesthetics in order to articulate a theory of 'autonomous' created musical sound; this line of argument provides the basis for a progressive endorsement of twentieth-century avant-garde music as legitimate church music. Yet on the other, he instantiates a decisively 'functional' or cultic category as a central ideal for what he conceived of as a necessary rebirth of music as a whole.

Secondly, his ambition to strengthen music's ability to serve the primacy of proclamation and liturgy within the Christian community is not merely connected to a stark anti-Romantic historiography. It also grows out of the anti-liberal politics of the German 1930s. The most burning issue in recent decades has indeed become how to assess Söhngen's role as a leading propounder of church music in the Third Reich.

This paper approaches the benefits and calamities of his vexed legacy through the lens of the specific transhistorical stylistic traits through which Söhngen seeks to construct a neoclassical Lutheran aesthetics for the twentieth century. Although impressive in its close encounter with precise aesthetic categories – and strikingly radical in comparison to twenty-first-century developments in church music – a dark shadow from the 1930s continues to haunt his vision, for all its benefits as a source of inspiration for post-war Lutheran church music.

Jonas Lundblad pursues a dual career in performance and scholarship. He holds a concert diploma as an organist, and is besides recital activities currently engaged in a three-year artistic research project at Uppsala University, Sweden, on conceptions of time in the writings, works, and performances by Olivier Messiaen. As a scholar, he has mostly worked with questions of religion and aesthetics in German Idealism, as a doctoral student at Lund University, Sweden, and as a visiting research fellow at the Humboldt University, Berlin. Selections of his work on Friedrich Schleiermacher's aesthetics have so far appeared in anthologies published with Ashgate and De Gruyter, and work on political aspects of Kant's critical religion will be presented as a dissertation in systematic theology at Lund in 2018.

10:45–12:15 Session 4B

Room XI • Chair: Scott Edwards

ÁRNI INGÓLFSSON: A Country Divided: Drafting a New Lutheran Liturgy in Post-Reformation Iceland

The Lutheran Reformation, completed in Iceland in 1550 with the beheading of the last Roman Catholic Bishop, was not easily implemented as far as music was concerned. The country consisted of two bishoprics – Skálholt in the south, Hólar in the north – and each of the two bishops had different ideas about the new liturgy, in particular how much of the old plainchant should be retained. In 1585, when a printed music book had still not been published in the country, King Frederick II himself wrote to the Icelandic bishops demanding swift action. An Icelandic hymnal was published in 1589, and a Graduale in 1594.

Since primary sources on Icelandic music in the sixteenth century are exceedingly rare, it is difficult to establish the precise nature of the disagreement regarding the liturgy. Two largely overlooked manuscripts shed light on the matter, however. One is a complete missal now in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (NKS 138 4to), which seems to be an attempt by Gísli Jónsson, the Bishop of Skálholt, to draft a new liturgy in the 1580s. The other consists of two leaves, now in the Royal Library, Stockholm (S262a), from an otherwise lost liturgical manuscript. By comparing these two manuscripts to the printed volumes published in late sixteenth-century Iceland, it is possible to get a clearer notion of what the

tug-of-war may have involved. Both contain a considerable amount of plainchant, both in Latin and Icelandic translation, but these attempts at a new liturgy seem not to have gained the approval of the Bishop of Hólar, Guðbrandur Þorláksson, who also controlled the Icelandic printing press. It was only following the death of Gísli Jónsson in 1587 that Þorláksson, with the support of a younger colleague in Skálholt, was able to forge ahead with the publication of what he believed were more appropriate music books for the new religion.

Árni Heimir Ingólfsson holds BM-degrees in piano performance and music history from the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, and a PhD in musicology from Harvard University. He is currently Associate/Visiting Professor of Musicology at the Iceland Academy of the Arts, and Artistic Advisor for the Iceland Symphony Orchestra. Ingólfsson has devoted much of his career to researching Icelandic music history, old and new. His biography of Jón Leifs was nominated for the Icelandic Book Award in 2009 and an English version will be published in 2018. He has given lectures at conferences in Europe, Asia, and the United States, and has held visiting fellowships in musicology at Oxford University, Boston University, and Harvard.

MATTIAS LUNDBERG: Musical Peculiarities of the Reformation in Stockholm in the 1520s and '30s

What is often called the 'nascent' Swedish reformation might in the 1520s and 1530s better be called the 'city' reformation of Stockholm. Although there were some echoes of Lutheran liturgical and musical influences outside Stockholm, in the old Swedish dioceses already in the 1530s, it was the city council of Stockholm, and its old allegiances to the Hanseatic league, which took the first steps in a direction that was to prove vital in shaping Swedish liturgy elsewhere in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

A number of assumptions are habitually made in historical scholarship, firstly concerning the relationships between the Wittenberg, Rostock and Stockholm city reformations; secondly concerning the role of the brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, and thirdly the relationship between the city of Stockholm and the Swedish dioceses. This paper will revisit these central matters with new readings of sources from international and local perspectives.

Mattias Lundberg is professor of musicology at Uppsala University. He finished his PhD at the University of Liverpool in 2007, became associate professor at Uppsala University in 2013, and full professor 2015. From 2006 until 2015 he was Head of Rare Collections at the Swedish National Collections of Music. He was board member at the Swedish Royal Academy of Music since 2008–2015, and has been leader of the Swedish working group of Répertoire international des sources musicales. His research mainly concerns music and music theory from the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, but he has also made major contributions from different aspects on music from later periods. At present he is working on a project on Early Modern Lutheran ecclesiastical music, funded by the Swedish Research Council.

ERKKI TUPPURAINEN: Latin Liturgical Chant in Finnish and Swedish from the Years around 1600

In Finnish libraries and archives can be found more than 30 sources with melodies of handwritten traditional liturgical songs of the Western Church translated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into Swedish and/or Finnish. In addition to the manuscripts there are hand-written addenda to printed books. In several sources the songs have Latin, Swedish and Finnish versions. One unique manuscript includes a melody of the trope 'Benedicamus parvulo nato' with text underlays in all three languages. In addition to this I present two additional songs with Swedish text probably unknown before, a Marian antiphon 'Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, hodie', and a responsory 'Discubuit Jesus'. The fourth example, an antiphon 'O sacrum convivium', with Latin and Finnish text, probably has never been found elsewhere in other Nordic manuscript sources.

After Olav D. Schalin's analysis of the texts (1946, 1947), the melodies have been researched in recent decades. The presented songs can be regarded as typical examples of attempts to transform the melody to follow the text in another language. Best results have been achieved when the melody is treated in a freer way, not only by adding repetitive tones. The examples presented have been written in a way that shows the differences in handling the melodic details. Martin Luther's method in following the properties of the German language continued in the twentieth century with the 'Deutsche Gregori-

anik', with similar traditions evident in Sweden and Finland. It can be of interest to compare the attempts made nowadays and 400 years earlier.

Erkki Tuppurainen, Doctor of Music, worked as an organist, then as lecturer and until 2009 as Professor of Church Music at the Kuopio department of Sibelius Academy. He has published several articles and editions, especially concerning church music in Finland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

LUNCH, Foyer

13:15–15:30 Session 5

Room VIII • Chair Martin V. Clarke

MARCELL STEUERNAGEL: Luther's Musical Thought through Time and Space: Performative Negotiations of the Lutheran Tradition of Congregational Music in the Twenty-First Century

Due in large part to the dynamics of globalization, the music of the Christian church is arguably more diverse today than it has ever been. Congregational musical repertoires have spread transnationally through migration, diaspora, and mass mediation, and humanities scholars have struggled to trace their aesthetic and theological genealogies. This paper proposes a transversal investigation of this issue in two respects. First, it traces the musical thought of Martin Luther as it crosses the perceived divide between historical and contemporary congregational repertoires in Lutheran worship, especially within the context of the rise of contemporary worship styles. Second, and still within the purview of CWM, it examines the appropriation of contemporary repertoire originating in other denominational traditions by South Brazilian Lutherans. How does performance in this new context alter aesthetic and theological perceptions of a song, especially when mediated through translation? In similar fashion, the adoption of music in contemporary styles can assume varied performative connotations against the backdrop of the Lutheran heritage of church music.

In order to account for these complexities, this interdisciplinary investigation uses performance

theory in combination with tools from musicology and popular music studies to analyse the multimodal performance of these musics within the context of Brazilian Lutheranism. By examining a repertoire that travels through time and space across theological, cultural, and geographical boundaries, this paper seeks to contribute to scholarly inquiry into how music is experienced by worshipping congregations.

Marcell Steuernagel is a PhD student in Church Music at Baylor University, TX. He holds an MA in Music Composition from Universidade Federal do Paraná, Brazil. His research focuses on the relation between music and context, especially in the areas of composition, performance studies, and practical theology. Marcell has worked at the intersection of Brazilian evangelicalism and its surrounding socio-cultural environment since late 1990s, performing both in popular and concert scenes both inside Brazil and in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia. He is a member of Performance Studies International and of the Society for Christian Scholarship in Music, and a 2017 Summer Teaching Fellow of the Baylor Libraries.

JAN HELLBERG: Glocalising Worship Musicking: Examples from a Lutheran Church in Namibia

This paper presents ethnographic material, theoretical perspectives and preliminary results from an ongoing doctoral project, an ethnomusicological study of change in the musical performance of Christian spirituality in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). Members of this church, founded through the work of Finnish missionaries from the late nineteenth century, currently seek a 'glocal' balance in their worship musicking (music-making). They wish to retain practices and repertoire shared with Lutherans and other Christians worldwide, but also to give increasing room for local means of musical expression.

The project focuses on performed meanings that motivate participants in the music culture of the church to promote or resist localisation, with special attention to meanings related to embodiment, participation and community. It uses ethnographic material from visits in 1991 and 2002 and a forthcoming visit (September–December 2017) analysed through theory from anthropology, music theory, cultural theory, post-colonial studies, contextual theology, ritual stud-

ies, and performance studies. In the project, participants' preferences concerning means of expression in worship musicking are analysed as dependent both on their musical conceptualisation (what meanings they attribute to elements of musical expression) and on their theological conceptualisation (what meanings they consider suitable for performance in worship).

The first already published article concludes that participants in the music culture of ELCIN perceive it as rich in construction and representation of Christianity-related cultural group identities, but lacking in construction and representation of Africanity-related identities. The second article discerns which elements in the music culture of ELCIN are sites of disaffection that motivate participants to promote localisation. It relates ELCIN members' wish to give increasing room for local means of musical expression that emphasise communal, rather than individual, dimensions of the practice of Christian worship to a striving for an interpretation of Christianity that is compatible with local, pre-Christian concepts of well-being.

Jan Hellberg (b. 1964) is a music educator, choir leader, choral music composer and arranger, church music organiser, and musicologist. He graduated from the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki 1993. He has held teaching and organising positions within music education and church music, since 2007 as secretary for worship and music in the diocese of Borgå (Porvoo) in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. He is a doctoral student in musicology at Åbo Akademi University. His research interests include the ethnomusicological study of music-making in Christian Worship and of processes of change in the music cultures of Christian churches.

Short coffee break

TSZ WONG: The Sound of Lo Tak: Lutheran School Anthems in Hong Kong

The purpose of this paper is to collect and analyse Lutheran school anthems in Hong Kong. School anthems are an important part of school culture in Hong Kong, where they are used for various occasions, creating a Lutheran school music culture and traditions carried down from generation to generation. *Lo Tak* is the Cantonese for 'Luther'. The Lutheran Church–Mis-

souri Synod arrived in Hong Kong in 1913 and began schooling in 1953. Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod was set up in 1977 to serve the community. There are six primary schools, six secondary schools, one international school and one theological seminary under the Hong Kong Lutherans. Most schools have a school anthem.

This paper will present my research on school anthems, comprising data collection, literature review, and discourse analysis. The analysis of school anthems covers the following: the origin of the composition, its use, the anthem melodies, the lyrics, and the backgrounds of the composers. Special attention is paid to tempo, key signature, tonality, length, and instrumentation; and, with respect to lyrics, the use of spoken language, rhyming words, sentence patterns, length, and meanings. My aim is to show how school anthems correlate the Lutheran vision and mission of schooling in Hong Kong: how Lutheran schools are to be received, and how their students are to be brought up. It is my view that this could help us understand how Lutheran faith and belief are shaped through school anthems.

Tsz Wong is a musician, musicologist and linguist, and a member of the Graduate School of Humanities Göttingen (GSGG) and associate of Centre for Modern East Asian Studies (CEMEAS) Göttingen. He writes about historical linguistics, translations, cultural studies, music and visual media. His PhD, entitled 'Matteo Ricci's Xiqin Quyi – A Jesuit's Expert Musicking in Ming China', examines the Jesuit's use of musical knowledge in Chinese (Guanhua) learning.

RYOTO AKIYAMA: Sounding and Embodying the Faith: The Participatory Brass Ensemble of Posaunenchor in the Lutheran Church in Germany

The *Posaunenchor* is a kind of congregational brass band found mainly in the Lutheran Church in Germany. While Luther placed much greater emphasis on vocal music in the church, and specifically on the singing of chorales, the *Posaunenchor* has found its way to become a standard congregational practice. It originates from the Protestant revival movement in northwest Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century, and has been established mainly in the protestant regions of Germany and disseminated

to other continents through missionary work. In Germany today there are about 6,000 *Posaunen-chören*. Conventionally the function of the *Posaunenchor* has been to edify the congregation by accompanying hymn singing and to edify people as the sounding Gospel. Today, however, the significance of the *Posaunenchor* has increased far beyond the scope accorded it by Lutheran orthodoxy, due to its being a distinct and unusual musical practice.

The participatory performance culture of the *Posaunen-chören* enables its various players to immerse themselves in sound and transcend individual experience to the level of intimately being together. The sound mediates the sense of solidarity in an emotional manner. Although the social background and religious convictions of the players varies greatly, together they embody the Christian faith and value together through this emotional participation. Expanding their repertoire to include globalised secular popular tunes also encourages players to enhance this musico-religious experience and bring it into the wider public sphere. In this sense, it is not edification but participation which enhances religious faith. Based on my ethnomusicological field research, this paper will shed new light on the phenomenon of the *Posaunenchor* in Germany, focusing on its distinct sound experience and showing how it constitutes a space for Christian faith and a way of building the community, by focusing on its sound experience. Although the *Posaunenchor* has in some ways outgrown its liturgical context, it has become an integral space of the Lutheran congregation in Germany.

Ryoto Akiyama is a PhD Candidate in the Musicology Division at the Osaka University Graduate School of Letters, and holds a research fellowship from Japan's Society for the Promotion of Science. His major field of research is music of the brass instruments in German speaking area. Currently he does research on the Posaunenchor. Since 2014 he has carried out his ethnomusicological fieldwork in Göttingen and has played with Posaunen-chören there. His doctoral project focuses on community music making, religious experience through participatory music making, and the relation between Protestantism and nationalism in the context of the Posaunenchor.

13:30–15:30 Source Session at the University Library

Peter Wollny and Maria Schildt

Lutheran Music and Material Culture. Workshop on Musical Sources in the Uppsala University Library.

Limited number of participants. Please state your interest to the Organizing Committee in advance.

14:00–17:00 Lecture-recitals, Bälige Church

Chair: Hans Davidsson

Bus to Bälige Church departs from the south entrance of the University building ('the clock entrance') at 13:40

MATTHIAS SCHNEIDER: Liturgical Organ Music in Northern Europe during the First Hundred Years of the Reformation

The famous corpus of Northern German Organ Music starts at around 1600 with a repertory which on the one hand is linked with splendid instruments, and on the other with famous artists who contributed to the art of organ music. Many of them had learned in Amsterdam with Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and the 'Hamburg Organists Maker' (Mattheson). Later on they formed their own school, working as organists and teachers in centres like Hamburg, Braunschweig, Halle, Leipzig, and Danzig.

While the organ music of Sweelinck and his students is fairly well documented, the music that was performed shortly before is almost unknown. Focussing on the Magnificat in the Visby Organ Tablature, the position of organists of around five generations after the Reformation can be observed. On the basis of the music transmitted in this tablature (and some other sources, such as church orders, auditions etc.) it can be shown in what manner organists played in liturgy and how their style developed.

In the lecture-recital organ music by Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius, Berendt Petri, David Her-

litz and Johann Bahr will be performed. It will be shown how the self-confidence and importance of organ playing for the service grew during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Matthias Schneider is professor of church music and organ playing at Greifswald University. He studied church music, organ playing, musicology and art history at conservatories and universities in Münster, Essen (Folkwang) and Basel (Switzerland). After many years as cantor and organist at diverse churches he worked at Basle University and taught an organ class at the 'Hochschule für Kirchenmusik' in Heidelberg. Schneider founded the 'Greifswald Summer Academy Organ', an annual summer school for organists at Greifswald University. His outcome embraces publications on Baroque keyboard music and 'stylus phantasticus', on liturgy and hymnology and also recordings on historical organs.

HANNA DRAKENGREN: Eighteenth-Century Hymn Playing: A Microhistory of Överselö Church, Södermanland, 1754

This lecture-recital will present a project about hymn playing in eighteenth-century Sweden. Using a micro-history approach, I have tried to cast new light on the art of hymn playing in the period from which the Gren and Strähle organ was newly built for the Överselö Church in Stal-larholmen in 1754. The project is in the field of artistic research and is based on both the recent restoration of the organ to its original state, and new knowledge of local contemporary hymnals used in Överselö Church, as well as a study of basso continuo playing, and improvisation schools from the eighteenth century.

In the lecture-recital, the audience will be able to compare a range of ways of playing hymnal accompaniments, as different as could have been practiced locally in 1754. Questions that will be discussed in this lecture-recital are:

- What role did the new organ play in congregational singing?
- Can we draw conclusions about how the hymns were accompanied, and make educated guesses about tempo, registration and hymn settings?
- Can the playing of this repertoire increase our understanding of the organ's role in churches in eighteenth-century Sweden?
- Can the study of the old Swedish hymnbooks from 1697 and earlier be better understood in

in the light of a study of a single room, a specific historical context and organ?

Hanna Drakengren is a church musician educated at Stora Sköndal (1995) and the University of Gothenburg (2000). Since 2008 she works as an organist in Arboga, in the diocese of Västerås. She has also held positions at Strängnäs Cathedral (2005–2008), and Åhus församling, in the diocese of Lund (2000–2005). Since 2016 Drakengren is doing her Master's thesis in organ and related keyboard instruments at the University of Gothenburg, with Joel Speerstra as supervisor and Hans Davidsson as the main organ teacher. Her field of studies are focused on choral settings during the early Lutheran period.

PER HÖGBERG: 'Stäm upp för din konung, du stämmornas mö!': On the Organ and the Chorale as Pedagogical Artefacts in the Musical Life of the Congregation

Since the Reformation, a sustaining element in the worship-life of the Church of Sweden has been the congregation's participation in the celebration of the liturgy, not least in congregational singing. Leading this singing constitutes an important contribution to the expression of the liturgy. Organists express this through 'organ-playing with the hymn singing'. In my dissertation 'Organ Song and Hymn Playing' I rearrange this expression to formulate an understanding of the artistic processes that form a basis for organ-accompanied hymn singing.

The demands set by this kind of performance are not limited to the musical and technical competence of the organist. The service organist is not a soloist within the liturgy, but rather a participant in an interaction together with the congregation. Henric Rohrmans challenges the organist to take special care of the singing (1805), putting organ playing in the service of hymn singing, in order to let the organ sing together with the congregation. This ensemble also provides the basis for collective learning. The combination of poetry and music opens a space for individual and collective reflection from both liturgical and artistic perspectives. In this interactive learning process, the participants become teachers for each other. The voice is the primary entry point for all church music performance and also an important tool in liturgical organ education.

This lecture-recital will focus on how organ-accompanied congregational singing, inherited from the Reformation, was communicated around 1800 when the transition from figured-bass notated chorales to composed four-voiced hymns affected this development. Examples will be given at the organ of how this art can also stimulate the performance of congregational music-making.

Per Högberg received his PhD from The Faculty of Fine, Applied and Performing Arts at the University of Gothenburg in 2013 with a dissertation entitled 'Orgelsång och psalmspel. Musikalisk gestaltning av församlingssång' ('Organ Singing and Hymn Playing. Performing Congregational Song', ArtMonitor 37). He is currently working on a postdoctoral project 'Iconography of Tone', funded by the Royal Swedish Academy of Music's Bernadotte programme. Per Högberg serves as organist in Vasakyrkan (Gothenburg) and lectures on liturgical organ performance at the Academy of Music and Drama at the University of Gothenburg.

18:00 Concert: Music of the North-European Reformation Movements **Bälinge Church**

Daniel Stighäll, Lene Langballe, Anna Maria Friman Henriksen, John Potter, Hans Davidsson

Bus to Bälinge Church departs from the south entrance of the University building ('the clock entrance') at 17:30.

20:00 Conference dinner **Linnaeus's garden**

Bus to the Linnaeus's garden departs from Bälinge church after the concert.

SATURDAY 16 SEPTEMBER

09:00–10:30 Session 6A

Room VIII • Chair: Peter Wollny

RUTH TATLOW: Reading Belief through Compositional Unity: A Lutheran Theology of Proportions and Bach's Response

My recent monograph, *Bach's Numbers: Compositional Proportion and Significance* (CUP, 2015) describes how and why J. S. Bach used proportional parallelism in all his publications and fair copies. Bach introduced proportional parallelism when revising his compositions, using the number of bars to create parallel layers of perfect proportions (1:1 and 1:2) between sections, movements, works and collections. Searching to understand why Bach chose to invest so much time and energy on forming these unheard structures led me to a set of Lutheran beliefs about musical proportions and Harmony, published in books that he could have read. See 'A theology of musical proportions and Harmony in Bach's time', Appendix, *Bach's Numbers*, 370–82.

With the increasing secularisation of Lutheran society in the eighteenth century one might expect that ancient beliefs about creational proportions in music would have died out during J. S. Bach's lifetime, but the reality was more complex. In 1788 Forkel wrote wistfully as if a golden age had passed, 'when one believed that all expression and all beauty in art depended solely on the mathematical proportions of tones ... these times are now over, and what happened in excess then, maybe happens too little nowadays'.

Quoting Werckmeister, Walther, and Neuss and others, this paper will illustrate the widespread beliefs in God-given proportions and Harmony in Lutheran Germany in Bach's time, and how these beliefs could influence the daily choices and compositional practice of Lutheran musicians. How Bach's sons responded to these inherited beliefs will also be discussed, to illustrate the complexity of detecting the evolving theology of proportions in the compositional structures of later Lutheran composers.

Ruth Tatlow is an independent scholar, clarinettist, and a widely published author with a research base at Musikverket in Stockholm, Sweden. Her ground-breaking examination of compositional theory and practice is reflected in her publications and two monographs, Bach and the Riddle of the Number Alphabet (Cambridge, 1991) and Bach's Numbers: Compositional Proportion and Significance (Cambridge, 2015), awarded Choice 'Outstanding Academic Title 2016'. She co-founded Bach Network UK in 2004 and Understanding Bach in 2006, currently serves as chair of the Bach Network Council and is a member of the Editorial Board of the American Bach Society.

ROMAN NASSONOV: Theology of Bach's Passions through 'Herzliebster Jesu' by J. Heermann

Each research into the music of J. S. Bach manifests a natural desire to compare and contrast the composer's two Passion settings. However, it is only recently that these comparison have attained a genuinely scientific character. One hypothesis is that of J. Pelikan, who expressed the idea that the two Passions exhibit two opposing and possibly mutually exclusive doctrines of atonement. With this in mind, it is interesting to investigate the composer's use of the Kirchenlied 'Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen', by J. Heermann – the only Lutheran hymn from which verses were included in the libretti of both Passions.

According to E. Chafe, Heermann intermingled the languages of two theological theories, and for that reason Bach could take texts from Heermann's Lied which were suitable for each of the Passions. My paper argues that the character of Bach's usage of the verses (especially in the St John Passion) calls into question Pelikan's hypothesis and allows us to assume that Bach considered the two works as complementary. Bach's main goal, I argue, was not to convey the niceties of individual theological teachings within Lutheranism, but to express the experience of this spiritual movement as a common Christian one.

In my opinion the use of the verses of the Lied in the St John Passion is particularly remarkable for two peculiarities. Firstly, their penetration into

the biblical narrative is 'optional'. Secondly, the keywords of both chorales, *Lieb und König*, are harmonized 'wrongly' in respect to the tonal symbolism. An interpretation of these features affords an opportunity to clarify and supplement the concept of the theological plan for the St John Passion and to reveal in this work the semantic potential which was fully realized later in the St Matthew Passion.

Roman Nassonov graduated from the Music Theory and History Department of the Tchaikovsky Moscow State Conservatory in 1994. His PhD thesis was entitled 'Athanasius Kircher's Musurgia universalis: Musical Science in the Context of the Early Baroque Musical Practice' (1996). Since 1996 he has been teaching at the Moscow Conservatory, and has been Associate Professor since 2004. His research interests lie in the field of Baroque music, particularly in history of sacred music genres, opera and music theory.

PIETER DIRKSEN: J. S. Bach, the *fuga contraria*, and the Lutheran Concept of Inversion

Already in the earliest version of the *Art of Fugue*, which in all likelihood dates from 1742 and consists of only twelve movements, Bach included three lengthy examples of counter-fugue – a supremely esoteric category of fugal writing. In addition, the same collection concludes with a canon in *moto contrario*. These four pieces stand at the apex of a long North-European tradition stretching back to the sixteenth century. Before this exhaustive exploration of the counter-fugue Bach used the technique only sparingly, which makes the actual cases all the more important. In the keyboard music – to which the *Art of Fugue* of course of course belongs as well – it appears only in the late repertoire, while in the vocal music – most notably in the chorale chorus 'Wär Gott nicht mit uns dieser Zeit' BWV 14/1 from 1735 – the examples date on the whole from somewhat earlier. In this paper the repertoire is established, analysed and compared, their historical roots traced, and their significance as possible symbolic representations of the Lutheran concept of inversion assessed.

Pieter Dirksen performs as soloist on both harpsichord and organ and as continuo player with diverse range of chamber ensembles. He completed his musicological studies with honours in 1987 and since then has published widely on

the subject of baroque keyboard music. In 1996 he received his doctorate 'cum laude' with a dissertation on the keyboard music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, which was awarded the Dutch Praemium Erasmianum. Further books have been devoted to Bach's Art of Fugue (1994), Sweelinck (essays, 2002) and Scheidemann (2007), and many critical editions appeared with baroque keyboard music from Sweelinck to Bach, as well as about 100 articles. Pieter Dirksen is a member of Combattimento as well as the chamber music group La Suave Melodia. He has performed in most European countries, the United States and Canada, and regularly gives masterclasses in chamber music and keyboard playing. He taught at the Organ Academies in Haarlem, Göteborg, Cambridge, Leipzig, Palencia, Löfstabruk, and Smarano and is presently affiliated with the Göteborg Organ Art Center and the Bach-Archiv Leipzig.

09:00–10:30 Session 6B

Room XI • Chair: Inga Mai Grootte

KIM-ERIC WILLIAMS: The Hymnody of Andreas Rudman in New Sweden, Delaware, 1696–1708

This paper will focus on hymns by Anders Rudman (1668–1708). Born in Gävle, Gästrikland, Rudman studied at Uppsala and was ordained in 1696 to lead two other pastors (Erik Björk and Jonas Aurén) in renewing the mission of the Church of Sweden in North America. As 'primarius' he served in the provincial capital of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, leading the congregation to build the present brick church building, naming it *Gloria Dei* in 1700.

A talented musician and poet as well as an energetic pastor, Rudman authored and edited two hymnals in that same year. These two hymnals, *Some Spiritual Songs* and *Two Spiritual Songs* are the first Swedish imprints in America and the first hymnals to be printed in North America. While only amounting to eight hymns, these small volumes are important since before this only English-language versifications of Old Testament psalms had been printed in America. Anglo-American culture was heavily influenced by Puritan suspicions about music, and hymns were considered unbiblical and thus unworthy of congregational use. Three of the hymns in these two collections are by Rudman himself and the others are his translations of German chorales. The

hymns show a combination of Lutheran orthodoxy and a warm personal application of doctrine to life.

Since no Swedish printer was to be found with Swedish vowels, a Dutch printer made up for this lack by using Roman letters and doubling up to show the vowels, e.g. ao=å, ae=ä, etc. Rudman presided at the first Lutheran Ordination in America at his own Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia in 1703. Using the Swedish rites he ordained Justus Falckner, a German theological student, to be pastor of the Dutch Congregations in the English colony of New York. Soon after he received official confirmation of his act by being named 'Superintendent' by Carl XII. Rudman died while serving as stated supply priest at two local Anglican churches, Christ, Philadelphia, and Trinity, Oxford. He was buried in front of the altar at Gloria Dei.

Kim-Eric Williams is curator at Augustana Museum and Archivist at the Lutheran Archives Center at Philadelphia, PA. He is Historian and Honorary Governor of the Swedish Colonial Society and an eleventh generation Swedish-American, and editor of the multi-volume series: 'Colonial Records of Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania'. He is retired Lutheran pastor and retired Professor of Swedish at the University of Pennsylvania.

OTFRIED CZAİKA: Swedish Hymnals from the Sixteenth Century – What We Know and Do Not Know

The first Swedish Lutheran hymns were published around the year 1530. During the following decades, the Swedish hymnal (*Swenska Psalmeboken*) became one of the bestselling print products in sixteenth-century Sweden. Swedish hymnals should be considered as a seminal source for not only the changes and continuities of religious culture between the Late Middle Ages and Reformation but also for the history of the Swedish language and, last but not least, for the history of printing in Sweden.

My paper will give a short overview over the history of the Lutheran hymnal in Sweden during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, I will address some crucial questions for research on Swedish hymns and hymnals. These are:

- As the Swedish hymnals from the sixteenth century do not include any musical notation, the melodies used can often only be recon-

structed through other sources (e.g. some sixteenth-century manuscripts); in many cases the melodies used can often only be reconstructed through much younger sources from the seventeenth century. Church historians have not really addressed this problem.

- Another heuristic question not sufficiently addressed in existing research is the issue of authorship. There is a quite a strong consensus that the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri was the *spiritus rector* of the first Swedish hymnal, the *Swenske songer* of 1536. However, there are neither manuscripts of Olaus Petri nor ego-documents that clearly show the involvement of the Swedish reformer. To me the entire question of authorship is not clear and should be reconsidered.
- Finally, the Swedish national bibliography by Isak Collijn is outdated, incomplete, and lacks reference to prints discovered during the last decades and to prints which might be found in collections abroad. Fundamental research in book history is needed to provide a better ground for hymnological studies.

Otfried Czaika is Professor at the Norwegian School of Theology, Oslo. He received his PhD in Theology from the University of Helsinki. His research interests include Lutheranism, Pietism, and the relation between church and state, and his books include studies of Sveno Jacobi and Elisabeth Vasa.

CHRISTIANE HAUSMANN: Singing Departure: The 'New' Songs of the Freylinghausen Hymnbook and Their Cultural-Historical Impact

The Lutheran 'Hallesche Gesangbuch' was widely published until the nineteenth century. According to its publisher, the Hallischen pietist Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739), it was often referred to as the Freylinghausen-Gesangbuch. Today it is considered to be the most important hymnbook to Pietism and can be numbered as one of the important landmarks of hymnbook history. The Gesangbuch was an integral part of the educational concept of the orphanage founded in 1698 by the Protestant theologian and pedagogue August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), the so-called Franckesche Stiftungen. With this hymnbook, in which melodies were attached to the texts, the pietistic song suc-

ceeded in establishing itself throughout Germany. In this sense, the hymnbook marks what can be understood as the most lasting change in the German-speaking spiritual song since the Reformation. That said, its widespread use was not restricted to Germany alone: soon after its publication, numerous orders were received at the 'Buchladen im Waysenhouse' of the Franckeschen Stiftungen and the export even extended to Siberia, North America, and in the course of the Danish-Hallsche mission to South India.

My paper will address the following questions: How can we explain influence of the book, its many words and melodies (as 'Hallesche Lieder' in the history of music, literature and piety) and truly 'new' songs? What are the cultural-historical factors that favour the emergence and rise of the book? And how, most importantly, did the 'emotionalisation' of spiritual singing (associated with this hymnbook) contribute to the release of individuality in the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries?

Christiane Hausmann studied historical and systematic musicology as well as Italian studies and flute at the universities of Halle, Leipzig and Pisa. After completing her studies she worked in an edition project on the hymn of Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen at the Francke Foundations in Halle. In 2007, she was promoted to PhD (with Helga de la Motte-Haber at Berlin) with a study on the compositions of Ennio Morricone. Since 2008 she has been working as a research assistant at the Bach Digital Archive, especially for the research-database 'Bach digital', a project funded by the German Research Foundation.

COFFEE BREAK, Foyer

10:45–12:15 Session 7A

Room VIII • Chair: Joyce Irwin

SYMON PACZKOWSKI: Music at the Lutheran Court Chapel in Dresden in the Time of Bach

Until the end of the seventeenth century the Evangelical court chapel in Dresden was one of the most musically impressive centres of Lutheranism in Saxony, particularly at the time when its Kapelmeister was Heinrich Schütz. This situation changed in 1697 when the Elector of Saxony,

Frederick Augustus I, converted to Catholicism in order to take the throne of Poland, and Dresden became therefore a residence of a Catholic king. When for this reason the court's opera theatre was converted to a Catholic court chapel in 1708, the activities of the royal Hof-Kapelle came to be directed exclusively towards the Catholic rite, and the musical setting of Lutheran services was limited so severely that its earlier splendour was greatly diminished. Moreover, in 1737, the Evangelical palace chapel was closed and Lutheran services were taken outside the court to St. Sophia's church (Sophienkirche), transforming it into the Evangelische Hof-Kirche.

Our knowledge about the music which could be heard at the Evangelical court chapel after 1708 and at the Dresden church of St Sophia's is surprisingly meagre, even concerning the time when the organist there was Bach's oldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann. This paper aims to describe the organisation of the musical settings for court Lutheran services in Dresden during that time, and to expand our knowledge about this subject on the basis of previously unreported documentation which I recently investigated in the archives of the city of Dresden.

*Szymon Paczkowski is professor at the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw. He has published two books on music in the Baroque period, *The Doctrine of Affections in the Theoretical Thought of the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (1998) and *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (2011), translated into English, published by Rowman & Littlefield (2016). His research focuses on various aspects of the history of musical culture in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. He is involved in intensive archival research projects on the music culture of Poland and Saxony in the eighteenth century.*

OLGA GERO: Does Pure Lutheranism Exist? On the Catholic Texts in Protestant Figural Music

In Protestant figural music of the seventeenth century we can observe an interesting and ambiguous phenomenon: the increasing usage of Catholic texts. This phenomenon raises many questions. Firstly, which texts were defined as Catholic ones? A possible answer could be found in the book-fair catalogues for Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main which include well organized records sorted by different topics e.g. 'Teudsche

theologische Bücher der Lutheraner' or 'Libri pontificiorum'. The second question relates to searching and finding the texts. As the compositional practice shows, the German protestant composers took the text sources from the printed collections of such theological and devotional texts as well as from the other musical pieces of the catholic Italian composers. The identification of the texts in the sacred vocal works of Dietrich Buxtehude is a single example and can shed light on the personality of the composer himself and reveal his ambitions and cultural connections. The newly identified text source of the aria 'Fallax mundus' (BuxWV 28) as well as two concertos 'O clemens, o mitis, o coelestis Pater' (BuxWV 82) and 'Quemadmodum desiderat cervus' (BuxWV 92) provides a connection between Buxtehude and the Flanders, Buxtehude and Jesuits, Buxtehude and the catholic tradition. Moreover it offers the chance to discuss this connection from different points of view: religious context, cultural transfer, and methods of text-setting. An interdisciplinary investigation could contribute to answering the question: 'Why did the German protestant composers and especially the Lutheran Buxtehude use such texts and have an interest in catholic devotional literature?'

Olga Gero graduated from Moscow's Tchaikovsky Conservatory in 2008. In 2009–2010 she held a DAAD research scholarship at the Technical University in Berlin, and from 2010 to 2014 she worked a PhD dissertation entitled 'Dietrich Buxtehudes geistliche Vokalwerke – Texte, Formen, Gattungen', supervised by Prof. Peter Wollny, published in 2016 at Uppsala university. Gero's research interests touch upon German figural music in the Baroque era, Devotional books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Chamber music of the nineteenth century, and Russian music of the twentieth century.

10:45–12:15 Session 7B

Room XI • Chair: Anna Maria Böckerman

MARTIN V. CLARKE: 'Come, All You People': Global and Vernacular, Hymns and Liturgical Music in Contemporary British Christianity

In recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in global hymnody in Western Christian-

ity, resulting in the inclusion of selections of hymns and liturgical songs from around the globe in a wide variety of denominational and specialist hymnals. This paper contends that such developments have a complex relationship with historic Lutheran theological principles and practices of church music. Drawing on a range of publications aimed at British churches, it explores two facets of this relationship: the nature of vernacular hymnody in an increasingly multicultural and multilingual church, and the breadth of liturgical possibilities offered by the borrowed global repertoire.

In terms of the relationship between global hymnody and vernacular liturgy, the roles of words and music must be considered. The prefaces to several hymnals advocate the use of original languages as a way of recognising the diversity of contemporary British congregations, and also as a conciliatory way of acknowledging the historic hegemony of English-language hymns in missionary enterprise. Musically, markedly different approaches can be observed, from attempts at faithful transcription of observed performance with minimal editorial intervention, through to substantially edited versions that seek to make repertoire more culturally familiar to British congregations. This paper argues for a broad interpretation of Luther's principles concerning vernacular hymnody, into which the incorporation of global hymnody can be assimilated.

While Luther's musical provision included hymns and congregational music for the liturgy, the legacy of the former has been more strongly felt in many of the churches of the Reformation. However, this paper argues that the adoption of global songs designed for particular liturgical functions indicates a desire on the part of hymnal compilers and the churches they represent to re-engage with the broader range of music in worship that Luther advocated, in order that its full benefits might be realised.

Martin Clarke is a Lecturer in Music at The Open University, UK. His research interests lie in the interaction of music, theology and religious practice, especially in relation to Britain and from the eighteenth century to the present. His book British Methodist Hymnody: Theology, Heritage and Experience was published by Routledge in July 2017. He is a Co-Investigator on the AHRC-funded project 'Listening and British cultures: listeners' responses to music in Britain, c. 1700–2018'. He is a Fellow of the Royal

College of Organists and a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy.

SAMUEL EATHERTON: Church Music for Children: Embodied, Formative, Crossgenerational

Most would agree that music is a powerful conveyor of truth and can thus be instrumental in forming ideas and habits. Martin Luther recognized this fact when he famously placed music ‘next to theology’ in its ability to proclaim the Word of God. If music is so influential, how is the faith of our children being formed through music they experience in Lutheran worship? If delivering and inculcating the faith is an important function of church music, then how can music provide a basis for spiritual formation of children that will serve them into adulthood? While significant theories in faith formation have been expounded, notably in the works of John Westerhoff and James Fowler, and worship studies more specific to Lutheran children in the United States have been conducted by Shirley Morgenthaler, the formative role of music itself in this process has received only cursory attention. This study seeks to bring together the fields of education, liturgical studies, and church music by investigating the perspectives of twenty adults between the ages of 20 and 36 (‘millennials,’ as the generation is termed in America). Those interviewed were asked to recall and reflect upon particular childhood experiences of music in worship settings. While the study was conducted with participants who had grown up within one church body (Lutheran), the results suggest broader principals that transcend denomination and generation. The analysis in this study provides a mu-

sically ethnographic counterbalance to the published literature and offers further insight into the formative role of church music in the life of the church.

Samuel Eatherton is the Minister of Music at Zion Lutheran Church and School in Dallas, Texas, USA, where he directs the choirs and instrumentalists of the church and school and assists in leading the liturgy and hymns for weekly chapel and Sunday services. He is currently pursuing a doctorate in church music at Baylor University, studying organ with Isabelle Demers. Research interests include the role of children in Lutheran church music and the development of a Lutheran musical identity in nineteenth-century America. Eatherton enjoys composing for both choir and organ and has had several works published by Concordia Publishing House.

LUNCH, Foyer

13:15–14:30 Concluding Panel: Trajectories Forward?

Room X • Chair: Jonas Lundblad

Pieter Dirksen, Anders Jarlert, Bernice Sundkvist, Ruth Tatlow, Peter Wollny

The concluding panel provides opportunities to summarize the conference, but is primarily directed towards future research. An interdisciplinary group of scholars will give perspectives on the idea of a Lutheran music culture – and of the interplay between theological, historical, and aesthetic elements in such a tradition. Which are the strengths and limitations of previous and contemporary research? Which paths and collaborations provide fruitful trajectories forward?



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