

In service to the church: The *neue Sachlichkeit* and the organ chorale prelude in Norway



A study of *Pro organo* (1951-1958) by Rolf Karlsen and Ludvig Nielsen

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Thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Australian Catholic University

School of Arts & Sciences, St Patrick's Campus, Melbourne, Victoria

1 September 2009

Acknowledgements

There are many people I wish to acknowledge and thank for assisting me in the production of this dissertation:

- The library staff at the Australian Catholic University (St Patrick's campus), the University of Melbourne Baillieu library (Music branch library) and in particular, Gerridina Bovenhoff at *Gunnerusbibliotek*, NTNU, Trondheim;
- Dr Harald Herresthal and in particular, Dr Dianne Gome for meticulous supervision and unflagging support;
- Jørund Midttun, former director of the Liturgical centre, and the Church council of the Church of Norway for flexibility in work loadings and study leave. The author's position as church music and hymnology advisor for the Liturgical Centre (a branch of the Church Council of the Church of Norway) has been a key source of inspiration and support for this study;
- Per Hjort Albertsen, Anfinn Øien, Kjell Mørk Karlsen and Dr Per Lønning for their readiness to provide first-hand oral accounts on the research area for the purpose of this thesis, recorded on videotape;
- Dr Sverre Flack for stimulating exchanges on art and architecture of the Weimar period;
- Odd Gunnar Frøysland and Thomas Grubb for assistance with recording and CD production;
- Berit Maisey for proof reading and editorial comments;
- Sonja Michelini for translation of selected German citations;
- Tabita Berglund for assistance with mini-DV to DVD transfers;
- Lindsey A. Higgins, Claudia Bätcke and Marte Taylor Bye for transcription of videotaped interviews;
- Thomas Grubb and Sonja Michelini for their indefatigable support and generous hospitality in Australia;
- ACU research services for providing a scholarship that has enabled the completion of this study within the normal timeframe.

My primary aim has been to write good church music which belongs to the church, and which can assist in articulating its message.

Det jeg først og fremst har bestrebet meg på, er å skrive god kirkemusikk som hører hjemme i kirken, og som kan hjelpe til med å forkynne dens budskap.

Ludvig Nielsen¹

Rolf Karlsen encouraged ecclesial moderation by applying organ playing, singing and music in the service of the church – *leitourgia*.

Rolf Karlsen ... manet til kirkelig besinnelse ved å stille orgelspillet, sangen og musikken inn i tjeneste og underordning – leiturgia [sic].

Guttorm Ihlebæk on Rolf Karlsen²

Rolf Karlsen saw his life's vocation as a service centred on the liturgy of the church.

Rolf Karlsen så på sin gjerning som en tjeneste med sentrum i gudstjenesten og liturgien.

Kristen Øgaard on Rolf Karlsen³

¹ Cited in Bjørn Moe, Ludvig Nielsen, Biografi og studier i "Messe på Olavsdagen, in Torgeir J. Havgar, Per Hjort Albertsen, Bjørn Moe & Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm (eds), *Domorganist Ludvig Nielsen 1906 – 3. februar – 1976*, A/S Nidaros & Trondelagens Boktrykkeri, Trondheim, 1976, p. 60. Translation by the author.

² Guttorm Ihlebæk, Ved Rolf Karlsens bortgang, in *NKM* no. 7, 1982, p. 262. Translation by the author.

³ Kristen Øgaard, Til minne om Rolf Karlsen, in *NKM* no. 7, 1982, p. 261. Translation by the author.

Statement of authorship and sources

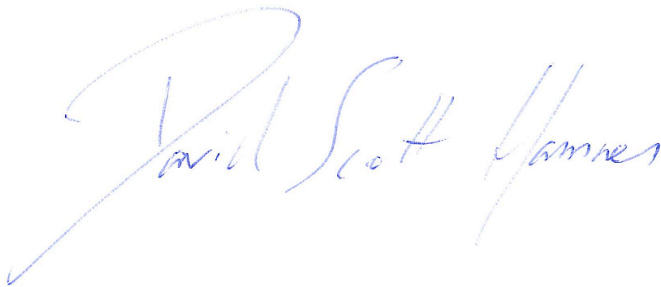
This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

The work of no other person has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the Human Research Ethics Committee at ACU National.

Trondheim, 1 September 2009

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "David Scott Hannes". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'D' and a long, sweeping underline.

David Scott Hannes

Abstract

This study seeks to demonstrate how the chorale prelude, as presented in the *Pro organo* (1951-1958), a collection of 323 historical and 20th-century chorale preludes compiled and edited by Rolf Karlsen (1911-1982) and Ludvig Nielsen (1906-2001), represents the ethos of the *neue Sachlichkeit* (new objectivity) in music written for the Lutheran established Church of Norway in the middle decade of the 20th century, and how the compilation challenged received Norwegian organ music traditions. The concept of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, often used in describing tendencies in art, literature, film and architecture, was also interpreted in Northern Europe to imply an historicist, idealised compositional style in church music in reaction to what was seen as excessive 19th-century sentimentality. The chorale prelude provides an ideal microcosmic element for musico-liturgical study. Strongly influenced by Per Steenberg's *Koralbok* (1949), *Pro organo* embraces both works from the 17th and 18th centuries and contemporary material composed specifically for the collection, including 262 works by Karlsen and Nielsen. Throughout, it reflects an editorial desire to provide apposite music for the church according to principles of what was then called the 'pure style' in music.

The main hypothesis of the study is that the compilation *Pro organo* demonstrates a clear manifestation of *neue Sachlichkeit* style ideals through the provision of clear, brief, moderate organ introductions of high quality to congregational hymns, and hence constitutes a major landmark in the history of Norwegian liturgical music for the organ. Of particular importance were fidelity to the chorale tune, minimal sentimentality, technical moderation and concision, with the use of imitative and other compositional techniques drawn from historical practices. In the context of *neue Sachlichkeit* style ideals, the study questions the extent to which contemporary works were modelled on historical precedents and furthermore, it examines the ways in which the 20th-century works by the compilers develop historical style principles.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations have been kept to a minimum. While no standardised system exists, these abbreviations are in common use in Norwegian publications.

DNK	<i>Den norske kirke</i>
KNK	<i>Koralbok for Den norske kirke</i> (1926)
LML	<i>Koralbog til Landstads salmebog (Lindemans koralbog)</i> (1877)
LR	<i>Landstads reviderte salmebok</i> (1926)
MNO	<i>Medlemsblad for Norges organistforbund</i>
NoKo	<i>Norsk koralbok</i> (1985)
NoS	<i>Norsk salmebok</i> (1985)
NKM	<i>Norsk kirkemusikk</i>
NN	<i>Nynorsk salmebok</i> (1925)
NRK	<i>Norsk rikskringkasting</i>
NTH	<i>Norges tekniske høyskole, Trondheim</i> (now NTNU)
NTNU	<i>Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, Trondheim</i>
PO	<i>Pro organo</i>
PSK	<i>Per Steenbergs koralbok</i> (1947/1949)

Introduction

Prologue

The middle decades of the 20th century saw unprecedented developments in the composition and liturgical use of organ music in the Church of Norway. Central in these developments was the chorale prelude. An important landmark was the publication between 1951 and 1958 of *Pro organo*, compiled by noted Norwegian organists and composers Rolf Karlsen (1911-1982) and Ludvig Nielsen (1906-2001). Comprising a monumental collection of 323 historical and contemporary chorale preludes in five volumes for service use by church organists, the contents were directly linked to both the authorised hymnals *Landstads reviderte salmebok* (LR, 1926) and *Nynorske salmebok* (NN, 1925), and the unauthorised chorale book, Per Steenberg's *Koralbok* (PSK, 1949). At the time of publication *Pro organo* was recognised as a unique, utilitarian and stylistically unified resource of great value, and its wide usage is furthermore indicated by continuous publication over 50 years.

In the two decades prior to the publication *Pro organo*, Norwegian liturgical music was increasingly subject to influences that have subsequently been termed as *neue Sachlichkeit* (*ny saklighet*), a German interdisciplinary term with no direct English translation, but which has been variously interpreted as new essentialism, new realism, new objectivity and even new matter-of-factness.⁴ Some of the influences of the *neue Sachlichkeit* on church music which have attained currency include:

- Liturgically integrated and functional congregational and choral song;
- Liturgically integrated and functional organ chorale preludes and other chorale-based compositions;
- The continued or reclaimed use of original or slightly modified chorale forms (rhythmic, harmonic and melodic);
- Historical compositional models and performance practice;
- Historical organ building practices.

⁴ No satisfactory translation has been found in English, hence the use of the German term throughout this study. A recent study by Peter Gay, *Modernism: The lure of heresy, from Baudelaire to Beckett and beyond*, William Heinemann, London, 2007, p. 261, uses *neue Sachlichkeit* in preference to new objectivity.

To date, the development of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals in liturgico-musical issues within the Church of Norway has received no scholarly attention. More importantly, the role of *Pro organo* in disseminating *neue Sachlichkeit* principles remains unexplored.

The research aim and research questions

The present study aims to demonstrate that the chorale preludes selected and composed by Karlsen and Nielsen for *Pro organo* represent a program model of the ideology of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Norwegian church music, and that the publication was accordingly of landmark significance in Norwegian organ music history. Thus the key research questions are:

- How do the contents of *Pro organo*, examined both individually and collectively, reflect *neue Sachlichkeit* style principles?
- How did the publication challenge received Norwegian organ music traditions?

In addition, the following sub-questions also apply:

1. What is meant by the term the *neue Sachlichkeit*?
2. What was the historical and liturgical context from which *Pro organo* emerged?
3. How did *Pro organo* serve the church?
4. Why were selected historical works included and what are the style characteristics of the historical repertoire contained in *Pro organo*?
5. In what ways do the compositions of Karlsen and Nielsen reflect historical techniques and styles?
6. What styles other than those of the 17th century are apparent in the works by Karlsen and Nielsen in *Pro organo* and how are these associated with the *neue Sachlichkeit* or other compositional styles?
7. How was *Pro organo* received?

The first sub-question is explicated in the discussion of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Chapter 1; the remaining questions are examined in chapters relating to *Pro organo*. In pursuing these questions, this study will place the publication of *Pro organo* within the context of authorised Norwegian chorale books, hymnals and other liturgical music publications published between 1920 and 1936. This period included the establishment of liturgical and hymnodic

reforms in the 1920s, including the *Alterbok* and its associated material from 1920, and also the revision of *Landstads kirkesalmebog* (1869), and its associated chorale book (*Koralbog til Landstads salmebog*, LML) in 1926, published as *Koralbok for Den norske kirke* (KNK). The study source was published between 1951 and 1958, over a quarter of a century after early evidence of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals and style in the Norway first appeared, to be disseminated through inter-Nordic cooperation and collaborative Nordic church musicians' assemblies. 1958 also marks the sixth anniversary of the establishment of *Musica Sacra*, an organisation of musicians and other interested parties within the Church of Norway that has sought to codify and promote many elements of this movement. *Pro organo* has been chosen for investigation because of its close affiliation with PSK in its intended associated usage. This association has stimulated the assumption by the author that influential church musicians in Norway potentially intended this source as a clearly positioned record of idealised church music practices. In so positioning *Pro organo*, this study investigates how this collection has contributed to establishing the *neue Sachlichkeit* as a compositional practice in Norway through its focus on functional, historicist and anti-sentimental compositional style.

Related research

The concept of *neue Sachlichkeit* in relation to liturgical practices has been examined in a single seminal study by Anna Maria Böckerman-Peitsalo, *Objektivitet och liturgisk förankring* (Objectivity and liturgical foundation). Published in 2005, this source is of great relevance to the present study and in fact provided the impetus for the focus of this project. Concerned with the liturgical and church music practices between 1923 and 1943 in the Porvoo diocese, the Swedish-speaking diocese of the Church of Finland, this study (described as liturgico-historical) involves a discussion of the *neue Sachlichkeit* as an *arbetsprogram*, and is multi-faceted, concerning liturgy, congregational song, choral activity, organ performance, organ building and musical style. It discusses the history and development of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals, how and by whom it was introduced to the diocese, and how it was expressed at a diocesan level. Chorale preludes and organ performance are discussed only where they might have significance as an indicator of the presence of *neue Sachlichkeit*, and there is no analysis of the implications of the *neue Sachlichkeit* on musical style. This invaluable parallel study, although considerably wider in scope than the present endeavour, provides an excellent foundation on which this research builds. The timeframe and geographical limitations of Böckerman-Peitsalo's study and the present study also

differ, although many of the influential figures and inspirational factors are identical. It is important to understand that Böckerman-Peitsalo's use of the term *neue Sachlichkeit* in relation to liturgico-musicological studies is unique, and that it was chosen as an imposed descriptor; one that is not found in sources of the period studied.⁵ In 1970, Gunnel Fagius completed another important but much slighter precursory study of the influences of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Swedish choral music in the 1930s.⁶ This study also uses the term as an imposed descriptor, and examines the church music renewal movement in Sweden from the 1880s from the position of the church choral association. It investigates how *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals influenced compositional techniques of ecclesial *a cappella* choral works in the period through an analysis of the use of polyphony, Gregorian chant and historical harmonisation practices. It should be noted that these studies in turn rely on earlier Swedish church music accounts by Carl Allan Moberg⁷ and Gustav Aulén⁸ which provide additional weighting for the use of the term (*den nya sakligheten*) in a Swedish context.⁹

The significance of the study

The present study provides a precedent and model for other studies pertaining to the influence of ideologies in liturgical music genres and organ music (in particular, the chorale prelude) in specific timeframes and cultures. In addition, the project has importance for the Church of Norway, in examining the influence of a specific ideology on the composition and performance of church music in the liturgy, and, as will be shown in Chapter 5, it will fill a significant gap in scholarship concerning Norwegian organ music. Influences related to the *neue Sachlichkeit* retain a strong presence in the Church of Norway, despite being one of many elements in the current eclectic church music practices.¹⁰

⁵ Anna Maria Böckerman-Peitsalo, *Objektivitet och liturgisk förankring: Strävanden att införa ny saklighet inom kyrkomusik och gudstjänstliv i Borgå stift åren 1923-1943*, Åbo akademis förlag, Åbo, 2005, pp 18-19.

⁶ Gunnel Fagius (Gunnel Törnquist Andersson), *Den kyrkliga hymnen för blandad kör a cappella i 1930-talets Sverige: Kyrkosångsförbundet och en "ny saklighet,"* unpublished *trebetingsuppsats* (three-semester thesis), University of Uppsala, 1970.

⁷ Carl-Allan Moberg, *Kyrkomusikens historia*, Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, Stockholm, 1932, pp. 500-549.

⁸ Gustav Aulén, *Högmissans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt*, Diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, Stockholm, 1961, p. 179.

⁹ See also Gunnel Fagius' later publication, Gunnel Fagius, "Lär oss betänka ..." *Ny saklighet i svensk kyrkomusik, Svensk musikhistoria på fonogram*, Swedish Music Anthology, MS 607, 1985.

¹⁰ Sigbjørn Apeland, *Kyrkjemusikdiskursen: Musikklivet i Den norske kyrkje som diskursiv praksis*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Bergen, Bergen, 2005, p. 160. Available online at https://bora.uib.no/handle/1956/656?mode=full&submit_simple=Vis+fullstendig+innf%C3%B8rrelse

A recent review of Böckerman-Peitsalo's research by Anders Dillmar has highlighted a number of important points that provide additional justification for the current study.¹¹ In particular, Dillmar comments on the necessity of placing a study of the *neue Sachlichkeit* into an international sphere, treating it as a movement rather than an *arbeitsprogram*, wherein both corporate and individual responses may be evaluated. Furthermore, he states that many important questions remain to be explicated in regard to the developmental history of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in the Nordic region. Writing from a Swedish perspective, Dillmar notes that no comparable study of the influence of the *neue Sachlichkeit* on Swedish church music has been completed (with the exception of that by Gunnel Fagius), nor have comparable studies have been published at a general and international level. The present study will address some of these concerns, particularly in relation to the chorale prelude.

Sources

For reasons related to concision, literature informing this research is reviewed in relevant chapters in the main text. Apart from *Pro organo*, the primary focus and source material of this research, empirical research materials include protocols of national Episcopal conferences of the Church of Norway, articles in journals and newspapers, (especially *Sangen*, *Norsk Musikkliv* and *Medlemsblad for Norges Organistforbund* (MNO), as well as *Morgenbladet* and *Aftenposten*) parish newsletters and other church publications, hymnals and chorale books (especially LR, NN, KNK and its revisions until 1936, as well as PSK), compositional draft materials, and finally letters and other personal communications with relevant figures. Four videotaped interviews between the author and Per Hjort Albertsen, Anfinn Øien, Kjell Mørk Karlsen and Per Lønning, all of whom are associated with developments explored in the thesis provide unique material. These interviews are transcribed in Appendix B.¹² It has not been possible to locate archival material related to the publication of *Pro organo* by Harald Lyche & Co.

Terms

This research utilises a number of terms that require explication and limitation. The following clarifications are neither exhaustive nor exclusive, but are intended to assist the researcher and reader in limiting the scope of the research as well as clarifying respective contextual meanings.

¹¹ Anders Dillmar, Recensioner och anmälningar, in *Svensk Gudstjänstliv* 83 (Heliga rum i dagens Sverige), 2008, pp. 153-158.

¹² See Appendix B, pp. 226-300. These interviews are not translated into English.

Historical

The term historical is used predominantly to differentiate between two composition groupings in *Pro organo*, namely 20th-century compositions and historical works written between ca. 1480 and 1780.

Historicism

The term historicism may be defined in a variety of ways depending on context, discipline and time-perspective. The term may have philosophical and practical applications: relative historicism attempts to explore and understand a historic practice or occurrence; retrospective historicism refers to attempts to restore historic practices to the present context.¹³ Attempts to define and explore historical practices and thereafter utilise them in a later context (an important part of *neue Sachlichkeit* understandings of idealised church music in the Nordic region) can therefore be seen as a combination of both relative and retrospective historicism. The term historicism has also been used since the early 19th century as a descriptor of historically informed practices of performing early music, as well as for the use of historical compositional techniques. According to Carl Dahlhaus, early music in this context is music composed before ca. 1740, a traditional dividing period between the awkwardly delineated classical and romantic periods.¹⁴

Liturgy

The term liturgy (Gr. *Leitourgia*) has its etymological roots in the Greek words *laos* (people) and *ergon* (work), and literally means a public commission of and for the people. In the present context liturgy is interpreted as a semi-permanent practised Christian religious ceremony and may thus be considered synonymous with the church service in this Lutheran context. As such, the term liturgy can also embrace all aspects of the contents of such a church service, including rituals, music and text-based ordinances. The three basic church service types (liturgies) in use in the Church of Norway have been, broadly speaking, based on one of the following models, listed here in prioritised order of use in both the study period and following the reformation.

¹³ Carl Dahlhaus, Historismus, in Ludvig Fischer (ed), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 4, Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1996, pp. 335-338.

¹⁴ Dahlhaus, 1996, p. 338.

- *Gudstjeneste* (Preaching service), a truncated form of the *Høymesse* ending with a blessing following the sermon
- *Høymesse* (Eucharistic service), largely following the established structure (*ordo*) of the pre-reformational mass
- *Aftensang* or Vesper services (Evening office) loosely based on one or more historical canonical offices.

Interpretations and practices associated with these liturgies in the Church of Norway are expounded in Chapter 2.

Hymnological terms

The term chorale (*korale*) refers to the music associated with a hymn text: in other words, both the melodic and harmonic material. Where any confusion may arise this is clarified in the text. The term hymnal (*salmebok*) refers (usually) to text-only versions of the standard hymnbook, while chorale book (*koralebok*) refers to the melody and harmony editions of the same. Norwegian language-use and hymnological terminology, while largely concordant with the other Scandinavian languages, differs significantly from those of most other languages. The term *salme* (from the Greek _____, *psalmos*) is used to denote biblical, paraphrasal and other religious strophic verse set to music. This reflects the fact that the Psalter in post-reformation Denmark-Norway gradually disappeared from the service life of the church, although the psalms remained in use in the private sphere.

Style

The term style is used to denote a conceptual strategy or ideal. It is used to define the means with which a work is created in terms of its thought or dialectical processes, or its empirical nature; in other words, the sum of important elements in a given work. In terms of Nordic church music, the concept of *neue Sachlichkeit* can be considered a style in itself, albeit under various subheadings or as separate ideals in themselves, such as the ‘pure style’ of the Palestrina school, *Gebrauchsmusik* and *Orgelbewegung*-influenced organ building, and as a compositional music genre associated with historical sound principles. However, *neue Sachlichkeit* is a term which in ecclesial contexts has been associated not only with music, but also liturgies and service life. It is a complex, interwoven collection of elements, which together constitute a source of renewal, in which music is but one aspect. Thus other music styles have also been considered relevant to the broad concept of the *neue Sachlichkeit*,

including Gregorian chant as well as certain renaissance and baroque composition forms. Furthermore, **romanticism**, a common style denominator for the preceding period, and relevant as an aesthetic until well into the 20th century, represents an opposite polarity. Both *neue Sachlichkeit* and romanticism may be seen to represent traditional modes of expression when compared with radical experimentalism in the schools of Vienna and Paris. However, like the impetus behind the liturgical reform movement of the late 19th century, the transition towards the *neue Sachlichkeit* in music composition was recognised as renewing an aesthetic in decline. For this reason, modes of expression, such as those found in Thomas Laub's book *Musik og kirke*¹⁵ focus on ways to **purify** music from programmatic, atmospheric or bravura-related forms of **sentimentality** (which in organ music might manifest itself in for example colourist registration, chromatic harmony, legato articulation or *rubato*) which was not directly related to the liturgy or word. The importance of providing ecclesial music which served primarily to support scripture, where the elements of composition (in order of importance: melody, harmony and rhythm) were treated simply and without excessive embellishment was seen as a principal goal.

Method

This research may be described as historical liturgy-based musicology within an interdisciplinary framework that draws upon a number of methodologies and disciplines. A **lexicological** approach is taken in dealing with the concept of *neue Sachlichkeit*, drawing upon understandings of the term in diverse contexts in order to attain an informed grasp of its application to liturgical organ music.

In respect of the musical repertoire of *Pro organo* the approach is **musico-analytical**. To this end a large *Excel* database was developed to record basic information about every piece in the collection, such as hymn and chorale-book concordances, associated text(s), sources (for historical works), bar length, structure, dissonance frequency and performance and registration indications. In addition, details of *cantus firmus* presentation (complete, incomplete, rhythmic or isorhythmic version, use of decoration) and the use of imitation or otherwise was documented. The elementary analysis involved in this process allowed for the identification of three categories of chorale prelude based on the use of imitation and its relationship with the *cantus firmus*, thus providing for a structured analytical discussion in Chapters 4 and 5. Because an analysis of all 323 *Pro organo* works would be both impractical

¹⁵ Thomas Laub, *Musik og kirke*, Poul Kristensens Forlag, Herning, 1997.

and undesirable, it was decided that the discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 would take into account representative examples of chorale preludes in each of the three categories. The material contained in the database has made possible a fair selection and has also provided ease of contextual reference when discussing the selected works. Because the present study is very much concerned with the liturgical function of the works under discussion and particular concepts underlying the choice, style, composition and performance of the works, the analytical method has reached beyond the theoretical approach exemplified in the writings of scholars of the generation of Willi Apel (1893-1988), where emphasis was placed on the purely musical context, to one focussed on the reasons why particular styles, textures and performance methods were chosen or produced by the compilers, Karlsen and Nielsen. Thus the analytical method approaches that expounded by the ‘new musicology’¹⁶ where the musical work is viewed, analysed and discussed as a product of a particular culture or ideology.

The study also embraces aspects of the **genetic empirical method**, particularly in dealing with matters of historical background. This research method is frequently used in hymnological research in the Nordic countries.¹⁷ This method argues that factual information from each epoch, and in general all historical dating, are of necessity a means to an end rather than an end to themselves. Objective collection of facts and dating is required, indeed necessary, since one can thereby clarify occurrences in connection with each other, including their connection in gestation and development (the genetic connectors).¹⁸

Organology, a sub-discipline of musicology involving the study of musical instruments and their construction also features in this study, providing a deal of factual information which is subsequently linked to other historical events surrounding the production of *Pro organo*. **Oral history**, in the form of interviews with contemporaries of Karlsen and Nielsen provides yet further factual material with which to develop a rational discourse. This traditional **qualitative** method has required a flexible approach to observational and interviewing circumstances, and while lacking the rigour of step by step questioning of

¹⁶ See, for example, Susan McClary, *Feminine endings: Music, gender & sexuality*, 2nd edition, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2002, pp. x-xi; David Beard & Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: the key concepts*, Routledge, London, 2005, pp. 122-124.

¹⁷ See Böckerman-Peitsalo, pp. 19-21, and Karl-Johan Hansson, *En levande församlingsång: 1968 års svenska koralrevision i Finland: idé och verklighet*, dissertation published by Journal of the board of Åbo Akademi forskningsinstitut no. 108, Åbo, Vasa, 1985.

¹⁸ Pentti Renvall, *Den moderna historieforskningsprinciper*, Natur och Kultur, Stockholm, 1965, p. 10.

interview subjects, has been an important formative element in the scope and focus of this research. The requisite tension between assumptions, observations and responses in such interviews has attained the role of an informal testing arena for emerging understandings of concepts during the research process.¹⁹

However, the overriding arm of methodology underpinning this study is that of **interpretation**, where the quest is to understand the *raison d'être* of a musical source in the light of a particular ideology, in this case, the *neue Sachlichkeit*. Here, the approach is hermeneutic and conceptual, using the principle of the **hermeneutic circle**,²⁰ with the aim of reconciling a large corpus of music to the *neue Sachlichkeit* ideology and in the context of wider developments in Norwegian liturgical custom and sacred organ music. The intertextuality of this research means that the interpretative foundation is based on layers of understanding, and while by nature only provisional, it is seen that by so contextualising the subject of research, it is provided with a recursive foundation upon which further research might build.²¹

Limitations

A number of important and necessary limitations have been imposed on this study. It does not attempt to provide a comprehensive study of *neue Sachlichkeit* in Norwegian church music. Although it is highly arguable that *Pro organo* exerted considerable influence on Norwegian liturgical organ culture both in its contemporary context and in succeeding decades, this factor is not explored in detail in this study. Rather the source is positioned historically through analysis of its contents, through consideration of the compilation's capacity for influence by way of its structure, editorial style and content, through comparison and contrast with previous Norwegian organ repertoire, and through examination of its reception as documented in contemporary reviews. Also excluded is the issue of original chorale tune restoration, which, although it impinges on choices made by the *Pro organo* compilers, is a specifically hymnological issue that has been deemed outside the scope of this study. Furthermore, it does not attempt to provide a complete study of each work in the collection of *Pro organo*, although a selection process outlined in Chapters 3.3, 4.1 and 5.1 provides the basis for assumptions made for the collection as a whole.

¹⁹ Dvora Yanow (ed), *Interpretation and method: Empirical research methods and the interpretive turn*, M. E. Sharpe Inc, Armonk, New York, 2005, p. xvi. For online ebrary source see <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ntnu/Doc?id=10178122&ppg=16>

²⁰ Yanow, 2005, p. 16.

²¹ Yanow, 2005, p. 16.

There are no consistent attempts to characterise the comparative differences between the works of Karlsen and Nielsen, nor are their works composed in other contexts provided with clear positioning in regard to the *neue Sachlichkeit*, and this research does not provide a study of the performance of the works in *Pro organo* in the context of the service life of the Church of Norway since 1951. Furthermore, the works in *Pro organo* is not extensively compared with non-Norwegian contemporary *Gebrauchsmusik* composition. The analyses provided in Chapters 4 and 5 are focussed on identifying features consistent (or otherwise) with the *neue Sachlichkeit* and how it was understood in Norway. In line with the ongoing and recursive nature of musicological research, recommendations for further investigations and study are provided in the conclusions.

Disposition

The study seeks to embrace and interpret the entire contents of *Pro organo*, both historical and contemporary, along with the editorial explanations and appendices and features of editorial style. All of these elements carry important evidence reflective of a conceptual vision held by the editors. Although the focus is on the chorale preludes in the source, especially a number of representative works chosen for detailed comment, other historically based works are referred to by way of comparison in order to establish the impact of particular *neue Sachlichkeit* style principles. This dissertation is sectioned in a broadly chronological approach, where the foundation of the *neue Sachlichkeit* as it was understood in the 1920s is investigated in Chapter 1, together with its component parts in later understandings of the term. Chapter 2 investigates the Norwegian church music situation from ca. 1926 to the publication of *Pro organo*, focussing on the authorised liturgical and hymnological resources in use and the role and influence of early proponents of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Norway (both organisational and individual). Chapter 3 provides an overview of the gestation of *Pro organo* and a detailed description of its contents, editorial methods and reception. This chapter also provides selection criteria used to choose works for analysis in the final two chapters. Chapter 4 investigates selected historical works published in *Pro organo* using descriptive analysis based primarily on *cantus firmus* and imitation usage. Similarly, Chapter 5 presents an analysis of selected contemporary works by Karlsen and Nielsen, comparing them with the historical works discussed in Chapter 4 and the principles of the *neue Sachlichkeit* described in the preliminary chapters.

The referencing and footnote system used is commonly known as the Oxford style or author-title system, following the model found in the *Australian Style manual for authors*,

editors and printers, 6th edition.²² Where necessary, this has been modified for Norwegian references.²³ Square brackets are used throughout to indicate editorial alterations or clarifications.

²² Department of Finance & Administration, *Style manual: For authors, editors and printers*, 6th ed., Wiley Australia, Brisbane, 2002.

²³ For example, alphabetical orderings are based on the Norwegian alphabet (æ, ø and å are the final letters of the alphabet).

1

The *neue Sachlichkeit* in music: Definition and limitations

1.1 Historical perspectives of the *neue Sachlichkeit*

A key assumption of this study is that the *neue Sachlichkeit* is a functional and encompassing term related to a range of artistic and non-artistic endeavours. It reflects 20th-century church practices through liturgical renewal, including congregational involvement, restoration of early pre- and post-reformation practices and an interest in idealised church music and historical organ building. Böckerman-Peitsalo has established that church music practices reflecting *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals were established in evangelical Lutheran churches in the wider Nordic region prior to the 1950s, the decade when *Pro organo* was formulated and published in Norway.²⁴ This chapter will examine the general understandings, history and application of these practices. In the first instance, however, it will seek to provide a definition of *neue Sachlichkeit* and to unravel the diverse strands of thought that have been associated with this problematic term. Various contexts will be explored to expose different understandings and applications. In particular, cultural areas such as art, architecture, literature and secular music will be investigated, followed by a consideration of the application of the concept to church music and its reform in Germany and the Nordic countries during the first half of the 20th century.

In the comprehensive study *Dancing on a volcano: Essays on the culture of the Weimar republic* (1994), Jost Hermand has argued that the *neue Sachlichkeit* was a direct result of economic developments concerning the ideologies behind rationalisation and extended commercialisation of industry in the 1920s.²⁵ The term has also taken on a number of other

²⁴ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 338.

²⁵ Jost Hermand, *Neue Sachlichkeit: Ideology, lifestyle or artistic movement?* in Thomas Kniesche & Stephen Brockman (eds), *Dancing on a volcano: Essays on the culture of the Weimar republic*, Camden House, Columbia, 1994, pp. 57-67.

meanings. It has been used to describe a wide array of issues and aspects of culture and society from the turbulent inter-war years until the last decades of the 20th century. In all facets of its cultural application, including music, visual arts, literature and architecture, the *neue Sachlichkeit* is understood as being a reaction against both romanticism and expressionism.²⁶ Terms associated with this movement include essentialism, reality, rationality and objectivity. One aim was to codify and grasp understandable, reasonable and everyday activities that could be clarified through or considered in themselves as objects of art.²⁷

The *neue Sachlichkeit* debate is complex, contradictory and usually revolves around definitions of the term rather than the issues to which it may be conveniently attached as a descriptor. Deciding what is and what is not and what may not be *neue Sachlichkeit* has become as important as the commentary on the issues themselves.²⁸ It is even possible that there may be more reasons to avoid the term than there are possible uses for it. However, as Deborah Smail has contended, instead of arguing for a redefinition of the term, much may be gained from investigating the common threads in its use.²⁹

1.2 Political, commercial, social and artistic dimensions of the *neue Sachlichkeit*

The first use of the term *neue Sachlichkeit* dates from the early 20th century. As Helmut Lethen shows in his important study, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932*, it denoted economic developments in German society from the turn of the century.³⁰ In a sociological survey Georg Simmel also applied the term to social relations as early as 1903.³¹ From the early 1920s the term was used frequently in conjunction with ideals relating to the process of technical rationalisation in industry and society, and was propagated as a way of life that the population of Weimar Germany was encouraged to adopt.³² The phrase quickly became an associative term for modernisation in politics, fashion, art and culture in general and was also used in music-theatre controversies of the late 1920 and 1930s.³³

²⁶ Nils Grosch, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, in Ludwig Fischer (ed), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Sachteil 7, Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1997, p. 121.

²⁷ Hermand, 1994, pp. 57-58.

²⁸ Deborah Smail, *White-collar workers, mass culture and neue Sachlichkeit in Weimar Berlin. A reading of Hans Fallada's Kleiner Mann – Was nun?, Erich Kästner's Fabian and Irmgard Keun's Das kunstidene Mädchen*, Peter Lang, Berne, 1999, p. 187.

²⁹ Smail, 1999, p. 190.

³⁰ Helmut Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932: Studien zur Literatur des „Weißen Sozialismus“*, Metzler Studienausgabe, J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1970, pp. 8-10.

³¹ Smail, 1999, p. 189.

³² Smail, 1999, p. 189.

³³ Grosch, 1997, pp. 121-129.

With respect to visual arts, the term was first applied by German artist Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub (1884-1963). He used the term from 1923 in connection with the organisation and promotion of an exhibition of post-expressionist paintings.³⁴ Hartlaub's exhibition was finally staged in 1925 under the title *Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus*, showing 43 works by George Grosz (1893-1959), Otto Dix (1891-1969), Max Beckmann (1884-1950), Georg Schrimpf (1889-1938), Alexander Kanoldt (1881-1939), Carlo Mense (1886-1965), Georg Scholz (1890-1945) and Heinrich Davringhausen (1894-1970).³⁵ Together with Christian Schad (1894-1982), Dix, Grosz and Schrimpf are acknowledged as major representatives of this style.³⁶ Hartlaub distinguished between two different styles of painting which portrayed aspects of the *neue Sachlichkeit*; these were the right wing neo-classicism, embracing Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Kay H. Nebel (1888-1953), and the left wing realism, represented by Max Beckmann, George Grosz, Otto Dix, Hans Christoph Drexel (1886-1979) and Georg Scholz.³⁷ Although these two tendencies were at least politically opposed, one may assume that the primary aim of Hartlaub was to present works that were formally different from the prevailing expressionist trend. While some writers have considered the *neue Sachlichkeit* to be a realist counter-movement to expressionism and abstraction, the choice of subject material arguably prevented it from becoming merely reactionary, reflecting Hartlaub's qualifying description, namely new realism bearing a socialist flavour.³⁸

Neue Sachlichkeit artists used a variety of approaches. For example, in painting, a reduced colour palette might be used, depicting correctly drawn or identifiable objects in a succinct form of expression, sometimes depicting strong, non-esoteric societal commentaries directed at a universal audience, as seen in the works of Otto Dix such as that shown in Figure 1.1.

³⁴ Nils Grosch, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, in Stanley Sadie (ed), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd edition, vol. 17, Macmillan, London, 2001, pp. 781-782.

³⁵ Fritz Schmalenbach, *The term neue Sachlichkeit*, in *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (September), 1940, p. 161.

³⁶ Karl Ruhrberg & Ingo F. Walther (eds), *Art of the 20th century*, volume 1, Taschen, Cologne, 2005, p. 187.

³⁷ Schmalenbach, 1940, pp. 161-165.

³⁸ Gustav Hartlaub, Introduction to "New Objectivity": German painting since expressionism, in Anton Kaes, Martin Jay & Edward Dimendberg (eds), *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994, pp. 492-493.



Figure 1.1 Otto Dix: *Sturmtruppe geht unter Gas vor* (Storm troops advancing under a gas attack), 1924, The Poynton Bequest, National Gallery of Victoria, 2003. © Otto Dix, reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Victoria

This form of painting has been called social realist art, an art form that unsentimentally examined the decadence and underlying social inequality of post-war German society.³⁹ The objectives of the artist (communicating to a mass audience) are manifestly apparent. Similarly, architecture and design was also focused on functionalism, using clean lines, simple shapes, user-friendly interfaces and efficient production methods. In the fields of literature and poetry, the movement was expressed through direct language and metaphorical spatialisation, mechanical similes and simplified collectivism.⁴⁰

With the ever-increasing popularity of *neue Sachlichkeit* tendencies in the 1920s, post-expressionist painters grappled with a variety of terms to describe new styles, particularly because they did not form an independent group or publish any theoretical treatise.⁴¹ This absence of uniform nomenclature led to a Babylonian confusion of names, such as *neuer Naturalismus*, *Verismus*, *Neuklassizismus*, *Purismus*, *Neorealismus*, *Exemplarischer Realismus* and *Neunazarenertum*.⁴²

In Hartlaub's later description of the two groups identified earlier, he differentiates between classicists or *Magischer Realismus* proponents (a term first found in artist Franz

³⁹ Ruhrberg, 2005, p. 184; Mark Henshaw, *The art of war: Otto Dix's Der Krieg cycle 1924*, exhibition catalogue, National gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 2008, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Smail, 1999, pp. 191-193.

⁴¹ Wendy Faris & Zamora Parkinson (eds), *Magical realism: Theory, history, community*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1995, p. 33.

⁴² Michael Scheffel, *Magischer Realismus: Die Geschichte eines Begriffes und ein Versuch seiner Bestimmung*, Stauffenburg-Verlag, Tübingen, 1990, p. 17.

Roh's book *Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neusten europäischen Malerei*⁴³ for those who search “more for the object of *timeless* validity to embody the eternal laws of existence in the artistic sphere” and Verist proponents (*verismus*), for those who tear “the objective form of the world of contemporary facts and projects current experience in its tempo and fevered temperature.”⁴⁴ Although the distinction between the groups is fluid, the Verists can be thought of as the more revolutionary wing of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, epitomized by Otto Dix and George Grosz. Their vehement form of realism distorted appearances to emphasize the ugly, as ugliness was the reality these artists wished to expose, seen clearly in Grosz's *Stützen der Gesellschaft* (The pillars of society, 1926) shown in Figure 1.2. This art was raw, provocative, and harshly satirical. Other important Verists include Christian Schad and Georg Scholz. Max Beckmann, who never considered himself part of any movement, has been considered a clear exponent of the Verist school, despite categorisation as an impressionist, expressionist and parodist.⁴⁵



Figure 1.2 George Grosz: *Stützen der Gesellschaft* (The pillars of society), 1926. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.⁴⁶

⁴³ Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus - Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neusten europäischen Malerei*, Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig, 1925.

⁴⁴ Hartlaub, 1994, p. 492.

⁴⁵ Leon Golub, Max, in *Tate Magazine*, Issue 3, 2002, <http://www.tate.org.uk/magazine/issue3/maxbeckman.htm>, accessed 2 July 2008.

⁴⁶ Source: <http://www.abcgallery.com/G/grosz/grosz26.html>, accessed 2 July 2008.

Compared to the Verists, the *magischer Realismus* style exemplifies the post-World War I return to order that arose in the arts throughout Europe, finding expression in neoclassicism. The *magischer Realismus* proponents, including Georg Schrimpf, were a diverse group who encompassed the almost photographic realism of Schad and the gentle neo-primitivism of Schrimpf. The influence of the recently discovered Swiss painter Félix Vallotton (1865-1925) has been considered apparent in the sour realism of several of both the *magischer Realismus* proponents and Verists.⁴⁷

In 1925, Roh drew up a comparative table of differences between expressionism and post-expressionism, shown in Table 1.1, in order to define *Magischer Realismus*. This table shows contrasting themes, wherein the qualities listed under post-expressionism may be equally applied to the *neue Sachlichkeit*. The strong dichotomies between the *neue Sachlichkeit* and the preceding movement are clearly shown, and many expressionist tendencies are reversed or altered to create as strong a contrast as possible.

Expressionism	Post-expressionism
Ecstatic objects	Plain objects
Many religious themes	Few religious themes
The subdued object	The explanatory object
Rhythmic	Representative
Arousing	Engrossing
Outgoing	Strict, puritanical
Dynamic	Static
Loud	Quiet
Summary	Sustained
Obvious (close-up image)	Obvious and yet enigmatic (close-up and distant images)
Forward-looking, floating	Also backward-looking
Large in form	Large in form and multi-sectioned
Monumental	Miniature
Warm	Cool to cold
Thick colouration	Thin layer of colour
Roughened	Smooth, dislodged
Like uncut stone	Like polished metal
Work process preserved, leaving traces	Work process effaced, pure objectification
Expressive deformation of objects	Harmonic cleansing of objects
Rich in diagonals, often angled acutely	Rectangular, with parallel frame
Straining against the edges of the image	Fixed within edges of the image
Primitive	Civilized, cultivated

Table 1.1 Contrasts between expressionism and post-expressionism as proposed by Franz Koh (1925).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ruhrberg, 2005, pp. 25 & 823.

⁴⁸ Roh, 1925, pp. 119-120. See also Kaes, Jay & Dimendberg, 1994, p. 493. Original text: See Appendix C, p. 296. Translation by the author.

In comparing these contrasts with the present context, of particular significance is the expressive, subjective and decorated object, replaced by the pure, functional and undecorated form. This form or composition, whether musical or otherwise, comprises the very essence of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in cultural expression. Another related trend reflecting the *neue Sachlichkeit* is the *neue Photographie* (new photography) movement, for which Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897-1966) and August Sander (1876-1964) were leading representatives, bringing a sharply focused, documentary quality to photographic art,⁴⁹ a factor also recognised by Roh in 1925.⁵⁰

One of the more obvious and important social effects of the *neue Sachlichkeit* was its proclaimed use in commercial, public and private architecture, the commercialisation of industry and, if one takes the consequences of Hermand's claims to their utmost consequences, even the commercialisation of life itself.⁵¹ Like the stark, revealing and uncompromising nature of *neue Photographie*, *neue Sachlichkeit*-influenced architecture has arguably been a strong influence on 20th century industrial design, typified in the functionalism and clean lines of Arne Jacobsen's Danish modernism in architecture and furniture design, and commercialised and made ubiquitous by IKEA since 1955.

The *neue Sachlichkeit* in architecture, as in painting and literature, describes German work of the transitional years of the early 1920s in Weimar culture, and as a direct reaction to the stylistic excesses of Expressionist architecture and marking changes in German national spirit. The early works of Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953), such as the monumental and seemingly impractical solar observatory, the *Einsteinturm* (1919-1924) in Potsdam, Berlin, shown in Figure 1.3, epitomise the decadence of expressionism.

⁴⁹ Ruhrberg, 2005, pp. 637-638.

⁵⁰ Roh, 1925, p. 42-52.

⁵¹ Hermand, 1994, p. 57.



Figure 1.3 Erich Mendelsohn: *Einsteinturm*, Telegrafenberg, at the *Astrophysikalisches Institut*, Potsdam, 1919-1924. © Katja Hakel, 2002, reproduced by permission.

Architects such as Hans Poelzig (1869-1936), Bruno Taut (1880-1938) and Erich Mendelsohn turned to the *neue Sachlichkeit* in search of straightforward, functional, matter-of-fact approaches to construction, which became known in Germany as *Neues Bauen* (New Building). Flourishing in the brief period between the adoption of the Dawes plan and the rise of Nazism, the *Neues Bauen* movement encompassed public exhibitions like the *Weissenhof Estate* in Stuttgart, the massive urban planning and public housing projects of Taut and Ernst May (1886-1970). This development included strong social statements of equality, space and hygiene in the *Existenzminimum*,⁵² and the internationally influential experiments at the *Bauhaus*.⁵³ This style, often celebrated as functional architecture that rejected ornamentation, favoured instead a simple, rationalist style reflecting the needs of the people and the modern, democratic, technologically minded times. The style was treated indiscriminately and democratically in all building forms and functions, from housing projects to cinemas, shops and dancing halls.⁵⁴ Although functionalism is purportedly based on simple, effective designs which provide the most cost effective and efficient work and living areas, the logical inference that such a design philosophy should therefore allow for multi-faceted design possibilities suited to specific and individual use is not realised. As such, the term is oxymoronic.

⁵² Sverre Flack, *Personal telephone communication with the author*, 3 July 2008.

⁵³ Jonathan Glancey, *20th century architecture: The structures that shaped the century*, Carlton Books, Oxford, 1998, p. 142.

⁵⁴ Smail, 1999, p. 198.

This *neue Sachlichkeit* architectural style, rooted in functionality and smooth, easy to clean surfaces, provided inspiration across the globe, even to the extent that such architecture was well established internationally by the middle 1930s. Like many European housing projects in the 1930s, the inner city area of Voldsminde, Trondheim, provides an example of the innate practicality of such buildings. Norwegian architect Sverre Pedersen (1882-1971) designed three and four-story apartment blocks in rendered pre-fabricated concrete forms. Modelled on a similar concept in Leipzig, these buildings contained two-room dwellings of 47 m², all with common laundry areas, the first built-in bathrooms in the city, cheap and effective heating and a single, large bedroom which was advertised in contemporary sales documents as suitable for families of up to 6 persons.⁵⁵ While not the first functionalist buildings in Trondheim, the Voldsminde housing complex, shown in Figure 1.4 (completed 1935-1940) was the first large-scale planned housing estate in the style.⁵⁶ The simplicity of these buildings was strongly contrasted with the hierarchical building style that had been current until that time, where apartment and house constructions contained formal and informal areas. Additionally, the functionality of pre-fabricated concrete slab construction allowed for rapid and cheap building processes.



Figure 1.4 Voldsminde housing complex, Trondheim, designed by Sverre Pedersen and constructed 1935-1940. Image © David Scott Hamnes, 2007.

⁵⁵ A.S. Jernbeton Trondheim, *Voldsminde bebyggelsen, Østbyen: Trondheim [sic] nyeste og mest moderne boligkompleks*, Trondheim, unknown publisher, 1935, p. 6.

⁵⁶ The first functionalist building in Trondheim is recognised to be the Meland building, built in 1931 and designed by Pedersen's student and assistant, Marie Sofie (Maja) Melandsø (1906-1981). See Unknown author, Fin og feminine funkis, in *Adresseavisen*, 1 November 2002, <http://www.adressa.no/nyheter/article85344.ece>, accessed 2 July 2008.

Later interpretations of functionalism in architecture have focussed on the interaction between the user and the building (individually and collectively), through reciprocal respect and freedom, through open-plan, flexible spaces adapted to the environment, the rejection of ornamentation and exposed construction methods.⁵⁷ Jost Hermand claims that the democratic aspirations of the governments of Weimar Germany were placed both in the acceleration of economic expansion and in the increasing commercialisation of leisure time. It was anticipated that by introducing new technologies and rationalising industrial production there would be a decline in the industrial proletariat and an increase in the number of workers involved in administration and services. This increase in free time brought about by the mechanisation of processes meant that more time could be devoted by the masses to corporate cultural events and activities. To Hermand, this is the spirit of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, and in this way he interprets it as an inspiration to achieve a more equal and democratic society.⁵⁸ Thus equality, societal participation, collective and democratic processes, ordered leisure life and standardised, efficient housing solutions were also evidence of the new rationalisation of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

1.3 Music, *neue Sachlichkeit* and *Gebrauchsmusik*

The influence of the *neue Sachlichkeit* on music is less widely documented, although it was a concurrent stream at the time. Usually associated with reductionist techniques and a diffident, introverted style without extravagant, lush or exuberant statements, amalgamated with neo-classicist tendencies (although not directly assimilated with neoclassicism),⁵⁹ the style is now accepted as anti-romantic, anti-individualistic and highly structured.⁶⁰ One of the most significant terms in use concurrent with the *neue Sachlichkeit* is *Gebrauchsmusik* (in Norwegian, *bruksmusikk*: music for use, utility music or applied music). The term is commonly associated with Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) and his writings in the late 1920s, although he is not the source of the term.⁶¹

Gebrauchsmusik is a term derived from attempts to relativise music from its antonym, namely musical autonomy, leading towards socially useful and culturally relevant musical

⁵⁷ Edward Foley, *From age to age: How Christians celebrated the Eucharist*, Liturgy Training Publications, Chicago, 1991, pp. 148-149.

⁵⁸ Hermand, 1994, p. 59.

⁵⁹ Gay, 2007, p. 261.

⁶⁰ Gay, 2007, p. 262.

⁶¹ A comprehensive account of the term is found in Stephen Hinton, *The idea of Gebrauchsmusik: A study of musical aspects in the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) with particular reference to the works of Paul Hindemith*, Garland Publishing, New York & London, 1989, pp. 1-33.

expression.⁶² The term reflects a duality of thought. Paul Nettl (1889-1972) was one of the early writers to have used the term to differentiate 17th-century dance music into two categories: *Vortragsmusik*, or music which served no specific purpose but was based upon existing dance music principles, and *Gebrauchsmusik*, or music that served a specific purpose: that is, music which served to accompany dance.⁶³ Leo Kestenberg (1882-1962), music advisor to the Prussian ministry of science, culture and education, used the term to describe the difference between occasional music and concert music, claiming in 1921 that “*Gebrauchsmusik* is artistically as important as, and nowadays materially more promising than, concert music.”⁶⁴ In making these distinctions Nettl and Kestenberg applied a clear value judgment to music, providing an aesthetic that relied upon function and context integral (*umgangsmässig*) to social existence.⁶⁵ This view quickly gained currency through the use of the term by critics, musicologists and composers. The German youth music movement (*Singbewegung*), as described by German musicologist Adam Adrio (1901-1973) in 1965⁶⁶ considerably influenced the spread of *Gebrauchsmusik* by encouraging active participation in and critical listening to music rather than mere passive listening. This movement gave rise to a significant call for undemanding music for small forces that could be performed by amateurs. Simultaneous movements in France associated with the composer group *Les Six* were also a source of cross-fertilisation.⁶⁷ Combining the descriptive and the normative, the writings of Heinrich Bessler (1900-1969) provide the most sophisticated account of *Gebrauchsmusik* of this period. Influenced by his teacher, philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), Bessler raised phenomenological questions such as the role of participation or ‘use’ of music in its appreciation, claiming that true appreciation cannot be attained solely through these means.⁶⁸ Bessler later applied the term to motets of the 13th and 14th centuries, arguing that this music was not created for aesthetic enjoyment, nor did it concern the listener, but served primarily as an aid to prayer and observation.⁶⁹ Bessler further developed his theories through interpreting Heidegger’s distinction between the object or thing (*Ding*) and the instrument or apparatus (*Zeug*) as

⁶² Foley, 1991, p. 153.

⁶³ Hinton, 1989, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Leo Kestenberg, *Musikerziehung und Musikpflege*, unknown publisher, Leipzig, 1921, p. 108, cited in Stephen Hinton, *Gebrauchsmusik*, in Stanley Sadie (ed), *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd edition, Vol 9, Macmillan, London, 2001, p. 620.

⁶⁵ Hinton, 1989, p. 35.

⁶⁶ Antony Ruff, *Sacred music and liturgical reform: Treasures and transformations*, Hillenbrand Books, Chicago, 2007, pp. 132-134; see also Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 30.

⁶⁷ Hinton, 2001, pp. 619-621.

⁶⁸ Heinrich Bessler, *Beiträge zur Stilgeschichte der deutschen Suite im 17. Jahrhundert*, doctoral dissertation, University of Freiburg, Freiburg, 1923, p. 14.

⁶⁹ Heinrich Bessler, *Grundfragen des musikalischen Hörens*, in *Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik und Musikgeschichte*, Reclam, Leipzig, 1978 (first published 1926), p. 43.

specific music-related concepts, namely autonomous music (*eigenständige Musik*) and utility or applied music (*Gebrauchsmusik*). The first concept was directly related to abstract concert music, a much debated and historically recent phenomenon, assimilable to the narcotic effects of late romantic music that removed the mundane from the concert hall. The other refers to music in which both aesthetics and contemplation are irrelevant. A citation from Bessler's 1925 lecture⁷⁰ encapsulates his early definition of the term:

Gebrauchsmusik represents for the individual something of equal rank to his other activities, something with which he has dealings in the way one has dealings with things of everyday use, without having to overcome any distance beforehand, that is, without having to adopt an aesthetic attitude. Bearing this in mind, one might define the basic characteristic of *Gebrauchsmusik* as *umgangsmässig* [pertaining to *Umgang* or 'dealing with']. All other art ... in some way stands in contrast to Being as self-contained, as *eigenständig* [autonomous].⁷¹

In his later writing Bessler preferred the descriptors *Darbietungsmusik* (presentation music) and *Umgangsmusik* (ambient music), the latter subsequently appropriated to describe background music or muzak. It may be argued that this is also a form of *Gebrauchsmusik*. *Darbietungsmusik* was considered by Bessler to be an adequate descriptor for abstract concert hall music for the middle classes. Bessler's musicological research and argumentation influenced contemporary trends in composition, and supported trends to create *umgangsmässige Musik*, primarily in his work with *Die deutsche Jugendbewegung* or German Youth Movement. These philosophical trends were undoubtedly a significant influence on composers such as Paul Hindemith, Hanns Eisler, (1899-1962) Kurt Weill (1900-1950), Wolfgang Fortner (1907-1987), Ernst Pepping (1901-1981) as well as Hugo Distler (1908-1940) and Hindemith student Hans Friedrich Mischeelsen (1902-1973). Writing in 1930, Hindemith maintained that he had almost completely turned away from concert music in recent years and written, almost without exception, music with pedagogical or social tendencies: for amateurs, for children, mechanical instruments, radio and so on.⁷²

An important question arises from this discussion. Is *Gebrauchsmusik* merely a term for accession where music may receive implications other than those intended by its creator? A worshipping congregation may use or sing an original composition or liturgical text in its original form and by doing so, change the intentions of its creator. Regardless of what the work may have been intended to signify or aspire towards, the interpreted meaning by a

⁷⁰ Bessler, 1978, pp. 29-53.

⁷¹ Hinton, 1989, p. 14; also cited with a revised translation in Hinton, 2001, p. 619.

⁷² Geoffrey Skelton (ed & trans), *Selected letters of Paul Hindemith*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1995, p. 59.

common group of people in a church service context can no longer be one in which the concept of a wholly individualised work is paramount. The parameter of individualised art becomes coincidental. A work of individualised art created outside a church service context may become applied art, in which the artistic individuality and authority it may have contained are transformed, and the only element of real importance is that related to the corporate nature of the work. However, liturgical compositions in themselves may also be considered epigonic works, in that they are of necessity of lesser importance than the liturgical acts or actions they accompany. This aspect of applied art is of particular relevance to this dissertation, which focuses primarily on one aspect of liturgical music, the chorale prelude.

1.3.1 Neoclassicism and historicism

Retrospectivism and stylistic allusion are loose terms for the practice of evoking historical pastiche by certain composers after World War I, and much discourse has attempted to place the concepts within macro and micro contexts.⁷³ The questions posed by Richard Taruskin in his review of several pertinent books relating to these terms voice some of the challenges in describing these trends. Was neoclassicism in the 20th century ‘hardboiled modernism’ or ‘futile nostalgia’?⁷⁴ Can one reach a conclusive definition, or is it just possible to understand its principles? How did neoclassicism relate to its contemporary society, and to the music of the past? Is neoclassicism a concept, a style or simply a practice?⁷⁵ Because the concept is so transient and intransigent, Taruskin concludes that neoclassicism, like the historical performance movement, was “a tendentious journey back to where we had never been.”⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the terms are valuable in describing music that derives its essence from historical sources. The style of neoclassicism usually involves more than one of the following elements: historical structures, small scale ensembles, clear and temperate melodic contrapuntalism and imitation and horizontally focused harmonic language involving non-functional progressions.⁷⁷

⁷³ The reviews contained within the article by Richard Taruskin, *Back to whom? Neoclassicism as ideology*, in *19th-Century Music*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Spring 1993), pp. 286-302, explain some of the positioning which has proliferated during the 20th century in regard to contextualising and defining these terms.

⁷⁴ Taruskin, 1993, p. 287.

⁷⁵ Questions posed in Taruskin, 1993, p. 287.

⁷⁶ Taruskin, 1993, p. 287.

⁷⁷ Ton De Leeuw, *Music of the twentieth century: A study of its elements and structure*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2005, pp. 26-28.

1.3.2 Paul Hindemith

The music of Paul Hindemith has been the subject of much discourse, controversy, conflicting theories and misunderstanding. It is usual to divide Hindemith's output into two style periods, namely early, derivative works in the tradition of Brahms, Strauss and Reger, and later works in a radical, historicist style. This categorisation is, as for all composers, a forced if not futile exercise, but it gives a relatively clear picture of the transition process between two seemingly opposing styles. David Neumeyer's study of Hindemith⁷⁸ views the early works as either interacting with German cultural traditions or even European Christian culture, or reacting without regard to the affable bourgeois opinion of the time.⁷⁹ The dilemma that arose in Hindemith's philosophy of composition may be seen in that both styles are consciously present in much of his music before the seminal work *Mathis der Maler* (1933-1935). However, it was as a "brash young radical" that Hindemith found attention, in works such as *Kammermusikken* Op. 36 (1927). It is here that Hindemith paves the course for his future direction, while reflective historicist tendencies, where *neue Sachlichkeit* reductionist and concision tendencies are most clearly seen, appear after *Sonata for solo cello* Op. 25 No. 3 (1919-1922), a transitional work synthesizing competing styles and techniques.⁸⁰ It combines tonal or modal harmony with dense motivic developments of the later 19th century and Viennese expressionists with raw, atonal irony and a disregard for beauty and objective formalism.⁸¹

Historical reflections of music from as early as the 16th century had been part of the musical language of Europe since Brahms. This acquisitive technique, dependent on dialectical processes and continual evolutionary development, concluded with the rise of atonality and new complexity and was countered by *neue Sachlichkeit*. Primarily a counter-romanticism movement in this context, *neue Sachlichkeit* became more complex in its assimilation of historicist reflection, just as the techniques of German expressionism were incorporated into linear counterpoint. Hindemith was capable of assimilating both these characteristics, which makes his position one of significance for the present study. The reconciliation of what might be seen as mediocre archaism in denying constant progress, and the demands of strict traditionalism where Hindemith's music can be seen as a decadent dilution, are exemplified in his later pluralist music and articulated in his

⁷⁸ David Neumeyer, *The music of Paul Hindemith*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1986.

⁷⁹ Neumeyer, 1986, pp. 113-114.

⁸⁰ Neumeyer, 1986, p. 114. See also Hinton, 1989, pp. 157-161 for further discussion of manifestations of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Hindemith's music.

⁸¹ Neumeyer, 1986, pp. 124-136.

composition handbook, *Unterweisung im Tonsatz*.⁸² Historicism, for Hindemith, was not merely an interest in historical forms and practices to the detriment of contemporary style, but was rather an example of his acceptance of stylistic pluralism.⁸³ It is no great step from this position to that of a corporate musical community which Hindemith envisaged in the second quarter of the 20th century.⁸⁴

1.4 The *neue Sachlichkeit* and liturgical music in Germany

The *neue Sachlichkeit* had important implications for German Lutheran church music. Anthony Ruff has shown how the activities of the German youth movement, referred to above, aroused interest in and enthusiasm for church music of former centuries, including that of Schütz and Josquin Desprez. He notes that ‘the *Singbewegung* soon became integrated with the Church’, leading to the reclamation of old music in the liturgy and the stimulation of new music based on former styles and techniques.⁸⁵

1.4.1 Hugo Distler

An especially important figure in this development was Hugo Distler (1908-1942).⁸⁶ Born in Nuremberg, he studied organ in Leipzig from 1927 with Germany’s foremost organist, the dynamic Günther Ramin (1898-1956)⁸⁷ and composition with Reger’s student Hermann Grabner (1886-1969). Both Grabner and Ramin were important figures in the German *Orgelbewegung*, and saw Distler as an inheritor of this movement.⁸⁸ Although he never completed his studies, Distler’s period with Grabner introduced him to early music practices and compositional principles.⁸⁹ Particular importance was placed on the mastery of the craft of composition. While early works display a tendency to blend diverse styles, later works following study with Grabner show *leibhaftig* for diatonicism and linearity. Both Honegger and Hindemith were acknowledged influences, as was that of the 18th-century organ for which these works were written.⁹⁰ Distler and his associates were strongly

⁸² Paul Hindemith, *The craft of musical composition*, revised edition, Schott & Co., London, 1945. German edition: *Unterweisung im Tonsatz, Teoretischer Teil*, B. Schott & Söhne, Mainz, 1940.

⁸³ Neumeyer, 1986, p. 118.

⁸⁴ Skelton, 1995, pp. 44-46.

⁸⁵ Ruff, 2007, pp. 133-134.

⁸⁶ Larry Palmer, *Hugo Distler and his church music*, Concordia Publishing House, Saint Louis, 1967, pp. 77-103.

⁸⁷ Sverker Jullander, ”Kallad att skriva kyrkomusik: Hugo Distler 1908-1942, in *Kyrkomusikernas Tidning*, no. 6, 2008, p. 4.

⁸⁸ Jullander, 2008, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Arne Holen, Hugo Distler og hans a cappella kirkemusikk, in Ove Kristian Sundberg, Fredrik Grønningseter, Åge Haavik, Arne J. Solhaug & Anfinn Øien, (eds), *Strengen er av gull: Festskrift til domorganist Rolf Karlsen på 70-årsdagen 26. juni 1981*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1981, p. 79.

⁹⁰ Jullander, 2008, p. 4.

influenced by the Alsatian organ reform movement and baroque instruments.

Recommended by Ramin for the position at St. Jakobi church in Lübeck, his period there (1930-1937) was marked by the production of a steady stream of ecclesial *Gebrauchsmusik*, ranging from short liturgical works and simple choral arrangements to more technically demanding works, including two organ partitas (Op. 8). This music was written in close cooperation with the young pastor, Axel Werner Kühl (1893-1944) and choral director, Bruno Grusnick (1900-1992), both of whom aspired to liturgical renewal and the restoration of Vesper services, using organ and choral music from historic sources and compositions by Distler (such as the simple two- and three part choral motets in *Der Jahreskreis*, Op. 5).⁹¹ The somewhat obtuse foreword to Distler's *Orgelpartita* 'Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme' Op. 8, no. 2 provides valuable insights into his compositional philosophy:

The present organ partita on the chorale *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* pursues my aspiration to interpret the baroque and pre-baroque sound ideal of the organ, and its associated form variants, in a fruitful and coherent manner for contemporary composition. This is a conviction based on an intensive analysis of early organ works, and is shown in my first major work in this genre, the chorale partita *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (also published by Bärenreiter). This appears to be the path to be pursued, at least for me, in order to achieve a new form of organ music that strives to move away from the constraints of the merely contemporary to the realms of the definitive.

Of course, let us not forget: under the influence of the obviously backward attitudes of a generation that experienced and was deeply impressed by early German art, ultimately, the decision about whether such a goal can be achieved through following this path will, with the passing of time, primarily depend on the strength and independence of singular, truly creative personalities who are capable of not only successfully resisting those influences but also fusing contemporary spirit, language and style with the elements of the strictly hierarchical art of olden times. It is therefore not a mere 'blood transfusion', a forming of a pseudo-existence of a purism, an objectivity that does not occupy a space of its own, but it is a highly subliminal process that justifies the right of its existence partly from an elective affinity that has existed over many generations and centuries. A process that is, at best, allegoric and therefore cannot be grasped with any tangible or interpretative form of analysis, and is comparable at its height to the secret resurrection of Classicism in Renaissance and Mannerism, of Gothic style and Rococo. Its ultimate significance can be seen as a new desire for taming and culturing that opposes the impetuosity of a generation that is quite chaotic, that resists any limitation and therefore boundaries, that is primitive, even almost barbaric-juvenile and in many ways still – or rather yet again – distant from art.⁹²

⁹¹ Marcus Torén, Hugo Distler, in *Orgelforum*, 2, 2008, p. 7.

⁹² Hugo Distler, Foreword, in *Orgelpartita Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*, Op. 8, no. 2, Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1935, p. 3. Original text: Die vorliegende Orgelpartita über den Choral „Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme“ setzt mein Bestreben um eine für das zeitgenössische Schaffen fruchtbare Auswertung des alten, barocken und vorbarocken Klangideals der Orgel und der ihm gemäßen Formtypen folgerichtig fort - eine aus intensiver praktischer Beschäftigung mit alten Orgelwerken an Ort und Stelle gewonnene Überzeugung, aus der heraus bereits meine erste größere Arbeit dieser Gattung, die Choralpartita „Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland“ (ebenfalls im Bärenreiter-Verlag) entstanden ist, und die mir auch in Zukunft als einer der Wege, zum mindesten der mir gemäße Weg zu einer neuen Orgelmusik erscheint, die sich bemüht, aus der Gebundenheit des bloß Zeitgemäßen wieder vorzustoßen in das Reich des Endgültigen.

Vergessen wir freilich nicht: Die letzte Entscheidung darüber, ob dieses Ziel etwa auf eben diesem Weg zu erreichen sein wird, wird in der Folgezeit bei einer derart offensichtlich rückgewandten Haltung einer

In an article published in *Musik und Kirche* in 1936, Distler describes one of the deciding impressions he received after commencing work at St Jakobi. Inheriting the music library of his predecessor Emanuel Kemper (1843-1930) who had been organist there for the previous 58 years,⁹³ Distler saw that the yellowing pages of the library showed no recent signs of renewal; the time had come for the replacement of all earlier repertoires. In what has been described as a characteristically Distlerian deed, he set fire to the entire contents of the library,⁹⁴ at the same time burning his own metaphorical bridges:

This, however, was not enough: the heaped-up failure was ignited and yet it demanded further offerings. And, once I had started this task, I burned still more, as if it were my better self - all my works, both finished and unfinished, including extensive symphonies and choral *Monstrewerke*. In view of the sober demands of the day-to-day tasks, they had almost lost any meaning to me; both their meaning and past authorisation were at once removed.⁹⁵

The day-to-day tasks were undoubtedly perceived as best served with ecclesial *Gebrauchsmusik*, and it is under this banner that the majority of his compositions lie.⁹⁶ Distler's music gained considerable popularity after the fall of Nazism, inspiring the foundation of Distler choirs and festivals devoted to his music, and students of Distler, including Helmut Bornefeld (1906-1990), continued to develop the Distlerian style. Based on historical forms such as the partita, chaconne and bicinium, this style featured polyphonic clarity and rhythmic vitality. The majority of his organ works were written for the historic organ in St. Jakobi church built largely by Friedrich Stellwagen (1603-1660) in

durch das Erleben der altdeutschen Kunst hindurchgegangenen und zutiefst von ihr beeindruckten Generation in erster Linie abhängen von der Stärke und Eigenständigkeit wahrhaft schöpferischer Einzelpersönlichkeiten, die nicht nur sich selbst gegenüber diesen Einflüssen mit Erfolg durchzusetzen, sondern über sich selber hinaus den Geist und die Sprache und die Formgebung unserer Zeit mit den Elementen jener hierarchisch-strengen Kunst der Alten zu verschmelzen vermögen. Es handelt sich eben nicht um eine bloße „Bluttransfusion“, um die Begründung also der Scheinexistenz eines keinen selbständigen Lebensraum beanspruchenden unstarken Neunazarenertums, sondern um einen Prozeß höchst sublimer Art, der seine Berechtigung zum Teil aus einer Wahlverwandschaft über Generationen und Jahrhunderte hinweg ableitet, der höchstens gleichnishaft, also jenseits aller irgendwie faß- und deutbaren analytischen Betrachtungsmöglichkeit zu erkennen ist (vergleichbar etwa höchstens dem geheimen Wiederaufstehen der Klassik in der Renaissance und im Manierismus, der Gotik und Rokoko), dessen letzter Sinn indessen zu sehen ist in einem neuen Willen zur Bändigung und Zucht gegenüber dem Ungestüm einer durchaus chaotischen, jeder Bindung und damit Begrenzung widerstrebenden, primitiv-ja schier barbarisch-jugendlichen, in vieler Hinsicht noch, oder besser gesagt: wieder kunstfernen Generation. Translation by Sonja Michelini.

⁹³ Bruno Grusnick, Wie Hugo Distler Jakobiorganist in Lübeck wurde, in *Musik und Kirche*, 1958, p. 97.

⁹⁴ Holen, 1981, p. 81.

⁹⁵ Hugo Distler, Wie mein „Jahrkreis“ entstand, in *Lied und Folk*, 1936, p. 82. Original text: Damit aber nicht genug: der Scheiterhaufen war entzündet und forderte weitere Opfer. Und, einmal bei der Arbeit, verbrannte ich noch mehr, sozusagen mein einiges besseres Ich - all meine angefangenen oder fertigen zahl- und umfangreichen sinfonischen und chorischen Monstrewerke nämlich, so, wie sie waren. Angesichts der nüchternen Forderungen des Tages hatten sie mit einem Mal schier jegliche Bedeutung, ja Sinn und Berechtigung für mich verloren. Translation by the author.

⁹⁶ Holen, 1981, p. 81.

1636-1637 (with some pipe-work from 1467), the disposition of which is included in the first organ partita, Op. 8 no. 1. This instrument undoubtedly affected Distler's compositional style and also increased his interest in authentic historical and neo-baroque organ building. Registration suggestions from this organ are included for all his early works, apart from the *Partita* 'Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme' Op. 8 no. 2.⁹⁷ Later works were written for a house organ by Paul Ott (1938).

Works written after 1937 are fewer in number and often secular, mirroring Distler's pessimism related to the future of church music under Nazism.⁹⁸ An especially important element in his musical language is the emphasis on polyphony, where 'no voice concerns itself with any other voice.'⁹⁹ The melodic line or *cantus firmus* is central, and is incorporated with repetitive formulaic motives, non-metrical rhythms and modal or pentatonic diatonic harmonisation. The strict style in his church music, informed by specific functions within the liturgy and incorporating elements of historicism with an authentic contemporary voice, relies on the chorale (both textual and musical) as the primary source of inspiration.

In addition to Distler, other composers also contributed to the reform of church music practices in Germany. Amongst these, Johann Nepomuk David (1895-1977) and Ernst Pepping were especially important. While some critics such as Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (1919-1999) have claimed that some reform aspects such as the *Orgelbewegung* have led to "a flood of neo-baroque *cantus firmus* compositions ... on the fringes of history,"¹⁰⁰ the compositional quality of works by David and Pepping is exceptional; Pepping's collection of canonic chorales (1930-1931), organised for use according to the church year, was published by Christhard Marenholz. An important source of dissemination of ideas and music in this context is found in the journal *Musik und Kirche*, founded in 1929. It became a forum for Distler, David, Pepping and other composers and theologians.

⁹⁷ Torén, 2008, p. 12.

⁹⁸ Jullander, 2008, p. 5.

⁹⁹ Winifred Lüdemann, *Hugo Distler: Eine musikalische Biographie*, Wißner-Verlag, Augsburg, 2002, p. 335. Translation by the author.

¹⁰⁰ Hans Heinrich Eggebracht, *Die Orgelbewegung*, Musikwissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1967, quoted in Ruff, 2007, p. 146.

1.5 The *neue Sachlichkeit* and liturgical music in the Nordic region

1.5.1 Thomas Laub

Widely recognised as the most important representative of the Nordic ecclesial reforms that became identified with the *neue Sachlichkeit* was the Dane Thomas Linnemann Laub (1852-1927). Laub was born at Langå, near Nyborg, where his father was priest. He studied theology at Sorø Academy before taking the organist examination at the conservatorium in Copenhagen in 1876, studying with Johann Christian Gebauer (1808-1884), a student of C. E. F. Weyse (1774-1842). Laub replaced Gebauer as organist of *Helligaand kirke*, Copenhagen in 1884, and in 1891 was appointed organist at Holmen's church, also in Copenhagen. He travelled to Italy in 1882-1883, where he studied Italian baroque and renaissance music, and probably at this time read writings of Carl George Vivigens von Winterfeld (1784-1852).¹⁰¹ Winterfeld, a jurist and historian, was one of the first scholars to attempt to provide an objective and reasoned account of 17th-century church music practices, promoting in particular the music Lutheran Johannes Eccard (1553-1611), and at the same time, perpetuating arguments of decline and renewal which abound in the discourses of church music renewal in the 19th century.¹⁰² Winterfeld is recognised by Laub scholar Peter Thyssen and James Garratt as a key figure in the revival of historical practices in Protestant church music in the 1840s.¹⁰³ As the instigator of a movement for the improvement of church music based on historical practices from the reformation until the middle of the 18th century, Winterfeld stated that:

... the living connection between the present and its historical past must be reinstated so that the present is provided with possibilities at hand so that it may itself show the way forward.¹⁰⁴

In other words, contemporary church music must be equipped with understandings of historical practices so that future developments are both informed and vitalised by their historical roots. Laub cites Winterfeld's views on church music as the foundation and starting point for necessary reform of church music¹⁰⁵ based on his knowledge of

¹⁰¹ Peter Thyssen, Carl von Winterfeld – et forbillede for Thomas Laub, in *Dansk kirkesang*, jubileumsnummer, 1997, p. 67. See also Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 42.

¹⁰² James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic imagination: Interpreting historicism in nineteenth-century music*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, p. 96.

¹⁰³ Thyssen, 1997, p. 69; Garratt, 2002, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Thyssen, 1997, p. 70. Original text: ... den lebendigen Zusammenhang der Gegenwart mit ihrer Vorzeit wieder zu erneuern, um jener ein Faden zu gewähren, an dem, was sie herstellend und bildend erreichen möchte, sich wiederum fortgeleitet werden kann. Translation by the author.

¹⁰⁵ Laub, 1997, p. 123.

Winterfeld's massive three-volume work *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst des Tonsatzes*.¹⁰⁶

After visiting Bayern in 1886 and convinced that the reform of church music in Germany was of such significance that it should be continued in Denmark, Laub published *Om kirkesangen* (On ecclesial song) in 1887, in which he argued for a reform of church music according to the practices of the reformation. Many of the ideas in the later and highly influential *Musik og kirke* (1920) were first presented in this book. In these publications, Laub formulated a reasoned defence for the reform of church music, giving examples of how a renewal might be realised. His employment at Holmen's church as organist was controversial, in part due to his reform work that was strongly criticised by established musicians because it broke with established tradition.¹⁰⁷ He also composed hymn tunes, publishing *80 rytmiske koraler* in 1888, and in 1891 three volumes entitled *Kirkemelodier*.¹⁰⁸ One of Laub's most significant publications, the chorale book *Dansk kirkesang* (1918), included both his own compositions as well as older material sourced primarily from the reformation era. Both this publication and *Musik og kirke* were foundational documents for *Samfundet Dansk Kirkesang* (Society of Danish Church Music), founded in 1922. This, and similar organisations in Sweden (*Kyrkosångens Vänner* and *Laurentius Petri Sällskapet för Svenskt Gudstjänstliv*) and Norway (*Musica Sacra*) became the primary organisation to promote liturgical music renewal in the Nordic region.¹⁰⁹

1.5.2 Laubian musico-liturgical ideals

Thomas Laub holds an uncontested place in the reform of church music in the Nordic region. His position as a radical proponent for the transformation of church song through the restoration and renewal of chorale-based repertoire has directly or indirectly influenced current attitudes to church music in the region to the present.¹¹⁰ Under his influence, the evolution of personal taste in church music underwent a process of purification. Through Laub's writing and compositions church musicians, priests and congregations were made

¹⁰⁶ Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst des Tonsatzes*, volumes I-III, unknown publisher, Leipzig, 1843-1847.

¹⁰⁷ Claus Røllum-Larsen, *Thomas Laub*, <http://www.kb.dk/kb/dept/nbo/ma/fokus/laub.htm>, updated December 2003, accessed 17 July 2006.

¹⁰⁸ Røllum-Larsen, 2003.

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that the Nordic region is understood to include five countries (the monarchies of Scandinavia – Sweden, Denmark and Norway - and the republics of Finland and Iceland).

¹¹⁰ Henrik Glahn, *Indledning til 1978-udgaven*, in Thomas Laub, *Musik og kirke*, Poul Kristensens Forlag, Herning, 1997, p. xii.

aware of issues involving the combination of hymn text and melody, form and liturgical content, and the place of music in the church.

The Laubian movement, or the Danish liturgical music reform movement, may be seen as a continuance of the Winterfeld revival as well as an extension of the 19th-century Catholic *Allgemeiner Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein*,¹¹¹ where the primary aim was to achieve an objective and ecclesial music free from worldly besmirchment. Despite the controversial nature of some of Laub's restored melodies and rhythms and his views on the Church as a whole, his ideals were widely accepted; in part this was probably due to the realisation that here was an epiphany of artistic merit founded on a clear understanding of theology. Laub's theological stance was grounded in his understanding of the service liturgy as the primary manifestation of the Christian community. Within the service, the inclusion of common praise and prayers of a participatory nature (rather than individual meditation or worship) were of paramount importance. Aesthetic pleasures of enjoying an artistic experience were unintended and the rhetoric of the pastor of little significance.¹¹² Through personal experience with the qualities of older church music and its perceived objectivity and purity, suitability for communal expression and unity, Laub and his followers were convinced that this music was an ideal medium for church music renewal. The discovery of the qualities of older church music and – importantly – of folk melodies (Danish folk tunes are often 'chorale-like') may not have involved an academic understanding of the music of the past but incorporated a degree of interpretation, which in turn furthered the cause of church music renewal. Adjectives such as pure (*ren*), genuine (*ægte*), popular (*folkelig*), ecclesial (*kirkelig*), serving (*tjenende*) and living (*levende*) are characteristic descriptors used by Laub and subsequently became important identifiers for what we understand as the *neue Sachlichkeit* in church music in the Nordic region. All that denoted the opposite polarity was termed sentimental.

1.5.3 Laub and issues of aesthetics

In addition to the aforementioned aspects of church music renewal, Laub identified another criterion central in all parts of this ideology, namely quality. Although a music style might be considered to be of quality, for Laub, this is not necessarily enough to legitimise

¹¹¹ The *Allgemeiner Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein* or Caecilian movement was established as an organisation in 1868; however, its roots may be traced back to the 1830s. A full account of this movement and its preceding Protestant counterpart may be found in Garratt, 2002, chapters 3 and 4.

¹¹² Glahn, 1997, p. xiii.

its use in a liturgical context. This aspect is difficult to quantify, as it is apparently a subjective opinion-based position based upon the problematical relationship between scripture and music, between text, music and congregational song, and between spoken and chanted texts and instrumental music that form the liturgy. Thomas Laub's writings clearly show the problematical dichotomy between ecclesiastical and artistic quality. His primary arguments are about the struggle between ethics and aesthetics of art and the church, summed up in the following passage from the early publication, *Om kirkesangen* (1887):

The degree to which a melody can be considered *ecclesial* is dependent on, when all is said and done, *whether it is adapted to its text*, which is, naturally, dependent *on the latter being ecclesial*. One is best served by studying the history of church music to understand how these two elements may be used together; I believe that a little more understanding of this history would be desirable for those constant arguments between those that are employed with the cause of leading church song. One supports these arguments by citing principles such as "the ecclesiastical form," "the beautiful in music", "that which appeals to the public" and so on. One would gain great benefit in learning that there are many forms which have been used in the church, and that those forms which pass as being of the church often are based on practices from an unchurched period. There are other forms of musical beauty than those normally found in opera and other modern music forms, and that which appeals to the public is not always of the people or, in other words, based on folk tunes. The broader the vision one has in this matter, the greater the probability of reaching agreement; not just a compromise for the sake of peace, but an understanding in which cooperation plays a significant role. One cannot expect to have a comprehensive overview of anything without knowledge of its history.¹¹³

This flexible approach to church music is rooted in Laub's fundamental understanding of music that was largely based on his own personal experiences in church. His arguments are seldom of a theoretically speculative character; the statement in *Musik og kirke* that there can be no ranking of music which might place church music above the secular serves to confirm this understanding.¹¹⁴ Laub's primary thesis is the "all music which might be rightly found in a church service must be directly connected with the words of the congregation;

¹¹³ Glahn, 1997, p. xviii. Italics are in Laub's text. Original text: En melodis *kirkelighed* afhænger til syvende og sidst af, *om den passer til sin tekst*, naturligvis under forudsætning af, *at denne sidste er kirkelig*. Hvorvidt de passer sammen, lærer man bedst at skønne ved at sætte sig ind i kirkesangens historie, og jeg tror, at lidt mere begreb om den ville være gavnligt ved de hyppige stridigheder mellem de forskellige, der er sat til at forestå kirkesangen. Man støtter sig ved sådanne stridigheder gerne til principper som "den kirkelige form", "den musikalske skønhed", "det, der tiltaler folket", o.s.v. Man kunde have godt af at lære, at der har været mange kirkelige former, og at den, der nu går for den kirkeligste, har sit præg fra en ukirkelig tid; at der gives en anden musikalsk skønhed end den, der er normen for operaer og den øvrige moderne musik; at det, der tiltaler folket, just ikke altid er folkeligt, og så fremdeles. Jo videre syn man har i denne sag, jo mere sannsynlighed er der for at opnå en enighed, der ikke blot er et kompromis for fredens skyld, men en samstemmen, der ved samarbejde kan bringe sagen frem. Uden kundskab om en tings historie kan man umulig undgå et mer eller mindre bornert syn på den. Translation by the author

¹¹⁴ Laub, 1997, p. 113. Original text: Der er ingen rangforordning i musik som sætter kirkemusik over den ikke-kirkelige. Translation by the author.

those words which pass the lips of those present.”¹¹⁵ He saw the service as a collective gathering in which the actively faithful members of the congregation could gather around the gifts of God, to express thanks, praise and prayers. The pastor should act as the head amongst a congregation of equals. The sermon was not a necessity for Laub;¹¹⁶ this alone, in a context where the sermon was the service’s focal point, must have been strong criticism indeed.

Laub believed that music composed during the era spanning the rise of polyphony from Gregorian chant to the transition from polyphony to Italian dramatic music (the transition between *stile antico* and *stile moderno*) as ideal in terms of both style and liturgical function. Despite the status of the Catholic Church in the Nordic region at the time, he viewed the Catholic origin of this music to be an ideal rather than an obstacle in the reform process.¹¹⁷ This was partly on account of the use of Gregorian chant in the service, and partly the substantial use and status of music in general. He understood Gregorian chant to be genuine church music as it followed the rhythm of the text and because of its contextual position in the liturgy, an especially important criterion for good church music. Another important issue for Laub was the harmonisation of congregational song, which he claimed should ideally be based on early modal Lutheran church music, itself often based on German folk tunes. Laub considered these tunes to be suitable church music because they were genuine folk tunes, rather than tunes written to and inspired by romantic art-poetry.¹¹⁸

1.5.4 Laub and liturgical organ music

Organ music was a secondary element in the service for Laub, serving primarily to support sung and spoken text. He named three elements in order of descending importance related to the practical function of the organ: support of 1) melody, 2) harmony, and 3) rhythm. Thus, as an accompaniment and by way of chorale preludes and interludes, it assisted the congregation to sing in tune and in time.¹¹⁹ Laub’s most strongly recommended models of

¹¹⁵ Laub, 1997, p. 172. Original text: Al musikkens ret til at være ved gudstjenesten har den i sit forhold til menighedens ord, de ord den lægger forsamlingen på tunge. Translation by the author.

¹¹⁶ Laub, 1997, p. 153.

¹¹⁷ Anne Marie Böckerman-Peitsalo reports in her research that ‘Catholic’ was used more as an invective than a positive expression; this is also reflected through its use in Norway as shown in Chapter 2.5, where it is used synonymously with ‘un-Norwegian.’ The Lutheran *Hochkirchlicher Bund* in Germany was one organisation that did encourage the use of Catholic practices and those of the Caecilian movement. A contradictory facet of this aspect was that although Laub considered the pre-reformation liturgy and music to be an ideal, the participation of the congregation in the Catholic liturgies of the 19th century was severely limited.

¹¹⁸ Laub, 1997, p. 54.

¹¹⁹ Laub, 1997, p. 172.

liturgical organ music included that of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) which, he claimed, comprised a serious organ style, without unnecessary ornamentation or chromaticism. Much of J. S. Bach's organ chorale repertoire, on the other hand, was regarded as being excessive in terms of dissonance, chromaticism and descriptive or atmospheric elements and therefore not suited to hymn singing introductions. While acknowledging its wide repertoire and rich colouring possibilities, Laub argued against the use of the organ as an instrument that could be used to create an atmosphere or encourage piety, rhetorically posing questions which reflect a reductionist role in liturgy for the instrument rather than focussing on the rich and multifaceted repertoire of the organ.¹²⁰ Atmosphere and piety should already be present in the service; the organ is merely the servant of the congregation, a helping hand that might assist by providing congregational support. This role as a service instrument underlines the service nature of the church; the organ in church is not a concert instrument; the congregation does not (in principle) gather to hear music or the organist's spiritual (or otherwise) fantasies on his own private feelings. In particular, Laub remarked that the hymn following the sermon, a traditional place in Denmark and Norway to perform a lengthier chorale prelude, was often used to allow long, deeply-felt meditations on the sermon (which the organist may or may not have heard or heeded).¹²¹ Laub was inspired when writing on the misuse of organ music and church buildings, and secular music in weddings, funerals and other services.

Not merely a few of the previously mentioned 'listeners' who are wont to seek spiritual pleasure in the church will naturally consider it a place particularly suited to their private parties, weddings, funerals and so on. The whole ecclesiastical apparatus with song, instrumental performance and the spoken word will create an atmosphere of importance in regard to processions, attire and decorations. Here, there is enough room, and it is adequately public, with an audience and reports in the papers the following day; and despite all this, the occasion was a service after all. The church becomes just like a reception facility where one can rent a suitable room for a party, where one has the right to ask for all that a party might demand, served in the best possible manner by the employees who thereby earn generous tips from the guests. [...]

An organist must feel from time to time as though he is by the waters of Babylon, his harp hanging in the willow tree with broken strings, and despite all that, he must play, not as in the old days "The songs of Zion" (Ps. 137) but more and more often the songs of hedonists; he must, for he is nothing but a servant.¹²²

¹²⁰ Laub, 1997, p. 173. Original text: Men, skal orgelet virkelig ikke give mere end småforspil og underordnet melodi-ledsagelse? Orgelet, det mægtige instrument med de overordenlig rige udtryksmuligheder, med den overordenlig rige litteratur? Translation by the author.

¹²¹ Laub, 1997, p. 174. Original text: Særlig slemt kan det være med denne ekstramusik på et bestemt sted i tjenesten, ved forspillet til salmen efter prækenen, hvor det i visse kirker er skik at organisten skal give lange, dybt følte meditationer over det nys hørte gribende foredrag, - som han måske har hørt, måske ikke. Translation by the author.

¹²² Laub, 1997, pp. 174-175. Original text: Ikke få af de før omtalte "tilhørere" der er vant til at søge åndelig nydelse i kirken, kommer ganske naturlig til at betragte den som det sted der er særlig egnet til deres privatfester, brylluper, begravelser o.s.v. Hele det kirkelige apparat med sang, spil og tale, kaster en vis

In summary, Laub saw the role of the organ, indeed all music in church, to be subordinate to the scriptural and liturgical word. The use of music from secular traditions (apart from selected folk music) was not useful in furthering the cause of the church and should therefore be discouraged. Laub gained much support for his work in furthering the liturgical renewal cause, as well as many detractors. His views unleashed a hymnological battle in Denmark to rival those of Norway in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹²³ His primary stance was that true church music must always come from the same historical source; church music can never involve foreign elements.¹²⁴ Carl Nielsen, on attempting to compose hymn tunes, was criticised by Laub and told that one must be a practicing church musician to write for the church.¹²⁵ Congregations were not brought together to enjoy art, but to worship God. The Laubian movement may be summarised as building upon a fundamental view of history where true values in church music, liturgy, chorales and organ building practices had been lost through ill-judged developments and decay, and that these values should be restored. From a musicological viewpoint, this movement, subsequently termed *neue Sachlichkeit*, may be considered an ecclesiological parallel to neoclassicism and *Gebrauchsmusik*. The primary scholar in the Nordic region promoting Laubian reform from the 1930s is widely recognised to be Carl-Allan Moberg (1896-1979).¹²⁶ Sweden's first professor of musicology, Moberg was professor at Uppsala University from 1947 where he earlier studied the history of religion, languages and music history from 1917-1924. He later studied counterpoint with Alban Berg (1885-1935) and musicology with Gregorian chant scholar Peter Wagner (1865-1931). His doctoral dissertation was presented in 1932, and was published as *Kyrkomusikens historie (The history of church music)* the same year.¹²⁷ This

glans over optog, toiletter og dekorationer. Der er plads nok, og det er tilstrækkelig offenligt, med tilskuere og referater i avisen dagen efter, - og så var det dog alligevel "gudstjeneste"; kirken bliver så som en anden restauration hvor man lejer selskabslokaler, hvor man har ret til at kræve et velassorteret lager af alt til festen henhørende, serveret på bedste måde af de dér ansatte opvartere der får deres gode drikkepenge. [...] En sølle organist føler sig til tider som sad han ved Babylons floder, hans harpe hænger i piletræet med brustne strænge; og dog må han spille – ikke som i gamle dage "Sions sang" – men tit og mange gange hedningernes afgudssange, - han må, for han er jo kun en opvarter, en træl. Translation by the author.

¹²³ Peter Thyssen, *Thomas Laubs reformprogram for den danske kirkesang*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 1995, pp. 274-281; see also Thyssen, 1997, pp. 87-89.

¹²⁴ Stig Wernø Holter, *Finnes det en kristen musikk? Noen glimt fra kirkemusikkens idéhistorie*, University of Bergen, Bergen, 2001, p. 19, published online at <http://home.hib.no/ansatte/tto/KREL-web/TT/SWHolter.htm> accessed 5 July 2008. Citation: Aldrig kan den [kirkesangen] optage noget fremmed, uvedkommende, som ikke er vokset ud af den.

¹²⁵ The actual metaphor used is untranslatable: "et barn av huse" literally means 'a child of the house'. See Holter, 2001, p. 19.

¹²⁶ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 32.

¹²⁷ Moberg, 1932.

publication is particularly relevant as it portrays a contemporary view of the position of church music in the liturgy in the entire region.

1.5.5 The dissemination of Laubian reform

In Sweden and Finland, Laub was an important influence on the organisation *Kyrkosångens vänner* (1889), in Denmark on *Samfundet Danske Kirkesang* (1922), and in Norway, his ideals were first and foremost supported by Per Steenberg (1870-1947), Ole Mørk Sandvik (1875-1976) and their followers, and further developed and disseminated by the organisation *Musica Sacra* from 1952. The latter organisation is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.5.

Evidence of organised reform and renewal of liturgical music in the Nordic region following Laubian ideas is first found in Sweden. Especially relevant is the Swedish organisation *Kyrkosångens vänner* (Friends of ecclesial song), established in Skara diocese in 1889-1892 in southern Sweden¹²⁸ following the German Protestant reforms led by Carl von Winterfeld¹²⁹ and Thomas Laub. Initially *Kyrkosångens vänner* worked for the furtherance and development of the reform of vocal church music through organised activities related to liturgical antiphonal song, chorale singing, and choral music according to historical Lutheran ecclesiological practices, with the aim of raising the spirit of evangelical liturgical music and congregational worship life.¹³⁰ While the majority of its activities were related to choral music, an interest in rhythmical chorale restoration and chorale reform was also of significance, as was the use of Gregorian chant-based offices. *Kyrkosångens vänner* published a number of collections of rhythmically restored chorales during the first decades of the 20th century.¹³¹ Similar to the situation experienced by Laub's followers in Denmark, *Kyrkosångens vänner* was a minority organisation supported by a small number of persons, primarily clergy.¹³² The Danish organisation *Samfundet Danske Kirkesang* (Danish ecclesial song society) was founded by, amongst others, Mogens Wöldike (1897-1988), Povl Hamburger (1901-1972) and Knud Jeppesen on the 70th birthday of Laub in 1922. The primary goal was the promotion of the understanding and use of Danish church music as renewed and applied by Thomas Laub.¹³³ Through the publication of the important journal *Danske kirkesangs årsskrift*, the society disseminated the Laubian understanding of the importance of hymnody and music in the Danish church service.

¹²⁸ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 46.

¹²⁹ Garratt, 2002, p. 94, Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 46-47, and Moberg, 1932, pp. 127-166.

¹³⁰ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 46.

¹³¹ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 47. See also Hansson, 1985, p. 85.

¹³² Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 47.

¹³³ Peter Thyssen, *Samfundet dansk kirkesang*, at <http://www.kirkesang.dk>, accessed 8 August 2008.

1.6 Liturgical renewal, the *neue Sachlichkeit*, and its application in liturgical music in the Nordic region

Originating in the mid 19th century in the Catholic tradition, the liturgical renewal movement came to embrace varied developments. Within this context, the historicist reform movement led by Winterfeld and promoted and developed by Laub, also belong. According to Böckerman-Peitsalo and Ruff, the liturgical renewal movement has its beginnings in the work of the Roman Catholic monks at Solesmes Abbey, led by Abbot Prosper Guéranger (1805-1875).¹³⁴ It is widely acknowledged that the role of music within the liturgical movement was strengthened by the Pope Pius X encyclical of 22 November 1903. Active participation of the congregation was expected, and music (preferably Gregorian chant or classical polyphony, but also modern works) was expected to be of such excellence, sobriety and gravity so as to be worthy of the liturgical functions of the mass. Furthermore, the Eucharistic rite should be celebrated regularly and frequently, and the liturgy of the church be celebrated according to authorised sources.¹³⁵ Other important developments involved the Church of England, which attempted to reform its liturgies according to its own liturgical heritage, as seen in the 1928 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*,¹³⁶ and the German Lutheran Church which was strongly stimulated by liturgical renewal from the same sources;¹³⁷ the plethora of articles on the subject referenced in recent research confirms the importance the Lutheran Church has placed on the issue.¹³⁸

Laubian ideals were of great influence on liturgical and musical practices in the Nordic region during the early decades of the 20th century, transmitted through professional organisations such as those mentioned above (Chapter 1.5), journals and teacher-student dialectical processes. Böckerman-Peitsalo has identified differences between 19th-century and *neue Sachlichkeit* liturgical practices. These are summarised (with additions) in Table 1.2 below. It is worth noting the similarity of the polarities presented here with those documented by Roh, shown above in Table 1.1.

¹³⁴ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 38. See also Ruff, 2007, pp. 108-109.

¹³⁵ Pope Pius X, *Tra le Sollecitudini (Instruction on Sacred Music)*, Encyclical, 22 November 1903, at <http://www.adoremus.org/TraLeSollecitudini.html#anchor40134803>, accessed 4 July 2008.

¹³⁶ Gregory Dix, *The shape of the liturgy*, new edition with introduction by Simon Jones, Continuum, London, 2005, pp. 698-699, 702.

¹³⁷ Ruff, 2007, p. 131.

¹³⁸ Ruff, 2007, pp. 131-140.

Subject area	19 th -century romanticism	The <i>neue Sachlichkeit</i>
Liturgy		
Sunday service (<i>boymesse</i> or <i>gudstjeneste</i>)	Sermon-focused	Scripture, liturgy, prayers and the Eucharist
Offices of the hours	No office services in use	Restricted office services (Vespers) based on historical models
	Devotions with preaching	Regular devotional service life, including music devotions
Church music		
Liturgical music	Decorative, atmospheric in function, accompanying	Integrated into the liturgy with independent functions
Liturgical song	Accompanied, solemn	Natural diction, speech rhythm, <i>a cappella</i> choral music
Melody forms	Isometric historical tunes and sentimental lyricism	Chorale restoration/new rhythmic melodies
Melodic style	Sensory, atmospheric	Focused and functional
Hymnody	Slow tempi	Lively tempi
Congregation involvement	Individual as passive participant	Group as active participant
Organ music repertoire	Modulatory, thematically free preludes and interludinal music for transitional purposes; free postludes	Organ chorale preludes and chorale-based composition
Organ building ideals	Orchestral/symphonic ideal	Alsatian organ reforms and German/Danish <i>Orgelbewegung</i>

Table 1.2 A comparative overview of typical components of 19th-century liturgical and church music practices and *neue Sachlichkeit* reform.¹³⁹

While some elements of this table are not included in the discussion above, it provides a clear portrayal of the shift from romanticism to clear, historically informed service liturgies using specified apposite music styles that were intended to serve the liturgy. The reforms recommended by Laub predate the *neue Sachlichkeit*; however, as Böckerman-Peitsalo has shown, the *neue Sachlichkeit* is a pertinent general descriptor for the changes and reforms found in the Nordic region in the first half of the 20th century. The first use of Laubian descriptors in Norway are found in published journals from the early 1930s, where terms such as pure, genuine, and ecclesial were used in regard to the revised volume of music for the Sunday service liturgy, discussed in Chapter 2.2.

1.7 The organ reform movement in Scandinavia and Finland

Yet another strand of thought and development that was to have a profound impact on chorale prelude composition in Norway during the 1950s was the organ reform movement (*Orgelbewegung*), which was directly linked to the *neue Sachlichkeit* and liturgical renewal ideals through the use of the organ as a liturgical instrument rather than as a symphonic sound decorator.¹⁴⁰ Writing in 1938, German musicologist Christhard Mahrenholz (1900-1980)

¹³⁹ This table is based on a comparative table in Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 54.

¹⁴⁰ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 30-31.

argued that the flowering of various renewal movements in European churches was directly linked to common tribulations following World War I, which acted as a watershed. The previous aesthetic understanding of what the church and its music had meant was seen to be unnatural and artificial.¹⁴¹ Mahrenholz described how the *Orgelbewegung* differed from earlier renewal processes associated with the instrument; these were on the whole technical developments associated with mechanical and electrical playing aids. To Mahrenholz, the *Orgelbewegung* opposed such developments, arguing that the organ was a musical instrument, not a machine, and that further new technical developments were questionable. Earlier, historical instruments had been thought to be uncultivated preliminaries to the ongoing struggle to achieve perfection. By contrast, the *Orgelbewegung* promoted historic instruments as ideal models for construction in contemporary times. Most importantly, the *Orgelbewegung* encouraged the construction of instruments designed solely for the liturgy of the church. In this way, the *Orgelbewegung*, *neue Sachlichkeit* and the liturgical movement were closely interwoven.¹⁴² The *Orgelbewegung* also played a significant role in the growth of interest in the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

The so-called Alsatian movement led by Albert Schweizer (1875-1965), which primarily promoted the historical instruments of French extraction, was noted by organ builders in Europe (especially following the Vienna conference of 1909, where an international regulative based on Schweizer's model was agreed). However, political crises prevented significant activity until the early 1920s.¹⁴³ An important figure in reawakening interest in historical instruments was Günther Ramin, later appointed successor to Karl Straube (1873-1950), as Thomaskantor in Leipzig (1940-1956). Together with Straube, organ builder Hans Henny Jahn (1894-1959) and others, Ramin promoted rediscovered Schnitger organs in Hamburg and Lübeck in 1925, and later, the Silbermann and Prætorius organs in Freiburg.¹⁴⁴ These instruments were important *Werkprinzip* style models for Danish builders Th. Frobenius and Marcussen & Søn from 1930-1931; the latter built the first modern *Werkprinzip* organ with mechanical action in *Nikolajkirken*, Copenhagen (1931). This

¹⁴¹ Christhard Mahrenholz, Fünfzehn Jahre Orgelbewegung, in Karl Ferdinand Müller (ed), *Musicologia et liturgica, Gesammelte Aufsätze von Christhard Mahrenholz*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1938, pp. 46-47.

¹⁴² Mahrenholz, 1938, pp. 50, 52.

¹⁴³ Finn Viderø, Orgelbevægelsen og Norden, in Ove Kristian Sundberg, Fredrik Grønningsæter, Åge Haavik, Arne J. Solhaug & Anfinn Øien (eds), *Strengen er av gull: Festskrift til domorganist Rolf Karlsen på 70-årsdagen 26. juni 1981*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1981, p. 107.

¹⁴⁴ Viderø, 1981, p. 108.

instrument is recognised as an international milestone in modern organ building¹⁴⁵ and may also be seen as concrete examples of the *neue Sachlichkeit* through focus on historical practices and similarly, influences from the liturgical renewal movement and the underlying conception of the organ as a functional liturgical instrument rather than a symphonic sound decorator.¹⁴⁶

The organ reform movement in the Nordic countries¹⁴⁷ did not influence organ building practices to any significant degree until after World War II, although restorations and new instrument contracts awarded to both Marcussen and Frobenius led to an increased interest in Danish organ building reform and the formation of an organ-builders association in 1939, partly through initiatives by Finn Viderø (1906-1987).¹⁴⁸ While minor Danish organ reform instruments and restorations were installed in Sweden prior to World War II, the first large-scale Marcussen instrument was installed in Oscarskyrkan, Stockholm in 1949. In 1951, the first Danish instrument was exported to Sibbo church, Finland, where, because of strong opposition to foreign organ-builders exacerbated by currency restrictions, the organ reform movement was met with distrust until local builder Veikko Virtanen (1928-), later followed by the controlling romanticist organ building firm Kangasalan Urkutehdas, led by Pertti Tulenheimo (1923-1983), embraced the new style from the early 1960s.¹⁴⁹ An important influence on this tardiness was that of Elis Hjalmar Mårtenson (1890-1957), one of the more influential organists who promoted the late-romantic style of Straube through several teaching positions, including the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki from 1939-1957.¹⁵⁰ However, Mårtenson's successor at the Sibelius Academy, Enzio Forsblom (1920-1996), was a strong proponent of Finn Viderø and a promoter of the organ reform movement in cooperation with Virtanen.¹⁵¹

Norway, like Finland, was also reluctant to follow Denmark's example, undoubtedly because of the strong influence of the romantic Straube-school through Arild Sandvold

¹⁴⁵ Svend Prip, Om den danske orgelbevægelse – et forsøg på sammenfatning og afrunding, in Per Kynne Frandsen, Svend Prip & Claus Røllum-Larsen (eds), *Danske orgelkultur*, Det Danske Orgelselskab, Copenhagen, 1995, pp. 64-65.

¹⁴⁶ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 30-31.

¹⁴⁷ Iceland is excluded from the discussion.

¹⁴⁸ Viderø, 1981, p. 111.

¹⁴⁹ Viderø, 1981, p. 114.

¹⁵⁰ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, p. 71.

¹⁵¹ Enzio Forsblom, År 1948 och vad som hände sedan, in *Organum: Enzio Forsblom 14.3.1920-10.2.1996* (extra issue), 20 March 1996, p. 42.

(1895-1984), and also because of high tariffs on imported instruments.¹⁵² A primary influence for most organists through his position as organ pedagogue at the Music conservatorium in Oslo (1917-1969), Sandvold was also cathedral organist in Oslo from 1933-1966. Holding a nominal interest in early music practices, shown through his involvement in the Bach festivals in Oslo from 1921, Sandvold advocated the eclectic electro-pneumatic organ as the ideal, incorporating voicing and dispositions reflecting elements of the Alsatian organ reform with French, American, English and German romantic features.¹⁵³ A large number of instruments were built between 1930 and 1950 in this style, including the two major cathedral organs in Oslo (Walcker, 1930) and Trondheim (Steinmeyer/Jørgensen, 1930) and organs in Fagerborg church and Riis (Ris) church, primarily through the influence of one consultant, Olaf Platou (1879-1961), an active campaigner for Alsatian organ reform.¹⁵⁴ The first mechanical organ with slider chests installed in Norway was situated in Bergen at St Jakob's church. Built in 1950 by Th. Frobenius, this organ was met with widespread criticism and scepticism,¹⁵⁵ although it paved the way for similar instruments by Norwegian firms, as well as imported instruments by Swedish builder Grönlund and cheaper instruments by German companies such as Werner Bosch (Niestetal), Paul Ott (Göttingen) and Jehmlich (Dresden). Importation of instruments and building traditions is a fundamental factor in Norwegian organ building history, often significantly influenced by prevailing economic circumstances.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Viderø, 1981, p. 114. Sandvold was well known for his interest in technical inventions and was an active campaigner for electric console playing aids on all organs, both historical and modern. See also Anfinn Øien, personal videotaped interview with the author, 15 August 2006, in Appendix B, pp. 254-255 and Kjell Mørk Karlsen, personal videotaped interview with the author, 14 September 2007, in Appendix B, pp. 274-275.

¹⁵³ Arne Holen, Ståle Kleiberg & Arvid O. Vollsnes (eds), *Norges musikkhistorie 1914-50: Inn i mediealderen*, vol. 4, H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 2000, p. 210.

¹⁵⁴ Stein Johannes Kolnes, *Norsk orgelkultur: Instrument og miljø frå mellomalderen til i dag*, Det norske samlaget, Oslo, 1987, p. 238.

¹⁵⁵ Per Lønning, personal videotaped interview with the author, 18 December 2007, in Appendix B, pp. 291, 297.

¹⁵⁶ Kolnes, 1987, p. 278.

1.8 Conclusions

The foregoing discussion has shown that the *neue Sachlichkeit* is an interdisciplinary term used to describe a paradigm shift from romanticism, anti-mimetic expressionism to anti-sentimental, objective art forms during and following the Weimar republic. It is a complex term that has hitherto seen relatively little application in musicology or liturgy studies. With respect to the latter its use is retrospective. It provides comprehensive possibilities for the explication of new art forms that emerged after World War I.

An important finding of this chapter has been the nature of relationships between art forms and practices, allowing for interdisciplinary terminology and discussion. In fact, four interdisciplinary parameters emerge from the overview. Firstly, *neue Sachlichkeit* has been seen to evolve from particular sociological foundations, in this case with a particular emphasis on democratic values. Such is evident in the moves towards the democratisation and equality of art and architecture in post World War I Germany and elsewhere, as evidenced in the works of Ernst May and Sverre Pedersen. Social realist art, as seen in the works of Dix and Grosz is another manifestation of the democratic impulse of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, wherein a political message is clearly portrayed in a form that is interpretable by the uninitiated. In the liturgical sphere, the quest for liturgical renewal, embracing the laity actively and inclusively as opposed to formerly hierarchically driven practices, may also be understood as reflections of the prevailing view of an egalitarian society. Although they slightly predate the period under discussion, Laub's ideals are in harmony with this concept. Music of the people and their active involvement in it were high priorities for Laub and these principles may be regarded as cornerstones of musico-liturgical reform from the early decades of the 20th century.

Secondly, the functionalism or contextualisations of art forms have been shown to comprise the underlying principles of much architecture and design during the Weimar period and beyond. Proponents of the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* or non-autonomous music such as Paul Hindemith placed a particular value on music that served a specific purpose, be it educational or community based. For Laub, the only music worthy of a place in the liturgy was that which served a clearly defined function. In the case of hymn or chorale-based repertoire this was governed by placement within a particular service or within the liturgical calendar. The function of organ music was seen to be that of supporting congregational song by way of accompaniment and well-chosen chorale

preludes. Yet a further aspect of functionalism related to the *neue Sachlichkeit* concept may also be seen in the historicist *Orgelbewegung*, an organ building approach that in part promoted the organ as a liturgical rather than a concert instrument with tonal qualities that allowed for clarity and strong congregational leadership. Hinton summarises that the whole dynamic of the movement moved “away from the tradition of autonomy, whereas *Gebrauchsmusik*, a consequence of that movement, signifies attempts to find new, positive uses for the composer’s skills.”¹⁵⁷ Indeed, the challenge of functionalism made by proponents of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in varied artistic contexts was one of the major identifiers of their stance.

Thirdly, the objectification of artistic endeavours through the removal of romanticist, sentimental or abstract qualities is found in painting, literature, organ building, liturgical music, as well as in the ideals of Thomas Laub who shunned the use of overtly romantic and sentimental music or the use of the organ for demonstrations of bravura or sentimental outpourings. It was found that in architecture and other visual arts this led to greatly simplified structures and lines and avoidance of decorative and overtly expressive effects. Similarly, composers such as Distler who embraced the *neue Sachlichkeit* or neoclassical ideals avoided late romantic lush chromaticisms and textures in favour of contrapuntal structures with an emphasis on clarity and directness.

Finally, historicist practices were found to be an important component of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, particularly in music. Neoclassical composers such as Hindemith found valuable inspiration in the music of former times in developing a style that might also be functional and objective. For Hugo Distler, the model of historical sources was crucial in his search for a new fresh voice that would fulfil a useful liturgical function. It was also seen that Distler was especially influenced by the historic organ on which much of his music was first performed; its particular qualities were ideal for the performance of music based on baroque styles and structures. The importance of the *Orgelbewegung* on *neue Sachlichkeit* cannot be overestimated. In addition, the liturgical renewal movement was greatly informed by historic practice; in fact, its mandate was largely concerned with restoring liturgical practices of the reformation era, thus returning the Eucharist and at least some of the offices to their perceived rightful place. Similarly, liturgical musicians,

¹⁵⁷ Hinton, 1989, p. 104.

including Thomas Laub, sought to reclaim early chorale rhythms, making for enlivened singing and were keen to incorporate the wealth of established folk tunes into hymnic use.

In summary, the long-evolving process that led to the introduction of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals in Norway was begun by the 19th century Protestant Winterfeld-led reform movement which spread quickly to the Nordic region through the work of several significant figures and led to strong criticism of contemporaneous practices. None was more critical than the Danish organist, writer and composer Thomas Laub. Laub's position as a radical activist in the renewal of church music was not isolated to Danish church music. Through the books *Om kirkesangen* and *Musik og kirke* Laub became the primary figure in the region for the promotion of a Lutheran form of the Winterfeld and Caecilian movements throughout the Nordic region. Norway was the last of the Nordic countries to embrace *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals, although, as will be shown in the following chapter, subsidiary currents of the *neue Sachlichkeit* such as liturgical renewal, was first seen through the work of Gustav Jensen from the late 19th century, and Ole Mørk Sandvik in the 1920s, and chorale restoration attempts date back to the middle of the 19th century. However, it was not until the early 1930s, through the work of Per Steenberg, that Laubian reform ideals became widely known in Norway, and that the spirit of serving the church through music became apparent. These and other related developments in Norway will be explored in Chapter 2.

2

Towards the ‘pure style’ and the *neue Sachlichkeit*: Liturgy, hymnody and organ building in the Church of Norway, 1900-1950

2.1 Introduction

In order to evaluate the manifestation of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals in *Pro organo*, it will be helpful to consider liturgical, hymnological and other relevant contexts in which this collection of chorale preludes emerged for use in the Church of Norway. As seen in Chapter 1, the establishment and dissemination of concepts identifiable as *neue Sachlichkeit* in the Nordic region occurred over a wide time frame: from the 1850s to at least the 1950s. Elements of the concept to emerge in the liturgical movement (with its emphasis on functionalism and active involvement) *Gebrauchsmusik*, the *Orgelbewegung*, chorale reform and the preference for ‘pure style’ of church music composition were not necessarily contemporaneously interlinked. It is the purpose of this chapter to show how these movements (and various sub-movements) impacted on church music renewal in Norway, on hymn texts, tunes and chorale harmonisations and on liturgical music composed for the organ. It also seeks to show that evidence of overt efforts to introduce elements of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals in Norway were apparent from the 1930s, when the ‘pure style’ as a compositional concept began to gain currency, forming a fertile context for the publication of *Pro organo* in 1951-1958 and the establishment of *Musica Sacra* in 1952 with its aims and objectives associated with the *neue Sachlichkeit*. In particular, the ensuing discussion will focus on major liturgical and hymn publications to impact on the Church of Norway. Contemporary published accounts concerning music in the church by church musicians, relating to the organ as a liturgical instrument, will also be canvassed with the view of providing:

- an appreciation of the historical and liturgical context in which the publication of *Pro organo* occurred;

- documentation of changes in liturgy, hymnody and organ music preceding the publication of *Pro organo*;
- an account of the status quo in liturgical organ music, thus allowing the extent of change stimulated by the *neue Sachlichkeit* as represented in *Pro organo* to be assessed later in the thesis.

As shown in Chapter 1.5.2, Laub's book, *Musik og kirke* comprised a seminal rationale, even a methodology, for the reform of church music in the Nordic countries, and strongly influenced church music discourse in Norway in the 20th century. The reader is reminded that the terms *neue Sachlichkeit*, the *Orgelbewegung* and 'liturgical movement' do not appear in Norwegian contemporary sources during the decades immediately preceding the publication of *Pro organo*, although Laubian terms which point in the direction of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, such as *saklig* (objective), the 'Palestrina style', *ren*, (pure) *ekte* (genuine) and *kirkeleg* (ecclesial) were in common use in journals, newspapers and magazines from the mid-1930s in association with issues of chorale restoration, composition (chorale and organ), organ building and even liturgical reform.¹⁵⁸

Research relevant to the entire chapter includes the schematic overviews in the five-volume publication *Norges musikkhistorie* (1999-2001) which positions Norwegian church music in the context of wider Norwegian music practices,¹⁵⁹ and the dissertation by Sigbjørn Apeland, *Kyrkjemusikkdiskursen: Musikklivet i Den norske kyrkja som diskursiv praksis*, which considers contemporary musical life in the Church of Norway as cultural practice rather than autonomous art; in other words, as an interpersonal action within a specific social context.¹⁶⁰ Apeland discusses concepts of a church music discourse within contemporary culture, defined by tensions between tradition and renewal, entertainment and contemplation and between popular and elite cultures. These issues are interpreted in relation to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'social fields' and the concept of

¹⁵⁸ The members' journal for the Norwegian Organist's Union was from 1931-1939 part of a corporate member's journal entitled *Sangen*, directed at musicians from variety of fields (Norwegian choral society, Norwegian Musician's Union and Norwegian Organist's Union). In 1939, a new magazine was formed entitled *Norsk musikkliv*, a corporate journal for the Norwegian Musician's Union and Norwegian Organist's Union. It was not until 1948 that the Norwegian Organist's Union gained its own independent journal, which was first titled simply *Medlemsblad for Norges Organistforbund* (Members magazine for the Norwegian organist's union), and from 1959 *Norsk kirkemusikk*. The Oslo newspapers *Morgenbladet* and *Aftenposten* also provide valuable contemporary accounts of church music practices.

¹⁵⁹ Arvid Vollsnes, (ed), *Norges musikkhistorie*, in 5 volumes, H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1999-2001. Of particular relevance are the chapters related to church music by Harald Herresthal, Arne Holen, Elef Nesheim and Morten Eide Pedersen in volumes 2-5.

¹⁶⁰ Apeland, 2005.

‘discourse’ as described by other philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Paul Ricoeur. While Apeland deals primarily with issues which came into force in the Church of Norway after 1950, many of the fundamental concepts he discusses have relevance to the decades prior to the publication of *Pro organo* and thus to the present study.

2.1.1 Historical background

Situated on the western seaboard of northern Europe, Norway was politically under Danish or Swedish control for more than half of the last millennium. For 434 years, from 1380 to 1814, Norway and Denmark were closely connected through a common monarch. The clergy, and indeed most state-delegated leaders in positions of authority in Norway, were either Danish or educated in Denmark at the only university in the commonwealth. Danish replaced the Norwegian written language, which in the Middle Ages was similar to Icelandic of today. Dating from the reformation, the Danish-Norwegian state had a single religion (Lutheran), the church being an administrated organ of the state, the clergy employed as state servants. The state church was the only legal forum for organised religious activity, although devotions in private homes were common, especially in isolated areas where priests could only visit infrequently.

Throughout the Danish-Norwegian alliance, the Church of Denmark and the Church of Norway shared common liturgical and hymnodic material. Danish rule concluded in 1814, when Norway was transferred to Sweden in recompense for assistance in the Napoleonic wars. Culturally, the ties between Denmark and Norway have remained strong. Political links with Sweden were relatively short lived; however, the period of Swedish rule was of significance both culturally and politically, not least because it provided an antithesis in an intense period of Norwegian patriotism and nation building. Norway declared independence from Sweden in 1905, resulting in a peaceful resolution of sovereignty. Over the following year Norway established a constitutional monarchy, for which a royal family was created from Danish and English royalty. The first Norwegian king since 1380 was crowned in 1906 in Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim; this event was seen as a central element in Norwegian nationalism.

Important constitutional changes occurred throughout the Nordic region during the 19th century with wide social repercussions, and throughout the 19th century the entire region grew in economic strength - in part due to export and manufacturing - in parallel with the

rest of the western world. By the end of the century, progressive social agendas, general suffrage and human rights initiatives were set in place. During the 19th century, the population of the entire Nordic region expanded, leading to a marked increase in church and school construction. Growing wealth also led to an increase in organ building for new and existing church buildings, although a downturn in economic growth led to mass emigration westward from the 1870s. Between 1825 and 1925 approximately one-third of Norway's population emigrated to North America,¹⁶¹ the majority to the USA, with lesser numbers to Canada.

As in other European Christian traditions, the Norwegian church during this period underwent significant liturgical changes. Most importantly, the Lutheran hymn-based ordinary of the mass was replaced with prose forms in the *Alterbog* (1889) in a return to 16th-century practice.¹⁶² The period also saw the publication of the first Norwegian hymnals and an important rebirth of Norwegian hymn writing. (Although not liturgico-musical, the development of the supplementary language form *nynorsk* (*landsmaal*) based on Norwegian dialects rather than the Danish-derived *bokmål* (*riksmaal*) was influential on liturgical and hymnic practice.) Also associated with the developments was a demand for educated musicians and an extended provision of church music. As a result, the composition of organ works, consisting primarily of chorale preludes and service music of low complexity, began to appear in published form from the 1850s. European influences were clearly seen earlier in the century, especially through what is arguably one of the most important works of the 19th century, L. M. Lindeman's *Hvo ikkun (ene) lader Herren råde* (*Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten*),¹⁶³ written in 1836 and published posthumously.¹⁶⁴ Important and controversial hymnological issues of the period include the use of folk melodies, English and American hymns, evangelical songs from the Haugianist and other revivalist movements¹⁶⁵ and lay movements in Sweden, as well as trends towards the rhythmic restoration of traditional chorale melodies. The unionisation of church musicians in 1904, the year before Norway gained independence from Sweden, saw the emergence of several influential leaders,

¹⁶¹ Stig Wernø Holter, *Singing with the past: An account of Norwegian hymnody in an American context*, unpublished paper presented at Leitourgia conference, Uppsala, 8 November 2007, p. 7.

¹⁶² Helge Fæhn, *Gudstjenestelivet i Den norske kirke*, 2nd edition, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1994, p. 62.

¹⁶³ J. S. Bach's Cantata *Wer dur den Lieben Gott lässt walten* BWV 93 is commonly translated 'If thou but suffer God to guide thee.'

¹⁶⁴ Harald Herresthal, Ludvig Mathias Lindeman – kirkemusiker og folketonesamler, in Arvid Vollsnes (ed), *Norges musikkhistorie*, volume 2, H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 2000, p. 293.

¹⁶⁵ Ingrid Gjertsen, *Kom du min Sulamith: Sang og mystikk i haugiansk frombet*, Solum Forlag, Oslo, 2007, pp. 207-208.

amongst others Per Steenberg, Eyvind Alnæs (1872-1932) and Arild Sandvold. A new era in the life of Norwegian church music had begun.

The 19th century has been known as a revivalist century; however, as some researchers have pointed out, there was a revitalisation of faith and anti-faith at the same time.¹⁶⁶ Several structural changes to the organisation of the church also affected the relationship between church and state.¹⁶⁷ While developments in Norwegian church music may be examined gainfully in isolation, in general, developments that occurred in the Lutheran church in Europe were eventually reflected in church music in Norway after a significant delay; this delay may also account for remarkable multi-faceted interactions in church music. Opposing forces such as late Romantic harmonisation practices, serialism, *Gebräuchsmusik*, the 'pure style' and later, complexity and simplicity or the so-called neo-romanticist school (*nyvennlighet*) functioned as independent concurrent streams of musical thought.¹⁶⁸

2.1.2 The liturgical renewal movement in Norway

It was observed in Chapter 1 that the liturgical renewal movement emerged during the 19th century and that one of its important manifestations was a return to early liturgical forms and practices. The standard reference book in Norway on the liturgies of the church is *Gudstjenestelivet i Den norske kirke* by Helge Fæhn,¹⁶⁹ although he allows minimal space for the place and development of music traditions within the church. An examination by Anne Flaaen Anvik of the development of new liturgies and practices since the 1950s covers some of the theories and practices relevant to the present study.¹⁷⁰ More generally, the recent publication of a history of the importance of music in the liturgical renewal movement in *Sacred music and liturgical reform* by Anthony Ruff provides invaluable international contextualisation material.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Lars Flatø, *Den store liturgirevisjon i vår kirke 1886-1926: En kirkehistorisk undersøkelse*, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1982, p. 286.

¹⁶⁷ Flatø, 1982, p. 282.

¹⁶⁸ Harald Herresthal & Morten Eide Pedersen, New music of Norway, in John David White (ed), *New music of the Nordic countries*, Pendragon Press, New York, 2002, p. 411.

¹⁶⁹ Fæhn, 1994.

¹⁷⁰ Anne Flaaen Anvik, *Liturgisk mangfold i Den norske kirke i nyere tid*, unpublished hovedfag dissertation, University of Oslo, Oslo, 1994.

¹⁷¹ Ruff, 2007.

2.2 The *Alterbok* (1920): liturgy, rubrics and reform

Of crucial importance to the development of *Pro organo* was the liturgy within which its music was couched. This particular liturgy dates from 1920,¹⁷² and associated authorised liturgical music was published separately¹⁷³ (additional musical material appeared in 1925¹⁷⁴ and 1934).¹⁷⁵ This liturgy was closely based on the prose service setting first published in the *Alterbog* (1889) and was important in prefiguring (in almost every respect) the liturgy of the entire 20th century. The long-established *Deutsche messe* of 1526, which was superceded by the hymn-based service *Kirkeritualet* (which was further superceded by the *Alterbog* of 1889), used metrical hymnody to replace the prose ordinary from 1685 in Denmark and Norway. It was a form that focussed primarily on the promulgation of scripture rather than the Eucharistic sacrament. Initial reasons for the revision of the service order were related to discomfort associated with service length,¹⁷⁶ although the new liturgy was in effect longer than the old. However, the pre-1889 hymn-based service could continue for over three hours, using up to 56 hymn verses sung at tedious tempi, a 90-minute sermon and a short concluding rite.¹⁷⁷ Changes in the *Alterbog* (1889) were also motivated by an interest in the reintroduction of older forms to facilitate the enrichment of the content and meaning of the church service.¹⁷⁸ Of particular influence was the German theologian Theodor Kliefoth (1810-1895) whose book on the history and ideals of the Lutheran service¹⁷⁹ was widely read in Norway.¹⁸⁰ Among the suggested changes in this source were a reintroduction of the confession and spoken apostolic creed, which had only been used during baptism, and the restoration of the Sunday Eucharist prose forms of the ordinary. The liturgy of 1889 was quickly authorised for use in the church, concurrently with its

¹⁷² *Alterbok for den norske kirke*, Selskapet til Kristelige Andagtsbøkers Utgivelse, Kristiania, 1920.

¹⁷³ *Liturgisk musik for den norske kirke: Bilag til Alterboken av 1920*, ved den til revision av den liturgiske musik nedsatte komite, Selskapet til Kristelige Andagtsbøkers Utgivelse, Kristiania, 1922. This publication included an accompanied setting of the ordinary and congregation acclamations and responses.

¹⁷⁴ O. M. Sandvik, *Graduale: Messebok for Den norske kirke*, harmonised by Per Steenberg, Steenske forlag, Kristiania, 1925. This volume consisted of a historical overview of church music and liturgies in use, and included material for accompanied intoning of the collects for each Sunday and festivity, a small number of choral settings of the *Gloria* and *Sanctus*, and an accompanied festive vespers liturgy with suggestions for choral and organ works.

¹⁷⁵ Wilhelm Huus-Hansen, *Liturgisk musikk ved hoimessen i den norske kirke, Bilag til Alterboken av 1920*, Selskapet til Kristelige Andagtsbøkers Utgivelse, Kristiania, 1934.

¹⁷⁶ Fæhn, 1994, p. 320.

¹⁷⁷ Claus Pavel, *Claus Pavels' dagbøger for Aarene 1817-1819*, L. Daac, Kristiania, 1899, p. 456.

¹⁷⁸ Fæhn, 1994, p. 321.

¹⁷⁹ Theodor Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation*, Verlag der Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, Rostock & Schwerin, 1847. An overview of the history of the Lutheran service, its present state and missing elements in its present form. (An article for faithful laypeople). Translation by the author.

¹⁸⁰ Fæhn, 1994, p. 322.

predecessor.¹⁸¹ It rapidly gained popularity, and by the end of the 19th century the service form was in use over the whole country, except for the Diocese of Trondheim, where it took another 20 years until it was accepted.¹⁸²

The most influential Norwegian figure in the liturgical reforms of 1889, and certainly in regard to the later revisions published in 1920, was undoubtedly Gustav Margerth Jensen (1845-1922), who was also involved in the revision of the Landstad's hymnal, *Landstads reviderte salmebok* (LR), discussed later in this chapter (see Chapter 2.3.1). Clearly, the restoration of the Eucharist and the original prose texts of the ordinary represented a strong interest in historic practices and liturgical propriety and enrichment, both of which were important themes to be further pursued by proponents of the *neue Sachlichkeit* and which were to have an impact on the composition and performance of organ chorale preludes as represented in *Pro organo*. The Eucharist became an integrated part of the liturgy, although it could be (and often was) omitted. Thus the 1920 liturgy for the Sunday service marked the first general use of the majority of the elements of the revised structure of the mass in Norwegian,¹⁸³ utilising prose texts for the ordinary set to through-composed congregational tunes. The interest in liturgical richness and authenticity was shared with liturgists elsewhere, notably the Oxford Movement protagonists in England.¹⁸⁴ In addition, it may be regarded as a manifestation of the spirit that fuelled the liturgical movement of the early 20th century, which in turn was closely aligned to the ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.¹⁸⁵ In line with liturgical movement trends both the *Alterbog* (1889) and *Alterbok* (1920) included the celebration of the Eucharist as part of the normal Sunday liturgy. Helge Fæhn claims that this revision of the service order was the most significant liturgy-related matter in Norway since the Reformation itself.¹⁸⁶ However, the traditional emphasis on scripture and the spoken word is reflected in the colloquial speech of today as the main Sunday service remains known in many regions as the *preken* or sermon.

The musical content of the service was revised in 1934, although the structure and rubrics of this service liturgy were largely unchanged. The liturgy and relevant rubrics are shown in

¹⁸¹ Fæhn, 1994, p. 325.

¹⁸² Fæhn, 1994, p. 326.

¹⁸³ Fæhn, 1994, p. 334.

¹⁸⁴ Dix, 2005, p. 696.

¹⁸⁵ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 39-40.

¹⁸⁶ Fæhn, 1994, p. 325.

Figure 2.1. The structure and content of the service order remained current until the draft liturgy reforms of the 1960s.

The Sunday service liturgy (1934)

	After the bells are rung, the organist plays a prelude during which the pastor moves to the altar ¹⁸⁷
1.	Silent prayer or <i>introitus</i> prayer
2.	<i>Introitus</i> hymn
3.	Confession and Kyrie (either the first or second verse from Luther's Litany) The Kyrie may be succeeded by a 10-bar transitional passage on the organ, whose purpose was to change both key and character of the Kyrie to introduce the Gloria. ¹⁸⁸
4.	Gloria; may be omitted in Lent On major festivities (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost), the hymn <i>Alene Gud i himmerik</i> (<i>Eternal God in heaven</i>) (<i>Alterboken</i> , p. 29) or alternatively, the first three verses of <i>O store Gud, vi lover dig</i> (All glory be to God on high) may be sung. The choir may then sing the old church hymn <i>Ære vare Gud i det høieste</i> (<i>Alterboken</i> , p. 30).
5.	The collect of the day
6.	The epistle of the day
7.	The epistle hymn (<i>Høimessesalme</i>) ¹⁸⁹
8.	The Gospel, followed by the congregational sung acclamation <i>Gud vare lovet</i>
9.	The Apostle's creed Read by the pastor, followed by a congregational sung Amen An ecclesial hymn suitable for the day may be sung by the choir
10.	The Gospel hymn
11.	The sermon (read from the pulpit)
12.	Hymn
13.	The intercessions
14.	The hymn prior to the Eucharistic rite A transitional passage to A major should be played on the organ
15.	The <i>Prefatio</i> and <i>Sanctus</i> Two forms are provided: Form one (15a): Festive seasons and ordinary time Form two (15b): Penitential seasons
16.	The Eucharistic prayer, hymn of thanks (<i>Agnus Dei</i>) and the Lord's prayer. The <i>Agnus Dei</i> and the Lord's Prayer are read by the pastor with a congregational <i>Amen</i> . The <i>Agnus Dei</i> may also be sung antiphonally by pastor and congregation
17.	The words of institution.
18.	The Eucharistic meal. The hymn <i>O du Guds lam</i> (a metrical form of the <i>Agnus Dei</i> text) or another Eucharistic hymn may be sung. Quiet organ music may be played.
19.	The thanksgiving hymn. A transitional passage to A flat should be played on the organ.
20.	The thanksgiving collect. The congregational responds with a sung Amen.
21.	The Aaronic blessing.
22.	The closing hymn.
23.	Silent prayer or clerk's prayer of dismissal. Followed by three short tolls on the church bell, repeated three times. A postludium is played by the organist.

Table 2.1 An overview of the revised Sunday service liturgy (1934)

¹⁸⁷ The initial prelude provided one of two places in the service that allowed for the performance of extended works. See Per Hjort Albertsen, personal videotaped interview with the author, 3 February 2006, in Appendix B, p. 239.

¹⁸⁸ This transitional passage was provided by Wilhelm Huus-Hansen, and is clearly in strong contrast to the harmonisation style of Steenberg. Jens Arbo remarks on this inconsistency in Jens Arbo, Per Steenberg 70 år, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1940, p. 38.

¹⁸⁹ The chorale prelude prior to the *høimessesalme* (*Høimessesalmen*) was also traditionally a work of significant length, corresponding with the focus given to this hymn in the service. See Albertsen, 2006, and Øien, 2006, in Appendix B, pp. 235, 244 and 264.

Music associated with the *Alterbok* (1920) was simplified in the authorised document, *Liturgisk musikk ved hoimesen i den norske kirke* (1934).¹⁹⁰ Both the number and complexity of congregational tunes were reduced, reflecting a greater focus on congregational involvement (a clear tenet of the liturgical movement). Most of the music was selected and harmonised in the ‘pure style’ by Per Steenberg, mirroring interest in historical practices in the German Lutheran liturgical renewal of the same period.¹⁹¹

An example of the ‘pure style’ harmonisation is shown in Figure 2.1; this can be compared with the same passage in the earlier harmonisation found in *Liturgisk musik* (1922),¹⁹² shown in Figure 2.2. Steenberg’s harmonisation is homophonic and uncomplicated, using mainly root position chords, and avoiding second inversions and added seventh chords. The modulation to the relative minor incorporating a *Tierce de Picardie* (a feature typical of minor modal cadential passages in the ‘pure style’) in the last line is noted. Dissonance use is incidental, occurring only between non-harmony notes.

Figure 2.1 *Agnus Dei*, harmonised in the ‘pure style’ by Per Steenberg¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Wilhelm Huus-Hansen, 1934, p. ii.

¹⁹¹ Ruff, 2007, pp. 136-138.

¹⁹² *Liturgisk musik*, 1922, p. 22

¹⁹³ Wilhelm Huus-Hansen, 1934, p. 13

Presten:
O du Guds lam, som bar ver - dens syn - der,
Aa du Guds lamb, som bar heim - sens syn - der,

Menigheten: *Presten:*
mis - kun - de dig o - ver os! O du Guds lam, som bar ver - dens
ver naa - dig, mis - kun - na oss! Aa du Guds lamb, som bar heimsens

Menigheten:
syn - der, du gi - ve os din fred! A - - - men.
syn - der, du gje - ve oss din fred! A - - - men.

Figure 2.2 *Agnus Dei*, harmonised in *Liturgisk musikk* (1922)¹⁹⁴

The example shown in Figure 2.2 exemplifies the frequent use of seventh chords in the music for the ordinary, as well as prepared dissonances and smoother voice-leading in the bass through the use of first and second inversion chords. It is also notable that the voice-leading in the middle voices is not necessarily functional. This is exemplified in bar four, where the functional leading note (C#) is not resolved in the same voice part, and that concealed parallel octaves were not necessarily avoided.

The foreword of *Liturgisk musikk* provides valuable insights into the intentions of the revision, making explicit mention of the ‘pure style’ in regard to harmonisation and choice of music.¹⁹⁵ Mention may also be made of contemporaneous interest among Norwegian musicians in early music, especially that of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, leading to the formation in 1931 of a Palestrina society by, amongst others, modernist composer Fartein Valen (1887-1952). In a letter to one of the members of this society, Valen wrote in 1931 that “the Palestrina school, with its focus on counterpoint, is absolutely in keeping with the most hypermodern thought of the moment, and is therefore indisputably useful.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ *Liturgisk musikk*, 1922, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ Wilhelm Huus-Hansen, 1934, p. i.

¹⁹⁶ Ola Tjørhom, *Fartein Valen: Vestlandspietist og modernistiske banebryter*, Genesis Forlag AS, Oslo, 2004, pp. 84-85.

2.2.1 Other contemporary liturgical service forms: Vespers publications

The early 20th century also saw an interest in restoration of other liturgies, resulting in the inclusion of Vespers (Evening prayer) for the first time since the reformation in the authorised *Liturgisk musikk* (1922).¹⁹⁷ However, the first Vespers publication based on historical office services, *Liturgisk Vesperegudstjeneste* by Pastor Alf Fasmer Dahl (1874-1933), was published in 1917, the anniversary year of the Reformation. The interest in office forms, almost exclusively concentrated on Vespers, was inspired by German, Swedish and English models (a striking degree of similarity with the Evensong service from the *Book of Common Prayer* is notable) that coincided with focus on liturgical renewal in the Lutheran world.¹⁹⁸ Fasmer Dahl's 14 *Vesperegudstjenester for kirkeårets forskjellige tider og anledninger* (Vesper service for times and seasons in the church year) were published between 1919 and 1928, with melodic material and organ accompaniments supplied by Lars Søråas (1887-1976) and Arild Sandvold. Because of their initial widespread use, provision was made for their use in *Liturgisk musikk* (1922). Fasmer Dahl's liturgies were not authorised, but could be approved by the local priest and organist,¹⁹⁹ and comprise evidence of the new importance placed on liturgy.

The observance of offices was further strengthened with the publication in 1925 of the *Graduale* which included an extended form derived from the service for the 25th anniversary of the *Norske studenters kristelige forbund* (Norwegian Christian Students' Association) celebrations the preceding year.²⁰⁰ The *Graduale* was harmonised by Steenberg in a sympathetic but non-historical style. A small number of original harmonisations by J. S. Bach, Wilhelm Huus-Hansen and Otto Winter-Hjelm were also included. Already in 1918, Ole Mørk Sandvik, in his book *Norsk kirkeemusikk*, had strongly encouraged the burgeoning interest in office services, the Palestrina style, folk tunes, and at the same time, a mild revision of harmonisation practices and restoration of the historical rhythmical chorale.²⁰¹ Following these publications, interest in the service form continued, with new publications appearing for the 1930 St Olav's Jubilee celebrations,²⁰² and a complete collection in 1941, *Vesperale for den norske kirke*, both of which were compiled by Sandvik and Steenberg. The

¹⁹⁷ Ole Mørk Sandvik, *Vesperale for den norske kirke*, in *Norsk Musikklin*, 1940, p. 112.

¹⁹⁸ Lauritz E. Pettersen, "Syv ganger om dagen har jeg prist deg" – Et gløtt inn i tidebønnens historie i Norge, in *Norsk kirkeemusikk*, 9, 1988, p. 13.

¹⁹⁹ *Liturgisk musikk*, 1922, p. 33.

²⁰⁰ Sandvik, 1925, pp. 234-238.

²⁰¹ Ole Mørk Sandvik, *Norsk kirkeemusikk*, Steenske Forlag, Kristiania, 1918, pp. 59-64.

²⁰² Nidaros Stiftsdirksjon nedsatte liturgiske nevnd, *Liturgier, tekster og salmer til minnegudstjenester på 900-års-jubileet Olsok 1930*, Selskapet til Kristelige Andaktbøkers utgivelse, Oslo, 1930. A shorter version was published in 1939: Ole Mørk Sandvik, *Olsok-vesper*, A/S Norsk Notestik & Forlag, Oslo, 1939.

St Olav Jubilee was an important watershed for historical practices, where focus on Norway as an independent country and its early history led to a flowering of historical church music, including limited use of Gregorian chant (repertory associated with the Nidaros tradition and St Olav having recently been discovered), modal influences (then known as church modes or tonalities)²⁰³ and historical performance practices.²⁰⁴

However, little evidence of this is found in the *Olsok-Vesper* of 1930, apart from the ‘pure style’ harmonisation by Steenberg of the isometrical *Te Deum* (*O store Gud, vi lover deg*). The widespread use of Gregorian chant in office services did not occur until the promotion of such chant by *Musica Sacra* in the 1950s. Steenberg’s contribution to *Vesperale for den norske kirke* was noted for its emphasis on rhythmic restoration of the congregational and choir chorales and the ‘pure style’ of harmonisation, which according to one critic, allowed for fresh and naturalistic performance.²⁰⁵ Like similar preceding publications, the *Vesperale for den norske kirke* provided organ accompaniments for all sung parts of the service as well as suggestions for organ preludes and postludes, often chosen from the works of Steenberg. Other suggestions of a less technically demanding standard are also indicated in the foreword. These include the works contained in the later volumes of the popular collection *Ved orglet* as well as the works of Christian Cappelen, Johannes Haarklou and J. S. Bach.²⁰⁶ In the Foreword, the editors provide recommendations regarding organ accompaniment, using descriptive phrases such as careful accompaniment, fresh tempo in the hymns and as few elongated pauses as possible. The organist is also encouraged to allow the congregation to sing *a cappella*. It is suggested that text declamation in chant performance should be governed by speech rhythm. While the actual liturgies were only loosely based on historical models, the performance and editorial indications in this volume are indicative of an awareness of the ‘pure style’ in church music, not dissimilar to that described in Finnish sources a decade earlier.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Stig Wernø Holter, *Hellig sang med himmelsk lyd: Norsk kirkesang i endring og vekst gjennom 100 år (1835-1936) med særlig vekt på Koralbok for den norske kirke*, doctoral dissertation, in Skriftserie fra Griegakademiet, Institutt for musikk, University of Bergen, Bergen, 2003, p. 422.

²⁰⁴ Nidaros Stiftsdireksjon, 1930, p. ii.

²⁰⁵ Conrad Baden, *Vesperale for den norske kirke*, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1941, p. 128.

²⁰⁶ Ole Mørk Sandvik, *Vesperale for den norske kirke*, Forord, A/S Norsk Notestik & Forlag, Oslo, 1941, p. 3. Ole Koppang, Kolbjørn Koppang & Arild Sandvold (eds), *Ved orglet: Foredragsstykker for kirke og hjem*, in ten volumes; volumes 8 and 10 edited by Kolbjørn Koppang & Arild Sandvold, Norsk Musikforlag A/S, Oslo, 1930-1937. *Ved orglet* (‘At the organ’) is a collection of short, often simplified works for manuals only for service use. Volumes 1-7 and 9 were compiled by Ole Koppang, and volumes 8 and 10 were compiled by Kolbjørn Koppang & Arild Sandvold. It should be noted that only the latter volumes were recommended by Sandvik in *Vesperale for den norske kirke*.

²⁰⁷ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 80-88.

2.2.2 Ecclesial organisations and liturgical renewal

Fasmer-Dahl was also influential in initiating the ecclesial choir movement in Norway, founding what was to become the *Kirkesangforbundet for Bjørgvin bispedømme*, a regional organisation that was quickly followed by similar groups in Oslo and Trondheim. As the newly elected foreman of the organisation, Fasmer-Dahl addressed the *Kirkesangforbund's* first choir festival held in Oslo in 1931:

Through collective singing the great reformer (Luther) has given the congregation its voice ... However, an evangelical song movement also allows for all ecclesial music, performance of the great works of church music where possible, not to mention organ music ... What do we wish to achieve? [We wish for] ... a spiritual renaissance in choral music, and as a means to this end, an organisation that will unite both town and village. We hope that the day will come when Norway's church, the greatest and noblest order in our country, can host its own national ecclesial choir association.²⁰⁸

The national ecclesial choir organisation *Norges Kirkesangforbund* was founded in Trondheim in 1954, supported by *Norges Organistforbund* and *Musica Sacra*. Although this organisation was primarily concentrated on choral music, it was also largely governed by the same principles of aesthetics and liturgical ideals as *Musica Sacra*. The service life of the *Norges kirkesangforbund* was coloured by a high-church atmosphere, and traditional liturgical forms and Gregorian chant were highly regarded.²⁰⁹

Although Norwegian secular choral music experienced a period of flowering as a result of the rich variety of organised choir activity inspired by nationalism from the end of the 19th century,²¹⁰ it has never been common for rural parish churches to have their own multi-part choir. The situation in urban areas was considerably more positive, especially from the 1950s. As noted earlier, the Swedish ecclesial choir movement was clearly an inspirational factor from the 1930s, both through *Kyrkosångens vänner* and later, the *Laurentius Petri Sällskapet*, founded by Knut Peters (1894-1951) and Arthur Adell (1914-1962) in 1941, primarily for the promotion of Gregorian chant in office services.²¹¹ Localised choir organisations and church music festivals in Norway functioned as performance arenas and

²⁰⁸ Cited in Oslo Organistforening, (eds), *Festskrift for Arild Sandvold til 80-års dagen [sic] 2. juni 1975*, Oslo Organistforening, Oslo, 1975, p. 41. The original source is *Tonekunst* no. 23, 11 November 1931.

²⁰⁹ Anvik, 1994, p. 34

²¹⁰ Anne Jorunn Kydland Lyndahl, "Meget som var Norge, begynte med sang." Studentersang og mannskorbevegelse på 1800-tallet: Ideologisk bakgrunn og nasjonal betydning, in *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, no. 20, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1994, pp. 8-10.

²¹¹ Folke Bohlin, Peters, Knut, in *Sohlman's musiklexikon*, vol. 5, Sohlman Forlag, Stockholm, 1979, p. 42.

were important early evidence of this movement, which was first nationally coordinated through the foundation of the *Norges kirkesangforbund*.

Important catalysts for liturgical awareness, especially amongst clergy were the organisations *Ordo crucis* and *Pro ecclesia* which had their roots in the early 1930s. They were part of a variety of streams of thought related to the important Oxford Movement, brought to Norway by, amongst others, Ronald Fangen.²¹² By the middle of the 20th century the liturgical practices of the Church of Norway, as with most other reformed churches in Europe, were divided into two separate (although not necessarily mutually exclusive) streams; namely, so-called high-church practices, which focussed on Trinitarian worship and celebration of the Eucharist rather than preaching, and on the other hand, liturgical practices where the primary focus was evangelical preaching based on selected scripture.²¹³

These organisations saw their primary task as one of awakening amongst clergy an awareness of the meaning collegiality and brotherhood, and the importance of confession, obedience to the church, liturgy and the sacraments.²¹⁴ While not specifically related to the promulgation of music reform, they were, however, an important tool for a rebirth of awareness in the importance of liturgy, through striving for a healthy interaction between historical forms and contemporary demands.

2.3 Hymnody

The connection between hymnology and liturgical organ music, and in particular, chorale-based composition, is of enormous importance in any Lutheran tradition, given the traditional centrality of congregational hymnody in the liturgy. The following discussion of early 20th-century Norwegian hymn sources is a vital prerequisite to an analytical examination of *Pro organo*. While it is clear that liturgical music reforms preceded chorale and hymn tune reform in Norway, there can be no doubt that the contemporary hymnal and chorale books were of far greater significance to the development of *Pro organo*.

The chorale has been a central element in Lutheran liturgical music since the reformation, and more recently in the wider church. The chorale may also be seen as a distillation of the

²¹² See Ronald Fangen, *Kristendommen og vår tid*, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1938; Apeland, 2004, p. 161, and Lønning, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 297.

²¹³ Flatø, 1982, pp. 288-289.

²¹⁴ Kåre Eide, *Ordo crucis – en historisk revy*, Ordo crucis kollegiet, Oslo, 1983, pp. 32-34.

dominant liturgico-musical thought at any given time. As Ludvig Nielsen stated in 1938, the chorale book was considered the most significant church music publication in use in the Church of Norway:

A chorale book, in regard to its melodies, rhythm, harmonisation, in short, in its entirety, must be completely in accord with what is implicit in the deepest understandings of what ecclesial music is, and cannot be otherwise. Great responsibility rests on the chorale book in its task – through its multifaceted usage – as a role model in church music and disseminator of culture. One may say that the chorale book of any country shows the level of church musicianship in that country. There are in truth an infinite number and huge demands that are required of a chorale book. The extent to which the present chorale book meets these demands shall not be dealt with here, but it is certain that the majority of organists look forward to its revision.²¹⁵

The ensuing discussion draws upon important bibliographical studies including Irene Bergheim's compendium and explanatory notes to the entire range of Norwegian hymnbooks, from the first - the Danish *Thomissons Psalmebog* (1681) - to the most recent, *Norsk koralbok* (1985)²¹⁶ and Anne Kristin Aasmundtveit's biographical lexicon for *Norsk salmebok* and *Norsk koralbok*, which provides hymnological material current for the present chorale book.²¹⁷ Of particular value to this study is Stig Wernø Holter's *Hellig sang med himmelsk lyd: Norsk kirkesang i endring og vekst gjennom 100 år (1835–1936) med særlig vekt på Koralbok for den norske kirke* (Sacred song with a celestial sound: A century of change and growth in Norwegian church music (1835-1936) with particular focus on the *Koralbok for den norske kirke*).²¹⁸

Prior to the mid 19th-century, Norway and Denmark shared a common hymnodic history, controlled largely by the Danes. Thus the publication of the first Norwegian hymnal *Landstads Salmebog* (1869) with its associated chorale book, *L. M. Lindemans Koralbog til Landstads Salmebog* (LML, 1877) - before liturgical reforms were authorised in Norway (see Chapter 2.1.2) - was an important milestone in national identity.²¹⁹ Associated with a

²¹⁵ Ludvig Nielsen, Tanker til fremme av musikken og sangen i vår gudstjeneste, in *Nidarosdomens julebok*, Tres Forlag A/S, Trondheim, 1938, p. 18. Part of this quotation is also printed in the foreword to PSK.

Original text: En koralbok må hvad melodiene i sig selv angår, i rytmikken, harmoniseringen, kort sagt i hele sitt vesen være helt i pakt med det som i dypeste forstand er kirkemusikk og ikke kan være annet. – Et stort ansvar hviler også på en koralbok i dens oppgave – under dens mangeartede anvendelse – å være en kirkemusikalsk opdrager og kulturspreder. Med rette kan man vel si at et lands koralbok viser vedkommende lands kirkemusikalske nivå. – Det er i sannhet uendelig mange og store krav som stilles til en koralbok. Hvorvidt vår nuværende koralbok oppfyller disse krav, skal ikke omtales her, men sikkert er det at de fleste organister ser med forventning frem til en revisjon av den. Translation by the author.

²¹⁶ Irene Bergheim, *Fra Thomissons Psalmebog til Norsk koralbok*, unpublished manuscript, Trondheim, 1998.

²¹⁷ Anne Kristin Aasmundtveit, *Biografisk leksikon til Norsk salmebok og Norsk koralbok*, Verbum, Oslo, 1985.

²¹⁸ Holter, 2003.

²¹⁹ David Scott Hamnes & Åge Haavik, Norwegian hymnody, unpublished manuscript, 2009. For Richard Watson (ed), *Canterbury dictionary of world hymnody*, Canterbury Press, Norwich, forthcoming publication.

growing interest in the restoration of perceived early performance practices, compositional styles, Norwegian folk tunes and a concern for improved standards of performance, the content of this hymnal and chorale book gave a foretaste of important 20th-century developments in hymn repertoire, singing and organ accompaniment.

A significant influence on 20th-century Norwegian hymnody (also the chorale prelude and other secular and ecclesiastical music) was the folk tune, which has had both religious and secular sources. Folk tune source material and 19th-century collection methods have been explored and documented in Øystein Gaukstad's *Ludvig Mathias Lindemans samling av norske folkeviser og religiøse folketoner*. Lindeman's involvement in this area was central to his appointment as music editor of the chorale book for the first Norwegian hymnal.²²⁰

2.3.1 Landstads reviderte salmebok (1926), Nynorsk salmebok (1925) and the Koralbok for den norske kirke (1926)

The hymn texts with which *Pro organo* settings were associated were contained in *M. B. Landstads Kirkesalmebok revidert og forøket* or *Landstads reviderte salmebok* (LR) and *Nynorsk salmebok* (1925). Published in 1926, the gestation of LR commenced in 1908, when Gustav Jensen was given the task of revising Landstad's hymnal, *Kirkesalmebog*, in part due to the rapid development of the Norwegian language. Holding the positions of principal lecturer at *Det praktisk-teologiske seminar*, and Cathedral Dean in Kristiania (Oslo) (1902-1911), Jensen resigned from the latter to devote himself to the revision of the hymnal, the draft of which first appeared in 1915. His main contribution to the revision was to provide hymns from the wider church, especially from England and Sweden. Remarkably, until Jensen's revision, almost no hymns were known from these countries or traditions in the Church of Norway. In so doing he was also the first Norwegian to promote ecumenical themes in hymnody. He introduced hymns from the then current corporate repertoire, including revivalist hymns and spiritual songs, both from layman's organisations and other denominations in Norway and abroad, thus continuing and evolving Landstad's oft-quoted adage 'all the ages of the church sing with us, and we with them.'²²¹ Jensen's own advent hymn *Konge er du visst* ('You are indeed king') with a tune by Per Steenberg (1870-1947) has

²²⁰ Øystein Gaukstad, *Ludvig Mathias Lindemans samling av norske folkeviser og religiøse folketoner*, in two volumes and including a CD recording, Novus, Institutt for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Oslo, 1997.

²²¹ Quoted in Åge Haavik, *På visitas i Landstads redaktør-verksted – kåseri med personlig tilsnitt*, in Midttun, Jørund (ed), *Jeg løfter opp til Gud min sang – rapport frå Hymnologikonferanse i Seljord 2002*, Skriftserie no. 9, Liturgisk senter, Trondheim, 2003, p. 107. Original text: *Alle kirkens tider synger med oss og vi med dem*. Translation by the author.

retained its quickly gained popularity. Mention must also be made of his fine concordant translation of H. F. Lyte's *Abide with me; fast falls the eventide*. He also suggested that Norwegian folk tunes should be used in hymnody, reflecting an already established practice in many congregations and strong recommendations by O. M. Sandvik.²²² A committee completed Jensen's task and the completed hymnal was authorised in 1924 as *M. B. Landstads Kirkesalmebok revidert og forøket* or *Landstads reviderte salmebok*; (LR) however, it was not published until 1926, a year after *Nynorske salmebok* was authorised and published, the compilation of which was entirely separated from LR, although much of the contents are shared.

At the time of the compilation of *Pro organo*, the authorised chorale book *Koralbok for den norske kirke* (KNK) was in general use.²²³ First published in 1926 as a single source of tunes and harmonisations, it remained in national use until it was replaced in 1985. Importantly, KNK was challenged by Per Steenberg's alternative chorale book²²⁴ (PSK), a publication of even greater relevance to *Pro organo*.

KNK has been the subject of an in-depth study by Stig Wernø Holter (1999/2003) on which the following discussion liberally draws. Holter's study includes an historical overview of the evolutionary processes of the tunes incorporated therein as well as a detailed account of the decision-making processes involved in the compilation. The most significant study of the chorale in Norway remains O. M. Sandvik's *Norske koralhistorie*, published in 1930.²²⁵ This work reveals and explicates the primary forces influencing the Norwegian hymnodic traditions in KNK and the vast changes which occurred in the Nordic region from the 1850s until its publication, especially in regard to rhythm, tempo and choice of tunes. According to Sandvik, the chorale as a concept was thus expanded and became increasingly difficult to define.²²⁶ In this context, both Holter and Sandvik view

²²² Sandvik, 1918, pp. 74-77.

²²³ *Koralbok for Den norske kirke*, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1926. KNK was published in 6 editions, each slightly enlarged with supplementary or alternative tunes. The publication years were 1926, 1927, 1936, 1947, 1957 and 1967. A full overview of each version is found in Holter, 2003, pp. 108 and 448-449. This research primarily refers to the third edition (1936) that was current during the production of *Pro organo*.

²²⁴ Per Steenberg, *Koralbok: Melodier til Landstads reviderte salmebok og Nynorske salmebok*, Harald Lyche & Co. Musikkforlag, Drammen, 1947. It should be noted that this publication was not available until 1949.

²²⁵ Ole Mørk Sandvik, *Norske koralhistorie*, Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1930.

²²⁶ Holter, 2003, p. 421.

KNK as an evolutionary source; in other words, a continuation, supplement and revision of *Lindemans Koralbog* (LML, 1877).²²⁷

A committee edited KNK, like LR and NN, whereas all previous chorale books and most hymnals in Denmark and Norway had been the work of a single compiler. Holter has shown evidence of lobbying, voting and the unevenly weighted personal priorities of certain committee members.²²⁸ KNK was largely based on the previous Lindeman chorale book and included, in addition to material for the revised hymnal, material for Landstad's *Kirkesalmebog* that was not otherwise included in LR, and tunes required for NN. In accordance with Jensen's draft, folk tunes and tunes from a variety of ecumenical sources were included for the first time. This chorale book was provided with harmonisations that show tendencies towards a developed chromatic harmonic language, although it has been recognised as being less uniform in harmonisation practice than was assumed after its publication.²²⁹ The chorale harmonisations were written largely by Oslo Cathedral organist Eyvind Alnæs and have been seen to be a continuation of the Lindeman style from the previous chorale book.²³⁰ Indeed, Lindeman's chorale tunes and harmonisations from LML (1877) were retained in KNK with only minor alterations. In light of later developments, it is interesting to note that Per Steenberg was also considered for the task of harmonising KNK in 1924.²³¹

KNK was also a significant catalyst in attempts to restore historical rhythmic and melodic forms and enliven isometrical tunes, through attempts to restore historical rhythms; previous rhythmical changes (primarily dotted rhythms) incorporated in L. M. Lindeman's chorale book were removed. An important motivator and pioneer in this context had been Otto Winter-Hjelm (1837-1931), through his early publication of rhythmically and harmonically restored chorales, *37 ældre Salmemelodier rytmisk og harmonisk restaurerede* (1876).²³² In KNK, only one reformation chorale tune, *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf brüire* (*Jesus, dine dybe vunder*, KNK123b) was provided as a dramatically different alternative to the isometric

²²⁷ Holter, 2003, p. 421.

²²⁸ Holter, 2003, p. 421.

²²⁹ Holter, 2003, p. 398.

²³⁰ Holter, 2003, p. 104.

²³¹ Holter, 2003, p. 103.

²³² Otto Winter-Hjelm, *37 ældre salmemelodier: Rytmisk og harmonisk restaurerede, samt 2 gregorianske Hymner mensurerede og udgjerne for sang, orgel eller pianoforte*, Cammermeyer, Kristiania, 1876; see also Otto Winter-Hjelm, *Bemærkninger til 37 ældre salmemelodier: Ledsagede af et afsnit om takt, rytmus og mensurering*, Cammermeyer, Kristiania, 1876.

version (KNK123a), shown in Figure 2.3. This tune was one of the most widely used in the hymnal, with no fewer than 55 associated texts (both *bokmål* and *nynorsk*).

Nr. 123^a Jesus, dine dype vunder – Jesus, dine djupe vunder

L. 301 10 36 54 215 252 286 304 305 306 307 308 312 317 361 398 426 470 528 533 630 647 704 712 721 728 744
 Nn. 242 28 38 55 227 250 257 261 322 550 599 645 v. 2 714 766 777 778 780 787 795 803 814 833 834 854 860 872 875 880

Huguenottmelodi 1551
(Schörnings form 1783)

154

Je - sus, di - ne dy - pe vun - der og din smer - te - ful - le död
 trö - ster mig i al - le stun - der, i all sjels og le - gems nöd.
 Fal - ler no - get ondt mig inn, straks jeg ten - ker i mitt sinn
 på din pi - ne, som for - by - der mig å dri - ve skjemt med ly - ter.

Figure 2.3 KNK123a: *Jesus, dine dype vunder*, isometric form. © H. Aschehoug & Co, Oslo, 1936

The restored rhythmic form using alternating metre (see Figure 2.4) remains in current use apart from minor rhythmical notation differences in bars 10 and 12 (these did not affect the performance of the tune); however, its suggested use in KNK was restricted to its primary title texts.

Nr.123^b Jesus, dine dype vunder – Jesus, dine djupe vunder 101

L. 301 Nn.242 Huguenottmelodi 1551
(Original)

1) Se forord

Figure 2.4 KNK123b: *Jesus, dine dype vunder*; restored rhythmic form in alternating metre. © H. Aschehoug & Co, Oslo, 1936

Fourteen other tunes were also provided with restored or partially restored rhythms (not necessarily in original forms); three of these were also provided with isometric alternative forms.²³³

Like most modern chorale books, KNK was subject to intense criticism immediately following publication, especially by church musicians, both in regard to the choice of melodies and their uniform harmonisation. In particular, the stylistic imbalance between pre-reformation chorale tunes in modal forms, and the functional (and at times ambiguous) romantic harmonisation style was increasingly considered inappropriate, especially during the 1930s and 1940s.²³⁴ However, initial criticism was directed at the publication of tunes that were considered inappropriate for ecclesial use. The often-quoted response by a youthful Arild Sandvold shows an early dissatisfaction with this factor:

²³³ Holter, 2003, p. 384.

²³⁴ Holter, 2003, p. 116-118, 122, and Arne Holen, *Per Steenbergs koralbok: En vurdering i forhold til Koralbok for den norske kirke og stiltrekk i kantionalsatser av Osiander, Hassler, Praetorius og Schütz*, unpublished hovedfag dissertation, University of Oslo, Oslo, 1969, p. 12.

“... not a few of the tunes have about them a delicious aroma of coffee and Christmas cake, and for this reason must be kept away from the church and the church service. Both *Landstads reviderte salmebok* and *Koralbok for den norske kirke* must be considered a religious-psychological phenomenon, closely connected with the ecclesial developments in Norway: away with the high church in favour of the low church (*smaakirken*), despite the collective appeal of Nidarosdomen!”²³⁵

Further criticism was directed at the use of folk tunes. KNK included as many as 42, of which 39 were Norwegian, a remarkable accomplishment in less than half a century of Norwegian hymnody.²³⁶ Prior to KNK, the inclusion of folk melodies in authorised Norwegian chorale books was almost non-existent. However, one folk tune was specified in Elias Blix’ *Nokre salmar*, later published and authorised as a supplement to LML in 1891.²³⁷ Additionally, some of Lindeman’s own tunes included in LML, such as *Når mitt øye trett av møye*, are arguably inspired by folk music.²³⁸ The collections of so-called religious folk tunes of Catharinus Elling (1858-1942)²³⁹ and O. M. Sandvik provide ample proof of the importance of folk tunes both in practice and national significance. *I himmelen, i himmelen*, (see Figure 2.5) and *Den store hvite flokk* are important examples from KNK which were in use prior to 1926, and remain in common use today.

²³⁵ Cited in Holter, 2003, p. 116. See also *Tonekunst* no. 2, 1927, *Trøndersk Musikblad* no. 1, 1927 and Torkil Baden, *Toner i tusen år: En norsk kirkemusikhistorie fra gregoriansk sang til gospel*, Verbum Forlag, Oslo, 1995, pp. 95-96. Original text: ... i hvilken ikke saa faa melodier dufter liflig av kaffe og julekake, og av den grund maa bli at holde ute fra kirken og gudstjenesten. Saavel *Landstads reviderte salmebok* som *Koralbok for den norske kirke* maa betragtes som et religiøst-psykologisk fænomen, nøie hængende sammen med den kirkelige utvikling her hjemme: bort fra det høikirkelige over mot smaakirken – trods samlingen om Nidarosdomen! Translation by the author.

²³⁶ Holter, 2003, p. 114.

²³⁷ Holter, 2003, p. 88.

²³⁸ Holen, 1969, p. 35.

²³⁹ Catharinus Elling, *Vore folkemelodier*, Skrifter utgitt av Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo (1909, no. 5), Oslo, 1909; Catharinus Elling, *Vore religiøse folketoner*, Skrifter utgitt av Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo i kommisjon hos Jacob Dybwad, (1927, no. 7), Oslo, 1927.

Nr. 104^b I himmelen, i himmelen
L. 235 188 Nn. 187 148 156

Norsk folketone

I him - me - len, i him - me - len, hvor Gud vår Her - re bør, der
får vi ham å sku - e snart i sa - lig - het så stor, og syn - ger Hel - lig,
Hel - lig! der, og syn - ger Hel - lig, Hel - lig! der, nær Her - ren Se - ba - ot!

Figure 2.5 KNK104b: *I himmelen, i himmelen*; Norwegian folk tune from Heddal. © H. Aschehoug & Co, Oslo, 1936

Thus it may be seen that while some aspects of KNK reflect a development of 19th-century practices, such as the inclusion of folk tunes and partial chorale restoration, these contrast strongly with the inclusion of recent hymns and tunes associated with layman's movements and a continuation of 19th-century harmonisation practices.

The publication of *Liturgisk musikk* (1934), which included harmonisations in the 'pure style' by Steenberg, undoubtedly influenced the growing dissatisfaction amongst church musicians in regard to the harmonisation practices in KNK; it has previously been noted that this publication was the first clear example of the 'pure style' of church music in authorised church music. As Holter points out, this frustration was not directed at the restoration of chorale rhythms.²⁴⁰ In fact, the general attitude appears to be towards a return to isometrical forms, as many congregations did not use the apparently unapproachable restored forms. There is no supporting evidence to suggest that KNK was in general usage nationwide until the early 1930s.²⁴¹

Reviews of the third edition of KNK (1936) reveal the continuing dissatisfaction with harmonisation principles and inappropriate melodic material, the former seen by some as a

²⁴⁰ Holter, 2003, p. 122.

²⁴¹ Holter, 2003, p. 119. It should be noted that Holter's data refers solely to Bjørgvin diocese. Holter points out in a footnote on p. 121 that KNK attained strong sales of which 28000 were sold by 1936, with ca. 1100 copies sold per year, primarily to educational institutions and teachers.

simple question of taste, the latter by others as an example of decay in Norwegian churchmanship.²⁴² It was furthermore alluded to as a largely unsuccessful publication, and one that ignored trends towards ‘pure style’ harmonisation and tune composition in neighbouring countries.²⁴³ The organist of Molde church from 1924-1967, Thorolf Høyer-Finn (1896-1974), was one of the first and most consistent critics of the harmonisation practices in KNK. Educated in Sweden and Denmark, and clearly influenced by the Swedish organisation *Kyrkosångens vänner*, and a strong supporter of Laub, Høyer-Finn was also active as a composer, writing organ works based on style copying principles following models of Walther and Pachelbel.²⁴⁴ Høyer-Finn also initiated newspaper debates in the late 1930s in *Morgenbladet*²⁴⁵ which provided support for the publication of Per Steenberg’s chorale book more than a decade later. Høyer-Finn continued to battle for the ‘pure style,’ good taste and high ideals, especially following the publication of PSK, as seen in several letters and articles sent to *MNO* during the late 1940s and 1950s.²⁴⁶ In 1937, following the example of Høyer-Finn, Gottfred Nygaard, a student of Per Steenberg, called for the removal of all syrupy and sentimental tunes and romantically coloured harmonisation in favour of the ‘pure style.’²⁴⁷ His panegyric article on the worthiness of the Palestrina style may be seen as a watershed in contemporary understandings of the value of church music and its ideal characteristics. He shared Steenberg’s views in that all recent or historical tunes for use in church would be enriched through the use of the ‘pure style’ of harmonisation; moreover the ‘pure style’ is compared with the pure and unchanging spirit of the Gospels. Nygaard called for “a chorale book that would be in its entirety an hymnodic Cathedral.”²⁴⁸ Thus the evidence of Steenberg’s interest in the ‘pure style’ shown in *Liturgisk musikk* (1934) was quickly followed by a private collection of chorale harmonisations which was to form *Per Steenbergs Koralbok* (1949).

²⁴² Holter, 2003, p. 123.

²⁴³ Thorolf Høyer-Finn, Omkring Koralbokens revisjon, in *Morgenbladet*, 7 November 1936, søndagsavisen, p. 3.

²⁴⁴ Unknown author, 30-års jubileum som organist in Molde, in *MNO*, November 1954, p. 106.

²⁴⁵ Holter, 2003, p. 118.

²⁴⁶ Thorolf Høyer-Finn, Lojalitet: Noen små refleksjoner, in *MNO*, April 1950, pp. 43-46; Harald Gøransson, Kirkemusikken og kirkegjengeren (translated by Thorolf Høyer-Finn), in *MNO*, June 1948, pp. 41-44.

²⁴⁷ Gottfred Nygaard, Omkring koralbokspørsmålet, in *Morgenbladet*, 10 April 1937, søndagsavisen, p. 4.

²⁴⁸ Nygaard, 1937, p. 4. Original text: ... en koralbok som helt ut blir en salmenes katedral! Translation by the author.

2.3.2 Per Steenberg and *Per Steenbergs Koralbok* (1949)

Although KNK was the authorised chorale book at the time of *Pro organo*'s publication, the alternative *Per Steenbergs Koralbok* was of far greater importance to the selection and creation of material for *Pro organo*.

Per Steenberg was born in Nedre Eiker and was raised in a low-church pietistic family strongly influenced by Haugianism. Although little is known about Steenberg's early life and education, he himself stated that his many childhood visits to Kongsberg church and its significant Gottfried Heinrich Gloger (1710-1790) organ (1760-1765) was a formative influence.²⁴⁹ Steenberg was widely recognised as an important figure in Norwegian church music from the turn of the century, publishing organ works from 1913 and working as organist of Vålerengen church (1902-1927) and Markus church (1927-1940). He studied in Oslo and Leipzig in 1896 with Salomon Jadasohn (1831-1907) and Paul Homeyer (1809-1889)²⁵⁰ and later in Berlin and Copenhagen with Knut Jeppesen, developing an interest in Thomas Laub's reforms. On the occasion of Steenberg's 70th birthday in 1940, a wide range of articles and congratulatory responses appeared in *Norsk Musikkliv*.²⁵¹ He was active as an educator, and especially important was his teaching at the Music Conservatorium in Oslo from 1935 until his death. Two scholarly studies of selected works by Per Steenberg have been completed. These are a comparative study of some of the elements relating to *cantionale* harmonisation principles used in PSK and the techniques used by Lucas Osiander (1534-1604), Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612), Michael Praetorius (1571-1621) and Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) by Arne Holen,²⁵² and a comparative study of the treatment of dissonance in the works of Palestrina and Steenberg by Randi Margrete Selvik.²⁵³ Holen's research uses the term *cantionale* harmonisation to describe basic choral and homophonic harmonisation principles from 1524 (Johann Walter's *Geystliche gesange Buchleyn*) to 1628 (Heinrich Schütz's *Psalter*). Neither study provides a complete overview of Steenberg's

²⁴⁹ Odd Kristian Steenberg, *Per Steenberg og musikken i hans unge år*, Unpublished lecture for Norsk Musikk Samlingens Venner, 26 May 1987, p. 1.

²⁵⁰ Steenberg, 1987, p. 11.

²⁵¹ Conrad Baden, Per Steenberg: En hilsen i anledning 70 [sic] års dagen, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1940, p. 29; Jens Arbo, Per Steenberg 70 år, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1940, pp. 37-38; O. Andersen-Brønnø, Per Steenberg, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1940, p. 39; Unknown author, Hyldest til Per Steenberg, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1940, p. 60; David Monrad Johansen, Per Steenberg, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, 1941, p. 123. See also Gøsta Hammarlund, Per Steenberg, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, no. 2, 1944, pp. 8-10, and EGO, Tilbake til den klassiske harmoniseringen og vekk fra det romantiske, in *Norsk Musikkliv*, no. 2, 1944, pp. 10-12.

²⁵² Arne Holen, *Per Steenbergs koralbok. En vurdering i forhold til Koralbok for den norske kirke og stiltrekk i kantionalsatser av Osiander, Hassler, Praetorius og Schütz*, unpublished hovedfag dissertation, University of Oslo, Oslo, 1969.

²⁵³ Randi Margrete Selvik, *Steenbergs forhold til Palestrinastilen med hovedvekt på dissonansebehandlingen*, unpublished hovedfag dissertation, University of Oslo, Oslo, 1969.

compositional processes, nor have his organ and choral works received detailed scholarly attention. No comparative study of PSK and KNK has been published.

Steenberg exerted great influence both as a composer of contrapuntal church music, as a hymnologist through involvement in hymn and chorale book publications and as a pedagogue. His advocacy of Palestrina-style counterpoint, using the teaching materials of Knud Jeppesen and Hermann Grabner (1886-1969), became by 1936 an important and obligatory part of organist education in Norway.²⁵⁴ Steenberg was especially indebted to the work of Knut Jeppesen (1892-1974), who was a strong promoter of Laubian reform and the 'pure style' in the 1920s during which time Steenberg began to undergo a compositional style-change of significance.²⁵⁵ Jeppesen's doctoral thesis *The style of Palestrina and the dissonance* first appeared in Denmark in 1923.²⁵⁶ He succeeded Laub as organist in Holmen's church, Copenhagen. Jeppesen's seminal work utilised a detailed analytical procedure (which he himself described as 'empiric-descriptive') that allowed him to examine dissonance use in connection with metrical placing in the works of Palestrina. Dissonances were defined in turn, and discussed in terms of usage frequency and comparison with other composers. This thesis, while not widely known in Norway outside musicological circles, was one of the teaching resources used by Per Steenberg, and would have been known to his students, among them *Pro organo* compilers Karlsen and Nielsen.²⁵⁷ As well as holding prestigious positions, such as professorships in musicology in Copenhagen and Aarhus, Jeppesen was editor of *Acta musicologica* (1946-1957) and also wrote chorale preludes, publishing a set of 50 in 1957.²⁵⁸

It is Steenberg's work as a protagonist in the renewal of church music in Norway through the use of the 'pure church style' advocated of Laub that he had greatest influence. Holter's account of his style and that current in KNK is telling. He claims that like Laub, Steenberg advocated an ideology of music serving the word, rejecting at the same time music that

²⁵⁴ *Tonekunst*, 17, 1936, pp. 140-141, and *Tonekunst*, 1, 1937, pp. 7-9. See also Holen, Kleiberg & Vollsnes, 2000, p. 197.

²⁵⁵ Selvik, 1969, p. 2.

²⁵⁶ Knut Jeppesen, *Die Dissonanzbehandlung bei Palestrina*, doctoral dissertation, University of Vienna, 1922. Enlarged in Copenhagen as *Palestrinastil med særligt henblik paa dissonansbehandlingen*, 1923. English translation: *The style of Palestrina and the dissonance*, trans. Margaret W. Hamerik, Levin & Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1927.

²⁵⁷ Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 272

²⁵⁸ Knut Jeppesen, *Fünfzig Choraltvorspiele*, Wilhelm Hansen (ed. 27480), Copenhagen, 1957. Source: Corliss Richard Arnold, *Organ literature: A comprehensive survey*, 3rd edition, II: Biographical catalog, Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, 1995, p. 423.

revealed the degeneration of church music culture. KNK, on the other hand, is viewed as a document with an open and investigative profile, where new impulses and new contributors are permitted, while following closely in the footsteps of LML.²⁵⁹

While Steenberg was widely acclaimed during his lifetime as a recognised expert in the ‘pure style’ based on the works of Palestrina and early baroque composers, Holen’s early study of Steenberg’s compositional output in regard to his treatment of dissonance and harmonisation practices of the 17th century shows that his actual compositional practices show a degree of freedom and interpretation not necessarily found in early sources.²⁶⁰ His treatment of dissonance and his interpretation of the harmonisation methods of this period always follow basic historical principles, following the later *cantionale* style principles of homophonic relationships rather than the stricter polyphonic dissonance treatment found in Palestrina’s masses and motets.²⁶¹

Per Steenberg’s *Koralbok* was an especially important chorale tune resource that, as noted above, directly influenced the decision making processes of the compilers of *Pro organo*. Published in 1949, it was intended by Steenberg to be an alternative to KNK (although Steenberg does not mention any specific chorale book by name in PSK), both as a source of tunes but with historically informed harmonisations.²⁶² Although Laub is not referred to in the foreword, PSK shares many of the same principles (although little common material) found in Laub’s *Danske kirkesang* (1918) and in his expository *Musik og kirke* (1920). As such, it features coherent and coexistent components of what came to be known as the *neue Sachlichkeit* style. Accordingly, the chorales in PSK authenticate rhythmic restoration, and selected (sometimes secular) KNK tunes are replaced with others of a suitable ecclesial style, matched with distilled, unified and largely modal harmonisation practices. Generally speaking the harmonisation practices in PSK indicate a far more evolutionary process than its reception might have indicated.²⁶³ Its subsequent influence has been wide-reaching. Together with the influential Danish chorale book, *Den Danske Koralbog* (1954), PSK is recognised as providing the basis for the restoration of historical practices in regard to

²⁵⁹ Holter, 2003, p. 421.

²⁶⁰ Holen, 1969, p. 124.

²⁶¹ Selvik, 1969, pp.88-90.

²⁶² Steenberg, 1947, p. vii.

²⁶³ Holen, 1969, p. 36.

harmony, rhythm and melody in the current and forthcoming chorale books for the Church of Norway.²⁶⁴

Although parts of PSK were in private use from the mid-1930s by a select group of colleagues,²⁶⁵ PSK was first published in 1949, two years after Steenberg's death. It was published through the efforts of four colleagues, namely Pastor Asbjørn Hernes,²⁶⁶ Arild Sandvold, Rolf Karlsen and Ludvig Nielsen. Karlsen's and Nielsen's involvement at the outset was significant. With poorly concealed pride, they stated that the century-long movement for the restoration of reformation chorale tunes to their original forms in regard to melody, rhythm and harmony in the Nordic churches had finally been achieved in principle.²⁶⁷ In the Foreword, the publishers made three important points: firstly, that the work is intended to provide a richer, more authentic and purer hymnody; secondly, that this stylistically pure harmonisation would be of great value for all choirs, re-engaging a choral tradition and ecclesial use from the reformation in quality and wealth of resources, and finally, that no study of harmony could be considered complete without an appraisal of PSK.²⁶⁸

Advertised as the new popular chorale book for organists and the people of Norway,²⁶⁹ critical citations by leading Danish, and Norwegian organists were used by the publisher of PSK as advertising material on the back cover of the first volume of *Pro organo*. Thoralf Høyer-Finn summarises the acclamations thus:

Finally, we now have a Norwegian chorale book which in regard to church music is up to standard – a chorale book by which we not only are served, but also for which we may be proud.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ Hammes & Haavik, 2009.

²⁶⁵ Thorolf Høyer-Finn, Omkring Koralbokens revisjon, in *Morgenbladet*, 7 November 1936, søndagsavisen, pp. 3, 10. Here, Høyer-Finn states that Nielsen used Steenberg's manuscript in Sunday and other services from the mid-1930s. Two significant responses to this article were published: Jon Mannsåker & Arild Sandvold, Omkring Koralbokens revisjon, in *Morgenbladet*, 14 November 1936, søndagsavisen, p. 3, and Ole Mørk Sandvik, Omkring Koralbokens revisjon, in *Morgenbladet*, 14 November 1936, søndagsavisen, p. 3.

²⁶⁶ Hernes was actively interested in early music research in Norway, and authored *Impuls og tradition i norsk musikk 1500-1800*, Jacob Dybwad, Oslo, 1952.

²⁶⁷ Steenberg, 1947, p. viii.

²⁶⁸ Steenberg, 1947, p. viii.

²⁶⁹ Rolf Karlsen & Ludvig Nielsen, *Pro organo*, volume 1, A-E, Harald Lyche & Co., Drammen, 1951, back cover. Original text: Den nye populære koralboken for organister og de tusen hjem. Translation by the author.

²⁷⁰ Thorolf Høyer-Finn, in Karlsen & Nielsen, 1951, back cover. Original text: Vi har nå endelig fått en norsk koralbok som i kirkemusikalsk henseende holder mål – en koralbok som vi ikke bare kan være bekjent av, men som vi kan være stolt av. Translation by the author.

Other reviews note that the prevailing romantic-subjective style was now challenged for the first time.²⁷¹ Danish organists and scholars Finn Viderø, Mogens Wöldike and Knud Jeppesen warmly recommended the publication, mentioning especially the quality of the tunes, their fine harmonisations and the consistent use of the ecclesial ‘pure style.’²⁷²

A general overview of the contents of PSK showing the extent of replaced, supplemented and new material and based on the tabular overviews by Arne Holen is shown in Table 2.2.²⁷³ The details have been updated according to the author’s study of both chorale books, with reference to Holter’s overview of KNK.²⁷⁴

Tune source	KNK	PSK	KNK only	PSK only
Pre-1630	83	77	6	4
1631-1740	56	40	17	4
1741-1900	58	40	19	1
1901-1945 ²⁷⁵	54	35	41	12
L. M. Lindeman	52	46	7	1
Per Steenberg	8	28	0	20
Norwegian folk tunes	37	27	8	2
Other folk tunes	4	4	0	0
Totals	352	297	103	45

Table 2.2 Overview of chorale tunes in PSK in comparison with KNK (1936 edition). The table shows the number of tunes from specific eras and more recent tune sources.

Holen finds that Steenberg’s harmonisation principles diverge significantly from selected historic *cantionale* (melody in soprano voice, with a simple, counterpoint harmonisation often associated with Ossiander and Schein²⁷⁶) harmonisation models, and that they do not consistently reveal apparently clear, distilled forms of the so-called ‘pure-style.’²⁷⁷ Such divergences, he maintains, do not necessarily show a distinct new style, but rather indicate an understanding of historical practices, using evolutionary adjustments which may have been founded in a perceived need for compatibility with established tunes and rhythms found in the existing chorale book. It may therefore be inferred that the PSK style can be considered a modern interpretation of the *cantionale* style.

²⁷¹ Ingar Fredrik Nilsen, in Karlsen & Nielsen, 1951, back cover. Original text: Steenbergs koralbok betyr et brudd med den koralstil som til i dag har vært enerådende i Norge, nemlig den romantisk-subjektive. Translation by the author.

²⁷² Karlsen & Nielsen, 1951, back cover.

²⁷³ Holen, 1969, pp. 18-19.

²⁷⁴ Holter, 2003, pp. 373-383.

²⁷⁵ It should be noted that no edition of KNK includes tunes written after 1926. Tune sources are not always known. This table only provides a guide to the inclusion and exclusion of certain compositional periods.

²⁷⁶ Joseph Herl, *Worship wars in early Lutheranism: Choir, congregation and three centuries of conflict*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, pp. 113-114.

²⁷⁷ Holen, 1969, p. 124.

Ten tunes in PSK were provided with isometrical versions; eight of these were harmonisations of isometrical tunes from KNK, included there as alternative tunes. An example of evolutionary practice projected by Steenberg is shown in Figure 2.6, where the established isometrical tune has been partially restored. Both Figures 2.6 and 2.7 show the tune *Jesus, dine dype vunder* as it appears in PSK and may be compared with the same tune as presented in KNK, shown in Figures 2.3 and 2.4. A much more diatonic harmonisation is evident in both PSK versions. The chorale rhythm in current use in the Church of Norway is closest to that found in Figure 2.4 (KNK), combined with harmonisation principles found in PSK (Figure 2.7).

139b. Jesus, dine dype vunder — Jesus, dine djupe vunder

L. 301 10 36- 54 215 252 286 304 305 306 307 308 312 317 361 398 426 470 528 533 630 647 704 712 721 728 744
 Nn. 242 28 38 55 227 250 257 261 322 550 599 645 v. 2 714 766 777 778 780
 787 795 803 814 833 834 854 860 872 875 880

154 *F-hypojonisk*

Je - sus, di - ne dy - pe vun - der og din smer - te - ful - le død trø - ster mig i
 al - le stun - der i all sjels og le - gems nød. Fal - ler no - get ondt mig inn, straks jeg ten - ker
 i mitt sinn på din pi - ne som for - by - der mig å dri - ve skjent med ly - ter.

Figure 2.6 PSK139b: *Jesus, dine dype vunder*, partially restored form in PSK © H. Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1947

139a. Jesus, dine dype vunder — Jesus, dine djupe vunder

L. 301 10 36 54 215 252 286 304 305 306 307 308 312 317 361 398 426 470 528 533 630 647 704 712 721 728 744
 Nn. 242 28 38 55 227 250 257 261 322 550 599 645 v. 2 714 766 777 778 780
 787 795 803 814 833 834 854 860 872 875 880

154 *F-hypojonisk* Hugenottmelodi, Genève 1551

Je - sus, di - ne dy - pe vun - ðer og din smer - te - ful - le død trø - ster mig i
 al - le stun - der i all sjels og le - gems nød. Fal - ler no - get ondt mig inn, straks jeg ten - ker
 i mitt sinn på din pi - ne som for - by - der mig å dri - ve skjemt med ly - ter.

Figure 2.7 PSK139a: *Jesus, dine dype vunder*; restored rhythmic form in alternating metre in PSK © H. Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1947

In the Foreword to PSK, Steenberg wrote that in providing the Church of Norway with a worthy chorale book, 93 tunes from KNK were removed where found superfluous or of poor quality or non-ecclesial character. According to Steenberg, the ideal tune would “primarily have a genuine ecclesial tone, with a harmonic relationship between text and tune, and secondly, it should meet the demands of good artistic quality, and be practically arranged for congregational song; folk-like and easily grasped in tune and rhythm.” In addition, a number of tunes were adjusted in regard to rhythm and melody, to create improved and often more lively movement.²⁷⁸

A significant reduction in tunes from the period 1741-1945, as well as folk tunes, may be noted in Table 2.2, as well as a reduction in the total number of tunes. The number of recent tunes by Steenberg and others, often unique to PSK, were significantly increased. One of these, also included in KNK, was a supplementary tune to Monk’s EVENTIDE, (*O bliv hos mig!*, PSK208); this hymn achieved currency in *neue Sachlichkeit* contexts already in 1934 despite harmonisation by Alnæs;²⁷⁹ it has fallen out of use since its later coupling with

²⁷⁸ Steenberg, 1947, p. vii. Original text: ... først og fremst at den har den ekte kirketone, med harmonisk forhold mellom salmetekst og melodi, dernest at den som godt musikalsk arbeide tilfredsstillende kunstneriske fordringer, ennvidere at den er praktisk lagt til rette for menighetssang, folkelig og lettfattelig i melodi og rytme. Translation by the author.

²⁷⁹ Unknown author, *Festmoter, in Årsberetning for Kirkesangforbund for Oslo Bispedømme, 1932-1933; 1933-1934, Oslo, 1935, p. 12. The tune is supplementary to Monk’s tune in KNK; the order is reversed in PSK.*

another text in NoS(1985), Alfred Hauge's *Det lid mot natta*. Despite the early date of composition, this tune, shown in Figure 2.8, appears to comply with the criteria expounded by Steenberg in the foreword to PSK.

23 208. O bliv hos mig! Nu er det aften tid — Å, vær hjæ meg, for no er kvelden nær

C-dorisk L. 842 Nn. 667 Per Steenberg 1916

O bliv hos mig! Nu er det af - ten - tid og mør - ket sti - ger —
 dvel, o Her - re blid! Når an - nen hjælp blir støv og du - ger
 ei, du hjel - pe - lø - ses hjel - per, bliv hos mig!

Figure 2.8 PSK208: *O bliv hos mig* (Abide with me); Per Steenberg, 1916, with later harmonisation © H. Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1947

EVENTIDE was also provided as a subsidiary tune (PSK209), in an altered form where each phrase was adjusted according to the rhythmic placement of the text underlay, as shown in Figure 2.9. It may be assumed that these adjustments were made to provide the tune with a ‘pure style’ character.

209. O bliv hos mig! Nu er det aftenid. — Å ver hjæ meg, for no er kvelden nær

23 L. 842 Nn. 667 W. H. Monk 1861

O bliv hos mig! Nu er det af - ten - tid og mør - ket sti - ger - dvel, o Her - re
blid! Når an - nen hjelp blir støv og du - ger ei, du hjel - pe - lø - ses hjel - per, bliv hos mig!

Figure 2.9 PSK209: *O bliv hos mig* (*Abide with me*); W. H. Monk, 1861, rhythmically adjusted by Steenberg © H. Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1947.

The foregoing discussion of Per Steenberg’s chorale book shows that it provides a considered and effective counterpoint to KNK. The reduction or adjustment of selected tunes considered unworthy of ecclesial use was an important factor in this position. Other important features of PSK which helped to position the chorale book were the introduction of historic harmonisation practices and restored rhythms.

2.4 Contrasts and conflicting ideals in church music practices

Norwegian church music in the first half of the 20th century is notable for a wide range of contrasting issues that may be examined in isolation and in combination with regard to possible cross-fertilisation effects. No study of this nature has been completed. While liturgical music composed in the early part of the century was strongly influenced by the Lindeman-Cappelen-Alnæs traditions, this contrasted strongly with, for example, the ‘pure style.’ An uneasy situation of contrasts which, combined with uncertain, at best underpaid working conditions, meant that while such issues were important to some church musicians with secure and stable conditions in major centres, most organists were primarily concerned with their own immediate environs. Arne J. Solhaug’s study *Fra organist til Kantor*²⁸⁰ investigates the status, education system and working conditions for the organist in Norway since the 19th century. A further study on the efforts of Norwegian church musicians to raise levels of musicianship and status by Ragna Ingeborg Wien also contains valuable insights into parish activities during the 19th and 20th centuries.²⁸¹ *Norges Organistforening* (Norwegian organist’s union) was founded in Oslo in 1904. Its primary

²⁸⁰ Arne J. Solhaug, *Fra organist til kantor*, Verbum Forlag, Oslo, 2002.

²⁸¹ Ragna Ingeborg Wien, *Kampen for kirkemusikken. Norske organisters arbeid for å høyne det kirkemusikalske nivå og styrke kirkemusikkens og kirkemusikernes status*, unpublished hovedfag dissertation, NTH, Trondheim, 1989.

functions were intended to be a supporting body for awakening church music awareness, and to increase the respect and understanding of church music and the function of the church musician in the life of the church. Both functions were based on an understanding that the conditions for church music were generally abysmal, as there were no common directives governing the place of church music and the church musician in the church, and the majority of organists lacked formal education. Even by the middle of the 20th century, the education level of organists was in the main low; a survey in 1949 by the *Norges organistforening* shows that 77% of currently employed organists had no formal music education.²⁸²

2.4.1 The *status quo*: Conservative romanticism

It is important to underline the tensions found between established church music practices and moves towards the *neue Sachlichkeit* style. It is well documented in *Sangen* and *Norsk musikkliv* that the Lindeman-inspired church music culture advocate by Arild Sandvold was supported by many his students.²⁸³ Although the vast majority of articles printed in *MNO* and its predecessors were supportive of church music reform through an objectification of the relationship between liturgy and music and adoption of anti-romantic forms, an anonymous article by a “well-known Oslo politician” (a non-musician) provides a view which might typify the Sandvold school.²⁸⁴ In ‘*Andres mening*,’ (Another’s opinion) the writer cited a number of works suited to the creation of a solemn atmosphere (which the author considered paramount for the proper devotion during the service), such as *Bøn* by Christian Cappelen, *Fader Vår* by Nils Larsen, and other late romantic works representing the sentimental, subjective style.²⁸⁵ These works were even published in simplified versions in *Ved orglet*. Nevertheless, this underlying conservatism within the church laity and clergy, bound to the traditions of church music dating back to the Lindeman-tradition and the heritage of the romantic era, provided a clear position upon which reform was seen as necessary by Steenberg and his supporters. The strong influence of the Lindeman tradition was developed and strengthened by the authoritative Sandvold, whose involvement in the Norwegian church music was all-encompassing. While supportive of many of the ideals later associated with *Musica Sacra*, his foundation in romanticism meant that he held his

²⁸² Ludvig Nielsen, Olav Husby & Per Hjort Albertsen, Norges organistforbunds lønnstabell, in *MNO*, April 1952, pp. 37-38.

²⁸³ See for example Unknown author, Arild Sandvold: 25 års jubileum som organist, in *Sangen*, 1939, pp. 115-116.

²⁸⁴ Erling Kjellsås, Reply to ‘Andres mening,’ in *MNO*, November 1953, p. 73.

²⁸⁵ Anton Havremoén (pseudonym), Andres mening, in *MNO*, November 1953, pp. 72-73.

position apart from this renewal organisation.²⁸⁶ Arild Sandvold's attitudes towards church music renewal in the so-called chorale book disputes related to the 'pure style' after the publication of PSK have also been well documented.²⁸⁷ Sandvold's primary argument against PSK was related to the relative consistency of harmonisation practices for all tunes therein, the same arguments used against KNK immediately after its publication.²⁸⁸

2.4.2 St Olav

Of significant importance to any study of Norwegian liturgical music is the considerable body of scholarship devoted to the liturgical text and chant associated with Norway's patron saint, St. Olav (997–1030) and his cult. The discovery of historic material in the late 19th century inspired extensive scholarship and nationalist enthusiasm, and has made an incalculable impact on church music. A variety of studies exist, including Georg Reiss's 1912 seminal publication *Musiken ved den middelalderlige Olavsdyrkelse i Norden*,²⁸⁹ Erik Eggen's book on the sequences of St Olav;²⁹⁰ Astrid Holen's dissertation on the St Olav jubilee celebrations in Trondheim in 1930;²⁹¹ Lars Roar Langslet's book, *Olav den bellige*,²⁹² and Eyolf Østrem's *The office of St Olav: A study in chant transmission*.²⁹³ Involvement in the repertory of St Olav chant represents a further layer to the importance of historical sources and practices on Norwegian church music in the early decades of the 20th century. Johannes Haarklou had noted the possible connection between Norwegian folk music and Gregorian chant already in 1904;²⁹⁴ while superficially appealing, this connection has since been cast into disrepute.²⁹⁵ Both folk music and music connected with the St Olav tradition were therefore important and influential features in early 20th-century Norwegian culture and nationalism.

²⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that the founders of *Musica Sacra* were highly reluctant to invite Sandvold to become a member, even encouraging the young Per Lønning to formulate his enquiry in such a manner that Sandvold would feel obliged to decline. Sandvold became a member of *Musica Sacra* in 1952. See Lønning, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 292.

²⁸⁷ Harald Herresthal, *Arild Sandvold 1895-1984: Vår fremste kirkemusiker. Et minneskrift i anledning 100-årsdagen for hans fødsel*, Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo, 1995, pp. 75-81. See also Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 276.

²⁸⁸ Herresthal, 1995, p. 77.

²⁸⁹ Georg Reiss, *Musiken ved den middelalderlige Olavsdyrkelse i Norden*, Videnskapselskapets Skrifter II, Historisk-filosofisk Klasse 1911, No. 5, Kristiania, 1912.

²⁹⁰ Erik Eggen, *The sequences of the archbishopric of Nidaros*, Munkgaard, Copenhagen, 1968.

²⁹¹ Astrid Holen, *Olavsjubileum i en krisetid: Musikkliv i Trondheim 1926–35*, Unpublished hovedfag dissertation, University of Trondheim, Trondheim, 1975.

²⁹² Lars Roar Langslet, *Olav den bellige*, Gyldendal Forlag, Oslo, 1995.

²⁹³ Eyolf Østrem, *The office of St Olav: A study in chant transmission*, Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia, Nova series 18, Uppsala University, Uppsala, 2001.

²⁹⁴ Holen, Kleiberg & Vollsnes, 2000, pp. 200, 203.

²⁹⁵ Gjertsen, 2007, pp. 208-209.

However, to date there have been no studies on the considerable number of organ works emanating from the cult of St Olav. A number of worthy large-scale concert oratorio works stemming from the cantata competition for the St Olav jubilee also provide an important backdrop to the plethora of streams of church music activity, and a large number of chorale preludes based on Gregorian chant from Nidaros sources, such as *Lux illuxit lætabunda (Praedicasti Dei care)*, were published in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁹⁶ Interest in historical practices was also apparent in Norway and Sweden from the late 19th century through musicologists such as Georg Reiss and the organisation *Kyrkosångens vänner*. This interest in Gregorian chant was primarily related to its Norwegian heritage rather than in the chant itself, a reality reflected in the absence of other chant-based organ composition in Norway prior the 1950s. However, interest in Gregorian chant in relation to its importance to historical church music and church music renewal, was an integral part of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in other Nordic countries, as Böckerman-Peitsalo has indicated.²⁹⁷

2.4.3 Advocacy of the ‘pure style’

A wide range of debates concerning the nature of music which might serve the church through its apposite ecclesial character are found in published sources from the mid-1940s.²⁹⁸ Important amongst these is the heated exchange in *Norsk Musikkkliv* (1944-1945) entitled *Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse* (Stagnation and renewal in ecclesial music), where questions related to suitable music for the church and the authorised chorale book and its inadequacies are raised by amongst others, Knut Nystedt. Responses to these articles by a range of church musicians were both supportive of renewal and the ‘pure style’ and otherwise.²⁹⁹

Another typical debate of this type, related to the question of an idealised form of church music considered appropriate and requisite for the Church of Norway was drafted in an open meeting between clergy and organists held in Fredrikstad in 1949 and subsequently

²⁹⁶ Holen, Kleiberg & Vollsnes, 2000, p. 200.

²⁹⁷ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 297-298.

²⁹⁸ V (unknown author), Stagnasjon i kirkemusikken?, in *Norsk Musikkkliv* no. 7, 1944, p. 8, Knut Nystedt, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 9, 1944, pp. 5-6, Knut Nystedt, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 1, 1945, pp. 3-4 and Knut Nystedt, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 3, 1945, p. 9, pp. 6-8.

²⁹⁹ Olav Tveito, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 3, 1945, p. 9, Klaus Egge, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 3, 1945, p. 9-11, Knut Nystedt, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 4, 1945, pp. 3-4, Ingar Fredrik Nilsen, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 4, 1945, pp. 4-5, Trygve Lindeman, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon og fornyelse, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, no. 6, 1945, pp. 19-21, and Dag Winding-Sørensen, Kirkemusikalsk stagnasjon, in *Norsk Musikkkliv*, nr. 10, 1944, pp. 6-8.

transcribed in *MNO*.³⁰⁰ In introducing the subject, the author of the article discussed the importance of cooperation between pastor and organist in choosing hymn tunes. Carefully worded to avoid causing offence, this background discussion shows tense relations between the professions on understandings of the purpose and function of music in the service. Hesselberg argued that ‘pure’ music had its basis in the church from the second half of the Middle Ages, tracing its genesis from Catholic Gregorian chant to polyphonic music created for and by the church. He further claimed that the pinnacle of Catholic music was reached at the same time Lutheran music was emerging, and while Catholic music began to decline from the 17th century. Lutheran music proved to be resilient to strong profane movements such as staged musical theatre (opera) in southern Europe, and reached its pinnacle in the music of J. S. Bach. The ensuing period was considered one of decline for church music as music in general continued its development principally in secular contexts, where church music was allowed only a secondary place, one in which music was written for the uninformed, with the aim of influencing the emotional senses of the listener, or to meet outspoken demands. Hesselberg claimed that only the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Protestant churches had retained strong and rich music traditions; these traditions must now be nurtured and given nourishment. In attempting to reach consensus and to provide a possible way forward, Hesselberg maintained that other traditions, such as those from American and English churches, must be handled carefully to ensure that they would not influence the position and function of music in the liturgy, and that further examples of inapposite tunes should be avoided in hymnals. More importantly, he implies that the role of music in the service must be subservient to the liturgy itself.³⁰¹ These important aspects of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in liturgical practice were clear indications that an organised front for the dissemination of the ‘pure style’ in church music. This front was to be found in *Musica Sacra*.

2.5 Dissemination of the ‘pure style’: *Musica Sacra* and sister organisations

The organisation *Musica Sacra* – *Samfunn for kirkemusikalsk fornyelse* (Society for church music renewal), was founded in 1952 by *Pro organo* compilers Rolf Karlsen, Ludvig Nielsen, together with Per Lønning, Anfinn Øien and Hans Buvarp. It was predated by similar organisations in Sweden and Denmark.³⁰² Arne Solhaug claims that the motivation for the

³⁰⁰ Eyvind Hesselberg, Organistenes oppgave ved gudstjenesten: innledning fra organistenes side til samtale ved møte mellom prester og organister i Fredrikstad 25. september 1949, in *MNO*, no. 2, 1950, pp. 13-16.

³⁰¹ Hesselberg, 1950, p. 15.

³⁰² Sweden: *Kyrkosångens vänner* (founded 1889-1892); Denmark: *Samfundet Dansk Kirkesang* (founded 1922); see Chapter 1.5.5.

foundation of *Musica Sacra* was directly related to the heated debates concerning PSK in journals and newspapers from 1947.³⁰³ The initiative was made by a group of organists and clergy in August 1952, sending a challenge entitled *Til venner av kirkesangen*, (To friends of ecclesial song), calling for a society which could work for common goals:

It is now nearly a century since men such as Johan D. Behrens and Otto Winter-Hjelm, inspired by similar movements in other Lutheran countries, initiated processes to reawaken interest in the hymn singing traditions of the reformation in our church.

The results that have been achieved in the past century have not been overwhelming. Not because the issue itself is without merit. -we can, meanwhile, see the import in this in Germany, where in the space of the same century this reawakening has lent new power and warmth to ecclesial song, the same is the case even in Denmark – but because efforts have been too incidental and without coordinated planning. Not least thanks to the contribution of Per Steenberg, many in our church are interested in an organised plan for this task. It would be of great significance for those of us who count ourselves amongst the interested to have a common contact organ so as to be able to work together for this important issue. [...]

The association (the name of which is at present left open) is an organisation for the promotion and renewal of Norwegian ecclesial song and music. It will endeavour to allow the values our church possesses in regard to the Lutheran chorale tradition to bear fruit, together with Gregorian chant and service music for organ, and at the same time raise the quality standards of church and art in the use of old and new music in the service and edification of the congregation.³⁰⁴

Importantly, Rolf Karlsen was one of the five founders to sign this challenge, and became the first chairman of *Musica Sacra*.³⁰⁵ The primary aims and objectives of the society were drafted and passed as a resolution already during the first ordinary general meeting in Frogner church, Oslo in November 1952 and remain current. These aims were:

³⁰³ Solhaug, 2002, p. 37; see also Arvid Vollsnes, Hallgerd Aksnes, Elef Nesheim & Morten Eide Pederson (eds), *Norges musikekshistorie*, vol. 5, H. Aschehaug & Co, Oslo, 2001, p. 142 and Lønning, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 296 and Øien, 2006, in Appendix B, pp. 268-270 state that the inspiration was multifaceted, as reflected in the aims and objectives of *Musica Sacra*.

³⁰⁴ *Musica Sacra*, *Festskrift ved 10-års jubileet*, Private imprint, Oslo, 1962, p. 5. Original text: Det er snart hundre år siden menn som Johan D. Behrens og Otto Winter-Hjelm, inspirert av lignende bevegelser i andre lutherske land, tok opp arbeidet for en gjenoppliving av reformasjonens salmesang i vår kirke. Resultatene som i løpet av disse hundre år er oppnådd, er ikke just overveldende. Ikke fordi saken i seg selv ikke eier livskraft – det ser vi i Tyskland, hvor den i løpet av samme hundreår har tilført hele kirkesangen ny kraft og varme, til dels også i Danmark – men fordi arbeidet for den har vært ført alt for tilfeldig og planløst. Ikke minst takket være Per Steenbergs innsats er det mange i vår kirke id dag som er interessert i at arbeidet blir tatt opp mer planmessig. For oss som regner oss blant disse interesserte, er det da av den største betydning å få etablert et kontaktorgan for gjennom det å kunne utføre en samlet innsats for saken. [...] Samfunnet (navnet står foreløpig åpent) er en sammenslutning til fremme og fornyelse av norsk kirkesang og –musikk. Samfunnet vil arbeide for å fruktbargjøre de verdier vår kirke eier i den lutherske koraltradisjon, den gregorianske sang og det gudstjenestlige orgelspill samt hevde kirkelige og kunstneriske kvalitetsnormer i bruken av gammel og ny musikk til menighetens oppbyggelse. Translation by the author.

³⁰⁵ The other signatories were pastors Arne Kallhovde (1922-) and Helge Fæhn (1919-2008) and organists Anfinn Øien (1922-) and Per Lønning (1928-).

- a) the renewal of the rhythmic hymn singing of the reformation era;
- b) the promotion of recent hymn tunes which are of a high level of church musicianship;
- c) the understanding in congregations of – and active participation in – the church service liturgy;
- d) promotion of the principles of the organ reform movement, and the organic engagement of organ music in the entire church service.³⁰⁶

From the outset the mission of *Musica Sacra* included the formation of clear parameters for the implementation of the ‘pure style’ practices, as well as other *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals, and it achieved much in laying down the premises of church music developments over the following decades.³⁰⁷ *Musica Sacra* members comprised a significant faction which encouraged reflection on fundamental questions related to music and its use in church.

These aims were ambitious for a small society that has never numbered more than 200 members. Despite this, *Musica Sacra* has wielded considerable power through publications, conferences, debates and its influential members.³⁰⁸ Musicians associated with *Musica Sacra* were not merely involved in the renewal of historical forms, but also the composition of new church music. In particular, Rolf Karlsen, Anfinn Øien, Ludvig Nielsen and Egil Hovland (1919-) were active as composers of new, unsentimental music, ranging from hymn tunes to larger-scale works for choir and organ. Significantly, Karlsen in particular was inspired by neo-classicism and the music of Hugo Distler (see Chapter 1.4) championing this music in choral seminars and concerts from the late 1940s.³⁰⁹

With the exception of the third aim (c), which in a pluralistic church must be a progressive task, the aims and objectives of *Musica Sacra* have been considered accomplished, albeit over a wide timeframe,³¹⁰ despite initial disapproval when the society was criticised for being un-Norwegian and Catholic,³¹¹ as well as puristic and anti-progressive.³¹² The integration of choirs into the liturgy was also a major area of activity for *Musica Sacra*, together with the revitalisation of the office service liturgies.³¹³ The principle issue of the

³⁰⁶ Solhaug, 2002, p. 38. Original text: a) fornyelse av reformasjonstidens rytmiske salmesang b) utbredelse av nyere salmemelodier som holder kirkemusikalske mål, og som er egnet til å berike gudstjenesten, c) menighetens forståelse av – og aktive deltagelse i – gudstjenestens liturgi d) gjennomføring av orgelbevegelsens prinsipper, samt organisk innordning av orgelmusikken i det gudstjenestelige hele. Translation by the author.

³⁰⁷ Lønning, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 297.

³⁰⁸ Solhaug, 2002, p. 39.

³⁰⁹ Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 277; see also Finn Viderø, Hugo Distler (1908-1942), in *MNO*, September 1949, pp. 53-56, and Finn Viderø, Hugo Distler (1908-1942), in *MNO*, October 1949, pp. 64-67.

³¹⁰ Apeland, 2005, p. 160.

³¹¹ Solhaug, 2002, p. 170.

³¹² Vollsnes, 2001, p. 142.

³¹³ Anvik, 1994, pp. 28-29.

role of the organist in the service was of special concern to Hans Buvarp,³¹⁴ whose contribution in establishing the function of the church musician in the early 1950s led to the foundation of a service understanding for the Norwegian organist that was followed by regulated employment through the Organist's law of 1967.³¹⁵ Buvarp was also outspoken in regard to the role of music in the service liturgy:

In reality [church music] is not merely an aesthetical phenomenon, but rather a worship-related issue of considerable importance. Church music may not be considered in isolation, separated from its function in the service life of the church. It must be seen in a liturgical context. In citing church music, we mean it to incorporate liturgy; in citing liturgy, we mean it to incorporate church music.³¹⁶

While diametrically opposed to the concept of liturgy as a formal framework, the concept of the liturgy and its content as being a central serving element in practicing Christianity, or a cultic concept with inherent meaning, is paramount for the understanding of the place of music in this context. Other activities of *Musica Sacra* were promoted through yearly courses, publishing activity (both liturgies and other church music) and concerts that often were broadcast by NRK, the national radio broadcaster.³¹⁷ Church services were regularly broadcast on NRK from 1929.³¹⁸ The liturgical and church music renewal in Norway is manifested by a complex coordinated play between several factors; *Musica Sacra* is considered to have channelled the first initiatives that led to later liturgy reforms of the 1960s and 1970s.³¹⁹

2.5.1 Organ building and *Musica Sacra*

The instruments for which music is composed are of great importance to any study of organ music. Hans Jacob Tronshaug's recent doctoral dissertation *With rare diligence and accuracy – The organ building of Peter Adolph Albrechtsen in the context of the nineteenth century Danish/Norwegian organ culture* (2001)³²⁰ as well as *Norsk orgelkultur* (1987) by Stein Johannes

³¹⁴ Hans Buvarp (1909-1970) was a missionary pastor, church historian, hymnologist and liturgy historian.

³¹⁵ Solhaug, 2002, p. 38.

³¹⁶ Arne Solhaug, Fra de første årene, in *Festskrift Musica Sacra 20 år*, A/S Industritrykkeriet, Oslo, 1972, p. 20. Original text: Egentlig dreier det seg ikke om et estetisk fenomen, men om et gudstjenestlig anliggende av vesentlig betydning. Kirkemusikken kan ikke uten skade betraktes isolert fra sin funksjon i gudstjenestelivet. Det må ses i liturgisk sammenheng. Sier vi kirkemusikk, mener vi samtidig liturgi. Og sier vi liturgi, mener vi også kirkemusikk. Translation by the author.

³¹⁷ Vollsnes, 2001, p. 142.

³¹⁸ Holter, 2003, p. 125, footnote 426.

³¹⁹ Erlend Skarsaune, Samles om gleden og nyere, norsk kirkemusikk, in *Vårt Land*, 1 July 2004, pp. 20-21.

³²⁰ Hans Jacob Høyem Tronshaug, *With rare diligence and accuracy – The organ building of Peter Adolph Albrechtsen in the context of the nineteenth century Danish/Norwegian organ culture*, GoART publications, no. 7, Göteborg University, Göteborg, 2001.

Kolnes³²¹ provide useful sources upon which to base a Norwegian organological discussion. Both Kolnes and Tronshaug document the development of Norwegian organ building, noting a variety of influences that have almost exclusively dominated certain periods. Kolnes highlights the significance of the organ reform movement, involving a return to historic practices, its association with the church music reform organisation *Musica Sacra* and its relevance to organ composition and repertoire choice. Despite its misleading title, Kolnes' book describes the organ *building* culture in Norway since the 14th century in detail, touching only briefly on some of the influences from the church and the prevailing compositional climate. Kolnes has also compiled a valuable gazetteer in *Norsk orgelregister 1328–1992*, a work providing valuable information on the construction, incidence and location of organs in Norway.³²²

The organ building renewal ideals promoted by *Musica Sacra* were met with strong opposition, especially from those of the romanticist Sandvold/Straube school. In spite of this opposition, the majority of new organs were built according to these principles by 1960.³²³ As noted in Chapter 1.7, the most important and influential organ built in the 1950s was constructed in Bergen, perhaps symptomatic of the domination of Sandvold and Platou in regard to organ consultancy in the Oslo region. Here, the influence of Nils Aam (1907-1975), a strong supporter of *Musica Sacra* and former student of Finn Viderø, is apparent.³²⁴ This organ has been characterised as a watershed in Norwegian organ culture. It remained the only wholly mechanical post-war organ installed in Norway until 1957.³²⁵

2.5.2 Nordic church musicians' assemblies

Nordic church musicians' assemblies (*Nordiske Kirkemusikermøte*), were organised from 1933 and were a particularly important contact forum for Norwegian and Swedish musicians. Since 1970 these assemblies have been broadened in scope and designated as the Nordic church music assembly.³²⁶ The first assembly, which attracted over 400 participants, was held in Stockholm as a Swedish initiative; clear tendencies toward evangelisation of the 'pure style' church music reform have been noted in regard to this assembly.³²⁷ Arild Sandvold and Wilhelm Huus-Hansen represented Norway at this meeting. Later assemblies

³²¹ Kolnes, 1987.

³²² Stein Johannes Kolnes, *Norsk orgelregister 1328–1992*, Organum Forlag, Førdesfjorden, 1993.

³²³ Kolnes, 1987, p. 268.

³²⁴ Lønning, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 291.

³²⁵ Kolnes, 1987, pp. 260, 263; see also Karlsen, 2007, and Lønning, 2007, in Appendix B, pp. 273 and 295.

³²⁶ Trond Dahlen, (ed), *NKS 2008 Programbok*, Musikernes fellesorganisasjon, Oslo, 2008, p. 14.

³²⁷ Nielsen, 1938, pp. 16-17, and Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 164-166.

were held in Helsinki (1936) and Copenhagen (1939). The latter assembly profiled the music of several composers inspired by Laub, including works by Cathedral organist Niels Otto Raasted (*Orgelsonate a tre voci*) and Knud Jeppesen (*Intonazione Boreale*) that received warm praise from Arild Sandvold as critic.³²⁸ Nielsen noted 1938 that the assemblies in 1933 and 1936 were especially important in placing ecclesial service music within general evangelisation, in which the role of the liturgy, especially the *Høymesse*, was seen as primarily the interpretation and dissemination of the word of God to mankind.³²⁹

In 1949, Norway was the host of the 4th Nordic church musicians' assembly, arranged by *Norges organistforbund*.³³⁰ Again, music performed at the assembly was notable for the strong presence of Laubian inspired styles, especially in regard to Danish and Norwegian composition. In reviewing the assembly in October 1949, Søren Sørensen divided the music presented into three broad categories; firstly, the romantic-reactionary, secondly, the untraditional modernist, and lastly, the traditional modernist.³³¹ The last category was clearly preferred by Sørensen, with the proviso that simple pastiche should be avoided. Nielsen, Baden and Nystedt were extolled for their works in this category, as were works by Jeppesen, Páll Isólfson (1893-1974), Viderø, and amongst others, performances by Karlsen. While the diversity of practice was the clearest indicator of varying stages of musical development in the region, the younger generation of composers was seen to embrace the traditionally modernistic style,³³² a style that may be seen to resonate with the principles of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

In addition to the Nordic church musicians' assemblies, a project for the dissemination of Nordic organ literature was initiated by *Norges organistforening* in 1938.³³³ This project invited performers to present works publicly from a wide range of the most recent Nordic organ literature. While much late-romantic style music was presented, a number of composers

³²⁸ Arild Sandvold, 3. nordiske kirkemusikermøte, in *Sangen*, 1939, pp. 92-94.

³²⁹ Nielsen, 1938, p. 16.

³³⁰ Søren Sørensen, Inntrykk fra Det 4de Nordisk kirkemusikermøte i Oslo 15.-19. juni 1949, in *MNO*, October 1949, pp. 61-64.

³³¹ Sørensen, 1949, p. 61.

³³² Sørensen, 1949, p. 64.

³³³ Styret (Arild Sandvold, Erling Kjellsby, Sigurd Islandsmoen, Trygve Træstun & Oskar Skaug), Interskandinavisk utveksling av orgellitteratur, in *Sangen*, 1938, p. 10. See also Styret (Arild Sandvold, Erling Kjellsby, Sigurd Islandsmoen, Trygve Træstun & Oskar Skaug), Interskandinavisk utveksling av orgellitteratur, in *Sangen*, 1938, p. 42, Styret (Arild Sandvold, Erling Kjellsby, Sigurd Islandsmoen, Trygve Træstun & Oskar Skaug), Interskandinavisk utveksling av orgellitteratur, in *Sangen*, 1938, p. 75, and Styret (Arild Sandvold, Erling Kjellsby, Sigurd Islandsmoen, Trygve Træstun & Oskar Skaug), Interskandinavisk utveksling av orgellitteratur, in *Sangen*, 1938, p. 140.

who wrote in the *neue Sachlichkeit* style, such as Niels Otto Raasted, were also represented. This indicates that the style was clearly promoted but not yet established in the region. A further effort towards inter-Nordic cooperation and dissemination may be seen in the radio broadcasting of these organ works in 1939.³³⁴ However, this project was terminated by the onset of World War II in 1939.

2.6 Conclusions

The foregoing discussion of the historical, liturgical, musical and organisational background from which *Pro organo* emerged has revealed a period of substantial change in every respect. It was seen that the first decades of the 20th century saw Norway's independence from Sweden in 1905, the coronation of the first King in six centuries, a further surge of national pride occasioned by the rediscovery of an important medieval repository of manuscripts associated with the pre-reformational Nidaros liturgical tradition associated with St Olav, the patron saint of Norway, a continuing interest in folk music (spearheaded in the 19th century) and an increasing use of the Norwegian language, including the *Landsmaal* (*nynorsk*) written language. The emergence of national choral and other musical societies may also be regarded as reflections of national pride and achievement.

It has also been established that the decades preceding the publication of *Pro organo* saw a great deal of liturgical change within the Church of Norway, mainly following developments elsewhere. Chief among the changes was the reinstatement of the prose Sunday service, marking a return to pre-reformation practices, and a restoration of the weekly Eucharist in place of the sermon-focussed service. The office of Vespers was also reinstated. Of great importance to the present study were some of the reasons underlying the changes; they have been found to reflect a desire to return to liturgical principles and practices established during the reformation (and even earlier), which were largely discarded by the church in the interim. It was also believed that such practices entailed a degree of liturgical richness that was worthy of recovery. The influence of the writings of the German theologian Theodor Kliefoth on the changes made to the liturgy in Norway has been noted, along with the fact that Oxford Movement theories were brought to Norway by Ronald Fangen and others and disseminated through clergy by way of the organisations *Ordo crucis* and *Pro ecclesia* from the 1930s.

³³⁴ Styret, Nordiske orgelprogrammer i radio, in *Sangen*, 1939, p. 9.

We have seen that reforms in 1934 made in to the Church of Norway liturgies of 1877 and 1920 involved changes in the role and style of music in services, commencing with simplified congregational tunes for non-chorale parts of the service, harmonised by Per Steenberg in what has been regarded as the 'pure style,' reflecting the current interest in the style of Palestrina and historical sources.

The extensive changes that have been discussed in the area of hymnody are of enormous relevance to the present study of *Pro organo*, a source of organ music based entirely on chorales sung in the Church of Norway. LR, the hymnal containing texts pertinent to *Pro organo*, was seen as a landmark publication, chiefly in its inclusion of hymns from outside the Nordic region (especially England) and other traditions, including layperson's organisations and even revivalist hymns and spiritual songs. The associated tunes were published in 1926 as KNK, which remained the authorised chorale book when *Pro organo* was compiled, although the editors chose to use the alternative PSK as the primary source for their project. In many respects KNK was found to represent a continuation of the tradition established by L. M. Lindeman in his chorale book, *Koralbog til Landstads Salmebog* (1877) in its inclusion of Norwegian tunes and largely chromatic harmonisation styles, the latter even applied to 16th-century modal tunes. Nevertheless, the inclusion of folk tunes for the first time, and texts from a variety of ecumenical sources in KNK represented a new direction. It was also seen that degrees of rhythmic restoration of chorale tunes occur in KNK (and LML); even if this did not necessarily approach original rhythmic forms of reformation tunes, it is indicative of a growing interest in alternatives to strictly isometric forms.

The choice of tunes and the style of their harmonisation for Steenberg's alternative chorale book (PSK, 1949) was of much greater interest to the *Pro organo* compilers due to the fact that it was so much more in line with their aesthetic and liturgical priorities. It has been established that Steenberg's vision for liturgical music and hymnody in particular was largely informed by the writings of Thomas Laub and Knut Jeppesen. Accordingly, tunes were selected according to their ecclesial integrity and were harmonised according to historical (including modal) principles in order to provide objective and unsentimental realisations. In addition, original rhythms of reformation tunes were restored. In short, PSK has been seen as a challenge to the more romantically conceived KNK, although it must be acknowledged that both books were used concurrently.

As seen in the foregoing discussion, Norwegian church music in the first half of the 20th century was marked by a renaissance of interest in liturgy and traditional hymnody and its place in the church. It was also a time of continuing improvements in the competence of church musicians, interest in organised choral groups and large-scale choral works. At the same time, an underlying conservatism typified by the persistence of both the Lindeman and Straube traditions through Eyvind Alnæs and Arild Sandvold, and continued by their students. In the realm of Norwegian liturgical organ music composed during the first half of the 20th century, the Laubian influence was seen to be considerable in encouraging a style of music that was designed and intended to serve the need of the liturgical word without detracting from it by providing mere entertainment. The most suitable styles were seen to be derived from the Baroque era and earlier, and music based on such idioms by Laub, Jeppesen and the Germans Hugo Distler and Ernst Pepping provided models that were adopted by amongst others Steenberg, Conrad Baden and later, Ludvig Nielsen and Rolf Karlsen. At the same time, composers such as Sandvold and Alnæs continued to write in the romantic style. Undoubtedly, the emergence of organs built in Norway according to *Orgelbewegung* principles from 1950 in Bergen provided an important catalyst to the development of historically based contemporary organ music. We have seen that the ‘pure style’ was actively disseminated through the organisation *Musica Sacra* (of which the *Pro organo* compilers were foundation members), through articles published in journals such as *MNO*, through the work of choirs committed to the performance of early music and at occasions such as the Nordic church musicians’ assemblies.

This was the liturgical and musical environment in which *Pro organo* was conceived and it shows a significant presence of diverse trends that are now identified as the *neue Sachlichkeit*. The following chapter will chart the actual gestation of *Pro organo* and provide an overview of its content and editorial policies.

3

Pro organo and the *neue Sachlichkeit*

3.1 Introduction

Having established the theoretical concept of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, which in the following chapters will be evaluated as a influence on the development of the monumental compendium of liturgical organ music entitled *Pro organo*, and the liturgical and hymnological contexts in which it was to function, we now proceed to an overview of its rationale structure, content and editorial policies. From the outset, *Pro organo* was acknowledged in contemporary reviews as a reflection of the ideals of the so-called ‘pure’ church music style and the compilation quickly attained wide dissemination throughout Norway. Since the 1950s it has been an indispensable part of the libraries of many organists until the advent of *Norske koralbok* (NoKo, 1985); it is still to be found in the music collections of the majority of churches in Norway.³³⁵ With the exception of the final volume, over 865 copies of each volume of *Pro organo* have been sold since 1951.³³⁶ It should be noted that for most of the 20th century, sheet music used in Norwegian ecclesial services was largely purchased by the individual organist.³³⁷

This chapter serves to investigate the perceived need and use for such a resource; subsequently, it offers an analysis of the structure, content and editorial policies of the collection in the light of liturgical and church music reforms informed by historical practices. While documentary evidence relating to the planning and task distribution between editors has been lost, the collection itself provides ample material demonstrating how the musical and extra-musical details in *Pro organo* are constructed and how the

³³⁵ Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 280.

³³⁶ Øyvind Brock, *Personal e-mail communication with the author*, 8 July 2008. The actual sales figures for each volume (July 2008) are as follows: Volume 1: 865, volume 2: 867, Volume 3: 923, Volume 4: 875, volume 5: 593. The third and fourth volumes are currently out of print.

³³⁷ Albertsen, 2006, p. 249.

contents conform to the expressed aims of the editors. The four video-taped interviews with key figures involved with practices associated with the *neue Sachlichkeit* provide useful background material for this chapter. An especially valuable source is the interview with Rolf Karlsen's son, Kjell Mørk Karlsen, who throws light on the genesis of *Pro organo* and the establishment of *Musica Sacra*. Similarly, the interviews with Anfinn Øien and Per Lønning provide contemporary rationales for the perceived necessity of *Musica Sacra* and its program documents. The interview with Per Hjort Albertsen also provides a more general historic account of church music practices current in the 1940s and 1950s.

There have been no in-depth studies of organ compositional traditions and influences in Norway, a deficiency reflected across the Nordic region. Consequently, no authoritative overview of all chorale-based composition in Norway has been completed, although the listing by Hans Olav Lien (1989) represents an important initial effort.³³⁸ Studies of Norwegian organ music have been largely restricted to the works of individual composers, highlighting the most prolific and best known. Of these, Eivind R. Keyn's unpublished master's dissertation *Ludvig M. Lindemans orgelkomposisjoner: Analyse og oversikt* is one of two comprehensive studies of a single corpus of organ music.³³⁹ The other is Constance Marie H. Jaeger's *A survey of notable composers of organ music in Norway with particular emphasis upon the organ works of Egil Hovland*, which examines, besides selected Hovland works, a small number of works by Fartein Valen, Arild Sandvold and Ludvig Nielsen.³⁴⁰ In addition valuable background material in *Norges musikkhistorie* (1999-2001), further significant articles and studies have been typically published in *Festschrifts* or commemorative publications, including *Festschrift* for O. M. Sandvik,³⁴¹ Arild Sandvold,³⁴² Ludvig Nielsen,³⁴³ Rolf Karlsen,³⁴⁴ Ove Kristian Sundberg,³⁴⁵ Søren Gangfløt³⁴⁶ and Bjarne Sløgedal.³⁴⁷ Harald

³³⁸ See Hans Olav Lien, *Koralforspilloversikt: Oppslagsverk for praktisk koralbundet orgelmusikk til kirkelig bruk*, Østnorsk Musikkforlag, Vardø, 1989.

³³⁹ Eivind Rickard Keyn, *Ludvig M. Lindemans orgelkomposisjoner: Analyse og oversikt*, unpublished hovedfag dissertation, University of Oslo, Oslo, 1984.

³⁴⁰ Constance Marie Hanson Jaeger, *A survey of notable composers of organ music in Norway with particular emphasis upon the organ works of Egil Hovland*, University Microfilms, University of Washington, Washington, 1984.

³⁴¹ *Festschrift til O. M. Sandvik 70-årsdagen 1875-9. mai -1945*, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1945.

³⁴² Oslo organistforening (eds), *Arild Sandvold Festschrift til 80-års dagen [sic] 2. juni 1975*, A/S Industritrykkeriet, Oslo, 1975.

³⁴³ Torgeir J. Havgar, Per Hjort Albertsen, Bjørn Moe & Hampus Huldt-Nystrøm (eds), *Domorganist Ludvig Nielsen 1906 – 3. februar – 1976*, A/S Nidaros & Trøndelagens Boktrykkeri, Trondheim, 1976.

³⁴⁴ Sundberg, 1981.

³⁴⁵ Nils Grinde, Erling E. Guldbrandsen, Kjell Mørk Karlsen, Magnar Mangersnes & Petter Stigar (eds), *La livets kilde rinne: Festschrift til Ove Kristian Sundberg på 75-årsdagen 22. juni 2007*, Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo, 2007.

³⁴⁶ Guttorm Ihlebæk, Lars Tomtum & Jørn Fevang (eds), *Festschrift til Søren Gangfløt på 70-årsdagen 20. april 1991*, Utgitt av en komité (published by a committee), Fredrikstad, 1991.

Herresthal's writings on exceptional pedagogues and organ composers such as Arild Sandvold,³⁴⁸ Conrad Baden³⁴⁹ and Egil Hovland³⁵⁰ are similarly important in placing value judgments on significant figures making critical assessment of their contributions. The study of Norwegian dialectical processes and pedagogical influences in regard to church music has been partially addressed in the dissertation on organ pedagogy by Ole Johannes Kosberg, entitled *Akkurat som der nede. En framstilling av Karl Straubes innflytelse på norske kirkemusikk, sett i lys av livsverkene til de norske elevene hans*, which describes the influence of Karl Straube (1873–1950) on his Norwegian organ students, a significant group of musicians who had extensive interaction with contemporary European musicians and centres, some of whom sustained Straube's creed of the liturgical use of the organ as a sound decorator and accompanying instrument.³⁵¹ Arne J. Solhaug's book on the changing status, education system and working conditions for the organist in Norway gives a 20th-century overview,³⁵² and a further study on the efforts of Norwegian church musicians to raise levels of musicianship and their own status by Ragna Ingeborg Wien contains valuable insights into parish music activities during the early 20th century.³⁵³

3.1.1 Towards the publication of *Pro organo*

Prior to the publication of *Pro organo*, Norwegian organists lacked a complete selection of organ music for service use corresponding with the demands of both the current chorale book and traditional service music performance practices. From the middle of the 19th century a number of collections of preludes were published for organists with limited skills. Norwegian liturgical organ literature during the period 1850-1950 is noteworthy for its unevenness in quality, although it served largely to meet the needs of the uneducated organist. Throughout the period no single collection attempted to cover all possible service needs. The few published extended chorale-based compositions concentrated primarily on a small selection of then recently authorised hymn tunes. Typical settings were short, exemplified in the works of Otto Winter-Hjelm and Peter Lindeman, which provided

³⁴⁷ Frank Høgberg, Jens Vetland, Åge Haavik, Harald Herresthal, Magnar Mangersnes, Leif Frivold & Asbjørn Arntsen (eds), *Festskrift til domorganist Bjarne Sløgedal*, De Internasjonale Kirkefestspillene og Domkirkens Menighetsråd, Kristiansand, 1996.

³⁴⁸ Herresthal, 1995.

³⁴⁹ Harald Herresthal, Kirkemusikeren og komponisten Conrad Baden, Inserts in *Norsk musikketidsskrift* 1971 nos. 2, pp. 1-24, 3, pp. 25-39 & 4, pp. 40-52 & 1972 no. 1, pp. 53-76.

³⁵⁰ Harald Herresthal (ed), *Egil Hovland: Et liv med musikk*, Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo, 1994.

³⁵¹ Ole Johannes Kosberg, *Akkurat som der nede: En framstilling av Karl Straubes innflytelse på norske kirkemusikk, sett i lys av livsverkene til de norske elevene hans*, unpublished *hovedfag* dissertation, Norges musikkhøgskole, Oslo, 1996.

³⁵² Solhaug, 2002.

³⁵³ Wien, 1989.

simple, usually homophonic material for the introduction of hymns.³⁵⁴ Although some organists in major centres are known to have improvised chorale preludes, many, like Per Hjort Albertsen (1919-), organist at *Vår Frue kirke* in Trondheim (1947-1968), never made use of improvised service music.³⁵⁵ Contemporary opinions differed in regard to the artistic value of improvised chorale preludes and their significance in the service.³⁵⁶ In reviewing the first volume of *Pro organo*, writer, composer and organist Conrad Baden (1908-1989) questioned the quality of contemporary improvisations, particularly in regard to form and length.³⁵⁷ In 1939, Baden recommended specific compositional techniques for service music, calling for clarity of form, polyphonic working and style choices dependent on the liturgical placement, and while his views may not have reflected consensus among all organists, they reflect a sympathetic and pragmatic approach to providing organ chorale preludes for service use which were echoed and expounded in publications associated with *Norges Organistforening* and *Norges Organist forbund* during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.³⁵⁸

3.1.2 The chorale prelude in the service life of the church

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the first half of the 20th century was characterised by a plurality of practice and understandings in church music. The primary role of church music and its principle arena of practice was in the service life of the church, first and foremost in the principle Sunday service or *Høymesse*. Until the late 1920s the key persons involved in liturgical organ music were generally deeply rooted in the 19th-century tradition of the Lindeman family. As shown in Chapter 2.2, the period 1926-1949 was strongly delineated by the authorised music materials that had been recently produced by, amongst others, Eyvind Alnæs, Ole Mørk Sandvik, Wilhelm Huus-Hansen and Per Steenberg. The traditional placement in the 1920/1934 liturgy of lengthier chorale preludes before the *høymesse*-hymn (after the Gospel reading) and before the hymn following the sermon, demanded repertoire, while not specified by liturgical rubrics (see Table 2.1) that filled a liturgical purpose in interpreting the written word.³⁵⁹ In addition, the primary organ work

³⁵⁴ For example, Peter Lindeman, *30 Smaastykker for orgel og harmonium* Op. 9, P.T. Mallings Boghandels forlag, Oslo, 1886 and *Den norske organist* Op. 10 and 34 (1888-1919), Cantando, Stavanger, 1994; and Otto Winter-Hjelm, *72 lette Koralforspill for orgel*, Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen, no date, and *86 korte og lette Præludier for orgel*, Oluf bys Musikforlag, Oslo, no date.

³⁵⁵ Albertsen, 2006, in Appendix B, p. 246.

³⁵⁶ Conrad Baden, Musikk i gudstjenesten, in *Sangen*, 1939, p. 138, and Conrad Baden, Om og omkring Pro Organo, in *MNO*, March 1953, p. 22. See also Kirkemusikkelsker, Herr Redaktør, in *Sangen*, 1939, p. 125 and Conrad Baden, Organister og improvisasjon, in *MNO*, October 1948, pp. 57-58 and Redaktør [editor] & Ludvig Nielsen, Organister og improvisasjon, in *MNO*, June 1956, pp. 53-55.

³⁵⁷ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

³⁵⁸ For example, see the aforementioned articles by Baden: Baden, 1939, p. 138, and Baden, 1953, p. 22.

³⁵⁹ Albertsen, 2006, in Appendix B, pp. 237, 246; Øien, 2006, in Appendix B, p. 266.

of the service, the prelude prior to the opening prayer, would usually be based on the first hymn of the day.³⁶⁰

The predominantly polyphonic and imitative style of compositions found in the works of Ludvig Mathias Lindeman (1812-1887) is of considerable importance and influence in the development of liturgical organ music in Norway. Lindeman was dialectically connected to the Bach tradition through his father, who was a student of Israel Gottlieb Wernicke (1755-1836). Wernicke was active in Norway and Denmark as a pianist, concertmaster and composer, and was a key figure in introducing the Bach tradition to the region following study with Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783) in Berlin. Lindeman was responsible for the establishment of the music conservatorium in Oslo, which evolved from a private school for organists he had founded in 1883. Although many of Lindeman's organ works were destroyed by fire, his extant works have remained in the repertoire, including *Tre fuger over BACH* and the substantial variation works *Hvo veed, hvor nær mig er min Ende* (*Wer weiß, wie nahe mir mein Ende!*, 1836, not published until 1975) and *Hvo ikkun lader Herren råde* (see Chapter 2.1) and might typify more complex service music used by educated organists of the era. Lindeman's organ works have been the subject of a scholarly study by Eivind Rickard Keyn,³⁶¹ and Idar Karevold has comprehensively investigated the Lindeman family in regard to central European influences.³⁶²

Despite the contrapuntal strengths of L. M. Lindeman, many 19th-century liturgical organ works, such as *40 Præludier* Op. 26 (1892) by Christian Cappelen (1845-1916) are simply short character pieces in various keys that were not based on chorale themes but mainly feature 8-12-bar three or four voice canonic introductions, closing with formulaic cadential sequences. *30 Smaastykker for orgel og harmonium* Op. 9 (1886) and *Den norske organist* Op. 10 and 34 (1888-1919) by Peter Lindeman and *72 lette Koralforspill for orgel* and *86 korte og lette Præludier for orgel* by Otto Winter-Hjelm also typify the atmospheric style of Cappelen, intended to reflect the solemnity of the church service. The well-crafted contrapuntal and even large-scale works of the Bodø composer Fridthjov Anderssen (1876-1937) were largely unknown outside his own circle until they were published in 1959, and importantly in this context, also in *Pro organo*. The Cappelen organ composition style was promulgated through his students Johannes Haarklou (1847-1925), Catharinus Elling (1858-1942),

³⁶⁰ Albertsen, 2006, in Appendix B, p. 241. See Chapter 2.2.

³⁶¹ Keyn, 1984.

³⁶² Idar Karevold, *Kontinentale impulser i en norsk musikerslekt før 1850: En studie i brever, musikaler og skrifter etter slekten Lindeman*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Göteborg Universitet, Göteborg, 1996.

Rudolph Magnus Forwald (1869-1936), Wilhelm Huus-Hansen, Georg Reiss and the early works of Per Steenberg. Some other important works from this period include *Tolv Postludier* Op. 28 (1893) by Cappelen, *18 Fantastykker over norske Salmemelodier* Op. 24 (1904) by Peter Lindeman and *Fire Festpræludier* Op. 30 (1909) by Forwald. Repertoire following the Cappelen and Lindeman dialectic in harmonisation, involving limited contrapuntal techniques and focus on sound colour, with reference to isometrical or partially restored chorale rhythms and melodies found in LML and KNK³⁶³ remained essentially unchanged in its focus and style until the 1940s and even later, perpetuated by Sandvold and his students. It reflects the autonomy of conservative, aesthetically motivated practices in the church. However, some later works by Sandvold, such as his *Herre, jeg hjertelig ønsker å fremme din ære* (1959),³⁶⁴ use canonic imitation, terraced dynamics and classical structures, thus showing a willingness to follow historicist trends. Undoubtedly the most commonly used collection of organ music for service use from the 1930s, and one that was found in almost every organ loft, was the extensive romanticist series *Ved orglet*, compiled and edited by Ole Koppang and others. This publication contained short works by historical and contemporary composers, with an emphasis on 19th-century transcriptions, many in simplified forms for manuals only.³⁶⁵

By the 1930s, elements of post-romantic international compositional trends began to influence Norwegian organ composition. In addition to the composition of works inspired by rediscovered Nidaros sequences (see Chapter 2.4.1) composers such as Peter Conrad Baden, Magne Elvestrand (1914-1991), Knut Nystedt (1915-), Egil Hovland (1924-), and in particular, Fartein Valen (1887-1952) produced outstanding works in both historical formats and using tonal, modal and atonal languages. With the exception of Valen's atonal works, these compositions were intended for ecclesial use. Journals in the 1930s to 1950s indicate that a plethora of chorale-based and free organ compositions was available in print, including works by Eyvind Alnæs, Arild Sandvold, Ronald Forwald, Arnljot Kjeldaas and Per Steenberg. Apart from later works by Steenberg, these works largely continued the tradition of subjectively motivated composition in a lyrical, sentimental style. By the 1950s, clear recommendations for a revised use of organ music in the service were published in

³⁶³ Baden, 1939, p. 139

³⁶⁴ Arild Sandvold, *Variasjoner over norske folketone* "Herre, jeg hjertelig ønsker å fremme din ære," Norsk Musikforlag, Oslo, 1960.

³⁶⁵ Ole Koppang, Kolbjørn Koppang & Arild Sandvold (eds), *Ved orglet: Foredragsstykker for kirke og hjem*, in ten volumes; volumes 8 and 10 edited by Kolbjørn Koppang & Arild Sandvold, Norsk Musikforlag A/S, Oslo, 1930-1937. See also Chapter 2.2.1, footnote 206.

the organist's journal.³⁶⁶ Karlsen's article in 1950 lists apposite music for specific occasions in the church year in a series of articles intended to guide church musicians. By no means unique to Norway, similar articles had already been published in Finland nearly two decades previously.³⁶⁷ Here, the emphasis is on chorale-based works from historical sources, featuring Buxtehude, Pachelbel and Walther. It was not until the 1950s that works by Baden, Anderssen, Nystedt, Hovland, Karlsen and Nielsen became widely used and a diversification of practice established.

3.1.3 Significant contemporary Nordic publications of chorale preludes

Perhaps the most important Norwegian chorale prelude publication that was to precede *Pro organo* was a collection of short chorale preludes by the editor-in-chief of KNK, Eyvind Alnæs. *Kortere Forspil til samtlige melodier i Koralbok for den norske kirke* was published in 1926, the same year as KNK, and was in fact advertised as a potential Christmas gift together with the companion chorale book!³⁶⁸ This collection was the first of its kind in Norway. It contained preludes for the entire chorale book, and as such, it gained widespread usage.³⁶⁹ The contents are largely homophonic, richly (even sentimentally) harmonised, well-crafted, short (usually about 8-12 bars in length) and functional, serving an intended purpose of eliminating poorly executed improvised introductory music, and providing a unified approach between chorale and prelude and chorale tune harmonisation.³⁷⁰ According to Holter, the basis for such a chorale prelude collection was derived from a Finnish chorale book which had included a similar compendium on its publication in 1913. Supported by committee member O. M. Sandvik, Alnæs' collection of short and functional chorale preludes was supported by the chorale book committee.³⁷¹

Historical repertoire from northern Europe was used to introduce established chorale tunes in Norwegian churches with competent musicians.³⁷² Advertisements and reviews indicate that collections of apposite historical compositions, such as J. S. Bach's *Orgelbuchlein* and Karl Straube's *Choralvorspiele alter Meister* (1907)³⁷³ were available to Norwegian organists. Danish collections, such as Povl Hamburger and Mogens Wöldike's *Orgelmusik til*

³⁶⁶ Rolf Karlsen, Forslag til orgelmusikk for forskjellige høytider og kirkeårstider, in *MNO*, no. 5, 1950, p. 9.

³⁶⁷ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 239-240.

³⁶⁸ Holter, 2003, p. 108.

³⁶⁹ Albertsen 2006, in Appendix A, p. 242.

³⁷⁰ Holter, 2003, p. 108.

³⁷¹ Holter, 2003, p. 108; *Den Finska Evangelisk-Lutherska Kyrkans Koralbok innehållande samtliga de av de allmänna finska kyrkomötena åren 1903, 1908 och 1913*, Borgå 1933.

³⁷² Albertsen, 2006, in Appendix B, pp. 244, 248.

³⁷³ Karl Straube & Max Seiffert (ed), *Choralvorspiele alter Meister*, C. F. Peters ed. 3048, Leipzig, 1907.

gudstjenestebrug, for orgel uden pedal eller harmonium (1931-1939),³⁷⁴ Fin Ditlevsen and Finn Viderø's *Orgelmusik: Præludier og koralbearbejdelser fra det 17de aarhundrede*, (1938)³⁷⁵ and Mogens Wöldike's *Orgelkoraler til kirkeåret* (1943)³⁷⁶ were available, although their usage frequency is not documented. These collections reflect and were inspired by Laubian reform and feature similar historical composer selections and weightings as *Pro organo*, thus further underlining the Laubian stance of *Pro organo*. These were the first widely available collections of baroque repertoire in *urtext* editions in the Nordic region, although such works were rarely advertised in Norwegian music journals until the 1950s.³⁷⁷

An especially important precursor of *Pro organo* was a Swedish church musicians' handbook published in 1935, J. Assarsson's *Handbok för kyrkomusiker*, a book which may have provided a catalyst for the comprehensive indexing and referencing system used by Karlsen and Nielsen.³⁷⁸ This handbook, intended for the Swedish organist, but also useful for practising organists in Norway,³⁷⁹ provides a comprehensive overview of recently published and established chorale-based compositions for each chorale tune in the then current Swedish chorale book. Assarsson's overview gives wide-ranging information referencing Swedish and German sources and provides hymn title concordances. However, Norwegian chorale-based composition is not afforded such treatment here, or in other published sources such as Sandvik's *Norsk koralhistorie*.³⁸⁰ Leif Tjomsland, in a review of *Handbok för kyrkomusiker*, clearly raises the issue of the need for a list of sources of chorale preludes suitable for use with KNK. Such a list should also include an overview of concordant titles in Danish, Swedish and German.³⁸¹

A further catalyst may well have been the previously mentioned Danish publication, Mogens Wöldike's *Orgelkoraler til kirkeåret* (1943). Approximately two thirds of the 125 chorale preludes comprise historical works chosen for their brevity and clarity. The forms consist primarily of the chorale fughetta and chorale prelude using accurate renditions of

³⁷⁴ Povl Hamburger & Mogens Wöldike (eds), *Orgelmusik til gudstjenestebrug, for orgel uden pedal eller harmonium*, Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen, 1931-1939. See also Povl Hamburger & H. Godske-Nielsen (eds), *Orgelmusik til gudstjenestebrug*, second collection, Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen, 1957.

³⁷⁵ Fin Ditlevsen & Finn Viderø, *Orgelmusik, bind. 1: Præludier og koralbearbejdelser fra det 17de aarhundrede*, utgivet til gudstjeneste- og studiebrug, Engstrøm & Sødring Musikforlag, Copenhagen, 1938.

³⁷⁶ Mogens Wöldike, *Orgelkoraler til kirkeåret: 125 koralbearbejdelser til brug ved gudstjenesten samlet og udgivet af Mogens Wöldike*, Edition Wilhelm Hansen AS, Copenhagen, 1943.

³⁷⁷ The first regular advertisements for historical organ music appear from 1955 in *MNO*, from the issue May-June 1955, p. 66. In this issue, *Norsk Musikkforlag* advertises a Norwegian Pachelbel edition.

³⁷⁸ J. Assarsson, *Handbok för kyrkomusiker*, Nordiska Musikförlag, Stockholm, 1936.

³⁷⁹ Leif Tjomsland, En ny handbok, in *Sangen*, 1938, p. 44.

³⁸⁰ Sandvik, 1930.

³⁸¹ This handbook is reviewed in Tjomsland, 1938, p. 44.

the *cantus firmus* in line with Laubian principles, which are firmly and convincingly stated in the foreword.³⁸² Although the colouristic embellished chorale is specifically mentioned in the foreword as being unsuited to the Danish church service, a small number of examples appear, such as Dieterich Buxtehude's *Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn* (BuxWV 231).³⁸³ The remaining third of the contents is by Danish composers in a style-copyist mode, the majority by Mogens Wöldike (1897-1988) and Thomas Laub, with additional works by Povl Hamburger (1901-1972) and Finn Viderø (1906-1987). Laub's previously unpublished chorale preludes written concurrently with the production of *Musik og kirke* (1920) appear in this compilation.³⁸⁴ The compilation also provides limited source and editorial information as well as suggestions for the use of the preludes throughout the church calendar. Detailed suggestions on tempo, phrasing, articulation and registration are provided in the introduction. References are given for the current Danish chorale book numberings, although title concordances for tune sources are not provided.³⁸⁵ Recent tunes considered unworthy or unsuitable for ecclesial use were omitted from the compilation. *Orgelkoraler til kirkeåret* predates *Pro organo* by eight years, and may well have provided a clear model upon which Karlsen and Nielsen expanded and developed; however, no material is shared between these compilations.³⁸⁶

A further important Norwegian collection, inspired by the abovementioned Nordic publications, was compiled by Arild Sandvold.³⁸⁷ *29 koralforspill av norske organister* was published in 1946 with the aim of providing preludes by contemporary Norwegian composers for tunes unique to the Norwegian church, including 13 folk tunes. It contains works by Elling Enger (1905-1975), Sigurd Islandsmoen (1881-1964), Finn Skottner (1907-1983), Sigvart Moseng (1892-1968), Arnljot Kjeldaas (1916-1997), Conrad Baden, John Thorkildsen (1883-1947), Edvard Bræin (1924-1976), Rolf Karlsen and Magne Elvestrand. The compositional styles vary widely between composers. All works are of moderate

³⁸² Wöldike, 1943, p. iii.

³⁸³ Wöldike, 1943, p. 100.

³⁸⁴ Wöldike, 1943, p. iii.

³⁸⁵ Wöldike, 1943, p. vi.

³⁸⁶ Other relevant Nordic chorale prelude publications from the period include Albert Runbäck & Waldemar Åhlén (eds), *Introitus-preludier för orgel samlade och utgivna I - II*, Nordiska Musikförlaget, Stockholm, ca. 1944, and Albert Runbäck & Waldemar Åhlén (eds), *Gradual-preludier – Korta förspel till kyrkoårets gradualpsalmer*, Nordiska musikförlaget, Stockholm, 1951.

³⁸⁷ Arild Sandvold (ed), *29 Koralforspill av norske organister for orgel eller harmonium*, hefte 1, Norsk Musikforlag A/S, Oslo, 1946, p. 3. The planned second volume of technically more complex chorale preludes was never realised. The composers are represented by the following number of works: Enger (6), Islandsmoen (5), Skottner (4), Moseng (4), Kjeldaas (3), Baden (3), Thorkildsen (1), Bræin (1), Karlsen (1) and Elvestrand (1).

difficulty and many contain imitative writing, although none of them may be considered composed strictly according to Laubian principles. Registration suggestions (often including suggestions for orchestral *crescendo* and *decrescendo* effects) are provided in an appendix.

While older German chorale prelude literature could suffice for the introduction of established chorale tunes from Europe, the addition of more recent Norwegian, Nordic and international chorale melodies and folk tunes in KNK meant that considerable deficiencies in the repertoire now existed, despite Sandvold's publication *29 koralforspill av norske organister*. Furthermore, the current chorale book KNK contained transpositions of hymns to keys other than those found in existing chorale prelude repertoire and the melodic and rhythmic detail of melodies was frequently also at variance with existing organ chorale settings. This created a requirement for the compilation of a selection of chorale preludes attuned to current service needs and chorale book demands. Yet a further impetus for the use of a particular style of organ music came from a developing interest in new organ building techniques with the *Orgelbewegung* as a desirable style concept, as seen in Chapter 1.7. Also, the concurrent growing attention given to historical performance practice undoubtedly stimulated and sharpened the need for appropriate compositional material for instruments designed along *Orgelbewegung* lines.³⁸⁸ From a liturgical perspective (as Chapter 2.2 has also shown) the concept of liturgical music serving a clearly defined function (as recommended by proponents of the liturgical movement) provided yet another motivation for the production of a resource such as *Pro organo*. As shown in Chapter 1.5, the scene had been set both in philosophical and practical terms before World War II through the work of Thomas Laub and Carl-Allan Moberg; the time was right for the presentation and proliferation of these ideas in Norway through a Norwegian collection of chorale preludes.

While it has not been stated directly in contemporary written sources of the 1940s and 1950s, Anfinn Øien and Kjell Mørk Karlsen agree that the publication of *Pro organo* was a logical early step for the proponents of the 'pure style,' *neue Sachlichkeit* and for members of *Musica Sacra*, as seen in Chapter 2.5.³⁸⁹ The then recently published *Koralbok* by Per Steenberg (1947, published posthumously in 1949) provided stylistic and practical boundaries for such a collection of material, both through tune numberings and the general

³⁸⁸ Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 273

³⁸⁹ Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 280.

emphases on restored rhythms, restrained, often modal harmonisation and modality and tonality derived from melodic implications. This direct alliance with PSK, a complete replacement chorale book focussed on historical chorale harmonisation principles and apposite tunes matched to texts of the current authorised hymnal, LR, provides a tangible indication of disassociation with the authorised chorale book of the period.

3.2 The contents of *Pro organo*

The direct influence of PSK on *Pro organo* is immediately evident: the organ prelude settings encompass every tune from that chorale book and Steenberg's numbering system or alphabetical ordering is followed.³⁹⁰ A small number of additional tunes sourced from KNK were also included. While PSK contains tunes and harmonisations for all 866 texts in LR (as well as those for NN) and as such provides a complete alternative to KNK, several tunes found in KNK were substituted with new tunes in PSK (see Chapter 2.3.2). The reasons for these substitutions are not always clear, although in general, the new tunes are less sentimental in style, featuring simple structures and constrained melodic movement and harmonic content.³⁹¹ PSK also contains some of the supplementary tunes included in the later editions of KNK as well as a number of unique alternative tunes. As stated above, the *Pro organo* chorale preludes are numbered in concordance with PSK; however, numbering practices conceal the actual total of 323 works.³⁹² A number of historical works (approximately 16% of the total number of works) were selected from a range of material, most of which were not then widely available in published editions. They were chosen from a wide range of sources from six countries, spanning almost three centuries. Possibly on the basis of the selected historical works, the editors divided the composition of new material between themselves. In a clear expression of cooperation and continual active involvement, almost every second new work is evenly distributed between Karlsen and Nielsen. While Karlsen's contribution is slightly smaller than Nielsen's (apart from the final volume), it is probable that this discrepancy is coincidental. It should be emphasised that the vast majority of the contemporary works were published in *Pro organo* for the first

³⁹⁰ An exception is the exclusive reference to Berggreen's tune in PO174, despite the presence of Karlsen's own tune to the text *Lykkesalig, lykkesalig* in PSK. It is not known whether the publisher (Harald Lyche & co, Drammen) or compilers chose the common numbering system in PSK and *Pro organo*.

³⁹¹ See Chapter 2.3.2 for more details.

³⁹² Alphabetically ordered letterings (a, b and c) indicate settings of alternative tunes found either in PSK or KNK. The system is not entirely consistent, although the basic system is identical with PSK, which is numbered 1-298. One work, 142a, is printed in a transposed version (142b); many works are equipped with combination key signatures which allow transposition at the semitone. Another tune, *Krist stod opp av døde* (PO164) is incorporated into a work that combines this tune with another Easter hymn, *Påskemorgen slukker sorgen* (PO238).

time.³⁹³ As Table 3.1 shows, *Pro organo* is divided into five volumes, each containing between 51 and 74 chorale preludes of varying length, ranging from 5 to 111 bars. Of these, between eight and seventeen works are from historical sources, the remaining by Karlsen and Nielsen. A small number of works (eight) by composers of the preceding generation, Fridthjov Anderssen and Per Steenberg, are also included, accounting for approximately 2.5% of the contents, as shown in Table 3.1. Although notable for their developed counterpoint, the two works of Anderssen (PO3b and PO61a) display a harmonic language that is not always analogous with either the contributions of the compilers, or of the historical source material.³⁹⁴

Volume	Publication	Works	Historical	Karlsen	Nielsen	Anderssen	Steenberg ³⁹⁵
One, A-E	1951	51	8	21	21	1	0
Two, F-H	1952	67	11	25	27	1	3
Three, I-K	1954	65	9	27	28	0	1
Four, L-O	1955	74	17	27	28	0	2
Five, P-Å	1958	66	8	24	34	0	0
Summary		323	53 (16.4%)	124 (38.4%)	138 (42.7%)	2 (0.63%)	6 (1.87%)

Table 3.1 Overview of the contents of *Pro organo* showing proportions of historical and contemporary works and approximate source percentages in parentheses

The compilers of *Pro organo* also provided settings of eight supplementary tunes from KNK that do not appear in PSK (PO115b, PO138b PO217a, PO222b, PO231b, PO270b, PO291a and PO292b). Furthermore, four of these tunes appear in rhythmically restored forms in *Pro organo* (PO112, PO124, PO200 PO298). Just one tune by Karlsen found in PSK, (PSK174), is not provided with a setting; instead, Nielsen provides the popular Berggreen tune from KNK with a short setting. This may have been a result of pressure from colleagues to provide for a tune that was in widespread use, or simply to support congregational autonomy. Some examples, such as Klaus Østby's 1909 tune to the popular text *Jeg er en seiler på livets hav* (I am a sailor on the sea of life) were provided with only one setting by Karlsen (PO125), of Steenberg's substituted tune.³⁹⁶ Later works (in volumes three to five), such as Nielsen's setting of (PO291b) *Å fikk jeg kun være den minste kvist* (O, that I could only be the smallest twig) were occasionally provided with both Steenberg's substitution (by Karlsen, PO291a) and an established tune from KNK not provided in

³⁹³ See Appendix A for a full listing of exceptions (p. 224 and *Excel* file on attached CD-ROM).

³⁹⁴ This style is compatible with the early works of Steenberg, exemplified in the working found in PO150a that was completed for this collection by Rolf Karlsen. The remaining Steenberg works are mainly in short formats with truncated *cantus firma* that, while stylistically similar, provide minimal comparative material. The Anderssen works, previously unpublished, all predate the collection.

³⁹⁵ One work completed by Karlsen is included in this column, the Steenberg-initiated PO150a.

³⁹⁶ A typical example of contemporary criticism is found in the following article: Bjørn Bjørklund, *Koralbokstriden*, in *MNO*, March 1953, pp. 24-25.

PSK.³⁹⁷ However, other tunes, such as Lowell Mason's much-despised BETHANY to *Nearer, my God, to thee* were not included;³⁹⁸ Karlsen's prelude (PO204) for this text (*Nærmere dig, min Gud*) is based on a tune composed by himself. Such adjustments may indicate willingness to compromise the favoured 'pure style' of chorale tune with a respect and regard for the practices of congregational singing, an argument supported by Bjørklund.³⁹⁹ In other cases, a more uncompromising stance was held. Anfinn Øien, in commenting of the the collection as a whole, has remarked that the contents includes works of both high and low quality.⁴⁰⁰ This remark may well refer as much to the wide variety of chorale material as to the quality or complexity of the compositions in *Pro organo*.

As shown in Table 3.2, 55 texts were accorded more than one setting in *Pro organo*. The provision of multiple settings for certain texts may be accounted for in two ways. Firstly, PSK provides alternative or substitute tunes for a number of texts, as shown above, and secondly, *Pro organo* also provides for additional tunes not found in PSK. It should be noted that the system of tune naming used throughout much of Europe (the traditional text associated with the chorale tune provides the tune title, although when the tune is subsequently used for other texts and the original text is no longer in use, a new primary text/tune title may emerge) is an unreliable indicator in comparison with the established English-language system of tune-names, as it varies according to trends based on current usage. Thus Table 3.2 may give a misleading representation of the extent of such doublings. There has been a positive trend towards providing texts with proper (or unique) tunes in 20th-century Norwegian hymnals.⁴⁰¹ The use of a particular tune for a hymn text may have been governed by local practice; certainly, the provision of alternative, apposite tunes in both PSK and KNK allows for a large degree of flexibility, especially in regard to newer tunes.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ See Appendix A, *Excel* file on attached CD-ROM

³⁹⁸ According to Holter (Holter, 2003, p. 335) Mason's tune was undoubtedly the best known of the two tunes provided in the 1936 edition of KNK.

³⁹⁹ Bjørklund, 1953, p. 25.

⁴⁰⁰ Øien, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 258. Øien refers to the collection as *blandet innhold* or mixed content.

⁴⁰¹ Stig Wernø Holter, Fast følge eller løse forbindelser, in *Hymnologiske Meddelelser*, vol. 32, September 2003, no. 3, p. 259.

⁴⁰² See Chapter 2.3.2

Text	Tune source	Historical	Karlsen	Nielsen	Other
<i>Akké visste du som går</i>	Meyer/Lindeman		3a		3b Anderssen
<i>Bryt frem, mit hjertes</i>	Zinck/Lindeman		16	15	
<i>Den store hvite flokke</i>	Lindeman/Folk tune		22	23	
<i>Det koster mer</i>	Zinck/Genevan Psalter		31	30	
<i>Et barn er født</i>	Gregorian/Lindeman	45 Kauffmann	46		
<i>Ett er nødig</i>	Folk tune/Krieger		48	47	
<i>Et trofast hjerte</i>	Prætorius/Lindeman		49	50	
<i>Far, verden, farvel</i>	Zinck/Lindeman		53	52	
<i>Folkefrelsar, til oss kom</i>	Erfurt, 1524/Sletten	55a Buttstedt	56		55b Steenberg
<i>Fra himlen høit</i>	Schumann/Gregorian	57 Henschkel; 58a de Grigny	58b		
<i>Frykt mitt barn</i>	Nürnberg/Erfurt			61b	61a Anderssen
<i>Gud skal allting</i>	Crüger/Lindeman	69 W. F. Bach	70		
<i>Her ei ties, her innvies</i>	Lindeman/Folk tune			78 & 79	
<i>Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn</i>	Steenberg/Folk tune		83		82a & 82b Steenberg
<i>Herre Gud Fader</i>	10 th century Kyrie/Vogel	84a J. S. Bach	84b	85	
<i>Herre, hvor skal vi</i>	Laub/Steenberg		87	86	
<i>Herre, jeg har handlet ille</i>	Crüger/Crüger/Lindeman		88b	88a & 88c	
<i>I himmelen, i himmelen</i>	Lindeman/Folk tune		115b	115a	
<i>Ingen vinner frem</i>	Folk tune/Steenberg		119	120	
<i>I prektige himler</i>	Lindeman/Wideen		122	121	
<i>Jeg vet mig en sønn</i>	Schein/Sletten	132 Kittel		133	
<i>Jeg vil mig Herren love</i>	Zinck/Antwerpen 1540/Folk tune/Svenska Psalmboken		134 & 135	136 & 137	
<i>Jesus, det eneste</i>	Sörлие/Sinding		138a	138b	
<i>Jesus, dine dype vunder</i>	Genevan Psalter/Lindeman	139b Pachelbel	139b	140	
<i>Jesus, din søte forening</i>	1738/Folk tune		141 & 142b	142a	
<i>Jesus er mitt liv i live</i>	Crüger/Wesznitzer		144 & 145		
<i>Kjærighet er lysets kilde</i>	Lindeman/Folk tune		154	153	
<i>Kom hjerte, ta ditt</i>	Strassburg/Sletten		159	160	
<i>Leid, milde ljøs</i>	Purday/Solheim		171	170	
<i>Maria hun er en jomfru</i>	Lindeman/Wetter (Hessen)	176 Pachelbel		175	
<i>Med strålekrans om tinde</i>	Vulpus/Lindeman		180	181	
<i>Min lodd falt meg lifflig</i>	Cappelen/Folk tune		187	186	
<i>Min sjel, min sjel</i>	Kugelman/Lindeman	188 Scheidt	189		
<i>Naglet til et kors på jorden</i>	Zinck/Folk tune/St Olav's sequence		194 & 195	193	
<i>Nu hjertelig jeg lenges</i>	Hassler/Teschner	198 Pachelbel & 19 Kauffmann			

Text	Tune source	Historical	Karlsen	Nielsen	Other
<i>O bli hos mig!</i>	Steenberg/Monk		209	208	
<i>O Jesus, du er min</i>	Neusz/Schütz			217a & 217b	
<i>O la din Ånd nu med oss</i>	Rung/Lindeman		219	220	
<i>Om nogen til ondt</i>	Hæreid/Ehrenborg		222a	222b	
<i>Op all den ting</i>	German folk tune/Sletten/Steenberg		224 & 226	225	
<i>Op alle som på jorden</i>	Herman/Crüger	227 Walther		228	
<i>Op, gledes alle</i>	Häffner/Steenberg		230	229	
<i>Op, i kristne</i>	Steenberg/1680 tune			231a & 231b	
<i>O store konge</i>	Klug/Vogel?	233 Pachelbel		234	
<i>Overmåde, fullt av nåde</i>	Freylinghausen/Folk tune		235	236	
<i>Saligheten er oss nær</i>	Kingo/Lindeman		240 & 239		
<i>Se, solens skjønne lys og prakt</i>	Folk tune/Lindeman		243a & 243b	244	
<i>Sjå, han gjeng inn</i>	Sletten/Vulpus		247	246	
<i>Som den gylne sol</i>	Schop/Lindeman	250 Pachelbel		251	
<i>Sørg, o kjære Fader, du</i>	Weisse/Lindeman/Lindeman	258 Scheidt		259 & 260	
<i>Tenk når engang</i>	Baden/Folk tune/Berggreen		265	264 & 266	
<i>Uforsagt, vær på vakt</i>	Steenberg/Losnedahl			270a & 270b	
<i>Vær trostig, mitt hjerte</i>	Lindeman/Folk tune		281	282	
<i>Å fikk jeg kun være</i>	Lindhjem/Karlsen		291b	291a	
<i>Å Gud, mitt hjarta</i>	Laub/Koch			292a & 292b	

Table 3.2 Overview of alternative chorale tunes to LR texts and settings in PO. Numberings refer to PO

Table 3.3 shows that alternative organ settings are found for 13 tunes. Of these tunes, 10 are provided with both historical and contemporary settings. In only two instances are alternative settings provided by Karlsen and Nielsen (PO172a/172b and PO243a/243b). Nielsen's PO150a is also provided with an alternative setting by Steenberg/Karlsen (PO150b).⁴⁰³ The majority of the alternative settings are short supplementary works providing a concise alternative to a longer historical work. Examples of this practice may be seen in comparing the workings by de Grigny and Karlsen on the tune *A solis ortus cardine/Vom Himmel hoch (Fra himlen høyt)* (PO58a – 26 bars; PO58b – 9 bars), and the working of Purcell and Nielsen on *Or sus, serviteurs du Siegneur/Old 100th (Gjør doren høy)* (PO63a – 70 bars and PO63b – 12 bars).

⁴⁰³ This large-scale work was completed by Karlsen after Steenberg's incomplete manuscript was discovered posthumously.

Multiple settings of tune	Tune source	Historical	Karlsen	Nielsen	Other
<i>Folkefrelser, til oss kom</i>	Erfurt, 1524	55a Buttstedt			55b Steenberg
<i>Fra himlen høit</i>	Gregorian	58a de Grigny	58b		
<i>Gjør døren bøi</i>	Genevan Psalter	63a Purcell		63a	
<i>Herre Gud Fader</i>	10 th century Kyrie	84a J. S. Bach	84b		
<i>Hill dig, Frelser</i>	Herman	92a Walther	92b		
<i>Jeg synger julekvad</i>	Medieval tune	131a Sicher	131b		
<i>Jesus, dine dype vunder</i>	Genevan Psalter	139b Pachelbel	139a		
<i>Kirken den er et gammelt</i>	Lindeman			150b	150a Steenberg/Karlsen
<i>Kom Hellig Ånd</i>	Klug, 1535	157b Walther	157a		
<i>Lover den Herre</i>	Stralsund, 1665		172b	172a	
<i>Nu beder vi den Hellig Ånd</i>	Wittenberg, 1524	197a Glogauer	197b		
<i>Når vi i største nød</i>	Huguenot tune	207a Sweelinck		207b	
<i>Se, solens skjønne lys</i>	Folk tune		243b	243a	

Table 3.3 Overview of multiple settings of chorale tunes. Numberings refer to PO

In addition to providing every tune with appropriate introductions (or functional works for other liturgical purposes), *Pro organo* also furnishes practical information for the church musician in a manner similar to the previously mentioned Swedish companion, Assarsson's *Handbok för kyrkomusiker*. A wide variety of indexations provide information on the contents of each volume, some of which are repeated in other volumes. There is an alphabetical list of titles, both for PSK and for Swedish and Danish hymn titles using the same tunes. Source details for the historical realisations are given, along with a list of other apposite chorale prelude publications for the titles in each volume. The suggested works are of varying lengths and are primarily focussed on historical sources, although some workings by other Northern European composers until the late 19th century are also included.⁴⁰⁴ Keys and transposition requirements referring to PSK are also provided. The fifth volume includes an overview of original titles and sources of each tune, including the original title or traditional tune identifier.

3.2.1 The international significance of *Pro organo*

From the foregoing account it may be seen that *Pro organo* is a unique collection of varied-length chorale preludes for a specific chorale book, using both historical and contemporary material. Comparable functional collections associated with specific chorale books such as *Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch* appeared at about the same time in Germany,⁴⁰⁵ and the Swedish collection *Preludier till Den svenska koralbokens samtliga koraler* was published in 1940,

⁴⁰⁴ The editors use the phrase *av kirkelig karakter* (of ecclesial character) to indicate that the editors have approved the selections suggested in *Pro organo* as apposite church music.

⁴⁰⁵ Günter Raphael, *Choralvorspiele und Intonationen zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch*, Merseburger, Kassel, 1953.

with a second edition in 1946⁴⁰⁶. However, these collections contain works that are compact, not usually exceeding 12 bars in length. What distinguishes *Pro organo* from other publications is that it includes preludes in numbered concordance with a specific chorale book and the works included are of varying lengths and complexity, allowing for flexible use of the genre within the liturgy. While there is little evidence that *Pro organo* was in extensive use outside of Norway, the existence of concordance information shows that the editors were aware of the need for similar publications in Denmark and Sweden. While details of any marketing strategies have not been found, it is also probable that the inclusion of such additional material may have been motivated by a wish to sell the compilation in other countries.

3.2.2 The Foreword and intended use of *Pro organo*

The foreword to *Pro organo* (which is replicated in all volumes) contains a detailed rationale for the collection, the primary function being the provision of organ preludes for the majority of hymn tunes in use in Norway, with new works supplied where appropriate or non-copyright works were not available.⁴⁰⁷ With respect to liturgical function, Karlsen and Nielsen explain that the compilation provides hymn introductions (including miniatures of up to 12 bars composed by themselves) as well as service preludes and postludes (extended works in fantasia or variation format).⁴⁰⁸ An especially important, useful and possibly unique feature of the resource, namely that of expansion and/or reduction indications in all contemporary works of more than 12 bars, is also explained; these allow the organist to tailor the length of the prelude to the particular needs of the specific service liturgy.

The compilers acknowledge that the majority of works are playable on small organs of one manual without pedals, although an organ with two manuals and pedals is considered highly desirable. It is advised that the performance indications relating to each prelude are primarily intended to be a guide to an appropriate interpretation of the primary text associated with the tune. It is emphasised that the text is always the defining element in determining the presentation of the character of the music in a context in which the music is subservient to the liturgy. Thus a *neue Sachlichkeit* concept is clearly evident here, in line with contemporary stated demands for objectivity in musical expression, pronounced by

⁴⁰⁶ Oskar Lindberg, H. Weman & David Wikander, *Preludier till Den svenska koralbokens samtliga koraler*, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, Stockholm, 1946.

⁴⁰⁷ The foreword and a translation are provided in Appendix C.

⁴⁰⁸ The Norwegian text refers to *kirkelige handlinger*, meaning ecclesiastical rituals, such as weddings and funerals.

Conrad Baden already in 1939: “Every organist with their minds open to the values of the church service will understand that the place of music in the service is not first and foremost of a purely aesthetic nature.”⁴⁰⁹ Where several texts were in use for a particular tune, it is recommended that adjustments be made to suit both the tune and the occasion or day in the ecclesiastical year. The longer chorale preludes, it is recommended, may be varied to advantage through differentiated sound colours; however, the compilers specifically indicate that the shorter works should be played only in accordance with the hymn text’s latent character.

3.2.3 Editorial practices

The presentation of both historical and contemporary works by composers other than the compilers show indications of the three primary forms of editorial practice. Outlined by James Grier in *The critical editing of music*, these are known as the **performers edition**, the *urtext* (original) **edition** and the **critical edition**.⁴¹⁰

- The **performers’s edition** does not attempt to provide a single authentic reading but is usually editorially altered to provide a subjective reading of the composer’s intentions. It may provide editorial additions such as articulation and dynamic markings to assist the performer.
- The *urtext edition* attempts to provide a single authentic reading of the composer’s intentions.
- The **critical edition** provides information on the sources available and indicates where readings may differ, usually with a preferred alternative for the performer.

Scholarly discourse concerning editing has a relatively short history, although editorial musicology is generally acknowledged to stem from early performance editions of the works of Bach and Palestrina in the early 19th century.⁴¹¹ Weighty editions such as these, often in formidable formats, are a physical demonstration of the import attached to editorial practice in the then fledgling field of musicology.⁴¹² A result of the emphasis placed on historical music publishing was the *Bach-Gesellschaft*, founded in 1850 for the

⁴⁰⁹ Baden, 1939, p 139; “Enhver organist med sinnet oplatt for gudstjenestens verdier vil forstå at musikkens plass i gudstjenesten ikke i første rekke er av ren estetisk art.” Translation by the author.

⁴¹⁰ James Grier, *The critical editing of music: History, method and practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 10-12.

⁴¹¹ Grier, 1996, p. 8.

⁴¹² Grier, 1996, p. 8.

purpose of publishing a complete edition of the music of J. S. Bach. In the 1890s the *Königliche Akademie der Künste* in Berlin was among the first institutions to produce so-called *urtext* or original text editions, acting on an aspiration to produce editions free from editorial intervention. A catalyst for such editions was a reaction to subjective indications such as tempo markings, dynamics, and phrasing, fingering and pedalling added by former editors. It was argued that these markings were not necessarily concordant with the composer's intentions, and being indistinguishable from original markings, such indications were therefore misleading at best.⁴¹³

In its very nature, editorial practice must be critical, and is always based on historical enquiry. It may also involve the critical evaluation of the semiotic import of the musical text, and will always portray the editor's conception of musical style; this conception must also be grounded in a historical understanding of the work.⁴¹⁴ Comparison between historical sources used by Karlsen and Nielsen and the historical works as presented in *Pro organo* provide no reason suggest that they made any critical response to previously published editions. While all published editions potentially available to Karlsen and Nielsen have not been compared with the historical selections in *Pro organo*, selected works are compared with probable source editions, such as those cited in the compilation. A critical omission in *Pro organo* is the absence of clear modern source details and critical commentary for any of the historical works included. *Pro organo* editorial practices in regard to historical works thus follow *urtext* principles, with the addition of limited performance instruction provided in appendices. Indeed, it has been suggested that the *urtext* edition, in its striving for objectivity and the abstract, may be philosophically analogous with *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals.⁴¹⁵ As shown earlier, *urtext* editions may be interpretative, especially when the content is derived from more than one source, one of which is then chosen and presented by the editor as the original source. The performance suggestions provided are limited to reduction/expansion suggestions (shown in the score), and registration, transposition and tempo indications (separated from the score in appendices to each volume). Some contemporary works include dynamic contrast indications in the score, although these indications are usually placed in the appendices. In some cases, such as the transposed work PO39, (shown in Figure 3.1) displaced pedal notes outside the range of the pedal

⁴¹³ Grier, 1996, p. 11.

⁴¹⁴ Grier, 1996, p. 8.

⁴¹⁵ Hans Davidsson, *Mathias Weckmann, The interpretation of his organ music*, Vol. 1, Gehrman's Musikförlag, Stockholm, 1991, footnote on p. 37.

board are shown, thus providing a limited form of critical approach to the editorial process, although no alternative performance suggestions are provided.

39. Du være lovet, Jesus Krist — Du vere lova, Jesus Krist
 Lovet være du, Jesus Krist — Lov være dig, o Jesu Krist

Mel. Johann Walther 1524

Diderik Buxtehude

Figure 3.1 PO39: Buxtehude, *Du være lovet, Jesus Krist* © Harald Lyché & Co, Drammen, 1951

The editorial practices in *Pro organo* provide important insights into the compositional philosophy and performance intentions of the compilers. Two primary concerns are evident in the collection as a whole. Firstly, in providing a complete selection of chorale prelude material apposite for PSK, the compilers selected historical works for many of the historical chorale tunes (including relatively inaccessible works such as those by Walther, Scheidt, lesser known members of the Bach family, as well as four works from countries other than Germany) and composed new material for the remainder; this material, published together and in the same orthographical style, forms a corpus of works the user

may assume to be of equal quality and value. Secondly, the editorial and orthographical qualities are comparable with international editions of the period such as those indicated in the appendices; indeed, the orthographic clarity of the layout and type-setting is generally exemplary, as shown in Figure 3.1. Additionally, the publication of historical material alongside contemporary responses lends itself to a comparative assessment of the compositional practices according to possible compliance with a single style ethos.

All but one of the historical works (PO197a) in *Pro organo* are presented with clear barring, showing metrical consistency and a uniform distribution of parts; however, the contemporary works show a significant degree of flexibility in regard to barring and metre. The provision of upbeats in many contemporary works is not always accounted for in the concluding bar (see PO130, PO201). However, there may have been a practical reason for this aberration, such as that of indicating how long one should pause before commencing the first verse of the associated chorale. Most settings are provided in a two-stave layout, and in concordance with the Foreword, pedal use is seldom required, although it is specifically indicated for a number of works (see for example PO21, PO25, PO65). Manual indications are provided only in the appendices; even solo voice-parts are not indicated in the score. A pragmatic space-saving feature of separating lengthy bars at the end of the stave, found in all five volumes (for example, in Volume 1, see PO4, PO13, PO15, PO19, PO31, PO32, PO33, PO44), is an uncommon practice in publishing history. Used as an indicator of flexible metre, irregular half-barring is found in the historical work from the *Glogauer Liederbuch* (PO197a), and in six contemporary works (PO33, PO34, PO64, PO119, PO139a and PO161). Only one work, by Nielsen, (PO172a) shows editorial fingering suggestions; in this case, the fingerings are provided for a difficult passage involving large stretches in bars 96 and 102 (See Chapter 5.3.3).

Reduction indications, uncommon in the historical works but a common feature of most contemporary works of more than 12 bars, are shown through the use of square brackets for commencement points; similarly, *fermata* are used to indicate cessation points, and, less commonly, *dal segno* markings to indicate omitted sections. Likewise, repeat markings are provided more often in the contemporary works than for historical works. Such provisions underline the concern for optimum usage in liturgical settings. Although not based on historical precedents, these features certainly reflect pragmatic ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

The editors also made minor editorial suggestions relating to articulation in historical works that are not always found in other known sources. For example, PO207a (Sweelinck) is provided with staccato indications for specific notes in the accompanying figuration, and phrasal *caesura* indications are also added, both for the *cantus firmus* and the accompaniment. Such phrasal articulation is commonly found in the contemporary works (see PO29, PO38, PO54). Importantly, slurring, as an indication of legato use, is not found in any *Pro organo* work, the omission of this feature is arguably a pertinent characteristic in relation to *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals. Embellishment or ornament suggestions are found in many historical works and appear to be copied directly from extant sources.⁴¹⁶ On the other hand, embellishments of any kind are not found in the contemporary works.

Although the primary editorial methodology for *Pro organo* is a modified form of *urtext* practice, performance indications (tempo, registration and character suggestions) added by the compilers are provided for each chorale prelude, albeit almost in every case in appendices rather than in the score itself. In particular, tempo and registration indications are an important feature of *Pro organo* and provide insights into the ideal character of performance style considered desirable by Karlsen and Nielsen.

Although the function of sound colour (*klangfarbe*) in music associated with the *neue Sachlichkeit* (to Hindemith, timbre and instrumentation in his contrapuntal and homophonic music as well as in his theoretical writings is of secondary importance⁴¹⁷) the registration suggestions provided in the appendices to *Pro organo* indicate an awareness of the importance of apposite registration practices for historic works, as well as the importance of tempo. Performance and registration suggestions are provided in the notes for all historical works, and for the majority of the contemporary works of more than 12 bars. The vast majority of registration suggestions do not call for gradual dynamic variations (such as the use of the swell pedal), a strong contrast to the suggestions provided by Sandvold in *29 koralforspill av norske organister*.⁴¹⁸ Almost all refer to the organ disposition at Ris church where Karlsen was organist (and Nielsen in the immediately preceding years). This organ, built in 1931-1932 by the most influential Norwegian organ builder in the 20th

⁴¹⁶ Salient comparisons include PO39 and Bärenreiter 287, and P139b and modern Breitkopf editions (1903, 1953, 1971 and 1987); these contain identical indications. The earliest compared edition is Johann Pachelbel, *Choralbearbeitungen*, Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, zweite folge, veröffentlicht durch die Gesellschaft zur herausgabe von Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Bayern, unter leitung von Adolf Sandberger & Max Seiffert, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1903.

⁴¹⁷ Hindemith, 1945, pp. 112-115, 175-177.

⁴¹⁸ Sandvold, 1946, pp. 28-29.

century, J. Hilmar Jørgensen (1892-1961), was one of the largest parish church instruments built between the two World Wars in Norway.⁴¹⁹ Like most Platou-influenced organs, it shows a slight influence of the Alsatian organ reform movement in its inclusion of mutation and mixture stops (almost all of which are gently voiced), and was influenced by the recent installation (assisted by Jørgensen) of the important Steinmeyer organ installed in Nidaros Cathedral in 1930 where Nielsen was employed from 1935. Both the disposition and console designs reflect a commonality of inspiration. Rolf Karlsen was the consultant for an expansion and revision of the Ris church organ disposition in 1944, which was originally to include an echo division (this was never built) and second swell division. Of particular interest is the addition of further mutation and upperwork stops, underlining the growing interest in the *Orgelbewegung*. Anfinn Øien notes that Karlsen was then equipped with a large and well-sounding instrument for the period, and a result of the quality of the organ and the acoustics in the church, many radio broadcasts were recorded in Ris church after World War II.⁴²⁰ Dispositions of both instruments are provided in Appendix D.

3.3 Categorisation principles

As we have established, the contents of *Pro organo* include both historical and contemporary works; nevertheless, a number of commonalities are pertinent to the whole collection. All of the works are intended for service use, and are generally playable on small organs with minimal resources. All are based on a chorale tune, and with few exceptions, all contain contrapuntal and/or imitative writing. All demand moderate technical ability, and most display a degree of fidelity to the traditional ethos and techniques of chorale prelude composition as exemplified in works of this genre by Scheidt, Pachelbel and Walther. In both the historical and contemporary compositions, there is sufficient continuity in style to allow a common analytical and descriptive approach. In order to facilitate the grouping of historical and contemporary works, a unique categorisation system has been devised. Based on the traditional categorisations of Willi Apel, it takes into account the use or otherwise of imitative counterpoint, a factor that is relevant to all works, both historical and contemporary.

⁴¹⁹ The organ at Ris church is to be replaced in 2009 by a modern eclectic instrument, like its sister Jørgensen organ at Fagerborg church, Oslo, thus closing an important chapter in Norwegian organ building history.

⁴²⁰ Anfinn Øien, Rolf Karlsen – en foregangsmann i norsk kirkemusikk, in Ove Kristian Sundberg, Fredrik Grønningsæther, Åge Haavik, Arne Solhaug & Anfinn Øien (eds), *Strengen er av gull: Festskrift til domorganist Rolf Karlsen på 70-årsdagen 26. juni 1981*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1981, p. 18.

In categorising *Pro organo* works, it has not been the intention to create incontrovertible criteria for each grouping. No musicological categorisation system can be entirely exhaustive or definitive. As shown in Appendix A, which provides an overview of *Pro organo*, many of the works in the collection contain elements of more than one category. However, the present system does provide a useful means of sorting the works into broad sub-groups that in turn provide a structure for comparison between the historical works and contemporary *Pro organo* works. The categorisation system devised for this study places the entire contents into three disparate groups, based on the treatment of the primary element, namely the *cantus firmus* and the degree of imitation use related to the *cantus firmus*. The choice of compositional style may reflect the possibilities afforded by the tune, its tessitura and shape, as well as the style and the character of the associated text. Contrapuntal techniques are common to most historical works, although, for example, nine of the ten works by Scheidt are primarily homophonic. No attempt has been made to categorise works according to regional area or timeframe, although these aspects are undoubtedly of importance in evaluating style and development. Due account will be made of relevant historical compositional techniques in the following chapter.

Traditionally, the organ chorale prelude has been generally classified according to whether the chorale tune is presented in strict form (in its entirety, even if embellished) or in free form. In 1944 Willi Apel outlined a widely used classification system, although such categorisation undoubtedly has a longer history.⁴²¹ This system is so entrenched in recent research that little effort is made to defend or explicate it.⁴²² Strict treatments of the *cantus firmus* are found in the chorale motet or chorale ricercar, and the chorale prelude and its sub-groupings (chorale canon, melody chorale, *cantus firmus* chorale and embellished or ornamental chorale). The free form chorale preludes have been variously known as the chorale fugue or fughetta and chorale fantasia. A brief description of these classifications is outlined below.

⁴²¹ Willi Apel, Organ chorale, in *Harvard dictionary of music*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1944, pp. 532-534; Willi Apel, *The history of keyboard music to 1700*, translated & revised by Hans Tischler, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1972, pp. 165-212 and Alexander Silbiger (ed), *Keyboard music before 1700*, Routledge, London, 2004, p. 14.

⁴²² No specific information is given on these categories of chorale-based composition in Apel, 1972 or Silbiger, 2004. Russell Stinson provides reductionist principles to his categorisation of the *Orgelbüchlein*, placing most of the works therein into three categories: Melody chorale, chorale canon and ornamental chorale. See Russell Stinson, *The Orgelbüchlein*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp. 59-75.

The chorale motet evolves through point-to-point imitation of each line of the chorale in all voices; the overall form is thus analogous with the renaissance motet (see PO25). The chorale canon is a form where the chorale tune appears in canon supported by accompanying voices (see PO131b). The melody chorale is a short form in which the melody appears as a continuous melody in the soprano, accompanied by contrapuntal parts (see PO139b). In contemporary works, the melody chorale is often modified so that the melody moves from one voice to another. The *cantus firmus* chorale is often an extended form in which the chorale tune is presented in augmented form, usually in the pedal, with its successive phrases separated by interludes (see PO72). The embellished or ornamental chorale is a presentation of the accompanied *cantus firmus* in elaborate ornamentation (see PO39). Two types of chorale fugues are common, namely short fughettas on the first phrase of the *cantus firmus* (see PO55a), and longer free fugues (although none are included in *Pro organo*). In the chorale fantasia, free treatment of the chorale is possible, and the length is highly variable. No historical examples of this form appear in *Pro organo*, although lengthy contemporary examples may be found at PO64 and PO162. Many shorter, less developed 5-11 bar works in *Pro organo* may be placed in this category. Lastly, chorale variations consist of varying treatments of the *cantus firmus*. These may be elaborated in several contrasting styles, all of which are identifiable in one or more of the above-mentioned categories. Several examples of both historical and contemporary chorale variations appear in *Pro organo* (see PO207b, PO212), and a number of historical works are selections from such chorale variations (see PO139b, PO156 and PO207a).

While this *cantus firmus*-based categorisation provides a number of useful descriptive groupings, it is not comprehensive in that it does not provide adequate descriptive information for works that include more than one formal device, nor does it take into account the ways in which imitation is played out. *Cantus firmus*-based categorisation, in other words, lacks flexibility, as it is a general designator. In order to simplify the categorisation of *Pro organo* works, and to provide a system that may be applied to all works, a supplementary categorisation system has been devised for this study. It is based on the degree of imitation use, using the above categorisations as a secondary indicator of compositional form. These categories are outlined in Table 3.4 where the prevalence of each category in the contents of *Pro organo* is shown.

Composer	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Composite ⁴²³	Total
Karlsen	37	74	11	2	124
Nielsen	37	86	12	3	138
Steenberg/Karlsen	0	1	0	0	1
Steenberg	2	3	0	0	5
Anderssen	0	2	0	0	2
Historic	11	23	18	1	53
Totals	88 (27%)	188 (58%)	41 (13%)	6 (2%)	323

Table 3.4 Number of works by composer and categorisation according to imitation use. Percentage approximations are shown in parentheses

3.3.1 Category one

The first category entails strict **imitative** treatment of the *cantus firmus*. In this primary classification, imitation is complete in all voices in the initial point based on the *cantus firmus*. Because of the demands related to imitating a complete tune, the *cantus firmus* is usually partially treated, although, as will be seen in Chapter 5, some workings involve systematic treatment of the entire chorale tune, thus conforming to the chorale motet grouping. Otherwise, most works in the category are aligned with the chorale fughetta model. This strict style leaves little room for flexibility but maintains the objectivity and purity of style that is idealised in *neue Sachlichkeit* terms, as almost all material is derived from the *cantus firmus*.

3.3.2 Category two

The second category involves the presentation of the *cantus firmus* in a largely **accompanied** style, using free imitative figurations either directly based on the *cantus firmus* or in free adaptation. If the *cantus firmus* is strictly imitated (in canon) in two voices, this treatment complies with the chorale canon.⁴²⁴ This category is by far the most dominant in the contemporary works, and is likewise heavily weighted in the historical repertoire. It embraces the chorale prelude and its sub-groupings (chorale canon, melody chorale, *cantus firmus* chorale, embellished or ornamental chorale) as well as the chorale fantasia. Many of the shorter (less than 12 bars in length) contemporary works fall into this category.

3.3.3 Category three

In the third category the *cantus firmus* is accompanied primarily in a **non-imitative** manner. It is the least prevalent in contemporary works, although it is the second most dominant

⁴²³ Composite refers to sectional works that are placed in two or more categories.

⁴²⁴ Although canon involves the strictest of imitation, the canons in the works under discussion do not involve all voices and thus are different from the systematic imitation that characterises Category 1 works.

category in the historical works, largely because of the nine non-imitative works by Scheidt. This category embraces the *cantus firmus* chorale, the melody chorale, the embellished chorale and the chorale fantasia. While imitation is not a feature of this category, fragmentary imitation may occur.

In addition to this categorisation system, a further bar-length based grouping has been used for contemporary work selection purposes in Chapter 5. This system is divided into three groupings:

- Group 1: Chorale preludes of similar average length as the historical works discussed in Chapter 4. It should be noted that while bar length is a simple way of comparing length, it can shroud important structural choices such as harmonic rhythm and diminution or augmentation of the *cantus firmus*. For example, the single statement (in the pedal voice, in augmentation) of the *cantus firmus* in Nielsen's *Loverden Herre* (PO172a) over 108 bars is comparable with Karlsen's version in PO172b (51 bars), although the latter states the *cantus firmus* twice.
- Group 2: Works of less than 12 bars in length
- Group 3: Comparatively large scale works in chorale fantasia form.

Further discussion on the selection process for the works chosen for descriptive analysis is found in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.4 Historical works

The historical chorale preludes included in *Pro organo* cover a wide variety of style forms and as Table 3.5 (below) shows, embrace examples from the 1480s until the late 18th century.

Composer	Period & location	Category				Total
		1	2	3	Composite	
<i>Glogauer Liederbuch</i> ⁴²⁵	ca. 1480, Glogów (PL)			1		1
From <i>Fridolin Sicher's Tablature book</i> ⁴²⁶	1490-1546 Bischofszell (CH)		1			1
Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck	1562-1621 Amsterdam			3		1
Samuel Scheidt	1587-1654 Halle		1	9		10
Matthias Weckmann	1616-1674 Dresden, Nyköping & Hamburg			1		1
Dieterich Buxtehude (PO98 is incorrectly attributed to Buxtehude)	1637-1707 Lübeck		1	1		2
Johann Christoph Bach	1642-1703 Eisenach	3				3
Johann Pachelbel	1653-1706 Nürnberg, Erfurt, Stuttgart	4	4	1		9
Henry Purcell	1659-1695 London (GB)		1			1
Friedrich Wilhelm Zachau/Zachow	1663-1712 Halle		2			2
Johann Heinrich Buttstedt	1666-1727 Erfurt	1				1
Nicolaus (Andreas?) Vetter	1666-1734 Erfurt, Rudolstadt	1				1
Johann Henschkel	ca. 1670? Most likely Johann Peter Heuschkel (1773-1853) Erfurt		1			1
Nicolas de Grigny	1672-1703 Rheims (F)			1		1
Georg Friedrich Kauffmann	1679-1735 Merseberg		2	1		3
Johann Gottfried Walther	1684-1748 Weimar		6	1	1	8
Johann Sebastian Bach	1685-1750 Weimar, Cöthen, Leipzig		2	1		3
Wilhelm Friedemann Bach	1710-1784 Dresden, Halle, Berlin	1				1
Johann Ludwig Krebs	1713-1780 Altenburg		1			1
Johann Christian Kittel	1732-1809 Erfurt		1			1
Johann Christian Bach	1735-1782 Berlin, Milan, London	1				1
Summary		14	22	17	1	53

Table 3.5 Categorisation of the 53 historic works in *Pro organo* sorted through composer chronology and treatment of the *cantus firmus*

As shown in Table 3.5, 13 of the 21 historical composers are represented by a single work. Of these, 4 works are by composers from outside Germany. The works of these composers contrast strongly in style and character, ranging from the earliest work from the previously mentioned *Glogauer Liederbuch* (Poland, ca. 1480), Fridolin Sicher's *Tablature book* (Switzerland, ca. 1530), Henry Purcell (1659-1695, England) and Nicolas de Grigny (1672-1703, France). It may seem surprising that only three works represent J. S. Bach, whose

⁴²⁵ Biblioteka Jagiellńska Kraków, *Glogauer Liederbuch*, in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, VI, introduction by Jessie Ann Owens, Garland Publishing, New York, 1986. Contains 294 works, mostly anonymous, copied in partbooks ca. 1480 in Glogów, Poland.

⁴²⁶ Thomas Warburton, Sicher's "Johannes Zela aons plus?" A problem in identity, in *Acta Musicologica*, LV, 1983, p. 74. This article contains material that represents traditions from courts in Poland, the Netherlands and the Papal Chapel in Rome.

chorale preludes are deemed by many to comprise the pinnacle of achievement in the genre; all three are selected from lesser-known collections.⁴²⁷ Two reasons for this limited representation are suggested. Firstly, the compilers deliberately sought to include historical works that were generally not readily available, which was certainly not the case with Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*. Secondly, on aesthetic grounds Bach's music may have been considered by proponents of *neue Sachlichkeit* too rich in both expressiveness and harmonic language and thus lacking the objectivity of the 'pure style.' Despite this factor, it is unlikely that the compilers of *Pro organo* were able to view early keyboard music unmediated by the influence of J. S. Bach. Preference was given instead to the music of composers such as Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654), Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) and Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748), who are represented in this source by eight or more works. Taken together, their works provide a wide spectrum of style models and treatments of the *cantus firmus*. Only one composer in *Pro organo* is represented in all three categories. Unsurprisingly, this is Johann Pachelbel. Given the special significance of Scheidt, Pachelbel and Walther in *Pro organo*, a brief overview of their lives and works is appropriate.

3.4.1 Samuel Scheidt

The most represented historic composer in *Pro organo* is Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654). Nine out of the ten works by this composer included in *Pro organo* are sourced from one collection, *Das Görlitzer Tabulatur* of 1650. A student of the Dutch Calvinist organist Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), Scheidt, a practicing Lutheran, is recognised as the first to introduce the chorale variation form through combining the style of the secular keyboard variation (as practiced in England) with sacred chorale tunes.⁴²⁸ Given attitudes to music in church at the time, it is unlikely that Sweelinck or Scheidt performed such works as preludes to hymn singing, but probably used them in *Alternatimspraxis*, as well as in organ concert settings. It is highly unlikely that such settings were used for hymn accompaniment.⁴²⁹ The form Sweelinck used, seen in fragmentary form in PO207a, is typically a setting of four or five variations in two to four voices, with the *cantus firmus* in long notes and motivic *figurae* in sequential patterns in remaining voices. Scheidt made important further developments to this form. His organ works, published in the

⁴²⁷ Bach is widely acclaimed (for example, in Peter Williams, *The organ music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2nd edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, p. 341) for summarising the form in the *Orgelbüchlein*, a collection that he considers the artistic apex of the genre.

⁴²⁸ John Butt, Germany and the Netherlands, in Alexander Silbiger (ed), *Keyboard music before 1700*, 2nd edition, Routledge Studies in Musical Genres, Routledge, London, 2004, pp. 175-176.

⁴²⁹ Butt, 2004, p. 167.

monumental ‘collected works’ edition *Tabulatura Nova*⁴³⁰ (Hamburg, 1624) and *Das Görlitzer Tabulatur* were widely known during his lifetime, and remain a landmark in chorale-based repertory. In his numerous chorale preludes, Scheidt frequently used a ‘patterned variation’ technique, in which each phrase of the chorale uses a different rhythmic *figura*, and each variation (consisting of the several phrases) is made more elaborate than the previous, until the climax of the composition is reached. *Tabulatura Nova* was a revolutionary publication of its time, developing organ technique and style as well as the practice of providing written works for service use and forming the basis of developments in organ composition in the 17th century.⁴³¹ Scheidt is one of the very few composers of this era for whom most of the known works were published. His works show evidence of techniques found in the fantasias and variations of Michael Praetorius, published in 1609-1611, and the variation techniques of Sweelinck. *Tabulatura Nova* is divided into three parts; the first two consist of virtuosic works without duplication of approach: fugues, toccatas, echo fantasies, *canzoni*, *passamezzij* and secular and sacred variations.⁴³² The third part contains works for practical service use comprising of organ variations for use between hymn or canticle verses, and chorale preludes ordered according to the church year. In these cyclical hymn variations for liturgical use he defines his style as *pure et absque celerrimis Coloraturis Organo ludere gaudante* (for organists who prefer to play in the pure style without coloratura).⁴³³ The complexity of the music and its concentration on contrapuntal methods may appear excessive for general service use.⁴³⁴ Although *Pro organo* contains no works from this collection, it is clear that the compilers were aware of its existence through the publication of registration suggestions in *Pro organo* which were sourced therefrom. Scheidt provided detailed notes for registration, fingering and performance, specifying the distribution of voices on specific organ divisions.⁴³⁵ *Das Görlitzer Tabulatur* is quite different in character to the *Tabulatura Nova*, consisting of a collection of 100 chorale settings, most with the *cantus firmus* in the soprano and realised with expressive harmonic treatment, and again with little use of coloratura or *figura*. Like much of *Tabulatura Nova*, almost all its contents may be performed *manualiter*. For the compilation of *Pro organo*, Scheidt must have been seen as a

⁴³⁰ The title refers to the then new notational system on two five-lined staves, as opposed to the organ tabulature of the early baroque.

⁴³¹ Olaf Grobel, Orgelkorallene i Bachs tid, in *MNO*, January 1953, p. 1.

⁴³² Harald Vogel (ed), Samuel Scheidt, *Tabulatura Nova*, part III, Edition Breitkopf 8567, Weisbaden, 2001, p. 5.

⁴³³ Vogel, 2001, pp. 5 and 8 (facsimile of title page).

⁴³⁴ Vogel, 2001, p. 5.

⁴³⁵ Vogel, 2001, pp. 188-189.

key figure, a view underlined by Olaf Grobel, who, writing in *MNO* in 1953, assessed him as a

master of counterpoint, both in the old vocal style and the newer instrumental style. He delights in exemplifying his technical brilliance: variations in double counterpoint at the octave, twelfth and fifteenth, all types of canons, including canons built around material independent of the *cantus firmus*. Spiritually, Scheidt's works represent, like his predecessors and contemporaries, an impersonal, inclusive and objective outlook. Music should serve the ordinary church and not express the composer's own personality and world view.⁴³⁶

Mahrenholz first published *Das Görlitzer Tabulatur* in a modern edition in 1940.⁴³⁷

3.4.2 Johann Pachelbel

The most significant central German composer, Johann Pachelbel, also developed a distinctive style, applying primarily an unadorned, strict *cantus firmus* against comparatively non-motivic accompaniment, often using *vorimitation*. Although also encompassing the embellished chorale form, Pachelbel's works rarely display the virtuosity of the North German style, featuring instead simplistic, fugato techniques, using the first line of the chorale as the theme, and often form an introduction to a full *cantus firmus* chorale. This treatment was strongly idealised by Thomas Laub in *Musik og kirke*.⁴³⁸ Here, while concentrating primarily on the importance of music accompanying text, Laub states that "we must now await the composer-genius who will combine the serious Pachelbelian organ style with the pure sound of Palestrina ..."⁴³⁹

Through his early life in Nuremberg and studies in Vienna, Pachelbel gained exposure to the predominantly Catholic repertoires of the south. His surviving works show a keen intellect and clear understanding of a wide field of German composition.⁴⁴⁰ His collections of chorale preludes show an exploitation of almost every known chorale genre, and suggest that his writing may also have had a pedagogical approach. During his lifetime, three prints of keyboard music were published; the remaining works are from an extensive manuscript tradition. A significant proportion of this material was still unpublished at the time of the publication of *Pro organo*.⁴⁴¹ Pachelbel provides examples primarily stemming from the

⁴³⁶ Grobel, 1953, p. 3.

⁴³⁷ Christhard Mahrenholz (ed), Samuel Scheidt, *Das Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch vom Jahre 1650*, C. F. Peters 11464, Leipzig, 1940.

⁴³⁸ Laub, 1997, p. 173, 281-284.

⁴³⁹ Laub, 1997, p. 173. Original text: Vi må nu vente på en genial komponist der kan sammensmælde den Pachelbelske alvorlige orgelstil ned den rene tone fra Palestrina ... Translation by the author.

⁴⁴⁰ Butt, 2004, p. 211.

⁴⁴¹ Apel, 1972, p. 655.

Scheidt and Scheidemann traditions, including *bicinia*, polyphonic imitation and embellished chorale settings in two to four or five voices, often in compacted settings, with little space between ornamented lines.⁴⁴² Apel identifies in Pachelbel a combination form of chorale prelude which is a combination of the chorale fughetta on the first line of the chorale tune, coupled with an equal-length three or four part setting of a *cantus firmus* chorale.⁴⁴³ The overall impression is one of careful craft, using little word-painting or other textual influences and seldom combining genres and styles, although some works combine the harpsichord *style brisé* with the more strict fugal style.⁴⁴⁴ Comments on Pachelbel's chorale-based organ works voiced in the early 1950s confirm the importance of this composer in the local church music context, even from the standpoint of the Romanticist Sandvold.⁴⁴⁵

While it is not an aim of this dissertation to provide an overview of the chorale prelude compositional schools of Germany, it is informative to note that *Pro organo* was provided with a wide range of works by the main composers of central and north Germany. In the central German school, the uncle of J. S. Bach, Johann Christoph Bach formed the strict chorale motet into the chorale fughetta through reducing the multiple points of imitation into a single, often through-composed fugato form. The collection of 44 such works by J. C. Bach, of which three are represented in *Pro organo* (see PO25, PO158 and PO279) provide solid evidence of this development. The works of Johann Pachelbel, G. F. Kauffmann, J. G. Walther and J. S. Bach provide an amalgamation of a variety of the styles then current.

3.4.3 Johann Gottfried Walther

The third preferred composer is represented by works in *Pro organo* which display developments of the techniques of the preceding generations. Johann Gottfried Walther was born in Erfurt and worked alongside his cousin J. S. Bach between 1708 and 1717. He wrote 119 chorale-based works; although not his most numerically significant works, they comprise (together with his free organ works) an individual interpretation of the genre. The spectrum of style variants in Walther's chorale-based compositions ranges from short two and three-part chorale partitas to expanded variation forms developed from the works of Johann Pachelbel, Dieterich Buxtehude, Georg Böhm and the Bach-family.⁴⁴⁶ Using a

⁴⁴² Butt, 2004, p. 211.

⁴⁴³ Apel, 1972, p. 657.

⁴⁴⁴ Butt, 2004, p. 212.

⁴⁴⁵ Arild Sandvold, Johan Pachelbel, in *MNO*, November 1953, p. 70.

⁴⁴⁶ Williams, 2003, pp. 235-236.

sensitive array of *affetti* and harmonic wealth of expression, together with a clear predilection for contrapuntal techniques, these works are, together with the contemporary works of J. S. Bach, recognised as the most important contribution to the genre in the first half of the 18th century. Walther's important textbooks on *figura* and the doctrine of affects, *Præcepta der Musicalischen Composition* (Weimar, 1708) and his *Musicalische Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732) provide unique insights into contemporary music theory and understandings of *figurenlehre* (to be discussed in Chapter 4). The techniques displayed in Walther's *Musicalische Vorstellung* of 1712 reflect older precepts closely aligned with Pachelbel. Bach scholar Peter Williams has stated that Walther's works may be seen to span the gap between the complexities of melodic decoration in Buxtehude and the intense harmonic complexities of Bach's *Orgelbüchlein* and include the immense variety of techniques displayed in Pachelbel's works, reflecting interest in techniques such as note patterns or *figura*, and chorale canon techniques, sometimes combined with quasi-canon accompanying material.⁴⁴⁷

In addition to the preludes of the above-mentioned composers, those of Dieterich Buxtehude occupy a significant presence and influence in *Pro organo* and form the largest group within his keyboard works.⁴⁴⁸ Buxtehude's chorale preludes feature single statements of the *cantus firmus* in one voice. They were arguably intended to introduce the chorale tune in the liturgy, often using, besides an embellished *cantus firmus* in the soprano accompanied by relatively modest lower parts, a rich variety of intricate and unpredictable note patterns in the embellishments, and only occasionally using consistent *figura* and *affetta* (both harmonic and melodic to convey musical meaning to the text).⁴⁴⁹

3.5 Contemporary composers

The principle contributors to *Pro organo* were the compilers themselves; thus a detailed treatment of their backgrounds is warranted.

3.5.1 Rolf Karlsen

Rolf Karlsen (1911-1982) was born in Oslo, and studied with Arild Sandvold from an early age, acting as accompanist for Sandvold in performances of several choral works from the age of 15. He studied piano with Nils Larsen, and held debut concerts as organist in 1933, pianist in 1935, conductor in 1938, and lastly as cembalist in 1945. Karlsen studied

⁴⁴⁷ Williams, 2003, p. 235.

⁴⁴⁸ Snyder, 2007, p. 270.

⁴⁴⁹ Snyder, 2007, pp. 271-273.

composition with Per Steenberg, Bjarne Brustad and Karl Andersen. His primary role in Norwegian musical life was as a church musician; however, his education and early musical activities were centred on the piano and he developed as an all-round musician.⁴⁵⁰ At the age of 21, Karlsen was appointed organist at Høvik church in Bærum on the outskirts of Oslo, succeeding his colleague and friend Ludvig Nielsen who had been appointed organist at Ris church. Karlsen took up this appointment in 1936, again following in Nielsen's footsteps, after the latter moved to Trondheim. During these early years as an organist, Karlsen developed an interest in liturgical performance practice, and in particular, according to Fevang's conjecture in *Et liv i gleden over det ekte*, an interest in renewing the chorale prelude for service use.⁴⁵¹ Karlsen's interest in early music, together with dissatisfaction with the late-romantic, chromatic literature of the period, was an important catalyst for his compositional endeavours.⁴⁵² Karlsen's period as organist at Ris church was one of rich development. The tradition of liturgical church music there was based around the activities of its church choir and their involvement in service music, designated music services and concerts. He was also active as a conductor of many other choirs, including the NRK (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) Chamber Choir, the Philharmonia Choir, Holter's Choir Society and *Musica Sacra's* Liturgical Choir. Karlsen also founded the orchestral group *Collegium musicum* in 1952, a group that actively promoted and performed early music as well as his own and other contemporary works.

In 1960 Karlsen was appointed organist at *Trefoldighetskirken* (The Church of the Holy Trinity) in Oslo, and he remained there until 1966, when he was appointed Cathedral organist in Oslo. According to his son Kjell Mørk Karlsen, this short period was important, particularly because of the musical possibilities afforded by the large church and its important mechanical Claus Jensen organ (1856-1858) which allowed for performance practices compatible with burgeoning authentic performance techniques.⁴⁵³ Karlsen's period as Cathedral organist was notable for the remarkable energy he expended for the promotion of service music, especially for the feast days of the church year.⁴⁵⁴ His life was also devoted to education; he held appointments at the Music Conservatorium in Oslo

⁴⁵⁰ Jørn Fevang, *Et liv i gleden over det ekte: Et bilde av Rolf Karlsen*, in Grinde, 2007, p. 27. See also Øien, 1981, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁵¹ Fevang, 2007, p. 28.

⁴⁵² Fevang, 2007, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁵³ Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 282; Fevang, 2007, p. 29.

⁴⁵⁴ Fevang, 2007, p. 29.

from 1935, and following the establishment of the Norwegian Music Academy in 1973, he became lecturer in organ performance.⁴⁵⁵

3.5.2 Ludvig Nielsen

Ludvig Nielsen (1906-2001) was born in Østfold and was active for much of his career in Trondheim as Cathedral organist, composer and choir conductor.⁴⁵⁶ Educated at the Oslo Music Conservatorium, studying organ under Arild Sandvold (1895-1984) and Trygve Andersen (1896-1937), he was appointed organist in Høvik church at the age of 18 on the recommendation of Sandvold. While at Høvik, Nielsen gave his debut concert as organist in Oslo cathedral, and as pianist at the University Auditorium, receiving exceptional newspaper reviews.⁴⁵⁷ Thereafter, he was active as a concert organist and participated in the St Olav celebrations in Oslo in 1930, presenting programs of Bach on the newly installed Walcker organ in the Cathedral. Like many of Sandvold's students, Nielsen later studied in Leipzig under Karl Straube (1873-1950) in 1931-1932. He also studied counterpoint and composition with Günter Raphael (1903-1960), who, together with another composition teacher in Leipzig, Johann Nepomuk David, embraced historical style models from the mid-1930s, developing a neoclassical style,⁴⁵⁸ as discussed in Chapter 1.4. Undoubtedly Nielsen was influenced by these figures, absorbing the strict contrapuntal neoclassical style. He was in Leipzig concurrently with two significant Norwegian composers of the period, Conrad Baden and Geirr Tveitt (1908-1991). He himself cites important 20th-century compositional influences in the works of Distler, Helmut Bornefeldt (1906-1990), Hans Friedrich Micheelsen, Benjamin Britten (1913-1976) and Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992).⁴⁵⁹ On returning to Norway, Nielsen took the position of organist at Ris church, where he remained until he was appointed Cathedral organist in Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim in 1935, at the age of 29. Here, he became one of the best known church musicians in the country, and tirelessly toiled for the service of church music in Trondheim.⁴⁶⁰ He founded the Nidaros Cathedral choir in 1946 and advanced the St Olav's Choir, and conducted the Nidaros Cathedral's boy's choir from 1948 to 1973. He is also attributed with founding the St Olav's festival (*Olavsfestdagene*) in 1963, now considered the foremost church and cultural festival in Norway.

⁴⁵⁵ Ihlebæk, 1982, p. 262.

⁴⁵⁶ Bjørn Moe, Ludvig Nielsen, biografi og studier i Messe på Olavsdagen, in Havgar, 1976, pp. 28-82.

⁴⁵⁷ Moe, 1976, p. 34

⁴⁵⁸ Kosberg, 1996, pp. 126-128.

⁴⁵⁹ Moe, 1976, p. 59.

⁴⁶⁰ Bjørn Kåre Moe, Ludvig Nielsen 1906-2001, in Grinde, 2007, p. 21.

Nielsen most probably developed an interest in the ‘pure style’ not only from his studies in Germany but also through his contact with Per Steenberg as a counterpoint student from 1933-1943, much of the tuition conducted by correspondence.⁴⁶¹ Both Karlsen and Nielsen would have known and endorsed one of the most influential and relevant examples of stylistic analysis in the first half of the 20th century, namely Jeppesen’s study of the Palestrina style and dissonance use, as discussed in Chapter 2.3.2. By 1943, Steenberg considered Nielsen to have completed his education in this style. In compiling his *Koralbok* in the 1940s, Steenberg often sought Nielsen’s advice, “interest, knowledge and good taste.”⁴⁶² Both Steenberg and Nielsen admired each other’s work, particularly in regard to accuracy, imagination and contrapuntal techniques. Per Hjort Albertsen, a colleague of Nielsen’s in Trondheim as organist at the neighbouring *Vår Frue* church, wrote in 1966 that the highest praise students of Steenberg earned for their work was the comment “this is almost as if Ludvig Nielsen wrote it!”⁴⁶³ In addition to Steenberg’s influence, Nielsen stated in 1976 that Sandvold and hymnologist and folk music specialist O. M. Sandvik were also significant influences.

From 1946, Nielsen gave regular organ recitals and devotional services centred on organ music, performing at over 1800 such events during his tenure at Nidaros Cathedral.⁴⁶⁴ Based primarily on the Church calendar of festivals and scripture readings of the day, Nielsen’s programs were often devoted to single composers, including Steenberg, Johannes Haarklou (1847-1925), Ludvig M. Lindeman, Bach, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, Franck, Handel and Reger.⁴⁶⁵ He was amongst the first to introduce the music of Olivier Messiaen to Norwegian audiences and congregations. According to contemporary newspaper reviews, Nielsen’s organ performance style (and in particular his registration) was deemed to be ‘fine, tasteful, natural and subtle.’⁴⁶⁶ Otherwise, he was known for his nuanced phrasing and clarity of line. As a performer he always subordinated himself to the music, never resorting to bravura flourishes. Distinctness, clarity and technical mastery also coloured his

⁴⁶¹ Moe, 1976, p. 41.

⁴⁶² Moe, 1976, p. 40.

⁴⁶³ Per Hjort Albertsen, Et musikalsk kraftsentrum, in *Nidaros domkirkes menighetsblad*, 2, 1966, pp. 8-10; see also Albertsen, 2006, in Appendix B, p. 229 and Albertsen, 1976, p. 85. Original text: Dette er nesten som Ludvig Nielsen skulle ha skrevet det. Translation by the author.

⁴⁶⁴ Moe, 1976, p. 44. Moe’s figures date from November 1973, just over two years before Nielsen retired. These concerts were divided between music services (451), daily summer concerts (ca. 1000) and evening concerts (235).

⁴⁶⁵ Moe, 1976, p. 44.

⁴⁶⁶ Moe, 1976, pp. 44-45.

interpretations of Bach's works, which he performed according to the terrace dynamics and articulation suggestions of Straube's later practices that have been described in a variety of sources. Nielsen's performance practices have been found to differ from those of Straube's earlier student, Sandvold, especially in terms of interpretive characteristics that emphasise aspects of latent counterpoint rather than using registration changes to clarify motivic material or the creation of gradual transitions in dynamic contrasts.⁴⁶⁷

3.6 Reviews and reception of *Pro organo*

The status and credentials of the compilers having been established, we now proceed to examine early peer reviews of *Pro organo* by Conrad Baden and Egil Hovland, which provide the primary critical contemporary reports on the collection and its status within the context of Norwegian church music practice. The earliest (Baden) appeared in *MNO* in March 1953, shortly after the publication of the second volume and about eighteen months following that of the first volume. The remaining reviews were published in January 1955 (Volume 3; Baden) and December 1956 (Volume 4; Hovland). The last volume was not reviewed.⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, a critical article by Luther Noss on the significance of the collection in an international context also positions the compilation in a wider context of recently published organ music.⁴⁶⁹ In assessing its contents, reviewers concentrated on the perceived need for the collection, its comprehensive contents as well as issues concerning clarity and consistency of style.

The reviews were primarily focussed on the essential nature of this collection and its place in the library of the church musician as a selection of works directly aligned with PSK. In the final review in 1956, Egil Hovland wrote that the collection is a remarkable and unique venture in Norwegian publishing history,⁴⁷⁰ a point underlined by Baden in 1955; he cites Harald Lyche & Co as an exception to the rule of limited support for new Norwegian church music.⁴⁷¹ Lyche & Co also published PSK. *Pro organo* was recognised from the outset to be a valuable addition to available repertoire because it included settings of historical and recent tunes from the Lindeman era to the 1940s, and in providing historical settings otherwise unavailable in published anthologies. In particular, the stimulation of the

⁴⁶⁷ Kosberg, 1996, p. 120.

⁴⁶⁸ This volume achieved lower sales figures, which may be partially explicable by the lack of a review. See footnote 329 (Brock, 2008).

⁴⁶⁹ Luther Noss, Organ music (review), in *Notes*, 2nd Series, Vol. 14, no. 1, December 1956, pp. 61-65.

⁴⁷⁰ Egil Hovland, Noter, in *MNO*, December 1956, p. 135.

⁴⁷¹ Baden, 1955, p. 4.

Orgelbewegung and the ‘pure style’, or the *renslig* (purified, cleansed) style in church music as described in Baden’s first review in 1953 was identified and commended.⁴⁷² Certainly, the collection was clearly recognised as an important response to post-war developments, including improving education standards, enhanced networks for the dissemination of new ideas throughout the Nordic region, and international trends such as the liturgical movement, which led to a stimulated and expressed interest in what had been relatively indifferent territory, namely the chorale prelude.⁴⁷³

Baden noted that the majority of Norwegian organists had already been made aware of the publication by 1953.⁴⁷⁴ In every respect the expectations held by reviewers were more than amply met by the compendium. In 1956, Hovland remarked that the “standard publication *Pro organo* may be considered the common property of all Norwegian organists.”⁴⁷⁵

Karlsen’s and Nielsen’s efforts to provide previously unknown historic material and new material were noted in particular, as were the numerous indexes, references to other collections, reduction and expansion indications and other factors which might assist the organist. The fact that historical works were transposed to the keys of the chorale book was also noted as laudable. However, the key feature noted in Baden’s first review was the aforementioned ‘pure style’: music that is “clear and sober in expression and without unnecessary embellishment” and which is idiomatic to the organ.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, according to Baden, the main aim for the compilers was simply to provide organists a national collection of *Gebrauchsmusik* that will serve the majority of church musicians without requiring advanced technical proficiency.⁴⁷⁷ He adds that the majority of works are suited, as examples of ecclesial *Gebrauchsmusik*, to serve as service music; indeed, only a very few show tendencies in the direction of concert music.⁴⁷⁸ Furthermore, he advises that organists need not rely on their frame of mind in regard to providing suitable improvised introductions.⁴⁷⁹ *Pro organo* was not thus considered a collection of “dry and bloodless (pale)

⁴⁷² Conrad Baden, Ny kirkemusikk, in *MNO*, January 1955, p. 5.

⁴⁷³ Baden, 1953, p. 21.

⁴⁷⁴ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

⁴⁷⁵ Hovland, 1956, p. 137. Original text: Standardverket *Pro organo* har en stor og naturlig betingelse for å bli norske organisters allemannseie. Translation by the author.

⁴⁷⁶ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

⁴⁷⁷ Baden, 1953, p. 22. Original text: Det er musikk som er skrevet og følt ut fra instrumentet, klar og nøktern i uttrykksmåten og uten overflødige kruseduller. Det som har vært om å gjøre for utgiverne, er kort og godt å gi organistene landet rundt en samling bruksmusikk som de aller fleste vil kunne klare uhemmet av tekniske besværligheter. Translation by the author.

⁴⁷⁸ Baden, 1955, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷⁹ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

style copyist music ...”⁴⁸⁰ (although it is noted that the composers have not always shown a consistent engagement to each work) but rather to contain examples of “effortlessly varied forms and lively counterpoint.”⁴⁸¹

In considering the stylistic differences between the works of the compilers the reviewers agreed that neither Karlsen nor Nielsen appeared to consciously stamp their chorale-based works with their own individual voices. Very importantly, both were acknowledged to adhere to a common understanding of the construction of the ideal chorale prelude using contrapuntal techniques and a “characteristic style.”⁴⁸² Baden claimed that Nielsen was clearly more bound to strict contrapuntal practice than Karlsen, who, despite a similarly polyphonic focus, treated melodic material (always of primary significance) more freely.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, he observed that Nielsen seldom used material which is not based on the *cantus firmus*, preferring to employ a reductionist technique of reducing the number of voices in more complex tunes and using devices such as canon as a pedagogical implement, especially between the soprano and tenor voices, and characteristic elements of the melodic material as compositional building blocks.

An assessment of *Pro organo* made in 1956 by Luther Noss in a review classifying 259 recently published works from Europe and America places the work in a three-tiered classification system designed to minimize subjective judgements. The first three volumes of *Pro organo* are evaluated and given the Class A rating, the highest rating for original compositions which clearly reveal “a high content of both originality and craftsmanship, and which might stand a chance in the hard and critical world of music lying outside the organ loft.”⁴⁸⁴ *Pro organo* is described as “a collection of short preludes, classic and contemporary (most of the latter provided by the two editors) designed for the use of Norwegian organists; a valuable reference for anyone interested in Scandinavian hymn tunes.”⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

⁴⁸¹ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

⁴⁸² Hovland, 1956, p. 137.

⁴⁸³ Baden, 1953, p. 23.

⁴⁸⁴ Noss, 1956, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁸⁵ Noss, 1956, p. 65.

3.7 Conclusions

The foregoing overview of *Pro organo* from developmental stages to its early reception reveal that in a number of respects it may be regarded as a collection an important stage in the evolution of *neue Sachlichkeit* principles in Norwegian liturgical music, particularly with respect to the organ chorale prelude. It was found that during the decades immediately prior to the publication of the sources there was evidence of mounting interest among leading Norwegian church musicians in the virtues of the ‘pure style’ of church music from historical sources, such as the organ music of Johann Pachelbel, a style which was deemed superior and of greater liturgical propriety than the sentimentalism of much late 19th-century music. Concurrent with this was a growing presence of new organs built according to *Orgelbewegung* principles, which in turn stimulated interest in historical performance practice. An important finding of this chapter was the dearth of organ music to meet the needs of Norwegian organists following the publication (1926 and 1949) of chorale books containing quantities of recently composed and Norwegian folk tunes. Furthermore, the limited training of many organists and the concerns of men such as Baden for improved standards were factors found to warrant the development of a source such as *Pro organo*. Undoubtedly collections such as the Swedish *Handbok för kyrkomusiker* (1936) and Danish *Orgelkoraler til kirkeåret* (1943) provided important precedents, if not outright models for some aspects of the Norwegian counterpart.

It has been seen that the credentials of the compilers and principle composers, Karlsen and Nielsen were impeccable for the preparation of a compendium focussed on the ‘pure style.’ Both were very well schooled in contrapuntal techniques derived from study of the writings and music of the likes of Laub, Jeppesen and Steenberg and both had a particular interest in early music and authentic performance styles. It was noted that, unlike much of their other compositional output, the compositions for *Pro organo* are characterised on the whole by a foregoing of individuality in favour of an acceptance of historical techniques designed to produce liturgically useful and appropriate music of a standard within the reach of most organists. Indeed, these are qualities identified and extolled by early reviewers.

Throughout the chapter themes relating to practicality have frequently been noted and were aptly summed up by at least one reviewer with the term *Gebrauchsmusik*. As we have seen, the notion of *Gebrauchsmusik* was integral to the *neue Sachlichkeit* ideal in a liturgical context in that it implied music that was principally designed to serve the requirements of

the liturgy. At many levels *Pro organo* may be viewed as a statement of *Gebrauchsmusik*. The fact that it comprised chorale preludes based on the contents of PSK, embracing traditional chorale melodies, recently composed tunes from Norway and elsewhere and Norwegian folk melodies testifies to the pragmatic nature of the compilation, as does the fact that preludes based on tunes from the earlier source KNK were also provided to accommodate popular and regional tastes. Not only was every well-known tune accommodated, but transpositional adjustments were made to historical works to provide a seamless progression from prelude to the sung tune and the rhythmic forms of older PSK-tunes generally feature in the chosen historical and newly-composed works. Undoubtedly this was a useful ploy to help congregations become familiar with relatively new rhythmic forms of already known tunes. The relatively moderate length of the vast majority of preludes was seen as an element of functionalism in introducing hymns for congregational singing and the modest level of difficulty was found to ensure that the preludes could be played by the majority of organists on the instruments at their disposal. Yet a further element of *Gebrauchsmusik* lies in the provision of reductions of many of the contemporary works, allowing the organist flexibility to tailor the length to the particular requirements of a given liturgy. An especially pragmatic feature of the source is undoubtedly the information liberally supplied in the accompanying indices and notes, including performance and registration suggestions and suggested alternative settings. Although *Pro organo* was intended to be used by organists (and the fact that it remains in publication after over 50 years suggests that it has been widely used) it may also have served an important function in the Church of Norway more generally, in terms of its strictly defined repertoire and of its focus on a particular style principle that was believed at the time to best serve the needs of the liturgy. The potential of the collection in terms of education and improvement of organ-playing standards was considerable.

Another finding of the chapter was the fact that *Pro organo* is a publication of considerable quality; presentation of works was found to combine elements of the *urtext* style with that of a performer's edition, the latter indicative of its special function. Likewise the comprehensive notes referred to above are further manifestations of the general editorial quality. In addition, as reviewers pointed out, the focus of the collection on the 'pure style' did not mean that the contents lacked variety and musical interest, but rather also contained "effortlessly varied forms and lively counterpoint."⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁶ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

In summarising the contents of *Pro organo* the foregoing discussion has noted the presence of a large amount of contemporary repertoire (mostly composed specifically for this project) set alongside a much smaller number of historical works, mostly from the baroque period but nevertheless covering a time-frame of over 300 years. Given such breadth of material it is perhaps surprising that a considerable degree of stylistic commonality throughout the collection was found. This commonality is nevertheless understandable given the interest and expertise of the composers and compilers in historical styles. As a result it was possible to categorise the entire collection into three groups according to the incidence and use of imitation. These categories are valuable for organising discussion of stylistic features of both historical and contemporary works and for purposes of comparison between old and new. Using the three defined categories the following two chapters take up the task of investigating style characteristics of historical and contemporary works and the relationship of these to *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals.

4

The historical style models in *Pro organo*

4.1 Introduction

The 53 historical compositions included in *Pro organo* provide a wide, although not exhaustive, cross-section of compositional methods used in chorale-based composition throughout the period 1480-1780. This period marked an extraordinary development in the composition and performance of chorale-based music, where the chorale prelude underwent significant change, from use as alternatim works between choral song, as a practical aid to congregational singing to an abstract performance piece. The majority of the historical works in *Pro organo* date from 1600-1750 and serve as examples of a genre characterised by concision and sharp focus. This wide range of historical compositional practices included in *Pro organo* affords a realistic portrayal of the variety and complexity of the genre in works which were deemed appropriate for liturgical use and, in particular, for the introduction of chorales for congregational singing. The historical works also give insights into the perceived compositional priorities of the proponents of the *neue Sachlichkeit* concerning the chorale prelude, namely the provision of idealised historicist and unsentimental settings which provide clear introductions to hymn tunes requiring moderate technical ability from the performer.

This chapter seeks to provide an analytical overview of the historical compositions in *Pro organo* with the aim of:

1. considering possible reasons for the editors' choice of the given works;
2. focussing on a representative selection of works from the categories designated in Chapter 3.3 in order to elucidate major style characteristics;
3. relating the general characteristics and style elements of works selected for discussion to the concepts of the *neue Sachlichkeit* shown in Chapter 1.3 and Chapter

- 2.4.2 and the particular liturgical context pertaining to the chorale prelude in the Church of Norway immediately following World War II;
4. establishing style models upon which the 20th-century compositions in *Pro organo* (to be investigated in Chapter 5) were possibly based.

Although not a central aim, this chapter will also show how these works relate to the repertoire of the periods represented.

As shown in Table 3.1, historical works in *Pro organo* comprise a significant proportion of the total number of works. Generally speaking, they are evenly distributed between the volumes, with an average of nine works in each, except for Volume 4, which contains 17 works; this volume also contains a slightly larger total number of works (74) than the other volumes. While this distribution may be coincidental (the contents are arranged alphabetically), it is arguable that the compilers deliberately chose a selection of apposite works for each volume to provide a range of old and new, thus indicating compatibility between past and contemporary forms of composition.

4.1.1 The selection of historical works in *Pro organo* for this study

The historical material in *Pro organo* is sourced from a relatively wide geographical area. Germany, the centre of Lutheran worship, provides the largest source of material, a fact reflected also in the actual production of chorale preludes in the period. Only four works are from areas outside Germany and the Netherlands: England (Henry Purcell, PO63a), France (Nicolas de Grigny, PO58a) Poland (*Glogauer Liederbuch*, PO197a) and Switzerland (*Fridolin Sicher's Tabulature book*, PO131a). None of these works appears to have provided an obvious influence on the contemporary compositions; all are provided with contemporary alternatives. While not widely divergent in style from the majority of *Pro organo* historical works, (the reason for the inclusion of these works is open to speculation), they are not included in the following discussion.

This chapter will deal with only a limited number of historical works selected on the basis of their representation in the categories (see Chapter 3.3) and subsidiarily by selections based on their composition date, where historical works have been sorted into three defined compositional periods (1480-1625; 1626-1675 and 1676-1780). It should be noted, however, that the collection does not contain representative works from all periods in each

categorisation. Furthermore, composer representation has been an important selection criterion; it has been observed in Chapter 3.4 that Samuel Scheidt, Johann Pachelbel and Johann Gottfried Walther are by far the best-represented composers in *Pro organo*, accounting for 51% of the historical selections; thus their works feature significantly (but not exclusively) in the ensuing discussion.

We have seen that the musical style favoured by the proponents of the *neue Sachlichkeit* was an idealised mode of historicist composition. In the evaluation and analysis of selected historical works, central principles of the *neue Sachlichkeit* will be tested in terms of their application. In considering these issues, outlined in Chapter 1.8, the function of the chorale prelude within the liturgy of the Church of Norway is also taken into account. Even more importantly, the relationship between the preludes and the contents of the authorised hymnals (LR and NN) and chorale books (KNK and PSK) is investigated.⁴⁸⁷ In Chapter 3.7 we have also seen that from the perspective of the *neue Sachlichkeit* the ideal chorale prelude would provide a clear, brief, moderate and faithful introduction to the hymn using recognisable rhythms compatible with the associated chorale book, often using a single statement of the *cantus firmus* with imitative and other compositional techniques drawn from 17th and 18th-century practices.⁴⁸⁸ Faithfulness to chorale rhythms (using restored rhythms, especially where these were available in PSK, as well as providing for established isometrical settings) was also an important priority in the *neue Sachlichkeit* context, and will thus be evaluated also. Other precepts of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, such as minimal sentimentality, technical moderation and the exclusion of extraneous material not related to the *cantus firmus*, are also explored in this chapter.

4.2 Analytical methodology

The present study draws upon several important studies that focus primarily on that much-studied chorale prelude phenomenon, the *Orgelbüchlein*, as well as other J. S. Bach collections. Analysis contemporary with the publication of *Pro organo* often does little more than to categorise works according to the use of free and imitative material and provide descriptive analysis using highly subjective language: Willi Apel's extravagant description of a Buxtehude *Præludium* is a good example:

⁴⁸⁷ See Chapter 2.3.2 for an overview of the contents of PSK.

⁴⁸⁸ Baden, 1953, pp. 21-22.

... passage work of great brilliance, dramatic pedal solos, breathtaking rests, obstinate ostinatos, expressive recitatives, boldly traced fugal subjects, massive chords, and sustained pedal points as basses for lively motivic play or for gently flowing sicilianos are some of the multifarious ideas that come and go ...⁴⁸⁹

The analyses provided in this and the following chapter aim to explicate the extent of use of certain musical entities (such as imitation, *cantus firmus* treatment, harmonic development, rhythmic and melodic variations, *figura* and so on). As such, Peter Williams' study *The organ music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (2003)⁴⁹⁰ provides a valuable descriptive methodology which is employed in this and the following chapter. While such traditional analysis deals with a musical work as an entity, comprising musical elements that behave according to stylistic conventions or otherwise, more recent musicology places greater emphasis on the work context.⁴⁹¹ In other words, all musical works are related not only to earlier and contemporary trends but also to facets outside the boundaries of the musical works themselves. These include matters such as liturgical requirements, text and placement within a service or season. Thus at times, the discussion hereunder reaches beyond conventional analysis in taking these issues into consideration.

4.2.1 The *cantus firmus*

The primary element of the chorale prelude, the *cantus firmus*, while in some respects a homogeneous, rhythmically simplistic building block, usually consists of varying phrase lengths and affords a wide variety of counter-melodic possibilities. Each *cantus firmus* was often associated with a unique text, and remained beholden to that text in regard to its expression and content. However, tunes with multiple associated texts are not uncommon. Every chorale prelude in *Pro organo* is unique in its development of melodic and motivic devices, either derived from or independent of the *cantus firmus*. Following is an account of approaches that have been taken in the analysis of the baroque chorale prelude repertory.

4.2.2 General structure and compositional devices

Chorale prelude structures can vary widely. As shown in Chapter 3.3, the eight variant structures described by Willi Apel remain the accepted models applied to chorale-based compositions. These are the chorale motet or chorale ricercar, the chorale prelude and its sub-groupings (chorale canon, melody chorale, *cantus firmus* chorale, embellished or

⁴⁸⁹ Apel, 1972, p. 613.

⁴⁹⁰ Williams, 2003.

⁴⁹¹ See for example *Constructions of gender in Monteverdi's dramatic music*, in McClary, 2002, pp. 35-52.

ornamental chorale) and the free-form chorale preludes, variously known as the chorale fantasia and chorale fugue or fughetta. Chorale variations may incorporate one or more of these sub-groupings. Because the chorale preludes in *Pro organo* represent only some of Apel's categories (chorale motet, the chorale prelude and its sub-groupings and the chorale fantasia) and frequently in combination, a different approach is adopted in the ensuing analysis, where the categories, as outlined in Chapter 3.3.1-3.3.3, are determined by the usage or otherwise of imitation:

- Category 1: systematic imitation of the *cantus firmus*
- Category 2: accompanied *cantus firmus*, with significant imitation
- Category 3: accompanied *cantus firmus*, with limited or no imitation

4.2.3 Imitation, *affetti* and *figure*

Contrapuntal terminology has been traditionally based around the use of imitation. Musicologist and theoretician Alexander R. Brinkman has suggested a nuanced way of describing imitation where the function of related melodic contours or fragments is viewed in relation to their derivation from the *cantus firmus*.⁴⁹² For example he identifies *vorimitation* (pre-imitation) as anticipative imitation occurring prior to the phrase of derivation;⁴⁹³ it is thus commonly found in introductory and interludinal phrases. Conversely, the **imitative contour** occurs immediately following the contour upon which it is derived. Yet another type categorised by Brinkman is **incipitory imitation** (derived from any part of the commencement of any phrase of the *cantus firmus* or counter-melodic material). **Concurrent contours**, a common feature of chorale preludes, are presented simultaneously with the material from which they are derived, often in rhythmic diminution, and in canonical passages, which may resemble the effect of stretto. Brinkman also describes **reminiscent contours** that occur well after the initial entry of primary material, sometimes in correlation with several fragments from various parts of the *cantus firmus*. These fragmentary forms of imitation may also be varied through the use of interval contraction and expansion, and further decorated with non-harmony notes. In summary, Brinkman attempts to relate every note of the composition to the *cantus firmus* by way of imitation. However, his emphasis on imitation, while interesting and at times persuasive,

⁴⁹² Alexander R. Brinkman, The melodic process in Johann Sebastian Bach's "Orgelbuchlein," in *Music Theory Spectrum*, Vol. 2 (Spring), 1980, pp. 46-73.

⁴⁹³ Brinkman, 1980, pp. 56-57.

excludes other accepted features of chorale composition associated with expression and textural meaning, namely *figura* and *affetti*.

A number of prominent scholars, including Hans Davidsson, Russell Stinson, Peter Williams and Christoph Wolff⁴⁹⁴ have highlighted the importance of motivic patterns commonly termed *figura* in a wide range of baroque music. Probably first described in detail and catalogued by Johann Gottfried Walther in 1708 and 1732,⁴⁹⁵ the concept of *figura* or musical rhetoric has assumed importance in describing the rhetorical significance of melodic/rhythmic motives, especially in regard to their textual connections.⁴⁹⁶ The use of *figura* was also associated with pietistic devotional practices that required the text to be underlined and coloured according to the *affetta* of the words.⁴⁹⁷ In the present study, *figura* represent one of a number of style facets under discussion and thus will not be dealt with exhaustively.

No single writer has ever drawn up a complete list of *figura*; even Walther's *Lexicon* is inadequate in terms of a contemporary overview. The first modern scholar to describe the phenomena was Arnold Schering, when he used the modern term *figurenlehre* in a seminal essay that became widely known in German musicology from 1908.⁴⁹⁸ The first systematic survey was made in 1952 in Arnold Schmitz' article *Figuren, musikalische-rhetorische*.⁴⁹⁹ While treated at length in the 1950s in German articles of that time, the theory of *figurenlehre* was a relatively neglected area in other countries.⁵⁰⁰ *Music in the baroque era* (1948) by Manfred Bukofzer⁵⁰¹ treats the phenomenon relatively perfunctorily in the space of a few pages. Studies of this formal doctrine of expressive musical figuration show that it developed gradually throughout the 17th century; there are no grounds to believe that a common

⁴⁹⁴ Hans Davidsson, *Matthias Weckmann: The interpretation of his organ music*, volume one, Gehrman's Musikförlag, Stockholm, 1991, pp. 95-97; Stinson, 1999, p. 61; Williams, 2003; pp. 237-238; Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The learned musician*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p. 128.

⁴⁹⁵ J. G. Walther, *Præcepta*, 1708 and *Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec*, Leipzig, 1732; see also Davidsson, 1991, pp. 96-97 for further and earlier sources.

⁴⁹⁶ The study of *figura* was described in contemporary literature in 1948; see Charles Warren Fox, Modern counterpoint: A phenomenological approach, in *Notes*, 2nd series, vol. 6, no. 1, December 1948, pp. 46-57.

⁴⁹⁷ Davidsson, 1991, p. 95.

⁴⁹⁸ Arnold Schering, Die Lehre von der musikalischen Figuren, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, xxi, 1908, pp. 106-114.

⁴⁹⁹ Arnold Schmitz, Die figurenlehre in den theoretischen Werken Johann Gottfried Walthers, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, ix, 1952, pp. 79-100.

⁵⁰⁰ Lenneberg, Hans, Johann Mattheson on Affect and rhetoric in music, in *Journal of music theory*, ii, 1958, pp. 47-84, 193-236.

⁵⁰¹ Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the baroque era: From Monteverdi to Bach*, J. M. Dent, London, 1948, pp. 388-390.

standard of *figura* existed over any period or wide geographical area.⁵⁰² The doctrine of the affects and music rhetoric were by no means simply theoretical approaches to a kind of musical criticism; rather, they were practical guides to composers and were an important and well-understood part of the compositional process, and might control and give significance to the use of motifs, cells, catch-phrases, melodic intervals, groups of notes and note patterns, as well as elemental musical ideas such as key changes, tessitura, the use of rests and sequencing and repetition.⁵⁰³

The concept of *figurenlehre* is based on an objective understanding of the purpose and innate function of particular note groupings. *Figura* are by their nature independent of the performer, although the performer should understand the latent content of each *figura* so that the intentions of the composer are met. Whilst there are similarities between *figura* and the expressivity of Romantic period literature, this study assumes that their successful execution is dependent upon the subjective and active emotional involvement of the performer and her understanding of the associated text. The import of each *figura* lies not only in association with particular words or phrases, but in the intention of the composer in regard to articulation or phrasing. It is not known what degree of knowledge Karlsen and Nielsen had of this area; certainly, all reference to the use of *figura* and *affetti* in contemporary works in *Pro organo* must be speculative, although such speculation will be argued on the same principles as its use in the historical works. It is likely that both Karlsen and Nielsen were aware of the importance of *figurenlehre*; Nielsen was certainly familiar with the important text of Jeppesen which contained detailed descriptions in regard to its use, and during his study period in Germany in the 1930s contact with this theory would most likely have occurred.⁵⁰⁴

The description of *figura* in this and the following chapter follows the examples given by scholars Peter Williams,⁵⁰⁵ George J. Buelow and Harmut Krones.⁵⁰⁶ The majority of *figura* mentioned in this chapter belong to the sub-class hypotyposis figures, which are a large

⁵⁰² Davidsson, 1991, p. 95; Williams, 2003, p. 233.

⁵⁰³ Peter Williams, *Figurenlehre from Monteverdi to Wagner*, 1: What is 'Figurenlehre'?, in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 120, No. 1636, June 1979, p. 476.

⁵⁰⁴ Moe, 1976, p. 41.

⁵⁰⁵ See Williams, 2003, pp. 585-590.

⁵⁰⁶ George J. Buelow, Johann Mattheson and the invention of the *Affektenlehre*, in G. J. Buelow & H. J. Marx (eds), *New Mattheson studies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 393-407; George J. Buelow, *Rhetoric and music*, §1;3, (Musical figures), in Stanley Sadie (ed), *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd edition, London, Macmillan, 2001, pp.260-275; Harmut Krones, *Musik und Rhetorik*, in Ludvig Fischer (ed), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 6, Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1997, pp. 814-852.

class of musical-rhetorical figures, many without specific names, all of which serve to illustrate words or poetic ideas, frequently stressing the pictorial nature of the words. The following terms are used in this context:

<i>Figura</i>	Description
<i>Anabasis</i>	Reflects a textual connotation of ascending ⁵⁰⁷
<i>Catabasis</i>	The opposite of anabasis ⁵⁰⁸
<i>Circolo</i>	A curling pattern ⁵⁰⁹
<i>Circulatio</i>	The description of circular or crossing-over motion
<i>Fauxbourdon</i>	Parallel motion in thirds and sixths
<i>Figura corta</i>	Dactyl (long-short-short) and anapaest (short-short-long) ⁵¹⁰
<i>Figura violistica</i>	Articulated note groupings played as on a violin ⁵¹¹
<i>Messanza</i>	An in-turning pattern with a striking leap ⁵¹²
<i>Passaggio</i>	A figuration (usually semiquavers) shared between the hands ⁵¹³
<i>Passus duriusculus</i>	'Chromatic' descending fourth, usually in its <i>tonus primus</i> , d minor ⁵¹⁴ (see PO69)
<i>Suspirans</i>	Commencing with a rest or a 'sigh,' usually in semiquavers ⁵¹⁵
<i>Tirata</i>	Run between notes apart (octaves or sixths) starting on the beat ⁵¹⁶
<i>Tremolo</i>	Quick-note repetitions ⁵¹⁷
<i>Gropo</i>	Quick-note alternations ⁵¹⁸

Table 4.1 *Figura* descriptions used in this study

The ensuing analytical discussion draws upon the methodologies outlined above, in order to provide analyses which situate the works in the context of related past and contemporary research, and more importantly, within the ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit* concerning liturgical music. It also seeks to lay the groundwork for analytical discussion in Chapter 5. The historical works included in the analytical discussion are shown below in Table 4.2.

⁵⁰⁷ Davidsson, 1991, p. 96.

⁵⁰⁸ Davidsson, 1991, p. 96.

⁵⁰⁹ Williams, 2003, p. 590.

⁵¹⁰ Williams, 2003, p. 587; Davidsson, 1991, p. 96.

⁵¹¹ Williams, 1979, p. 477.

⁵¹² Williams, 2003, p. 588.

⁵¹³ Mattheson describes *passaggio* as several running figures joined together, but not including *tirata* or *circoli* or other running figures which follow without pause; Lenneberg, 1958, pp. 223-224. Others, such as Williams, 2003, p. 589 describe *passaggio* as continuous running figures shared between the hands.

⁵¹⁴ Williams, 2003, p. 589; Davidsson, 1991, p. 97.

⁵¹⁵ Williams, 2003, p. 590; Davidsson, 1991, p. 96.

⁵¹⁶ Williams, 2003, p. 588; Davidsson, 1991, p. 97.

⁵¹⁷ Williams, 2003, p. 590.

⁵¹⁸ Williams, 2003, p. 590.

Category	Composer	Title	PO
1	Johann Christoph Bach	<i>Aus meines Herzens Grunde</i>	PO25 <i>Den tro som Jesum favner</i>
	Wilhelm Friedemann Bach	<i>Jesu meine Freunde</i>	PO69 <i>Gud skal allting lage</i>
	Johann Pachelbel	<i>Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott</i>	PO287 <i>Vår Gud han er så fast en borg</i>
2	Samuel Scheidt	<i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i>	PO13 <i>Av høiheten oprunnen er</i>
	Johann Pachelbel	<i>Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire</i>	PO139b <i>Jesus, dine dype vunder</i>
	Johann Gottfried Walther	<i>Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn</i>	PO223 <i>O nådens sol og sete</i>
3	Samuel Scheidt	<i>Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme</i>	PO245 <i>Sions vekter hever røsten</i>
	Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck	<i>O Dieu, donne moi délivrance</i>	PO207a <i>Når vi i største nød mon stå</i>
	Matthias Weckmann	<i>Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott</i>	PO156 <i>Kom, beilage Ånd, Herre Gud</i>
	Dieterich Buxtehude	<i>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ</i>	PO39 <i>Du være lovet, Jesus Krist</i>
	Georg Friedrich Kauffmann	<i>Nun danket alle Gott</i>	PO202 <i>Nu la oss takke Gud</i>

Table 4.2 Historical compositions included in the analytical discussion

It will be noted that works are selected to provide an overview of various historical styles, and also reflecting the prevalence of certain composers in *Pro organo*. The selected works in the three categories are treated in chronological order in the analyses.

4.3 Selected historical compositions

4.3.1 Historical category 1 compositions

As explicated in Chapter 3.3.1, Category 1 works involve at least some strict imitative treatment of the *cantus firmus*. At one extreme, this imitation is complete in all voices, both in the initial and subsequent entries of the *cantus firmus*. But because of the demands related to imitating a complete tune, the *cantus firmus* is often partially treated. The strict style leaves little room for flexibility but maintains the purity of style with few or no notes not derived from the *cantus firmus*. As Table 3.4 shows, Category 1 is the second largest of the three categories, accounting for approximately 27% of the contents (both historical and contemporary) of *Pro organo*. In traditional categorisation, these works primarily comply with the chorale motet or ricercar model (*fuga realis*);⁵¹⁹ in freer treatments they are comparable with the less strict form of chorale fughetta. In some works the *cantus firmus* is only partially imitative in subsequent entries, resulting in a partially accompanied treatment. Several examples have been selected in each category in an endeavour to show the variety of structures and imitative techniques found in *Pro organo*, as indicated in Table 3.4. No early works in this category are represented in *Pro organo* (but this does not indicate that a strict form of imitation was not current in the 16th and early 17th centuries). On the other

⁵¹⁹ Davidsson, 1991, p. 96.

hand, 15 of the 18 works written after 1700 are written in conservative styles, provide a good starting point in the discussion of the historical material.

An excellent example of a work constructed on the imitative principle is the setting by Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703) of the chorale tune associated with texts *Aus meines Herzens Grunde* and *Herzlich thut mich erfreuen*, here coupled with the Norwegian text *Den tro som Jesum favner* (PO25). In this short work of 32 bars the presentation of the chorale tune in conjunction with systematic imitation is the primary feature, to the degree that extraneous material is almost completely excluded. As will be shown in Chapter 5, this was a model of considerable importance to Karlsen and Nielsen, most probably on account of the emphasis given to exploration of chorale material not only in the imitative voices but in subsidiary voices as well. It should be noted that the rhythm of the initial subject is based on the partially restored version of the tune found in PSK; it immediately establishes a joyful dance-like character that pervades the entire setting. This simple three-part work commences with a strict point of imitation with entries at regular four bar intervals, followed by more closely-spaced entries from the second line of the chorale melody, as shown in bars 14-26 (see Figure 4.1), leading to a short coda. Although the complete *cantus firmus* is not stated (a typical feature of both the chorale fughetta⁵²⁰ and the chorale motet), a remarkable feature of this work is the heavy reliance on fragments of chorale melodic material in the counter-melodic lines, further highlighting the integrity of the chorale. Limited use is made of *figurae*; only *tirata* and *circolo* are present, further projecting the integrity and character of the chorale tune itself, which is characterised by upward leaps of a fifth and dotted rhythms. Both of these feature in points of imitation, and the rhythmic figure in subsidiary material as well. The setting is harmonically diatonic in accordance with the chorale, although tonic and dominant pedal points support more than half the work, and mild dissonance use (approached sevenths) at cadence points provides a slight divergence from the prevailing consonance. This work contains elements of the chorale motet category in its use of differing points of imitation and almost complete reliance upon *cantus firmus* material. However, not all imitation use is strict, and the use of pedal point is more indicative of the chorale fughetta. The source edition for this work is *44 Choräle zum Präludieren*, edited by M. Fischer (1929), a collection notable for its unified and simple style; all begin with imitation and use simple developments of all or parts of the *cantus firmus*.⁵²¹

⁵²⁰ Stinson, 1999, p. 11.

⁵²¹ Apel, 1972, pp. 644-645.

25. Den tro som Jesum favner — Den tru som Jesus femner

I døden Jesus blundred — Jag lever och opphøjer

Mel. Hamburg 1598 Johann Christoph Bach

Figure 4.1 PO25: J. C. Bach, *Den tro som Jesum favner* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951

Another highly imitative approach is evident in the chorale prelude (PO69) on Johann Crüger's tune to the text *Jesu meine Freude* by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710-1784), set to the Norwegian text *Gud skal allting lage*. The setting closely follows the plaintive character of fervent longing latent in the text that comprised a popular *Jesuslied* at Christmas and Epiphany.

German	Norwegian	English
Jesu, meine Freude, meines Herzens Weide, Jesu, meine Zier: ach wie lang, ach lange ist dem Herzen bange und verlangt nach dir! Gottes Lamm, mein Bräutigam, ausser dir soll mir auf Erden nichts sonst liebers werden.	Gud skal allting lage, som mig alle dage favner i sitt skjød. Han som mig utvalgte og blant sine talte førenn jeg blev født, Han jo vet, i kjærlighet, som i livet så i døden, hva jeg har fornøden.	Jesus, priceless Treasure, fount of purest pleasure, truest friend to me. Ah, how long in anguish shall my spirit languish, yearning, Lord, for Thee? Thou art mine, O Lamb divine! I will suffer naught to hide Thee, naught I ask beside Thee.

Text: Johann Franck, 1641; Norwegian text: M. B. Landstad;⁵²² English translation: LBW (1978)⁵²³

Originally in D minor, the prelude was transposed to C minor to comply with PSK. In this 36-bar, four-voice setting the primacy of the chorale is upheld by way of a complete statement of the tune in conjunction with systematic imitation, although this is not applied consistently throughout the work. The original chorale structure is reflected in a binary design with the first section repeated. Unlike J. C. Bach's setting discussed above, this one

⁵²² Landstad, 1926, LR513. Text by M. B. Landstad.

⁵²³ Jesus, priceless treasure, in *Lutheran book of worship*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1978, no. 594. Translation: Catherine Winkworth, with minor alterations.

features, in the first section, a full imitative exposition of the first phrase followed by a episode of 12 bars during which the second and third phrases of the chorale appear with imitation in all voices. The second section features the remaining chorale phrases, all imitated, with closely-spaced entries giving stretto-like effects which further underline the fervent nature of the text. The composer also draws on harmonic means to project the ethos of the chorale, including chains of suspensions, chromatic *tirata* and *circolo* and other *figura*, and not least, a dramatic augmented 6th chord in bar 14 as part of a *passus duriusculus*, shown in Figure 4.2. Imitation of the *cantus firmus* is sometimes varied by way of embellishment and diminution. The imitative statements of the *cantus firmus* provide a continuous framework for the counter-melodic material, and the frequent use of dactylic rhythms around neighbour notes in counter-melodic material creates forward drive and harmonic and rhythmic tension. All semiquaver groupings are limited to groups of no more than four consecutive notes, often followed by crotchet or quaver movement, an effect that serves to underline the importance of the chorale rhythm and pulse. This work represents an extension of the compositional process illustrated in J. C. Bach's work, especially in regard to the use of *figura* motifs and chromaticism to highlight aspects of the chorale text.

69. Gud skal allting lage — Gud skal allting laga

Gud skal alting mage — Jesu är min hägnad

Mel. Johann Crüger 1653

Wilhelm Friedemann Bach

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is G minor (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (bars 1-4) begins with a rest in the treble staff and a rhythmic pattern in the bass staff. The second system (bars 5-8) continues the imitative texture. The third system (bars 9-12) features a stretto-like effect with closely spaced entries. The fourth system (bars 13-16) concludes the passage with a dramatic augmented 6th chord in bar 14.



Figure 4.2 PO69: W. F. Bach, *Gud skal allting lage* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1952

The setting (PO287) of the chorale tune *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, coupled to the Norwegian translation of the text, *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg* is by one of the well-represented composers in the collection, Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706). This setting, like that of J. C. Bach (PO25) discussed above, also shows a strong dependence on the chorale tune. The entire chorale tune is presented and subjected to imitation, although not always in a systematic manner. The form of the tune is less rhythmically complex than the original, probably a reason for the choice of the setting for *Pro organo* which required a simple setting for the largely isorhythmic versions of the tune in both KNK and PSK. This chorale prelude has been transposed down a tone to comply with PSK. Superficially similar to the J. S. Bach setting of the same text in BWV 720, this four-voice work of 47 bars commences with a systematic point of imitation involving the first highly distinctive phrase of the chorale tune. Thereafter no fewer than five repetitions of this phrase occur in the lower voices (bars 19-22, 23-26, 28-31, 35-37, 36-38 and 41-44), with bars 35-37 in *stretto*. At the same time, the remaining phrases of the chorale melody are enunciated freely, resulting in a contrapuntal texture of considerable sophistication, as shown in Figure 4.3 (bars 40-43). The counter-melodic material is neither regular in texture nor imitative in all voices and is therefore considerably less consistent than J.C. Bach's setting, although some of the figurations are repeated as rhythmic and sequential devices. This setting follows a pattern found in shorter works by Pachelbel and J. C. Bach, outlined by Christoph Wolff, where the initial phrase of the tune is used as the primary compositional element, and the composition otherwise follows the melodic contours or harmonic implications of the

chorale.⁵²⁴ With partially imitated counter-melodic *figura*, especially *tirata*, *gropo* and *messanza*, as well as dactylic *figura corta*, also shown in Figure 4.3 (bars 7-10), the imitative framework shows a strong reliance on the initial statement of the chorale melody. The work concludes with a plagal cadence under an inverted tonic pedal. This work conforms to Apel's chorale fughetta category.

287. Vår Gud han er så fast en borg — Vår Gud han er so fast ei borg

Mel. Martin Luther
Hos Klug, Wittenberg 1529

Vår Gud er oss en väldig borg

Johann Pachelbel

⁵²⁴ Wolff, 2001, p. 85.



Figure 4.3 PO287: Pachelbel, *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1958

These examples indicate some of the breadth of possibilities available in a predominantly imitative approach to chorale prelude composition: systematic imitation at the beginning of the work followed by a variety of strategies, all of which feature imitative writing derived to from the *cantus firmus*.

4.3.2 Historical category 2 compositions

As shown in Chapter 3.3.2, the second category involves the presentation of the *cantus firmus* in a largely accompanied style, using free imitative figurations either directly based on the *cantus firmus* or in free adaptation of that or other material. As Table 3.4 shows, this category accounts for the majority of both historical and contemporary works, consisting of over 58% of the total. Apel's sub-groupings pertaining to the chorale prelude are mainly concordant with this category (chorale canon, melody chorale, *cantus firmus* chorale, embellished or ornamental chorale); however, all works contain a significant amount of imitation and contrapuntal writing. The combination of a clear representation of the *cantus firmus* in an accompanied form with imitation of some elements of the tune provided an economical compositional form capable of great flexibility allowing for great variety in approach and considerable scope for colouration possibilities.

An early example of the accompanied approach is Scheidt's 30-bar three-part setting (PO13) of Philip Nicolai's important melody to his own text *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*. It shows significant deviation from his other nine works in *Pro organo* (PO177, 184, 188, 218, 221, 245, 258, 267, and 283) all of which are predominantly homophonic. The only Scheidt work not sourced from *Das Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* (Hamburg, 1650), the setting, the fourth variation of seven, is associated with the translation *Af boibeten oprunnen er* and clearly renders the unembellished *cantus firmus* as an accompanied solo voice in the bass voice, a contrast to *Das Görlitzer Tabulatur* where it is normally placed in the soprano.⁵²⁵ The registration and other performance indications in *Pro organo* indicate the use of pedals, and although this is not conclusive in the original source, the wide tessitura of the middle voices can cause technical difficulties if played *manualiter*. The choice of setting again reflects the primary aim of the compilers to present the chorale tune clearly and faithfully, and it is transposed from F major to correspond with PSK. The rhythmic form of the chorale melody differs only very slightly to that provided in PSK, which includes an isometric version in addition to the partially rhythmically restored version. Scheidt's setting (which uses a melody form omitting the initium) is introduced by a short two-part point of imitation loosely based on the first bars of the chorale, the first part (bars 1-11) showing anticipative *cantus firmus* contours that are partially imitated, shown in Figure 4.4 (bars 1-5). The opening statement of the *cantus firmus* is repeated from bar 12, in line with the chorale, but with a quite different accompaniment; here, the melodic contours in the upper voices feature parallel passages in thirds and sixths in quaver and semiquaver movement using a wide variety of *figurae*, including *tirata*, *circolo*, *tremolo* and *messanza*, as well as *figura violistica*, exemplified in bars 12-14.⁵²⁶ These *figurae* reflect the joyful nature of the chorale text. The prevailing texture is of rapid passages that loosely follow the contours of the *cantus firmus*, colouring its stately character with short imitative phrases. The setting in its entirety is diatonic, following the implicit harmonic progressions of the *cantus firmus*.

⁵²⁵ Vogel, 2001, p. 5.

⁵²⁶ Williams, 1979, p. 477.

13. Av høiheten oprunnen er — Or høgdi ned i verdi skin

Var hälsad, sköna morgonstund

Samuel Scheidt

Mel. Philipp Nicolai 1599

Figure 4.4 PO13: Scheidt, *Av høiheten oprunnen er* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951

Another setting by Pachelbel (PO139b), this time of the French Huguenot melody *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*, which is matched with a large number of texts in Norway, amongst others *Jesus, dine dybe vunder*, represents a contrast to the previously described chorale prelude realisations through its use of continuous accompanying semiquaver movement. The tune is otherwise associated with the German texts *Wie nach einem Wasserquelle* and *Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele*. The complete *cantus firmus* is placed in the uppermost voice, and makes noteworthy use of *figura ornata* or embellished crotchets, replacing chorale notes at points where the imitative voice appears, as seen in Figure 4.5. This setting, together with its matched contemporary setting by Karlsen (PO139a) provides a clear representation of the chorale rhythm, a necessity for the successful performance of the chorale in congregational use. PSK provides two rhythmically restored versions of the chorale, replacing the established isorhythmic version in KNK (although KNK also included a restored rhythmical form).⁵²⁷ Pachelbel's setting, in simple triple time, uses a slightly altered form of the *cantus firmus*. This setting is transposed from G major (an editorial oversight appears in the final phrase, where a contra-octave B flat may be found). It comprises the second of a set of four chorale variations on *Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele*, the first of which is

⁵²⁷ See Figure 2.4.

an atypical *cantus firmus* chorale with the chorale tune in the soprano. The third variation is an embellished chorale, and the final variation is a *cantus firmus* chorale, presenting the chorale tune in the pedal.

The melody chorale prelude, as represented in PO139b was derived from the cantionale chorales or vocal collections of the Halle school, as exemplified in Scheidt's chorale preludes in *Das Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*.⁵²⁸ The technique was widely used throughout the Baroque period (see for example Buxtehude's *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*, BuxWV 198), reaching its culmination in the works of J. S. Bach.⁵²⁹ The degree of textural consistency in Pachelbel's setting is noteworthy. The continuous semiquaver *passaggio* movement, a feature of the melody chorale, using *tirata*, *circolo* and *messanza figurae*, is consistently present in only one voice at a time, divided equally between all three voices and partially based on the *cantus firmus*, as illustrated in Figure 4.5. This figuration also partially decorates the *cantus firmus*. It may also be noted that the first section of the *cantus firmus* is partially imitated in the bass at three points.

⁵²⁸ Williams, 2003, p. 236.

⁵²⁹ Stinson, 1999, p. 63.

139b. Jesus, dine dype vunder—Jesus, dine djupe vunder

Jesu, gör mig så til sinnes

Johann Pachelbel

Hugenottmelodi, Genève 1551

Figure 4.5 PO139b: Pachelbel, *Jesus, dine dype vunder* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954

Johann Gottfried Walther's setting (PO223) of the chorale *Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn*, set to the text *O nådens sol og sete* shows differing use of imitative textures to accompany a *cantus firmus*. Here, the chorale melody, in the lowest voice (probably intended for pedal solo) is treated in discrete phrases separated by rests of differing durations. The *cantus firmus* is identical to the tune version included in PSK, with a necessary editorial adjustment to account for fewer syllables in Norwegian in bars 5 and 14. Imitation in the upper voices is not consistent and features a wide range of *figurae*, sometimes mirroring the movement of the *cantus firmus*, such as in bars 12 and 15-16, or contrasting *anapaestic*, *dactylic* and *tremolo figurae* which form an imitated interpretation of the *cantus firmus*, as in bars 1-3, shown in Figure 4.6. The rich variety of *cantus firmus*-derived imitative figures, together with the work's relative simplicity and faithfulness to the chorale text, also evident in other settings by Walther (PO92a, 143, 146, 149, 157b, 215 and 227), was probably a significant reason why he is one of the most represented historical composers in *Pro organo*.

223. O nådens sol og sete

Om alle mine lemmer Förlossningen är vunnun

Johann Gottfried Walther

Mel.: Erfurt 1524

Figure 4.6 PO223: Walther, *O nådens sol og sete* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955

All Category 2 works discussed above are notable for the clarity in which the *cantus firmus* is presented and for the varying ways in which the chorale tune is integrated into the accompaniment by way of imitation.

4.3.3 Historical category 3 compositions

We have established that Category 3 chorale preludes are works where the *cantus firmus* is accompanied with little or no imitation; they correspond to Apel's embellished chorale and melody chorale. As Table 3.4 shows, this category includes the fewest historical and contemporary works, only approximately 10% of the *Pro organo* total. With the exception of the nine homophonic works by the early composer Samuel Scheidt, the chorale preludes in this category contain some fragmentary imitation. However, none contain imitation that is carried through in all parts, nor imitation extending over more than two bars. This style of writing is relatively uncommon in later chorale prelude composition.

The homophonic approach is well illustrated in the chorale prelude by Samuel Scheidt (PO245) provided for the important Philipp Nicolai chorale *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*, associated with a translation of the text, *Sions vokter hever røsten*. Like most of Scheidt's 10 contributions in *Pro organo*, it is in essence a slightly embellished homophonic harmonisation of the tune and could even be used to accompany congregational singing. The rhythmic form of the tune differs only slightly (in the first and fourth phrases) from the restored version provided in PSK. It is probable that this simple setting was chosen to explicate the restored rhythm of the chorale. PSK also includes an isorhythmic version in the Lindeman-tradition that is not found in KNK. Apart from limited sequential use of *tirata* and anapaestic *figuræ*, with no apparent textural significance, this work is consistently homophonic with little evidence of imitative writing, as shown in Figure 4.7.

245. Sions vokter hever røsten — Vakna upp! so ljodar luren
Höga Majestät, vi alla — Vakna upp! en stämma bjuder

Mel. Nicolai 1599 Samuel Scheidt

Figure 4.7 PO245: Scheidt, *Sions vokter hever røsten* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1958

Very different in approach is Sweelinck's only represented work in *Pro organo* (PO207a), based on the Huguenot tune *O Dieu, donne moi délivrance* (Ps. 140) and associated with the text *Når vi i største nød mon stå*. This comprises a two-part variation from a set of five variations on the chorale. As the first and least complex of the five, it presents the *cantus*

firmus in unembellished form as the upper voice. The remaining variations show wide textural variations, each becoming more rhythmically complex, gaining momentum from the manner in which the previous variation concludes. A partially restored version of the chorale melody appears in PSK and is used by Nielsen in his setting; however, the version in Sweelinck's setting follows the original Strassburg rhythm. A wide variety of accompanying *figurae* are used in this *bicinium*; most may be related (albeit tenuously) to the *cantus firmus* in some way; they include sequential *messanza* interspersed with *tirata* and *tremolo*. The style and texture of this example is less consistent than previously discussed examples have been. This may be (at least in part) related to the position of the work as the first of five variations, which as a whole shows a high degree of textural and constructional consistency; however, each variation appears to be dependent upon either the preceding or following one. In terms of colouring the chorale, this variation movement builds in rhythmic intensity and velocity, moving from crotchet movement to consistent semiquaver movement towards its completion as shown in Figure 4.8. The setting is also diatonically consistent with the basic harmonic implications of the *cantus firmus*. A contemporary response by Nielsen using the same tune in restored form will be discussed for comparative purposes in Chapter 5.3.2.

207^a. Når vi i største nød mon stå - Når me i største naud lyt stå
 Når i den største nød vi stå - Si, Jesus är ett tröstrickt namn

Hugenottmelodi
Strassburg 1542 J. P. Sweelinck

Figure 4.8 PO207b: Sweelinck, *Når vi i største nød mon stå* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955

The only example of the important early period composer Matthias Weckmann (1616-1674) to be included in *Pro organo* (PO156) differs in its treatment of the *cantus firmus* from that of all previously examined examples. It is based on the chorale *Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*, translated for LR as *Kom, Hellige Ånd, Herre Gud*. The chorale melody appears in isometrical form in both KNK and PSK. In Weckmann's setting, embellished and unembellished statements of the *cantus firmus* feature in the soprano, as shown in Figure 4.9 (bars 1-4 and 5-8).

156. Kom, Hellige Ånd, Herre Gud—Kom, Heilag Ande, Kristi tolk

Mel. Fra tiden før reform. Erturt 1524 Kom Helligaand, Gud Herre from-Kom, Helge Ande, Herre Gud Matthias Weckmann

Figure 4.9 PO156: Weckmann, *Kom, Hellige Änd, o Herre Gud* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954

The rhythmic underlay and demeanour of the accompaniment is contrasted each of these sections; where the *cantus firmus* is embellished, the accompaniment is rhythmically simple, and where the *cantus firmus* is in its original isometric form, the accompaniment is enlivened by the use of dotted rhythms and *figurae*; a schemata of this pattern is shown in Figure 4.10. Although this pattern is not systematically carried through the entire work, elements are present in other sections.

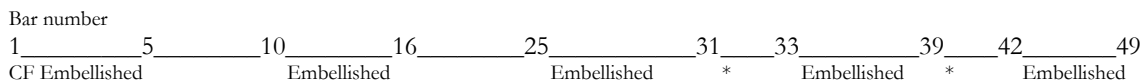


Figure 4.10 Schemata of structure of PO156, showing use of embellished and unembellished *cantus firmus*
 * short interlude

Sections are also marked by changes of time signature (quadruple, compound duple and duple time) that also reflect rhythmic changes in the *cantus firmus* and figurations in other voices. A tension-building dialogue between the accompaniment and the *cantus firmus* appears in bars 33-36, leading to a conclusion incorporating the final line of the *cantus firmus* over dactylic *figurae* carried over from the embellished *cantus firmus*. Comparison with Buxtehude's later chorale prelude (BuxWV 200) on the same tune shows an entirely

different working (similar to that in the following *Pro organo* example, BuxWV 189) where the embellished *cantus firmus* is accompanied by a more consistent formulaic text, concluding with a coda in parallel semiquaver sixths and thirds.

Weckmann's 4-part work of 49 bars, part of a chorale variation composition in 5 sections, uses both homophonic and fragmentary imitative accompaniment figures, which are partially reliant on the chorale melodic material. Considerable use is made of shape imitation and inversion, as well as a variety of *figurae*, such as *tirata*, *gropo*, *tremolo* as well as *messanza*, some of which may be related to the lengthy and intricate *cantus firmus*.

Buxtehude's well-known chorale prelude (PO39), on the chorale *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (BuxWV 189), translated in Norwegian hymnals as *Du være lovet, Jesus Krist*, provides a fine example of a decorated *cantus firmus* against a fragmentarily imitative accompaniment. Whereas Weckmann's *cantus firmus* is variously and alternately embellished and unembellished, that in Buxtehude's setting is decorated throughout. The chorale prelude is transposed down a tone to match the keys of PSK and KNK, with bracketed original readings giving indications of octave displacements. The *cantus firmus* is highly decorated at the commencement and completion of each phrase, using a variety of *figurae*, including *suspirans*, *gropo* and *tirata* as well as ornament suggestions, as shown in Figure 4.12. The first introductory *figurae* leads into the work with a flourish, giving the *cantus firmus* a strong presence, further strengthened by its placement on a solo stop (the setting requires two manuals and pedal). The lower voices display limited imitative counterpoint at the octave (bars 1-2 and 5-6); in addition, they provide energetic interludes during the longer *cantus firmus* notes and when it is silent. The figurations and accompaniment are consistent throughout, and the pedal part is unusually virtuosic at times in comparison with the majority of *Pro organo* preludes, leading into the climactic point in bars 24 and 25. Dissonance use is mild, involving mainly prepared suspensions and dominant seventh use at cadence points. This work would be in the upper range of the technically demanding historical works and is the only consistently embellished *cantus firmus* chorale in *Pro organo*.

39. Du være lovet, Jesus Krist — Du vere lova, Jesus Krist
 Lovet være du, Jesus Krist — Lov være dig, o Jesu Krist

Mel. Johann Walther 1524 Diderik Buxtehude

Figure 4.12: PO39 Buxtehude, *Du være lovet, Jesus Krist* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951

Georg Friedrich Kauffmann's chorale prelude on the seminal text *Num danket alle Gott*, translated in LR as *Nu la oss takke Gud* (PO202) provides a further example of the accompanied chorale prelude, introduced by *figura* material with some relationship with the *cantus firmus*. This three-part setting of 38 bars is introduced by a two-part passage of 12 bars featuring fragmentary imitation based on falling stepwise *suspirans*, often in thirds or tenths, as may be seen in Figure 4.13. *Suspirans* are usually associated expectation or longing; however, the triumphant, praising hymn text provides an exception to the rule.⁵³⁰ This figuration continues in part as the accompaniment to the *cantus firmus*, which is arranged in bipartite form, mirroring the chorale structure. Figure 4.13 shows how the *cantus firmus* is mildly embellished with some of the same figurations found in the

⁵³⁰ Williams, 2003, p. 590.

accompaniment *suspirans*, supplemented with short *figura* utilising accented neighbour and passing notes. The harmonisation follows exactly the implications and standard harmonisation of the *cantus firmus*. The active, energetic bass voice accompanying the *cantus firmus* is reminiscent of the earlier *bicinium* or *tricinium* style,⁵³¹ while the middle voice is linked to the *cantus firmus* movement, often in parallel thirds. Transposed a tone down for *Pro organo*, the presentation of this work is almost identical to its presumed source⁵³² and modern Bärenreiter editions. The octave leap in bar 25 is downward in direction in the original key.

202. Nu la oss takke Gud - No takka alle Gud
 Nu takker alle Gud - Nu tacker Gud, allt folk

Mel. hos Johann Crüger 1647

Georg Friedrich Kauffmann

Figure 4.13: PO202 Kauffmann, *Nu la oss takke Gud* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955

4.4 Conclusions

The foregoing discussion and investigation of selected historical works in *Pro organo* has focussed on representative examples from the three categories outlined in Chapter 3.3.1-3.3.3 and from the three time frames. Whilst it is clear that neither the categorisation system used nor the contents of the actual volumes of *Pro organo* can hope to represent the wide range of responses to chorale melodies available in historical sources, these selections

⁵³¹ Williams, 2003, p. 586.

⁵³² Georg Friedrich Kauffmann, *Harmonische Seelenlust, Präludien über die bekanntesten Chorallieder für Orgel*, Bärenreiter-Ausgabe, Kassel, 1924.

reveal a cross-section of styles which were considered worthy of representation in the compilation and which may well have served as models for the remaining compositions. The historical works found in *Pro organo* cannot be claim to represent more than a fraction of the stylistic diversity found in this period covering more than three centuries. From the foregoing discussion and that of the previous chapters, it may be concluded that the selection of the 53 historical works for *Pro organo* was neither coincidental nor without purpose. The choices made by Karlsen and Nielsen in selecting works for inclusion appear to reflect important ideals related to the purpose at hand, including compatibility with the associated hymnals and chorale books, the intended function of the preludes, and their musical style. The requirement was for music that would first and foremost serve the needs of the liturgy, both practically and aesthetically. In every way, their selection for *Pro organo* reflects the style ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in respect of the liturgy and its music. As shown in Chapter 2, the *neue Sachlichkeit* precepts in regard to liturgical music required brevity and simplicity; thus the purpose of this collection was arguably to provide clear, brief, moderate and faithful introductions to hymns using recognisable rhythms and melodic sequences. *Neue Sachlichkeit* precepts are also evident in the choice of works primarily of baroque origin and the exclusion of music in a late 19th-century sentimental lyrical style, and furthermore in the selection of works which convey the original rhythms of chorale melodies (which were believed to have greater integrity than the isometric versions that had been in more common usage prior to the publication of PSK), and in which considerable emphasis is placed on the clear enunciation of the chorale. Moderation, in terms of length, complexity and style were also features valued in liturgical music by *neue Sachlichkeit* proponents and are also represented in the selected works. The concept of objectivity, as opposed to sentimentality and showmanship was yet another desirable feature of the selected historical works.

It is reasonable to conclude also that the chosen works had special appeal for the compilers of *Pro organo* for quite practical reasons: firstly, they matched to a considerable degree the melodic and rhythmic material in PSK and also KNK, the chorale books with which they were to be associated; secondly, they were on the whole, short in length and of a level of difficulty that would make them widely accessible to Norwegian organists in the 1950s; thirdly, they contained clear and faithful expositions of the chorale melodies that could be internalised by congregations. The selected historical works were in the main suited to the function of providing introductions to the congregational singing of chorales and in so

doing, they articulated not only the chorale melody but also something of its ethos with clarity and faithfulness. They embraced styles that were deemed by the compilers and other influential church musicians to be worthy of the church's liturgy. In short, the historical chorale preludes were seen to fulfil the important need for apposite chorale prelude material to support the hymnody of the Church of Norway. Finally, the works were deemed suitable components of the first substantial program document of the *neue Sachlichkeit* to contain liturgical organ music in Norway, where they were to be published together with contemporary expressions of the same forms.

It has become clear that works were sought from numerous historical sources. It is very likely that some works were previously little known in Norway and were deliberately chosen to make the repertoire readily available and to increase general interest in historical repertoire. We have seen also that the historical works embrace a wide time frame, although the emphasis is without doubt on baroque repertory and, in particular the period between ca. 1620 and 1720, with strong representation of music by Scheidt, Pachelbel and Walther. It has also been observed that the geographical origin of the selected works also covers a wide span, but with an understandably strong representation of works by German composers.

It has been established that despite the constraints of length, complexity, period of origin and chorale association, the historical works selected for *Pro organo* by Karlsen and Nielsen cover a broad stylistic range from simple homophonic harmonisations to complex contrapuntal workings embracing a number of Apel's chorale types and combinations thereof. Nevertheless three fundamental approaches have been identified:

1. That involving systematic imitation of chorale phrases and/or fragments;
2. that in which the chorale melody is presented in one voice with accompaniment provided by the other voices involving substantial imitation, generally of chorale material;
3. that in which the chorale melody is accompanied by predominantly non-imitative material.

Even within the works discussed from each category a surprisingly wide stylistic divergence was observed. Within the Category 1 works, for example, strict imitation might be found

unfailingly at the opening of each work, but thereafter approaches are quite varied: the *cantus firmus* may or may not be presented in its entirety, counter-melodic material may or may not be derived from the *cantus firmus*, points of imitation may be exact or not and fragments of the chorale may appear without any imitation at all. In every case, however, the imitative material serves to reinforce and adorn the choral melody and contributes to the ethos of the chorale setting. Category 1 works do not necessarily comply with any one of Apel's categories – some resemble the chorale motet, others represent the chorale fughetta, still others contain elements of both. Certainly the variety of imitative usage in these works makes for musical interest both for the performer and listeners. The motivic accompaniment activity where it occurs (primarily in Category 2 and 3 works) also varies widely in its application. Here, settings range from the largely homophonic, to strict imitations of parts of the *cantus firmus* using few or no extraneous notes, to decorated settings of the *cantus firmus*, using a wide range of imitative structures at a micro and macro level, both fragmentary and in augmentation and diminution.

While almost all the works discussed contain one or more imitative feature, works that utilise strict imitation (Category 1) are less likely to contain extra-melodic material apart from counter-melodic fragments that may or may not be related to the *cantus firmus*. The most common form of non-*cantus firmus* based fragmentary melodic material in the Category 2 and 3 works is the recurrent contour, usually stated at the commencement of the chorale prelude, and thereafter pervading the texture of the contrapuntal fabric. These contours are usually also rhythmically focused and are often perceived as the primary motivic material. Not all fragments of this type are dependent on rhythm, but the rhythmic use of such motifs is shown to be an important factor in attaining coherence and consistency in the composition, exemplified in J. G. Walther's *Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn* (PO223) and G. F. Kauffmann's *Nun danket alle Gott* (PO202).

Moderation in harmonic language, also an important factor in Steenberg's attempt to reproduce a *stile antico cantionale* collection in PSK, was undoubtedly also an important criterion for the compilers. It has been shown that in the works discussed the harmonic language is generally closely aligned to the harmonic implications of the chorale melody. Apart from isolated chords in some pieces (for example the augmented 6th noted in W. F. Bach's *Jesu meine Freude*, PO69), none of the historical chorale preludes in *Pro organo* show harmonic adventurousness. Even those by J. S. Bach are characterised by conventional

progressions and primarily diatonic harmony, in contrast to the extraordinary chromaticism explored in his *Orgelbüchlein*. Interestingly, no examples from the *Orgelbüchlein* are found in *Pro organo*, reflecting the policy of presenting predominantly inaccessible material. This may also reflect that the *Orgelbüchlein* was considered to be technically advanced, or that the Bach's works were not considered to be in line with Laubian and *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals.

On the other hand, when it comes to the colouration of the chorale through the employment of traditional motives, the historical works demonstrate considerable richness in the incidence of *figurae*, which function both expressively and as unifying elements. A celebratory chorale such as *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* (PO13) is enlivened with *figurae* including *tirata*, *circolo*, *tremolo* and *figura violistica* in Scheidt's setting, while a tune such as *Jesu meine Freude* (PO69) the plaintive ethos of the text is underscored by the *passus duriusculus* in W. F. Bach's setting. Such expressive devices were understood to entail a degree of objectivity, a quality of considerable importance to the compilers.

It is clear from the above discussion that the chosen works, which in Williams' words comprise "discrete, individual settings, simple in shape, expressive in *Affekt*, and warmly registered on the organ"⁵³³ complied with the precepts of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, and provided apposite and sought after material for liturgical use in the Church of Norway service. Nevertheless a significant corpus of chorale material in PSK and the authorised KNK remained without such settings. The following chapter will show how the compilers addressed the challenge of providing contemporary works that would complement the historical preludes and fulfil similar criteria of style and function.

⁵³³ Williams, 2003, p. 557.

5

The *neue Sachlichkeit* as a compositional determinant: A case study of selected *Pro organo* works by Karlsen and Nielsen

5.1 Introduction

In addition to the 53 historical compositions on which Chapter 4 was based, *Pro organo* contains 270 contemporary works that comprise approximately 84% of the compilation. The editors Karlsen and Nielsen composed 262 of these; the remaining eight are by their contemporaries Per Steenberg (1870-1947) and Fridthjov Anderssen (1876-1937). Chapter 4 has shown that the compilers were guided by the principles of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in their selection of historical works resulting in the inclusion of music that served the perceived liturgical function of the chorale prelude in a style that articulated the chorale and its ethos and which was free from overt sentimentality.⁵³⁴

This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the works expressly composed for this publication reflect the same ideals and composition style of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, as did the historical works. In so doing, it aims to confirm the main hypothesis of this study, namely that in virtually every respect *Pro organo* comprises a clear manifestation of the style ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Norwegian church music, assuming a particular and cohesive identity based on those ideals. More particular questions to be addressed include:

1. To what extent do the contemporary works provide a clear, brief, moderate and faithful introduction to the hymn tune, using recognisable rhythms compatible with the associated chorale book and a single statement of the *cantus firmus* together with imitative and other compositional techniques? Furthermore, to what extent are the

⁵³⁴ See Introduction, p. 8.

- priorities of minimal sentimentality, technical moderation and the exclusion of extraneous material not related to the *cantus firmus* evident?
2. In what ways do the contemporary preludes reflect the contents of the authorised hymnals (LR and NN) and chorale books (KNK and PSK)?
 3. To what extent are the contemporary works modelled on historical precedents particularly of the 17th century, and in particular, on works included in the source?
 4. In what ways did the contemporary composers deviate from historical styles and techniques (including styles and techniques not represented in the source)?
 5. What influences from styles other than those of the 17th century are discernible in the contemporary works?

5.1.1 The selection of contemporary works in *Pro organo* for discussion

The selection of contemporary works for discussion in this chapter has been guided by the presence of three distinct bar-length based groupings, subsidiary to the basic categorisation, as established in Chapter 3.3. The length groupings comprise:

- Group 1: Chorale preludes of similar average length as the historical works, discussed in Chapter 4, including discrete sections of longer works in variation form;
- Group 2: Works of less than 12 bars in length;
- Group 3: Comparatively large scale works in chorale fantasia forms that are not divisible into discrete sections.

Representation of these groups in *Pro organo* is shown below in Table 5.1.

Grouping	Number of works	Total bars	Average bars	% shown in bar length
Group 1	223	5146	23	83.3%
Group 2	50	435	8.7	7.1%
Group 3	3	279	93	4.5%
Group 3 Steenberg/Karlsen	1 ⁵³⁵	74	74	1.2%
Anderssen & Steenberg	7	241	34	3.9%
Historical works	53	1431	27	23%
Contemporary works ⁵³⁶	270	6175	23	77%

Table 5.1 Total length, average length and content percentages shown as bar lengths for grouped works in *Pro organo*

As indicated in Table 5.1, the majority of 20th-century chorale preludes in *Pro organo* averaging 23 bars in length fall into the first group and comprise the primary subject of

⁵³⁵ This work by Steenberg (PO150a) was completed by Karlsen and contains substantial new material.

⁵³⁶ Including works by Karlsen, Nielsen, Steenberg and Anderssen

investigation. It should be noted that the discrete sections of extended works in variation form were recommended by the editors as suitable for hymn introductions, hence their inclusion in this group. The second group, comprising 50 works less than 12 bars in length are excluded from the discussion; these works typically consist of short statements from the first phrase of the *cantus firmus*, with minimal development, as exemplified in PO273, PO274 and PO286. Additionally, their format is not reflected in the historical works where the average length is 27 bars. However, one short work of 12 bars (PO174) that is representative of the minimalist style of these miniatures is included in the discussion for comparative purposes.

Also excluded from the discussion are the three works in Group 3. These comprise chorale fantasias in extended formats. In providing suitable preludes or postludes for the service itself these works comply with at least some ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.⁵³⁷ It is interesting to note that one of the two of the larger scale works by Nielsen (PO64 and PO162) was written prior to the publication of *Pro organo* and is therefore not specific to this source.⁵³⁸ Yet another small group of works to be excluded from discussion are those by Anderssen (PO3b and PO61a) and Steenberg (PO55b, PO82a, PO82b, PO150a, PO206 and PO213). Like the abovementioned Nielsen works, these predate the compilation of *Pro organo*, although PO150a was completed by Karlsen for the collection.⁵³⁹

5.2 Analytical methodology

The methodology on which the ensuing analytical discussion is based will follow that used in Chapter 4. However, an important additional supplement is that of comparison between contemporary and historical works. Ian Bent and William Drabkin have highlighted the important role of comparison as a tool in analytical description. This approach is empirical in nature, as the work or phenomenon itself is the focus, rather than the context or other external factors.⁵⁴⁰ Nevertheless, external factors remain critical to the analytical process in this chapter as they represent the primary reason for the existence of the new material in the collection. Comparisons will be made between representative contemporary works and

⁵³⁷ See Chapter 3.2 for a detailed overview of the contents of *Pro organo*

⁵³⁸ Ludvig Nielsen, *Julefantasi* Op. 12 (1949), Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1952.

⁵³⁹ It is possible that these works were primarily included because they were not otherwise readily available (they were published for the first time in PO).

⁵⁴⁰ Ian Bent & William Drabkin, *Analysis*, The New Grove handbooks in music, The Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, London, 1990, p. 4.

the historical works discussed in Chapter 4, with reference also to widely-known works such as the chorale-based works of Johann Pachelbel, Dieterich Buxtehude and J. S. Bach.

5.2.1 Pastiche, style copying and the *neue Sachlichkeit* style

Pastiche, otherwise known as style copying and emulation is an important issue in the study of this collection of music. The term pastiche is usually understood to describe a theatrical, literary, or musical composition that frankly imitates works of other artists. In recent musicological discourse the term describes a self-conscious emulation of an earlier style by a later composer, and has been extended to include art appropriation or the use of citations in new works.⁵⁴¹ Issues related to pastiche were discussed in Norwegian music journals and other media from the 1930s to 1960s in relation to church music in Norway;⁵⁴² however, the issue was by no means isolated to a Norwegian context, they also reflected the discourse in Germany, as well as Sweden and Finland, as has been shown by Böckerman-Peitsalo.⁵⁴³ During the 1940s, the overriding importance of following the ‘pure style’ of Palestrina was seen as both a necessary means to remove all traces of non-ecclesiastical romanticism from church music.⁵⁴⁴ However, contemporary writers such as Knut Nystedt and Klaus Egge declared that the Palestrina-style propounded by Steenberg could lead to stagnation rather than renewal; in fact, some claimed that composers were publishing works as their own, when the said works were in fact merely style-imitative.⁵⁴⁵ Such comments were also voiced during Nordic church musician’s assemblies from the 1930s.⁵⁴⁶ It has been suggested in Chapter 2.3.2 that PSK embodied *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals, yet it cannot be seen solely as a work following a single style, but is rather an attempt to follow the spirit of the ‘pure’ church music style. Indeed, the fact that it was the spirit of this model rather than the sum of its parts that formed the inspiration was clearly expounded by Steenberg in a letter to Conrad Baden written in October 1940:

⁵⁴¹ John C. Welchman, *Art after appropriation: Essays on Art in the 1990s*, Routledge, London, 2001, p. 184.

⁵⁴² Conrad Baden, Musikken i gudstjenesten, in *Sangen*, 1939, pp. 138-139; Carl Frithjof Moe, Norsk kirkemusikk i dag, in *MNO*, no. 7, 1954, pp. 65-69; and Karlsen, 2007, in Appendix B, p. 280.

⁵⁴³ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 195-196.

⁵⁴⁴ Herresthal, 1971, p. 11.

⁵⁴⁵ Nystedt, 1944, pp. 5-6, Nystedt, *Norske musikklin*, no. 1, 1945, pp. 3-4 and Nystedt, *Norske musikklin*, no. 3, 1945, p. 9, Egge, 1945, p. 9-11.

⁵⁴⁶ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 193-195. See also Sandvold, 1939, p. 93.

The ideal *Norwegian* chorale would then be a melody in the spirit of Luther's time in its gravity and power, with the colouring of the Norwegian folk tune, and with the harmonisation in the spirit of the Palestrina style – may the future bring many such chorales; we need them to replace the large number of frivolous melodies found in our present chorale book. This task is for young church musicians; however, a thorough study of style and church music history is a necessary prerequisite. It was Laub's in-depth study of this area that primarily gave him such an elevated position in Danish church music. This area also shows the validity of the old Roman axiom: *Historia magistra vitæ est* – history is the instructor of life.⁵⁴⁷

The involvement of Karlsen and Nielsen in this approach to composition in order to achieve the most desirable style of organ music forms a central theme of this chapter. They were involved in other areas of church music composition in which style copying or pastiche was then commonly used. For example, the choral works in the collection *Hymnarium I for kirke, skole og hjem: Advent* (1953)⁵⁴⁸ by Karlsen and Nielsen clearly reflect (and were consciously written in) the so-called 'pure style' of Palestrina.⁵⁴⁹ This collection mirrors works in similar style by Steenberg such as *Kirkelige korsanger* (1932), *Korsanger for gudstjenesten* (1930-1938) and *20 melodier til julesalmer og –sanger* (1944). However, both Karlsen and Nielsen were well educated in a wide range of styles from many periods that could be reflected in their works. While an examination of their entire output is beyond the scope of this study, many other organ works reveal a compositional language featuring historical structures, contrapuntalism and horizontally focused harmonic language involving added-note and non-functional progressions resulting in a style typical of neoclassicism and its similarly anti-sentimental foundations.⁵⁵⁰

A vital difference which positions the contemporary repertoire found in *Pro organo* as representative of the *neue Sachlichkeit* style (see also Chapter 1.8 for reference to the various

⁵⁴⁷ Cited in Herresthal, 1970, pp. 10-11. Original text: Den ideele *norske* koral vil da være en melodi i Luthertidens ånd, med dens fynd og kraft, med farve av den norske folketone, og med harmonisering i Palestrinastilens ånd – måtte fremtiden bringe mange slike koraler; vi trenger dem til avløsning av det store antall lettkjøpte melodier vår nuværende koralebok har. Det står til de unge kirkemusikere. Men hertil er et grundig studium av stil og kirkemusikkhistorie nødvendig. Det var Laubs dype inntrengen heri som i særlig grad gjorde at han fikk den store betydning for den danske kirkesang, for også på dette område har den sin gyldighet den gamle romerske setning: *Historia magistra vitæ est* – historie er livets lærerinne. Translation by the author.

⁵⁴⁸ Rolf Karlsen & Ludvig Nielsen, *Hymnarium I for kirke, skole og hjem: Advent*, Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1953 and Rolf Karlsen & Ludvig Nielsen, *Hymnarium II for kirke, skole og hjem: Jul og nyttår*, Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954.

⁵⁴⁹ The choral works in the collection *Hymnarium for kirke, skole og hjem* were intended to reflect clearly the 'pure style' and were recognised as so doing in contemporary journals. See Conrad Baden, Ny kirkemusikk, in *MNO*, 1955, p. 7.

⁵⁵⁰ Some of these aspects are reflected in, for example, Nielsen's, *Suite for orgel* op. 19, (1960), Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1961. Although polyphony is present in this work, it is not a primary compositional characteristic.

facets of the *neue Sachlichkeit*) must therefore be its position as service music designed for a specific purpose in the liturgy (*Gebrauchsmusik*), encouraging congregational participation, using minimal resources, reliance on the *cantus firmus*, based on the ‘pure style’ compositional principles outlined by Laub and influenced by the sound possibilities of the *Orgelbewegung*, and importantly, developing a new voice in modern church music, as Distler had done in Germany in the 1930s, as shown in Chapter 1.4.1.

5.2.2 The *cantus firmus*

Unlike the majority of historical chorale tunes used as *cantus firmi* in historical works, those appearing in contemporary works are more frequently associated with a single text.⁵⁵¹ A large number of new alternative tunes is a feature of PSK and is also reflected in *Pro organo* as shown earlier in Table 3.2. The presentation of the *cantus firmus* in the contemporary works will be discussed along the lines followed in Chapter 4, namely in regard to length and number of iterations, rhythmic and melodic accuracy, clarity and focus.

5.2.3 General structure and compositional devices

As noted in Chapter 4, chorale prelude structures can vary widely. In the ensuing analysis, the approach taken in Chapter 4 will be adopted with the selected contemporary works categorised as follows:

- Category 1: systematic imitation of the *cantus firmus*
- Category 2: accompanied *cantus firmus*, with significant imitation
- Category 3: accompanied *cantus firmus*, with limited or no imitation

5.2.4 Imitation, *affetti* and *figurae*

Just as in the historical works, use of imitation, *affetti* and *figurae* represent some of a number of style choices for the contemporary composers. In Chapter 4, it was shown that in historical works *figurae* feature extensively, both as compositional devices to underline and further colour the nature of the *cantus firmus* and text and also to achieve coherence and style consistency; this chapter will investigate how Karlsen and Nielsen have responded to the use of these important devices in their contributions.

⁵⁵¹ Stig Wernø Holter, Fast følge eller løse forbindelser, in *Hymnologiske meddelelser*, vol. 32, September 2003, no. 3, p. 258.

The ensuing discussion draws upon the methodologies outlined above, in order to provide analyses which situate the works in the context of related past and contemporary research, and more importantly, within the ideals and style of the *neue Sachlichkeit* concerning liturgical music. Because of the importance accorded to the preservation of traditional and ‘pure styles’ by the supporters of such ideals, the discussion will take into account the degree to which the contemporary composers have emulated the style characteristics represented in the historical works and, by extension, the degree in which their preludes diverge from the historical styles. Such a comparative approach allows for an assessment of the presence and nature of *neue Sachlichkeit* influence in the contemporary repertoire. The works included in the analytical discussion are shown in Table 5.2. Audio recordings of selected works from each category are provided on the accompanying CD and are indicated in the following table by the abbreviation AR in the left-hand column.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵² The audio recordings were made on the 1889 Claus Jensen organ in Ilen church, Trondheim on Sunday 22 June 2008 by David Scott Hamnes, with audio engineer Odd Gunnar Frøysland. They form part of the Appendices of this dissertation. See Appendix A on the attached CD which also includes a complete overview of the contents of *Pro organo* in an *Excel* file.

Category	Composer	Source and historical title	PO number
1 AR1	Karlsen	Strassburg, 1525; <i>Mein Seel erhebt den Herren</i>	PO159 <i>Kom hjerte, ta ditt regnebrøtt</i>
AR2	Karlsen	Pre-reformation tune; <i>Es ist ein Ros entsprungen</i>	PO28 <i>Det hev ei rosa sprunge</i>
AR3	Nielsen	English/Swedish folk tune; <i>Mitt hjerte alltid vankeer</i>	PO136 <i>Jeg vil mig Herren love</i>
AR4	Karlsen	Huguenot tune, 1551; <i>Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire</i>	PO139a <i>Jesus, dine dype vunder</i>
AR5	Nielsen	W. Shrubsole, 1779; <i>All hail the power of Jesu navn</i>	PO173 <i>Lov Jesu navn og herredom</i>
	Karlsen	L. M. Lindeman; <i>Gladelig vil vi halleluja kvede</i>	PO65 <i>Gladelig vil vi halleluja kvede</i>
2 AR6	Karlsen	Nuremberg, 1524; <i>Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein</i>	PO201 <i>Nu kjære menige kristenbet</i>
AR7	Nielsen	Huguenot tune, 1542; <i>O Dieu, donne moi delivrance</i>	PO207b <i>Når vi i største nød mon stå</i>
AR8	Nielsen	Norwegian folk tune from Valdres; <i>Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt</i>	PO243a <i>Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt</i>
AR9	Nielsen	H. O. C. Zinck, 1801; <i>Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre</i>	PO15 <i>Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre</i>
AR10	Karlsen	Pre-reformation tune; <i>In dulci jubilo</i>	PO131b <i>Jeg synger julekvad</i>
AR11	Karlsen	C. E. F. Weyse, 1855; <i>Det er så yndig å følges ad</i>	PO27 <i>Det er så yndig å følges ad</i>
	Karlsen	J. B. Dykes; <i>Hohy, hohy, hohy, Lord God almighty</i>	PO77 <i>Hellig, hellig, hellig! Herre Gud allmektig</i>
	Nielsen	C. E. F. Weyse; <i>Den signede dag som nu vi ser</i>	PO21 <i>Den signede dag som nu vi ser</i>
AR12	Nielsen	A. P. Berggreen, <i>Lykkesalig, lykkesalig hver sjel</i>	PO174 <i>Lykkesalig, lykkesalig hver sjel</i>
	Nielsen	Stralsund, 1665; <i>Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren</i>	PO172a <i>Lover den Herre</i>
AR13	Karlsen	Stralsund, 1665; <i>Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren</i>	PO172b <i>Lover den Herre</i>
AR14	Nielsen	Steenberg, 1929; <i>Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land</i>	PO54 <i>Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land</i>
3 AR15	Nielsen	Erfurt, 1524; <i>Das Lamm Gottes unschuldig</i>	PO212 <i>O Guds Lam uskyldig</i>
AR16	Karlsen	Norwegian folk tune from Saltdal; <i>Jeg ser dig, o Guds lam, å stå</i>	PO130 <i>Jeg ser dig, o Guds Lam, å stå</i>
AR17	Karlsen	Tune from 1741; <i>Jesu, Jehovah, ich such und verlange</i>	PO141 <i>Jesus, din søte forening å smake</i>
AR18	Karlsen	Norwegian folk tune from Romedal; <i>Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære</i>	PO83 <i>Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære</i>
AR19	Karlsen	Norwegian folk tune from Valdres; <i>Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt</i>	PO243b <i>Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt</i>

Table 5.2 Contemporary compositions included in the analytical discussion

5.3 Selected contemporary compositions

5.3.1 Category 1 compositions by Karlsen and Nielsen

The contemporary Category 1 works in *Pro organo* range from those featuring strict emulation of historical precedents to those where the systematic imitative principles are observed but with significant deviations in other areas of style. An example of close emulation of the systematic imitative principle is Karlsen's setting (PO159) of the 1525 Strassburger Kirchenamt tune, *Mein Seel erhebt den Herren mein*, matched in LR to Brorson's

text *Kom hjerte, ta ditt regnebrett*. The *cantus firmus*, in partially rhythmically restored form and compatible with the version in PSK, is completely and clearly stated in all four voices over the course of three points of imitation. Beyond this there is minimal extraneous material. Such a strict approach, which embraces imitation at the fifth through ascending voices at the first point, shown in Figure 5.1, is comparable with historical examples such as J. C. Bach's setting *Aus meines Herzens Grunde* (*Den tro som Jesum favner*, PO25), described in 4.3.1. Karlsen partially preserves the dorian modality of the *cantus firmus* (following the implications in PSK), making tonal adjustments generally only at cadences. Like Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's *Jesu, meine Freude*, PO69, discussed in 4.3.1, this setting has a binary structure, allowing for repetition of the first lines of the chorale. After the repeated first section, the remainder of the *cantus firmus* is stated in irregular canonic form from bar 9, in which the order of voice entry is reversed in canons at the octave, shown in Figure 5.1, leading to a short coda. The work conforms to Apel's *cantus firmus* chorale and chorale fughetta types; in addition, the first section approaches the stricter chorale motet form. It provides a contemporary example where the presentation of the chorale tune in conjunction with systematic imitation is the primary feature, to the degree that extraneous material is almost completely excluded, further highlighting the integrity of the chorale. Certainly, this was a feature of great importance to the proponents of the *neue Sachlichkeit*. No use is made of *figurae*; the few non-harmony notes used further project the sedate and sober character of the chorale tune, which is characterised by the use of largely stepwise motion and dactylic rhythms, situate the work firmly within the *neue Sachlichkeit* style. The only significant digression involves minor details of harmony as at the alto entry in bar 3 and in the cadence at bars 7-8, where mild dissonance use (unprepared sevenths) deviates slightly from the largely consonant setting.

159. Kom hjerte, ta ditt regnebrett—Kom, hjarta, gjer din rekneskap

O søde Gud, din kærlighet—O mänska, till en Fader kom

Mel. Strassburg 1525

Rolf Karlsen

Figure 5.1: PO159 Karlsen, *Kom hjerte, ta ditt regnebrett* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954
AR1

Another excellent example of strict emulation is found in Karlsen's setting (PO28) for the pre-reformation melody *Es ist ein Ros entsprungen*, associated with the Norwegian translation *Det hev ei rosa sprunge*. The work shows a clear understanding of the style of Pachelbel and other historical models. The melody, supposedly based on a Rhenish folk tune, first appeared in the *Alte Katolische Kirchengesang* of 1599. The well-known Praetorius chorale setting did not inspire numerous earlier chorale prelude workings for this tune; indeed, the setting by Brahms (no. 8 of *Eleven chorale preludes*) may well be the first such setting.⁵⁵³ This may also account for the provision of an imitative work in *Pro organo* as a contrast to the well-known Brahms setting, itself an fine example of an expressive, even sentimentally harmonised and constructed romantic chorale prelude.⁵⁵⁴ Unlike most historical and contemporary works in *Pro organo*, almost the entire *cantus firmus* is imitated with little embellishment. The complete *cantus firmus* is stated in the soprano voice, using the exact rhythm of the chorale, even to the extent of syncopated bar-crossing rhythms. This 18-bar

⁵⁵³ Barbara Owen, *The organ music of Johannes Brahms*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, p. 104.

⁵⁵⁴ This prelude almost completely obscures the *cantus firmus* in an undulating, multi-segmented setting which through tranquil pace, slurring, rubato, manual changes (or colourist registration exchanges), indicates attempts by Brahms to attain the subjective mode of the text. See Owen, 2007, pp. 105-106.

binary setting in four parts uses closely spaced imitation in all voices for the first point of imitation, shown in Figure 5.2. The paired soprano and tenor voices, together with the alto and bass voices overlap in the repeated first section. The ethos of the chorale tune is maintained, matching the palpable brightness of the carol text. The whole work is compact and efficiently composed, with limited but informed use of *tirata figura*, carefully placed and preceding major cadences. The setting is almost entirely consonant, with restricted use of suspensions and only one (bar 9) unprepared dissonance. The intricate weaving of the *cantus firmus* in all voices makes this work a first-rate example of the *neue Sachlichkeit* style, in the form of a historically conceived work in which, while not as strict as J. C. Bach's *Aus meines Herzens Grunde* (*Den tro som Jesum favner*, PO25), shows none of the harmonic daring of the later *Jesu meine Freude* of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (*Gud skal allting lage*, PO69) discussed in Chapter 5.

28. Det hev ei rosa sprunge — Om alle mine lemmer
 En rose så jeg skyde — Det är en ros utsprungen Rolf Karlsen

Mel. Tiden før reformasjonen

Figure 5.2: PO28 Karlsen, *Det hev ei rosa sprunge* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951
 AR2

Yet a further example of strict systematic imitation is found in Nielsen's setting (PO136) of an English/Swedish folk tune first collected from Västergötland, to the text *Jeg vil mig Herren love* (also *Mitt hjerte alltid vanke*). Although the tune is found in various sources in Sweden and Norway, it is arguably similar in structure and melodic contour to the English carol tune, *God rest you merry, gentlemen*. This work shows a clear understanding of imitation at the octave technique, although with irregularly spaced imitation points. In this compact 29-bar example in four voices, the *cantus firmus* is stated once, in full and exact form over four phrases, each starting with one or two voices alone and in varying order. In part due to irregular imitation intervals, the harmonic language is considerably more varied than in historical works, although it does not stray from the basic implications of the PSK version. Most of the *cantus firmus* is imitated, although the final entries involve only two voices. In

addition, several entries are also in inverted form. The primary motive appears as an ostinato figure in stretti, making for an effect of lively surprise (bars 7-10, 14). The first line of the tune is treated in all four voices; at times all four voices overlap in short stretti as in bars 7-14, shown in Figure 5.3. Parts of the *cantus firmus* are used in the counterpoint to provide additional material, such as the descending five-note scalar figure that typifies this chorale tune. Other motives, such as the anapæstic rising third with which the second line of the tune commences, provide forward motion, as does the use of the tune in stretti with diminution (bar 23). Little use is made of dissonance, although the final entry of the *cantus firmus* in bar 25 commences on an upwardly-resolved added fourth. Almost the entire setting is solely based on the *cantus firmus* and the texture is consistent throughout, much of it in three voices, making little use of *figura* found in historical works such as Johann Pachelbel's *Auf meinen lieben Gott* (*Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, PO60). The opening of PO136 is described by contemporary reviewer Conrad Baden as similar to a fughetta treatment by Pachelbel.⁵⁵⁵ An important divergent aspect is that while the composition involves imitative entries at the octave, the registration intentions indicate a soloed *cantus firmus* in the soprano part, (Krummhorn 8') which implies a close link with Apel's *cantus firmus* chorale category. This gives an effect of accompanied *cantus firmus*; at the same time, the writing is largely in strict imitation as may be heard on AR3, hence its categorisation here.

⁵⁵⁵ Baden, 1955, p. 6.

136. Jeg vil mig Herren love—Eg vil vår Herre prisa
(Mitt hjerte alltid vanke)

Norsk folketone Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.3: PO136 Nielsen, *Jeg vil mig Herren love (Mitt hjerte alltid vanke)* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954

AR3

The style of composition in the works discussed above was a model of considerable importance to Karlsen and Nielsen, featuring in the majority of the 74 Category 1 works in *Pro organo* and exemplified in PO110, PO111, PO113 and PO252-254.⁵⁵⁶ While rarely approaching the strictness of the chorale motet form, the use of a clear imitative framework with predominantly consonant harmony and traditional voice leading creates a sound representation analogous with historical models.

Strict adherence to historical precedent does not, however, feature in all Category 1 works. A representative work showing some stylistic divergence is Karlsen's setting (PO139a) of the French Huguenot melody *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*, which is matched with a large number of texts in Norway, amongst others *Jesus, dine dype vunder*. This work represents a contrast to most other chorale prelude realisations in *Pro organo* through its use of half-barring, indicating cross-rhythmic patterns and irregular alternating metres. The historical work from the *Glogauer Liederbuch* (PO197a), and five other contemporary works (PO33, PO34, PO64, PO119, PO161) share this feature. The complete *cantus firmus* is placed in the

⁵⁵⁶ See Appendix A for an overview of Category 1 works in *Pro organo*.

uppermost voice in this *cantus firmus* chorale and is partially imitated in the remaining three parts. Much of the counter-melodic material is also clearly derived from the *cantus firmus*. At transitional points between *cantus firmus* entries and at the conclusion, some use is made of *gropo* and *circolo* in the middle voices shown in Figure 5.4, possibly influenced by the matched Pachelbel setting (PO139b). This setting provides a clear representation of the restored chorale rhythm identical to those provided in PSK and KNK, clearly in preference to the established isorhythmic version also found in KNK (see Figure 2.3). Karlsen's setting is considerably more austere in comparison with the much more florid passagework in Pachelbel's version, although the rhythmic complexity and harmonic rhythm undoubtedly apply a strong intensity to the work. Some (although not all) of the harmonic progressions are modally influenced, such as those in bars 21-22. The dominant 7th is avoided, and likewise, some of the voice leading, such as the leading note falling to the dominant in a perfect cadence ending on an open fifth (bars 15-16, see Figure 5.4), differs from tonal practice. This work provides an interesting departure from historical practice through the use of a cross-rhythmic imitative texture derived from the *cantus firmus*. It is, nevertheless, (both in appearance and reliance on established building blocks) entirely concordant with *neue Sachlichkeit* principles.

Contemporary reviewer Conrad Baden noted that Karlsen's treatment of the *cantus firmus* is, like Nielsen's, usually in strict polyphony, often using fugato techniques as a point of departure.⁵⁵⁷ Furthermore, he remarked that many of his workings have a strong retrospective character, using archaic progressions and mild dissonance use "not designed to shock church people."⁵⁵⁸ Karlsen's dissonance use is, however, considered to be somewhat freer than Nielsen's.⁵⁵⁹ Baden draws attention to PO139a by Karlsen in regard to its stylistic, freely-metred rhythm which melds the texture and tune together.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁷ Baden, 1955, p. 6.

⁵⁵⁸ Baden, 1955, p. 6. Original text: ... ikke beregnet på å sjokkere kirkefolket. Translation by the author.

⁵⁵⁹ Baden, 1953, p. 23.

⁵⁶⁰ Baden, 1955, p. 6.

139a. Jesus, dine dype vunder—Jesus, dine djupe vunder
Jesu, gör mig så til sinnes

Hugenottmelodi, Genève 1551

Rolf Karlsen

Figure 5.4: PO139a Karlsen, *Jesus, dine dype vunder* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954 AR4

A very different type of stylistic divergence is found in Nielsen's setting (PO173) of *Lov Jesu navn og herredom*, translated from the 18th century English text *All hail the power of Jesus' name*, and using William Shrubsole's (1760-1806) grandiose, manly and vigorous⁵⁶¹ tune from 1779. Like many English tunes in KNK, this one was provided with an alternative Norwegian tune.⁵⁶² In respect of a clear and accurate presentation of the *cantus firmus*, which is in fact quoted fully and exactly in both the soprano and pedal part, and in the use of pervasive imitation with special emphasis on reiterations (15) of the first phrase (also seen in Pachelbel, PO287)⁵⁶³, this work is consistent with *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals. However, Nielsen also incorporates features not found in historical works. These include a very wide tessitura throughout and an increasingly dense texture with octave doublings in the final 19 bars, as shown in Figure 5.5, as well as an emphasis on linear polyphony and imitation rather than vertical harmony, with an assortment of prepared and divergent unprepared dissonances such as those found in bars 18 and 20. It is worth noting that such an

⁵⁶¹ Alan Luff, 'Turning the pages of *The English Hymnal*: Picking up some loose ends, in *Strengthen for service: 100 years of The English Hymnal 1906-2006*, edited by Alan Luff, Canterbury Press, Norwich, 2005, p. 126.

⁵⁶² Others tunes and texts include LR842/KNK180 and LR866/KNK151. Einar Melling's tune (1926), like many of the Norwegian alternative tunes, did not gain popularity and was not included in PSK or NoKo, although both KNK180 and KNK151 were included in NoKo, matched with other texts.

⁵⁶³ See Figure 4.3.

approach is not found in any works associated with reformation tunes. The imitation use is not totally concordant with that of the historical *Pro organo* works in that it involves the hymn tune concurrently in augmentation and in the original form⁵⁶⁴ with an almost constant presence of the first melodic phrase. Two forms of the tune are used, the first phrase ending on the mediant in the first full *cantus firmus* entry (the altered form found in most hymnals after *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 1861⁵⁶⁵); the second full entry of the same phrase ends on the tonic as found in KNK and the original tune. The use of both forms of the tune points to a pragmatism found in other settings such as PO201, PO243a and PO243b where more than one variant is present. The composition shows a clear understanding of historical styles represented in *Pro organo*, creating a readily recognisable stylistic similarity between the historic and the contemporary, although a single historical model is not apparent. Despite its non-historical features it nevertheless provides a clear and concise exposition of the chorale tune in a manner that projects the praise characteristics of the hymn. Not surprisingly, this work contains elements of more than one of Apel's categories, including the *cantus firmus* chorale and chorale canon.

⁵⁶⁴ This technique is used elsewhere in the following *Pro organo* works: PO118, PO173 (Category 1), PO16, PO153, PO160, PO201, PO203, PO229, PO235, PO243a (Category 2). See Appendix A for details.

⁵⁶⁵ PSK cites *The English Hymnal*, 1933, as the source of the tune.

173. Lov Jesu navn og herredom

Vær priset, Jesus Krist, Guds Lam

Mel.: W. Shrubsole 1779

Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.5: PO173 Nielsen, *Lov Jesu navn* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955

AR5

Yet another approach is found in Karlsen's setting of *Gladelig vil vi halleluja kvede* (PO65). The text is a translation of a Johannes Agricola hymn and is here set to a robust melody by L. M. Lindeman (KNK58). Unlike the previously discussed settings, the *cantus firmus* is not stated completely, although historical works of this category with incomplete *cantus firmi* were found to be not uncommon.⁵⁶⁶ The primary imitative material in this 32 bar setting in four parts comprises the first two phrases of the chorale melody which is imitated fully or partially in the course of 15 entries, although the imitation is neither strict nor regularly

⁵⁶⁶ Five category 1 historical works in *Pro organo* use this approach. See Appendix A for details.

spaced. Furthermore, intervallic placements (on the tonic, dominant, supertonic, mediant, and sub-dominant) shown in Figure 5.6 are not in line with historical practice, although this aberration has some precedents in the historical repertory (for example, PO287). As such, it is an irregular form of Apel's chorale fughetta category. As well as showing a strong adherence to the imitative principle, Karlsen also allows the emergence of modulatory sequences (bars 17-25) touching new modal and tonal areas and based on the scalar passage of a rising sixth found in the first bars of the *cantus firmus*. This alternating pattern of *cantus firmus* and sequence is continued throughout the work, concluding with five entries in close succession in bars 28-31. The work concludes with a pedal point involving an augmentation of the first line of the *cantus firmus* underlining a highly coloured minor plagal cadence. The chorale is given a rich colouration, gaining momentum through the use of *circolo*, *messanza* and *tirata figura* in sequences, modulatory elements, dissonance use (especially exposed fourths) and augmentation, including the expansion of the 6/4 time signature to 9/4 in bars 24-28. The performance indications suggest a vigorous tempo and bright mixture registration. Uncharacteristically in the *neue Sachlichkeit* context, the editor suggests a crescendo from bar 24 in conjunction with pedal reeds for the augmented statement of the initial chorale phrase, leading to a fortissimo close. The character of this chorale prelude, as seen in the imposition of modulation in the chorale tune and non-sequential entries of the *cantus firmus*, together with performance indications promoting a crescendo effect are divergent developments in the *neue Sachlichkeit* chorale prelude; however these elements are weighed against a heavy reliance on *cantus firmus* materials that ensure internal cohesion and compatibility with the surrounding works.

65. Gladelig vil vi halleluja kvede – Gladeleg vil me halleluja kveda

Mel. L. M. Lindeman Rolf Karlsen

Figure 5.6 PO65 Karlsen, *Gadelig vil jeg halleluja kvede* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1952

5.3.2 Category 2 compositions by Karlsen and Nielsen

The largest single group of works in *Pro organo* is accommodated in Category 2. As was seen in Table 3.4 this category also accounts for the majority of the historical works. The category is primarily based around a complete utterance of the *cantus firmus* and allows for imitation of this as well as subsidiary or fragmentary imitation. It may be recalled that such an approach allows for the chorale melody to be presented clearly with ample scope for varied decorative treatment.⁵⁶⁷ Works in this category, as in the Category 1 settings, exhibit varying degrees of emulation of and divergence from historical precedents.

The important reformation chorale tune *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein* (Walther, Nürnberg, 1524), is set by Karlsen (PO201) to the translation *Nu kjære menige kristenbet* using a partially restored version of the tune from PSK, although this is only minimally changed from that in KNK. The setting emphasises these differences, as the melodic

⁵⁶⁷ See Chapter 4.4.

material is presented first in isorhythmic form in diminution (see Figure 5.7) followed by a clear, rhythmic presentation of the *cantus firmus* in the pedal. Thus, this three-part setting of 28 bars involves imitation at the octave of the isometric *cantus firmus* (and in part, at the fifth and fourth) in the upper voices, indicating a truncated, simple chorale canon form, and from bar 9, together with a full and exact statement of the rhythmically restored form of the *cantus firmus* in the pedal, indicating the *cantus firmus* chorale form. A similar structure appears in PO136 (Nielsen); neither of these forms appears in historical models. Each phrase of the *cantus firmus* is separated by interludes of up to two bars. The linear approach is prioritised, even to the extent of strongly dissonant vertical harmony, exemplified in bars 3, 9, 12, 17, 18, 23 and 26. The pattern of canonic writing established in the opening bars continues throughout the setting, alternately imitative at the octave and fourth, occasionally decorated with dactylic and anapaestic neighbour and passing notes and often accentuating the open fourths in the introductory phrase of the *cantus firmus*. The exuberance of the first lines of the chorale text is clearly carried through in this highly consistent setting:

German	Norwegian	English
Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein, und lasst uns fröhlich springen, dass wir getrost und all in ein mit lust und Liebe singen,	Nu kjære menige kristenhet, du komme med lyst og glede at vi forsamlet i kjærlighet må takke Gud og kvede	Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice, with exultation springing, and with united heart and voice and holy rapture singing,

Text: Martin Luther, 1523; Norwegian translation: M. B. Landstad;⁵⁶⁸ English translation: Worship (2006)⁵⁶⁹

In combining the two forms of chorale rhythm in a clear hierarchy between the isometric and restored versions, the rhythmic version is given strong precedence while simultaneously representing how the chorale tune has evolved in Norwegian chorale history.

⁵⁶⁸ Landstad, 1926, LR42. Translation by M. B. Landstad.

⁵⁶⁹ Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice, in *Evangelical Lutheran worship*, Augsburg Fortress, Minneapolis, 2006, no. 594. No specific translator is accredited.

201. Nu kjære menige kristenhet - No møte ålment, kristenfolk

Nu fryde sig hver kristen mand - Var man må nu väl glädja sig

Rolf Karlsen

Mel.: Nürnberg 1524

Figure 5.7: PO201 Karlsen, *Nu kjære menige kristenhet* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955
AR6

Yet another example of emulation of historical models is found in Nielsen's working (PO207b) of the Huguenot tune *O Dieu, donne moi delivrance* (Ps. 140), translated as *Når vi i største nød mon stå*. This work commences with a two-part partially-imitated statement similar to that in its paired setting by Sweelinck (PO207a, see Chapter 4.3.3). Nielsen uses the restored version of the chorale melody included in both PSK and KNK, providing an alternative to the more multifarious and arcane setting by Sweelinck. The work may be designated a melody chorale, although the tune in the second section is placed alternately in the soprano and tenor voices and is therefore closer to the chorale fantasia. Unlike Sweelinck, Nielsen uses a limited number of rhythmic units and no *figura* in either the *bicinium* first section or the *tricinium* second section, relying instead on a succinct and consistent setting using only *cantus firmus* material with canonic, fragmentary and inverted imitation and minimal rhythmic variation as shown in Figure 5.8. The texture of this example is highly consistent, although certain aspects such as imitation points and intervals show a degree of flexibility (such as the imitation interval from bar 23, placed a major second below the expected note) not found in historical works. This setting is also diatonically consistent showing no deviation from the basic harmonic implications of the

cantus firmus. The economy of resources and antiquated style is further reflected in the open octave cadential endings. The work is closely aligned with the simple harmonic language and structures of Sweelinck, Scheidt and the three chorale preludes of J. C. Bach found in *Pro organo* (PO25, PO158 and PO279).

207^b Når vi i største nød mon stå - Når me i største naud lyt stå.

Når i den største nød vi stå - Si, Jesur är ett tröstrikt namn

Hugenottmelodi
Strassburg 1542 Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.8: PO207b Nielsen, *Når vi i største nød mon stå* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955
AR7

The Norwegian folk tune from Valdres set to the text *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt* was first included in KNK as a third alternative (KNK267). An alternative tune by Lindeman is included in both KNK (KNK207b) and PSK (PSK244). The folk tune is afforded two settings in *Pro organo* by each of the compilers, an indication of its importance in use at evening services and possibly strongly inspirational nature. It is likely that this chorale-like tune would have met with the approval of Laub.⁵⁷⁰ It is worth noting that Böckerman-Peitsalo has found that the use of chorales stemming from folk tunes was not considered

⁵⁷⁰ Laub, 1997, pp. 25, 51 and 55. It should be noted that Laub's remarks on folk music relate primarily to Danish, Swedish and German folk tunes. He considered Norwegian folk tunes to be of a different character to the aforementioned, challenging Norwegian church musicians to engage their interest in the issue.

compatible with the *neue Sachlichkeit* in the diocese of Porvoo, Finland, an extraordinary conclusion given Laub's vision.⁵⁷¹

Nielsen's mainly three-part *cantus firmus* chorale setting (PO243a) includes a diminished and mildly embellished form in partial stretto with the *cantus firmus* in the highest part. The *cantus firmus* is stated in its entirety in both forms, although not in all parts. This is partly due to the challenges presented by the modulation in the tune in bars 9-15, shown in Figure 5.9. Initially treated as a canon at the octave, the chorale melody is less strictly imitated in the lower parts from bar 9. Much of the work may be played as a trio, according to the performance instructions, with a fourth voice entering on the upbeat of bar 23. The setting implicitly reflects the harmonic implications of the chorale using few unprepared dissonances, and while registration suggestions imply a soft, bright and transparent sound using 8' and 2' flute stops, there is a strong sense of restraint not necessarily reflected in the hymn text. This restraint, found in the early historical works such as those by J. C. Bach, is less evident in the second setting (PO243b), discussed later in this chapter in regard to Category 3 works. In line with the compilers' emphasis on practicality and flexibility, the first nine bars may be repeated or may comprise a self-contained brief prelude.

⁵⁷¹ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 211-216.

243 a. Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt

Norsk folketone Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.9: PO243a Nielsen, *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955
AR8

Nielsen's realisation (PO15) of H. O. C. Zinck's chorale tune set to the Danish hymn *Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre* represents a canonic approach to an accompanied cantus firmus closely in line with historical precedents. The entire *cantus firmus* is presented at the fifteenth in this strict chorale canon setting, a historical model found in the works of Walther and J. S. Bach.⁵⁷² The continuous quaver *passaggio* movement (a common feature of the melody chorale, as seen in Pachelbel's treatment of *Jesu, dine dype vunder* PO139b)⁵⁷³ using *suspirans*, *tirata*, *circolo* and *messaanza figura*, all arguably based on the *cantus firmus*, is consistently present in at least one voice at a time, divided equally between the middle voices. The entire *cantus firmus* is presented without interludes or coda, although the first phrase is slightly lengthened with an *alla breve* bar so that the subsequent phrase may commence without pause. The work is binary in structure, with a repeated first section. The inner voices arguably use *figura ornata* or embellished minims, imitating and inverting the *cantus firmus* at a number of points, as well as being partially imitative as a separate unit, as shown in Figure 5.10. Based on later historical models, the harmonic complexity that results from this is

⁵⁷² Stinson, 1999, p. 73. Stinson notes that this form was quite uncommon until the early 18th century.

⁵⁷³ See Figure 4.5.

reminiscent of J. S. Bach's *Ach Gott und Herr* BWV 714 (PO2), also based on canonic principles. The busyness of the inner voices contrasts with the stately tempo of the *cantus firmus* in augmentation; the relatively brisk tempo (crotchet = 84) indicated in the performance notes is not necessarily reflected in the natural pulse of the setting.

15. Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre

Mel. H. O. C. Zineck 1801 Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.10: PO15 Nielsen, *Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951 AR9

Equally strict in canonic construction is Karlsen's treatment (PO131b) of the important chorale tune *In dulci jubilo*, set to a translation of the text in LR *Jeg synger julekvad*. The work shows a strong similitude with later historical models, such as J. S. Bach's setting of *Ach Gott und Herr* BWV 714 (PO2) and the Easter chorale *Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag* BWV 629, as well as Bach's own setting of the tune in the *Orgelbüchlein*, BWV 608. Similar to these models, the *cantus firmus* is placed in two voices (in the soprano, followed by the pedal after one bar) in a canon at the fifteenth. The *cantus firmus* is clearly and completely stated in unembellished form. The final entry of the pedal imitation is slightly delayed, possibly to allow for the shape of the phrase to emerge. The inner voices are based on *cantus firmus* material, although imitation is limited to fragments in isorhythmical forms, inversions or sequences using *figurae*, especially *groppo*, *tirata* and *messanza*. A longer and clearer imitatory passage is incorporated in the inner voices in the only interlude in bars 10-13 (Figure 5.11).

This working follows the harmonic implications of the chorale. It is paired with an early historical work (PO131a) from Fridolin Sicher's (1490-1546) *Tabulature book*, first published in Bischofszell in 1503-1531 and republished prior to *Pro organo* in 1930 by Breitkopf & Härtel. The early three-part work also uses a similar compositional foundation, namely partial canonic imitation at the octave at the same temporal distance as Karlsen's, although it does not include the entire *cantus firmus*. Karlsen's setting provides a consistent and faithful working of the chorale tune in a framework which is visually, technically and aurally concordant with historical style models, using Apel's chorale canon format, and providing a clear example of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in modern Norwegian organ composition. In a contemporary review, Conrad Baden described Karlsen's working as "held strictly within the bounds of ecclesial modesty ... where canonic techniques remain the primary building principle for the composer."⁵⁷⁴

131b. Jeg synger julekvad—Eg syngjer jolekvad
 In dulci jubilo - Statt upp, o Sion, och lovsjung

Mel. fra middelalderen

Rolf Karlsen

⁵⁷⁴ Baden, 1955, p. 6. Original text: ... holdt strengt innenfor grensene for den kirkelige ærbarhet preger bl. a (sic) også "Jeg synger julekvad" hvor kanonteknikken fremdeles er byggeprinsipp for komponisten. Translation by the author.



Figure 5.11: PO131b Karlsen, *Jeg synger julekvad* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954
AR10

The use of a combination of compositional techniques is also exemplified in Karlsen's compact and well-crafted setting (PO27) of another folk-like melody by C. E. F. Weyse to the text *Det er så yndig å følges ad*. This working may be seen as a contemporary response to the Walther setting of *Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn* (PO223), and the style is also found in the *Orgelbüchlein* (see for example *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, BWV 603) and points towards a Mendelssohnian idiom. In both settings by Karlsen and Walther the complete and unembellished *cantus firmus* is placed in the tenor part (solo registration is recommended in both), with continuous semiquaver movement in the two upper parts. Karlsen's bass part is assigned a relatively fragmentary role, occasionally underlining movement in the *cantus firmus* towards the conclusion. Even more highly decorative than the Walther example in regard to *figura* use in the accompaniment, Karlsen's use of *tirata*, *circolo* and *messanza* shown in Figure 5.12 matches the florid *cantus firmus*; certainly, the rich variety of partially syncopated harmonic progressions and suspensions complement the tune and also follow the implications of the PSK harmonisation. Some imitation is used in the upper voices, both at the fifth, in inversion and through shaped sequences. The setting is consistent with Apel's *cantus firmus* chorale, although in historical works the *cantus firmus* more commonly

appears in the bass. In every respect this setting, which is representative of 18 contemporary examples in *Pro organo*, is in accordance with historical style characteristics.

27. Det er så yndig å følges ad — Det er så fagert i fylgje gå

Rolf Karlsen

Mel. C.E.F. Weyses 1855

Figure 5.12: PO27 Karlsen, *Det er så yndig å følges ad* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951 AR11

The hymn *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty* with the stately tune NICAEA by 19th-century English composer John B. Dykes (1823-1876) was included in Norwegian sources for the first time in KNK and proved to be one of the most popular opening hymns in the *Høymesse* of the Church of Norway in LR.⁵⁷⁵ With the translation, *Hellig, hellig, hellig! Herre Gud allmektig* the tune is set by Karlsen (PO77) in what was considered in the 1950s to be one of the exemplary chorale preludes in *Pro organo*.⁵⁷⁶ This work contains an interesting presentation of the *cantus firmus*, with the hymn tune quoted accurately and in its entirety in the soprano voice; it also appears in canon at the fourth in the pedal from bar 10 as seen in Figure 5.13. This imitation interval is not found in the historical material in *Pro organo*, nor is it common in other works from the period. The work is thus a chorale canon in Apel's terminology, a form already seen in PO15 and frequently encountered in baroque repertoire. Preceding the first entry of the *cantus firmus* is an introductory three-part fughetta, the subject derived from the opening statement of the *cantus firmus*, and with

⁵⁷⁵ Baden, 1953, p. 23.

⁵⁷⁶ Baden, 1953, p. 23.

entries at regular two-bar intervals. This fughetta material recurs throughout the entire work, supplemented by imitative countermelodies also based on *cantus firmus* material. A nine-bar modulatory episode in bars 21-29 (to the relative minor) features inverted material from the fughetta, and leads to the recapitulatory final entries of the *cantus firmus* followed by a coda based on the theme from the opening bars. The coda is introduced by a pedal entry leading to the dominant, to which the subdominant is overlaid; dissonance use is otherwise mild and prepared. The counter melodic material is interspersed with limited use of *figurae*, most of which may be related directly to the opening fughetta theme or, less directly, the *cantus firmus* itself. *Figurae* use is primarily limited to *tirata*, *gropo* and *circolo*, with occasional use of *messanza*; all contribute to the celebratory character of the work and make for consistency of style. Likewise, the tempo and festive registration indications emphasise a strong, progressive sensitivity, underlined by clarity of texture and simple harmonic language. Like PO173, also based on a majestic English tune, this treatment features a significant thickening of texture in the last 13 bars, a practice that does not reflect historical precedent but which nevertheless enlarges on the ethos of the hymn.

77. Hellig, hellig, hellig! Herre Gud allmektig

Helig Rolf Karlsen

Mel. J. B. Dykes

Figure 5.13: PO77 Karlsen, *Hellig, hellig, hellig* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1952

The imitation displayed in Nielsen's setting (PO21) of another tune by C. E. F. Weyse to the text *Den signede dag som nu vi ser* is partially built around the triadic opening phrase, one of the salient features of this composer's tunes. The complete *cantus firmus* is stated in the tenor for which solo registration is recommended. The accompaniment features an augmented form of the first phrase of the *cantus firmus* in the soprano, which is then repeated in the same part at the interval of a fifth. The six-bar coda features a truncated reiteration of the initial soprano phrase, together with the same phrase (unaugmented) in the pedal part shown in Figure 5.14. Within this structure, the middle voice features an accompanying *figura*-like pattern that pervades the entire setting until the final bar, in the

manner of countless historical works. Placed in the alto, this figure comprises a repetitive three-note fragment, at first a rising fifth or fourth, but subsequently using other intervals of up to a sixth, all derived from the *cantus firmus*. In keeping with the chorale melody, the setting is almost wholly diatonic. Excluding the coda, the work is underpinned by tonic and dominant pedal points (a similar dominant-tonic treatment is also found in the later work *Å liva, det er å elska*, PO296). Aside from crescendo indications and wide tessitura in the coda, indicating a more dramatic conclusion than that typical for the *neue Sachlichkeit*, Nielsen's setting is faithful to historical style characteristics and may be likened with J. S. Bach's more rhythmically complex examples in the *Orgelbüchlein*.

21. Den signede dag som nu vi ser — Den signade dag som fagert renn
 Jag vet mig en sömn i Jesu namn

Mel. C.E.F. Weyse Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.14: PO21 Nielsen, *Den signede dag som nu vi ser* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1951

The compact and straightforward treatment by Nielsen (PO174) of Berggreen's 1841 tune to the text *Lykkelig, lykkelig hver sjel som har fred* provides an excellent example of shorter treatments of a chorale melody (at 12 bars it is just slightly longer than the miniatures which lie outside the scope of this discussion). In a palpable show of pragmatism inspired by congregational preference (it was frequently used in funerals), Nielsen chose not to set Rolf Karlsen's chorale-like tune in PSK, choosing instead the popular but sentimental tune by Dane Andreas Peter Berggreen (1801-1888). Here, the entire tune is set in two

independent voices in an irregular melody chorale format.⁵⁷⁷ The lower of the two voices retains the *cantus firmus* with an independent countermelody in imitation above, concluding with a manual pedal point in the last 5 bars. As shown in example 5.15, and as seen in six other contemporary works (all by Nielsen: PO102, PO196, PO217a, 270a, 273 & 274), much of this setting is in a high tessitura and is closely textured, perhaps characterising the salvation aspects of the text. The fragmentary reminiscent imitation is unenthusiastically employed, and few opportunities are seized to feature aspects of the tune in the counter melody or to use *figura*; these are typical style characteristics of such miniatures, especially those of fewer than 12 bars in length. The minimalist nature is reminiscent of Sweelinck and Scheidt, but the high tessitura and close texture is not historically informed.

174. Lykksalig, lykksalig hver sjel som har fred

Mel.: A.P. Berggreen 1841 Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.15: PO174 Nielsen, *Lykksalig, lykksalig* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955 AR12

Two further examples, PO172a and PO172b are the only instances of a pair of contemporary workings of an important historical chorale tune. Further contemporary pairs also exist, as shown earlier in Table 3.4. Both Nielsen and Karlsen provide lengthy and stylistically comparable settings of the chorale tune *Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren* based on the complete *cantus firmus*. While the chorale melody in Nielsen's setting (PO172a) is isometrical, the changes in Karlsen's version are minimal and limited to dotted rhythms in the commencing two phrases, as well as the last. At 108 bars, Nielsen's setting, shown in Figure 5.16, is without doubt one of the longer in the collection. A typical *cantus firmus* chorale, a form quite common in contemporary works, it features a single augmented statement of the chorale melody in the pedal, thereby complying with an important principle of succinctness shown in historical chorale preludes and described in Chapter 4.4. The first section (bars 1-31) is, like the first phrase of the tune, repeated (an octave lower) in bars 31-59, with a short transitional passage leading into the second phrase of the tune from bar 60. Interludes similar to the first introductory section of 11 bars, with imitation

⁵⁷⁷ Although the melody is placed in the lower of two voices, the setting may be designated a melody chorale because of its high tessitura and continuous movement without interludes.

based on the chorale, are provided between the pedal *cantus firmus* statements. The counter melodic material first seen in bar 5 is also found from bar 60, in part altered to a syncopated rhythm based on the same material which provides additional forward momentum to this section. The *cantus firmus* is first heard in stretto (in diminution and partial imitation) from bar 12, and thenceforth with each phrasal statement. The work continues with this material until bar 102, at which stage a pedal point alternates between the tonic and dominant, reminiscent of the opening notes of the chorale. While this work is longer in bar length than most historical models, the building blocks used are similar, and the reserved nature of the setting (regular pulse and motivic activity, few unanticipated rhythmic motives and stable textures) shows an understanding of the simplistic and unembellished style of Walther (see PO92a and PO146).

172^a Lover den Herre - Kimer I klokker

Herren, vår Gud, är en konung i makt och i ära

Ludvig Nielsen

Mel.: Stralsund 1665

Figure 5.16: PO172a Nielsen, *Lover den Herre* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955

Karlsen's response to the same tune (PO172b) is also of greater than average length at 51 bars. It has two discrete sections (bars 1-32 and 33-51), the first of which may be performed separately, with a further reduction suggested from bars 1-8. Both include the whole *cantus firmus* and both represent slightly modified forms of the melody chorale (or *cantus firmus* chorale) using moderate resources. Harmonically and texturally less

adventurous than Nielsen's setting, it follows the contours of the *cantus firmus* implications implicitly in all parts, the counter-melodic material based on a rhythmically diminished isometrical form of the *cantus firmus* and thus contains few examples of *figura*. The opening two phrases are in invertible two-part counterpoint, reversed at the duplication point in bar 8, as shown in Figure 5.17. The last phrase is set in four parts, concluding in a stretto-like passage that uses all the material presented in the first bars in a masterful display of counterpoint. Appropriate to the chorale melody, the setting is almost exclusively marked by diatonic harmony. The extended *cantus firmus* chorale format deviates from historical models although aspects of the texture and rhythmic diminution are found in settings by Walther in *Pro organo* (see for example P92a).

The ethos of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, clearly seen in the polyphonic writing, however, generates a number of unprepared dissonances in two-part sections. This dissonance use, which is a feature of contemporary *Pro organo* works by both Karlsen and Nielsen but not found in historical models, is arguably linked to a lineal compositional method in which lineal progression is prioritised. That this linearity was a conscious element in Nielsen's compositional style has been confirmed in an interview in 1972 with Bjørn Moe:

It has always seemed natural to me to operate with linear methods; this is my style of composition. A certain connection may be made with the fact that the vast majority of church music works promote polyphony. Polyphony is in a way at the very heart of church music. [...] I cannot say that I think according to functional harmony when I compose polyphonically. The chords are a result of the polyphony. Polyphony has in a way its own form of functionality which cannot be incorporated into understandings of traditional functional harmony.⁵⁷⁸

This emphasis on linear progression shows a clear example of contemporary renewal in church music composition, based on historical practices, but rebuilding ethos of idealised church music in Norway. As such, it provides evidence of distancing from a style copyist or pastiche mode towards a new, distinctive and apposite musical language.

⁵⁷⁸ Bjørn Moe, *Ludvig Nielsen: Biografi og studier i "Messe på Olavsdagen,"* unpublished hovedfag dissertation, NTH, 1974. pp. 250. Original text: Det har alltid falt naturlig for meg å operere med linjer; det er min form for komposisjon. En viss sammenheng kan det kanskje ha med at den overveiende del av kirkemusikken totalt sett dyrker polyfonien. Polyfonien er på en måte kirkemusikkens vesensspråk. [...] Jeg kan neppe si jeg tenker funksjonelt når jeg komponerer polyfont. Akkordene fremkommer ved polyfonien. Polyfonien har på en måte sin egen funksjonsdannelse, som ikke lar seg innpasse i det man forstår med tradisjonell funksjonsharmonikk. Translation by the author.

172^b Lover den Herre - Lova vår Herre

Herren, vår Gud, är en konung i makt och i ära

Rolf Karlsen

Mel.: Stralsund 1665

Figure 5.17: PO172b Karlsen, *Lover den Herre* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955
AR13

Nielsen's setting of *Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land* (PO54) is based on an alternative Steenberg tune (the tune supplied in KNK is not found in *Pro organo*). This tune is strongly reminiscent of historical chorale tunes and was arguably written after Steenberg's enthusiasm for Laub's apposite church music ideals was awakened in the late 1920s.⁵⁷⁹ It contrasts strongly with some of his earlier lyrical and folk-like tunes⁵⁸⁰ and substitutes a Norwegian tune by Jakob Sletten in the style of Lindeman that may not have been considered apposite church music.⁵⁸¹ Nielsen's setting is underpinned by a two-bar pedal ostinato which is repeated no less than 11 times throughout this 22 bar work. The ostinato consists of the first two bars of the *cantus firmus*, and is partially imitated in the upper

⁵⁷⁹ See Chapter 2.3.2

⁵⁸⁰ For example, *Kjærlighet fra Gud* (PSK155, written in 1916). This tune was also included in KNK as a supplement (KNK135b).

⁵⁸¹ Sletten's tune is retained in NoKo.

voices. On account of the ostinato, this setting is without parallel in *Pro organo*; however, an austere and harmonically restrained ethos is maintained. Stated in full in the soprano voice, the chorale melody is slightly modified through the limited addition of non-harmony notes. Melodic *figurae* do not feature. The texture is thickened in the concluding 6 bars shown in Figure 5.18, corresponding with the *sempre crescendo* instruction in the performance notes. As already noted, the practice of texture thickening in the concluding bars of category 2 and 3 works is sometimes found in contemporary works in *Pro organo*. A speculative reason for this practice may be linked to the sound quality of some instruments, especially those based on unit organ principles. This may not be relevant where there is an obvious or stated crescendo effect in the concluding bars and the thickening of the texture is linked to sound volume rather than sound quality, as texture thickening also features in much romantic organ repertoire, and may simply be related to a performance tradition not related to the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

In regard to introducing the chorale in a clear and concise manner, the insistent pedal ostinato is highly effective. This focus, however, highlighted through the repetition of the first two lines of the tune lessens the prominence of the less directly stated and non-imitated middle section of the *cantus firmus*. This work clearly shows an empathy with the precepts of the *neue Sachlichkeit* while exploring new ways of using *cantus firmus* material in an imaginative response to the tune. It is a free treatment of the chorale tune and therefore falls into the category of chorale fantasia.

Contemporary reviewer Conrad Baden cited this work as one which contains exemplary contrapuntal handling, further stating that Nielsen's style is typified in his two-voice preludes (such as *Den store, hvite flokke*, PO22) which show an economy of resources and strict counterpoint between the inverted voices.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸² Baden, 1953, p. 23.

54. Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land

Mel. Per Steenberg 1929 Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.18: PO54 Nielsen, *Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1952 AR14

5.3.3 Category 3 compositions by Karlsen and Nielsen

The least prevalent category found in *Pro organo* is the largely non-imitative accompanied *cantus firmus* model which accounts for 13% of the total works, as indicated in Table 3.4. In the works of Karlsen and Nielsen, this category accounts for only 8.5% of their contributions.⁵⁸³

The tripartite set of variations on the reformation hymn *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* to the translation *O Guds Lam uskyldig* by Nielsen (PO212) provides three discrete and differing examples of Category 3 composition, each increasing in textural and contrapuntal complexity, as shown in the first bars of each section in Figure 5.19. The restoration of the tune in PSK is partial and is a slightly modified version of the isometrical tune in KNK; *Pro organo* provides a form of the tune similar to some historical sources such as Johannes Eccard.⁵⁸⁴ Each phrase of the chorale tune except the second and last is lengthened by one beat in line with the breathing indications given in PSK. Each section is of 15 bars and follows an alternate irregular barring (alternately simple quadruple and 5/4 time signatures) unlike other sources such as Eccard. The first section is immediately redolent of the Sweelinck setting referred to in Chapter 5 (PO207a), a two-part setting presenting the *cantus firmus* in unembellished form in the upper voice. Nielsen had also set this chorale tune as an

⁵⁸³ A far higher percentage (34%) of non-imitative composition is found in the historical works although half of these works (nine) are contributed by one composer, Samuel Scheidt.

⁵⁸⁴ See Johannes Eccard, *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*, at Werner Icking music archive http://icking-music-archive.org/scores/eccard/brodersen/23_O-Lamm-Gottes-unschuldig.pdf accessed 1 November 2008.

alternative to Sweelinck (PO207b). As in Sweelinck's working, a wide variety and expansive number of accompanying *figurae* are used in this *bicinium*, most, including dactylic *messanza* interspersed with *gropo* and *circolo figurae* may be (albeit tenuously) related to the *cantus firmus*. The style and texture of this example is less coherent than most of Nielsen's workings and in terms of colouring the chorale, the counter melody complements the *cantus firmus* with irregular and syncopated rhythms. This setting is diatonically consistent with the basic harmonic implications of the *cantus firmus* and the setting provided in PSK. It is also stylistically close to historical models, although some dissonance and syncopation use is less conventional.

212. O Guds Lam uskyldig - Du Guds Lamb uskyldig
 O du Guds Lam uskyldig - Guds rena Lamm, oskyldig

Mel.: Erfurt 1542 Ludvig Nielsen

Figure 5.19: PO212 Nielsen, *O Guds Lam uskyldig* section i. © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955 AR15

The second variation, shown in Figure 5.20, builds on the same principles of the first, this time in a *tricinium* in invertible counterpoint, incorporating both the complete and unembellished *cantus firmus* in the bass, together with the unsettled accompanying figuration of the first variation in the upper voice. The middle voice provides new material that is complementary to the first countermelody, using rhythms and motives in succession and providing almost continuous quaver movement. There is little evidence of imitation and all three voices are present throughout. This reliance on previously stated material without imitation is not found in any other working in *Pro organo*, although it does have parallels with the aforementioned Sweelinck work.

Figure 5.20: PO212 Nielsen, *O Guds Lam uskyldig* section ii. © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955
AR15

The two voices of the first *bicinium* also supply the framework for the third variation. The configuration found in the first variation is also used, together with two additional voices that provide new material in the middle parts. The work gradually increases in rhythmic and harmonic intensity, leading to a more relaxed close. All three variations, which follow the same harmonic pattern, provide excellent examples of how Nielsen has developed a simple *bicinium* into a four-voice polyphonic statement of the chorale using building blocks found in the historical works, yet re-interpreting the form to create a new combination of elements. Aurally, the first two of the three settings are strongly reminiscent of earlier works; all show a clear regard and knowledge of historical practices. The development of the accompanying figuration in the third variation (sometimes highly intricately intertwined between the tenor and bass voices) shows a clear understanding of the ethos of the style, at the same time using complex supplementary rhythmic syncopation not found in historical models. The structure of this work is unique in *Pro organo*.



Figure 5.21: PO212 Nielsen, *O Guds Lam uskyldig* section iii. © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955 AR15

A much shorter work, displaying non-historical features of a different kind, is Karlsen's setting of the Norwegian folk tune from Heddal (PO130), *Jeg ser deg, o Guds lam, å stå*. The work is primarily based on invertible two-part counterpoint within the framework of a *cantus firmus* chorale. After an introductory phrase of three bars, the first part of the *cantus firmus* is stated; thereafter, the two parts are inverted from bar 12-23. From bars 23-30, the texture and rhythm are altered, largely following the *cantus firmus* in four-part chorale-like homophonic writing contrasting with the harmony found in PSK, and reverting back to the original texture in bars 31-44, with a partially pre-imitative third voice from bar 33 to the end as shown in Figure 5.22. There is no imitation apart from a single entry of the opening line in bar 33, although much of the counter-melodic material is sourced from the *cantus firmus*. The anapaestic rhythm of the *cantus firmus* is not accurately mirrored in the counter-melody, which is in flowing, sometimes angular quaver movement, using *figurae* such as *tirata*, *gropo* and *messanza* as well as the introductory *suspirans figura* that captures the plaintive character of the tune. In addition to the above points, this setting diverges from historical style models in regard to the tessitura, homophonic middle passage (bars 23-30) and elided syncopation in the counter melodic phrases. Nevertheless, it provides an example of clarity and colouration of the *cantus firmus* following the chorale structure with minimal imitation.

130. Jeg ser dig, o Guds Lam, å stå

Norsk folketone Rolf Karlsen

Figure 5.22: PO130 Karlsen, *Jeg ser dig, o Guds Lam, å stå* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954
AR16

Karlsen and Nielsen did not emulate the largely homophonic settings by Samuel Scheidt to any significant extent, even though nine such works are included in *Pro organo*. However, the setting by Karlsen (PO141) to the German melody associated with the text *Jesu, Jehovah, ich such und verlange*, translated as *Jesus, din sote forening å smake* provides useful material for comparison with Samuel Scheidt's works based on these principles.⁵⁸⁵ The full *cantus firmus* is placed in the uppermost part throughout in mildly embellished form (passing and neighbour notes have been added to bars 1, 12 and 20). These embellishments, shown in Figure 5.23 (bars 1, 12 and 17), are placed in bars with repeated notes and may be intended to facilitate melodic clarity. Like most of Scheidt's settings, the form of this setting exactly follows the chorale tune without interludes and no use is made of imitation. The harmonisation exactly follows the implications shown in PSK. Only the addition of non-harmony notes (many of which may be interpreted as *figura*) indicates that this is not

⁵⁸⁵ See Chapters 3.4.1, 4.3.3 and Appendix A for a full overview of the works by Scheidt in *Pro organo*.

intended as an alternative accompaniment for hymn singing, although a transposed form could be sung as a choral motet. As such it is an excellent example of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

141. Jesus, din søte forening å smake—Jesus, eg hjarteleg lengtar å smaka

Mel. 1738 Rolf Karlsen

Figure 5.23: PO141 Karlsen, *Jesus, din søte forening å smake* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1954 AR17

The remaining two works for discussion (PO83 and PO243) are based on folk tunes and feature differing combinations of historical and divergent features. Perhaps the best-known Norwegian hymn in modern times, Petter Dass' text *Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn*, coupled with a Norwegian folk tune from Romedal first appeared in KNK. Karlsen's setting (PO83) provides a lengthier alternative to the workings by Steenberg to his own supplementary tune in PSK (PO82a and PO82b). It is clear that the folk tune used in Karlsen's setting was considered the more important of the two tunes. In this *cantus firmus* chorale setting a hitherto unobserved treatment of the *cantus firmus* is found. The work commences with the opening fragments of the tune in the soprano, harmonised in the inner voices in a faux-bourdon like passage, occasionally supplementing the anapaestic rhythms with trochaic forms, with the bass (played on the pedal) moving in stepwise manner at a slower pace. The remainder of the introductory section (bars 7-12) consists of isorhythmic paired imitation passagework in parallel and inverted movement based on the second section of

the *cantus firmus* and played on the manuals, as shown in Figure 5.24. The *cantus firmus* is then stated in full in the pedal with single bar interludes between phrases. At the same time, the passagework established earlier (bars 7-12) continues in the upper voices (bars 13-20), albeit in inversion with minor variants. A short coda using material from the introduction over a tonic pedal (bars 27-30) concludes the work. The chorale harmonisation implications in PSK are closely followed in this energetic setting, which is generally consonant, although frequent use of open fifths is featured and the use of the flattened seventh gives extra colouring at bars 22-23. An uncharacteristically strong dissonance (unprepared added fourth in a second inversion subdominant chord) appears in bar 28. All material used is arguably derived from the *cantus firmus* and no *figurae* are present. This setting contrasts strongly with the historical models through its use of two-part figures of shape imitation in interludes and as accompaniment, parallel motion and its limited use of strict imitation. However, in this context, it is clear that this response both shows a development towards a *neue Sachlichkeit* style, and is also concordant with the historical models through its strong dependence on the *cantus firmus*, use of a popular and established folk tune, portrayal of the ethos of the hymn, together with simplicity and clarity and the presence of quasi-imitative forms.

83. Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære — Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære

Norsk folketone Rolf Karlsen

Figure 5.24: PO83 Karlsen, *Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955 AR18

The second setting of the Norwegian folk tune from Valdres to the text *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt* (PO243b) by Karlsen (see 5.3.2 and Figure 5.9) uses an unembellished version of the tune under a *passaggio*-like figuration in the upper parts, played by the right hand. Typical of the *cantus firmus* chorale, the tune is stated exactly and in its entirety. It is, however, divided between the bass and soprano voices (played with the left hand), with an optional pedal point in the concluding 5 bars, shown in Figure 5.25. The setting retains the basic harmonic implications of the chorale; however, the technically advanced *passaggio* figuration (crotchet tied to triplet quaver movement in quasi-imitative, overlapping and continuous movement) provides a strongly dissonant contrast to the *cantus firmus*, frequently employing implied seventh and ninth chords. The conventional and clear appearance of the score is misleading as this setting, in the mixolydian mode (in contrast to Nielsen's less adventurous setting in D major), is indeed one of the more dissonant works in the collection, and as such it provides a strong contrast to the first setting (PO243a), discussed earlier in this chapter. The final added ninth chord without the third over a suspended tonic pedal also underlines the unsettled harmonisation. This setting shows significant deviation from historical models in terms of its harmonic language, widely

spaced chords while retaining a conventional appearance, baroque *Fortspinnungstechnik* found for example in Walther (PO223) and a full statement of the *cantus firmus* that retains its integrity and clarity throughout.

243 b. Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt

Norsk folketone Rolf Karlsen

(ad lib.)

Figure 5.25: PO243b Karlsen, *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt* © Harald Lyche & Co, Drammen, 1955 AR19

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen that contemporary workings of chorale tunes in *Pro organo* reflect the style of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in a number of ways. Moreover, they have been found to fulfil the important function of providing suitable introductions for congregational singing of almost every hymn tune in Per Steenberg's chorale book to texts in the authorised hymnals LR and NN, while at the same time taking into account some of the more popular tunes from the authorised chorale book KNK. It has been established that in so doing the composers have been meticulous in presenting chorale melodies accurately as *cantus firmi* and have favoured restored or partially restored rhythmic forms where these had been incorporated into PSK, even promoting further restoration of some tunes, such as PO212. Undoubtedly this would have enabled congregations so exposed to such variants to become better acquainted with unfamiliar rhythmic forms of well-known

tunes. In terms of structure it was found (as with historical works discussed in Chapter 4) that the contemporary works discussed above followed that of the chorales on which they were based: thus phrase structures and repetitions are carefully observed. While liberties in terms of harmonisation undoubtedly occur in Karlsen and Nielsen's preludes, it has been established that the harmonic frameworks of the representative works discussed are closely aligned to the respective harmonisations in PSK, thus usually making the works intelligible and informative to congregational participants in the liturgy. The absence of sentimentality in these works also shows a clear rejection of subjective romanticism. While the juxtapositioning and presumed modelling of contemporary works on historical models has been shown to have occurred in the collection of Wöldike published a decade prior to PO (see Chapter 3.1.3), it has been shown that PO presents an important extension of this concept in developing a contemporary response to historical models.

An important aspect of *neue Sachlichkeit* and also a major theme in this study is the occurrence of contemporary compositional structures, techniques and styles based on historical precedents in order to achieve what was perceived to be a 'pure style' suited to the then liturgical context. The representative works selected for discussion yielded numerous instances of modelling based primarily on 17th-century practices in organ chorale prelude composition, as well as examples of contemporary developments based on the same styles. The occurrence of polyphonic writing was seen to feature almost exclusively in the contemporary repertoire (as is also largely the case in historical works) and the one predominantly homophonic work discussed was possibly modelled on the style of Scheidt, several of whose works are included in the source. Also in accordance with historical precedent is the extensive amount of imitative writing in the settings of Karlsen and Nielsen. Indeed, the presence of contemporary works featuring little or no imitation was found to be slight. On the other hand, techniques such as systematic imitation (whether strict or not, or involving linear techniques which were given precedence over vertical harmony), canonic imitation, augmentation, diminution, inversion, *vorimitation*, and so on abound throughout the contemporary repertoire as do varied approaches to treating a *cantus firmus*. Thus Apel's categories, such as the chorale motet, chorale, fughetta, *cantus firmus* chorale, melody chorale and chorale variation are readily identifiable, either singly or in combination, alongside historical models.

Imitation use differs in contemporary compositions in regard to vertical harmony, as shown in PO172b, PO201, PO212 and PO243a, a clear development in PO which was found to lead to occasional strongly dissonant treatments. In works in which a *cantus firmus* is accompanied rather than subjected to systematic imitation it was seen that in line with historical precedent the accompanying material was in most works derived from the chorale melody, most often by way of imitation. In this way, works are given a great deal of cohesion and the chorale material is accorded additional emphasis.

Yet another feature of the accompanied chorale composition that was found to resonate with historical precedents is the considerable focus placed on the chorale melody and the clarity of its enunciation. Fidelity to the chorale tune and rhythm has been seen as valuable in serving the needs of the liturgy; it is also based firmly on historical precedent, as the discussion in the previous chapter confirms. It is evident that Karlsen and Nielsen had some understanding of the role of *figura* in chorale-related compositions. Their usage of this tool may not be as extensive as that seen in historical works, yet settings such as PO77, PO130 and PO243b are certainly both coloured and unified by the use of *figura*. It has also been established that registration suggestions given by the editors are in line with historical practice and similar to those offered for historical works. Strong solo stops are recommended for *cantus firmi* and the general emphasis is on bright registrations that promote polyphonic clarity. Another feature associated with historical works was that of moderation in respect of length, difficulty and style as exemplified in the selected works of composers such as Scheidt, Pachelbel and Walther. Excessive virtuosity, expressiveness, sentimentality, harmonic richness and floridity of registration do not feature in the historical works chosen for *Pro organo*; nor do they typify the settings of Karlsen and Nielsen. Furthermore, it has frequently been possible to identify particular historical styles on which contemporary works have been possibly modelled, as exemplified in PO2 and PO131b.

One of the early Norwegian commentators on the ‘pure style’ argued that its adoption had the potential to lead to dreary reproductions, devoid of imagination and inventiveness. The foregoing discussion of representative contemporary works has found, as did the reviewer Conrad Baden, that such is not the case.⁵⁸⁶ Karlsen and Nielsen have shown considerable ingenuity in exploring a great variety of structures and techniques and have ventured to

⁵⁸⁶ Baden, 1953, p. 22.

incorporate non-historical features into a number of their preludes. These include the use of ostinato (PO54), which seems to comprise a strategy of giving special emphasis to the first phrase of the chorale melody and thus not at strong variance with historical precepts. The use of wide tessitura and texture thickening in concluding bars (PO173) is not a feature of historical works included in *Pro organo*, yet in this context it was found to have a degree of congruence with the chorale tune. It has been observed that the contemporary composers' use of dissonance in works such as PO243b could be freer than that of the historical works, but it is used in a consistent and discreet manner and is offset by the clear presentation of the *cantus firmus* in association with accompanying and very consistent *passagio* figuration, so that the work is comfortably aligned with its historical counterparts. It was seen that PO83, while presenting a particular folk-like perspective (in line with the chorale tune), the imitative figurations reflect concepts in the accompanied *cantus firmus* chorale which are common in historical works.

In summary, it may be stated that the contemporary repertoire as exemplified in the selected works of Karlsen and Nielsen is characterised predominantly by styles and techniques drawn from baroque practice. Peter Williams' summation of baroque organ chorale preludes (stated earlier in Chapter 4) as "discrete, individual settings, simple in shape, expressive in *Affect*, and warmly registered on the organ"⁵⁸⁷ applies just as aptly to this repertoire as it does to the historical material discussed in Chapter 4. It is true that some (but by no means all) contemporary works are given further dimensions of harmonic language and texture and the melodic source material is considerably broadened to encompass hymn tunes from later periods and different traditions as well as a substantial body of folk tunes. It could be said that the works are thus given greater contemporary currency, but in a manner which builds on established and revered traditions and without loss of ecclesial tone. Moreover, the concept of liturgical usefulness, which was shown to have informed the choice of historical works for *Pro organo* is applied just as rigorously, if not more so, in the contemporary compositions, thus providing repertoire that is eminently useful to organists, priests and congregations in their celebrations of the liturgy.

⁵⁸⁷ Williams, 2003, p. 557.

Conclusions

This dissertation has hypothesised that the compilation *Pro organo* demonstrates a clear manifestation of *neue Sachlichkeit* ideals through the provision of clear, brief, moderate organ introductions of high quality to congregational hymns, and hence constitutes a major landmark in the history of Norwegian liturgical music for the organ. The principal research questions have thus been:

- How did Rolf Karlsen and Ludvig Nielsen, in the five-volume comprehensive compilation of chorale preludes *Pro organo* respond to specific ideals of church music renewal associated with the *neue Sachlichkeit*?
- How did *Pro organo* challenge Norwegian liturgical organ music traditions?

In so doing, related questions which refer to contemporary understandings of what has become known as the components of the *neue Sachlichkeit* have been investigated and evaluated, placing the concept into a Norwegian musico-liturgical and historical context. The analytical examination of selected works in *Pro organo* provides important evidence of awareness and presence of *neue Sachlichkeit* influences, and thus allows the collection contextualisation not previously found in Norwegian musicological discourse. The underlying research questions outlined in the Introduction provide the basis for the findings hereunder.

While the use of the term *neue Sachlichkeit* is not unique to the discussion of musicological themes in the Nordic region, it has been proven to be a highly pertinent and applicable term to 20th-century liturgico-musical developments in Finland and Sweden, as shown in earlier research by Gunnel Fagius and Anna Maria Böckerman-Peitsalo. Its use in the present context breaks new ground in Norwegian musicological discourse. It has been shown in this study that the term enables a clearer positioning of changes in Norwegian church music compositional styles, practices and ideals from the early 1930s, thus proving a key assumption that it is a functional and encompassing term. These transformative changes, based on a reaction against romantic sentimentalism and its lush chromatic harmonies, orchestral organ building and registrational practices and subjective compositional traditions, occurred over a transitional period of more than three decades, and has arguably had a strong impact on the church music of Norway that remains evident to the present time.

In this study, the *neue Sachlichkeit* has been shown to be a multi-faceted, interdisciplinary term that has been used in a variety of retrospective studies, dealing with the era prior to and following *Pro organo*. In an empirical study of a wide variety of sources, we have seen that the *neue Sachlichkeit* has been conceptualised within a wide variety of contexts, reflecting its use as a descriptor of art, literature, architecture and photography, and extending even into politics, sociology and commercialisation. It has been the subject of considerable discourse in the last decades of the 20th century. Important studies besides that of Böckerman-Peitsalo include those by Stephen Hinton and Deborah Smail, in which we have seen that the currency of the term as a descriptor in the context of expression following the precepts of Weimar Germany is justified, despite inherent difficulties with the extent of its layers of meaning. While a redefinition of the term has not been attempted, Chapter 1.2 has shown that we may conclude that the term can be seen as a reaction against romanticism and expressionism, although not merely through reactionary realism in art, but also as a counter-movement to expressionism. As a scathing response to social decay and injustice in Weimar Germany in the 1920s, artistic responses typically focussed on recognisable images intended to disturb and criticise contemporary society and politics. This has been clearly shown by Roh, who in providing a clear dichotomous relation between expressionism and post expressionism in 1925, provided contemporary and later scholars and artists with clear parameters for the articulation of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

The significance of the term in both visual art and architecture as described in Chapter 1.2 is of particular importance, especially through its association with the Bauhaus style and that most wide-reaching element of modern architecture, functionalism. Here, it has been shown that many facets of functionalism provide supporting arguments for its use as a style intended to provide for the immediate needs of the people. While not in itself an accurate term (functionalism has focussed on the aesthetics of non-esotericism, simplicity, clarity and efficiency, and is an established aesthetic in itself), functionalist design does not strive for absolute efficiency; its use in this context was also social, where demands were for adequate but cost and labour efficient housing for the population, basic hygienic living, all allowing for involvement of the general population in mass cultural events and expression.

It has also been shown in Chapter 1.3-1.3.2 that while the *neue Sachlichkeit* and music have been relatively seldom coupled together, other reactionary areas of activity in the 1920s to 1940s, such as *Gebrauchsmusik*, historicism and neo-classicism were concurrent and related streams of

activity among a number of German and other European composers. The approachable, functional nature of *Gebrauchsmusik* is a clear parallel to facets of the *neue Sachlichkeit* style, and the retrospective aspects of historical music forms were reflected in much art music from the last decades of the 19th century, even to the extent of style copying and artistic pastiche. Unsurprisingly, *neue Sachlichkeit* composition is first seen in Germany. The music of Hindemith has often been associated with *Gebrauchsmusik*, and from there, the *neue Sachlichkeit*. His incorporation of historical forms, linear compositional techniques and moderate technical demands is also found in liturgical music of the 1930s. In Chapter 1.4, it has been seen that Distler displays in his compositional output an amalgamation of the *Singbewegung*, *Gebrauchsmusik*, historicist compositional forms and techniques and a keen interest in organ building reform, all of which probably account for his importance in Norway from the mid-1930s in a region already under the influence of Laub.

It has been noted that European (including Norwegian) Protestant church music in the 19th century is characterised by strong polarities of contexts, agendas and styles. It is, however, here that the roots of *neue Sachlichkeit* may be found, both in the Protestant reforms inspired by (amongst others) the German Lutheran Winterfeld as well as from within the Catholic Church, through historically-based renewal of the importance of the service orders of the church, as well as the revival of Gregorian chant and the music of Palestrina and Eccard. It has been seen in Chapter 1.5 that these streams of historical revival were promoted by Laub in Denmark and disseminated across the Nordic region. Initially independent of the Laubian reform in Norway was the restoration of chorale rhythms and, arguably, also the liturgical movement, both important elements that were easily assimilated into the *neue Sachlichkeit* in the Nordic region. The principle of active congregational engagement is nevertheless reflected in Laub's primary thesis that congregational music must be directly wedded to the voice of the people, in other words, "all music that might rightly be found in a church service must be directly connected to the words of the congregation; the words which pass the lips of those present."⁵⁸⁸

Assimilative aspects of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in its Norwegian liturgico-musical context have been shown to include a focus on historical practices, and in particular, imitative, polyphonic music derived from or selected from historical sources associated with, amongst others, Palestrina and Pachelbel, composers strongly recommended by Laub. Laub showed a clear

⁵⁸⁸ See Chapter 1, footnote 115.

preference for accessible music forms that accentuated the importance of textual associations without overt interpretation or expressive word-painting. Important in the Nordic region, and especially so to Norwegian 'pure style' composers, was the placement of this style of expression within an idealised form of functional service music for the liturgy, thus following the example and recommendations of Laub. It has been seen that in the dissemination of Laubian reform, figures such as Ole Mørk Sandvik and Per Steenberg in Norway were of particular importance. As has been seen in Chapter 2.5.2, the opening of new channels of communication in the Nordic region through the Nordic church musicians' assemblies from 1933 also meant that the dissemination of new modes of thought in church music took place actively in Norway. Additionally, education possibilities, trade union support and publications for organists from the 1930s also allowed for the propagation and promotion of diverse modes of expression in church music. Norwegian trends in organ building, at first stemming from the Alsatian organ reform, were superseded by the Danish organ reform from the early 1950s, have also been shown in Chapter 1.7 to have had a substantial impact on the production of church music. This was due not least to the clear integration of the organ reform into the liturgical movement and promotion of an historicist construction style embodying clarity and at the same time, allowing for the presentation of fresh understandings of performance practice. This style was exemplified in several important instruments of the 1930s (and importantly in the present context), in the churches where Karlsen and Nielsen were employed, namely Ris church, Oslo, and Nidaros cathedral, Trondheim.

Furthermore, it has been shown in Chapter 3.1.1 that while the existing tradition established through the church music of Ludvig M. Lindeman incorporated aspects of polyphonic writing entrenched in a Bachian dialectic, this conservative style was also deeply embedded in the late romantic aesthetic of music as a decorative element of the service and not integrated into the liturgy. It has been seen that this received tradition, while incorporating aspects of historicism, did not significantly differ from the prevailing aesthetic of national romanticism in conservative secular art music. The contrast between this received style and the reactionary *neue Sachlichkeit* style led to entrenched views and promoted two polarities of expression, as has been shown in Chapter 2.4 and 2.4.1. The division between supporters of the status quo and the so-called 'pure style' of compositional practices was a key element in church music discourse in the period leading to and even after the publication of *Pro organo* and the foundation in 1952 of *Musica Sacra*, the key organisation which promoted Laubian ideals, the 'pure style,' the *Orgelbewegung* and the liturgical movement.

We have seen in Chapter 2.2 that the concept of ‘pure style’ or ‘pure ecclesial style’ of composition was widely recognised in Norway from 1934 through the important catalyst and disseminating force found in the authorised liturgical publication *Liturgisk musikk* (1934), in use in every parish church in the country. This was a revision of liturgical music published 14 years earlier for the establishment of the first authorised prose service for the church. The latter also provides compelling evidence of the impact of the liturgical movement in Norway. The revival of contemporary understandings of canonical office services in the 1920s also underlines the importance of liturgical renewal in the church. The publication *Liturgisk musikk*, together with growing dissatisfaction with the editorial decisions related to music in KNK (1926) with its problematical relationship between harmonisation practices and historic tunes, and to a lesser extent, the historic rhythmic chorale, also provided additional argumentation for a reform of church music language and was clearly shown in debates and discussions in newspapers and journals, as discussed in Chapter 2.3.1. Not only was such music envisaged to serve a specific purpose and be aesthetically appropriate, purified and even ecclesial, other important factors such as the participatory nature of such musical expression assumed priority. Clarity of expression was highly prized by the associated liturgical movement, presupposing the use of didactic, clear and accessible musical expression suited to congregational involvement. Additional aspects of the *neue Sachlichkeit* have been shown to include the aesthetic of *Gebrauchsmusik* as understood by Distler and Steenberg in providing accessible, moderate settings of relevant liturgical texts for use by the church musician, using simple, historical harmonisation practices distanced from the then established dialectical process of Lindeman, Straube and Alnæs. As we have seen in Chapter 3.5.1 and 3.5.2, although both Karlsen and Nielsen were educated in this tradition through study with Sandvold and Straube, it is reasonable to infer that Nielsen’s studies in Leipzig in the early 1930s also brought him in contact with Distlerian church music reform; certainly, the importance of the Laubian protagonist Steenberg, as an educator of a generation of organists from 1930 until his death in 1947 cannot be overstated, and is itself an area worthy of further study.

As we have seen in Chapter 2.3.2, there can be no doubt that the unauthorised chorale book by Per Steenberg (PSK, 1949) was the primary program document for this awareness of the ‘pure style’, even though the extent and consistency of the restoration and harmonisation practices contained therein has been shown to be limited in some regards. The influence of

the Danish scholar Knut Jeppesen on Steenberg is of considerable significance in this regard, especially by way of his study of the style of Palestrina in the late 1920s, which became his most important area of advocacy, influencing a generation of church musicians through his teaching positions in Oslo. We have seen that PSK provided a clear model upon which Karlsen and Nielsen built their collection of chorale preludes, in providing both organisational, harmonic and rhythmic guidelines as well as a clear ‘pure style’ aesthetic compatible with the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

Chapter 3.1.1 has shown that the production of chorale preludes for use in the church of Norway until Alnæs’ complete collection of miniatures for KNK was published in 1926, was sporadic and widely diversified in terms of style, length and intended purpose. The advent of a complete collection of chorale preludes in *Pro organo*, associated with both the authorised chorale book, and even more importantly, PSK, has provided generations of Norwegian church musicians with material that focuses on several important challenges in the life of the Norwegian organist. Not the least of these challenges was the provision of historically informed composition techniques, coordinated in style, rhythm and key with PSK and matched with the authorised texts from LR and NN. As shown in Chapter 3.2, several noteworthy factors led to the wide dissemination of *Pro organo*, including ease of use through the provision of identical numbering to PSK, and moderate technical requirements catering for the church musician faced with the reality of time constraints and limited formal education. The diversity of musical styles, while primarily based on historical models, also allowed for varied musical expression, and the provision of works of varied lengths could allow *Pro organo* to function as the sole source of organ music for the differing liturgical demands of the organist.

Furthermore, as has been shown in Chapter 3.2.3, the didactic nature of the collection is also notable. For many organists, this collection may well have been their first introduction to historical composition; certainly, the choice of historical works included in *Pro organo* was selected from material that was not widely available, thus serving an additional educational purpose of improving repertoire knowledge. The provision of performance and registration notes, as well as sources of selected repertoire also served a didactic purpose, and suggestions related to expansion and reduction of most works show a clear aspiration to provide for a variety of service functions, including use as preludes and postludes, as well as differing technical competence levels. The exemplary and clear score layout requiring few awkward

page turns and containing only a small number of misreadings is also enhanced by some further pedagogical aids, such as some fingerings and character suggestions.

It has been shown in Chapter 5.1.1 that the contemporary chorale preludes in *Pro organo* vary widely in regard to length and complexity. In order to provide adequate and defensible comparison criteria based on the historical works found in *Pro organo*, only works of more than 11 bars were selected for discussion. Additionally, works preceding the collection or by composers other than Karlsen and Nielsen were excluded. While these decisions excluded 61 works from the discussion, the predominating miniatures of less than 12 bars were not found to deviate significantly from works discussed in this study (other than being truncated in form) and are included in the database in Appendix A. On the other hand, the four significantly extended works, as explained in Chapter 5, differ stylistically from the majority of works.

This study has shown that the historical works in *Pro organo* were chosen with several criteria in mind. Perhaps most important amongst these were moderation in length and technical difficulty, and the suitability for performance on small instruments. However, it has also been shown that clarity of *cantus firmus* presentation (according to the melodic and rhythmic treatments of the tune found in PSK) has been a priority; similarly, the preference for imitation and polyphony were important selection principles. Chosen from a wide time frame of about three centuries, the historical works have been shown to demonstrate a wide breadth of compositional possibilities in *cantus firmus* presentation while closely following the structure of the *cantus firmus* and at the same time reflecting the ethos of the chorale style through harmonically restrained and stylistically consistent treatments and *figurae*. In Chapter 3, a wide variety of construction techniques found in chorale prelude composition has been shown. Analytical discussion of this repertoire, although challenging on account of the wide diversity of construction techniques, has been made possible by a system of categorisation unique to this study. The historical works provided in *Pro organo* have been shown to share several salient elements of compositional practices. Three important composers, Scheidt, Pachelbel and Walther were shown to have contributed the majority of historical works. Despite the wide variety of styles found in the included works, those selected for analytical discussion have been shown to prioritise clarity, the primacy of the *cantus firmus*, moderation in technique and length, as well as variety in formal techniques. Well-known collections, such as the *Orgelbüchlein* were avoided, and in line with Laub's own preferences, Pachelbel's stylistic moderation has been shown to have been favoured.

In publishing contemporary material side by side with historical composition, it has been shown that Karlsen and Nielsen provided the collection with a clear program statement about the nature and quality of apposite contemporary composition. This study has found that the concepts of clarity, functionalism, moderation in length and technical difficulty clearly grounded in historical models provides compelling evidence of demands and impulses related to the function of music in the service, *Gebrauchsmusik*, the 'pure style' and historicism, all component features of the *neue Sachlichkeit*.

Chapter 5 has revealed that as in the historical works, the *cantus firmus* in the contemporary works is treated as the primary construction element, and imitation and polyphonic treatments are most prevalent, although a wide range of treatments is also found. These works are of similar proportions to the included historical material. Alternative settings for some hymns, including tunes found only in KNK, along with further restoration of rhythmic chorale tunes is also shown to be a feature of the contemporary repertoire. Similarly, the contemporary works demonstrate the range of possibilities in the imitative style in a consistent texture and structure, although many utilise more than one established chorale prelude type concurrently. While harmonically restrained, the use of strict imitation and focus on linear compositional techniques rather than vertical harmony has been shown to result in more dissonant treatments of the chorale tune. This aspect is not weighted towards strong or sustained dissonance. A clear indication on future developments in the use of dissonance may be found in several works such as PO243b that uses consecutive fourths as a compositional device. *Figurae* use is also present in the contemporary works, although its use has been seen to be less demonstrative than in the historical works.

While some works, such as PO212, evoke historical models in ways that may indicate a form of style copying, it is not a finding of this study that *Pro organo* consists of merely style copyist works based on historical models. Anthony Ruff has noted that many works that slavishly deployed style-copying practices appeared at this time, claiming that while much new material was composed in the decades following World War II, much of this composition was backward-looking in its philosophy. In fact, no work presented in *Pro organo* displays a reluctance to imaginatively develop historical models, unlike the music contained in earlier collections based on the same principles, for example those of Wöldike and Viderø, discussed in Chapter 3.1.2.

Rather, the developments seen in the works by Karlsen and Nielsen in *Pro organo* are shown in Chapter 5 to be associated with the style ideals of the *neue Sachlichkeit*. The collection contains settings of tunes from both recent and historical sources, and incorporates a wide assortment of the stylistic models found in historical sources, many of which may be compared with historical style models discussed in Chapter 4. On the other hand, those works based on Norwegian folk tunes, in itself a potential Laubian component of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, have been shown to incorporate folk-like styles. Moreover, in works based on more recent tunes, other stylistic developments have been shown including the freer use of resolved and unresolved dissonances related to linear structures, thickening of concluding textures as well as sectional textural variations (it has been speculated that this is possibly related to narrow-scale organ voicing found at Ris church, as well as linked to a concluding crescendo effect more often associated with the romantic period), expansion, reduction and variation techniques, the freer use of wide and focussed tessituras, the freer use of rhythmic and *figura-*like devices, and the incorporation of variations in dynamics, registration and tempo.

Perhaps one of the most significant outcomes is that this study unequivocally places *Pro organo* as a seminal document in Norwegian liturgical organ music history. It has positioned the publication as one with the capacity of bringing about change in attitudes among church musicians, changes which may even have elevated the role of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Norway to the status of a movement. In its breadth of scope and style choices, commitment to pragmatic service and quality, and emphasis on an emerging ideology showing a development of historical style models, *Pro organo* represents a watershed in liturgical organ composition and performance, and provided sound compositional models for later generations of composers.

Further research

The present study has given rise to a wide range of issues that merit further research. The suitability of the chorale prelude as an object of study in regard to liturgical music practices influenced by a stylistic practice has also been tested in this study. It has been found to be a highly useful and constructive indicator of a stylistic trend that was found in all church music influenced by the *neue Sachlichkeit*, including congregation and choral service music, chorale book harmonisation, hymn tunes, free organ works and other *cantus firmus*-based composition. Further research, including a comparative examination of similar trends and circumstances in other parts of Europe and North America would be valuable for a complete overview of the

influences of the *neue Sachlichkeit*, especially in regard to links between organ construction methods, the *Orgelbewegung* and organ composition. Furthermore, a comparative study of 20th-century organ music composition in the Nordic countries is also merited to examine the diversity and interconnectivity of church music fields of practice and styles, including the transition to non-historicist styles such as twelve-note composition. The *neue Sachlichkeit* may also be examined as a movement within the context of liturgical music, a movement which preceded modernism and complexity.⁵⁸⁹

Lastly, there is arguably strong evidence to support the idea that many principles of the *neue Sachlichkeit* retain their currency in present day liturgical practice. The investigation of the continuing importance of the *neue Sachlichkeit* in the present culture of church music in contemporary Norwegian society in an era marked by stylistic multiplicity and individual preference, challenged by recent trends towards new-romanticism and post-postmodernist eclecticism which have signalled a return to romanticist ideals in composition, organ building, liturgy and autonomous music is also worthy of scholarly attention.⁵⁹⁰

There is significant anecdotal evidence to suggest that *Pro organo* changed attitudes towards the composition of chorale preludes. It remains an important source of liturgical composition for many organists, not least because of the consistent quality and craft of composition, an aspect not often found in later collections. An especially valuable outcome of this study would be the provision of a new edition of the collection with the incorporation of additional chorale preludes concordant with the forthcoming hymnal for the Church of Norway, *Norske salmebok* (2011).

Finally, the question of whether *Pro organo* was actually intended to be a program document for the *neue Sachlichkeit* by the compilers cannot be answered with absolute certainty. Certainly, it was the first major published anthology of organ chorale preludes to give clear representation of *neue Sachlichkeit* influences. It was by no means the last such publication in the Nordic region, and its success in Norway has seen an unprecedented and unique flowering of the genre in subsequent years. The inestimable value of Nielsen's service to the church was acknowledged by Arild Sandvold 30 years after the publication of volume one of *Pro organo*: "This exceptional and priceless life's work ... you have

⁵⁸⁹ Böckerman-Peitsalo, 2005, pp. 20-21. Here, Böckerman-Peitsalo describes the criteria for a movement as including the following four phases: Reaction or protest, dissemination or popularisation, dogmatism, and organisational.

⁵⁹⁰ De norske kirkeakademiene, *Kunsten å være kirke*, Verbum Forlag, Oslo, 2005, p. 73.

etched your name into the annals of Norwegian church music in letters of gold!”⁵⁹¹ In a tribute to Karlsen Jørn Fevang asserted as recently as 2007 that “Rolf Karlsen ... composed according to perceived needs. The majority of churches still have an example of the chorale prelude collection *Pro organo* which he published with Ludvig Nielsen.”⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ Arild Sandvold, in Ludvig Nielsen på 75-årsdagen, 1981. Original text: Det verdifulle og store livsverk ... hvorved du med gullskrift har risset ditt navn inn i norsk kirkemusikk! Translation by the author.

⁵⁹² Fevang, 2007, p. 36. Original text: Rolf Karlsen ... skrev etter behov. De fleste kirker har fortsatt et eksemplar av forspillsamlingen *Pro organo* som han utga sammen med Ludvig Nielsen. Translation by the author.

A

Appendix A

An overview of the contents of *Pro organo*

See attached CD-ROM (inside back cover) for a database in Excel which provides details on selected criteria (including length, structure, imitation techniques, categorisation, registration and other details) in all works found in *Pro organo*. This CD also contains audio recordings of selected contemporary works by Rolf Karlsen and Ludvig Nielsen from *Pro organo* discussed in Chapter 5.

Audio recordings

Track list

- 1 *Kom hjerte, ta ditt regnebrett* PO159, Rolf Karlsen
Strassburg, 1525; *Mein Seel erhebt den Herren*
- 2 *Det hev ei rosa sprunge* PO28, Rolf Karlsen
Pre-reformation tune; *Es ist ein Ros entsprungen*
- 3 *Jeg vil mig Herren love* PO136, Ludvig Nielsen
English/Swedish folk tune; *Mitt hjerte alltid vankeer*
- 4 *Jesus, dine dybe vunder* PO139a, Rolf Karlsen
Huguenot tune, 1551; *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*
- 5 *Lov Jesu namn og herredom* PO173, Ludvig Nielsen
W. Shrubsole, 1779; *All hail the power of Jesu navn*
- 6 *Nu kjære menige kristenhet* PO201, Rolf Karlsen
Nuremberg, 1524; *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein*
- 7 *Når vi i største nød mon stå* PO207b, Ludvig Nielsen
Huguenot tune, 1542; *O Dieu, donne moi delivrance*
- 8 *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt* PO243a, Ludvig Nielsen
Norwegian folk tune from Valdres; *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt*

- 9 *Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre* PO15, Ludvig Nielsen
H. O. C. Zinck, 1801; *Bryt frem, mit hjertes trang å lindre*
- 10 *Jeg synger julekvad* PO131b, Rolf Karlsen
Pre-reformation tune; *In dulci jubilo*
- 11 *Det er så yndig å følges ad* PO27, Rolf Karlsen
C. E. F. Weyse, 1855; *Det er så yndig å følges ad*
- 12 *Lykksalig, lykksalig hver sjel* PO174, Ludvig Nielsen
A. P. Berggreen, *Lykksalig, lykksalig hver sjel*
- 13 *Lover den Herre* PO172b, Rolf Karlsen
Stralsund, 1665; *Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren*
- 14 *Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land* PO54, Ludvig Nielsen
Steenberg, 1929; *Fedrane kyrkja i Noregs land*
- 15 *O Guds Lam uskyldig* PO212, Ludvig Nielsen
Erfurt, 1524; *Das Lamm Gottes unschuldig*
- 16 *Jeg ser dig, o Guds Lam, å stå* PO130, Rolf Karlsen
Norwegian folk tune from Saltdal; *Jeg ser dig, o Guds lam, å stå*
- 17 *Jesus, din søte forening å smake* PO141, Rolf Karlsen
Tune from 1741; *Jesu, Jehovah, ich such und verlange*
- 18 *Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære* PO83, Rolf Karlsen
Norwegian folk tune from Romedal; *Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære*
- 19 *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt* PO243b, Rolf Karlsen
Norwegian folk tune from Valdres; *Se, solens skjønnne lys og prakt*

These works were recorded on the Claus Jensen organ (1889) in Ilen church, Trondheim, on 22 June 2008.

David Scott Hamnes, organ

Odd Gunnar Frøysland, audio engineer

B

Appendix B

Interview transcripts

Editorial comments and supplementary or explanatory information are placed in square brackets throughout.

Per Hjort Albertsen

Place: Per Hjort Albertsen's home at Jørgen Bjelkes gate 1, 7016 Trondheim, Norway

Date and time: 3 February 2006 13.30-16.00

H: Jeg vil vite litt om din fortid som yrkesaktiv kirkemusiker i området her i Trondheim -

A: Ja.

H: - og din bakgrunn, først og fremst, som ... også som student, og som yrkesaktiver musiker i Den norske kirke -

A: Ja!

H: - og så til syvende og sist, din rolle i Trondheim musikkonservatorium.

A: Javel. Ja, det var mye, det var mange spørsmål.

H: Det er mange spørsmål.

A: Jeg får ta det etter hvert, jeg.

H: Ja. Det, det gjør vi, også din rolle som komponist.

A: Ja.

H: Og den rollen din musikk har spilt i den norske kirke i Sør-Trøndelag.

A: Ja.

H: Men kan du begynne, kanskje, å si litt om din utdanning og dine lærere, og hvem som har påvirket deg under studietiden.

A: Ja. Og du tenker spesielt da på orgel?

H: På orgel.

A: Ja.

H: Og komposisjon.

A: Og komposisjon ja. Ja, jeg var jo så heldig her å få Ludvig Nielsen, da, som min første lærer i orgel.

H: Når, hvilket årstall var det?

A: Jaha, det var nå før krigen, da. Hva skal vi si, da? Ehh, det måtte være i '37-'38 eller noe sånt.

H: Ja.

A: Hvor jeg da gikk og lærte å spille orgel, og fikk øve, til og med, i domkirken. Så det var nå mine første skritt på veien i min utdanning, da. Du vet, det synes jeg var veldig interessant, da. Og min videre utdanning, da, den foregikk i Oslo, på musikkonservatoriet der. Og der tok jeg da organisteksamen. Og det var jo etter krigen det, da. Og, du tok eksamen der ja, og jeg hadde Arild Sandvold, da, som min hovedlærer i, i orgelspill.

H: Ja.

A: Også alle andre fag, da, som inngikk i det studiet, det var ganske mye der. Men jeg, jeg var jo, jeg var jo ikke så lenge, lenge ved Oslo-konservatoriet, da. Så jeg tok eksamen allerede, for jeg var, hadde jo da en forholdsvis god grunnutdanning hos Ludvig Nielsen, da. Så det var, jeg tok vel eksamen i, kanskje det var allerede i '46? Og så var jeg så heldig da, å få en stilling, umiddelbart, omtrent, i Vår Frue kirke, hvor jeg var der i 21 år. Jeg tror jeg fikk den stillingen i '47. Jeg, altså, årstallene må jeg ta med lite granne forbehold.

H: Ja, men dem kan jeg sjekke.

A: Ja, det kan du jo sjekke. Og så var jeg der, som organist, da, i 21 år. Til, det måtte bli til '68, det da, da jeg fikk en annen stilling på uni-musikken. Som på, da var det i mellomtiden blitt et musikkinstitut ved universitetet her, hvor jeg fikk stilling, da. Det er nå den, utdannelsen. Jeg hadde også et utenlandsopphold, det var vel etter at jeg hadde tatt eksamen i Oslo. Så dro jeg til København hvor jeg da spilte med en som het Thomsen, tror jeg. I en kirke i København. Som jeg nu i farten ikke husker navnet på. Det blir litt improvisert, dette her, det ligger så, såpass langt tilbake i tiden.

H: Hvor lenge var du der?

A: I København, jeg var der i to, eh, i to avdelinger. Det var vel, til sammen kunne det vel kanskje bli halvannet år. Eller, det var i meste laget det, da. For jeg var også, jeg sørget jo for å få meg en liten utdanning også i Wien. Det var i tolvtonekomponering.

H: Når var det?

A: Ja, det måtte være i, ja kunne det være i '49? Nei, årstall, det husker jeg ikke, altså.

H: Nei. Men det var altså etter krigen.

A: Det var etter krigen, ja. Og da gikk jeg hos en komponist som het Hanns Jelinek som var spesialist på det området der, det var veldig interessant å gå hos ham da, han var så begeistret for *zwölfton*-teknikk, da. Og i København gikk jeg også hos en komponist som heter Tarp. Svend Erik Tarp. Og skrev en del ting der. Også var jeg også et semester i, i London, og gikk hos en organist som var organist i Brompton Oratory, tror jeg det het.

H: Ja

A: En kirke der, hvor jeg da særlig spilte, husker jeg, Händel, da; Händels konserter.

H: Javel

A: Fordi det er så mye som Händel ikke skrev ned, og som fins i ... ikke sant, mellom linjene. Så det var jo også særlig interessant.

H: Husker du hvem du studerte hos i Brompton Oratory?

A: Ja, ja hva het han da? Han var en fremragende organist. Og i den tiden der var han også, da fikk jeg jo også anledning til å høre Brittens nye komposisjoner, da, det var særlig den derre, ja, jeg kjente jo *Peter Grimes*, men, men det var også en del annet som jeg fikk være med å, bak kulissene, å se på, og hvor min lærer var også en involvert i dette. Det er sørgelig at jeg ikke kunne si de navnene på ...

H: Jeg kan alltid finne det.

A: Det ligger så langt tilbake i tid.

H: Var det i 1950 omtrent?

A: Ja, det var det omtrent det det måtte bli, ja. Det var i '49 og '50 og de årene der. Som jeg var der ja.

H: Det var omtrent samtidig som Leif Solberg var i London.

A: Ja, kanskje det, ja! Men jeg traff ikke ham, nei. Han traff jeg ikke.

H: Han var i London i 1951.

A: Ja vel, ja, det var han nok. Det tror jeg nok måtte være etter ... nei, ja, det skal jeg ikke si. Jeg må gå ut ifra en sønn som vi fikk i '51. Og da var jeg bortreist. Men da var jeg i København, tror jeg. Så de årstallene der, og den tiden der, det er jeg for dårlig forberedt for å kunne svare på. Og så, og det var jo hovedsaklig orgel jeg spilte, da, det var i London der, da.

H: Du tok ingen komposisjonstimer?

A: Nei, ikke i London, nei. Det, men ... så det er i grunnen min bakgrunn.

H: Ja. Kan vi gå litt tilbake til Nielsen og den utdanning som du fikk hos ham, de timer, hva slags påvirkning hadde det på deg?

A: Ja, det var jo, altså, ja det var jo grunnleggende eller basisfagene i orgel, altså, og de elementære fag, altså, harmonilære og slike teoretiske fag som jeg gikk hos Nielsen med, da. Harmonilære var det nå da.

H: Ja.

A: Og Palestrina-stilen.

..

H: Riktig

A: Kontrapunkt [utydelig] og, så det var, jeg synes det ble en bra utdannelse det der, som jeg fikk hos ham, da. Det var før krigen, det.

H: Ja. Ehm, du nevner Palestrina-stilen, var du noe involvert i Per Steenberg?

A: Ja, jeg hadde ham som lærer også, på konservatoriet. Da var han en nokså gammel, og jeg vil si litt avfeldig mann da, men, så han fikk jeg jo i grunnen, men det er det, den stilen lærte jeg jo egentlig hos Ludvig Nielsen.

H: Riktig. Også seinere hos Arild Sandvold.

A: Ja, det var i orgelspill.

H: Ja. Var det noe, så De noen motsetninger imot Sandvolds lære og Palestrinastilen og Steenberg?

A: Nei. Nei, jeg så ikke noen motsetninger i det. Altså, riktignok sto jeg jo i noe, kor, muligens, ja at vi sang litt Palestrina også. Det er, så jeg fikk det jo inn da, på, på den måten, i, i at jeg ble, fikk nærkontakt med musikken, da, Palestrina. Ikke bare, for det kunne jo være fare for at det ble, det kunne bli litt tørt. Og det var jo strenge regler som måtte overholdes, og det hadde man jo bare godt av å lære, da. Men det ble litt fjern, fjernt for meg allikevel. Den musikken, må jeg si altså. Men jeg hadde litt kontakt med det, jeg hadde jo en, senere hadde jeg jo et eget kor som, som sang Palestrina. Et par ting av ham. Så det var Palestrina. Men ... så ... og ellers var det vanlige kontrapunktøvelser, da, og slike ting.

H: Hvilket repertoar lærte du hos Nielsen og Sandvold?

A: Ja, hah. Hos Sandvold spilte jeg hans *Orgelsonate*, som var en flott komposisjon i to satser, egentlig.

H: Eller tre?

A: Er det tre, ja? Javel.

H: Man ofte tilføyer en adagiosats imellom de to.

A: Javel.

H: Hvis De har hørt ...

A: I den noten jeg hadde var det jo ...

H: Ja, det er ikke i notene, men Kåre Nordstoga har innspilling hvor han har lagt inn en annen sats som det er mulig Sandvold har tiltenkt imellom.

A: Javel, ja. Det var jo interessant, ja. Det visste jeg ikke. Nei, det var nå så, også ellers så var det jo forskjellig repertoar. Det var jo *Orgelbüchlein*, da, naturligvis, og en del preludier og fuger som jeg spilte på orgel, da. Og det var da vel i grunnen bare fortsettelsen av det som jeg spilte hos Sandvold også, da. Så det var nå, huff, om repertoaret, ja.

H: Spilte du noen av de tyske, av de andre tyske romantiske mestere? Hos Sandvold og Nielsen? Eller var det hovedsakling norsk og, og Bach?

A: Ja. Det, ja, jeg var nok borti en Mendelssohn-sonate. Det tror jeg nok, skal vi se, om det var noe annet jeg hadde da. Det er masse gode, masse noter som jeg kjøpte, da. I den tiden der, og spilte en del av. Ja, det er sørgelig at jeg ikke kan si deg noe mere detaljer om dette her, men det, det er jo, det var jo det som vi spilte, mer eller mindre. Opprinnelsen til det som ble kalt bondefugen, har du hørt det? Vet du opprinnelsen til det?

H: Det, det kjenner jeg ikke til, men bondefugen kjenner jeg.

A: Ja, du kjenner den, ja, og hvorfor het den bondefugen, det kunne jo være litt artig at jeg får sagt da, for det er, det er det ingen som vet.

H: Nei, bortsett fra deg.

A: Bortsett fra meg ja. Ja, det er, det er ikke vanskeligere å forstå enn at det var disse som var i bygdene våre, så var det også en del musikalske talenter som ville gjerne reise inn til Oslo og få organisteksamen. Det var forskjellige grader, den lavere og middels og høyere organisteksamen. Og de, de var jo kanskje ikke så godt økonomisk, eller de har, de kunne jo ikke reise fra gården sin og være borte et helt år, så, det var maksimum et år de kunne, de kunne være, tilbringe, i Oslo. Og da øvde de på, de var et krav da om at de måtte spille den lille g-moll-fugen. Og det var den de øvde på, da, det er jo en veldig flott fuge, og ikke så helt enkel å spille heller. Så, så den ble kalt bondefugen fordi det var bondeungdom som kom inn til, til Oslo, og måtte ha en utdanning på kortest mulig tid. Så den fugen øvde de på. Og jeg tror det var Sandvold som, som kalte den det der med bondefugen, det.

H: Det nevnte ikke Solberg, for ...

A: Det visste han ikke, nei.

H: Han, han nevnte fugen, og tempopørsmålene i forhold til den.

P. Ja, javisst, ja.

H: Men ikke om den hele ...

A: Ja, det tror jeg er ganske sikkert, at det er Arild Sandvold. For den er ikke kjent som bondefugen noen andre steder.

H: Nei, nei!

A: Så det er jo ganske artig. Men da, det var bondesønner som, som måtte få seg en så bra utdanning som mulig i løpet av et år, da. Og det var, og dette, den fugen spilte de da, til eksamen. Og den kunne de ut og inn, da, for de har øvd, øvd på den. Ja. Det var nå en parentes.

H: Det var fint, tror jeg. Men Max Reger, og Karl Straube, har de noen innflytelse på deg?

A: Eh, nei, ikke annet enn gjennom, gjennom Arild Sandvold, da, særlig, for han hadde jo studert der. Det hadde jo forsåvidt Ludvig Nielsen også, studert hos Straube, så, det var jo hans måte å registrere på, og, i en del verker, som jeg lærte, da. Og tok etter. Ja, så det ... men, jeg kan ikke si at jeg er påvirket av Straube, altså, eller noe sånt, altså ...

H: Bare indirekte.

A: Bare indirekte, ja.

H: Du nevnte også at du begynte allerede i 1947 som organist i Vår Frue kirke.

A: Ja.

H: Fikk du studiepermisjon?

A: Ja. I ett år.

H: Ett år ...

A: Og det er det året jeg brukte i Wien..

H: København?

A: Ja ... La oss se nå da, ja det måtte være, ja jeg tror det var det året jeg var i London, jeg. Eller, jeg var ikke noe år der, jeg var bare ett semester. I London. Ja. Du skal ikke få vite det hos meg, altså, jeg husker det simpelthen ikke.

H: Nei, det er greit, jeg klarer å skaffe opplysninger fra andre steder, for eksempel gjennom Vår Frue kirke.

A: Ja, det er fint.

H: Det er ikke så viktig med nøyaktige datoer. Det er de påvirkninger som jeg er interessert i. Men den stillingen som du hadde i Vår Frue og hadde i 21 år -

A: Ja, stemmer det.

H: - den, fikk du noen friheter til å utforme musikk, fremføre som du ville? Eller var det ...

A: Ja, jeg var jo forsåvidt, bortsett fra det, de tingene som, som hørte til stillingen, så hadde jeg jo en del musikalsk virksomhet i Vår Frue kirke, da. Jeg hadde jo, disponerte jo et kor, da. Altså, et stort blandakor. Et av de bedre kor her i byen, som het *Samklang*.

H: Riktig.

A: Du er orientert om alt det der. Javel, så det fikk vi da overført til Vår Frue kirke, og som jeg la inn under min stilling, da. Som jeg syntes jeg måtte drive med den, og da hadde vi nå oratoriefremførelser. Vi hadde, av de større ting er det jo *Skapelsen* og *Messias* som vi hadde annethvert år et par år utover. Vi begynte vel da i Händels dødsår tror jeg. Det måtte være i '59, det.

H: Hvorfor falt valget på Händel?

A: Ja, det var ikke vanskelig. Jeg var så begeistret for Händel.

H: Riktig.

A: Ja. Jeg var, jeg syntes han var så, og ikke minst i kor, altså, at for vi, han hadde en egen teft for hva som lå for kor, vil jeg si. Kanskje i større grad enn Bach. Ja, det er jo farlig å si, naturligvis. Men jeg, jeg var jo med i kor, Ludvig Nielsens, kor, og det er jo, var jo Bachs pasjoner, og juleoratorium, da, som vi sang. Og jeg syntes at det var nokså strevsomt, da, å ta, å synge i kor, korstemmene der. Og, men Händel var, lå mitt hjerte nærmere, kan du kanskje si.

H: Vil du si at han til og med har påvirket dine komposisjoner?

A: Ja, det har jeg ikke tenkt på, da. Men ...

H: Hvem har påvirket deg når det gjelder komposisjonsteknikk? For du har en mangfoldig stil.

A: Ja. Jeg tror jeg må si der de danske komponister som jeg hørte mye av da jeg var i København. Tror jeg påvirket meg. Og de igjen var jo påvirket av fransk musikk igjen. Så det er nok en forbindelseslinje der. Så, de hadde jo en del gode komponister der. Ja, som man nesten aldri hører i våre dager, vel. Så de, de var jeg litt opptatt av, da. En musikantisk stil, kan man kanskje si. Som nok slo gjennom hos meg, da, i de komposisjonene, de første som jeg laget, *Klarinettsonatinen*, for eksempel. Som jeg skrev en gang.

H: Riktig.

A: Så det, det var litt sånn dansk. Jeg ble egentlig ikke påvirket av tolvtonekomposisjonen. Hos, fra Jelinek. Jeg syntes det var veldig interessant å se hvordan han komponerte.

H: Jeg kjenner til ingen stykker som du har skrevet i den stilen.

A: Nei, nei, ikke i ren tolvtonekomposisjon. Jeg har nok prøvd meg en del på det. Og jeg skrev jo for Jelinek, skrev jeg jo hver uke, da, noe til ham, i ... og selv hadde han en utmerket lærebok, det vil si, han kalte, en stor samling komposisjoner, for *Das zwölftonwerk*. Så der gikk han ut i fra en eneste rekke og skrev, altså, det var ihvertfall tolv bind -

H: Riktig.

A: - med komposisjoner. Og det var jo en veldig fin innføring i den stilen. Men jeg ble liksom aldri betatt av den. Jeg er nok litt tonal i hodet mitt, tror jeg jeg kan si. Så den, det betok meg ikke. Men det var jo morsomt å skrive i den stilen, da. Og man sto jo veldig fritt på mange måter. Så det var, prøver på mange måter å få til det der, så opparbeidet meg en viss teknikk i det, da.

H: Vil du si at det har påvirket deg i forhold til kontroll over andre elementer i stedet for det tonale, å kontrollere det dynamiske, og formmessige konseptet?

A: Ja, jeg tror nok, det har nok påvirket meg en del. Vi kunne jo si at det var, ja, nei, jeg vet ikke om jeg vil si at det var, jeg vet ikke hvordan jeg skal uttrykke det, men jeg fikk nå en slags frigjøring fra kadenserende harmonikk, da, for å si det sånn, altså. At man ikke alltid var bundet til, til, til det å kunne stå litt friere, det var nå en frigjøringsprosess, ja. Selv om det ikke i mine komposisjoner da kunne høres så godt, men. Det er jo noe, hvis jeg skal nevne noe, så må det da være, kanskje, den *Klarinettsonatinen* min, da. Som er litt, ikke fritonal, men litt løsere i ... der, ja.

H: Riktig. Men, når det gjelder fremførelse i kirken.

A: Ja.

H: Ville du ha fremført for eksempel *Klarinettsonatinen* som en del av en høymesse?

A: Det tror jeg var nokså utenkelig i, i den tiden jeg var der.

H: Kan du si hvorfor?

A: Ja, du kan si, du kan si det er noe som har skjedd i mellom, i mellomtiden vet du, i løpet av mange år.

H: Det er derfor at jeg skriver dette.

A: Ja, ja nettopp, fordi vi var nok litt mer strikte hva som kunne, hva som sømmet seg i en kirke, altså. Vi var veldig nøye med, med hva som ble fremført. Det var jo, vi var jo så puritanske, kan vi si, at vi, det var liksom ikke *comme il faut* å ha solister i kirken, altså. Det, det er noe der, altså, det var, vi hadde jo ofte sangsolister, vi, de beste av de sangerne i, i, det er jo et spesielt sånn menighetskor. Som jeg hadde, altså, forsangerne het de. Og de ... og der å komme med en sang, selv om det kunne være midt i dagens tekst, for eksempel *Panis angelicus*, for å ta det, altså, så, så var, det var liksom, blant kirkemusikere tror jeg det var ikke helt bra, det var visst litt diskusjon om det. Og det er jo totalt, det er løst opp nu, altså. Og man kan jo fremføre nær sagt hva som helst.

H: Ja.

A: Bare ...

H: Jeg må bytte kassetten, ser jeg.

A: Ja, jeg har noe *Mozzelli* her, og så noen druer ...

H: Det var altså en meget allsidig utdanning som du har hatt.

A: Ja, det må man si. Den har vært liten. Eller kortvarig. Det har den. Og jeg har nok, jeg har nok vært det som man kunne kalle autodidakt, da. Lært mye på egen hånd. Og måtte ta seg frem. For det var ikke noe særlig orden i høyere musikkutdanning her til lands, da vet du.

H: Nei. Men du har fått inntrykk fra både, fra Østerrike og fra København og så London.

A: Ja.

H: Og fra Oslo og så Trondheim.

A: Ja.

H: Og det er nokså mange forskjellige impulser. Om kortvarige, likevel har de vært -

A: Ja.

H: - ganske forskjellige, tenker jeg.

A: Det har vært intense studier, da, kan man si. Kortvarige men intense.

H: Kan du trekke fram noe som har påvirket deg kanskje mest av alt?

A: Mest av alt?

H: Ja.

A: Ja. Du, da må jeg jo gå til barndommen. Fordi jeg var jo så heldig å, å vokse opp i et usedvanlig musikalsk hjem. Det var særlig min far, da. Som var, hadde, som dyrket kammermusikken. Strykekvartett. Så den, han har bygd dette huset her, og den er laget for, for at det skal bli plass til en strykekvartett

H: Riktig, ja!

A: På, på gulvet her. Ja, så, så jeg vokste opp med veldig mye kammermusikk, da, og, så det var den musikalske føde jeg fikk, for dette her var jo, må huske på, det er jo før radioens tid også vet du. Det var, vi hadde jo, ja, vi fikk jo radio etter hvert, altså. Men i min barndom var det ikke noe radio. Og ikke noe kringkasting og sånt og ikke noe TV, selvfølgelig. Så vi ble ikke tutet ørene fulle som vi blir nu til dags. I fra radio fra morra til kveld, ikke sant. Så det var altså litt spesielt når vi hadde musikk i huset. Faren min spilte piano, og, og også spilte han bratsj, da, i strykekvartetten som han hadde der. Med en del venner, da. Så det var regelmessig og, og veldig morsomt å oppleve, ja. Så, å høre det igjen også. Disse gamle strykekvartettene. Så de, det var min musikalske føde der. Og det var også det som jeg begynte med å skrive, da, kan jeg vel si, at det som andre, de gode komponister er noe av det siste de gjør, så er det å skrive strykekvartetter, så var det noe av det første jeg skrev [ler] så det er snudd på hodet, da. Og det var jo morsomt også, også få det oppført også da. Sånn da. Så det, det må jeg tilstå at det er, min musikalske bakgrunn er rett og slett kammermusikk. Og det er jeg veldig glad for. For det har gitt meg mye glede etterpå. Så det har ikke først og fremst vært orgelmusikk som har betatt meg, egentlig.

H: Nei. Du har skrevet noen, eh, orgelverker.

A: Ja, noe har jeg skrevet, ja. Og også kirkemusikk, da, forsåvidt, som jeg har skrevet, to messer. Men det er litt spesielle forhold, da, det er egentlig skolemusikk. Det kan du si det sånn, at den ene, ja, en sommermesse, har jeg skrevet, og en julemesse. Og foranledningen til det var at vi hadde, at vi hadde skolegudstjenester, de, eh ... skolegudstjenester før jul og før sommerferien. Og på de, det, de gudstjenestene der, skolegudstjenestene der, de var et, da hadde vi en menighet, eller et publikum om jeg så må si, som satt og tenkte som så; ja før jul, 'montro hva jeg får til julegaver!' Og de var i det hele tatt, sånn, litt uro. Så, og det samme foran en sommerferie. Så da laget jeg, med henblikk på det, en julemesse og en sommermesse. Så det er det jeg har skrevet av kirkemusikk kan jeg godt si. Og det er fullstendige messer, men fremført av skolebarn, da.

H: Ja. Og dine orgelverker, til hvilken kontekst eller sammenheng har du skrevet disse?

A: Det har vært noe til, til bruk, det som, som jeg kunne tenke meg å spille som preludier til en gudstjeneste eller, eller noe sånt. Jeg har ikke skrevet så mye av det. Jeg skrev – ja, hva var det jeg skrev, da – jeg skrev en liten ... en suite, ja. Og jeg har også skrevet for strykeorkester. Det er vel det jeg har grunn til å si er litt kirkemusikk. Men jeg, jeg brukte ikke så mye egne komposisjoner.

H: Hvorfor ikke?

A: Nehei, ja du kan spørre, gitt!

H: Og hva spilte du i steden?

A: Hva?

H: Hva spilte du i steden?

A: Jeg hadde forskjellig, jeg hadde nokså mye orgelmusikk, sånn bruksmusikk, kan jeg vel si. Altså orgelforspill og orgelkoraler og denslags brukte jeg ofte, som ...

H: Jeg kommer tilbake til orgelkoraler og forspill. Men ellers i messen, hva brukte du?

A: Jeg hadde gjerne da et skikkelig stykke foran høymessesalmen. For der var det anledning til å, å sette inn i, i liturgisk sammenheng. Så det var, og der kunne jeg også sette inn kor og solister hvor det kunne passe. Særlig ved festgudstjenester, da. Så kunne jeg jo bruke dette oratoriekoret, som vi kalte det, som hadde en del saker som kunne brukes der, da. Men det hadde vel en tilknytning til tekst, dagens tekst, da, i stor grad. Kanskje at jeg passa på det, at det ikke var sånn aldeles utpå jordet med ren sånn underholdning, for vi, som jeg sa i sted, så var vi litt strikte på at det skulle inngå i, i en liturgisk sammenheng.

H: Hvorfor var det slik? Var det Den norske kirke som var –

A: Ja, jeg tror, jeg vet ikke jeg, gitt!

H: - eller var det ledelsen eller presteskabet som sa at du måtte passe deg i forhold til ...

A: Ja, ja. Jeg tror jeg vil tilbakeføre det til Ludvig Nielsen, som var veldig nøye med dette. Det tror jeg, ja, at det skulle være, altså, ja, jeg var jo hans elev, vet du, og, og han var nok nøye med at man ikke skulle komme med det rene dilldall, i sånt, da. Og dette var før vi fikk *Tensing* og slike ting, altså. For det, det kunne vi ikke tenke oss å ha, altså. Så når jeg ser tilbake på det nå, så var vi nok veldig strikte på dette der. Det slo meg også, vi fikk installert et klokkespill, dette som en liten apropos, et klokkespill, ja, som skulle ha melodier av forskjellig slag, det var koral ... og da var det en selvfølge for meg å tenke som så, fra kirketårnet skal det komme bare koraler. Så, og det vakte også litt oppsikt og litt latter fordi han som, han som, han som kom, var liksom spesialisten på dette amerikanske klokkespillet, han var en amerikaner som kom over, over dammen for å installere dette her i Vår Frue kirke. Og da, for å prøve dette klokkespillet, så satte han inn en rull. Det var sånne perforerte, ja, sånn det er på en gammeldags klokkespill, sånne perforerte ruller som gikk. Og da satte han inn i en som han hadde med seg. Og det var en vals fra *Den glade enke*. Og som gikk utover, utover. Og det vakte oppsikt! Og, og avisoverskrifter -

H: Javel?

A: - fordi dette syntes de var aldeles pussig. At man kunne altså sende en vals fra smilets land, fra Lehar, fra et kirketårn. Så det var puritansk, altså!

H: Var det noen konsekvenser fra den episoden?

A: Nei, det ble, ble litt slått opp i avisene, og, og ble litt latterliggjort. Og jeg fikk jo skylda, alle trodde jo det var jeg som hadde satt i gang det. Så at jeg kunne finne på noe sånt. Men nu var jeg for en måned siden, eller ... vel så det ja, var jeg i en sånn liten komité som nu vil gjerne sette inn et klokkespill i Vår Frue kirke. Altså, ikke med ekte klokker, men altså med klokkelyd forsterket og som vil bli sendt ut av høyttalerne i Vår Frue kirke. Og da, i den komiteen, så fortalte jeg den historien der. Og da ble det liksom, alle så på meg, ja hva var nå galt med det? For nå, han som gjerne ville koste på dette her, og han ville gjerne, han hadde satt opp en del forslag til, og da var det, om ikke akkurat vals fra smilets land, så, så var det allverdens sånne verdslige ting, som, vet ikke, folkeviser og populære ting, og, og sånn, og da, og det syntes de var, og det satt jo prester i den lille komiteen der og så videre, så de fant det helt naturlig. Men det er jo fordi de regnet Vår Frue kirke som byens kirke, som, og for at folk skal gå i gatene og høre kjente melodier. Og da kunne det godt være, altså, fra smilets land. Så, så det synet på dette her har forandret seg. Jeg tror vi har vært veldig puritanske.

H: Hvorfor, og hvem har forandret synet til det norske folket?

A: Ja, si det, gitt. Det er nok en prosess.

H: Ja, en lang prosess -

A: En lang prosess.

H: - for likevel, de siste 50 år, har sett en stor forandring i Den norske kirke. Og i det norske folket. Og man kan se det over hele samfunnet generelt. Men den prosessen har vært, etter mitt syn, noe forsinket i Den norske kirke.

A: Javel, så man har sett det tidligere andre steder?

H: Man har sett det mye tidligere i resten av samfunnet. Og det er den utviklingen som jeg vil forsøke å kartlegge.

A: Ja, det kan stemme godt med, for dette som jeg snakker om, er jo for 50, 60 år siden, ikke sant? Invertfall godt og vel 50 år siden. Og det er, det har nok skjedd noe der, altså da. Så det er nok interessant.

H: Hva skjedde med klokkespillet i Vår Frue kirke?

A: Det ... jeg tror det er, faktisk, nokså intakt. Men det gikk i stykker på den måten at disse perforerte rullene, jeg vet ikke om du har sett sånne.

H: Ja, det har jeg.

A: Ikke sant, så disse perforerte rullene ble skjødesløst behandlet. Det var ut og inn av maskineriet mange ganger. Og det var, og så ble det revet opp, og disse der da, og da ble det, det som kom ut av lyd ble helt meningsløst, når altså det gikk hull på disse.

H: Såklart.

A: Og jeg, jeg var jo egentlig den som drev det derre der. I min tid som organist, da. Men da jeg sluttet som organist, så, så var det egentlig ingen til å ta den jobber der, altså. Som jeg hadde påtatt meg der, da. Og det ble nok littegranne slurvete og litt forskjellige folk som ikke kunne det, og som var borti det, og dermed stoppet det helt opp en tid etter. Det var det, ja. Så selve mekanikken og alt det derre der, er visst forholdsvis intakt, altså, men de har nå funnet ut at det lønner seg ikke å holde på å reparere det. Men jeg tror Ringve museum har overtatt det.

H: Javel, ja.

A: Så der står det visst nå. Uten, uten at det gir en lyd ifra seg, altså [skjenker Mozell].

H: Takk skal du ha!

P: Jeg er jo så uvant med å snakke så mye, at jeg må fukte det ...

H: Var det forresten Ralph Downes som var organist i Brompton Oratory?

A: Hva sa du han het?

H: Ralph Downes

A: Ja, nettopp! Nettopp. Ralph Downes var det ja. Stemmer det. Det var jo forferdelig at jeg ikke husket det, men ...

H: Jeg prøvde å tenke litt tilbake ...

A: Jasså du, du ...

H: Og han var en aldeles spennende organist og ikke minst orgelkonsulent. Han var konsulent for det orgelet, Harrison & Harrison-orgelet i Royal Festival Hall.

A: Javell

H: Og det er et aldeles spennende instrument den dag i dag. Bygd etter datidens kunnskap om orgelbevegelse og *Verkeprinsipp*. Men man har noe bredere forståelse for det nå enn man hadde da.

A: Javel, ja

H: En aldeles spennende person.

A: Javel. Jeg var nok ikke klar over det at det var en sånn kapasitet, antagelig, men han, han spanderte på meg en reise til, og med, til Alderburgh hvor Britten skulle ha en uroppførelse. Og det var, det vil jeg komme på om en stund. Og der inngikk det også noen orgelkonserter og noe sånt som han skulle spille, da. Ehh, hva var det for en komposisjon?

H: Var det *Te Deum*, eller?

A: Nei, jeg kommer nok på det, for jeg tror det var, det var så ferskt at jeg så Britten, han for frem og tilbake med noter, notepapirer, og ga ut, ga ut til orkesteret. Det var veldig morsomt å oppleve det. Oppleve det, altså, så det, så han arbeidet effektivt, ja. Og han hadde jo den, den byen som sin ... jeg tror han var født der, jeg, til og med, Alderburgh.

H: En annen apropos, fikk du spille Brittens eneste orgelverk?

A: Nei, det har jeg ikke vært borti.

H: Han har skrevet et verk som heter for *Preludium og fuge over et tema av Vittoria*.

A: Ja, det er riktig det, ja. Jeg, jeg hadde det nok ikke på repertoaret, nei, jeg har nok spilt det, jeg hørte jo, var veldig begeistra for Britten i det hele tatt. Jeg hadde hørt i København *Peter Grimes*, da. Og så, så, det var veldig mye sånn, jeg opplevde til og med å holde, de hadde, i BBC hadde de norske sendinger. Så jeg fikk komme der og holde et kåseri i BBC som gikk til Norge. Om Britten.

H: Akkurat.

A: Ja. Merkelig at jeg, at jeg har så ... det var særlig to verk som jeg ble kjent med, og det het nu *The rape of Lucretia*.

H: Ja.

A: Også var det en som het *Albert Herring*. Det var de, de verkene jeg hørte der. Men hva det var de fremførte i Alderburgh, det, det kan jeg ikke huske akkurat nå. Men jeg tror, og vi tok en del av de verkene, ja, vi tok de, ja ... jeg tror det var *St Nicolas* jeg gitt, *St Nicolas*. Jeg tror det var det. Og vi oppførte det her i byen også.

H: Var du involvert i den fremførelsen?

A: Hva?

H: Var du involvert da?

A: Jada, jeg hadde, jeg dirigerte koret på galleriet.

H: Ja, så det var altså i Vår Frue kirke.

A: Det var, nei det var i Frimurerlogen.

H: Akkurat.

A: Det var i Frimurerlogen, det var der symfoniorkesteret holdt til i gamle dager, vet du. Så det ... St Nicolas var det, ja. Og det var jo et morsomt verk. Så ... og jeg tror også ... det er enda et verk som vi oppførte som guttekolet har tatt opp som het ett eller annet også. Jeg beklager at jeg, jeg ikke husker noe mye.

H: Nei, men du husker godt. Hvis vi går tilbake til høymessen og musikken som fremføres under messen, det var altså et preludium som ...

A: Ja, det var alltid et stort preludium.

H: Alltid et stort, var det basert på, var det basert på hoved-, eller førstesalmen?

A: Ja, ja, det hadde tilknytning til første salme, men ikke sånn direkte som det er nu, sånn nu er det jo, jo rett og slett bare et forspill til åpningssalmen, ja. Nei, det var, det kunne, og det kunne være et orgelstykke av litt lengde. Og også postludiet, da, naturligvis. Det er jo også, det var jo i det hele tatt en musikkirke, kan man vel si da vel, det var ihvertfall en, vi hadde hver søndag høymesse og aftensang. Også gjerne, gjerne en barnegudstjeneste for høymessen. Så man kunne da ha tre gudstjenester, faktisk. På rad. Og så var det, hver torsdag hadde vi det som het musikk, musikkandakt, ja. Musikkandakt, det hadde de også i domkirka på onsdag, hver onsdag. Så det var litt anstrengende stillinger, vil jeg si. Og også fordi annenhver torsdag var musikk, musikkandakt. Så det var andakten, da. Og da var det altså orgelmusikk og gjerne en solist eller, eller kanskje et lite orkester, til og med. Et orkester som het *Collegium Musicum* som vi hadde, som, som spilte der. Så det var veldig mye musikk i Vår Frue kirke. Det var, det skyldtes jo også, vi hadde jo to prester, da, som begge var ivrige for musikken. Og, så ... man må si, det var en interessant organiststilling fordi det var mye å gjøre.

H: Det preludium som ble spilt i høymessen ...

A: Ja?

H: ... var det et, du sa at du spilte Bach eller en av de eldre mestere, og så norsk musikk. Men hva vil du typisk ...

A: Ja, jeg, jeg må jo si, det hadde nok oftest sammenheng med, med åpningssalmen, altså. Det var det. Så ideelt var det jo det, men, så, det var jo da gjerne i en helt annen toneart. Så det var ikke liksom å gå direkte fra, og så var det jo, vi hadde jo en klokkerbønn, da.

H: Riktig.

A: Eller stille bønn.

H: Rett før den første salmen.

A: Ja, rett før den første salmen. Og da måtte jeg ha et, et forspill til salmen, når vi skulle, i riktig toneart og det hele, da. Og det kunne jo knipe littegranne og, fordi det trykte materialet var jo, lå gjerne for høyt. Så det var, måtte enten skrives om eller, eller, ja, at jeg måtte lage en modulasjon.

H: Ja, riktig.

A: Til, til, også jeg hadde et lite ekstra, ekstra forspill hvis det var etter en stille bønn eller noe sånt for da kunne man ikke vente at de husket tonearten.

H: Hvem komponerte disse forspillene?

A: Ja ...

H: Improviserte du dem? Eller hentet du stoff selv i fra trykte kilder?

A: Trykte kilder, ja.

H: Ja.

A: Jeg må si at min store svakhet har vært i alle år, å improvisere. Det hadde jeg ikke trengt noe på. Og det kom vel kanskje av at jeg var nokså god til å lese noter. Jeg fikk veldig mye trening i det her i hjemmet også, for, jeg hadde en bror som spilte cello, og han satte frem, liksom, en, en note for meg, og ”værsågod, spill,” også satte vi i gang, og så, jeg ble ganske rutinert til å lese noter. Og dermed ble dette med å improvisere, det ble ikke nødvendig, altså. Fordi jeg leste noter godt, jeg må si det da. Men jeg var elendig til å improvisere.

H: Brukte du å skrive salmeforspill?

A: Ja, noen ganger, jo da, jeg hadde det. Jeg førte i grunnen godt, alle koralene hadde jeg skrevet opp og henvisning til trykt materiell som jeg hadde.

H: Har du fremdeles det, de henvisninger?

A: Jahahaha, ja, hadde du spurt meg i forfjor så kanskje jeg kunne ha sagt ja ...

H: Og hva med dine koralforspill? Hva skjedde med dem?

A: Ja, det ble ikke så mye skrevet av dem. Men det var enkelte ganger jeg måtte, jeg måtte i det hele tatt skrive noter nokså mye til bruk, altså, så det ble mye sånn lappesystem med det. Og det hadde jeg jo da for hånden. Nå har jeg gitt alt av mine orgelnoter har jeg gitt til Jon Skogstad så han kunne bruke det til sine elever hvis han synes. Og jeg har, sånt fyller jo bare opp i skapene. Og når det gjelder, til Ringve ga jeg, jeg førte nøyaktig, jeg førte, dem burde du nå kanskje spørre om å få, få tilbake. Jeg skrev opp alt hva jeg spilte. Og så med henvisning til, ehm, til bøker hvor jeg hadde notene.

H: Det må jeg absolutt få tak i.

A: Ja, for der står jo alle, både preludier og, og postludier og så all musikk som inngikk i ...

H: Ikke salmer?

A: Nei, det var det ikke, nei. Og jeg skrev heller ikke opp, jeg hadde, vi hadde jo nokså mye vielser, bryllupsviser, og nei, det skreiv jeg ikke opp. Bare at det var vigsel klokken 12.30, ikke sant.

H: Det er hovedsaklig messene, høymessene, som jeg er interessert i.

A: Ja, og også aftensangene, og, aftensangene var jo en egen liturgi der, da. Så det fins på Ringve.

H: Riktig.

A: Ehh, så det kanskje, jeg må jo kunne, kunne få utvirke det, at det ligger det, vel, jeg har ikke sortert det noe særlig, men, og jeg har jo sagt til hun som, hun het Sissel. Ett eller annet. Som, jeg kommer innover når det ikke blir så glatt å kjøre bil. Og så skal vi gå gjennom en del ting som ligger der, fra gammelt av også. Og der tok jeg, tenkte jeg det at det er sikkert noen som kan ha interesse av å se hva som ble spilt. Og det er gjennom 21 år, da.

H: Ja, fremføringspraksis og fremføringsmønstre er veldig interessant i studiet mitt. Men har du noen opptak av gudstjenester fra den tiden?

A: Nei.

H: Ble det tatt opp radiogudstjeneste mens du spilte?

A: Ja, vi spilte ofte i radio.

H: Riktig, så da fins det på NRK, da.

A: Det kan tenkes. Det kan tenkes, ja.

H: Det, det var bra.

A: Så der kan, det kan være løsningen. Du, er du interessert i tempo for eksempel, og sånt?

H: Absolutt!

A: Ja. For det tror jeg nok har forandret seg veldig. Fordi det gikk litt mere bedagelig for seg.

H: Brukte du *Per Steenbergs koralbok*?

P. Ja, jeg brukte det.

H: Konsekvent, eller?

A: Nei, ikke konsekvent. Vi fikk jo, nei jeg brukte *Koralboken* fra, for den norske kirke, fra 1926. Er det vel. Det brukte jeg. Det er jo harmonisert av Alnæs, da.

H: Hovedsaklig.

A: Ja. Og de ...

H: Brukte du hans forspill også?

A: Alnæs? Ja, det gjorde jeg jo, ja. Jeg hadde jo det, det var bra du nevnte, for den brukte jeg.

H: Var det det som du brukte mest?

A: Ja, det vil jeg si, det ...

H: Hvem ellers kan du huske?

A: Nei, ja, jeg hadde, det var jo noen som hadde noe koralforspill. Søren Gangfløt -

H: Ja.

A: - hadde en tykk bok med, med sånt. Men det var, han syntes jeg ble litt spekulativ. Alle var mere likefrem og sånn og ikke noe.

H: Det var jo i samme stil som hans koralhefte.

A: Ja, jada, så det passet jo veldig godt, det. Steenberg brukte jeg jo, ja. Men det vakte voldsom diskusjon, ja, det kjenner du kanskje ...

H: I menigheten, eller?

A: I menigheten, ja.

H: Akkurat.

A: Så det skulle man ha seg frabedt, ja.

H: Hva slags reaksjoner?

A: Det var, de reagerte på harmoniseringen.

H: Var det hovedsaklig harmoniseringen?

A: Ja det tror jeg nok, fordi å forandre koralmelodien, det var et godt steg fremover. Eller bakover.

H: Hva med rytmen?

A: Hva?

H: Hva med rytmen?

A: Ja, det var jo ... ja det var jo et problem, det var, det er jo rytme, det er jo noen koralmelodier som har, hvor det er glidd inn der, en skikk med, hvor det er litt forskjeller.

Det gamle er jo med veldig jevne sånn ... men der er det et problem som du kanskje kan ha interesse av, det vil jeg kalle for taktartens tyranni. Om jeg så må si. Det er dette der, står det fire fjerdedeler, så skal alt, ja. Har du tenkt noe på det?

H: Ja. For hvis du hvis du har brukt den nye koralboken fra 1985, da er det mange salmer som ikke har taktart, er taktet, men som er delt opp i en lang linje som følger teksten, ikke musikkens taktarttyranni som de kaller det.

A: Ja, fordi man fraviker, det er ikke én koral i, som altså fraviker den hovedtaktarten. Det er, de får seg ikke til å skrive i en fire fjerdedelsmelodi tre fjerdedeler eller fem fjerdedeler. Hvor det er så opplagt og hvor menigheten synes det er riktig med det, med det ekstra der. Og det, det er jo ... ja jeg tenker også på det hver gang jeg hører *Ja, vi elsker*. Ja, du har kanskje ikke, ja det er *Ja, vi elsker dette landet som det stiger frem* to tre fir. Men så kommer det med fu, fu, furet, fu, furet, ikke sant?

H: Fordi man venter for lenge, eller?

A: Man venter alt for lenge med den. Det går an når det er akkompagner for da kan man altså ha en linje som går nedover. Men, og en dirigent så jeg, kvinnelig dirigent, jeg tenkte som så, hva gjør hun nu? Skriver, takterer hun fire fjerdedeler? Helt ut, eller takterer hun tre fjerdedeler. Og vet du, hun tok tre fjerdedeler. Og da, da flyter jo *Ja, vi elsker* riktig av gårde. Så man skal alltid høre på den som synger galt og ikke kan telle. Fordi noen steder er det så opplagt at det må til. Det er flere salmer, det er *Gjør døren høy*, ja jeg hadde jo prakt med det der jeg. Jeg tror det er særlig med *Gjør døren høy; Gjør døren høy, gjør porten vid ...* [teller i luften] og så, også, så der må man ta bort en taktdel altså.

H: Men det har blitt gjort i andre kirkesamfunn, men Den norske kirke har en eldre form av melodien. Da er det tre halvnoters pause der.

A: Ja, akkurat, ja det er jo riktig. Fordi man føler jo det vet du. Og alle sangerne sammen synger på 17. mai fu, fu, fu, fu, og kommer ikke av gårde. Jaja, det var, det var nå det. Og sånn at det er nå, det må nok gjøres noe der, ja!

H: Fikk du noen innflytelse i forhold til salmevalg? I Vår Frue.

A: Nei. Nei, jeg hadde ikke, jeg konfererte ikke med prestene om det.

H: Konfererte du med prestene om noe?

A: Nei.

H: Ikke når det gjelder musikk?

A: Nei. Jeg betraktet meg selv som suveren i den sammenheng, da. Ja ja, konfererte, det kan jo være når det er 'a- eller b-melodier' eller sånt, det skal jeg jo si da. Vi hadde jo en del problemer med koraler som var i bruk men som ikke sto i koralboken. *Kjærlighet fra Gud*, for eksempel. Den amerikanske melodien der. Den, det var jo en, det var jo en nøtt som de ikke greide å, å gjøre noe med, altså.

H: For melodiboken var ikke godkjent som ...

A: Nei ... nei, nei. Det måtte være ved en aftensang eller en sånn løserer ... da kunne man jo gjøre hva som helst, vi var nokså strikte på det når det gjaldt, når det gjaldt, korallboken mått følges, ja. Og til og med harmoniseringen.

H: Var det nødvendig med noe kontrollorgan som kontrollerte gudstjenesten?

A: Nei, ikke det jeg vet, nei.

H: Det var ikke nødvendig?

A: Nei.

H: Alle fulgte reglementet?

A: Ja. Ja, og man var suverene på hver sin prekestol, hadde jeg nær sagt, enten vi satt ved orgelet eller, så, så fikk vi ikke noe innblanding sånn eller noen som diskuterte det eller. Det gjør de nok litt, ja det gjør de nok i domkirka nå, altså.

H: Ja!

A: Så, så, så salmevalg og sånt, da, der var presten suveren, altså. Der var det bare å se hva han hadde valgt, og så finne tilsvarende melodier. Så det var ikke noe problemer, eller aldri noen diskusjon.

H: Fikk du salmene i god tid?

A: Ja. Det fikk vi gjennomført. Så det var, eh, jeg vil si at søndagens fikk vi på fredag. Og fordi jeg, jeg brukte nokså mye tid til å skrive opp og så videre, vet du. Dårlig til å improvisere som jeg var så tok jeg ikke noe som ikke var planlagt på forhånd. Så det, det ble det orden på altså må jeg si så. Og det vel i orden over alt nu tenker jeg.

H: Ja. De fleste har et samarbeid mellom prest og kirkemusikere. Hva med lengdene på salmeforspill?

A: Ja, de var nå vel litt for lange de som jeg brukte, tror jeg, mange ganger når det var et fint stykke, så, så brukte jeg, ihvertfall til høymessesalmen da. Jeg syntes jo man kunne gjøre litt ekstra der. På det stedet. Så der kunne jeg bruke virkelig et langt forspill.

H: Og den stilarten som du brukte hovedsaklig i salmeforspill ...

A: Ja, det var, det var, det tok jeg fra de bøkene, det var en Mogens Wöldike, en danske der, hadde passe lengde. Og passe lette.

H: Cirka 8 til 16 takter, kanskje?

A: Ja. Det, og noen ganger var det, gjennomløp jeg da, hele koralen. Hvis det var et stykke som folk gjerne, kanskje, som jeg innbilte meg folk gjerne ville høre, høre på. Det finnes da ihvertfall noen. Så det er nå det.

H: Og hva slags stil var de skrevet i, var det polyfonisk eller harmonisk?

A: Ja, det var nok veldig mye sånn kanonisk og ...

H: Fugato?

A: Fugato, småfugato, ja. Så de fikk melodiens begynnelsestoner, da, på, nokså klart for seg. Så det er vel ... Ellers så gikk det nå nokså greit, jeg hadde aldri noe særlig kontroverser. Men det var dette med innføringen av, det var stor diskusjon om innføringen av *Per Steenbergs Koralbok*, ja.

H: Og du påstår at det er hovedsaklig harmonisering?

A: Ja, jeg tror det var harmonisering, for den var litt sånn arkaisk, da. Helst det, altså.

H: Manglet septimakkorder, og og terser i avslutningsakkorder.

A: Ja, litt sånn ja.

H: Ja, det er ganske lett å høre forskjellen.

A: Så, så det var litt diskusjon der. Hvorvidt altså, Per Steenbergs var ikke autorisert som det heter, da vet du.

H: Fikk du en kopi av Steenberg eller var det trykt utgave som du brukte?

A: Jeg brukte førsteutgaven av Steenbergs koralbok, ja. Der var, vi snakket om taktarter der. Der hadde Steenberg en sånn spesiell måte å, når taktene gikk over fra fire fjerdedeler til tre fjerdedeler og sånt, så hadde han et eget tegn, en liten sånn cesur, vil jeg si. Og det betydde legg til et taktslag til. Og sånn. Men å forandre taktarten, det, det falt ham visst ikke inn nei.

H: Hva med *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg*? Hvordan sang man den?

A: Ja. Det var enkelte hvor, enkelte steder, jeg husker ikke om det var den, hvor man måtte, ja hvor, la meg se nå, la oss si at det er *Vår Gud han er så fast en borg*. Så går det som jevne fjerdedeler. Og så hvis han vil ha en ekstra, [telefonen ringer] ekstra fjerdedel, så satte han inn den derre cesuren. Og andre steder i samme koral så skrev han en ekstra halv takt eller noe sånt.

H: Akkurat.

A: I tillegg. Det ble litt rot i bildet, jeg skal ... [kameraet pauset]

H: Der, hvis vi fortsetter. Kan du si noe om dine orgelverker og hvor de har blitt fremført?

A: Javel. Ja, jeg har nær sagt, jeg har jo ikke, jeg har jo egentlig ikke noe orgel, laget noe orgelmusikk i noen større former, da. Det har jeg ikke. Og det er jo enda sjeldnere fremført, da. Som det meste av det jeg har skrevet så er det, blir det ikke brukt noe mere. Det er, det er passé. Og det kan man ikke gjøre noe med. Det beste man kan gjøre for å få sine komposisjoner fremført, det er å leve så lenge som mulig. For så snart de faller fra så er de over. Det har jeg, har jeg litt oversikt over. Da hører vi ikke noe mere til dem. Det er de utroligste og de gode komponister som vi ikke hører filla fra noe mere.

H: Man pleide å si at den beste måten å bli berømt var å dø.

A: Ja, det er å dø, ja! [ler]

H: Og det var det, vi har jo flere eksemplarer på disse som blir ikke berømt i sin levetid.

A: Ja, det hender det også. Det hender jo. Det er jo hyggelig forsåvidt, da. Men, men man må nok være i live også by frem sine varer. Jeg tenker på, ja det er nærliggende for meg å tenke på Christian Sinding, for eksempel. I min barndom, så liksom regnet vi med, ”ja, det er tre store norske komponister, det er Grieg og Svendsen og Sinding.” De var liksom i samme klasse. Og plutselig hører vi ikke noe fra dem. Det henger jo også sammen med det som ble, han ble jo meldt inn i nasjonal samling, uten at han var riktig klar over det han Sinding. Jeg tror ikke han var klar over det. Og dermed var han over og ut, altså.

H: Ja. Det er en lignende situasjon med Knut Hamsun.

A: Ja ja ja. Men han ble jo rehabilitert. Tross, eller, han er jo anerkjent den dag i dag, han er den store samme hvordan han oppførte seg der. Men ikke bare det, men jeg tenker også på de andre, nesten mine, mine jevnaldrende, de spilles jo ikke heller. Noe særlig mere.

H: Ludvig Nielsen spilles ganske mye. Og så Arild Sandvold.

A: Ja, i, i kirkesammenheng, ja. Men, men hans store verk, *Te Deum*, og *Olavsmessen* og alt sånn der, blir det jo ingen som tar opp lenger.

H: Nærmest aldri.

A: Neida, så det, jo han skreiv jo masse kirkemusikk, ja det glemte jeg jo å si i sted, jeg har, Rolf Karlsen og Ludvig Nielsen, de ga jo ut, det var nyttige saker, da.

H: Ja, så du brukte de fem ...

A: De brukte jeg mye, ja. Det, det gjorde jeg.

H: Eh, men du prøvde aldri å improvisere eller komponere ...

A: Nei, jeg kan ikke improvisere. Så det er vel min store svakhet og ulempe når man er organist, altså. Fordi, det kommer, det fordrer så mye improvisasjon i en organists daglige arbeider. Så det måtte bare bli ganske enkle ting. Som jeg kunne.

H: Hva med dine kolleger? Som arbeidet her i Trondheim, hadde du noe kontakt eller jevnlige møter?

A: Ja. Vi hadde jo Trøndelag organistforening, da, så jeg ble godt kjent med alle organister. I, i, i Nidaros bispedømme, kan vi si. Fordi jeg var også sekretær da. I organistforeningen, og sendte kontingentkrav til alle sammen, ikke sant.

H: Da blir man ganske godt kjent med navnelister.

A: Ja da. Man gjør det. Nå er det visst ikke noen igjen av dem i det hele tatt, da, for ...

H: Kåre Lilleberg?

A: Kåre Lilleberg, ja. Han var, kjente jeg jo godt, for at han var jo på, ansatt på konservatoriet, han.

H: Ja, han er en blant mine som jeg skal intervju.

A: Javel ja. Ja han var jo organist oppe i Moholt kirke. [opptaket stoppes]

H: Hvis vi går tilbake til han Kåre Lilleberg.

A: Ja.

H: Og så de andre kolleger som du hadde i Trøndelag. Hadde du noen kontakt i forhold til repertoar og hva, hva man gjorde i forhold til høymessen?

A: Nei, det er, det tror jeg ikke, jeg kan ikke si hva Kåre Lilleberg spilte og hvordan, der oppe på Strinda. Det kan jeg ikke si noe om, nei.

H: Var det noen utveksling, idéutveksling i forhold til hvilke komponister man brukte eller stilarter i forhold til koralforspill eller ...?

A: Nei, jeg tror ikke at vi organister egentlig kom så veldig, vi var egentlig opptatt av at vi ikke skulle være så innmari underbetalt. Og at vi skulle være så forskjellig, det ble gjort, jeg var jo med i en sånn komité som kunne prøve å få til ensartede lønnsklasser, for det var jo en jobb som jeg hadde med, da. Og det er det jo blitt litt mere orden på nu, da. Også fritid, fordi vi hadde den gangen tre ukers sommerferie. Og da, og i alle høytider, jul og påske og pinse, da, da var jo organistene opptatt med å spille. Og det som, som vi, den siste dag i sommerferien ble altså den siste før det hadde gått året rundt, altså. Så det var, det var, nå kan man jo si det at det at for mange organister hadde jo egentlig fri, hadde jo fri hele uka da. Men på, i en litt større kirke sånn som min for eksempel, så var det, syntes jeg at det ble heldagsjobb.

H: Den stillingen har blitt redusert ganske kraftig ...

A: Javisst!

H: ... de seinere år. Kan du si litt om hvorfor det har skjedd?

A: Ja, det er jo fordi det ikke er, det er ikke to prester. Og når, hvis begge prestene er veldig musikkinteressert, så ville de jo ha den musikkandakten hver fjortende dag, som vi hadde der. Og så hadde de ellers også torsdagsandakt da. Så det var, så jeg hadde inntrykk av at det gikk i ett, altså, man var egentlig aldri, jeg tok meg aldri en dag fri, altså. Sånn, sånn som man kanskje kunne være, si sånn 'vel, hver mandag vil jeg ha helt fri.' Så det, det var det ikke.

H: Hva med studenter? Hadde du noen orgelstudenter i den tid?

A: Nei, det hadde jeg ikke, ja, jo, en og annen. En og annen som, hvor vi da tok undervisningen i Frue kirke, da. Men jeg hadde ikke noe andre, det var jo sånn helt privat. Og det var ikke så mange heller. Jeg hadde, ja, et par-tre stykker tror jeg. Alt i alt. Som kom.

Så det var, det var, det var ikke noe, men jeg hadde jo en del sidearbeider, da, ekstra, jeg spilte jo alle sånne klaverinstrumenter i symfoniorkesteret, da. Celesta og piano og harpestemmen. Og sånne ting. Så det kunne, kunne nesten kollidere noen ganger. Hvor jeg måtte i Frimurerlogen. Og hadde kanskje en tjeneste i kirka der eller sann.

H: Det er jo ihvertfall ikke lang vei å gå.

A: Nei, det er ikke lang vei å gå, nei.

H: I den tiden du var organist i fra 1947 til 1968, opplevde du store forandringer i kirkemusikken? Eller noen forandringer i det hele tatt?

A: I kirkemusikken. Ja, nei, nå vet du at jeg har, hadde jo ikke noen å sammenligne med, da.

H: Ikke i domkirken heller?

A: Jo, i domkirken kunne jeg jo godt si det. At, at jeg visste hva som foregikk der. Men ellers så visste, hadde ikke jeg noe særlig peiling på hva de spilte og hvordan de ordnet seg utover i fylket. Eller bispedømmet. Det må jeg si. Så det falt meg ikke inn heller å undersøke det, altså. Så det fikk nå velge hvert sitt. Men vi hadde jo som sagt en organistforening da. Det ble jo ikke snakket så mye fag, som jeg nevnte i sted, men, men noe var det jo. Og at vi presenterte det som var kommet ut av ny, ny orgelmusikk, da. Var ikke så mye.

H: Var det hovedsaklig norsk orgelmusikk?

A: Ja, norsk orgelmusikk, ja. Det var vel det det gikk på, vi, ja, som sagt, jeg brukte jo Wöldike, da. Som var dansk. Og det er jo fordi at dansk og norsk kirke har så mye felles. Både melodier og ordning, gudstjenesteordning. Så det, så noe, noe ... Men du vet, jeg vet ikke jeg, det var så veldig behov for, ja, jeg vet ikke om jeg skal si at jeg hadde ikke inntrykk av at mine kolleger var så voldsomt ivrige for å finne ut hva som kommet ut av nye ting. Og sånt, og som måtte skaffe seg det. Det var, vi måtte jo kjøpe notene selv også, helt privat. Det var ikke noe notefond å ta av i kirkene, vet du. Så det, det er jo også ganske utrolig. Nå tror jeg ikke det noen organister som sitter og betaler av sin lille lønn for å skaffe seg orgelmusikk til gudstjenestebruk. Det tror jeg ikke.

H: Jo, det er noen, men ...

A: Ja noen, nu må det være det altså, for det er jo urimelig, vet du, at ikke kirka skulle holde organisten med musikk som han skal bruke til sitt arbeide. Men det er sånne urimelige ting som vi tok for god fisk. Den gangen.

H: Men tilbake til forandringer i din stilling også din tid som kirkemusiker.

A: Ja, det ble jo som jeg sa, man la jo opp sin arbeidsdag som man selv ville og var nokså suveren på den måten, altså. Fant jeg på at jeg ville få til en konsert, så hadde jeg noen, jeg hadde et kor, jeg hadde et oratoriekor, og vi ble enige om at nå skal vi ha, skal vi ha konsert. Og så videre. Og der, bare den tingen, at, at egentlig kunne jeg ikke gjøre det, for jeg måtte betale for, for bruk av kirken, var det var og det var så åpenbart meningsløst at det ikke, det ble nå vel aldri, altså ... Men, men kirkevergen kom med et krav om at hvis vi skal ha konsert, kirkekonsert, så måtte koret betale. Så det var, det var også sånne, sånne ting som ikke gjorde det lett for organistene i den tiden der. Det, det gjaldt nå vel over alt

det, de skulle ha leie av kirke, da. Liksom. Så man, man var ikke liksom integrert i kirkens liv på noen måte, man var en slags medpassasjer. Utapå.

H: Innleid hjelp.

A: Ja, innleid hjelp, ja. Så det var jo, sånne banale ting måtte man altså se å få orden på. Så det var nå det ja.

H: Du opplevde en spennende tid i forhold til komposisjon fra, i den tiden du var kirkemusiker.

A: Ja.

H: Fra Per Steenberg til Egil Hovland og helt fram til *Tensingbevegelsen*.

A: Jada.

H: De hadde to koralbøker eller to revisjoner i 1957 og 1969. Siste er riktignok ikke da du var kirkemusiker. Men hadde du noen kontakt med disse forandringer?

A: Nei, du mener altså med redigeringen av koralbøkene eller noe sånt?

H: Nei, nei, men at det påvirket deg som kirkemusiker?

A: Åja.

H: Særlig det med Egil Hovlands orgelverker og [utydelig]

A: Ja, det må jeg jo si ja. Jeg er jo veldig begeistret for Egil Hovland, for eksempel, da.

H: Og Nystedt, eller?

A: Og Nystedt, ja. Særlig Hovland synes jeg var en fin kirkemusiker, og vi, jeg husker vi hadde en ren Hovland-musikkandakt en, en gang. Som, hvor vi brukte hans, ja, jeg tror det var *Te Deum* det også, jeg. Så, så, så han var ... og også Knut Nystedt, særlig da som korkomponist. Fordi jeg spilte ikke noen orgelverker av Nystedt, tror jeg.

H: Nei. Spilte du noen av Hovlands mer eksperimentelle orgelverker, for eksempel *Job* og ...

A: Nei, ikke *Job*, nei. Jeg hørte *Job* der. Nei, det var jo bruksmusikk jeg var ute etter, da. Så jeg ...

H: Hvorfor det?

A: Ja, jeg, det var jo det, musikk som jeg hadde bruk for i min tjeneste. Jeg hadde ikke så mye sånn, jeg spilte ikke så mye solo, da.

H: Var det en, noe som du hadde fått fra Ludvig Nielsen? En videreført tradisjon? [telefonen ringer] Eller var det andre grunner?

A: [reiser seg] Ja, det, håper det ikke er en som skal selge meg ett eller annet.

H: Jeg slår den av. [slår av]

A: Men jeg har mye sånn kollegialt samvær uti musikken, altså. [opptaket stanses]

A: I Ilen?

H: Ja.

A: Han, han vekslet jeg jo nesten ikke et ord med. I det hele tatt. Han var ikke med på noen foreningsmøter, og. Han var jo pianolærer han da, egentlig, på musikkskolen. Og så var det Bonsaksen i ...

H: Lademoen?

A: Lademoen, ja, og i Bakke. Broren hans var i Bakke. Og spilte på sånn elektronisk orgel. Så vi hadde liksom ikke noe som var, vi var i hver vår bås, vil jeg si.

H: Riktig.

A: Nokså mye, ja. Nå er det nok sikkert anderledes.

H: Nå har vi ganske regelmessige møter.

A: Har dere det, ja!

Anfinn Øien

Place: Anfinn Øien's home, Linåkerveien 2, 1930 Aurskog, Norway

Date and time: 15 August 2007 14.00-16.00

H: Jeg har sagt det til deg tidligere, det er hovedsaklig *neue Sachlichkeit* og de påvirkninger som har skjedd i forbindelse med det, Thomas Laub, Per Steenberg og den liturgisk fornyelse, også liturgisk bevegelse ifra Tyskland, England og så Danmark som har påført en ny komposisjonsstil i Norge. Det er hovedområdet som jeg studerer. Men den, en enkel sak som jeg prøver å bevise disse påvirkninger igjennom er koralforspill, en slags temperaturmåler for Den norske kirkes musikkliv. Og jeg tenker at din erfaring og så din utdanning skjedde midt opp i den situasjonen og lurer på om du kan fortelle meg først litt om din utdanning først og den prosess som du opplevde den mens du var under utdanning i Oslo.

Ø: Ja, min organistutdannelse var jo slutt i 1942 eller 1943, og da hadde det hele ikke begynt å skje på alvor ennå da. Disse bevegelsene var ikke kommet til Norge enda da. I hvert fall ikke...

H: De var så vidt diskutert i *Norsk musikkliv*, hvis du husker de fagbladene.

Ø: Jo, jeg husker at Egil Hovland og Knut Nystedt hadde inserater der da, særlig de to ...

H: Også Arild Sandvold, han var primusmotor bak organistforeningen eller ...

Ø: Riktig, var det foreningen og forbundet, ja var han formann i det. Og han var også den toneangivende i orgelbyggings spørsmål og slikt noe, han var jo også – så vidt jeg forstår – en slags konsulent for kirke departementet.

H: Det stemmer.

Ø: Han hadde jo til og med vært med å utgi den siste av de korallbøkene. Han var jo medunderskriver, det har jeg sett. Det var noen få ting som har kommet i tillegg bare der, jeg husker ikke så mange av dem. Harmoniserte selv. Men ellers så kom etter hvert litt senere ... Jeg husker vi begynte å få kjennskap til de kontinentale kirkekomponistene som Hugo Distler ... og så han Micheelsen, han var vel nederlandsk?

H: Det kan stemme. Han har jeg ikke studert enda.

Ø: Jeg var en del bort i ham også. Og så Rolf Karlsen, han var sånn sporhund og fant dette her, disse tingene, samtidig som han drev med renessansemusikk. Tok frem ting som kanskje nesten ikke var kjente her.

H: Hvorfor gjorde han det?

Ø: Hvorfor? Han var veldig glad i gammelmusikk altså. Så da han kom over Monteverdi for eksempel, Maria-vesperet og slike ting, og oppførte dem i Trefoldighetskirken, jeg var jo med og spilte ... Det var veldig stort. Herlig. Og mange andre slike ting. Og så Schütz, en del ting av Schütz, vet du, *Musikalische Exequien* for eksempel ... og slike ting. Og jeg var liksom fast med som hans organist, jeg var med på alt. Jeg ble veldig revet med av det, sånn da. Og dessuten vet du, så... Du har studert *Musica Sacras* historie, så vi hadde en absolutt

livlig virksomhet de første årene i Oslo. Og vi arrangerte rundt omkring i Oslos kirker ... hva kalte vi det? Vi kalte det ikke ”musikkraften,” vi kalte det vel ”musikkandakt” eller sånt. Og vi hadde et lite kor som Rolf dirigerte da, og der fremførte vi sånne små enkle ting, disse særlig tyske og nordeuropeiske komponistene. Mye Schütz. Dessuten så hadde vi Hans Buvarp som var en ildsjel på det liturgiske felt, vet du. Så han tilrettela jo en masse latinske tidebønntekster og slik, skrev ut disse neumene og skrev en enkel noteskrift, lesbar noteskrift for oss. Så vi hadde alltid en liturgisk avslutning på disse musikkraftene i kirkene.

H: Hvilket årstall? Jeg vet at du har sagt at du misliker kanskje spørsmålet, det er etter *Musica Sacra* ble stiftet eller i forkant?

Ø: Det må vel være i grunn etter at *Musica Sacra* ble stiftet, jeg tror ikke vi kom noe særlig i gang med det før vi stiftet *Musica Sacra*. Hvilket år var det?

H: 1952.

Ø: Ja, det var det. Vi stiftet i Frogner kirkes kapell.

H: Kan du fortelle litt om den prosessen som ledet opp til stiftelsesmøtet?

Ø: Ja, det blir jo glimt. Jeg kan iallfall huske at vi, en del ildsjeler, altså gikk og snakket om dette i tider og utider da. Hvem var vi alle sammen? Per Lønning var meget ivrig, Rolf Karlsen, Hernes, han var med, det var ikke så mye han var med på ... og Ludvig Nielsen som når han hadde Oslostur, så måtte vi alltid ha møte. Vi hadde jo landsforbundets styre som både han og jeg var medlemmer i, og vi hadde jo et møte, når hadde vi hatt det, så hadde vi alltid sånn ... ofte en slik samling et eller annet sted vi kom sammen, vi ... Det skulle gå litt hysjhysj. For det var ikke alle som likte like godt dette her. Så det skulle være litt hysjhysj. Jeg husker ett av møtene vi hadde, det var på indremisjonskaféen i Staffeldsgate, hvor vi lagde litt oppsikt for vi ble så ivrige. Og særlig Per Lønning, når han blir ivrig, så får han nokså høy stemme, det vet du kanskje ...

H: Det er det samme den dag i dag ...

Ø: ... så vi måtte dempe oss litt der, ja. Vel, men det ble enig at det var planlagt slik at vi skulle da får denne organisasjonen på bena som et samfunn som vi kalte det, ikke noe veldig fast organisering, så det ledet jo frem til at vi hadde dette møte i kapellet til Frogner kirke i Oslo, og der hadde vel Hans Buvarp laget et utkast til statutter. For han ble satt til det. Jeg tror de ble vedtatt på den gangen, det møtet der.

H: Hvorfor måtte disse møtene være hysjhysj?

Ø: Det var fordi at – jeg skal ikke si altfor mye om det, men det var i alle fall, det provoserte en del mennesker.

H: Er det på grunn av musikkstilarten?

Ø: Ja, ja. Det var særlig en del eldre, meget konservative organister rundt omkring i Oslo og andre steder.

H: Men Arild Sandvold var tildels involvert i dette?

Ø: Ja, han var litt motvillig, eller, ja, men han kom faktisk til det møtet den gangen, han gjorde det. Så han hadde litt problemer med å bestemme seg hvor han hørte hjemme der. Og han hadde jo merket i andre sammenhenger at det var folk som kanskje gjorde ting som han ikke likte, for eksempel når det gjaldt orgelbygging og sånn. For eksempel så fikk jo etter sterk innsats fra noen av disse ivrige sjelene bygget et orgel i Majorstuen kirke som han ikke ble bedt om å være konsulent for, og det var sårt, vondt. Det er vondt. Det gjør meg vondt enda jeg tenker på. Så Rolf og jeg kan ikke gjøres ansvarlig for det orgelet der. Vi hadde da en sogneprest der som da het Thomas Anvik, du kjenner kanskje Bjørn, sønnen, og han var en ildsjel i *Musica Sacra*.

H: Hans navn dukker opp stadig ...

Ø: Ja ja ja. Han laget jo sånne timebønnhefter altså, tekster. Så derfor var det liksom fronter. De ville ikke være der, men det var de altså.

H: Men den tiden måtte ha vært meget eh, spennende, også på en god måte. En rikdom i uttrykksmidler og uttrykksformer. Man hadde på den ene siden den sterke romantiske tradisjonen fra Straube, Karl Straube gjennom Sandvold, og så den nye, en ganske sterk motsetning, i Palestrinastil.

Ø: Også en annen som betydde mye for orgelspilletts vedkommende var jo Finn Viderø. Som jo var meget sånn [gjør håndbevegelse].

H: Vi har jo Bjørn Bøysen som et stjerneeksempel som har studert hos Sandvold og Viderø.

Ø: Hvem sa du?

H: Bjørn Bøysen.

Ø: Ja ja ja ja ja. Jeg syntes du så Prøysen, skjønner du.

H: Og han måtte ha hatt en ganske sterk opplevelse fra to motsetninger. Kan du fortelle litt om din erfaring som orgelstudent?

Ø: Ja, jeg var jo Sandvolds elev og kom fra landsbygda her – jeg er født og oppvokst her, så jeg var nok en sånn bondelev for ham da.

H: Men var du hos Sandvold hele tiden?

Ø: Hele tiden var jeg hos ham, ja, helt til eksamen. Det var først mange år senere at jeg kom litt ut og fikk prøve litt, studere litt hos andre lite grann, litt i København og sånn. Det ble ikke så mye formelt av det, det var bare et kort stipendium jeg hadde der. Så jeg er i svært stor utstrekning autodidakt, sånn sett.

H: I hvilken grad vil du anse Sandvold som en påvirkning på din komposisjonsteknikk?

Ø: Veldig mye egentlig. Men altså han var jo en romantiker, og jeg var jo veldig betatt av det romantiske. Jeg er innerst inne en romantisk natur, ja. Så jeg var veldig betatt av det. De mest tåredryppende sakene han laget, de, de, de grep meg sterkt. Jeg husker for eksempel jeg har utsatt et lite orgelstykke som heter *Adagio* han har laget.

H: ... som kan hende ... falle imellom i sonaten som en tredje sats ...

Ø: Nei, det var en selvstendig sats, særskilt faktisk. Og det var så romantisk med celestklang, vet du, og fløytesolo og masse sånt, og teorbo ligger i bunnen og melodi på toppen. Sånne ting var jeg så begeistret for en tid. Jeg husker jeg spilte en stor konsert sammen med en sanger i Stavanger, i Sankt Petri kirke i Stavanger, full kirke, og så dette romantiske orgelet som var der den gangen, og det var en fryd å spille der [ler]. Så jeg var egentlig en romantisk natur, og jeg lærte jo det å være romantisk av Sandvold også, hans spillestil, den var jo, påvirket meg selvfølgelig sterkt, den. Han var en meget god organist. Og har du opplevd noen gang å høre opptak av hans gudstjenestespill i Oslo domkirke?

H: Jeg har en del innspillinger på radop, fra radiogudstjenester fra den tiden.

Ø: For eksempel ... Jeg tok opp hele på et gammelt lydbånd i sin tid da Kong Haakon ble begravd. Sann som man spilte i begravelser, det var helt betagende altså. For når han hadde ... et orkester sitter der, det var jo som skapt for ham.

H: Men tidligere, orgelbevegelsen har [vært] også en del av *neue Sachlichkeits* påvirkningsområdet, men Sandvold var på en hånd en romantiker og på andre hånd var han en sterk tilhenger av den orgelbevegelse i noen av hans instrumenter, bl.a. Oslo domkirke, men etter en modifisert modell, det var på ingen måte en dansk orgelbevegelse.

Ø: Nei, nei, nei.

H: Men du vil ikke være enig i det?

Ø: Nei, det er vanskelig for meg fordi at ... Jeg husker en gang han ble invitert til å holde en konsert i Danmark. Var det i Roskilde domkirke, mon tro? Det så han som en stor ære, men han følte at orgelet strakk liksom ikke til for ham, altså. Så at han har hatt noe særlig kontakt, noe særlig uttrykk innenfor det man kan kalle *neue Sachlichkeit*, det er vanskelig for meg å se. Det var ikke mye *Sachlichkeit* der, altså.

H: Nei, men orgelbevegelsen var en del av ... Han var klar over og var påvirket – etter min mening – av orgelbevegelsen.

Ø: Han var klar over det, ja, og stridde imot så godt han kunne. Må jeg vel si. Sann som jeg ser det. Han hadde ikke helt sansen for det. Vet du, vi hadde jo en stund ... så var vi helt opp i skyene for Schnitger. Har du hørt om orgelferden til Nordtyskland?

H: Nei.

Ø: ... som *Musica Sacra* arrangerte en gang etter krigen. Skal ikke si hvilket år, men det var nokså tidlig etter krigen. Rolf Karlsen, han og jeg var forresten ledere for den turen, vi var en full buss. Vi reiste rundt i Nordtyskland for å ... Og så hadde vi med oss Finn Viderø som cicerone for å demonstrere alt vi kunne av Schnitgerorgel rundt omkring der, vet du. Det var en herlig opplevelse i og for seg selv. Men vi skulle komme tilbake og fortelle Sandvold om dette – nei, det var bare skrik alt sammen. Det var ikke hans, stil liksom ... Han skulle ikke gå bortifra principaler og fundamentaler.

H: Men likevel, Oslo domkirke, var noe påvirket av en modifisert retning av orgelbevegelsen.

Ø: Men det orgelet som var nå der, det var ikke han som har laget det.

H: Det forrige orgelet?

Ø: Nei, det var et Wagnerorgel ...

H: Et Walckerrorgel ...

Ø: ... Walckerorgel mener jeg, ja, det han spilte på.

H: I hvilken grad var han involvert i den?

Ø: Det tror jeg var svært lite, han var jo meget ung før han kom dit, han spilte vel i Fagerborg kirke først vel. Og det var jo en ingeniør, Platou ...

H: Stemmer.

Ø: ... ikke sant, som jeg forstår var nærmest en konsulent.

H: Han var meget toneangivende i mellomkrigstida.

Ø: Ja, han har vært det. Jeg kjente ham ikke, jeg, men jeg forstod det at det var han som var mester for at det orgelet, Walckerorgelet, ble slik det ble.

H: Jeg har ikke studert den prosessen som har ført frem til Walckerorgelet men mener å ha hørt fra andre at det var Sandvold som var involvert i prosessen. Men ... det er en sidespor ...

Ø: Det ... det skal jeg ikke si noe for sikkert, men han var vel nesten for ung til det. Jeg kan jo huske at jeg var med min far til Oslo for å høre det orgelet da det var ganske nytt, og da var det enda Alnæs som [var] organist der, så jeg har opplevd å se og høre ham der altså. En aldrende man, så da den gang. Så i hvilken grad Sandvold kan ha hatt noe med det å gjøre i det hele tatt, det vet jeg ikke nok om. Jeg har vondt for å tro det altså. Men at det ble etter hans hjerte, det gjorde det. Han ble jo ett med det orgelet der.

H: Det vet vi. Hva kan du si om din ... som har vært din formende interesse for den rene stilen eller Palestrinastilen? Hva var det som vekte oppsikt for deg?

Ø: For meg personlig?

H: Ja. Hva var det som grep deg?

Ø: Det var jo gjennom Steenberg, først og fremst det. Og jeg må si, det er ganske rart å tenke på, det var før den tiden da vi kunne høre Palestrinas musikk. Fantest nesten ikke mulighet for å høre den. Så jeg gro meg ned for UB [Universitetsbibliotek] i disse gamle tykke bøkene i originalnotasjon, i altnøkkel vet du, og alt dette der. Så det var nokså tunge greier. Nokså hardt å trenge inn i. Og så studerte jeg under den utmerkete boken til Knut Jeppesen, da. Den som vi brukte hos Steenberg også. Og ... jeg har aldri skrevet noe egentlig selv i Palestrinastil, ikke annet enn øvelsene jeg gjorde hos Steenberg. Jeg har aldri gjort det. Jeg vet at det var noen andre unge som prøvde seg litt på det. Vi hadde en mann, Ingmar Fredrik Nilsen, for eksempel – har du hørt det navnet?

H: Nei.

Ø: Stakkars mann, han døde så altfor tidlig. Men han, han ... jeg husker bare at han viste meg det, men han begynte i alle fall på å skrive en messe, han, på samme måte som Palestrinas parodimesse, med utgangspunkt i det norske *Herre Gud, ditt dyre navn og ære* [synger]. Et eller annet sånt. Ikke nøyaktig sitert, men i den stilen. Nei, så det er nesten rart hvordan jeg har kommet bort i dette fordi jeg fikk liksom ikke noe nært forhold til det den gangen.

H: I hvert fall ikke auditivt.

Ø: I hvert fall ikke auditivt, nei, nei. Men jeg var jo betatt av selve stilen og teknikken, satsteknikken.

H: Hvorfor det? Var det noe i ...

Ø: Det var masse estetikk i dette. Sånn en enorm estetikk. Dette med linjedannelse og dette forholdet mellom rytme og tonehøyde og, og, og noteverdier i forhold til hverandre. Det herlige samspillet det der, altså det betok meg altså. Det er jo usammenliknbart med noe annet nesten.

H: Samtidig med oppdagelsen av disse eldre komponistene fra det 16. århundre kom en forståelse for hva kirkemusikk bør være, egentlig det som *Musica Sacra* tok tak i som hovedprinsipp, den rene kirkestilen. Men du har ikke sagt noe om det i forhold til din oppdagelse, hadde det noe innflytelse?

Ø: Jo, det er vel noe jeg kan si. Den ble besjelet av en veldig sterk følelse av at musikken skulle være tjener i gudstjenesten. Ikke dominant, men den skulle være tjener, bære ordet og derfor være saklig. Så der kan du snakke om *Sachlichkeit* i den forstand. Så det har jeg vært veldig bestemt på en eller annen tid. Jeg hevde det nokså sterk den tiden jeg var formann i organistforeningen, organistforbundet og sånn. Det kan nok hende at du har lest et eller annet sted at jeg har sagt noe om det kanskje fordi jeg husker at det gjorde litt inntrykk på en del mennesker at jeg snakket så mye om dette her. Vi organister vi måtte ikke være sjefer i liturgien, vi måtte være ledere og tjenere, og musikken skulle være tjener for ordet og for liturgien.

H: Hvor har du fått inspirasjon fra når det gjelder den tankegangen?

Ø: Nå spør du vanskelig. Det spørsmålet er litt vanskelig, jeg vet vel nesten ikke hvordan jeg har komme hen. At jeg selv er en religiøs natur har en del med det å gjøre, og er jo vokst opp på kirkebenken så å si fra min tidligste barndom og sånn, så jeg har mine dype røtter i sånn da. Respekt for gudstjenesten som sådan. Det er vel altså også noe at jeg opplevde nok en del tilfeller kanskje hvor liksom - særlig organister da - de som tok over hele gudstjenesten med sånne voldsomt lange forspill og preludier og postludier, dominerte veldig der. Det fikk jeg nok litt i halsen i blant.

H: Fikk du lese Thomas Laubs *Musik og kirke*?

Ø: Det gjorde jeg i sin tid. Ja, den leste jeg. Men husker ikke så mye av den lenger nå ... Jo, jeg leste den.

H: Hva med *Om kirkesang* fra 1890-tallet?

Ø: Ja, jeg leste den også.

H: De har vært meget toneangivende for dansk kirkesang.

Ø: Jada. Også der skapt kontraster, fronter.

H: Absolutt. Meget kraftig motarbeid.

Ø: Laubs forord i *Dansk kirkesang*, det er ganske interessant lesning.

H: Men Per Steenberg hadde oppdaget dette i 1920-tallet ...

Ø: Ja, var det såpass tidlig?

H: Ja, det var forholdsvis tidlig. Men ikke ... man ser ikke spor før 1929 eller 1930.

[Dørklokke, kort pause]

Ø: Du spurte akkurat nå da han ringte på...

H: Det var om ... Per Steenbergs oppdagelse.

Ø: Ja, så tidlig som i 20-årene sa du.

H: Men ... du var ... Du hadde vel ikke lest *Musik og kirke* på den tiden?

Ø: Nei, jeg var ikke født en gang.

H: Nei, du var knapt påtenkt. Men Per Steenberg hadde oppdaget dette og gikk fra en ganske ... ja, ”streng” skal man ikke si, men romantisk inspirert komposisjonsteknikk over til en radikal fornyelse.

Ø: Han var da egentlig nokså mye påvirket av Lindemans, Ludvig Mathias Lindemans stil, så det var nok ikke en så veldig stor forskjell på de to egentlig. Altså Rheinberger beundret han. Det kan man merke i hans orgelkomposisjoner. Så du vet han kommer én ... én det første ... disse kirkekorsangere for gudstjenesten, så kommer han med det *Allehelgensmotteten* sin. Der merker du at han har fått tak i noe nytt ... gammelt. Du kjenner den? En nydelig komposisjon faktisk, *Salig er de døde som dør i Herren*. Den er skrevet i nokså ... ja veldig inspirert av Palestrinastil i alle fall. Jeg husker ikke de detaljer så nøye, men jeg tror den er nesten ordrett riktig i forhold til Laubs fremstilling av Palestrinastilen.

H: Så forholdsvis feilaktig, i hvert fall rådende på den tiden, den fremstilling av Palestrina. De hadde ikke basismateriell og ingen god forskningsteknikker på den tiden.

Ø: Nei, de hadde det ikke. De hadde to forskjellige utgaver på UB da ... av en ... Jeg lurer på han het ikke Bäuerle, en mann som hadde laget en transkripsjon av masse Palestrinamusikk? Han brukte fjerdedelen som tredelthet og skrev sammen i ... på to systemer kanskje.

H: Det var en tysk utgave og en italiensk utgave fra forholdsvis tidlig fra det 19. århundret. Den tyske var den av Bäuerle, ja. Den var toneangivende helt frem til 1950-tallet.

Ø: Var den det? Ja, ... Javel.

H: Det var en ny utgave i omtrent 1890. Det var en utgave ved århundreskiftet. Men hovedforskningen forandret seg ikke før 1950-tallet.

Ø: Nei vel.

H: Men snakket Per Steenberg om hans studieår og hans utvikling fra den romantiske tid til overgangen til ...

Ø: Nei, det kan jeg ikke si at jeg husker han gjorde. Han var jo en gammel mann allerede da jeg lærte ham å kjenne, vet du. Og nei, vi møttes jo alltid i disse timene. Først på konservatoriet, da gikk jeg i timene til det man skulle. Nei, han snakket vel aldri om sine ... om hvem han hadde vært i kontakt med og sånn. Nei, det kan jeg huske han snakket noe særlig om.

H: Men han snakket om hans *Koralbok*?

Ø: Ja, det skal jeg si han gjorde en del, var han veldig ivrig altså. Denne skjønn håndskrevne manuskriptet hans, det er nydelig. Du har sikkert sett manuskriptet? Men dette kunne han drive og forandre på. Pusse litt på det fra tid til annen. Også spurte han meg hva jeg synes om det da. [Ler]. Jeg tror ikke jeg ga uttrykk for noe særlig uenighet om det, nei!

H: Når begynte du å komponere orgelverker?

Ø: Sent. Jeg har aldri betraktet meg som noe komponist, så det var jo sånn ren bruksmusikk. Og det? Når begynte det? Orgelverker? Jeg tør ikke tale tidfeste det. Jeg har brukt hele min tid som lærer. Jeg har brukt all mine krefter som lærer, i grunn hele tiden, og en tid som kordirigent. Og jeg var organist, og jeg var lærer på konservatoriet, holdt på hele dagen. Seks dager i uka, hadde lørdag uten nok, ja! Så vi hadde ikke tid til å tenke på å komponere noe, det ... Hvorfor jeg begynte, ja ...?

H: Men som organist har du hatt en ... et behov for å komponere eller i hvert fall improvisere.

Ø: Jajaja, det er jo så. Og med årene har det behovet vokst slik at i de senere årene så har jeg gjerne skrevet flere forspill når jeg skulle spille i gudstjeneste. Det siste ... skal vi si, tyve år eller noe sånn? Så har jeg forberedt mine gudstjenester godt, og hvis jeg fant ikke gode forspill ellers, så lagde jeg dem. Jeg kunne lage noen allikevel, selv om jeg kanskje ikke kunne lage gode. Jeg hadde *Pro organo* i en tid vet du, som Nielsen og Karlsen laget. Veldig blandet innhold det også.

H: Meget variabel stil?

Ø: Meget variabelt. Og det er vel historie nå ... det finnes vel langt ikke ett eksemplar igjen, tenker jeg. Men det var liksom litt stas da det kom, ja.

H: Hva brukte man før?

Ø: Man improviserte vel for det meste. Så hadde vi ... Jeg tror vi hadde noe som heter ... Peter Lindemann hadde laget noen samlinger. Jeg vet ikke om Christian Cappelen også hadde laget noen.

H: Ja.

Ø: Han hadde jo det ... Jeg synes jeg husker det. Men eller så var det å improvisere det.

H: Eyvind Alnæs laget ganske mye.

Ø: Ja, det er riktig.

H: Og så Otto Winter-Hjelm.

Ø: Også Winter-Hjelm, og ja, det stemmer det. Og Alnæs var jo selvfølgelig den romantiske stilen der.

H: Og likedan Winter-Hjelm.

Ø: Winter-Hjelm også, ja. Han jobbet i Trefoldighetskirken. ... Nei, altså jeg har ikke vært noen komponist, nei. Men jeg har i alle fall laget bruksmusikk i de senere årene.

H: Hva betegner du bruksmusikk som? Hva er bruksmusikk? I en liturgisk kontekst?

Ø: Jeg mener at bruksmusikk ... ja ... er jo den som ... Skal man definere det? Ligger det ikke i ordet? [ler].

H: Det ligger ganske mye i ordet.

Ø: Ja, det gjør det. Musikk som man skal bruke, som er beregnet til å brukes der.

H: Men man kan også snu hele saken og se hva slags musikk skal man ikke bruke?

Ø: Akkurat, ja, det kan man si.

H: Så vi har en sak om bruksmusikk eller *Gebrauchsmusik* som har gått fra Hindemiths tidlige bruk av det til en omvendning til noe som har vært litt mindre positiv.

Ø: Ja, det stemmer. Det stemmer jo det.

H: Men i en norsk sammenheng er det stort sett ikke et negativt begrep.

Ø: Nei nei nei nei. Det er ikke i den Hindemithske forstand. Nei, det er ikke den. Det er ikke det jeg mener med bruksmusikk.

H: Mener du ... Jeg skal ikke prøve å legge ord i din munn. Det er alltid vanskelig av og til å unngå det.

Ø: Ja!

H: Men når det gjelder liturgisk musikk, er det i en liturgisk kontekst at du tenker bruksmusikk hører til eller er det en del av den sammenfatning eller den oppfatning som du har av liturgisk musikk at liturgien er den mest viktig elementen i en gudstjeneste og musikk er underordnet liturgien, at du tenker at bruksmusikk har sin plass?

Ø: Ja, ja, selvfølgelig. Musikken skal underordnes liturgien, selvfølgelig, det fremgår jo kanskje av det vi har snakket om tidligere også, ikke sant. Den skal være tjener for liturgien, for ordet, og ikke dominere på egen ... på egne vegne. Så det har jeg i alle fall ment, og jeg tror nok at jeg står ved det fremdeles. Så jeg er nok ingen tilhenger av alle disse solistinnslagene i gudstjenester og brylluper og sånt nok, det ... det ... Når presten stiller seg opp i koret og spiller gitar og synger en vise ... da er jeg ikke med altså. Du kan jo spørre: hvorfor ikke?

H: Man kan like godt spørre: hvorfor?

Ø: Ja, jeg gjør jo helst det, jeg spør jo: Hvorfor gjør du det? Jo, for at folk liker det så godt. Det vet du er svaret, da.

H: Ja, det er en vanskelig problemstilling. Men vi vet at demokrati og kirke hører ikke sammen.

Ø: Ja, akkurat, det mener vi! Men det er ikke alle som mener det.

H: Kan du si litt mer om de to stridigheter i ... som førtes parallelt i tidlig '50-tallet og den prosessen som førte til at Steenbergs *Koralbok* ble politianmeldt ... eller bruken av koralboken?

Ø: Ikke politianmeldt ...

H: Det var et par saker hvor – har jeg hørt – hvor organister har blitt ...

Ø: ... politianmeldt?

H: Politianmeldt.

Ø: Er det virkelig sant? Det visste jeg ikke.

H: Ifølge Harald Herresthal har det vært et par saker.

Ø: Det har gått meg forbi. Det kan ikke jeg huske, men jeg husker jo altså at departementet sendte ut et rundskriv som presiserte at den *Koralboken for den norske* ... var den eneste autoriserte og at man hadde følge den. Det blir sagt at det var på Sandvolds initiativ.

H: Riktig.

Ø: Det har du også fått med deg, ja?

H: Men det står ingen sted at det er satsen som er autorisert og dermed kunne man alltid unngå departementet.

Ø: Ja, riktig det. Nei, ja, riktig, ja det er ikke så stort mye mer å si om det.

H: Var det åpen kamp i forhold til den ene og den andre?

Ø: Det kunne det; ... Ja, det kunne faktisk forekomme, og da må jeg kanskje nevne en gang som ... hvor vi arrangerte et møte – det var forresten på konservatoriet, i konservatoriets sal den gangen. Jeg tror vel det var organistforeningen som inviterte til en konfrontasjon mellom de to koralbøker. Og jeg husker det var en ganske morsom forestilling for det var jo de gamle organister som var meget påståelig og sånn, og sånn harmdirrende, hørte at Rolf Holger satt der opp og spilte en sats fra Per Steenbergs *Koralbok* med en annen harmonisering enn de spilte i den svarte boka. Så det var et morsomt møte. Det glemmer jeg ikke. Jeg husker tydelig en gammel organist fra forut traktene som reiste seg opp og stod: ”der er den igjen” sa ham!; Du skjønner at hver gang denne forholdningsteknikken ... istedenfor [spiller piano] hver gang: ”Der er den igjen, der er den igjen!” Ja, der hadde vi moro mange ganger. Den tålte ikke han mannen, altså. Velsignet være hans minne. Vidunderlig menneske. Men det var nok ikke bare ham, men det er ham jeg husker best. Men det ble i alle fall veldig livlig diskusjon om hvorfor den ene skulle være bedre enn den andre. Så det var en sånn konfrontasjon. Så det lå i luften hele tiden, altså. Var du Steenbergianer eller ikke?

H: Har du vært med under de nordiske kirkedager i Danmark?

Ø: Nei, jeg var ikke det. Jeg var så bundet av min undervisning, jeg fikk ikke ... hadde ikke tid til overs for det. Rolf Karlsen reiste dit, vet jeg.

H: Det var et tidlig møte i '50-tallet hvis jeg husker det riktig.

Ø: Var det da de laget *Nordisk koralbok*?

H: Nei, det kom i 1960, men arbeidet begynte under det møtet.

Ø: Ja, for den var jo også et incitament i sammenhengen, i utviklingsprosessen.

H: Den var jo det. Disse kirkestevner var toneangivende for hele Norden der man kunne følge forskjellige linjer og sine konsekvenser.

Ø: Ja, man gjorde jo det.

H: Var du med på andre organistmøter og -treff i Norge for å utveksle tanker bortsett fra *Musica Sacras*?

Ø: Nei, ikke på møter som var spesielt beregnet på å utveksle slike tanker. Vi hadde jo organistmøter og landsmøter og slik, og så hadde vi disse kirkemusikkfestene i Norge og i Sverige. Jeg var jo på et par i Sverige for eksempel. Men det var jo mest presentasjon av musikk, konsertmusikk for en stor del. Ja, forresten, jeg husker, vi skulle da – jeg lurar på hvilket år det var – vi var i Stockholm og skulle ... Hvert av de nordiske landene skulle presentere en typisk gudstjeneste slik som den foregikk der og da. Det er riktig, det husker jeg. Og jeg husker at vi skulle presentere vår norske gudstjeneste i – jeg tror det var Gustav Adolfskyrka, jeg husker ikke ... Men jeg skulle i alle fall spille ...

H: I Stockholm. Hvilket årstall? Sent 50-tallet?

Ø: Jeg ville tro noe sånt. Kanskje ikke så helt sent, heller.

H: '56?

Ø: Ja, det kan godt hende, det er veldig vanskelig for meg å si. Men det må kunne gå an å finne ut.

H: Absolutt.

Ø: De nordiske kirkemusikkdagene.

H: Jeg tenker det var 1956. Det var kirkedager i '52 og '56, og da var det en pause. Men det er en lett sak å ordne.

Ø: Var det i Stockholm, altså?

H: Det var det. De var i Danmark i '52.

Ø: Hva?

H: Danmark i '52.

Ø: Ja vel. Også hadde vi en i Växjö, husker jeg. Jaja. Men i alle fall det jeg husker der var at jeg hadde veldig store kvaler for at jeg faktisk skulle være organist under gudstjenesten der og – hvem var det som skulle være prest da? Det som overskygget alt for meg, det var altså "Hva i all verden skulle jeg velge?" Skulle jeg velge det konvensjonelle, skulle jeg velge Steenberg? Og det var ingen som kunne si meg hva jeg skulle gjøre, jeg måtte velge selv. Og det ble det at jeg valgte Steenberg. Og er ... Ja, det var vanskelig å vite. Så vanskelig kunne det være. Av hensyn til de andre norske.

H: Hvor mange av dine landsmenn var til stede i Stockholm?

Ø: Nei, det kan jeg ikke si. Det var nokså store møter. Vi var nok en god del norske også. Men jeg kan ikke huske så mange. Sandvold var jo der selvfølgelig, Karlsen var der, Nielsen var der. Jeg kan ikke huske om Egil Hovland var der. Jeg tror Knut Nystedt var der. Også tenker jeg nesten at vi hadde Torleif Aamodt fra Bergen, kan jeg tenke meg. Ja, jeg tror han var der. Nei, det er vanskelig å huske. Jeg hadde nokså mye med praktiske ting å gjøre, så jeg var litt engasjert i det og så fikk ikke vært like mye aktiv, vi hadde en debatt som foregikk ... Men i all fall så ... Har du hørt om han svenske orgel ... Dr Erici?

H: Ja, jeg har ikke lest noe ...

Ø: Han som lagde et sånt svensk orgelinventariet. Han var en gammel lege, visst. Jeg var hjemme hos ham en gang faktisk, det var en original. Hva han kunne om svensk orgel, gamle svenske orgler. Så han var også en liten del av det hele her. Ja, også domorganisten i Karlstad, Olle Ljungdahl. Har du hørt det navnet? Det var en nær venn av Rolf Karlsen, forstod jeg, for den skyld, av meg også, var jo ofte gjest hos oss. Han var også en god venn av Finn Viderø og var også innsatt veldig på orgelbevegelsen, på det vi kaller "rytmisk salmesang." Salmer i originalversjon, originalrytme. Og ... Jeg nevnte orgelbevegelsen, ja. Og i det hele tatt saklighet, ja.

H: Tilbake til koralforspill og den nye rytmisk koral, også ny harmonisering i Steenberg og for den saks skyld svarte boken. Og koralforspill før det. Var det noe forståelse for tonespråk og tilhørende stilarter? Det vil si forspill i samme stilart som koralharmonisering?

Ø: Ja, det var vel nesten selvsagt at skulle man bruke ren stil i koralsatsen så skulle man også lage noe tilsvarende stil i forspillene. Det lå doppelthen i kortene. Så det er det jeg opplevde, ja.

H: Men nærmest ingenting ble skrevet i ... på den tiden ...

Ø: Nei, ikke stort annet enn det som Karlsen skrev i *Pro organo* og til dels Nilsen, men det var mest Karlsen som var såpass i den saklige stilen. Nielsen var mere moderat der, ville jeg si.

H: Vi har jo Conrad Baden som skrev lengre verker.

Ø: Ja, det har vi også.

H: Klaus Egge ...

Ø: Klaus Egge? Har han skrevet musikk for *Musica Sacra*?

H: Det er en del.

Ø: Jojo, Klaus Egge, sangeren, ja, riktig det. Han må ha vært organistudannet også visst. Ellers så kjenner vi jo absolutt ham mest som profanmusiker og -komponist.

H: Så det var en forståelse, men betø det at man måtte improvisere til disse nye Steenbergkoraler eller ...?

Ø: Ja, det var jo helt vanlig, det at man måtte improvisere, det hørte jo med til å være organist. Improvisere forspill. Og om du ikke gjorde annet, så spilte du begynnelsen og slutten. På det mest elementære, da.

H: En av viktige komponister i bevegelsen *neue Sachlichkeit* har vært ... - og for den saks skyld Thomas Laub - har vært Johann Pachelbel og hans orgelstil.

Ø: Ja, det vet jeg. Det var godt du sa det.

H: Har du studert hans verker og blitt påvirket av Pachelbels stil?

Ø: Å ja. Studert, og jeg har spilt masse av det. Jeg har vært veldig betatt av Pachelbelstilen, det må jeg si. Den er veldig ren.

H: Hvis jeg ser ganske fort, man har den samme formmessige forståelse av komposisjon i en del av dine verker som man har i Pachelbel.

Ø: Ja. Jaja.

H: Er det et typisk grep blant dine, din omkrets?

Ø: Nå har jeg ikke så mye omkrets lenger, vet du.

H: Nei, men på den tiden.

Ø: Ja, det vil jeg vel si. Det var nokså naturlig, fugato-liknende saker, forspill, det tror jeg var nokså vanlig. Ja, det var det. Jo da, det gjorde også de andre, det.

H: Men også se tilbake til Cappelen og til og med Winter-Hjelm bruker samme effekter, fugato ...

Ø: Ja, til en viss grad vel ja,

H: Til en viss grad.

Ø: Det var ikke så veldig utpreget.

H: Det er ikke så streng, heller.

Ø: Nei.

H: Lengde på koralforspill. Har du en ... Var det en forståelse for at hvis koralforspillet skulle være en viss lengde eller lengre enn andre? Og i så fall: Hva var funksjonen for koralforspillet?

Ø: Gode spørsmål. Noen veldig gode spørsmål. Vi var jo opplært med og hadde til en viss grad en bevisst enighet i at man godt kunne ha litt lengre forspill til salmen før preken, det lærte vi liksom da vi gikk å bli organister i gamle dager.

H: Hvorfor?

Ø: Sandvold pleide å si det slik at du har såpass forspill at de gamle damene får tid til å pusse brillene sine. Det var det Sandvold sa.

H: For det kunne man ikke gjøre under prekenen.

Ø: Nei, det kunne man ikke. Nei, for å snakke alvor, så er jeg selv ikke noen tilhenger av lange forspill. Jeg skulle gjerne vært så genial at jeg kunne skrive korte forspill som var innholdsrike nok til å introdusere salmen som skal synges. Det er det som er poenget med forspill. Å introdusere den salmen. Så ... Derfor er mange av mine forspill nokså korte, med hensikt på det, da. Noen er kanskje enda for lange etter mitt syn. I alle fall hvis du gjennomkomponerer det hele inn så kan de bli litt lange. Men ... i prinsipp så mener jeg at de ikke skal være unødige lange. De skal ikke dominere gudstjenesten for å si det sann.

H: Skal de være toneangivende for salmen? Eller skal de ikke bare gi rytmen og så tonehøyde og de praktiske saker, men også å fargelegge forståelsen av salmens innhold?

Ø: Forstår. Ja, til en viss grad mener jeg vel det. I alle fall vil jeg ikke improvisere et forspill med samme grad ... med samme karakter til en begravelse som til et bryllup eller en festgudstjeneste. Jeg vil jo fargelegge det.

H: Ser du motsetningen i under renkirkestilforståelse og en subjektiv forståelse av en salme i en slik kontekst hvor man spiller annerledes i de to forskjellige ...

Ø: ... anledninger? Om jeg ...

H: ... ser du en motsetning i det?

Ø: Hva skulle det være? Jo, for så vidt. Det kan jo tenkes at du skal kanskje bruke den samme salmen i to gudstjenester av helt vidt forskjellig karakter og da kan det være en motsetning, et problem, det å skulle behandle den på samme måte ... på ulike måter i forhold til to gudstjenestetyper, hvis det er den samme salmen. For den samme salmen står jo ... har det samme uttrykket. Jeg mener salmen *Vår Gud, han er så fast en borg*, den er den samme enten du spiller den ved en eller annen anledning. Så jo, jeg ser et problem der. Jeg ville vel helst uttrykke *Ein feste Burg* slik jeg mener den er, uansett om jeg spilte den i begravelse eller bryllup eller festgudstjeneste. Sånn sett. Hvis det er noe svar på spørsmålet. Eller noen tanker?

H: Ja. Hva var hovedargument imot den rene kirkestilen? Jeg tenker her på filosofiske motsetninger mer enn tradisjonsbundete motsetninger.

Ø: Det var det veldig lite lagt vekt på det, det filosofiske, det var det empiriske simpelt, dette at du likte det ene og likte ikke det andre. Det som ofte blir sagt at det var ”knustørt og kjedelig” på det rene stil, det var ofte det motstanderne brukte da, altså ”knustørt og kjedelig.” Det husker jeg til og med Sandvold kunne si. Om enkelte ting, sånt. Jeg skal ikke gå inn i detaljene. Og det var ikke han alene om, å synes det ble for ensformig. Det er klart at det er et mindre tilfang av klanger, du skal holde deg innenfor treklangharmonikk, ikke bruke septimer unntatt gjennomganger og forholdninger og [utydelig]. Det er jo den sublime bruken av dissonansen i den rene stilen, det er jo slik Thomas Laub så har sånne flotte uttrykk om, det er jo de enkelte intervallene og sånn.

H: Han er meget subjektiv om det.

Ø: Veldig subjektiv, ikke sant. Ja. Han er vel den eneste som har sagt akkurat de tingene om en sekund, en ters, og de ... Jeg husker ikke hva han sier, men jeg husker han har karakteristikk her.

H: Ja, bra formuleringer der i Laub.

Ø: Det vil jeg si. Jada. ... Så sånn var det.

H: Den prosessen etter *Musica Sacra* virkelig tok av i Norge, kan man egentlig si at *Musica Sacra* var en meget viktig organisasjon noen gang i sin vel 55-årige eksistens, det kan man vanskelig bedømme, tenker jeg. Men det har vært meget viktig i norsk sammenheng, det arbeidet som har blitt gjort, hvor man føler og følger ganske mange av disse prinsipper som ble lagt i 1950-tallet den dag i dag.

Ø: Ja, man gjør det.

H: Som man kan si med rette at det har vært en viktig organisasjon og et viktig arbeid. Men samtidig har vi hatt strømninger som har gått i andre retninger som har utviklet tankeganger som førte fra romantikken til *neue Sachlichkeit*, til modernisme og så en hel rekke andre strømninger.

Ø: Ikke minst anglikanere ...

H: Ja, man hadde [den] anglikanske kirkes salmer, hos Anglican chant – via Sverige. Men hvor plasserer du deg selv innenfor denne konteksten? Hva har du gjort i etterkant?

Ø: Hva jeg har gjort?

H: Ja. Hva har din prosess ført frem til?

Ø: Den har ikke ført meg frem til Anglican chant i noe særlig grad i alle fall. Den synes jeg vi har fått nok av nå. Den passer seg hånd i hanske i den anglikanske kirke.

H: Vi har jo ikke det i vår tradisjon.

Ø: Den synes jeg blir for mye ... Nei, jeg holder meg mer til kontinentale, jeg må si det. Du kan si hva du vil om de germanske, men akkurat der er jeg germaner altså. Ja, jeg føler altså at det som holder, varer og holder, det som tåler å brukes, det er det enkle. Så du kan kjøre tilbake til gregoriansk koral, ikke sant, det enkle der. For eksempel for å belyse det beste leddet jeg vet vi har i vår nåværende høymesseliturgi, det er Rolf Karlsens *Gloria*, ja, det er ikke romantisk, akkurat. Det er ikke Palestrinastil. Hva er det? Vet ikke. Men det er så slitesterkt. I motsetning til *Gud være lovet, halleluja*. Det er så kjempeforskjell. Det er det. Nei, altså disse tidebønnene, de ble jeg veldig glad i, tidebønnesmusikken som *Musica Sacra* skaffet til veie ... Og jeg vil vite hvis ikke *Musica Sacra* hadde vært, hvor mye hadde kommet inn av dette i den nåværende salmeboken, ja? Og det glir jo inn som en selvfølge. Det er nesten et lite under opplever vi det som har vært med på den utviklingen der. All den motstand som der var, at det virkelig skulle komme noe inn i salmeboken, det har gått greit!

H: Det er jo allment akseptert.

Ø: Ikke sant!

H: Nå har vi fått avsatt en betydelig andel av den nye salmeboken til akkurat liturgiske salmesanger og bibelske salmer. Meget, meget viktig.

Ø: Men likevel gregorianske melodier?

H: Ja, en del. Absolutt en del.

Ø: Jada, det er jo laget så mye bra saker i helt andre stilarter i løpet av de siste desenniene, så du verden!

H: Hvis du følger for eksempel Egil Hovlands karriere som komponist hvor han begynner i en forsiktig kvasi-ren kirkestil med hans koralforspill på 40-tallet, går videre til en litt mer utvidet tonespråk og så plutselig modernisme i 1960-tallet og så tilbake til nyvennlighet og [videoproblem] ... populisme. Kan du si noe om de påvirkningene fra Hovland eller andre komponister som arbeidet parallelt med deg?

Ø: Nei, han har jo hatt en spesiell og for seg selv karakteristisk utvikling. Så jeg vet ikke hva jeg skal si. Om det har betydning for meg, sa du?

H: Ja, og om du har følt at: Dette må jeg prøve. Her er veien videre.

Ø: Nei ... Jeg har beundret hans stil på avstand, men jeg har ikke latt meg bevisst inspirere og påvirke av det. Av og til skulle jeg ønske jeg følte meg litt som tolvtonekomponist som kunne av og til gjøre ganske artige verker, men det har ikke blitt noe av det. Men denne nyvennligheten hans, den synes jeg han må få lov å ha for seg selv. På en måte, for å si det sånn. Det har blitt hans stil på det siste eller de siste årene. Men han har laget mye fine ... veldig mye lettsungede melodier til våre salmer. Og de bibelske salmene han laget, det er jo veldig mye bra der. Da han laget dem, så var det en del, så hørte jeg en del av våre venner som kritiserte at han skulle lage nye salmoditoner, de mente han kunne jo bruke de tradisjonelle der. Den gangen. Jeg hører aldri noe om det nå. De hører til ... De han har laget hører liksom til den stilen der. Men det ble litt kritisert til å begynne med. Han ga først ut et lite sånn hefte i eget forlag, i en sånn stensilert sak, den smale, og det var da den ble sagt av mange, blant annet Rolf Karlsen og sånn. Syntes de at de tradisjonelle formlene var bedre.

H: Det er jo også vanskelig å overføre gregorianikk til andre språk.

Ø: Det også. Veldig vanskelig ...

H: Man har jo flere problemstillinger der.

Ø: Å, du verden! Det er vanskelig.

H: Hva med Conrad Baden?

Ø: Ja, han står liksom ... vesentlig litt ut om akkurat disse problemene som vi nå snakker om vel.

H: Han begynte med en forholdsvis smal musikkpråk, men utvidet det gradvis ut til en noe modernistisk allmenneuropeisk stil.

Ø: ... atonalt ...

H: Men var han innom *Musica Sacra* til noen vesentlig grad?

Ø: Nei, han var jo medlem. Ikke noe aktivt, som jeg opplevde det. Det kan jeg ikke si.

H: Kan du nevne de som var aktivt i sent 1940-tallet, i stiftelsesprosessen, helt frem til 1960? Min periode går fra 1930-tallet omtrent til 1965. Kanskje litt mer begrenset enn det. For det er dette ... denne perioden som er mest spennende i forhold til de overgangene fra romantisk stil til den nye kirkestil.

Ø: Jeg har jo ikke nevnt ...

H: Litt senere i prosessen.

Ø: Nils Aam, kjenner du det navnet, for å gå til Vestlandet. Jeg kan vel si at Pjhort [Per Hjort Albertsen] også var litte grann med.

H: Han var nærmest en Händel-fanatiker etter hans studier med Ralph Downes i England.

Ø: Ja, akkurat. Jada. Nei, altså han var vel kanskje ikke så veldig aktiv i den musikalske utviklingen der. Men, skal vi se, skal vi se sånn. Så hadde vi hadde en artig type i Ålesund som het Nils [Eivind?] Solheim som var en romantiker, men han var med på alt mulig rart. Han støttet liksom bare med sitt nærvær opp om tankene. Ellers var det bare en koselig gammel romantiker. Du kjenner han vel kanskje? Jo, så hadde vi en ildsjel opp i Molde. Hva het han? Å, hva het han? Det var en morsom original kar. Han snakket så veldig mye om ren stil og alt sånt. I praksis så var han [gjør armbevegelser]. Hva het han? Jo Høyer-Finn, Thorleif [sic]. Artig type. Han var så vennlig sinnet overfor det *Musica Sacra* drev med. Vi hadde en eller annen tilstelning opp hos han en gang, og vi var så velkomne, og det var så stas liksom. Men ja. Knut Nystedt har jeg selvfølgelig nevnt jeg, Egil Hovland, og så ... og han, jeg nevnte han, Ingar Fredrik Nilsen, han var jo veldig ildsjel, så var han med på dette, det kom kanskje ikke så mye konkret ut av det, men han var i hvert fall blant ildsjelene som støttet opp.

H: Så lenge han levde.

Ø: Så lenge han levde. Ja, han døde så altfor tidlig.

H: Ragnar Grøm?

Ø: Det er litt senere. Det er de senere årene han kom så aktivt inn der da med disse oversettelsene. Han er jo sånn barokkianer for det meste. Ganske artige og prisverdige forsøk, synes jeg. Men han bodde jo den gang i Oslo, så han var jo med som solist i alle oratorier, i hvert fall i mange av de oratorieoppførelsene som jeg også var med og Rolf Karlsen var med. Så han var vel veldig innforstått, ja, han var vel med i *Musica Sacra*. Jada, positiv, godt kar. Han kjenner du kanskje også. [Står opp.] Men nå må ikke jeg glemme å ta et bilde av deg før du går, det må jeg få lov til. Håper bare jeg har strøm på. Det lyser litt rødt der, men jeg tenker nesten det går likevel. Ååå, "battery empty." [Pause] Jeg har fått det likevel til da.

H: Så har jeg bare noen korte spørsmål igjen egentlig. Opplevde du den perioden etter stiftelsen av *Musica Sacra* som et fruktbart eller tvetydig eller vanskelig periode?

Ø: Først og fremst fruktbart. Først og fremst fruktbart. Alle de planleggingsmøtene vi hadde til disse musikkandaktene, jeg tror vi hadde nesten en gang i måneden i en lang periode. Jeg så før jeg flyttet hit så så jeg hadde liggende en bunke med programmer fra den tiden, jeg tror jeg kastet dem dessverre. Men jeg regner med at det finnes andre steder, helt sikkert. Det var mange ser jeg, du verden så mange, bare programmene altså. For eksempel vi laget sånne orgelmesser, vet du. Spilte for eksempel Buxtehudes *Magnificat*, og så sang vi den i *Musica Sacra* -korene og noe sånt, det var i Uranienborg kirke. Jeg husker Rolf spilte orgelpartiene, og jeg dirigerte koret foran i kirken. Og vi laget selvfølgelig Bachs orgelmesser, selvfølgelig. Det var herlig. Det var jo litt av en jobb, for nokså krevende. Det var Rolf som spilte der også og jeg dirigerte koret. Det er jo svære orgelverk å spille. Og sånne ting som var nokså innholdsrike program hadde vi mange ganger. Nei, det var en fruktbar tid altså. Og det var ikke noe ond ånd, der kom det en god del mennesker, var til stede på disse her gudstjenestene våre. Så det var positivt. Vi fikk liksom en egen menighet på det der. Det var en god tid.

H: Hva slags form fikk disse musikkandakter? Jeg har lest helt siden 1930-tallet, kanskje 1934, '35 arbeidet, Ludvig Nilsen med musikkandakter i domkirken [i Trondheim]. Og disse førte

frem til en fast tradisjon i domkirken som har vært mye forenklet de seinere år, men som egentlig stammer fra den tiden, tenker jeg. Men kan du beskrive formen?

Ø: Ikke hans form, den kjenner jo ikke jeg.

H: Den kjenner du ikke, men denne formen som dere brukte under *Musica Sacra* og så før.

Ø: Altså før, så ble jo disse såkalte musikkandaktene satt opp med stor tilfeldighet. Da satte man opp en blandning av orgelstykker, andre instrumentalstykker, et vokalinnslag ut fra hva man hadde for hånd og hva man likte og sånn. Ofte ikke noen annen spesiell tråd i det, mens det var jo disse *Musica Sacra*, de sluttet som sagt alltid med tidebønn, i alle fall det.

H: Det var tidebønnen fra ... for den dagstiden?

Ø: Ja. Liksom ...

H: Vesper, kompletorium?

Ø: Kompletorium, ja. Slik som Buarv hadde lagt til rette for oss. Så det var liksom den faste strukturen der. Men det var avslutningen. Og første delen, de var aldri lange, de varte aldri stort mer enn en halvtime, tror jeg. En halvtime, tre kvarter. Aldri en time, tror jeg. Det var noe av styrken ved dem, at de var korte.

H: Kjente dere til Fasmer-Dahls *Vespermusikk*?

Ø: Ja.

H: Og Sandvolds tilrettelegging av det ...

Ø: Ja.

H: Var det i bruk?

Ø: Nei, det kan jeg ikke huske at jeg opplevde annet i min barndom eller tidlige ungdom, så kan jeg huske det blir brukt her i kirken, julaften, vesperen. Det gjorde veldig inntrykk på meg som guttunge. Vi hadde jo organisten her, hadde da et kor som sang denne. Det var jo der jeg først møtte den *Du* [sic] *vandrer fra hver en verdens krog*, blant annet, for eksempel. Den kom seg i salmeboka nå.

H: Jeg anser disse Vesper som en tidlig forståelse av en del av den rene musikkstilen hvor man har innhentet eldre tradisjonsliturgier, så har delvis innført musikk som hørte til ...

Ø: Det er sant, O. M. Sandvik. Du har den. Han laget vel flere, han laget en *Olavsvesper* til 1930, ikke sant.

H: Det gjorde han. Også en fra 1948 [sic], om jeg husker riktig. Laget med Per Steenberg.

Ø: Ja!

H: Var den i bruk?

Ø: Hva var det for noe?

H: Det var en *Vesper*, gjennomkomponert.

Ø: Den husker jeg ikke nå. Jeg så den derifra til Olavsjubileet i 1930, den husker jeg. Ja, for han, Sandvik og Steenberg som jo var med på det, de fant vel en slags gregorianikk i det.

H: Nei ...

Ø: Jeg tror de nærmest hentet stoff fra den gang gjeldende Gradualier.

H: Det stemmer.

Ø: Ja, gjør ikke det? Jeg synes å forestille meg det.

H: Som er til dels basert på eldre stoff. Du nevner at Bach var en akseptert del av *Musica Sacras* gudstjenester og andakter, til tross for for eksempel Laubs og Steenbergs forståelse at Bach var egentlig ikke en del av den rene kirkestile.

Ø: Neida, han stod vel ikke så sentralt heller, men jeg nevnte jo iallfall dette vi lagde i hvert fall messene som er bygd på ... med musikk som bygger på messene. Det var den ene gangen jeg hadde Bachs altså, men Buxtehude, så hadde vi en gang. Men ellers gikk det veldig mye Pachelbel og Buxtehude og disse tidlige barokkomponistene, og ellers også, det gikk veldig mye på det, altså.

H: Men det var akseptert at Bach ble brukt fordi han ... på grunn av hans storhet?

Ø: Tross alt er Bach Bach!

H: Kan du se en utvikling som har ført til at man gradvis løsnet opp *Musica Sacras* strenge idealer til å akseptere mer og mer. eller anser du at *Musica Sacra* fremdeles holder fast til prinsippene?

Ø: Ja, de har holdt fast ved viktige elementene av prinsippene. Men de har jo tøyd seg en del etter vår tid for å si det sånt. Det er jo nye generasjoner som har tatt over. Lenge siden Karlson og Nilsson og vi holdt på med *Musica Sacra*, så det skjer jo en utvikling. Vi ser jo på sommerkursene de holder at det tøyer seg en del i mange retninger der. Mens det opprinnelige fundamentet, det har sin selvfølgelig plass i tidebønnen. Der særlig i tidebønnene. Det er laget et pent nytt tidebønnhefte også. Litt penere å se på enn dette som han Buvarp lagde, stensilerte.

H: Har du sett de som er laget i Trondheim for Olavsfestdagene og de Olsokgudstjenester.

Ø: Nei. Hvem har laget dem? Er det dere som har laget dem?

H: Det er Liturgisk senter og Solhaug, Irene Bergheim og Margot Abildsnes med Oddmund ... Hva heter han for noe?

Ø: Åvik?

H: Åvik, ja takk!

Ø: Ja, så javel ... Nei, disse har jeg ikke sett. Nei, det jeg har sett siste gang jeg var på *Musica Sacra* -kurs, det var så pene, trykte tidebønnhefter, men det var vel *Musica Sacra* som har laget dem.

H: Ja, det var det. Da har jeg egentlig ikke flere spørsmål foreløpig. Tusen hjertelig takk. Jeg kommer til å sende en del av de kapitler som berører dette ned til deg.

Ø: Det vil jeg svært gjerne.

H: Så kommer du til å se om jeg har tatt feil eller ikke.

Ø: Jeg håper jeg har ikke sagt for mye dumt som jeg ikke vil stå for i ettertid.

H: Det tror jeg ikke.

Ø: Så da skal jeg gjerne undertegne som konsensus som du snakket med. Hvis det er for den betingelsen.

Kjell Mørk Karlsen

Place: Kjell Mørk Karlsen's home, Furuveien 32, 0760 Oslo, Norway

Date and time: Friday 14 September 2007, 09.00-10.45

H: Da er vi i gang ...

K: Ja!

H: Det jeg hadde tenkt var å få en liten beskrivelse fra deg om hva du mener er, først og fremst, nysaklighet er – det store spørsmålet i forhold til dette arbeidet. Det er mulig å se en sammenheng i forskjellige retninger, bl.a. når det gjelder historisisme, nyklassisisme, en interesse for liturgisk fornyelse, og i hvert fall en interesse for eldre tiders idealiserte komposisjonsteknikker, fra Palestrina og fremover, og den bevegelsen som har vært kjent helt siden 1800-tallet i Tyskland og Sør-Europa; det først og fremst, og deretter i Danmark. Men hva er nysaklighet i Norge?

K: Det er vel for så vidt det samme som vi opplevde i Europa, og impulsene i Norge kommer særlig fra Danmark, fra den Thomas Laub-bevegelsen der og via Per Steenberg. Men dette med den nye sakligheten, det var jo noe som på '30-, '40-tallet ikke gjaldt bare i kirkemusikken men også i profanmusikken, tenk på neoklassisisme med Stravinskys og Hindemiths arbeider, i alle fall Hindemiths tidlige arbeider, som bl.a. Messiaen gjør litt oppgjør mot når han begynte med sine absolutt mere romantiserende akkordbruk igjen. Så det var vel noe som lå i tiden, men det var jo det å søke tilbake til røttene som du nevnte, dette at man så på tidligere tiders musikkutfoldelse som var kanskje mye glemt på grunn av en stor romantisk periode som jeg mener levde godt i Norge til '40- og '50-tallet, i alle fall innen kirkemusikken. Så man kan si det var på en måte et slags opprør, et ønske å komme tilbake til tidligere tiders musisk utfoldelse.

H: Vil du si at Per Steenberg har vært en sterk påvirkningskraft på grunn av hans stilling som pedagog?

K: Ja, jeg kjenner ikke hele hans historie, men det er mulig at hans stilling som pedagog ble så sterkt fordi at han selv ønsket å formidle noe av det han selv hadde vært i Danmark og lært. Altså Per Steenberg, han var vel kanskje 50 år da han reiste til Danmark og begynte å studere for alvor Palestrinastil og de gamle klassiske komposisjonsformeler. Det er interessant å se tidlige, tidlige verker av Steenberg er jo meget romantiske; så han snudde om og fikk en visjon, og dette ønsket han å formidle til elever her i Norge. Så han hadde en kolossal betydning med sin undervisning.

H: Det er lite orgelmusikk i hans nysaklige stil.

K: Ja, det var først og fremst koralen som interesserte ham, og det vokale.

H: Kan du si noe mer om orgelmusikk i 1930-tallet, som var parallell med hans pedagogikk innenfor nysaklighet?

K: Jeg vet ikke om vi hadde så veldig mye orgelmusikk på '30-tallet, egentlig. Altså man spilte, altså vi hadde da i Norge gjennom Sandvold og ... husk på alle fremtredende kirkemusikere, de var da utdannet i Leipzig i Straube-tradisjonen, og den tok de med seg til

Norge. Så jeg tror faktisk, på '30-tallet, så var det mest romantisk orgelspilling her i Norge. Og noen nyskapning, sånn sett, det kom ikke før etter krigen, tror jeg. Vi kan jo bare tenke på Sandvolds *Introduksjon og Passacaglia* som jo jeg mener er et av de flotteste norske orgelverk; det er jo helt etter en Max Reger, etter tradisjonen.

H: Man kan se antydninger til dette i Magne Elvestrands tidlige verker i 1930-tallet.

K: Ja, de kjenner jeg ikke så godt, så jeg kan ikke si noe om ...

H: Det *Passacaglia* er helt enestående, annerledes, jo meste parten er skrevet i nysaklig stil.

K: Det er interessant, for dette verket kjenner jeg overhodet ikke.

H: Han var en nokså ukjent komponist i det hele tatt i Norge.

K: Ja, Elvestrand var så beskjeden, og jeg fikk en gang etter masse påtrykk ut av ham en liten korsang gitt ut på organistforbundets kantorimusikkserien, men det, den satt langt inne!

H: Hva med behovet for nye koralforspill som ble utløst av Landstads reviderte?

K: Det var vel ikke så veldig stor koralforspilltradisjon. Altså de dyktige organistene var vant til å improvisere, og de som ikke kunne det, de spilte vel på enkleste måten, bare slutten av salmen, så det var jo ... Altså vi hadde på '20- og '30-tallet ikke så veldig mange utdannede organister i Norge, mange var selvlærte, mange var skolelærere som hadde som pensum på lærerskolen å lære seg 20 koraler, og de havnet ofte på bygdene og fungerte som organister. Så noe stor tradisjon der har vi vel ... Jeg kjenner ikke noe annet enn disse Lindemansakene som ton ... små tonebilder som vi også kan kalle koralforspill.

H: Også kan man se en tydelig stilkopieringsform i den perioden som går fra Alnæs og Lindemanskolen.

K: Ja, ingen nyvinninger der, altså.

H: Det har jeg fått konstatert av veldig mange også i mine egne lesninger.

K: Ja.

H: Men selve nysaklighet i orgelmusikk som du sier, viser seg ikke før etter krigen. I hvert fall, det var klare antydninger til det allerede til det i '40-tallet med ganske mange forskjellige komponister som begynte å se i denne retningen. Og vi har jo tidlige verker av Hovland og Baden som har antydninger til dette. Men har du noen klare meninger om hvor skillet kommer?

K: Ja, jeg tror skillet kommer ganske fort etter krigen, og en av årsakene, kanskje hovedårsaken, det tror jeg var orgelbevegelsen som vi fikk fra Danmark. Altså, det ble veldig, man begynte å studere hos Finn Viderø. Min far var blant de første, tror jeg. Og gjennom hans undervisning så ble man kjent med de klassiske orgeltypene som ikke var så veldig påaktet i Norge i den tiden, og interessen for den klassiske, og la oss si saklig orgeltypen, den utviklet også interesse for å skrive musikk som var basert på denne byggestilen av orglene. Altså, klassiske orgler med hovedverk, ryggpositiv og svellverk, ikke sant. Det var ikke de store, romantiske orglene som var idealet, men det var klare, spisse,

altså barokke formene. Jeg tror orgeltypen har hatt veldig mye å si for komponister, og det merker jeg selv. Altså, da jeg var ung, så var jeg organist i Greverud kirke på et 12-stemmers orgel fra Vestre, et veldig spisst barokkorgel, og det bevirket også at jeg skrev kanskje veldig spisse orgelverk den gangen. Så ble jeg domorganist i Tønsberg på et stort romantisk Frobenius/Jørgensenorgel, og dermed begynte jeg faktisk å komponere en helt annen type orgelmusikk. Så jeg tror det kan ha vært en av årsakene. Men så har vi også begeistring over dette å finne frem til noe annet enn den romantiske tradisjonen som kanskje mange følte at de satt veldig klistret fast i. Det var noe nytt og spennende.

H: Selv om at Arild Sandvold var en del av *Musica Sacra* helt fra starten av, var han egentlig aldri en del av det ...

K: ... ikke i sitt hjerte tror jeg, nei. Altså han syntes at han måtte være med fordi det liksom hørte til, men Sandvold, han ... Altså hans musiske oppfatning endret han nok aldri på. Det er klart, han hadde en så enorm forankring i Straube-tradisjonen. Og Sandvold som en fantastisk stor musiker, han utviklet jo sin stil til det ytterste, og det kjenner gjennom både hans utøvergjerning og hans komponistgjerning, som jeg forøvrig synes er fantastisk flott og kanskje ikke ville ha vært riktig om Sandvold engang hadde endret sin stil for han hørte hjemme i skolen han virket i.

H: Også hans orgelbyggersyn er noe annerledes enn nysaklighetens.

K: Ja. Også der hørte jeg en litt interessant formulering en gang, at Sandvold, han var jo født og vokst opp i en tid hvor de tekniske nyvinningene var veldig sterk i fokus i samfunnet, han ble veldig fascinert av dette, liksom alt som var av tekniske hjelpemidler og apparater og spennende ting, husk på vi fikk telefon, vi fikk strøm og så videre, altså i Sandvolds allerførste år, så han var fascinert av dette hele livet og ville ikke da gå tilbake til et mere tungvint mekanisk orgel, ikke sant, hvor man måtte bruke makt for å dra ut og inn register og orglene var kanskje tungspilte. Husk på de første mekaniske orglene i Norge var jo forferdelige, egentlig. Vi syntes det var veldig flott på overflaten at de var mekaniske, men de var ofte veldig dårlige orgler! Så Sandvold, han identifiserte seg aldri akkurat med denne nye stilen.

H: Er det grunn til å tro at hans posisjon i Oslo gjennom over 40 år som utøvende musiker har påvirket miljøet her rett før din far overtok?

K: Ja, så det var jo konflikt mellom den gamle og den nye skolen, sånn vil det jo alltid være. Og Sandvold, han ønsket jo veldig at det som han hadde undervist sine elever, det han sto for, det skulle leve videre. Så han likte nok ikke det veldig bruddet som kom, med en annen tenkemåte når det gjaldt kirkemusikk. Jeg tror hadde både Sandvold og min far levd i dag, hvis de hadde levd så lenge, så hadde nok mange av disse motsetningene mer og mere blitt glattet ut, man forstått dette fellesskapet man egentlig har, et ansvar for en utvikling. Men det var nok ganske steile fronter den gangen da den nye sakligheten kom på banen. Den truet jo posisjonene til de gamle. Sånn vil det alltid være.

H: Jeg har også tatt opp en samtale mellom meg og Anfinn Øien. Han antyder også temmelig steile fronter i forhold til dette, men hans posisjon har aldri forandret seg i forhold til *Musica Sacras* idealer. Han mente at han kom stadig i konflikt med Sandvold og hans orgelbyggersyn og også hans komposisjonssyn i forhold til harmonisering.

[Telefonen ringer]

K: Jada, Anfinn Øien var jo veldig tro mot de idealene. Anfinn Øien var jo ung den gangen, han vokste inn i dette og var hele sitt liv, så har han vært tro mot de idealene han lærte. Og Øien var nok av de som opplevde å bli litt tilsidesatt som organist fordi at han dyrket dette nye da. Han fikk jo nesten aldri noe skikkelig organiststilling i Oslo.

H: Var det på grunn av Sandvolds posisjon?

K: Tror nok det, det var nok mye det, ja.

H: Og opplevde Nielsen i Trondheim de samme påvirkninger, selv om at han også er fra Straube-skolen, i utgangspunkt. Opplevde han også de samme maktkamper i forhold til dette?

K: Nei, egentlig ikke, tror jeg, for Ludvig Nielsen, han kom jo så veldig ung, domorganist i Nidarosdomen, han var vel ikke mer enn 28 år eller noe sant, og kom jo allerede da i en veldig god posisjon hvor han på en måte var suveren. Og i Trondheim, så var det vel heller ikke de sterke motsetningene. Det var kanskje ikke så mange veldig høyt utdannede organister i miljøet hans, så han ble jo på en måte, uten at jeg kan si dette helt sikkert, men jeg kan tenke meg at han var jo en høvding allerede fra starten. Og Nielsen, han arbeidet jo, han var ingen konfliktperson, han arbeidet stille og målbevisst og grep fatt i mange av de nye ideer, men kanskje aldri så veldig sånn som f.eks. min far og Anfinn Øien her i Oslo. Altså Nielsen, han dro med seg så og si sin gamle tradisjon også i sitt nye virke, for å si det slik, og det kan man merke også på Nielsens orgelkomposisjoner, der jeg ser det som en blanding av både Straubetradisjon og den nye sakligheten.

H: Det kan man også se hos de andre som var aktiv i den tidlige perioden, bl.a. Solberg, som ble påvirket sterkt av hans lærer i Oslo.

K: Jada, altså Sandvold, han var jo veldig til å påvirke sine elever. Vi kan si på godt og vondt. Og det er jo ... Vi snakket om dette verket, *Introduksjon og passacaglia*, da Sandvold kom med det, så var det jo en rekke komponister som skrev *Introduksjon og passacaglia*, det var jo Knut Nystedt, det var Leif Solberg, og det var andre. Så Sandvold, han var jo i alle år et stort, stort ideal. Men en del av de, de brøt jo litt og gikk da i retning mot *Musica Sacra*.

H: Hva ble *Musica Sacra* fra utgangspunktet i 1952?

K: Hva mener du, at ...?

H: Hva ble det til, det ble en organisasjon som ble stiftet rett etter krigen, og man får ikke slike organisasjoner fra intet. Det måtte ha vært en sterk bevegelse for å få i gang et program om norsk kirkemusikk, og der kan man se tydelige strømninger fra Sverige som utgangspunkt, og så i Danmark. *Kyrkomusikens venner* som er kanskje den mest sammenligbar organisasjonen der. Men *Musica Sacra* oppstod i 1952, og så var det en rekke sterke figurer som stod bak det. Hvor ble det ifra?

K: Nei, det var rett og slett noen som fant sammen og begynte å snakke om at vi måtte skape en sterkere liturgisk aktivitet i Norge, og én av de, det er jo ganske interessant, det var jo senere biskop Per Lønning, og det var min far, det var ikke minst også organisten Nils Aam i Bergen som jo hadde også veldig sterke interesser av gammel kirkemusikk og liturgi, og Anfinn Øien var jo også med helt fra starten. Så vi kan si de var på en måte unge radikalere,

relativt unge radikalere som fant sammen og ønsket å skape en bevegelse som fremholdt disse tingene som vi jo kjenner til. Altså, det var mye gregoriansk sang som de ville ha inn, de ville ha en orgelbevegelse på plass, og de ville ha tilbake reformasjonskorallene og salmesangen fra den tiden. Så de hadde helt ... tre helt klare målsetninger som de arbeidet utefra.

H: Den liturgiske bevegelsen, kan man si, kom ganske seint i gang i Norge. Om den aldri har fått fotfeste, er en diskusjonssak. Men hvor kom den ifra? Fordi det er jo en tydelig del av nysakligheten. Liturgifornyelse er egentlig det som ligger i grunnen for hele tankegangen.

K: Det var vel ... Altså flere av disse, de reiste litt ut. Min far var jo i utlandet både før krigen og etter krigen og kom i kontakt med både musiske og liturgiske strømninger. Og Per Lønning, hans agenda, det var jo opprør mot banale salmer og sanger som han syntes hadde altfor stor plass i norsk kirkeliv, og vi kan si Lønning er jo typisk en sånn saklighetsperson altså i masse områder som ikke hadde med musikk å gjøre også. Så det var ... Du kan si at tiden var moden for å begynne et liturgisk revisjonsarbeid i Norge, rett og slett, tiden var moden. Jeg tror det var hovedårsaken.

H: Hvilken plass hadde Steenbergs *Koralbok* i alt dette?

K: Den var nok en vesentlig bidragsyter fordi at vi hadde jo en – det var vel på slutten av 40-tallet – en veldig koralboksstrid, steile fronter der også, man mente at det var lovbrudd å ikke spille harmoniseringene som de stod i Lindemans *Koralbok*. Min far ble i sin tid til og med anmeldt til politiet fordi han spilte Steenbergs *Koralbok* på radiogudstjeneste.

H: Ble det noe ut av det?

K: Nei, han skrev et morsomt svar, jeg kan jo ta med denne historien. Han fikk spørsmål fra departementet, og han skrev tilbake at i Lindemans første koralbokutgave, så skriver Lindeman at ”Dette er bare mitt forslag til harmoniseringene. Men dersom organist er dyktig nok og kan selv lage sine harmoniseringer, så må han selvfølgelig gjerne gjøre det,” og da jeg anser meg fra [for] å være dyktig nok til å gjøre det, skrev min far, så tillater jeg meg å spille andre satser enn de som står. Men jeg tror kanskje at den koralbokstriden, det at organister følte at de ikke fikk lov til å bruke Steenbergs *Koralbok* på sine gudstjenestene kunne være en medvirkende årsak at de startet dette liturgiske fornyelsesarbeidet. De følte seg rett og slett altfor innestengt i det lovverket som var.

H: ... som egentlig var ingen sterk lovverk, det er aldri noe tanker om autorisering av satser.

K: Nei da, men det stod at den salme- og koralboken var autorisert til bruk i den norske kirken, og utover det skulle man da ikke gå.

H: Hvor utbredd ble Steenbergs *Koralbok* ...

K: Veldig.

H: ... utover Trondheim og Oslo?

K: Jeg tror den ble ganske utbredt, men der var det også, vi kan si et problem at fryktelig mange organister var Sandvoldelever, og de hadde jo nærmest streng beskjed om at det var ikke tale om, det var Lindemanns *Koralbok* som skulle brukes. Altså Sandvold hadde nok et

evne å binde sine elever, de var veldig redd for liksom å gå utenfor hans instruksjoner, og det gjorde nok sitt til at mange ikke torde å ta med seg Steenberg utover landet. Men de organistene som var bevisste, de gjorde nok.

H: Du siterer Lindemans *Koralbok*, men Alnæs eller hans komité's arbeid for å revidere koralatsene ble også muligens en påvirkning for man ønsket å gå bort fra en ensformig koralutforming. Hvor sterk ble den bevegelsen?

K: Det kjenner ikke jeg så veldig godt til, det var jo bare tilstående. Det kan jeg ikke si noe særlig om.

H: Den nysaklige utgangspunkt som man hadde der var forholdsvis klar i de musikkjournaler og tidsskrifter som ble utgitt på den tiden, selv om at Sandvold var sterkt inn i bilde som redaktør. Det var veldig mye innskrevne forslag og kommentarer og kåserier, kritikk i forhold til Alnæs sin koralbok. Jeg ser en tydelig parallell fra Alnæs til Steenberg og videre til *Musica Sacra*. En bevegelse som, selv om de ikke uttalte dette som saklig eller tjenende, men likevel hadde sterke røtter i "det ekte." Din far ble opptatt av dette. Kan du si litt om hans posisjon i den tidlige stadiet?

K: Ja ... For det første, han hadde en utrolig posisjon som utøvende musiker, og dermed så hadde han også en veldig stor respekt i musikklandskapet. Og det var nok veldig gode egenskaper å ha med seg når du da skulle være med på å fremme noe nytt fordi at det klart en aktiv person vil jo alltid bli mere hørt på enn en man ikke kjenner noe til. Min far var jo aldri noen konfliktperson, og så jeg har ... han skrev jo noen artikler for å fremme disse nye synspunktene, men han har ... jeg har aldri opplevd at han har polemisert. Det var ikke hans måte å gjøre det på.

H.: Var det noen andre som polemisert saken?

K: Nå var jeg såpass liten, så jeg opplevde det jo mest fra et praktisk utøvende hold, men jeg vet jo at det var skrevet ganske sterke artikler for og imot *Musica Sacra* uten at jeg direkte kan referere noe spesielt til. Jeg bare vet om det.

H: Det kjenner jeg til.

K: Ja, akkurat.

H: Du nevnte Paul Hindemith tidligere. Hvor stor innflytelse hadde han og hans komposisjonsverden i dette? For din far først og fremst?

K: Jeg tror nok at altså Hindemith ser jeg på som motstykke til Hugo Distler, Hans Friedrich Michelseen og de tyske orgelkomponistene, Pepping, så i og med at min far, han var jo ikke bare kirkemusiker, han var jo meget dyktig pianist og profanmusiker. Han var jo orkesterpianist i Oslo Filharmoniske i over tre år og kom der veldig mye i kontakt med for eksempel Hindemiths musikk, så han fant en veldig parallell med det som skjedde av tysk kirkemusikk. Så jeg tror nok at Hindemith kan ha vært med på å pushe på at dette var noe i tiden som var viktig å få frem.

H: Hans bok, apropos Hindemith, om harmonilære ble brukt på konservatoriet her fra 1960 og framover, men det var sannsynligvis Øien som hadde det som et program.

K: Ja, riktig.

H: Hans utdanning, i forhold til din far, hva kan du tenke har vært en av de sterkeste påvirkningene i forhold til grunnutdanningen?

K: Altså min fars utdanning? Før det første, som jeg sa, hadde han en veldig sterk utdanning som pianist, og han var jo i utgangspunktet en typisk romantisk musiker. Han spilte jo alt som fantes av romantisk klavermusikk, klaverkonserter og ... Men han, allerede som barn, så faktisk reagerte han på ... Det er en spennende ting, han fortalte, han var da kanskje 10, 11 år, da han hørte Bachs *Matthäuspasion* i Losjens Store sal som den heter den gangen, konsertlokale i Oslo, og da brukte de altså flygel på resitativene, og det reagerte han på som barn. Det var en klang som ikke stemte, så han var nok veldig tidlig våken på det med hvordan musikk skulle lyde. Men han hadde jo også en sånn utdanning, en sterk orgelutdanning hos Sandvold, han var jo også en Sandvoldelev og barn av sin tid da han var ung. Men så begynte han ganske tidlig å søke til utlandet, han fikk interesse for cembalo. Han var jo faktisk den første som begynte å spille Bach på cembalo her i Norge. Og det var interessant, er bare en sidespor, han fikk jo kjeft her i '30-åra av kritikerne fordi han kom trekkende etter med et gammelt instrument når vi hadde moderne flyglar, ikke sant? Og tredve år senere, hvis noen da spilte Bach på flygelet, så fikk de kjeft: Hvorfor spiller du ikke cembalo, ikke sant? Men han viste tidlig interesse for et barokklangideal, og derfor så søkte han ut til studier i utlandet, først og fremst da Finn Viderø, men også til Sveits hvor han studerte cembalo med Edward Müller og kom i kontakt med August Renzinger som ledet *Schola Cantorum* som var spesielt innrettet på kirkemusikk og gammelmusikk. Så han fikk sterke impulser der på '40-tallet, men også etter krigen, '50-tallet. For denne klangverden som nok har vært med på å føre ham inn i dette med *Musica Sacra*-arbeid. Det er jo en sammenblanding, både hans musiske oppfatning og liturgiske oppfatning som han da ønsket å få frem her i Norge. Han var jo en stor idealist, ikke bare for barokkmusikk, men også for middelaldermusikk som var helt ukjent i Norge. Han reiste, det tror jeg var på begynnelsen av '50-tallet, til Brügge i Belgia og studerte tidlig musikk. Det var ganske spesielt den gangen, ingen andre gjorde det. Og gjennom posisjonen som dirigent for NRKs kammerkor i kringkastingen, så begynte han tidlig å lage programmer med middelalder- og renessansemusikk for både kor og instrumenter. Så han hadde for så vidt en lang utdanning fra sin tidlige klaverutdanning og frem til utdanningen innen gammelmusikk. Jeg håper det var omtrent sånt det du lurte på?

H: Det var det. De Bach- og Händelfestivaler som oppstod i tidlig '30-tallet, kan man si at det var et mer profant innblikk i akkurat den musikken som ble prissett av *Musica Sacra*. Kan du også anse dette som en del av et helhetsbilde som påvirket *Musica Sacra*?

K: Ja, det tror jeg sikkert. Hvis vi går tilbake til 1930, da var altså min far 19 år, da var en stor Bachfest i Oslo hvor de fremførte Bachs Magnificat i Oslo domkirke med 500 sangere. Altså min far sang bass, han sa det var så fullt på galleriet, så han stod ned i trappen, ned i kirken. Men altså det var også en opplevelse som gjorde at han reagerte på dette her, det kunne ikke være sånn den musikken skulle lyde. Så han fattet jo tidlig interesse for dette å gjøre Bachs musikk med mindre ensembler. Han var vel ganske sterkt inn i Bachfesten i 1950, da hadde man kommet mye lengre enn i 1930. Da spilte man jo cembalo ikke i det hele tatt, men Bachs musikk har jo hele tiden ligget i bunnen også for min far og *Musica Sacra* og fornyelse, også fornyelse av Bachs musikk. Og det at denne musikken ble trukket fram på disse festene, det har sikkert også hatt sin betydning.

H: Det er flere steder mulig å lese om nordiske kirkemusikkdager og -symposier, at de norske organister brukte Steenbergs *Koralbok* og nysaklige koralforspill i den forbindelse, til både begeistring og opprør. Anfinn forteller at han med stor vegring valgte å bruke Steenberg i 1950, men sa at dette var noe han ikke angret på i det hele tatt i etterkant. Men han var meget usikker i den tidsperioden, selv om det var et sted i utlandet og så i Norge i etterkant. *Musica Sacra*s spredning i Norge er også en sak som ikke er særlig utforsket. Kan du nevne noen navn som var opptatt med dette i andre byer i Norge, bortsett fra Magne [Nils] Aam og Nielsen?

K: Ja, altså vi har jo, det var jo enkeltpersoner som stod for dette, og vi hadde etter hvert en Lars Mæland i Stavanger, Bjarne Sløgedal i Kristiansand, han identifiserte seg vel aldri med *Musica Sacra*, selv om han også gjerne brukte ting som de hadde frembrakt, det tror jeg absolutt, men han ville aldri liksom være ved det, at han stod på den linjen der. Vi hadde jo sterk innflytelse av Ove Kristian Sundberg som var domorganist i Bodø på 60-tallet og ... Og ... nå begynner jeg å bli så gammel, så jeg husker ikke lenge, men det var en del organister som var interessert, men det er klart, organistene utover landet, de var ensomme, var glisne miljøer, og skulle man dyrke en sak, så gjorde man det nærmest for seg selv for det var ikke noe særlig miljø rundt det, så det ble da jo særlig i hovedbyene. Men dette med Anfinn Øien som på 1950 vegret seg å bruke Steenbergs *Koralbok*, altså, det er ikke lenge fra 1950 til 1960 hvor *Nordisk Koralbok* kommer, altså man prøvde å få en felles koralbok med en del salmer, koral som var felles, og det er jo absolutt en koralbok i nysaklighet. Så det utviklet seg veldig fort, det var ikke bare i Norge, men det var jo faktisk hele Norden, at det ble utbredd.

H.: Jeg har valgt å bruke den koralboken som sluttpunktet for det hele, fordi den er en slags oppsummering i saklighetens tidsånden.

K: Ja. Jeg tenker på den store motstanden det var mot Steenbergs *Koralbok*, mot mye av *Musica Sacra*, så gikk det egentlig veldig fort. Jeg husker da jeg selv tok eksamen i 1969, i liturgisk orgelspill, altså Sandvold var jo tilstede som en av medsensorene, jeg spilte jo så vidt jeg kan huske stort sett bare Steenbergs *Koralbok*, var det ingen som blunket en gang for det. Såpass akseptert var det blitt da.

H: Finnes det noen paralleller i forhold til *Musica Sacra* og bruken av norske folketoner? Vi fikk inn et titalls folketoner i *Landstads reviderte*.

K: Altså *Musica Sacra* har vel aldri vært noe sånn folketoneorganisasjon. Det har vel kanskje sterkeste kommet inn i den sammenhengen mot folketoner er avledd av gregorianske melodier, det har vi jo veldig masse beviser på, men ... Nei, jeg tror folketonene har stort sett og det miljøet har levd sitt eget liv ved siden av *Musica Sacra*, har ikke blitt tatt inn som en del av akkurat det arbeidet.

H: De blir ansett av Thomas Laub som et viktig element i hele hans arbeid. Dette er ekte musikk som har en tjenende funksjon, men den stil eller den tankegangen ble ikke overtatt av *Musica Sacra* som sådan.

K: Nei, hvis du tenker på de danske folketonene, som jeg ser det, så er de veldig mye mer basert på den klassiske koraltradisjonen enn de norske. Så det er kanskje mer felleskap mellom vanlig koral sang og folketoner i Danmark enn det er ... var i Norge.

H: Over til *Pro organo* ...

K: Ja.

H: Hvordan anser du denne samlingen, er den toneangivende for hele bevegelsen?

K: Ja, veldig. Altså, for det første var den med på å kvalitetssikre koralforspill veldig fordi at det var vel kanskje ikke alltid så veldig sprekt som ble gjort utover landet. Men med *Pro organo* fikk man et veldig brukelig verktøy. Altså noen av de er jo litt i største laget for enkelte organister, i hvert fall var den gang utover landet, men veldig mye av det er jo også flott, jeg tenker på for eksempel disse tre små versene til *Med Jesus vil eg fara*, nydelige små perler som sikkert ble velig mye brukt når den salmen kom på søndagens gudstjeneste. Så det, i den grad jeg reiste litt rundt i Norge på '60- og '70-tallet, så var det jo alltid *Pro organo* liggende på orgelgaleriet. Så den tror jeg ble veldig fort en ganske ... et standardverk i Norge. Kanskje også ... Jeg har jo stilmessig aldri oppfattet *Pro organo* som veldig ekstremt når det gjelder nysaklighet, jeg synes jeg finner mye romantikk der, så du kan si den samlingen danner kanskje en fin overgang mellom en romantisk periode og en mer saklig.

H: Det er også slik jeg ser det. Det er få satser der som er rene polyfonsatser, det er nærmest stilkopier.

K: Ja, det er personlig preget. Det er rett og slett god musikk.

H: Ja, ja. Jeg har sammen med Harald strevet en del med komponister som har drevet med ren stilkopiering, og det er jo en vanskelig sak i forhold til nysaklighet, mener jeg. For grensene viskes ut i forhold til komposisjonsteknikk. Hvor utbredd ble den tankegangen om å være så streng mot stilen at man måtte kopiere ...?

K: Jeg har aldri oppfattet *Musica Sacra* som mål i seg selv, altså. I den grad vi kopierte, så var det for å lære, rett og slett, og jeg må jo si som komponist, jeg er jo sjeleglad for den undervisningen jeg fikk på konservatoriet i Palestrinastil. For selv om jeg skriver de meste moderne verker, så ligger det i bunnen hos meg, sånn komposisjonsteknisk. Men jeg oppfattet jo *Musica Sacra* som en organisasjon som virkelig utviklet ny musikk, men basert på en gammel teknikk og på gammel saklighet. Vi kan jo tenke på Hovlands tidlige produksjon som er både tradisjonelt bundet og på mange måter radikal. Og det var litt av *Musica Sacras* fortjeneste, dette at man skapte ganske ny musikk, men med basis i gode, gamle tradisjoner. Så jeg oppfattet veldig lite at det ble drevet ren stilkopier, kanskje noen veldig små enkle motetter og salmer som da ble brukt som det det var, men de dannet jo ikke noe skole for komponister i Norge innen kirkemusikken.

H: Eh ... *Pro organo* er en blandning av ny og gammel musikk, og den blandningen i seg selv er fascinerende. Er det hovedsaklig på grunn av kildematerialet at det er laget slik?

K: Det er altså noe jeg ikke kan svare på hvorfor de valgte den formen. Jeg var som sagt barn da dette arbeidet ble gjort. Jeg opplevde bare at det ble brukt, ikke hvordan det ble skapt. Men jeg tror det er også ... Når man fant verdifulle koralforspill som var gamle og som kunne fungere veldig bra i norsk høymesse, så tror jeg man også syntes det var et mål i seg selv å få brakt det inn i bildet.

H: Man ser få nye koralforspill som er over eldre melodier i den samlingen. Det er noen, men veldig få.

K: Ja.

H: Noe som gjør mitt arbeid noe vanskeligere, færre sammenlikningspunkter.

K: Altså jeg vet at for eksempel min far, han hadde jo et veldig stort kompositorisk talent, men han hadde aldri tid å dyrke det, og han så aldri som noe mål i seg selv å skulle presentere direkte ting. Han skrev egne ting fordi at det var nødvendig, fordi der var et hull, vi trengte det, og det kan bare tas med en historie fra hans arbeid i liturgikommisjonen. Altså denne fantastiske, vakre melodien til salmen *Du som låg i natti seine*, Jakob Sande-teksten, den skrev han i en pause i kommisjonen fordi at de fant ingen melodi som kunne brukes. Så det var litt av hans konsept som komponist, det var å putte på musikk når det var noe som manglet. Men ikke for at han skulle skrive noe selv. Og det er litt av hele *Musica Sacras* tenkning, det var dette rent praktiske, dette trenger vi, dette vil vi ha, derfor gjør vi det og det. Et sunt prinsipp, mener jeg.

H: Bruksmusikk-begrepet, ble det brukt på den tiden?

K: Jeg tror kanskje at det begrepet kom senere, det var liksom for å putte den musikken i en bås for seg, jaha, det er bruksmusikk, ikke sant, så ... hvor ... Det kommer jo selvfølgelig fra det tyske *Gebrauchsmusik*, men i hvilken grad begrepet ble innført av og i *Musica Sacra*, det vet jeg ikke.

H: Det ble ikke nevnt eksplisitt i dokumentene?

K: Nei, jeg kan ikke huske det. Det er et ord jeg aldri har likt. Jeg mener all musikk skal brukes, enten den er veldig komplisert eller veldig enkel.

H: Det finnes ikke mulige skillelinjer.

K: Nei.

H: Finnes det noen dokumenter som viser samarbeidsmåten som Nielsen og Karlsen hadde? Har du fått noe, arvet noe fra din far i forholde til dette?

K: Nei, altså de brukte vel veldig lite skriftlig materiale til hverandre i form av brev. Jeg tror det gikk på telefon, også ... Jeg husker i alle fall at de møttes på en eller annen kafé, av og til klokka sju om morgen, og Nielsen kom med tog, og skulle nå ... for de skulle gjøre nå avtaler, se på litt korrektur og sånn forskjellig. Men jeg tror det var veldig muntlig mellom de, noe skriftlig kjenner jeg ikke til. Jeg har ikke funnet noe i materialet som min far har om dette her ...

H: Jeg er nødt til å avbryte litt.

K: Dette med samarbeid med *Pro organo*, dette må jeg si, det må jeg ta ut fra en følelse, antagelse jeg har. Det beste utgangspunktet de hadde var at de hadde en veldig stor respekt for hverandre. Det var interessant fordi de fulgte etter hverandre på mange måter. Nielsen var jo først organist i Høvik kirke, så kom han til Ris, og da fikk min far stillingen i Høvik, og da Nielsen kom til Trondheim, så fikk jo min far stillingen i Ris, så de hoppet etter hverandre. De var alltid veldig gode venner, som sagt hadde de stor respekt for hverandre, og jeg tror ... etter ... jeg kan tenke meg et veldig godt utgangspunkt for *Organo*-arbeidet var at her var de også begge opptatt av selve saken. De var ikke opptatt av at den ene skulle

være noen større komponist enn den andre, og så videre. De fant frem til praktiske løsninger og ordninger og prøvde å få et produkt som ble så godt som mulig. Så jeg tror det var et veldig fredelig og fint samarbeid de hadde, og jeg tror de var veldig ivrige på det. Det er jo ikke bare *Pro organo* de samarbeidet med, men også denne serien *Hymnarium*, disse bøkene med koralsatser som de også arbeidet veldig godt sammen med i mange, mange år.

H: Også et felles punkt for Baden, at han også var organist i Ris.

K: Ja, han etterfulgte min far igjen, det er helt riktig.

H: Interessant, jeg har aldri vært i den kirken ... det må være ...

K: Å nei, det er en veldig fin kirke. Altså min far gjorde det faktisk på '50-tallet, han kom til Trefoldighetskirken i 1960, men frem til da, så var jo Ris faktisk en veldig sentral kirke i Oslo når det gjaldt spennende fremføring av musikk som man aldri hadde hørt i Norge før. Man fikk jo blant annet denne berømte gambekvartetten til August Renzinger. Han kom fra Sveits og holdt konsert i Ris kirke. Og veldig mange av de konsertene ble kringkastet. Det var den gangen NRK sendte kirkekonserter på radio, så på den måten så fikk han også faktisk spredt litt av sine og *Musica Sacras* idéer rundt i landet.

H: En av de sakene jeg har problemer med er å få tak i gamle arkivopptak fra NRK, de finnes, men de er ikke digitalisert ennå, da er de ikke tilgjengelige. Så jeg ønsker å bruke dette som en kilde som viser bruken av disse koralforspill, selv om at det bare er stykkevis og delt.

K: Vi må regne med en mengde radiogudstjenester, så ble disse forspillene fra *Pro organo* brukt.

H: Hvor i gudstjenesten ble disse brukt?

K: Jeg tror veldig til de store salmene, f.eks. høymessesalmen, salmen etter preken. Den gang så hadde de jo ikke preludium over inngangssalmen, men det hendte jo veldig ofte at organister spilte et preludium over første salme, for eksempel tenke på *Pro organos Herre gud, ditt dyre navn og ære*, det er et flott åpningsstykke på en gudstjeneste. Og så, skulle man være veldig liturgisk bevisst på den tiden, så skulle man også spille et postludium over siste salmen, og der ble nok også *Pro organo* brukt en del, i alle fall de litt større bearbeidelsene.

H: Ble disse fordelinger i gudstjenesten uttalt blant tilhengerne at slik skal det være?

K: Det vet jeg ikke. Altså for meg har det bare blitt en tradisjon at vi har enkelte salmer i gudstjenesten som er liksom viktig, ikke sant. Tenk på høymessesalmen, så er jo den delen mellom tekstlesningene liturgisk sett skulle være et musisk høydepunkt i messen, ikke sant, og da kan man gjøre det, utbrodere salmeforspillet litt.

H: Det er en akseptert norm, også blant andre organister ...

K: Ja.

H: ... men jeg har vanskeligheter for å finne et bevis for akkurat hvem som har sagt at dette skal være slik.

K: Det kan ikke jeg si noe mer om.

H: Ble *Pro organo* brukt – i den graden du kjenner til bruket – som eneste kilde i gudstjenestespill?

K: Nei, det fantes jo andre sånne sprette samlinger uten at jeg kan si ... altså Hovland, han kom jo med sin bittelille bok, den tror jeg ble forferdelig mye brykt, også fordi de forspillene var så korte, og de var så lette å spille, så ...

H: De to hefter, de fem *Pro organo* og så Hovlands, har jeg møtt første gang jeg jobbet i Vemundvik kirke.

K: Ganske sikkert, ganske sikkert. Jeg vet ikke, de skikkelig eldre organistene, de fortsatt brukte disse Lindeman ... Sandvold hadde vel også sine hefter med mye godt stoff, men Sandvold var jo så god orgelspiller og også en god teknisk komponist, så han skrev ofte ting som ikke var helt enkle å spille. Så det var nok bare de dyktigste organistene som brukte det ... Jeg husker en gudstjeneste hvor man ofte har kort forberedelsestid, da må det for veldig mange organister være enkle ting. Og da kom jo Hovland veldig sterkt inn i bilde, det var jo uhyre takknemlig.

H: Jeg tenkte mer på om at *Pro organo* ble brukt som programdokument for dette ble brukt hovedsaklig, hvis det fantes noe i de fem hefter, så brukte man det?

K: Ja. Det er jeg sikker på. Altså det var kilden man gikk først til. Fant man ikke noe der, så gikk man og prøvde å lete andre steder.

H: Det blir faktisk lagt merke til i forskjellige utenlandske journaler, bl.a. i Amerika.

K: Aha, ja vel.

H: ... som har gitt den en gruppe A-klassifisering, fra A til C, og A er brukelig god nåtidsmusikk, og C er forkastelig romantisme. Det var i 1957.

K: Sier du det?

H: ... at sist hefte kom, at de hadde oppdaget det.

K: Det var interessant.

H: Også i tillegg til de koralsatser som fantes i Alnæs' sin bok ble det henvisninger til danske og svenske koraler. Ble det i noen nevneverdig grad brukt i Danmark og Sverige?

K: Jeg tror ikke så veldig mye. Altså sånne ting har ofte veldig vanskelig å komme over landegrensene. Så uten at jeg har noe belegg for det, så tror jeg ikke at det hadde så veldig stor utbredelse. Dette har også med tonearter å gjøre, altså korallbøkene har litt forskjellige tonearter, og hvis de ikke stemmer, så forkaster man et forspill med en gang. "Dette kan jeg ikke bruke!", ikke sant. Så hvert land har nok hatt sine spesialutgivelser. Og sånn så i Danmark, der stod jo Thomas Laub-bevegelsen uhyre sterkt, altså der var det jo slik at man ikke kunne spille et forspill hvis det ikke var i den absolutt rene stil. Altså danskene har vært mye verre enn oss til å drive stilkopier, det må man kunne si, selv om mye av det, altså Finn Viderøs forspill, de er formmessige og sånn, de er glimrende skrevet, men de er jo helt stilkopier, meget strenge. Så jeg tror for en del av de såkalte "rett troende" danske organistene, så var nok selve *Organo* litt for utflytende.

H: Form og lengde og språk, musikk språk, hva tenker du var den mest utbredde formen i disse verker i forhold til først og fremst lengde? Var det en bestemt lengde i forhold til disse som var såpass viktig at både Nielsen og Karlsen bestemte seg for at de har hovedsakelig samme hovedformen?

K: Ja, altså hvilke prinsipper de la til grunn under det, det vet jeg ikke. Men jeg er jo litt forundret. Plutselig så kommer der et forspill av Nielsen *No koma Guds engler* som er jo så bitte, bitte kort, det er altfor kort, ikke sant, det rimer ikke i forhold til mye av det andre stoffet, så jeg tror, jeg kan ha en mistanke om at de kanskje, de også har hatt noe liggende, nå har vi det, så bruker vi det, ikke sant, for det kan brukes.

H: Man kan si at hoveddelen er mellom 16 og 32 takter, og en mindre del er opp til 8 takter, forholdsvis korte og ikke-utviklede saker. Jeg bare tenkte at det kan hende at det var forskjellige bruk for disse satser innenfor gudstjenestenes former.

K: Ja, selvfølgelig noen salmer har man gjerne korte forspill, men da burde man i ytterste konsekvens hatt to forspill til hver salme, et kort og et langt. Så akkurat hvorfor det har blitt slik, det kan jeg ikke si så mye om.

H: Notater fra hans komposisjoner, finnes de?

K: Ja, du tenker på ...?

H: På din far.

K: Ja, notater, altså manuskripter. Jada, jeg har dem akkurat liggende.

H: Det ville være interessant å se hans arbeidsmetode.

K: Jeg tror han skrev ganske rett ned ... Mesteparten av dem ... Skal vi se, jeg har liggende... jeg har en *Pro organo*-side ... Jeg kan si at både Nielsen og min far hadde jo en veldig god kontrapunktisk skolering fra Per Steenberg, så de hadde liksom teknikken og håndverket ... til fulle innebords. De skrev nok ganske fort og greit når de først gjorde det.

H: Det er en tydelig sikkerhet som kommer frem fra dette her.

K: Ja, de visste hva de gjorde, det var ikke noe tilfeldig.

H: Nei. Vil du anse Magnar Aams komposisjoner noe verdt å ta en nærmere kikk på?

K: Ja, Magnar Aam? Ja, han er en spennende komponist, men i hvilken grad han er liturgisk komponist, det vet jeg ikke. Men hans virke forøvrig synes jeg uhyrlig spennende. Meget dyktig fyr.

H: Ja, og domkantor Aam i Bergen?

K: Tenker du på Nils Aam? Han var ikke domkantor!

H: Han var ikke det?

K: Nei. Altså, hans komposisjoner kjenner jeg vel ikke i det hele tatt, tror jeg, men jeg forestiller meg at den kanskje tenderer veldig mye mot det vi kaller en ”ren stil”. Uten at jeg kan si så veldig nøye at jeg vet det, men ... Jeg kjenner faktisk ikke ...

H: Jeg kjenner ikke heller til hans verk. er så ...

K: Ja, han var jo uhyre interessert i å utbre *Musica Sacras* idé og var vel også ganske dyktig til å påvirke sine elever, tror jeg, i den retningen. Så, på Vestlandet, i enkelte miljøer der, stod nok dette ganske sterkt. Men Magnar Aam, altså det er en helt annen komponist som bor på Østøya.

H: Hans verk har jeg spilt ...

K: Han er jo i utgangspunkt organist, men har aldri praktisert som organist, tror jeg, og er ikke akkurat ... Det er ikke det liturgiske fenomen som han er opptatt av.

H: Hvor finner vi Baden i dette bildet?

K: Ja. Altså Conrad Baden er jo en ... både som musiker og komponist en utrolig renslig person. Altså, det er lite fakter ved hans komposisjoner, men det er tvers gjennom solid og veldig musisk. Så jeg opplevde jo aldri at Conrad Baden var noe særlig med i *Musica Sacra*, i alle fall ikke praktisk. Jeg tror aldri jeg har møtt Conrad i noen *Musica Sacra*-sammenheng. Men han støttet jo ideene fullt ut, absolutt. Så han var vel på en måte en litt ensom fyr i musikklandskapet, tror jeg, uten at han hadde noe sterkt tilhørighet, verken i den ene eller andre leiren. Men hans ideologi, den gikk jo tydelig i retning av *Musica Sacras* idealer.

H: Det ser jeg også i hans lengre orgelkomposisjoner.

K: Jada.

H: Han skrev forholdsvis få koralforspill.

K: Ja, men de er veldig gode, og jeg tror han har liggende eller Torkil har liggende ganske mange forspill etter ham, korte forspill som jeg synes burde vært utgitt. Ja, altså hans *50 koralforspill* med cantus firmus stort sett i tenor, de er jo praktarbeider, altså. Og jeg tenker på hans for eksempel *Bibelske salmer* han har to for sopran og kor og orgel, altså det er så praktfullt kirkemusikk.

H: Jeg har Baden igjen på listen, og så Per Lønning. Da er jeg ferdig med opptak.

K: Ja, du skal snakke med Torkil? Spennende. Torkil har jo veldig mange andre synspunkter, også når det gjelder kirkemusikk, det vet vi jo, det er ikke noe hemmelighet. Og Per Lønning har er jo et veldig interessant blad også. Han er jo ekstremt opptatt av den rene koralharmoniseringen. Jeg har jo selv hjulpet ham med noen salmer og satt, har harmonisert noen av hans melodier, og han er jo så opptatt at dette skal være kirketonalt. Så hvor Lønning i grunn har disse ideene fra, det vet jeg ikke.

H: Det er jeg også spent å finne ut av. Jeg kjenner Stig Wernø Holter veldig godt, og Sigvald Tveit som også har gjort dette arbeidet sammen med Per. Hans forkjærlighet for den frygiske tonearten er enestående.

K: Det er nesten ekstremt.

H: Når det gjelder ditt arbeid i forhold til den forlengelse av ... eller påvirket av nysaklighet, hvordan anser du at du har fulgt eller blitt påvirket først og fremst og så fulgt opp tankegangene bak ...?

K: Jeg kan jo si at jeg er et ekte *Musica Sacra*-barn som ble født midt inn i organisasjonen. Jeg var fem år da den ble startet, og veldig mye av utgangspunktet mitt, både som musiker og komponist, det stammer jo derfra. Helt, helt klart. Men det som er interessant ... altså jeg fikk jo med morsmelken inn ikke bare dette med liturgiske koraler, med gregoriansk sang, med gammelmusikk, med ren stil og alt dette, jeg fikk jo inn også for eksempel Hovlands modernisme som ung, og det tror jeg har betydd veldig mye for meg. Altså, jeg opplevde jo Hovland kanskje i hans mest eksperimentelle periode, jeg var jo veldig god venn med hans sønn Per Egil, og vi reiste rundt sammen og fremførte Hovlands *Elementer pro organo* både her og der, ikke sant, så det å komme i kontakt både med den gamle musikken og den helt - den gangen - eksperimentelt nye, det har vært ganske skjellsettende for mitt eksperiment. Jeg vil si at Hovlands kirkemusikk, eksperimentelle på '60-tallet, den er jo like saklig og ren som den gamle sakligheten, så det er musikk som verdsetter hverandre veldig, veldig bra.

H: Jeg ser også de samme tendenser i Baden hvor han også bruker en ånd fra sakligheten i hans senere utviklinger. Til og med, man ser en sterk parallell i hans tolvtones-musikk og de ting som er påvirket av det.

K: Altså tolvton-musikken er jo utrolig saklig. Altså Fartein Valen ... Men det er så interessant, altså, ved siden at det er musikk som til de grader er saklig, så er det så romantisk. Og akkurat der er vi inne på et spennende felt for meg fordi at man før eller siden, så klarer man ikke å skjule sin legning, det er jo ... Og min legning som musiker, det er jo egentlig romantiker. Altså jeg er oppvokst i en veldig saklighet, men etter hvert så kommer romantikken frem. Det var ganske interessant, da jeg studerte kontrapunkt på konservatoriet, så sier John Lammetun, min gode lærer, etter en oppgave: "Ja, men du er jo romantiker, Kjell!" Og det stemmer. Jeg har ... Gjennom det sinfoniske arbeidet jeg har gjort, så er jo absolutt romantikken som ligger der, men allikevel så vi skligheten, så har jeg den sakligheten med meg som et korrektiv for å si det på den måten. Så jeg er uhyre takknemlig for den påvirkningen jeg fikk av *Musica Sacra* på '60-tallet.

H: Hvordan anser du Fartein Valen? Hva er hans posisjon i alt dette? Hans to korte orgelverker og massevis av koralharmoniseringer i '40-, '50-tallet. Var han påvirket av nysaklighet i noen nevneverdig grad?

K: Nei, det tror jeg ikke. Altså Fartein Valen, han fant veldig tidlig faktisk sin helt egen vei. Men du nevner dette med koralharmoniseringene. Han vokste opp i et veldig pietistisk misjonsmiljø, og når du ser hans koralharmoniseringer, så er de nok ikke særlig saklige, de er jo ganske romantiske og absolutt preget av det han var vokst opp i.

H: Men han kom straks etter Per Steenberg også.

K: Riktig. Så der ... Altså Fartein Valen tok jo aldri del i noen *Musica Sacra*-saklighet. Jeg vil hevde fortsatt at Fartein Valen var ganske romantiker, men han utviklet en nyromantisk stil, altså som han sa: "en annen type skjønnhet," sa han om sin musikk. Og hvis vi tenker på hans *Salme 121* som han skrev i studietiden i Berlin rundt 1908, 1909, det er jo en så utrolig vakker Brahms-åpning i orkesterpartiet som er jo helt betagende. Der har du hans

utgangspunkt, men så skapte han ut av det sin egen tolvton-teknikk og tok med seg sin romantikk. Og jeg kan si som jeg sa i stad, tolvtone-teknikken, den er saklig, men den er også romantisk. Der plasserer jeg Fartein Valen. Det er morsomt med Fartein Valen for min far var veldig tidlig opptatt av ham på 30-tallet når Fartein Valen da hadde veldig stor motstand. Han var flere ganger på besøk her i huset, blant annet. Den gangen så hadde også min far syslet litt med tolvtone-musikk, han skrev blant annet en atonal suite for klaver som Fartein Valen ble veldig imponert over og veldig glad at det var andre mennesker som tenkte littegranne i hans baner. Så det var veldig synd at Fartein Valen gikk bort før han fikk skrevet en *a capella*-kormesse som min far bestilte til NRKs kammerkor. Han skal ha skrevet ferdig Kyrie-satsen, det har jeg belegg for i et brev som han sendte til min far, men den, han døde like etterpå, den har aldri blitt funnet, så jeg vet ikke om han bare hadde den i hodet. De hadde en del samtaler, Fartein Valen og min far og, tror jeg, var ganske på bølgelengde selv om Fartein Valen ville aldri harmonisere en koral i Prætoriusstil, det var ikke hans natur.

H: Så det har vært hele tiden veldig klart for meg at det har vært flere strømninger som har vært meget sterke i forskjellige miljøer?

K: Ja.

H: Noen ganger har de vært samblandet i en og samme miljø, men hovedsaklig har de holdt seg for seg selv. I ... ville det vært en naturlig sak for noen å ha noen crossover her, å bruke både *Pro organo* også andre harmoniseringer enn Steenberg i forhold til koraler ...?

K: Ja, helt sikker.

H: Kunne man bruke Landstads reviderte sammen med *Pro organo*?

K: Uten problem, altså. Det tror jeg min far gjorde også. Han spilte jo ikke konsekvent bare Steenberg. De første årene, tror jeg, spilte han sikkert konsekvent Steenberg fordi det var jo viktig å gjøre den gangen, men etter hvert ... Han spilte jo ofte Lindemans *Koralbok* i Oslo domkirke når han syntes det var høvelig og passet best. Han var jo ikke sånn ekstrem på noen måte. Man blir veldig lett plassert i båser, altså min far var jo utrolig vidsynt når det gjaldt musikk. Hans hovedpoeng var at det måtte være godt, måtte være veldig godt. Men en interessant ting skulle jeg gjerne i dag kunne diskutert med min far, og det var dette som jeg nevnte inngangsvis med Messiaen. Altså min far spilte aldri Messiaen, ville aldri hatt noen tekniske problemer å gjøre det. Jeg tror han var ikke begeistret for musikken, og det kan hende ... Messiaen var jo på en måte et slags opprør mot sakligheten i hans unge tid og ...

H: Var det at han var katolikk noe imot han eller ...?

K: Nei, altså min far hadde ikke noe mot katolikker, jeg mener ... og *Musica Sacra* ble jo beskyldt i haugevis å være katolsk, ikke sant, å ha katolske sympatier ...

H: Det finnes det ikke belegg for i det hele tatt.

K: Så det hadde ikke noe med det å gjøre, men det var noe med musikkuttrykket som ikke tiltalte han, rett og slett. Og det kan være det at han var veldig fokusert på at nå måtte vi kjempe for dette som var på en måte gått tapt i vårt kirkemusikalske landskap.

H: Det er en del av grunnen hvorfor jeg ønsker å ta med Baden her for han var interessert i Messiaens musikk på en helt annen måte ...

K: Jeg husker ikke, studerte Baden også i Paris? Ja, akkurat! Det er klart, det man opplever som ung, det blir man veldig opptatt av, fascinert av.

H: Han altså fikk den franske nyklassismen rett fra studiestedet ...

K: Ja. Den som Messiaen ikke likte.

H: Det er jo fascinerende å jobbe med dette, som du sier, det er jo i ettertid, særlig i norsk musikkhistorie, den nedtegnede historie, er ting satt veldig klart i bås, mens de egentlig hører ikke hjemme, ofte, i disse fastlåste plasseringene. Jeg ser det som et viktig arbeid å prøve å oppklare.

K: Det er bare et veldig godt eksempel. Min far som i alle år ble erklært, liksom, han var bare interessert i gregoriansk sang og barokkmusikk, ikke sant? Altså det siste verket han gjorde i Oslo domkirke, det var jo *Christus* av Liszt, så han hadde et meget vidt syn på musikk, men hans hovedpoeng var at det måtte være god musikk. Nå kan det selvfølgelig diskuteres hva som er god musikk, det kan være litt forskjellige oppfatninger, men han var opptatt av kvalitet. Og jeg sier som jeg sa, jeg føler meg selv egentlig som en ganske romantiker, og det var egentlig også min far, han var ganske romantisk.

H: Jeg kommer ikke på noen flere spørsmål akkurat nå, men kan jeg sende deg noen spørsmål til dette kapitlet?

K: Det kan du godt. Jeg skal prøve å svare etter mitt beste emne, nå sitter jeg bare og prater og prater ...

H: Det er veldig bra det ...

K: Men det er veldig interessant, når det har gått 20, 30 år, så ser man annerledes på ting, da kan man oppsummere litt hvordan utviklingen har vært. Men jeg kan se: Kanskje var det litt dumt eller det var litt dumt. Til syvende og sist har det vært en bra utvikling som norsk kirkemusikk har hatt en veldig bra utvikling. For de trengte, fordi vi trengte *Musica Sacra* - perioden fordi at den skapte større bevissthet hos kirkemusikerstanden for hva vi egentlig holder på, og det er viktig.

H: Den bevisstheten kom forholdsvis sent i forhold til resten av verden.

K: Jo, den gjorde det. Og det er fordi Norge er en utkant, ikke sant? de strømninger kommer sent hit, etter de andre landene.

H: Kan det hende at – fordi det var så sent – vi er fremdeles opptatt, i hvert fall en del av Den norske kirke, i hvert fall en del av den norske kirke, er opptatt med disse spørsmålene om tjenende funksjon for musikk? Eller har det andre årsaker?...?

K: Nei, det vet jeg ikke.

Per Lønning

Place: Per Lønning's home, Løvenskiöldsgate 24, Oslo, Norway

Date and time: 18 December 2007, 16.00-18.00

H: Vi har jo en stor samling med materialer allerede som vi har gått gjennom, fra *Norsk Kantoribok*, fra *Salme 1997*, og så fra *Norsk Salmebok*, så vi har tatt utgangspunkt og prøvd å sile ut det som ikke har vært i bruk eller det som er lavere kvalitet. Og så plutselig får vi fra Tekst underutvalg et forslag på 60, 70 salmer som har nye antifoner, nesten samtlige. Så det er en liten prosess, som vi er litt fortvilt over.

L: Er ikke ... ja.

H: Fordi de ikke har tatt høyde for at det finnes eksisterende material for dette, de har rett og slett bestemt at nye tekster trenges.

L: Burde dere ikke har et felles møte og forsøke å drøfte dette ...

H: Det er det neste, ja, det er faktisk det neste. Takk, skal du ha. Det er det neste skrittet.

L: Det høres jo ut som om tekstutvalget har gått litt utover sitt rimelige mandat.

H: De har jo et mandat å jobbe med tekst, men de har ikke tatt høyde for hva som finnes i forhold til musikk.

L: Men det der er jo ikke en sak hvor man kan arbeide hver for seg med tekst og musikk.

H: Så klart ikke. Men det har de ikke tenkt over.

L: Det må integreres fra starten av ... Ja, var det noe om tilblivelsen av *Musica Sacra* du var interessert i, da?

H: Det er ikke bare tilblivelsen, men også hele det teologisk-liturgisk- og musikalske klimaet som var rett før annen verdenskrig, helt fra kanskje Fasmer-Dahls vespergudstjeneste og Oxford-bevegelsen fra '30-tallet, liturgisk fornyelse, nordiske påvirkninger fra konferanser, *Kyrkosångens vännor*, og andre svenske, danske, Thomas Laub, Per Steenberg, alt dette der. Hva var det som gjorde at *Musica Sacra*, akkurat *Musica Sacra*, kom i gang?

L: Det var jo en sterk følelse på den tid, altså nå må jo jeg for så vidt ta mitt utgangspunkt litt lengre ut i denne historien ... Altså, jeg har jo vært med i utviklingene og spenningene før ... Altså mine første iakttagelser til denne tematikken gjorde jeg nok sånn i 16 års-alderen hvor det slo meg – jeg var aktivt engasjert både i KFUM og i menighetslivet i Storetvedt kirke – men det som slo var, var vel forskjellen på de organister som vi hadde i henholdsvis Storetvedt og Birkeland kirke. Storetvedt, hvor jeg vokste opp, så hadde vi Halfdan Mathiesen som var egentlig pianist og blind og var nok en fremragende pianist. Men han var da i den situasjonen som mange andre musikere at han måtte søke en organiststilling for liksom å få et levebrød. Og han var 200 % romantiker. Jeg husker at vi kalte ham gjerne nok litt som spøkefullt ... som imellom ... Mendelssohn-Mathiesen. Han kunne riktig stemme opp og intonere, men

med Mendelssohn, da var han lykkelig. Og så hadde vi i nabokirken, Birkeland, der var Nils Aam. Og disse kirkene hadde nok så mye innbyrdes kontakt fordi det var ett og samme kirkesogn faktisk, Birkeland sogn i Fana prestegjeld. Der var da to kirker, og Storetvedt var egentlig bare kapelldistrikt, men var jo Storetvedt som var den flotte og store av disse, disse kirkene. Og jeg husker enda den kvelden da vi hadde fått Nils Aam ned fra Nesttun til Storetvedt som foredragsholder i ungdomsforeningen, hvor jeg første gang ble konfrontert med den rytmiske salmesang. Og det var en åpenbaring, det var noe helt annet.

H: Hadde du hørt om den fra før?

L: Ikke så veldig mye, jeg hadde i hvert fall ikke ... Altså jeg var ca. 16 år gammel, så ett og annen salme hadde man kanskje hørt uten å feste seg ved dette. Men dette var slik at man absolutt måtte feste seg ved det. Jeg hadde en yndlingssalme som het *Den tro som Jesu fæmer* av Brorson. Den er jo riktig en kampsalme. Men å gå over fra å synge [Nynner melodien to ganger]. Det var en omstilling som jeg utførte ganske raskt og ble for så vidt selv en svoren disippel av Aam og begynte virkelig å lide av å måtte sitte i min egen kirke og høre på en så ... Han ikke bare ... Altså, de var ikke loyale mot *Koralbok for den norske kirke*, noen av disse to organistene, fordi Mathiesen som blind, han hadde lært å spille disse koralene ... hadde lært dem utenat etter Lindemans *Koralbog*. Så vi fikk Lindeman der, og Aam kjørte friskt på med rytmiske former og hevde selv når noen utfordret ham at han hadde en spesialtillatelse av biskopen. Biskopen hadde jo ingen adgang til å gi noen slik tillatelse Den gang, etter gjeldende regelverk. Så det da var veldig morsomt.

H: Brukte Mathiesen Lindemanns forsiringer, opptakt?

L: Ja, du, altså det som jeg husker best fordi det var en koral som jeg ... en melodi som jeg lærte veldig inngående ... Plutselig der merker man ... Skal vi se, det var den ... [Synger og nynner *Jesus er mitt liv i livet*]. Og altså ... jeg opplevde det veldig sterkt. Enten eller. Og for å gå relativt raskt videre. Da jeg var ... Ja, jeg kjøpte jo Steenbergs *Koralbok* så da den var kommet. Jeg har aldri vært noen særlig dyktig instrumentalist, det må jeg si, men jeg har i hvert fall kunnet studere disse melodiene ved hjelp av å sitte ved et piano og klunke. Og da jeg ... i studietiden i Oslo, husker jeg, kjøpte jeg Laubs *Danske kirkesang* som gjorde et enda sterkere inntrykk enn Steenberg fordi Steenberg ... Det er jo en del manglende konsekvenser i hele hans opplegg, det er det ene ... man merker en forsiktighet som ubetinget mangler hos Laub. Laub er den store uforsiktighet.

H: Men han også vant mye større respekt i Danmark enn Steenberg gjorde i hvert fall i sin levetid.

L: Ja, man kan jo spørre har Steenberg vunnet så mye mer? Altså, det er jo på en måte begredelig at Steenberg er representert med færre melodier i Norsk Koralbok enn for eksempel Jakob Sletten. Sletten har laget en god, han også, *Dyp av nåde - er hos deg*, men ... Altså, da jeg var ferdig på praktikum, så ble jeg ordinert til ... jeg skulle være hjelpeprest i delstilling i Lilleborg småkirke i Oslo, ved siden av at jeg hadde et utdanningsstipendium fra menighetsfakultet, så jeg var halvt utdanningsstipendiat og halvt hjelpeprest. Og i Lilleborg så opplevde jeg den lykke at hvem var organist der, jo det var Anfinn Øien. Jeg kaller ham jo mitt første organist. Og vi var jo veldig på bølgelengde, og i den menigheten så hadde jo også Knut Nystedt vært, så de levde i en viss form for spaltning i Lilleborg mellom ... fordi du har jo veldig mye sånne

bedehussanger og slikt, det var en menighet med ... Vi hadde en menighetsråds formann som pleide å si om seg selv: ”Jeg er ikke bare lavkirkelig, men flatkirkelig” sa han [ler]. Så jeg kom jo ut i enkelte sjøer. Men jeg tror det var veldig godt for Anfinn og meg at vi fikk arbeide sammen fordi han hadde en naturlig varsomhet som kanskje jeg hadde godt av å lytte litt til. Og jeg var mer pådriver og han følte nok han hadde fått en støttespiller som ... han ikke hadde hatt før.

H: Han har sagt det samme til meg, jeg har også tatt opp et intervju med Anfinn.

L: Vi hadde vel også snakket litt med hverandre om at det skulle det ikke gjøres noe organisatorisk fordi at i Oslo så var det jo på den tid, det var to forholdsvis motsatte typer organister. Og du kunne jo si at det på den ene siden, grovtalt, så var det Steenbergs elever, og så var det disse gamle romantikerne, og i Oslo hadde man jo veldig karrige kår økonomisk for organister, så det var veldig mange i den samme stilling som jeg kjente Mathiesen ifra Bergen, nemlig musikeren som altså hadde måtte ta sin tilflukt til en organiststilling for å overleve. Jeg kunne nevne oppå den ene og den andre av organistene i Oslo på den tid som var noenlunde slik som jeg kjente Mathiesen. Men jeg var hjem i Bergen på sommerferie det første året etter at jeg var i Lilleborg, og da ble jeg bedt om å ta en høymesse i Birkeland kirke, altså sammen med Aam, og han og jeg hadde en lang samtale etter gudstjenesten, og Aam var veldig opptatt av ... hvorfor det ... Det er Oslo som må ta initiativet, sa han. I Bergen var det faktisk enda tynnere bemannet av folk fra den retningen. Du hadde de som var littegranne fremragende av kirkemusikere i Bergen på den tid, var gjerne engelskinspirert ... Aamodt og ... Hva han nå het igjen ... i Johanneskirken ... som på mange måter var den som dominerte mest og ... han startet med, jeg husker ... Da Bergen hadde fått sitt første mekaniske sløyfeladeorgel i nyere tid i St. Jakob småkirken hvor Trygve Fischer som forøvrig var elev av Aam, han var Aams fremste elev, men han døde, han var ikke 40 år gammel, tror jeg, det var nok et veldig tap egentlig for norsk kirkemusikk. Men han, sammen med Kåre Støyden var da småkirkeprest i St. Jakob, og de hadde da altså fortsatt igjennom kirken skulle ha nytt orgel, og de ble Frobenius fra Danmark. Og det var et meget ... Kjenner du Frobenius-orgelet i St Jørgen ... eh nei ... St. Jakob?

H: Ja, jeg gjør det.

L: Det er et veldig utpreget instrument, intonering og det hele. Man er ikke i tvil om forskjellen i forhold til altså det som lå rett opp haugen i Johanneskirken og som var nøyaktig det motsatte.

H: Ja. Det finnes ikke en større forskjell mellom de to i stilånd, tenker jeg.

L: Det er riktig. Men jeg hadde en veldig lang og interessant samtale med Aam, altså nå må dere sette i gang fordi at de i Oslo er det så mange av kirkemusikere der, og jeg vet også at dere dresser hos flere av prestene, så sett i gang, og vi skal følge med. Og det første du hører når du kommer til Oslo, det er: Ta en telefon til Rolf Karlsen og hils ham fra meg og si at nå fort sette i gang. Og det gjorde jeg. Det fenget umiddelbart, det var veldig lite av motforestillinger, og vi var da et selvbestaltet utvalg som kom sammen noen ganger. Det var Rolf Karlsen, og det var Anfinn Øien, og det var Helge Fæhn.

H: Og Hans Buvarp.

L: Ja, Buvarp kom litt senere, altså Buvarp var vel ikke så vidt jeg kan huske, så var vel ikke Buvarp for vel etablert oss ja ... han var jo forholdsvis nettopp kommet hjem fra Madagaskar hvor han hadde vært misjonær, så han kom litt senere inn i dette, og han ble jo ... Det var en eller annen anonym pengegave som gjorde det mulig å lønne ham som sekretær. Men det begynte vel først å fungere etter ett par år hvis jeg ikke husker feil.

H: Som du sa, da alle protokoller og referater fra den perioden [er gått] tapt eller...

L: Ja, det er ... Jeg hadde en mistanke fordi jeg tror ikke at vi viet den sida av saken tilstrekkelig oppmerksomhet, hvor viktig det er med å få tatt protokoll. De er veldig små, disse koppene [skjenker kaffe].

H: Takk skal du ha. Kan du si litt om de første oppgaver som dere tok tak i?

L: Ja, skal vi se, oppgaver. Det var i grunnen å samle folk, samle navn, og vi fikk jo også i stand noen provisoriske grunnregler. Vi hadde et stiftingsmøte som fant sted i – av alle steder – kapellet ved Frogner kirke. Og Frogner kirke var jo ikke akkurat den som var dominert av denne stilretning.

H: Man skulle ha forventet Ris kirke ...

L: Ja, for eksempel. Vel, i Ris kirke var det ikke noe sånt kapell, altså et veldig velegnet rom og et veldig uegnet instrument ... og skal vi se, hva var da ... Spalder, Fridtjof Spalder var organist. Han hadde null komma null komma null interesser for dette der, det er klart. Spalder og Melvin Simonsen og ... hva het de nå alle sammen ... Men jeg husker at vi ... Det første vi gjorde var å få redigert et opprop som vi ville altså spre på landsbasis. Og vi la en del arbeid i å sette opp lister hvem vi ville kontakte, hvem vi regnte med at kunne være interessert i dette. Jeg husker jeg fikk en fryktelig delikat oppgave ... Plutselig var det en som spurte: Men hva med Arild Sandvold? Og da var i grunnen enighet i utvalget at Sandvold vil vi ikke ha fordi at vel altså han har et veldig dominerende navn og vil da på en eller annen måte flagge et eller annet, og vi regnte med at altså ... Vi så på ham som komponistenes store mann. Han var ikke for ingenting, så var han jo domorganist mellom Eyvind Alnæs og Rolf Karlsen og du kan si at omtrent midt imellom ville vi vel plassere ham. Og det var en eller annen som sa til meg, det var det at jeg virket ung og frekk og pågående, ”Du skal ringe Sandvold! Og du må forsøke å være passelig ... altså utfordre ham nok til å forsøke å få ham til å si nei.” Men altså det går ikke an å ikke ha underrettet Sandvold, og ikke ha for så vidt, altså formelt, innbydd ham.

H: ... invitert ham.

L: Ja. Og jeg husker jeg ringte, og sånn han var veldig hyggelig og syntes dette var veldig interessant, og det var veldig interessant ... om å gjøre noe mer på dette, det var ganske glatt, og jeg forsøkte ”ja, men, altså, har De tenkt på det og det og det.” Man sa jo ”De” fremdeles på den tiden. Og ja da, ja, nei, han slukte både det ene og det andre og det tredje, han. Og selve det oppropet, det eksisterer fortsatt, ja, og hvis jeg ikke husker feil, så står med hans medunderskrift.

H: Det er helt riktig.

L: Ja, og det ... Vi forsøkte å unngå den av alle krefter, men det var ikke mulig ...

H: Det var en noe forvirrende faktor i den fremstilling som ble gjort på det tidspunktet fordi man så med en gang at her var det et element som var fremmed i forhold til tankesettet.

L: Ja, men jeg tror jeg vil si det sånn, altså jeg ble jo en del kjent med Arild Sandvold i liturgikommisjonen, da jeg kom i gang, vi satt sammen der noen år, og han var jo en veldig likendes og sjarmerende menneske, og altså man kan ikke nekte for at han var en stor musiker også. Men det var nok veldig, han var nok veldig opptatt av å være pott og panne i norsk kirkemusikkliv. Og det at det skulle kunne skje noe nytt og banebrytende og ikke hans navn liksom skulle være der ... Det kanskje er litt stygt å gå over psykologiske analyser ...

H: Det er ingen overraskelse å se det på den måten at han var ikke tjent ikke å være med på det.

L: Ja. Han, fra sitt synspunkt sett, han hadde ikke noe å tape på å være med på det, han hadde noe å tape hvis det hadde skjedd noe betydningsfullt og han ikke hadde vært med på det. Så slik var det. Men altså det viktigste i første omgang, det var jo å få i gang, å få ut et opprop og det var ... Altså vi hadde dette stiftingsmøtet altså i Frogner kapell, og ... ja, hvor mange var vi da? Et tredvetalls til stede, og du kan vel si at en tredjedel av disse var aktive kirkemusikere, en tredjedel var prester, og en tredjedel var interesserte legfolk. Ja. Men det ble nokså fort, altså det viktigste arbeidsredskap, ble jo i grunn disse sommerstevnene. Det var vel det første, mener jeg. Det må vel ha vært i '53, at jeg var i Bergen og at det naturlig nok var orgelet i St. Jakob som var midtpunkt for dette, og da ... Hvem var det vi hadde som ... Hadde vi ikke Finn Viderø, mon tro?

H: Det kan godt stemme i forhold til hans besøk i det tidspunktet.

L: Og så var det vel en av de fremste fra Sverige som vi hadde med også ... utrettelig ... Jeg er ikke flink å huske navn lenger. Men vi hadde vel folk for så vidt fra hele landet. En annen, én Arild Sandvold som var litte granne besværlig og som fryktelig gjerne ville være med, jeg husker han var med i en eller to ganger på noen av forhåndsdrøftingene i Oslo altså, det var Eivind Solheim fra Ålesund. Han og en annen, jeg vil ikke si litt troløs, men det er litt sånn fra og til, det var jo hans nabo i Molde, var det Finn, Høyer-Finn, som nok var folk som hadde en viss sympati med bevegelsen, men som var litt for ureell i hver sin måte egentlig å marsjere i takt. I *neue Sachlichkeit*, så skal det marsjeres i en viss takt, det skal det.

H: Hvis vi går tilbake et par år, tilbake til sent i 1940-tallet, da Steenbergs Koralbok kom ut, den vekte ganske stor oppmerksomhet i sin tid ...

L: Den ble uventet mest betakkende ...

H: Ganske mye betakkende ... Lyst til lesing faktisk. Alle disse til og med politianmeldelser.

L: For å ha brukt Steenbergs harmoniseringer ... Det er jo i og for seg bare latterlig at man skulle ... at harmoniseringene skulle bli ... men på en måte ...

H: Det sier ganske mye om den tiden.

L: Ja, men nå var vel ... På en måte, så kan jeg forstå at harmoniseringene ble angrepspunktum. For det første fordi at det var der Steenberg var kompromissløs, mens når det gjalt rytme ... også melodiske tillempninger, så var han forholds ... til dels ettergivende og tok ikke noe store sjanser på det store anstøt. En annen ting er jo det at Steenberg gjorde den grassate feil - mener jeg - at han faktisk også romantiske ... harmoniserte romantiske melodier mer eller mindre i ren kirkestil.

H: Til og med folketonen i ren kirkestil.

L: Altså, du kan jo dere dette teknisk bedre, men han ... Thomas Laub gjorde rent bord. [Gjør hånd bevegelser] Vekk med det! Det gjorde ikke Steenberg. Men han sa heller: Vel, hvis vi kan få det til å klinge rent og klart á la Palestrina, så kan vi strekke oss et godt stykke og der ... der tror jeg nok alle i dag ville se, at han hadde satset feil.

H: Ja, men det er vanskelig å si hva som ville fungert bedre fordi det er jo ikke tvil om at Steenbergs *Koralbok* har hatt en stor betydning. Vi har jo til og med behold en god del av hans harmoniseringer i 1985 *Koralbok*.

L: Jo, den har i og for seg preget tiden mye mer enn hans egne melodier, det forbauser meg litt at de til den grad er blitt borte egentlig.

H: Det er ingen fra den perioden som vi snakker om nå, ikke etter 1930, som har overlevd. Det er bare de tidligere melodier.

L: Det er jo de, ja, hva skal vi si, minst saklige for så vidt. Steenbergs tidlige melodier har jo tildels et forholdsvis romantisk preg.

H: Likedan hans koralforspill. De er forholdsvis romantiske.

L: *Gud er her til stede* [synger]. Og at han ikke et øyeblikk tenkte seg muligheten av å gå tilbake til Neander. [Nynner] Altså, det er egentlig bemerkelsesverdig i hvor liten utstrekning Steenbergs *Koralbok* allikevel altså tar opp i seg ... Man skulle forvente mye mere av de klassiske tyske koraler. Laub var mer veivisende på en måte, men samtidig som det er jo klart og som vel de har innsett både i Danmark og vi gamle fra *Musica Sacra* at vi ... Vi kommer ikke videre med Laubs ensidighet, vi må ha plass, vi må ha en rimelig plass for annen stoff også.

H: Det ser jeg tydelige tegn på i Karlsens og Ludvig Nielsens samlinger av koralforspill fordi de har tatt bokstavelig samtlige koraler i Steenbergs *Koralbok* som utgangspunkt, men brukt eldre og de nyere forspill for å bevise at det finnes en utvikling her som kan føre videre en tradisjon, men gjøre levelig for en kirke som er på mange vis splittet i forhold til musikalske uttrykk. Men jeg tenker at Steenberg gjorde noe forholdsvis klokt i å bruke en svak eller mindre gjennomgående restaurering.

L: Ja. En annen ting, det er jo ... henger på prinsippet. Rolf Karlsen, han har en del melodier i Steenbergs *Koralbok*, og nå har han til dels tatt opp veldig romantiske tekster og gitt dem veldig uromantiske melodier. Det lar seg også diskutere naturligvis. *Lykkesalig, lykkesalig, hver sjel som har fred* [synger/nynner]. Det nytter bare ikke å synge en sånn tekstløs melodi.

H: Det virker ganske rart å tenke på det, ja.

L: Men selv mot han er dertil nærmere til *Nærmere deg min Gud* som i virkeligheten ... Jeg husker jeg inviterte til ... Her er Jeppe havnet i baronens seng, og det var en fantastisk flott melodi, men teksten er ikke verdig en så lang melodi etter min mening. Jeg husker en gang jeg diskuterte - nå dette her med Arild Sandvold - og Sandvold sa at Karlsens melodier er fullstendig blottet for sødme.

H: Ja, det er ikke helt utenkelig å beskrive dem slik.

L: Jeg tror nok på en måte Sandvold følte det litt bittert at Rolf Karlsen kom som hans etterfølger.

H: Men når du snakker om adjektiver, om "sødme" og blottet for all mulig musikalsk sødme, husker du noen av de uttrykk som ble brukt på den tiden om musikken, om stilarten, om musikkens funksjon i liturgien. For det var ikke før ganske mye senere at man begynte å beskrive dette som saklig musikk, selv om man i ny og ne kunne finne ordet "objektivt" eller "saklig."

L: Altså "objektivt" var nok et ord som var brukt i noen grad fra vår side, men det var nok først og fremst "den rene kirkestil." Men altså "saklighet" erindrer jeg i veldig ... Det ble ikke brukt i noen fremtredende, påfallende grad her i den norske debatt i disse årene, det ble det ikke.

H: Kan du si litt om den liturgiske fornyelsen som fant sted, riktignok noe tidligere, men også som var en viktig pågangsdriver for dette.

L: Det er jo riktig, altså der var jo prester i den norske kirkes presteforening liturgiske nemnd hadde jo kommet med et forslag til noe som ble kalt "en varsom revisjon av høgmesseliturgien." Det var et par år før krigen.

H: Det ble til og med tatt opp på bispemøte på det tidspunktet.

L: Ja, jeg husker ikke detaljene så godt, men altså ... Når den ble lagt til side, altså det hang jo noe sammen med at ... Der ble en stans i arbeidet under krigen ... På grunn av krigen, altså at vi hadde så mange ting som måtte prioriteres. Vi hadde faktisk ikke råd til å starte en indre kirkelig debatt om et annet spørsmål. Dermed så gikk tiden, og det er jo alltid sånn med alt som blir liggende over en viss tid at det kommer litt mer i bakgrunn, men jeg tror også at der var en teologisk vending som var i ferd med å fullbyrde seg. Der var nyortodoksien, viktige impulser var jo hver på sin måte barthianismen i det tysktalende Sentral-Europa og som jo også på sikt scoret prestisje ved at de folkene som tilhørte denne bevegelsen, de klarte å holde seg nokså fri av nazismen, og den såkalte Lunda-teologien fra Sverige, svensk påvirkning av norsk teologi, men kanskje også noe som skjøt litt fart i og med krigen fordi at der var en del av de norske teologer som opphold seg i Sverige og som fikk anledning til å studere en del der borte. Men at dette alt i alt ... Altså på en måte, det er i grunn merkelig at ... på litt sikt at ... Tyskland tross alt betydde ganske mye som teologisk veileder, men da var det altså den tyske *Bekennende Kirche*. Vi har satt her forleden dag og tenkte på ... Vi sang til våre morgenandaktene *Det langt på natt mun vera*. Det hadde jo en konsentrasjon av denne teologien og denne tiden og denne impulsen, kan du si, det er jo ... Du kan ikke finne et strengere eksempel på *neue Sachlichkeit* enn den.

H: Ronald Fangen tok opp noe som blir tatt tilbake fra England, Oxfordbevegelsen, allerede i 1930-tallet, i 1933.

L: Det var jo en sterk åndelig fornyelsesbevegelse her i landet ...

H: ... som førte frem til ...

L: Der var på høydepunktet, kan man si, i 1935, på midten av '30-årene, den var jo her. Så jeg har noen erindringer fra mine guttedager, jeg husker at min far tok min mor og meg med på et skikkelig Oxfordmøte i Bergen, og det må ha vært ... Da var jeg vært en 7-8 år gammel eller noe sånt og fikk et inntrykk av dette, det var jo, dette var jo folk som stod opp og fortalte om sine synder og tok et reelt oppgjør med seg selv på den måten som det skjedde der. Det var jo inntrykksfullt, selv en liten gutt altså merket noe med dette. Og et, man kan vel si at nesten det mest konsentrerte fornyelsesrettet utover '30-årene i norsk kirkeliv, var *Norges Kristelige Studenterbevegelse ... forbundet*. Nå man ser hva "forbundet" er i dag, så kunne man gråte i blod hva de betydde og deres bibelplan som jo har gått videre, blitt videreført av bibelselskapet, altså denne bibelplanen som blir brukt i dag, den er jo skapt av *Studenterforbundet*. Og Alex Johnson var vel kanskje drivende person nummer én, men det var også noen av de yngre ved universitetets teologiske fakultet den gangen, Nils Dahl, Einar Vollan, for eksempel, og *Ordo Crucis* som da også kom til og som var stiftet vel i '33 ... det er jo veldig mye av et sentrum for dette. Og dette var krefter som trakk med i den samme saklighetsretning og som førte til at da vi endelig fikk diskusjonen om den der varsomme høymesseliturgiforslaget et par år etter krigen da vi endelig hadde tid til å ta det opp igjen, så falt det på en måte dødt til jorden fordi man følte dette her er psykologiserende, ikke sant ... og de som ble sittende igjen med det på en måte ... der var jo ... jeg husker da jeg gikk på praktikum ... vi blir invitert, praktikumskandidatene, til et årsmøte i bekjennelsestroprestenes broderkrets, det som noe senere ble til bibel og bekjennelse, og der var det jo veldig bevegelse og stemning for den der høymessereformen fordi at der var det altså, man kan si, en mild pietisme som hersket videre, og det var behovet for en sjelesørgerisk gudstjeneste som liksom man kunne analysere virkningene av psykologisk of jeg husker at Fredrik Rønningsseter, Sverre Smeby og jeg, vi var sånn faste kamerater på praktikum og satt sammen, vi gikk hjem og lovet hverandre høytidelig at vi skal aldri melde oss inn i denne bekjennelsestroforeningen som er så lite bekjennelsestro og som har så lite av virkelig kirkelig holdning. Ja. Der har jo skjedd med *Musica Sacra*, for å hoppe litt videre ... altså jeg ... For noen få år siden så meldte jeg meg ut av *Musica Sacra* med en begrunnelse som jeg ga var det at jeg synes det har blitt så mye av en rent sangteknisk bevegelse. Den gjør et veldig nyttig arbeider med sine sommerlige sangøvelser og det hele, men vi som skapte *Musica Sacra* hadde tenkt oss en kampbevegelse, og vi syntes det at ... jeg syntes i hvert fall at profilen var blitt veldig uskarp ved å høre det, og at det i grunnen var for å markere det at jeg var ikke så interessert i å stille opp til en sangøvelse hver sommer hvor ... greit og bra og nyttig og så videre dette kunne være, men hvor der ikke var mer plass for virkelig analyse, diskusjon og gjerne litt pågangsmot i kamp med tanke på salmebokrevisjoner og det ene med det andre, at vi stilte med et program og forsøkte å påvirke, men det har jo *Musica Sacra* som organisasjon vært uhyre forsiktig med de siste tredivre årene.

H: Men de første 10, derimot, frem til 60-tallet, var det ganske aktivt, og selv og med det ikke mange som var medlem i organisasjonen, hadde den en ganske klar og tydelig stemme i norsk kirkemusikk.

L: Det var nettopp dette som jeg har savnet.

H: Men hva slags saker ble mest ... eller hvilke saker ble kampsaker for *Musica Sacra* de første årene?

L: Du kan si at en sak som jo stod på kartet nokså uavhengig ... forskjellige salmebokrevisjoner og aktuelle ... altså ting på diskusjonskartet, når det gjaldt kirke som helhet, det var jo naturligvis orgelfornyelser. Altså, jeg mener det var saker som kom opp enkeltvis og hvor det var behov for påvirkning og ikke minst en forholdsvis bevisst front mot elektronifiseringen og kamp for det klassiske orgel hvor det jo i enkelttilfeller i veldig stor utstrekning var folk fra *Musica Sacra*, folk som altså da ... at det var mulig å bygge opp en front gjennom den kontakt som man hadde med hverandre, man kjente hverandre, og man hadde kontakter når det gjaldt orgelbygning. Det spørs om ikke det er det området hvor du virkelig kunne lettest påvise konkret.

H: Ble St. Jakob i Bergen brukt som et godt eksempel på hva man kunne prøve å få til?

L: Ja, det ble det nok, og det var jo de første årene etter at det var kommet, det var jo nokså unikt. Det gikk jo ganske mange år før det begynte å komme virkelige ”barokkorgler” som de gjerne ble kalt da. Senere så har vi jo fått en slags motbevegelse også. Jeg satt ... jeg var i begravelse siste uke ut i Ullern kirke, sokneprest Kai Lys, og Bjørn Bøysen satt ved orgelet. Han har vel vært en slags ledende – hva skal vi si - motstandsmann mot det klassiske kirkeorgel. Og det var veldig hørbart der!

H: Ja, riktig.

L: Nå får vel jo Uranienborg også nytt orgel. Orgelet er demontert nå for tiden, og det brukes et lite kororgel, og så forsøker organisten å trøste oss ... Vi har jo en veldig flink, hun Ulsrud er jo en eminent, dyktig, eminent. Det er hun, og jeg pleide å erte henne og si at altså nå har dere gjort noe riktig fremragende i kirke den søndag at adverterer et nytt orgel og sier at det gamle er ubrukelig, og så gir du hver eneste søndag et bevis for det stikk motsatte. Og ”ja”, sier hun, ”men vi skal jo bevare en god del av det gamle orgelet, pipene skal jo være med, ” Men det hjelper jo ikke. Det er jo å kjenne det positive. Det var kommet til i ca. 1960, det var ikke det opprinnelige orgelet, men jeg synes ikke det er et godt signal når man bygger om et orgel som vel er opprinnelig fra omkring 1890 vel og da i anførsel modernisert i orgelbevegelsens tegn omkring 1960, og så at det akkurat det, det skal legges vekk. Man kan heller bygge på det som var før det igjen, ja.

H: Så orgelombygginger var også en sak for *Musica Sacra*? Men også korbevegelsen, at kirken skal ha en sunget liturgi.

L: Du vet hvis man går etter å se hvilke personer der i norsk kirkemusikk i disse årene som har vært tilknyttet *Musica Sacra*, hvilke spor de har satt etter seg, kanskje ikke minst i korarbeidet, så er det ... Kan man jo si at en ting at disse har inspirert hverandre gjensidig at man har hatt et bakgrunnsmiljø, at det har skjedd veldig mye som man ikke i konkrete ord, i det enkelte tilfelle kan spore tilbake, og si at når det skjedde der, skjedde det der, så er det en frukt der av dette, altså det er ... En bevegelse er noe mye mer enn en organisasjon.

- H: ja. Så klart. Og det er bare å se på medlemslisten fra den tiden, så var de fleste høyt aktede personer. De som var på listene var de mest høyt utdannede, og så hadde de kanskje de mest profilerte stillingene i Norge.
- L: Men du hadde naturligvis ... men hvis du nå tar for deg *Norsk Salmebok* og de musikere som dominerer der av de nyere, så, kvantitativt, så er det uten tvil Egil Hovland nummer 1, og Trond Kverno nummer 2, og det er jo begge to krabater som ikke helt entydig lar seg plassere. Altså Egil Hovland var nok i yngre dager utvilsomt en del av denne saklighetsbevegelse, men han har perioder ...
- H: Han har ganske markerte komposisjonsperioder.
- L: Ja, det er nettopp det han har. Jeg sa til ham til et visst tidspunkt: ”Du, Egil, hvis du bare vil omvende deg, gjør dine første gjerninger.” Det var ... Han hadde en veldig svakhet for det artige, og en tid så var han jo til og med ... han uttrykte jo veldig sterkt sin beundring for Aage Samuelsen, til og med. Men det er jo veldig mange helt fremragende ting som Egil har gjort, men de beste tingene gjorde han før 1970, synes jeg. Og Trond Kverno er jo også en av de forunderlige typene, det er jo ... han tangerer jo de geniale, det gjør han, så det er jo hans beste melodier, det er jo bare å bøye seg for i støvet.
- H: Conrad Baden ble aldri en del av *Musica Sacra* i en markert grad, men han ble i hvert fall sympatisk til ...
- L: Ja, du, vi regnte han nok som henhørende til der, men altså Conrad Baden var noen få år eldre enn hele denne ... Han hadde vel vært elever hos Steenberg, han også, men ... Ja, det var han og så han på Grefsen, hva var det nå ... mange dumme navn når man blir gammel. Nei, jeg vil jo avgjort si at Baden hørte til, og ... han var nok alltid omtalt og betraktet som en verdig alliert i disse kretser, det var han. Han har en sønn som derimot har vært mer rabulistisk og ...
- H: ... liberal ...
- L: Ja, ja. Det kan han vel kanskje kalles. Men jeg tror sønnesønnen kanskje er litt mer lik bestefaren.
- H: Ja, det er ofte noe sant. Kan du si litt om *Musica Sacras* forhold til musikkens funksjon i høymessen?
- L: Da har jeg nesten lyst til å si som tyskeren ”*Ich bin überfragt.*” Altså, vi ...
- H: For dette var en viktig del av *Musica Sacra*, også ikke minst da den *neue Sachlichkeit* og liturgisk fornyelse ...
- L: Det var det. Og det er jo ganske klart at vi representerte en klar reaksjon mot denne tendensen som var veldig sterk helt opp til siste krig at det gjaldt å briljere med improvisasjoner, altså det gjaldt mest mulig å fargelegge hele gudstjenesten med en – hva skal vi si – troen på den kunstneriske personligheten og så videre som utfoldet seg. I praksis, så hadde vi jo her i Oslo det mest ekstreme eksempel på dette. Han var jo ... og så ble han jo brukt i *Musica Sacra*-kretser ... man refererte til ham som uttrykk for det allerverste i norske kirkemusikk – Geburg Aasland i Ullern. Nei, du er for ung, du har aldri hørt ham spille, jeg har hørt ham spille til høymesse noen ganger, og det var mektig

underholdende for dem som har sans for underholdning, det var det. Og at det kanskje akkurat når det gjaldt orgelets rolle i gudstjenesten var det punkt hvor saklighetsidealet, saklighetskravet profilerte seg skarpest. Og at det er ordet som synges av menigheten og at musikalske-melodiske står i ordets tjeneste og at det er noe som oppfordrer til ydmykhet fra den enkelte utøvende musikerside, det var jo idealer som var helt selvsagte og fundamentale.

H: Anfinn [Øien], da han representerte Norge

L: Hvem sa du?

H: Anfinn Øien, i 1956 eller '57, jeg husker ikke helt, i Amsterdam på den internasjonale kirkemusikkonferansen, så ... hans kampsak fra Norge var ikke-konserterende orgelmusikk i gudstjenesten.

L: Ja, det dekker nokså ... Jeg kan ikke huske noen helt utsagt ... jo, forresten, altså at det konserterende at det var et skjellsord [let] for å si det sann, det er nok sikkert og visst.

H: Det er vanskelig sannsynligvis for deg å være objektiv i forhold til *Pro organo* sin betydning siden du har lest litt om det jeg har skrevet. Men kan du huske noe om den samlingen i *Musica Sacras* sammenhenger? Ble det nevnt?

L: Jeg vet ikke om jeg har noe som der noe som en selvsagt horisont, men hvis du er opptatt av konkrete enkelt iakttagelser, så er jeg ikke sikker om jeg har noe i farten. Altså, det kan nok spille også noe rolle for mitt engasjement i dette, at jeg aldri har vært og aldri har egentlig ansett meg selv for fagmusiker. Jeg er ... jeg er liturgiker, hvis jeg skulle sette et navn på det og at veldig mye av mine musikalske preferanser har nok vært diktert av - skal vi si - liturgisk innfølelse uten veldig mye av teoretisk musikalsk underbygning. Så jeg er i grunnen bare fagmann på en del av dette. Skjønt jeg oppdaget i salmebokkomiteen at, det var jo det, at jeg kunne mange flere salmemelodier enn kirkemusikerne kunne, ikke minst da utefra at jeg hadde levet ved – ja, hvis du ser hva som ligger øverst på den bunken der.

H: *Gesangbuch*.

L: Ja, når vi har brukt opp våre norske adventssalmer, så tar vi en del tyske og kjørt opp på med dem. I dag tror jeg vi sang nummer 5 i den tyske ... Den der er jo ikke den nåværende, jeg har den nåværende tyske også, men jeg synes nemlig oversiktlig og greiere den tidligere, de hadde jo så fryktelige forandringer i innholdsmassen i den, altså da de gikk over fra ”*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*” til ”*Evangelisches Gesangsbuch*,” de har ikke de, ja, men den er, jeg synes den er mere ugreie og mindre oversiktlig enn den dere der. Den dere der synes jeg er flott, men den har bare den feil naturligvis at den er for ensidig. Den dere der har ikke plass for mye utenfor den latinsk-tyske tradisjonen. Det er en svakhet.

H: Man kan si det samme om *Den danske salmebog*.

L: Ja, men i den danske, så er det en form for nasjonalisme som er aldeles utrolig i dansk kirkelighet, og det er jo gjennom Grundtvig at det meste av det dere har kommet inn, og det merker også ikke-grundtvigianernes holdninger, det er Grundtvig, er som salmedikter ... så har han veldig mye andre ting å bidra med, men han dominerer for

hardt i *Den danske Salmebog*. De kunne uten å tape på det har lagt til side 50 Grundtvig-salmer minst.

H: Jeg må avrunde snart fordi vi har snakket i over en time nå, men kan du si litt om Helge Fæhns involvering? Fordi han er den eneste som jeg ikke får tak i i forhold til den linjen. Han har blitt ganske skrøpelig nå.

L: Ja, han er det, jaja, det er ikke mange uker siden jeg har vært hos ham sist. Han har akkurat flyttet fra sin egen leilighet et stykke utenfor Sandvika, han er til en, har fått en eldrebolig midt i Sandvika, kommunal, og det skulle være nokså praktisk. Men han har helsemessig, så har han jo strevet de siste årene. Helge var jo med som ... han er jo liturgiker og liturghistoriker med stor "L." Han er ikke hymnolog egentlig.

H: Og ikke kirkemusiker, heller.

L: Nei, det er han ikke. Men vi holdt på å si ut fra sin liturgiske teologi, så har han et teoretisk grunnlag som gjør at han havner på den rette siden. Ja, men det er riktig, Helge har ikke bidratt mye når det gjelder salmeverket, nei, det er riktig. Men det var veldig viktig også da vi skulle bygge opp fra grunn av *Musica Sacra* å ha et forholdsvis sterkt innslag av teologisk kompetanse, så jeg var veldig takknemlig mot ham fordi han var med i den tiden. Han var helhjertet med i dette og hadde noe å tilføre, både med sin begeistring og med sine liturghistoriske kunnskaper.

H: Ble det noe spesielle liturgier som ble brukt i *Musica Sacra* kontekster, tidebønngudstjenester, justertehøymesser eller ble det ...?

L: Jeg kan ikke se ... Det har i årenes løp vært noen enkelt fremføringer av historisk betydningsfulle liturgier. Jeg husker jeg var innom Jespersen, skal jo alle, blant annet ... Jeg husker ikke helt hvornår det var, men du kan ikke si at det er noe som liksom har vært sånn gjenganger. Nå må jeg ta det forbehold at jeg har jo en stor del av denne tiden vært veldig mye på farten med mine egne ting og arbeidsoppgaver. Jeg var ... Som biskop i Bjørgvin, så var jeg en gang de hadde sommerstevne på Kongshaug på Os hvor jeg var invitert både til å forrette hovedgudstjenesten i Os kirke og til å holde foredrag. Men jeg var jo blant annet seks år i Strasbourg ved det lutherske verdensforbunds økumeniske forskningsinstitutt og sånn, og det har jo skjedd atskillig sånn innimellom da som jeg ikke akkurat har oversikt over, men slik jeg oppfattet spørsmålet ditt der, så ville jeg nok ha visst det hvis vi hadde noen sånn liturgifavoritt som vi hadde kjørt om og om igjen på.

C

Appendix C

Document translations

The Roh table: Schema ⁵⁹³

Expressionismus	Nachexpressionismus
Ekstatische Gegenstände	Nüchterne Gegenstände
Viel religiöse Vorwürfe	Sehr wenig religiöse Vorwürfe
Objekt unterdrückend	Objekt verdeutlichend
Rhythmisierend	Darstellend
Erregend	Vertiefend
Ausschweifend	Eher streng, puristisch
Dynamisch	Statisch
Laut	Still
Summarisch	Durchführend
Vordergründig (Nahbild)	Vorder- und hintergründig (Nahbild + Fernbild)
Nach vorn treibend	Auch zurückfliehend
Großformig	Großformig + vielspältig
Monumental	Miniaturartig
Warm	Kühl, bis kalt
Dicke Farbsubstanz	Dünne Farbschicht
Aufrauhend	Glättend, vertrieben
Wie unbehauenes Gestein	Wie blank gemachtes Metall
Arbeitsprozeß (Faktur) apüren lassend	Arbeitsprozeß austilgend (reine Objektivierung)
Expressive Deformierung der Objekte	Harmonische Reinigung der der Gegenstände
Diagonalreich (in Schrägen), oft spitzwinklig	Eher rechtwinklig, dem Rahmen parallel
Gegen die Bildränder arbeitend	In ihnen festsitzend
Urtümlich	Kultiviert

⁵⁹³ Roh, 1925, pp. 119-120. For an alternative translation see also Kaes, Jay & Dimendberg, 1994, p. 493.

The foreword to *Pro organo*⁵⁹⁴

Forord

Foreliggende samling inneholder dels orgelkoraler, koralfughetter o.l., dels mindre forspill til de fleste salmemelodier som forekommer i vårt land. Av innholdsfortegnelsen framgår hvilke av disse melodier som også brukes i Danmark og Sverige.

Til de melodier hvor en ikke har funnet passende eller trykkefrie bearbeidelser, har utgiverne selv komponert. De små stykker (til mindre brukte melodier) er bare tjenlige som forspill, mens de øvrige vil kunne nyttes som pre- og postludier ved gudstjeneste og kirkelige handlinger. Imidlertid har en i disse litt lengere stykker angitt utdrag passende som salmeforspill. Menes begynnelsen brukt, settes fermate i parentes for avslutning. Menes slutten brukt, settes tegnet (⏟) hvor en passende kan sette inn de forskjellige stemmer, eventuelt alle samtidig. Menes der gjort et sprang, settes tegnet €̣. Videre har en enkelte steder satt reпрisetegn over notesystemet (⏟) om det ved enkelte høve skulle være ønskelig å forlenge komposisjonen noe.

De fleste av stykkene er spillbare på ett manual uten pedal, om enn to manualer og pedal er meget ønskelig for adskillige stykkers vedkommende. – Hva de angitte forslag til utførelse angår (registrering, tempo m.v.), er disse å forstå som normalformer, nærmest i tilknytning til hovedteksten. Da mange av melodiene har forskjellige tekster som er meget ulike hva innhold og karakter angår, må komposisjonene så vidt mulig tilpasses vedkommende salme og søndags karakter. For de mindre forspill kommer ikke differensierte klangfarger i betraktning. Salmeteksten bestemmer forspillet klangfarge og styrkegrad.

Til de melodier hvor der finnes andre orgelbearbeidelser av kirkelig karakter, gis i forkortet form henvisning til disse.

Rolf Karlsen. Ludvig Nielsen.

Foreword⁵⁹⁵

This collection contains organ chorales, chorale fuguetas and similar works, as well as shorter preludes for the majority of hymn tunes that are in use in our country. The table of contents shows which of these tunes are also in use in Sweden and Denmark.

The compilers have composed works where it has not been possible to find appropriate or non-copyright material. The short works (for less frequently used tunes) are only serviceable as preludes; however, the others could be used as preludes and postludes for service use.⁵⁹⁶ It is worth noting that the selections marked in these longer works are appropriate for use as chorale preludes. If only the beginning of such a work is intended for use, a fermate shows where the ending should be made. If only the end of the work is intended for use, an open bracket (⏟) shows where the various voices enter, or where all the voices enter at once. If a more than one selection should be used, the crossed wheel

⁵⁹⁴ Karlsen & Nielsen, 1951, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁵ Translation by the author.

⁵⁹⁶ The Norwegian text refers to *kirkelige handlinger*, meaning ecclesiastical rituals, such as weddings and funerals.

sign is used to mark the sections. Furthermore, repetition suggestions are shown should one wish to increase the length of selected compositions.

The majority of works are playable on one manual without pedals; however, an organ with two manuals and pedals is highly desirable for many of the works. The given performance indications (registration, tempo and so on) are to be understood as standardised suggestions, directly associated with the primary text coupled to the tune. As many of the tunes are associated with varying number of texts, each with its own character and content, the compositions must, in so far as is possible, be adjusted to suit the matched text and character of the Sunday in the church year. The shorter chorale preludes do not require differentiated sound colours; here, the hymn text determines the sound colourings and relative volume.

References are given where other organ arrangements of ecclesiastical character for certain tunes may be found.

Rolf Karlsen. Ludvig Nielsen.

D

Appendix D

Ris church and Nidaros cathedral: Organ dispositions

Ris church, Oslo

J. H. Jørgensen, Oslo, 1931-32, 1944

Consultants: Olaf Platou and Wilhelm Huus-Hansen (1931-1932), Rolf Karlsen (1944)

Console: G. F. Steinmeyer & Co.

Division & stop name

Manual I C-a'''' (1932/1944)	Manual II C-a'''' (1944)	Manual III C-a'''' (1932)
Principal 16'	Bourdon 16' *	Bourdon 16' *
Bourdon 16' *	Principal 8'	Geigenprincipal 8'
Principal 8'	Gedeckt 8'	Gamba 8'
Rørfløite 8'	Salicional 8' (from Pos Violflöte)	Viola d'amore 8'
Gemshorn 8'	Unda maris 8'	Voix celeste 8'
Praestant 4'	Oktav 4' (from III, Principal 4')	Principal 4'
Offenflöte 4'	Nachthorn 4'	Wienerflöite 4'
Rauschkvint 2 2/3' + 2'	Waldflöte 2'	Pikkolo 2'
Mixtur 3 fag.	Sifflöyte 1'	Plein jeu 5 fag.
Tromba 8'	Ters 1 3/5'	Fagott 16' *
	Kvint 2 2/3'	Oboe 8'
	Mixtur 4 fag.	Klarin 4'
	Rankett 16' #	
	Bachtrumpet 8' #	
Manual III C-a'''' (1944)	Positiv (floating, 1932)	Positiv (floating, 1944)
Bourdon 16' *	Bourdoun 16' *	Cor de nuit 8'
Geigenprincipal 8'	Principal 8'	Principal 4' §
Gamba 8'	Cor de nuit 8'	Bachflöite 4'
Voix celeste 8'	Violflöte 8'	Nachthorn 2' §
Soloflöite 8' §	Bachflöite 4'	Sesquialtera 2 fag. §
Flöite pastorale 4' §	Sesquialtera 3 fag.	Zimbel 3 fag. §
Wienerflöite 4'		Vox humana 8'
Pikkolo 2'		
Plein jeu 5 fag.		
Fagott 16' *		
Oboe 8'		
Klarin 4'		

Pedal C-f (1932)	Pedal C-f (1944)	Fjernverk #
Grand bourdon 32' #	Grand bourdon 32' #	Bourdon 16' #
Fløitbass 16'	Fløitbass 16' § (treble pipes)	Bourdon 8' #
Kontrabass 16' * (unit)	Kontrabass 16' *(unit)	Angelica 8' #
Subbass 16' * (unit)	Subbass 16' * (unit)	Angelica-celeste 8' #
Principal 16' *	Principal 16' *	Fløite 4' #
Bourdon 16' *	Bourdon 16' *	Flageolet 2' #
Violon 8' * (unit)	Violon 8' * (unit)	Campanelli 3-5 fag. #
Gedeckt 8' * (unit)	Gedeckt 8' * (unit)	Vox humana 8' #
Fløite 8'	Fløite 8'	Horn 8' #
Koralbass 4' * (unit)	Salicional 8' *	Tremolo #
Waldfløyte 2'	Koralbass 4' * (unit)	
Mixtur 4 fag	Waldfløyte 2' *	
Basun 16'	Mixtur 4 fag	
Fagott 16' *	Basun 16'	
Rankett 4' #	Fagott 16' *	
	Rankett 4' #	

* = transmission

= prepared for

§ = 1944 additions

Couplers, playing aids and accessories

Couplers:

II-I, III-I, III-II, I-P, II-P, III-P

Suboctave couplers

II-I, II, III, III-I, III-II

Superoctave couplers

I, II, III, III-P, II-I, III-I

Tremolo:

II; III, Positiv, Solostemmer

Combination system:

4 general pistons (foot)

5 divisional pistons manual I

4 divisional pistons manual II (1-4 hand & foot)

5 divisional pistons manual III

3 divisional pistons Positiv

3 divisional pistons Fjernverk

4 coupler pistons (hand or foot)

6 divisional pistons Pedal organ (1-3 hand & foot; 4-6 foot)

Separate annullator (0) for each division and for couplers

1 setter piston

Other pistons:

16' ex Man. (on/off)

Mixtures ex (on/off)

Reeds ex (on/off)

Tutti (reversible, foot)

General tutti (reversible, foot)

Crescendo off (reversible, foot)

3 Swell pedals:

II

III/Master Swell (acting on all enclosed departments simultaneously)

Solo and fjernverk #

Crescendo pedal

Other switches and controls

Master Swell foot regulator

Fjernverk in (piston switches manual III between Swell and Fjernverk)

Pedal ex crescendo (on/off)

Indicator lights:

Tutti

General tutti

Crescendo

Visual mechanical indicators:

Crescendo, volt meter

Nidaros cathedral, Trondheim

G. F. Steinmeyer & Co. Op. 1500, 1930⁵⁹⁷

Consultant: Olaf Platou

Division & stop name

Manual I (Hovedverk) C-c''''	Manual II (Sv.verk) C-c''''	Manual III (Sv.verk) C-c''''
Principal 16' *	Salicional 16' *	Geigenprincipal 16'
Bourdon 16' *	Nachthorn 16'	Rohrflöte 16'
Principal No. 1 8'	Principal 8'	Principal major 8'
Principal No. 2 8'	Dulciana 8' *	Principal minor 8'
Principal No. 3 8' *	Unda maris 8'	Gamba 8'
Violoncello 8'	Gedeckt 8'	Gamba celeste 8'
Gemshorn 8'	Quintatön 8'	Aeoline 8'
Doppelgedeckt 8'	Spitzflöte 8'	Vox coelestis 8'
Flauto major 8'	Principal 4'	Bordun 8'
Rohrflöte 8'	Fugara 4'	Jubalflöte 8'
Quinte 5 1/3'	Rohrflöte 4'	Wienerflöte 8'
Octave 4'	Quinte 2 2/3'	Prestant 4'
Principal 4'	Sifflöte 2'	Gambette 4'
Offenflöte 4'	Terz 1 3/5'	Flute harmonique 4'
Gross terz 3 1/5'	Larigot 1 1/3'	Kleingedeckt 4'
Quinte 2 2/3'	Septime 1 1/7'	Quinte 2 2/3'
Superoctave 2'	Sedecima 1'	Piccolo 2'
Terz 1 3/5'	Mixtur 4 fach 2'	Terz 1 3/5'
Cornett 5 fach 4'	Contra Fagott 16' *	Kornett 5 fach 8'
Mixtur 6 fach 2'	Bassethorn 8'	Plein Jeu 5 fach 2 2/3'
Cimbel 3 fach 1' (2 2/3')	Clarinette 8'	Trompete 16'
Bombarde 16'	Trompete 8'	Cornoepen 8'
Tromba 8'	French horn 8'	Trompette harmonique 8'
Trompete 8'	Euphone 4'	Orchester-Oboe 8'
Clarion harmonique 4'		Vox humana 8'
Celeste (49 notes)		Klarine 4'
Glocken (26 notes)		Harfe 8' (49 notes) *
		Harfe 4' *

⁵⁹⁷ Bjørn Kåre Moe, *Orgler i et skyggeland: Nidarosdomens monumentalorgel*, Nidaros Domkirkes Restaureringsarbeiders Forlag, småskrifter no. 13, Trondheim, 1996, pp. 40-46.

Manual IV (Fjernverk)	Manual IV (Soloverk)	Rückpositiv (floating)
Bourdon 16' *	Diapason Stentor 8'	Mild principal 8'
Viola 8'	Geigenprincipal 8'	Violflöte 8'
Viola celeste 8'	Gross Mixtur 5 fach 4'	Cor de Nuit 8'
Bordun 8'	Tuba 16' *	Prestant 4'
Principalflöte 4'	Tube 8'	Bachflöte 4'
Flageolet 2'	Tuba 4'	Nasat 2 2/3'
Mixtur 5 fag 2 2/3'	Trompette orchestrale 8'	Blockflöte 2'
Trompete 8'		Nachthorn 1'
Vox humana 8'		Cimbel 4 fach _'
Pedalbordun 16' *		Rankett 16' *
		Krummhorn 8'
Pedal		

Subbordun 32' 12 pipes *	Quinte 5 1/3'
Contra Violon 32'	Octav 4'
Majorbass 16'	Bachflöte 4'
Principalbass No. 1 16'	Terz 3 1/5'
Principalbass No. 2 16' *	Waldflöte 2'
Kontrabass 16'	Mixtur 5 fag 5 1/3'
Harmonicabass 16'	Pedalkornett 5 fach 2 2/3'
Subbass 16' *	Kontrabombarde 32' 12 pipes *
Bordun 16' *	Bombarde 16' *
Salicional 16' *	Basstuba 16' *
Quintbass 10 2/3'	Fagott 16' *
Octavbass 8'	Rankett 16' *
Principal 8' *	Trompete 8'
Violoncello 8'	Clarine 4'
Dulciana 8' *	Glocken (26 notes) *
Rohrflöte 8'	
Flötbass 8'	

* = transmission

Couplers, playing aids and accessories

Couplers:

II-I, III-I, IV-I, III-II, IV-II, I-P, II-P, III-P, IV-P

Suboctave couplers:

II-I, III-I, IV-I, II, III-II, IV-II, III, IV-III, IV

Superoctave couplers:

II-P, III-P, II-I, III-I, IV-I, II, III-II, IV-II, III, IV-III, IV

Rückpositiv-I, Rückpositiv-II, Rückpositiv-III,
Rückpositiv-Ped

Tremolo:

I, II; Rückpositiv, Fernwerk; Fernverk: Tremolo ex
(for Vox Humana)

Combination system:

8 general pistons (hand or foot)
5 divisional pistons manual I
5 divisional pistons manual II
5 divisional pistons manual III
4 divisional pistons Rückpositiv
4 divisional pistons Solo organ
3 divisional pistons Fernwerk
8 divisional pistons Pedal organ (1-4 hand & foot;
5-8 foot)
4 coupler pistons
Separate annullator (0) for each division and for
couplers
1 setter piston

Diverse pistons:

Subkoppel ex (Manuals)
Oktavkoppel ex (Manuals)
Solo IV-I (reversible)
Pedal couplers ex (foot)
16' ex Man. (on/off)
Reeds ex (on/off)
Pedal stops ex (foot)
Bombarde 32' (reversible, foot)
Couplers crescendo ex (on/off; foot)
Pedal ex crescendo (on/off)
Tutti (reversible, foot)
General tutti (reversible, foot)
General annulator (00, foot)

Automatic pedal combinations (piano pedal):

(corresponding to pedal combinations 1-4)
Ped. I
Ped. II
Ped. III
Ped. IV

3 Swell pedals:

II
II/Master Swell (acting on all enclosed departments
simultaneously)
IV: Solo/fernwerk
Crescendo pedal

Other switches and controls

Fernwerk in (switch manual IV between Solo and
Fernwerk)
Automatic pedal in
Master swell

Indicator lights:

Crescendo
Tutti
General tutti
Automatic pedal combination 1-4

Visual mechanical indicators:

Crescendo, voltmeter

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