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The role of the organ in Moravian sacred music between 1740–1840

Duncan, Timothy Paul, D.M.A.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1989

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THE ROLE OF THE ORGAN IN MORAVIAN SACRED MUSIC BETWEEN 1740-1840

by

Timothy Paul Duncan

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Musical Arts

Greensboro
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Approved by

Kathryn Eskey
Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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DUNCAN, TIMOTHY PAUL, D.M.A. The Role of the Organ in Moravian Sacred Music between 1740 and 1840. (1989) Directed by Kathryn Eskey.

The purpose of this document was to ascertain the role of the organ in Moravian religious activities between 1740 and 1840. Organ accompaniment, which included the performance of hymns, liturgies, and choral anthems, was a vital part of all forms of congregational singing. The primary role of the organ was to provide harmonic support for congregational singing. Religious services that were primarily for singing included the Singing Hour, the Liturgy Hour, the Congregational Hour, and the Lovefeast. Music in the Singing Hour consisted of chorale verses joined in succession and based on a unifying theme. The Liturgy Hour made use of two types of music: music composed for the liturgy, which included chant, canticles, and choral settings of the liturgy; and hymn liturgies, which were liturgies set to familiar chorale tunes. The Congregation Hour was similar to the Singing Hour and Liturgy Hour in the use of chorales and liturgies. Choral anthems by choirs in the community were also included in the Congregation Hour. The Lovefeast was held on special occasions and contained several choral anthems by Moravian composers or others such as Handel, Haydn, or Hasse. Anthems by Moravian composers that included the organ fell into

three categories: anthems with orchestra and organ continuo (figured bass), anthems with organ accompaniment alone, and anthems with orchestra and written organ parts. The organ participated in the performance of choral anthems scored for orchestra and organ, even if the organ part was a single line with figures.

The organ was especially important in the accompaniment of chorales. Organists were free to add interludes between lines of the chorales to aid the singers; however, extreme ornamentation which disguised the tune was unacceptable to the Brethren. Rules governing the construction of interludes provided organists with the essential information regarding the placement and character of interludes. The organ was somewhat less important in the performance of voluntaries prior to worship services. Nine Preludes for Organ are the only known published preludes by Moravian composers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge Old Salem, Inc., The University of North Carolina Press, and W. W. Norton Publishers for permission to include copyrighted materials in this document; the Moravian Music Foundation for their generous assistance in providing historical manuscripts and materials for this study; and the members of my doctoral committee for their helpful editorial suggestions in the final preparation of this document. I also wish to acknowledge the University of North Carolina at Greensboro for providing financial assistance for research.

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INTRODUCTION

Musical expression in eighteenth-century America was as diverse as the immigrants who settled the colonies. English and Dutch Separatists brought psalmody; British laborers brought ballads and dance music; German merchants and craftsmen brought the religious chorale.[1] Although they came to America to establish a new life, these European immigrants continued to embrace their national traditions of language, social mores, religion, and music. One such group of immigrants, the Moravians, brought with them a fascinating culture of music and religion which characterized their communities for nearly a century. Moravians, or the Unity of Brethren as they were called, were German missionaries who came to America for two reasons: to convert and educate the American Indians, and to find religious freedom.

The Brethren demonstrated their religious fervor by gathering daily to confirm their faith and commitment to God. Each religious event, whether with the entire congregation or a small gathering, included music as an integral part of the religious expression.

This special emphasis upon sacred music, both vocal and instrumental, was fundamental to the framework of the whole Moravian society.

The use of musical instruments was an important feature of Moravian society. A trombone choir often accompanied congregational singing during church services or announced a death or birth in the community by playing an appropriate chorale in the town square. Processions, especially on Easter morning, were led by the members of this brass ensemble. Not even an ordinary event like gathering for a meal took place without the singing of chorales or the playing of instruments. Upon visiting the North Carolina community of Salem in 1767, William Tryon, Governor of North Carolina from 1765 to 1771, recorded the events of his stay in this way:

> [Friday, 18 September 1767] They were welcomed with music on the trumpets and french horns. . . . Half an hour later dinner was served to all of them in the Saal in the Brother's House. The meal was accompanied by music, and pleased them very much.[2]

Another instrumental ensemble, the collegium musicum, performed classical works in the style of Haydn, Stamitz, and Hasse.[3] Although members of the collegium musicum and the trombone choir performed

occasional concerts for social gatherings and special guests, the primary function of each ensemble was to accompany sacred music. The prominent Moravian scholar Donald McCorkle described the Brethren's attitude toward music this way: "Music to them was a necessity of life, but a necessity completely subservient to their work for the glory of God."[4]

Although orchestral instruments were used in many events, another instrument, the organ, was central to Moravian sacred music in the late eighteenth century. Its role in regular gatherings, while unobtrusive and secondary to singing, was essential to the flow and continuity of each religious service. In addition to providing prelude music for many gatherings, the organ offered harmonic support for congregational singing and choral anthems.

American Moravians relied upon the organ as the principal instrument for the accompaniment of congregational music during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although the importance of the organ did not start and stop within this time frame, the span of the one hundred years beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century provides a reasonable basis on which to characterize the traditional elements of Moravian sacred music in America. The role of the organ in Moravian sacred music and its function in

society will be the focus of this document. The discussion will include the following:

1. The organ's role in the accompaniment of singing in such services as the Singing Hour, Liturgy Hour, Congregational Hour, and Lovefeast;
2. The organist's duties and qualifications;
3. The organ's role in the performance of voluntaries; and
4. The organ's design and tonal quality as seen in selected instruments of the Moravian organ builder, David Tannenberg (1728-1804).

Chapter I, beginning with a discussion of the early history of the Unity of Brethren and the followers of John Hus, will emphasize the Brethren's musical traditions through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In Chapter II the subject of the organ's function in such Moravian religious services as the Singstunde, the Liturgien, the Gemeinstunde, and the Liebesmahl will be addressed. After dealing briefly with the development of Moravian hymnody from its inception into the middle of the nineteenth century, Chapter III will include a discussion of specific features in the accompaniment of chorales. A vital part of the Brethren's sacred music,

chorales were collected from a variety of sources, sacred as well as secular, and were written down in two-part scores with figured bass. Moravian organists who accompanied the chorales often included brief interludes between chorale phrases. These organ interludes, perhaps the most interesting aspect of chorale accompaniments, allowed the singers to breathe sufficiently and provided smooth transitions between chorale phrases. Chapter III will focus primarily on the use of chorale interludes and the rules that govern their construction. This chapter will also address briefly the importance of the chorale accompaniment in establishing a reverent atmosphere for worship.

Chapter IV will include a discussion of the organ voluntary and its place in Moravian worship. The nine voluntaries (1806) of Christian Latrobe (1757-1836), a Moravian composer who lived in England, have proved to be a vital source of printed Moravian voluntaries from the early nineteenth century. The chapter will also include a summary of the duties of a Moravian organist. Chapter V will provide an overview of Moravian organ design as observed in selected instruments of David Tannenberg and will deal with such issues as tonal quality, stop selection, pipe dimensions, and tuning practices.

The final chapter will address significant features of the organ in eighteenth-century Moravian music and their possible applications to modern singing traditions. For example, since chorale interludes were widely used during the eighteenth century, their use may have important implications concerning the authentic interpretation of chorales. The chapter will give special consideration to the significance of interludes in chorale accompaniments and the importance of the organ continuo to authentic choral anthem performances. Before any discussion of the organ's role in Moravian sacred music can begin, however, a historical perspective must be established from which to view the development of Moravian music in America. A survey of the United Brethren's background and development is essential to an understanding of Moravian music traditions.

CHAPTER I

MORAVIAN HISTORY AND MUSIC BEFORE 1840

History

The Moravian Church traces its roots to the followers of John Hus (c. 1369-1415) who in 1415 was burned at the stake for his rejection of Catholic doctrine. In 1457, despite continued persecution, a group of his followers denounced the Catholic Church and formed a society called the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of Brethren. The Pope's quick retaliation to this public dissent, while appearing to crush the movement, merely forced the Brethren underground. Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remnants of the society continued to meet secretly throughout Europe.

It was not until the early eighteenth century that a group of the Bohemian Brethren found refuge in Saxony under the protection of a wealthy landowner and a devout Lutheran, Count Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Here the Brethren received the name Moravians because of their exodus from Moravia, the central region of modern-day Czechoslovakia between

Bohemia on the west and Slovakia on the East. The Moravians quickly established a settlement in what is now east central Germany and called it Herrnhut, or House of God. This community became the center of authority for the Renewed Moravian Church, descendants of the Unitas Fratrum. Finally able to worship and practice their religion openly, the fellowship experienced a spiritual revival which increased the size and fervor of the congregation. Recognizing a need to establish a practical guide for living the Christian faith, the Brethren adopted a Brotherly Agreement in 1721, which set down a code of conduct for all members of the congregation.[5] While the community was set apart from other towns, it was open to anyone willing to live by the rules stated in the Brotherly Agreement. Among other things this pact included the prohibition of strong drink and provisions for the care of children and the elderly.[6]

The success of the Herrnhut experiment encouraged the Moravians to establish similar missionary communities around the world. In 1735 one mission was set up in Dutch Guiana, South America, another in the West Indies in 1737, and others in South Africa, Egypt, and North America before the middle of the eighteenth century. The Brethren's heed to the Great Commission--"Go ye into all the world and preach the

gospel"[7]--was as much a practical matter as it was a scriptural one. Count Zinzendorf had long been suspected of giving sanctuary to Separatists and wished to avoid further threats from the Catholic Church.[8] Jobs and housing were also becoming scarce in Herrnhut, and mission projects became a useful tool by which decentralization could be achieved.

Since land grants were available for development in North America, the Moravians sought out and obtained a tract of land near Savannah in the Georgia Colony in 1740.[9] When the territory became the battleground for the English from the Carolinas and the Spanish from Florida, the Brethren left the area and moved north to establish a settlement in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, the Moravian mission in the Georgia Colony was important for at least one reason: the Moravians there demonstrated hard work and ingenuity, and members of other colonies would soon approach them as desirable newcomers.[10]

Late in 1740 the Moravians from Georgia, joined by others from Moravian communities in Europe, moved to Pennsylvania and established communities, including Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz after the model at Hernnhut.[11] In one sense the establishment of separate communities like the one at Herrnhut was unfortunate: had the Moravians used their skills to build congre-

gations in pre-established communities, their place among the Protestant churches in America might have been far greater.[12] In another sense, their separate society was instrumental in preserving the details of their unique musical practices and social structure. Of all the American Moravian communities, Bethlehem, established in 1740, and Salem, established in 1753, became the largest and most prominent American Moravian centers. Each community was ruled by two governing boards selected from members of the congregation: the Aeltesten Conferenz (Highest Conference), which dealt with spiritual concerns, and the Aufseher Collegium (Board of Overseers), which dealt with financial affairs. The Conferenz also attended to marriages, neighbor relations, and community behavior with almost absolute authority.[13] Likewise, the Collegium monitored important business transactions, established weights and measures, and provided fire and police protection.

Moravian society was also divided into groups according to age, sex, and marital status, and the Conferenz appointed overseers for each chor, or choir, as each group was called. The choir system was the basis for the Brethren's society, with each choir functioning as an economic, religious, and musical entity. The choir system was a unique economic welfare

mechanism called the oeconomie which provided for the common welfare through public ownership of all goods produced.[14] Land, tools, and machinery were owned by the community of choirs, and each choir member labored according to his/her own ability. Occupations were assigned according to the needs of the society as a whole and the suitability of each laborer. For example, men such as the Single Brethren were assigned to businesses or farms; women such as the Single Sisters were assigned to duties related to cooking, sewing, and teaching children. In return, everyone received the necessary supplies from the goods produced. The establishment of the choir system meant that each adult member of the congregation would be cared for or encouraged by members of his/her own choir. No one would be excluded from religious exercises or social functions, and in the case of the younger choirs, each member could be monitored for development or singled out for correction.

Certainly the most apparent application of the choir system was to the religious and musical activities of the congregation, whether for children or adults. Singing, as previously stated, was a vital part of each religious service and choir gathering. Even during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the

importance of sacred music was stressed among the Unitas Fratrum.

Music

The early Brethren incorporated music into everyday life by singing Reiselieder (travel songs), Wiege Lieder (spinning songs), and other spiritual songs as natural expressions of religious piety.[15] The Unitas Fratrum also collected numerous religious songs for the publication of the first Protestant hymnal in 1501.[16] This hymnal provided an early indication that the Unitas Fratrum emphasized the singing of hymns as a way of teaching doctrine and spreading its beliefs.[17] While the Catholic Church used Gregorian chant with Latin texts, the Brethren advocated the use of vernacular songs set to tunes the laity could sing. These early songs, poems with primitive neumatic notation, were collected and adapted from folk songs and Gregorian chant. According to John Comenius (1592-1670), a seventeenth-century bishop of the Brethren, this early society did not allow instrumental accompaniment during the singing of religious songs. On that subject Comenius wrote the following:

> They have no cantus fractus[18] or peregrinus,[19] which the people cannot understand and which contributes nothing to churchly edification; no musical instruments nor anything that smacks of dissipation, licentiousness, or mere ornamentation.[20]

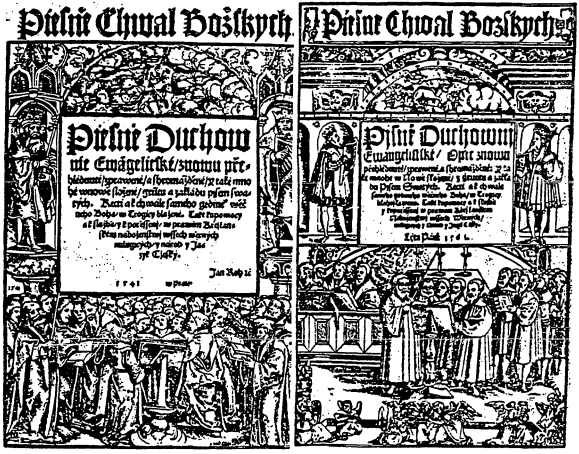
Although instrumental accompaniment to singing was forbidden, antiphonal singing was an important feature of the early church. One Brethren song book compiled by Michael Weisse in 1531[21] provides substantive evidence that singing, especially antiphonal and responsorial, was an integral part of early Brethren worship. The last section of the hymnal contains the following directions:

> First a precentor joined by the entire congregation said a supplicational prayer, whereupon the congregation sang the verse "Amen sprech'n wir gleich [We all alike say amen] or a corresponding one. This was followed by words of institution spoken by a minister, after which the congregation sang the declaration of faith "Wir glauben alle und bekennen frei" [We all believe and acknowledge freely] as confirmation.[22]

In addition to these guidelines for singing, responsorial singing can also be observed on the title page of the Weisse Hymnal of 1531 where the worshippers are shown divided into groups[23] (see Example 1). Despite harsh persecution, the Brethren published and circulated numerous collections of religious songs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The number of

collections attested to the Brethren's dedication and piety during these turbulent years.

Example 1: Front Plate of the Weisse Hymnal of 1531, Gedruckt zum Buntzel in Behmen; reprinted, by permission, from Walter Blankenburg, "The Music of the Bohemian Brethren," Part 6, Protestant Church Music, ed. Friedrich Blume, trans. Hans Heinsheimer (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1974), 600.



By the mid-eighteenth century the Unitas Fratrum had collected or composed at least 3000 hymns[24] suitable for worship, births, deaths, baptisms, festivals, and education.[25] Christian Gregor (1723-1801), an important Moravian composer and editor of the Choral-Buch (1784) and Gesangbuch (1778), characterized the Brethren's attitude toward music this way:

> In the Brethren's church at all times song has been held in great esteem, and following the admonitions of St. Paul--"Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord." (Ephesians 5:19)--it makes up a principal part of their daily devotions. One cannot imagine anything more agreeable, and, at the same time, more solemn than the singing of a congregational gathering, in which, along with the pious directing of the hearts toward one and the same blessed goal, one also perceives a lovely harmony of voices and musical instruments, especially the organ.[26]

Count Zinzendorf, a prolific hymn writer with over 2,000 hymns to his credit, was instrumental in establishing the priority of music in Moravian communities. Zinzendorf gave highest priority to the church liturgy. The term "liturgy" referred to the experience of Christ in the midst of His people and the action of Christians in response.[27] The most important "experience" or liturgical expression, according to

Zinzendorf, was conversion. The second most important event was the Lord's Supper; the third highest expression, taking precedence over preaching, was the singing of hymns.[28] Zinzendorf wanted to unite the sacred aspect with the secular or practical aspect of Moravian life, and by making music an integral part of religious expression he laid the ground work for a rich heritage of sacred music. Singing liturgies, often to familiar tunes, at births, deaths, marriages, baptisms, and festivals, became a way to enrich the musical experience as well as a way to unite the Brethren. Members of every choir learned special hymns and liturgies for their own weekly meetings or designated feast days. The children memorized their own liturgies in the course of the school routine and performed their liturgies during the children's Singing Hour. The adults performed their liturgies during the mid-week service and the regular Sunday meetings. Choir feast days provided additional opportunities for choirs to perform appropriate liturgies and hymns before the entire congregation. Such services that made use of liturgies and hymns will be discussed in the next chapter.

Many liturgies that were sung in the Gemeinsaal (Congregation Chapel) used the organ as the only accompaniment, and because the Moravians relied heavily

upon singing, the organ was an essential element of their worship. The Salem congregation, although having governed its own affairs for only a year,[29] purchased in 1772 its first organ from Joseph Bullitschek (fl. 1770-1790), a Moravian organ builder in North Carolina about whom little is known. As the Salem Diary stated: "When finished it was immediately played for services and [made] them, and especially the Singstunde [Singing Hour], more attractive.[30] In 1798 a larger organ, five stops compared to Bullitschek's two, was built by the Moravian organ builder, David Tannenberg (1728-1804). The Bethlehem congregation purchased a Tannenberg organ for the chapel of the Single Brethren's House in 1776, and in 1777 the Brethren at Lititz purchased an organ for the Single Brethren's House in that community. The purpose of each organ was to accompany the singing of liturgies and chorales by the entire congregation or by any choral ensemble.[31]

The use of the organ in religious gatherings was only one of the many important traditions in Moravian communities. The development of this and other musical traditions will be particularly important to the understanding of Moravian sacred music in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The establishment of liturgies, forms of worship, singing

practices, and the use of instruments all helped to determine the role of sacred music in Moravian society.

It is from this historical perspective that one can see the important place sacred music held in everyday life. A closer study of specific traditions and forms of Moravian worship is the next step in establishing what role music, and specifically the organ, played in American Moravian congregations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While the role of the organ as accompaniment for hymn singing will be the focus of Chapter III, the following chapter will be directed toward the role of the organ in the accompaniment of choral anthems. Particular attention will be given to the Moravian services that made use of anthems, and each type of service will be studied to determine the purpose of each gathering, the nature of the music during each meeting, and how the organ was vital to the performance of choral anthems.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS SERVICES THAT MADE USE OF SINGING

Various services were held for the purpose of singing hymns and liturgies in Moravian communities. Some meetings were a part of weekly worship and still others were recreational in nature.[32] Chorales and religious songs were sung during family gatherings, choir gatherings, and meetings of the entire congregation. Singing in the the Brethren's native language, German, was an essential part of Moravian meetings. These religious meetings of the congregation, with men seated on one side of the room and women on the other, followed organized guidelines regarding what was to be sung.

Although special services such as funerals or baptisms were held when circumstances demanded, four primarily singing services were held on a regular basis: the Singstunde, or Singing Hour; the Liturgien, or Liturgy Hour; the Gemeinstunde, or Congregation Hour; and the Liebesmahl, or Lovefeast. With the exception of the Liturgien, which was restricted solely to communicants of the Moravian Church, all services were intended for the entire congregation and visitors from outside the community.[33] While a choir might hold a Singstunde or Liturgien for its members, the order would be consistent

with that of the larger gathering and therefore could be described in similar terms. Each service was developed to promote a single idea or purpose, and each service made use of varying types of music. The following section will address the purpose of each service, the types of music used, and the role of the organ in each service.

The Singing Hour

The Singstunde, or Singing Hour, one of the most common gatherings among Moravians, was developed for the purpose of singing chorales. In most communities the Singstunde was held several times each week. The liturgist, or leader for the meeting, selected a series of single hymn stanzas related to single subjects such as faith, penitence, or God's mercy. Subjects were usually based on the daily watchword (Loosung or Losung) and Biblical text (Lehrtext) which the Brethren Leaders established and printed for the entire year.[34] According to Count Heinrich Lynar, an eighteenth-century church leader in Herrnhut, the Brethren were encouraged to memorize the watchword and to carry it with them as a means of personal edification.[35] A corresponding hymn stanza was also assigned as a commentary on the Biblical text.[36] Nicolaus Zinzendorf (1700-1760), the founder and first bishop of the Renewed Church of Brethren, designated

the Singstunde as the center of Moravian religious life. His intention was to make the Singing Hour a genuine outpouring of "enthusiastic pietistic faith and therefore a measure of the spiritual condition of the congregation."[37] Songs, according to Zinzendorf, were "the best method to bring God's truth to the heart and to preserve it there."[38] Upon writing to King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia, Count Zinzendorf described the Singing Hour this way:

> The cantor takes up the subject of the sermons that have just been given and chooses whole and half verses from 20 or 30 songs that illustrate the subject in a clear and orderly fashion: and cantor, organist, teacher, and audience are so practiced that no one is permitted to hesitate, nobody may consult a book--something that cannot be described unless it is seen. My ten-year-old son, when he plays the hours of song in the house, can shift imperceptibly from one melody to another so that nobody knows whether the entire hour of song had not been expressly so composed.[39]

Count Lynar also characterized the Singstunde as a gathering in which

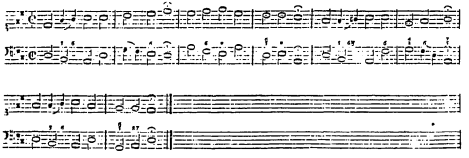
> nothing is done besides singing. . . . The Preacher begins a verse, and scarcely has he sung the first word when he is joined by the members of the congregation who know all the verses by heart and therefore need use no hymnal, and the organ also joins in immediately. And thus it goes from one verse to another from various old Lutheran, Gerhardian, and other hymns of the renewed Brethren, and from one melody to another they have the most beautiful melodies. In such a service a single and entire theme is dealt with in such a manner that it all holds together.[40]

Each gathering for the Singing Hour offered an opportunity for learning new hymns as well as time to ponder the meaning of the Losung and Lehrtext.[41] The accompanying instrument was usually organ, but other available instruments may have been employed as well. A certain Israel Asrelius visited Bethlehem in 1754 and reported that during an instructional Singstunde the organ, flute, and violin accompanied the singing.[42]

The first requirement of the organist during this meeting was that he be able to play any chorale in any key. Since the initial pitch of the first chorale in the series was chosen by the liturgist or cantor as Zinzendorf stated, the organist was required to play immediately and without hesitation in that chosen key. The only modification available to the organist was described in Christian Latrobe's preface to his Hymn Tunes. If the key chosen by the liturgist required the use of too many sharps or flats, the organist was allowed to "fall by a half-step" in order to facilitate the accompaniment.[43] This adjustment must have been performed quickly to avoid any confusion among the singers. Because independent hymn verses were linked together, it appears that the remaining hymns were also sung in the same or a closely related key. According to Zinzendorf's account, the organist was able to "shift imperceptibly from one melody to another." If that is true, what problems were caused regarding the

vocal range of each chorale? If, for example, a chorale was originally composed in the key of F major, but a verse of that chorale was included in a Singstunde that began in the key of C major, did the liturgist change key or did he remain in the initial key? A change to the dominant key would not be difficult, but to sing a chorale two-and-a-half steps higher than written would likely exceed the vocal range of the congregation. Since the information found concerning the Singstunde made no mention of the dilemma, the Brethren appeared to have found no difficulty in moving from tune to tune. Perhaps they were so familiar with each tune that they naturally adjusted to a suitable vocal range. In any case, the organist was required to follow the lead of the liturgist for each tune. The organist's part, even if memorized, was taken from a two-part texture with figured bass above the bass part. Such an example taken from the Choral-Buch demonstrates the format of most Moravian hymn partbooks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Example 2). In these partbooks melodies were categorized into classes, called Arten, according to meter and form. Texts were easily adapted to any one of several melodies in a given Art. More will be said about the accompaniment of chorales in Chapter III.

Example 2: "Gott sey Dank in aller Welt," Art 11b from Christian Gregor's Choral-Buch, enthaltend alle zur dem Gesangbuche der Evangelischen Bruden-Gemeinen von Jahre 1778 gehörige Melodien (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784; repr., ed. James Boeringer, preface trans. Karl Kroeger, Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Music Foundation Press, 1984), 10.



The organist was also required to be familiar with the texts of each chorale since the third or fourth verse, for example, might be the verse suitable to the Singstunde topic. It is not clear whether the organist was advised before the service concerning the selection and order of chorale verses. Although official records of the Conferenz at Salem and private diaries at the Moravian Music Foundation do not mention any necessary discussion between the liturgist and organist, it is logical to presume the liturgist, if possible, informed the organist concerning the order of chorales. It is certain, however, that the organist was able to perform the chorales without

hesitation in a smooth and effective manner, with or without notice.

The Liturgy Hour

While all members of the congregation and visitors were permitted at the Singstunde, another meeting, the Liturgien, was restricted to communicants of the church.[44] The Liturgy Hour was developed in Herrnhut around 1734 as a fixed order of service that included prayers, canticles, chorale-like songs, and chorales. Members of the congregation met together weekly to recite their tenants of faith in various forms of responsorial chanting or singing. Music for the liturgy was divided into two main categories: music composed expressly for the liturgical text, and the so-called hymn liturgy which made use of familiar chorale tunes set to liturgical texts. Music composed for the liturgy included three types: chant, canticles, and choral settings of liturgies.

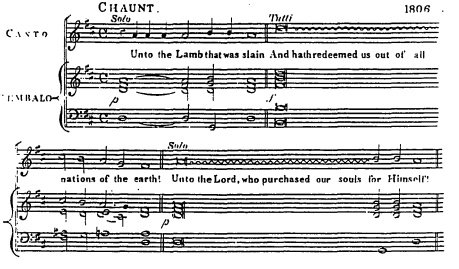
Music Composed for the Liturgy

Chant

The first type, chant, was often performed alternately by the liturgist and congregation. The solo part was performed by the leader, and the congregation entered at the measures marked "tutti" (see Example 3). Since the

majority of Moravian liturgical books of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provided text without music, this example from Christian Latrobe's Original Anthems for One, Two, or More Voices[45] is unusual in that it provides music and words in the same volume. Similar in sound to Episcopalian or Anglican models, the following chant also demonstrates the use of responsorial singing between the soloist and choirs or congregation. The organ or cembalo provided basic harmonic support for both groups in the traditional block chord style (see Example 3).

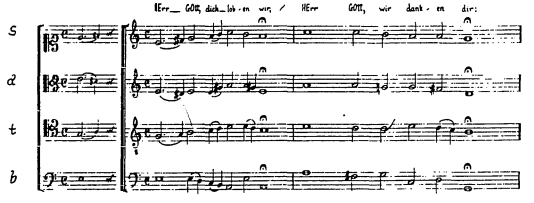
Example 3: Chant from Christian Latrobe's Original Anthems for One, Two, or More Voices Adapted for Private Devotion or Public Worship (London: Printed for the Author, 1828), 185.



Canticles

The second type of composed liturgy, canticles, offered more opportunities for vocal harmonization and choral settings. Canticle melodies and texts were not strophic as in the case of chorales, but were sectional with multiple repetitions possible with each section. The following example (Example 4) entitled "Das Te Deum Laudamus"[46] was a common song used often during Moravian services. One such occasion, the Day of Great Thanksgiving on 4 July 1783, was especially appropriate for this song of praise.

Example 4: "Das Te Deum Laudamus," Art 235, mm. 1-2 from the Choral-Buch, text no. 1612, trans. Marilyn Gombosi, from the Gesangbuch, harmonization from trombone choir partbooks, Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; reprinted from Gombosi, A Day of Solemn Thanksgiving, 43.



The celebration, which was in commemoration of the signing of the peace treaty between Britain and the newly established United States, was to be observed nationwide. Although Alexander Martin, then governor of North Carolina, asked all denominations in the state to hold a special gathering on that day, the Moravians observed an entire day of festivities. The four-part setting indicates that the "Te Deum" may have been sung in harmony by a choir. It is unclear whether or not the congregation sang in harmony or in unison, but it is highly likely that the congregation was involved in some way in this opening act of worship. According to the Salem Diary of the Congregation, July 1783, "The congregation was awakened with trombones, and at the beginning of the Preaching Service, the 'Te Deum' was sung with the joyous pealing of the trombones."[47]

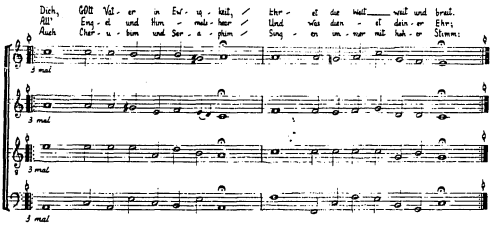
This liturgical song was written in a chordal style and made use of free rhythm. While the time signature indicated common time, the bar lines actually enclosed from eight to ten beats with the half-note as the unit of measure. The bar lines, therefore, were not indications of rhythmic units but of textual phrasing. The Moravians, like the German Lutherans, used the bar lines as an indication to alternate between singing groups. That is, the Moravian liturgies were divided by the half verse at the barline and the men and women sang in alternation.

The Lutherans, in contrast, alternated at the half verse between the congregation and the choir.[48] In his Kurzgefasste historische Nachricht (1774), a book which included a short history and description of Moravian practices, August Gottlieb Spangenburg (1704-1792), Bishop of the Moravian Church, described the use of antiphonal singing this way:

> In singing these liturgical [songs] the Brethren and Sisters sing by turns, some lines being sung by the former, others by the latter, and others again by both together, whereby the singing is made more agreeable, and the presence of mind is promoted.[49]

The primary difference between liturgical songs and chorales was in the structure. Liturgical songs were sectional, with repetitions possible at each section, while chorales were strophic. For example, in the second section of the "Te Deum" the music was sung three times to accommodate the text (see Example 5). The music in the fourth section was sung six times to six different phrases of text.

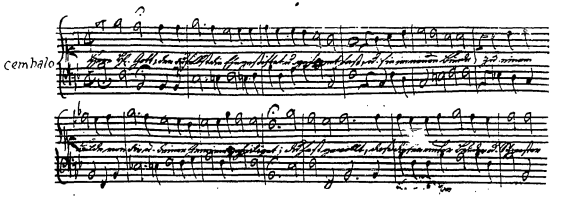
Example 5: "Te Deum," Art 235, mm. 3-4 from the Choral-Buch; reprinted from Gombosi, 43.



The accompaniment to the "Te Deum" on 4 July 1783 was provided by the trombone choir. That is not to say that all canticles or liturgical songs were accompanied by the trombones. The choice of accompaniment depended upon the circumstances and the suitability of the medium. The organ, alone or with a small ensemble, often supplied the accompaniment for liturgies. One example in the Salem collection, the "Trauungs-Liturgie"[50] or marriage liturgy, was written for keyboard and four vocal parts (see Example 7). In this case the musicians performed the liturgy in four-part harmony to organ or cembalo accompaniment.

Whatever the medium, the accompaniment was a strict reduction of the vocal parts (see Example 6).

Example 6: The cembalo part of the "Trauungs-Liturgie," mm. 1-13, presumably by Christian Gregor, in Herbst Collection, H2, Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. All future references to works catalogued in the Herbst Collection will use the letter "H" followed by the catalog number. See pp. 35-36 for a discussion of the Herbst Collection.



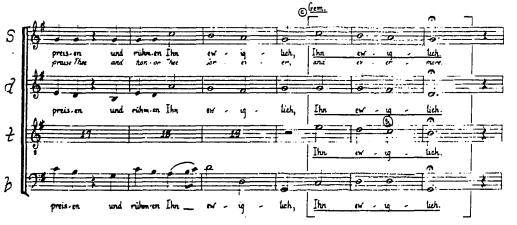
Choral Settings of Liturgies

Since Moravian musicians often adapted or arranged liturgical texts for special occasions, numerous examples of the third type of original liturgical music, choral settings, exist in Moravian collections. In a choral setting of a liturgy, the accompaniment was rather elaborate with instrumental interludes and abundant embellishments like trills and appoggiaturas. The orchestra was usually the primary accompaniment and an

organ continuo part was sometimes indicated. The vocal parts, while moving in uniform rhythms, were occasionally ornamented in conjunction with the accompaniment. As in the case of canticles, choral settings were not taken from Moravian hymnody but were newly composed for the text. Chorale tunes and texts may have been quoted within the liturgical setting, but they were not the basis for the composition. The choral settings of the liturgy differed from liturgical songs in that they were written out in their entirety and followed the metric constraints of time signatures. While choral settings of the liturgy were similar to choral anthems, the most important difference was the congregation's participation in the liturgical setting.

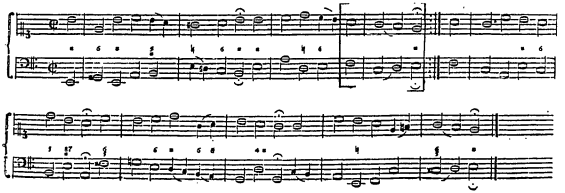
One example of a choral setting, "Gelobt seyst du, der du sizest über Cherubim,"[51] was composed by Christian Gregor in 1759. The setting was scored for three vocal parts, an orchestra, and organ continuo. The congregation also participated in the singing of chorale phrases beginning at measure 20 (see Example 7).

Example 7: "Gelobt seyst du, der du sizest über Cherubim," mm. 17-22, musical setting by Christian Gregor; reprinted from Gombosi, 157.



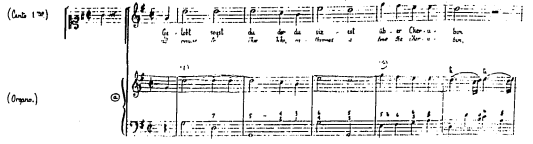
It is interesting to note the quotation of the second half of the fourth stanza of Martin Luther's chorale "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir"[52] (see Example 8). Although it is not indicated in the score, congregational participation was customary during the singing of a chorale.[53]

Example 8: "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir," Art 132e from Choral-Buch. Brackets indicate portion quoted in "Gelobst seyst du, der du sizest uber Cherubim."



The entire musical setting made use of embellishments and elaborate instrumentation which made it resemble a choral anthem. The organ continuo, which included treble and bass parts with a figured bass, doubled the vocal parts or orchestral parts during interludes (see Example 9). The organ's role in this setting was to provide a strict harmonic reduction of existing parts with emphasis upon the soprano and bass voices.[54]

Example 9: "Gelobst seyst du, der du sizest über Cherubim," mm. 1-6 of organ and soprano parts; reprinted from Gombosi, 154-155.



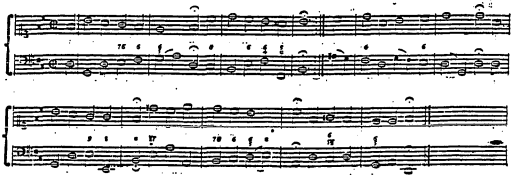
Although Moravian musicians generally followed current trends in musical styles, they continued to use figured bass after its decline in Europe. Such a combination of old and new is not unusual, however, when one observes the Brethren's use of other outdated elements. For example, the Brethren continued to use the zink, a wooden instrument belonging to the brass family, and the trombone choir well into the nineteenth century.[55] Both the trombone choir and the zink were widely used in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but began to decline by the early part of the eighteenth century.[56] The Brethren appeared to favor these instruments for their suitability to congregational singing and processions, two important features of Moravian worship. The Brethren also

continued to use the organ continuo for its suitability and flexibility in congregational singing.

Hymn Liturgies

The second category of music for the liturgy was borrowed from Moravian hymnody and was often referred to as the hymn liturgy. Verses of particular hymns were sung in alternation with readings or verses on a single subject. One such hymn liturgy that was favored among the Brethren in Salem was the Good Friday liturgy, or Friday liturgy. Set aside for a commemoration of the events on Good Friday, this liturgy was performed each Friday during a Liturgien and included the favorite chorale tune, "O Sacred Head, So Full of Bruises"[57] (see Example 10).

Example 10: "O Sacred Head, So Full of Bruises," Art 151a of Choral-Buch.



As was discussed earlier, antiphonal singing was an important part of all liturgies, but especially of the hymn liturgy. Phrases of the chorale were sung in alternation between the Brethren and the Sisters with certain phrases designated to be sung by all. Terms such as "Gemeine," or congregation; "alle Bruder," or all Brothers; "alle Schwestern," or all Sisters; and "alle," or everyone, indicated who was to sing what chorale phrase. The Brethren adapted this practice of alternating between groups of singers from the Lutheran tradition. While the Lutherans alternated between the choir and the congregation, the Moravians adapted the practice by alternating between the men and women.[58] Whether the chorale was sung during the Liturgien or in conjunction with some other gathering, antiphonal singing was a regular feature of the performance.

The importance of the liturgy in Moravian communities cannot be overemphasized. Whether singing chants, canticles, elaborate choral settings, or simple chorales, the Brethren relied upon the liturgy as much as a source for spiritual guidance as a means of religious worship. In whatever format, the liturgy was the unifying tool which bonded the Brethren together around a single purpose.[59] Other services such as the Singstunde or Liebesmahl were visible to guests and neighbors of the Brethren, but the Liturgien provided the religious

stability and uniformity among Moravian communities. The liturgy was especially important to the church for its role in preventing private interpretations of scripture and discouraging factions among the Brethren.[60] In fact, according to Moravian rules, a sermon was not allowed during the course of the Liturgien.[61] The Brethren also warned against mere formality and ritualism in their liturgy, and instead emphasized the true meaning of the meeting. The Brethren did allow the format to be changed according to local situations and national differences. August Spangenburg, in his Kurzgefasste historische Nachricht (1774), said this regarding liturgical orders of service:

> But we do not consider it necessary, that mere ceremonies and the mode of performing divine worship should be everywhere the same. We believe that things may be regulated differently, according to the diversity of the national character and local circumstances. If care be only taken to preserve the truth as it is in Jesus and faith in Him, external forms may at any time be altered, when required by circumstances. . . . Because the Christian religion, or true holiness, is not founded on external ceremonies or forms; but consists on spiritual riches, in righteousness, faith, joy, and peace, and in serving God with sincerity."[62]

The Congregation Hour

The third type of religious singing service, the Gemeinstunde, or Congregation Hour, did not always have distinguishing characteristics of its own. In fact, it

often followed the format of the Singstunde, or the Liturgien, or served as a forum for discussion about important congregational events.[63] The primary difference between the two services mentioned and the Gemeinstunde was the addition of special musical performances in the course of the Congregation Hour. The Gemeinstunde, as much as any other service, provided an outlet for classical music by the vocal choirs, orchestra, and the trombone choir. Each musical group had an opportunity to perform a selection in the weekly Congregation Hour.[64] Although the service did not always follow the same format, it was important as a forum for the singing of chorales and the performance of sacred classical music. Since the organist participated in this service only as an accompanist for congregational singing and classical selections, the organ's role during the Gemeinstunde was similar to its role in another important service, the Liebesmahl.

The Lovefeast

The Liebesmahl, or Lovefeast, the fourth type of religious service that included singing, was a well-publicized gathering held on special feast days. According to a description found in the collection at the

Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, the Lovefeast was defined as follows:

> The Moravian Lovefeast is a service of song at which a simple meal is served to the congregation. This meal--usually a sweetened bun and a mug of coffee--is an act of fellowship, brotherhood, and spiritual unity. It is not a sacrament, nor a substitute for communion. The serving of the meal and the singing of the hymns are carried out with dignity and spirituality. The choir sings at least one anthem of sufficient length to last during the time it takes for the congregation to eat a bun and drink a mug of coffee i.e. five to ten minutes.[65]

The Lovefeast, like the Congregation Hour, often included choral anthems and congregational singing as a part of the service. The 4 July celebration mentioned earlier was an important event that included an afternoon Lovefeast. During that service five choral anthems, two solo recitatives, a duet, and numerous congregational chorales were performed. Each of the five anthems included an organ part, four of which were in two-part writing with figures above the bass, and the fifth was a complete organ part which doubled the orchestral parts. The duet, which was scored for two voices with violin and viola accompaniment, included no organ part. With respect to the recitatives, only the vocal parts remained in the collection. The string and choir parts were marked "tacet" which indicated that the organ probably provided the only accompaniment. Since the continuo part did not

survive, it is possible to assume that the organ part was consistent with traditional practices of secco-recitative accompaniment: simple blocked harmonies beneath the speech-like recitative. It seems unlikely that a vocalist would sing the entire recitative without harmonic support.

It should be noted here that the five examples of choral anthems mentioned, while representative of the period between 1740 and 1840, are not indicative of all Moravian anthems of that time. Many anthems, especially those in the early nineteenth century, relied more upon orchestral accompaniments and less upon the organ continuo. Marilyn Hertel stated that approximately ninety percent of Moravian anthems from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used only orchestral instruments.[66] That figure is somewhat misleading since many orchestral scores provided a figured bass line without providing a complete organ part. In order to determine the number of Moravian anthems that included the organ in some manner, it was necessary to find a large collection of anthems that represented varying musical styles over at least a fifty-year period. The Herbst collection, named after the Moravian organist, minister, and music director, Johann Herbst (1735-1812), represented a group of sacred choral compositions collected by Herbst from 1755 to 1812. Herbst, who served Moravian communities in Lititz and

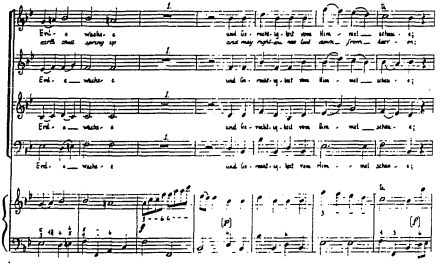
Salem from 1791 to 1812, compiled a personal collection of Moravian choral anthems and larger classical choral works by copying from other collections at his disposal. His collection accurately reflected a variety of styles and composers needed for a study of the organ's use in choral anthems. Moravian congregational collections were heavily used and scores were often damaged or misplaced. By maintaining a personal collection, Herbst was able to keep complete works intact for his own use. At the time of his death, Herbst had collected and copied over 1000 works from Europe and America including works by Hasse, Haydn, Handel, and J. C. Bach. Of all the compositions in the collection, approximately one-third designated "organo" or "fundamento" in the score, and two-thirds contained no organ part or figured bass notation. The significance of this finding is not merely whether one tenth or one third of Moravian anthems included the organ in some way. Rather, the significance is in the following discussion of whether the organ was used in rehearsals only or whether it was included in the performance of choral anthems. If the use of only figured bass in selected anthems indicated that the organ was used for rehearsal, then only the anthems that contained written organ parts would require the organ in performance, that is, one out of every ten. If the use of figured bass in Moravian anthems indicated that the organ was to be used in rehearsal and

performance, then almost one-third of the Moravian anthems in the Herbst collection required the use of the organ. Donald McCorkle indicated that there were three types of organ parts: those with only figured bass, those that were orchestral reductions, and those that were independent parts. He did not specify whether the organist performed the reduction or used it for rehearsal purposes. Unfortunately, there appears to be no source that clearly documents the organ's role in performances. Since anthems with figured bass are at the center of the discussion, a closer study of selected anthems with orchestral accompaniment and organ continuo might clarify the issue.

Anthems with Orchestra and Continuo

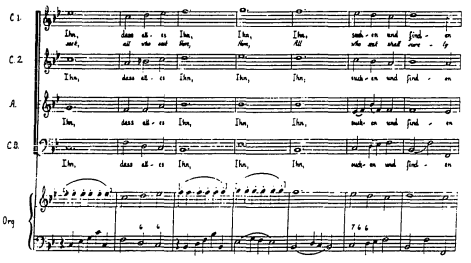
One example of an anthem with organ continuo is "Dass in unserm Lande," composed by Christian Gregor in 1763. The organ part, soprano and bass with figures, doubled the canto and bass vocal parts whenever the vocal parts were active. During the orchestral interludes the treble voice doubled the first violin part including trills. The organ bass part doubled the vocal bass part as was customary in the use of continuo. The figures were placed above the bass voice of the continuo except in a few places where thirds or sixths were indicated by figures in the treble part (see Example 11).

Example 11: "Dass in unserm Lande," by Christian Gregor, mm. 17-20 of organ and vocal parts; reprinted from Gombosi, 125.



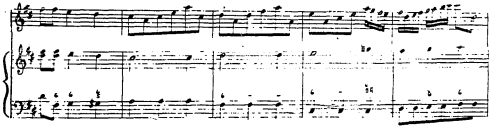
In the example, parallel thirds and sixths are found in the first and second violin parts or in the canto 1 and canto 2 parts. The organ part indicated the parallel motion with the number 6 or 3 below the treble voice. The organ part as a whole is stylistically consistent with traditional organ continuo parts of the same time period, and Gregor's knowledge of the organ is apparent in this composition. Although the repeated notes in the treble part are considered ineffective by some,[67] they provide rhythmic energy to the sustaining vocal parts (see Example 12).

Example 12: "Dass in unserm Lande," mm. 38-41 of organ and vocal parts; reprinted from Gombosi, 128.



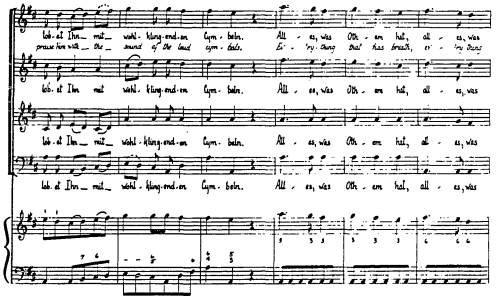
While the organ part in "Dass in unserm Lande" follows closely the vocal and orchestral parts, the continuo in another anthem, "Praise, Jerusalem," omits some of the figurations included in the orchestral parts. Composed by the noted Moravian composer Johann Geisler (1729-1815), this anthem was first performed for the dedication of a new Saal in Zeist, Holland in 1768. The organ part, while following the orchestral and vocal parts as in Gregor's anthem, contains a simplified version of the arpeggios and scales (see Example 13).

Example 13: "Praise, Jerusalem," by John Geisler; mm. 5-9, violin 1 and organ parts, measures 5-9; reprinted from Gombosi, 133.

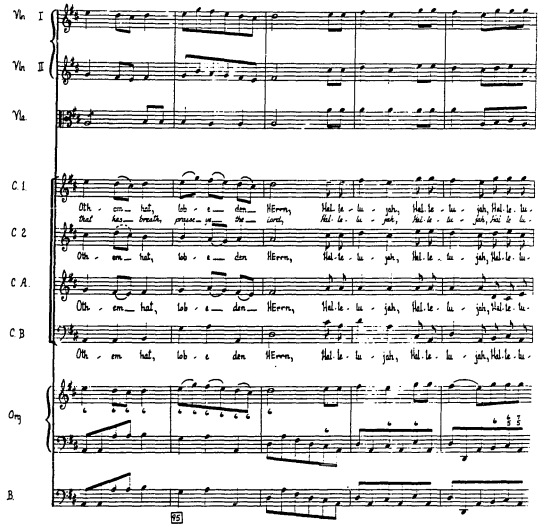


Geisler continued this procedure of simplifying the organ part throughout the anthem, apparently for reasons of taste and musical judgment. The organ part carefully sustained the harmony when the voices and instruments were active, and demonstrated rhythmic energy when the voices were slow moving (see Example 14). In some instances the organ part was active when most of the other parts, vocal and instrumental, were being sustained (see Example 15).

Example 14: "Praise, Jerusalem," by Johann Geisler, mm. 88-93, vocal and organ parts; reprinted from Gombosi, 148.



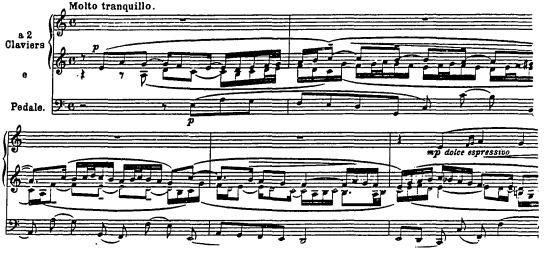
Example 15: "Praise, Jerusalem," by Johann Geisler, mm. 94-98, full score; reprinted from Gombosi, 149.



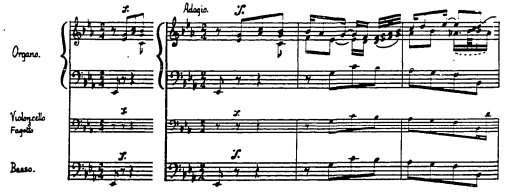
While the two choral anthems discussed thus far were composed by Moravians, all anthems used in Brethren congregations were not Moravian compositions. Moravian musicians often transcribed whole compositions from

European composers such as Handel, Mozart, Haydn, and Hasse, or arranged and edited other European compositions to accommodate Moravian ensembles and choirs. These arrangements were then rearranged for particular occasions and particular musical groups. It is interesting to notice that Moravian composers adapted almost every arrangement for vocal ensembles, even if the original composition contained no voices. One such example is the Arietta "Ach wie die Ruh so gutlich."[68] Originally composed as an organ prelude by Johann Peter Kellner (1705-1772), a cantor and organist in Thuringia, Germany, this work was adapted by Christian Gregor in 1763 for a birthday celebration. From this version Gregor adapted it again to the Freudenpsalm (Psalm of Joy) text used during the 4 July 1783 Liebesmahl. It should be noted here that although the chorale prelude in its original form was certainly suitable for a worship service, it was not included in the music for the 1783 gathering. In fact, the prelude was not even included in any Moravian collection, so far as is known, as an organ prelude. Only the arrangements have survived. Gregor's version shows fundamental similarities to Kellner's prelude and yet demonstrates independent features which make it an effective work in its own right (see Examples 16 and 17).

Example 16: "Herzlich tut mich verlangen," by Johann Kellner, mm. 1-5; from Choralvorspiele alte Meister, ed. Karl Straube (Leipzig: Peters, 1907), 80. All subsequent examples of Kellner's prelude will be taken from the Peter's edition.

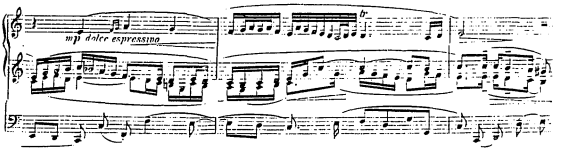


Example 17: "Ach wie die Ruh so gutlich" (H 26.1), Gregor's setting of Kellner's organ prelude, mm. 1-3; reprinted from Gombosi, 104. All subsequent examples of Gregor's setting will be taken from Gombosi's A Day of Solemn Thanksgiving.

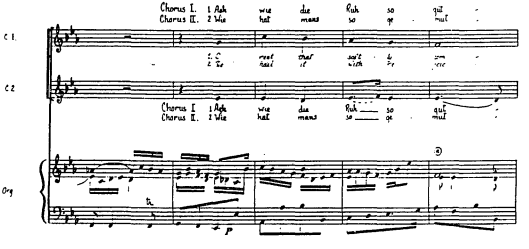


Gregor, while raising the key from A minor to C minor, opened the setting in E-flat major. He achieved the change by adding a second voice a third below Kellner's opening voice. Another difference includes the treatment of the solo line: Kellner indicated that an ornamented chorale tune should be played on a solo register while Gregor treated the tune in simple two-part harmony with no ornamentation (see Examples 18 and 19). The vocal parts in Gregor's version were designated canto primo and canto secondo with two violins, viola, organ, and bass parts as the accompaniment.

Example 18: Kellner's "Herzlich tut mich verlangen," mm. 5-7.

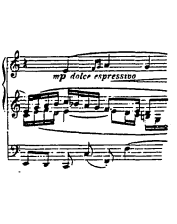


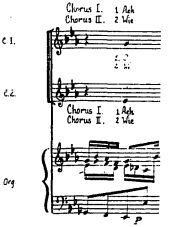
Example 19: Gregor's setting of Kellner's prelude, mm. 9-13.



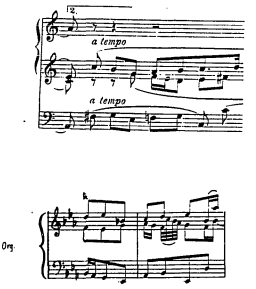
Another difference was in Gregor's treatment of the rhythm. In some places Gregor changed the rhythm in Kellner's version (see Examples 16 and 17) and in other places Gregor changed the voice-leading entirely (compare Example 16, measures 4-5, with Example 19, measures 9-10). Careful study reveals Gregor's placement of the descending four-note scale pattern on the downbeat where Kellner's version placed it on the upbeat of the chorale tune (see Example 20). As in the first measure of the arrangement, Gregor added a second voice to Kellner's version in measure 21 (see Example 21).

Example 20: Comparison of voice leading in Kellner's prelude, m. 5, and Gregor's setting, m. 9.





Example 21: Comparison of Kellner's prelude, m. 12, with Gregor's setting, m. 21.



It is interesting to note Gregor's use of antiphonal effects with two separate choirs singing in succession. It is clear from Gregor's score that both the string ensemble and the organ doubled the same parts during the performance. The organ part, completely written out, does not indicate that it was only a reduction of the orchestral parts for rehearsal. Although the organ part in its original form would have been suitable for the accompaniment of the choral setting, Gregor chose to include the strings and bass part. Gregor effectively adapted Kellner's organ work to a vocal ensemble, not merely by transcribing it for a

new medium, but by carefully rewriting harmonies and voice-leading to highlight vocal entrances and to provide rhythmic energy.

Anthems with Organ Accompaniment Alone

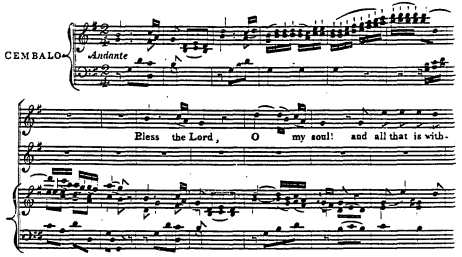
A very small number of choral anthems were written for organ accompaniment alone. In 1828 Christian Latrobe published a collection of anthems with organ accompaniment entitled Original Anthems for One, Two, or More Voices Adapted for Private Devotion or Public Worship Composed and the Accompaniments Arranged for the Piano Forte or Organ.[69] This collection, the only one of its kind by a Moravian composer, included anthems, arias, duets, and liturgical selections with music and words placed on the same page. This publication contained written-out organ scores similar to traditional accompaniments of the same era and proved vital to the discussion of the organ and anthem accompaniments in this document. A search was made through the catalogued anthems in the Salem Collection[70] and Original Anthems in hope of finding an anthem with both an orchestral and organ version of the accompaniment. Although the search proved futile, Latrobe's anthems with organ accompaniment provided a source of organ accompaniments intended for performance

which could be compared generally with organ parts of orchestral anthems. If the two types of organ accompaniments proved to be substantially different, it might be possible to designate the organ part in an orchestral anthem as an orchestral reduction not intended for performance. If they were essentially alike, it would be logical to assume that the organ part was suitable, and perhaps intended, for performance.

The anthems discussed up to this point have all displayed an idiomatic keyboard part in a traditional continuo format or written-out score. While most of the anthems with designated organ parts fell into this category, some anthems in the Herbst Collection included an organ part that resembled a keyboard accompaniment rather than an orchestral reduction. A comparison of a representative organ part in the Herbst Collection with the same in Latrobe's collection might provide insight into the role of the organ during actual orchestral performances.

First, it is important to establish the acceptable organ accompaniment style for performance. In his Original Anthems, Christian Latrobe included written-out organ parts intended for performance. "Bless the Lord, O My Soul," a duet for women's voices, is marked canto 1, canto 2, and cembalo (see Example 22).

Example 22: Organ accompaniment from Latrobe's "Bless the Lord, O My Soul," mm. 1-13; Original Anthems, 110.

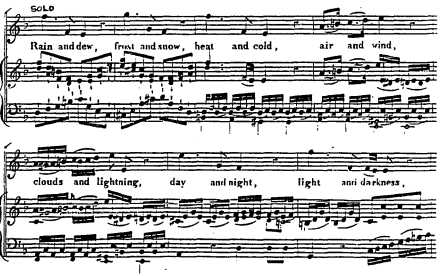


Since the title of the collection states that these works were suitable for private devotion or public worship, the use of a cembalo, another term for harpsichord, or organ was acceptable. The cembalo part was clearly written in a way consistent with other accompaniments of the early nineteenth century, that is, with 2-3 voices in the right hand and 1-2 voices in the left (see Example 22). There can be little doubt that an average organist could perform the accompaniment as written.

Another anthem in the collection, "Blessed Art Thou That Dwellest Between the Cherubim," contains a more difficult and unusual accompaniment. In measures 22-26 the text "Rain and dew, frost and snow, heat and cold,

air and wind, clouds and lightning" is designated for solo voice and set to a variety of figural patterns, and features chromaticism as well. This setting, a clear example of word painting by Christian Latrobe, portrays "rain and dew, frost and snow" with detached parallel thirds falling in the right hand (see measures 22-23 in Example 23), "heat and cold" with chromaticism in the bass voice and a wavering figure in the tenor voice (measure 24 in Example 23), and "clouds and lightning" with chromaticism and figures in both hands (see measure 26 in Example 23). Word painting in Moravian anthems, a subject worthy of further research, is beyond the scope of this study.

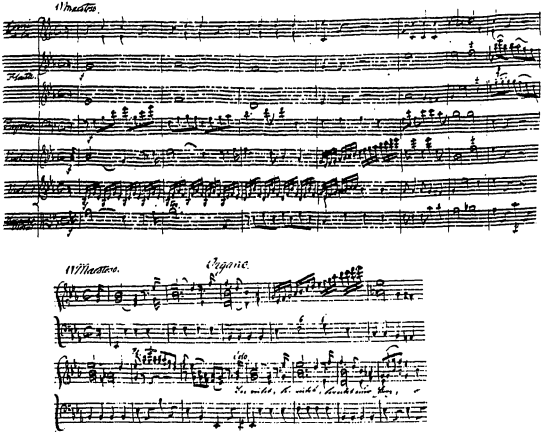
Example 23: Word Painting in Christian Latrobe's "Blessed Art Thou;" Original Anthems, 97.



Anthems with Written Organ Parts

Just as the two anthems discussed above are clearly suited to the keyboard, numerous organ parts of orchestral anthems are also playable as written. One such example exists in the organ score for Johann Peter's anthem, "Bereitet euer Herz" (H 438.1). The organ part, written on a separate manuscript, is a reduction of the first violin and viola part in the right hand, and a simplification of the fundamental part in the left (see Example 24, measure 1).

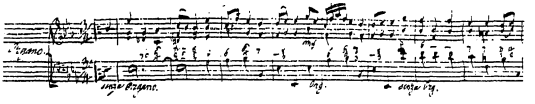
Example 24: String parts and organ part of Peter's "Bereitet euer Herz" (H 438.1), mm. 1-8.



The reduction, while not including all the orchestral parts, does provide the essential accom- accompaniment. Figures are added above the bass part for an able organist who could fill in the harmonies. Once the voices enter in measure 8, the organ part begins doubling the vocal parts in the right hand and simplifying the rhythm in the fundamental part in the left from eighth notes to quarter notes (see Example 24, measure 8).

Of course the style of any orchestral reduction for keyboard is not the only concern of modern-day scholars. The primary question is this: Was the organ part included in the orchestral performance, or was it only for rehearsal purposes or the accompaniment in the absence of the orchestra? Many of the organ scores, that is, the bottom lines of the full orchestral score, contained no indication of their use in the final performance. Some scores, however, were marked with clues as to their use. One example is the anthem "Sey Lob und Ehr" (H 425.1) by Johann Bechler (1784-1857), a Moravian composer in Pennsylvania. In the anthem Bechler marked the organ part with "senza organo" (see Example 25, measures 8-17).

Example 25: "Sey Lob und Ehr," by Johann Bechler, mm. 8-17.

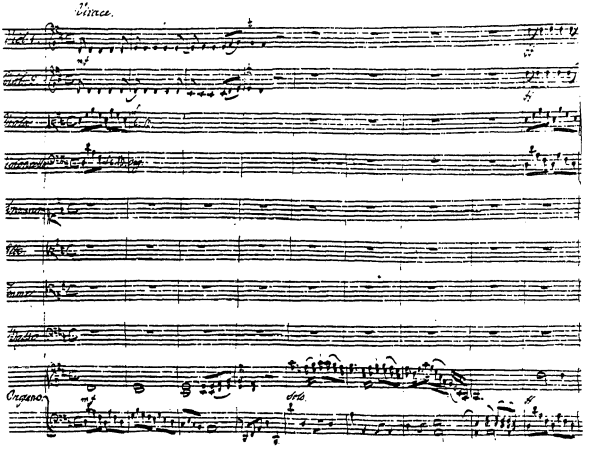


The same mark was used in other locations in the score, such as in measure 16. In each case, the organ was to be omitted when the vocal parts entered, and was to re-enter during instrumental interludes. If the organ score was not notated during the places marked "senza organo," it would be clear that the organist did not play at these times; however, the organ score included a reduction of the orchestra parts, such as in Example 26, measures 9-13. The vocal parts and instrumental parts are almost identical in those measures, but since the rhythm in the left hand of the organ part most closely follows the rhythm of the bassoon part, the organ should be considered accompaniment rather than a vocal reduction. Why were

these measures written out? A plausible explanation could be related to the availability of the orchestra. If the orchestra were present, the organ could be omitted at the appropriate places with effective results. If the organ were to be omitted throughout during a performance, "senza organo" would have no meaning, in performance or rehearsal. If the orchestra were not present, the organ would most likely continue to play throughout, thus explaining the reason for the organ part in measures 9-13. In this example, the organ must have participated in the final performance to explain given the notations in the organ score.

Another anthem with an organ part, "Lob sey Christo" (H 428b), was by Johann Gebhard (b. 1755), a Moravian hymn and anthem composer in Germany. This anthem contains an organ solo in measures 5-8 (see Example 26).

Example 26: "Lob sey Christo," by Johann Gebhard, mm. 1-9.

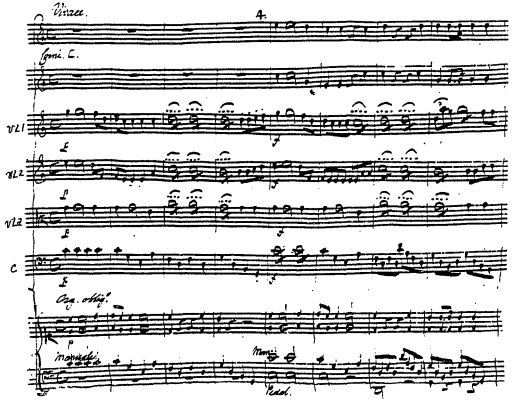


During these measures, only the organ is active while all the other instruments and voices remain at rest. In measure 9 the orchestral parts re-enter and the organ part continues. It is obvious from this example that the organ was essential to the ensemble and could not be omitted during a performance.

In the anthem entitled "Freuen und fröhlich" (H 401a), Johann Herbst marked the organ part with the

terms "Organ obliggato," or required organ. Herbst even marked manual and pedal in the appropriate places, something quite unusual in Moravian scores. In this anthem the organ was also an essential member of the group (see Example 27).

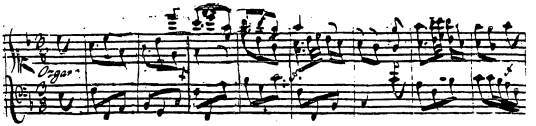
Example 27: Measures 1-8 from Herbst's "Freuen und fröhlich."



The use of the term obliggato might imply that this anthem was unusual in its use of the organ during performance and therefore required the indication. However, since other anthems like the ones discussed above did not use the term but required the organ in performance, the term probably has no special significance outside its use in anthem H 401a.

From these examples it appears that in cases when the organ part was included in the score, it was intended for performance. The organ scores, whether figured or fully realized, were a vital part of the ensemble. However, while the above examples of organ parts were written in a traditional style, some anthems include organ parts which seem awkward and physically difficult to perform. One such example is the anthem "Eins bitte ich" by Christian Jaeschke (1755-1827), which contains an organ part with wide leaps and intervals of more that one octave for one hand (see Example 28, measure 1).

Example 28: "Eins bitte ich," by Christian Jaeschke, organ part, mm. 1-8.

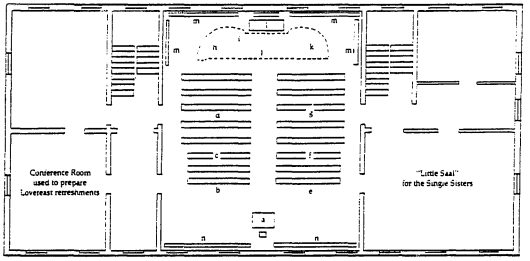


Little is known about Jaeschke's life including whether or not he was an organist. The organ part in his anthem indicates that he was either unfamiliar with writing music for keyboard, or that the part was only meant for rehearsal purposes, or both. The fact that the organ score was difficult or irregular does not necessarily indicate that it was omitted during a performance. Although the part may have been omitted due to the preference of any music director, it was not necessarily left out based on the score itself. This anthem may not have been performed without orchestra, especially since the use of a harp made it quite special among Moravian compositions. The organ part, weak as it was, may not have been clearly audible during an orchestral performance. Jaeschke, however fine a composer, may not have fully understood the

peculiarities of writing for organ.

Another question regarding indications in the organ score concerns the addition of orchestral cues. That is, some organ scores in Moravian anthems provided cues for instrumental entrances with the notes transposed to the corresponding organ pitch. Did the organist double the part with the orchestral instrument, or was the cue only for the director's benefit? Directors such as Herbst, Peter, and Latrobe directed the orchestra and choir from the keyboard and performed the continuo part as well.[71] This practice was consistent with Baroque traditions and even early Classical practices.[72] In his treatise, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen mit Exempeln und achtzehn Probe-Stücke in sechs Sonaten erlautert (1753), C.P.E. Bach (1714-1788) stated that "the tone of the keyboard, correctly placed, . . . can be heard by all. . . . Performers located in front or beside the keyboard will find the simultaneous motion of both hands an inescapable, visual portrayal of the beat."[73] The arrangement of musicians in a typical Moravian performance is diagrammed below and demonstrates the placement of the organ in the middle of both the instrumentalists and vocalists (see Example 29).

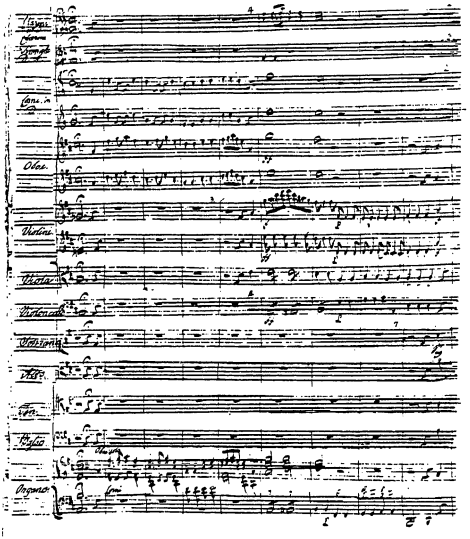
Example 29: Arrangement of Moravian musicians during performances in the Saal in Salem. Drawing by Philip Martin; reprinted by permission from Gombosi, 37.



a *Minister's table.*
CONGREGATION SEATING: b *Little boys;* c *Older boys;* d *Men;* e *Little girls;* f *Older girls;* g *Women.*
MUSICIANS: h *Chorus I;* i *Winds;* j *Strings;* k *Chorus II;* l *Organ;* m *Brass choir;* n *Extra benches.*

One example of an anthem with orchestral cues is "Sey Lob und Ehr" (H 425.2) by Johann Bechler. In measure 17 the cues for "oboe solo" and "corni" (horns) are indicated and written out in the treble clef of the organ score (see Example 30). Were these entrances performed on the organ along with the solo intruments, or did the music director only cue the instrumentalists?

Figure 30: "Sey Lob und Ehr," orchestral cues, mm. 16-24.



In this case, the organ part is clearly copied, note for note, from the oboe and horn parts from measures 16-22. No figures were included in this passage and the organist was apparently restricted to only those written notes. In measure 21 and following the figures return and the organ part appears to be a true continuo part, simplifying rhythms and providing basic harmonies. It

is certain that if an insufficient number of instrumentalists were available, the organist would perform the solo parts. If, however, the orchestral was complete, would the organist duplicate the solo parts? Karl Kŏpe, Director of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, indicated that such duplication of the solo orchestral parts would have diminished the effectiveness of the solo texture.[74] Others, such as Donald McCorkle and Marilyn Gombosi, do not specifically address the issue. Perhaps a close look at the example above might provide a clue.

First, in measure 20 the organ reduction includes a half note where the horn parts include two quarter notes. If the organ score were strictly an orchestral reduction, was such a change needed? Second, the figures in measure 21 and following indicates the use of continuo, presumably during performance. The figures continue in measures 21-22, which suggests that the continuo is still present. If the organ did not perform in measures 16-20 but entered in measure 21, why did the composer choose such an irregular place for the organ to enter? It would seem that measure 24, the measure of the vocal entrance, would be the logical place for the organ to enter. Measures 23-24 contain a cadence in the low range of the strings which would be disturbed by the entrance of the organ.

In this writer's opinion the organist did not omit the solo cues but duplicated the solo parts note for note. The cued parts were carefully written out to prevent the organist from including notes different from the orchestral version. Once the solo entrance concluded, the organist could be free to improvise any suitable cadential formula consistent with the figures in the bass. The rest in the treble part of the organ score (measure 22) indicates that the solo in the orchestra has ended; hence, at that point the organist would be free to realize the figures at his discretion.

To determine a general practice from a limited amount of information is difficult and by no means definitive. Since Moravian composers obtained music from Germany, Autria, England, and America, consistency in notation and practice would be virtually impossible. Moravian composers who were largely self-taught may have developed their own system of scoring works. The few sources of organ parts with indications can provide only a partial understanding of the organ's role in choral anthems. The quarter century beginning about 1750 in general was a time of change and experimentation, and different styles of music were often found side by side. All these factors play a part in determining the role of the organ in Moravian choral anthems, and more

evidence is necessary to fully determine the organ's role in Moravian choral literature.

At this point it is clear that the organ played an important part in at least four religious gatherings that made use of singing: the Singstunde, the Liturgien, the Gemeinstunde, and the Liebesmahl. Each service included a variety of chorales, composed liturgies and hymn liturgies; each type of music relied upon the organ as the primary source of accompaniment. There is also strong evidence to support the presence of the organ during the performance of choral anthems with written parts or figured bass. Although the organ was secondary to the orchestral accompaniment, it was nonetheless a contributing factor to the overall ensemble.

In view of the types of accompaniments discussed thus far, perhaps one of the most interesting functions of the organ was in the accompaniment of chorales. The Moravians favored the chorale as the principal form of music expression for the entire congregation, and chorale accompaniments provided the organist with opportunities for limited forms of embellishments. To gain a full understanding of the organ's role in chorale accompaniment, one must first examine the development of Moravian hymnody from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE ORGAN IN MORAVIAN HYMNODY

While orchestral instruments were vital to the presentation of choral anthems, they were less important during the singing of hymns. The orchestra, often an ensemble of instruments available at the time, doubled the vocal parts during congregational singing. The organ also provided four-part harmony, usually realized from a two-part score with figured bass. That simplicity was the goal in congregational singing cannot be over-emphasized. Any element that detracted from the meaning of the hymn texts was considered unacceptable.

Hymn singing, as demonstrated in the Singstunde, Liturgien, Gemeinstunde, and Liebesmahl, was vital to Moravian religious activities. The chorale, whether sung by a small gathering or the entire congregation, was an important source of doctrinal and liturgical material reflecting Moravian beliefs. No discussion of the accompaniment of hymns would be complete without attention being given first to the nature of the chorale itself, both tune and text. The first section of this chapter will address Moravian chorale tunes, their origins, and basic characteristics as observed in eighteenth- and nineteenth- century tunebooks like

Christian Gregor's Choral-Buch of 1784 and Christian Latrobe's Hymn Tunes Sung in the Church of the United Brethren of 1790. The second section will focus on hymn texts as found in Christian Gregor's Gesangbuch zum Gebrauch der evangelischen Brudergemeinen of 1778, a textbook used in conjunction with any Moravian tunebook. The final section of this chapter will contain a discussion of the organ as the primary instrument for accompanying congregational singing. The organist, although discouraged from including trills or complicated accompaniments during chorale singing, was free to use a popular form of chorale embellishment, the interlude. Interludes were short sets of chords or melodic figurations placed between phrases of a chorale and were essential to chorale accompaniments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These interludes were not derived thematically from the chorale tune and had no distinguishing melodic features. Since their construction appeared to be more harmonically than melodically generated, their design can best be described as an embellishment of a harmonic progression rather than a development of the chorale tune.

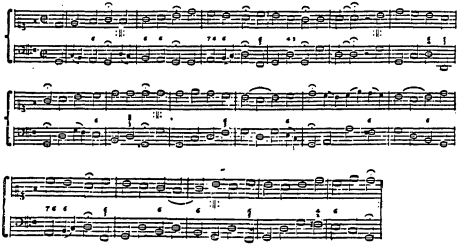
Hymn Tunes

Moravians actively sought out and adopted hymn tunes for their own use. Tunes were taken from every available source of religious and secular music. Of all the sources, Gregorian chant and Lutheran chorales made up the largest contribution to Moravian hymnody.[75] As Bishop Stephan, a sixteenth-century Moravian leader, wrote:

> Our tunes are, in part, the old Gregorian, which Hus used, and in part borrowed from foreign nations, especially the German. Among these latter tunes are popular airs according to which worldly songs are sung. . . .Our hymnologists have purposely adapted them, in order through these popular notes to draw the people to the truth which saves. We find no fault with intentions which are so good.[76]

In the eighteenth century this practice of adapting hymn tunes was still occurring. Count Zinzendorf adapted a Swiss Gassenhauer[77] (vulgar song) to his own text "Lamm, Lamm, O Lamm." This hymn tune was later included in Gregor's Choral-Buch of 1784 (see Example 31).

Example 31: "Lamm, Lamm, O Lamm," Art 206a from Choral-Buch.



Christian Latrobe indicated in his smaller collection called Hymn Tunes (1790) that "the tunes of the hymns of the Brethren [were] mostly ancient, the greater part being common to them and other Protestant churches."[78] By the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Brethren had accumulated over 1000 tunes and produced over 2000 hymns or poems.[79] Gregor himself indicated that there was a larger body of hymns prior to the publication of his Choral-Buch (1784). Some older and inferior hymns had "no really good melody and sometimes [did] not have the same scansion in all their verses."[80] Gregor continued in the preface of his Choral-Buch:

> In earlier times the Brethren's church had a far greater number of hymns and consequently more melodies, than are presently in use. Prior to this [Choral-Buch] a manuscript chorale book was assembled little by little and was divided into 570-odd melody classes (Arten).[81]

Gregor's tunebook contained about 260 melody classes of the total 570 mentioned in the preface. Some melody classes contain more than one tune with the same metric structure; hence, there are about 500 individual melodies contained in the tune book. With the publication of the Choral-Buch the Brethren established a standard repertory of hymn tunes that would endure into the nineteenth century. Although new tunes were always being added, the core repertory remained largely intact.[82]

Hymn Texts

While American Moravians apparently composed few hymn tunes, they wrote their own texts to existing tunes in great quantities. Poems suited to a particular occasion or on a particular doctrinal theme were always being written, sometimes extempore.[83] Each text was set to a familiar tune and used for congregational singing, or it was used in a choral anthem setting. Texts were not published with the melodies but were included in a separate publication. The most notable textbook was Gregor's Gesangbuch zum Gebrauch der evangelisches Brudergemeinen published in 1778.[84]

In the latter part of the eighteenth century copies of the Gesangbuch were still expensive and somewhat scarce. Members of the congregation did not own their own text book, but copies were always available in the Gemeinhaus, the Single Brethen's House, or the Single Sister's House. In these locations the members could learn the tunes and texts together. Likewise, choirs that had learned a new hymn and tune could teach it to the entire congregation. Gregor explains the process this way in the preface to his Choral-Buch:

> When unknown or new melodies are introduced to the congregation, this can be done in the easiest way by the choir, by whom, at suitable opportunities, several verses of a hymn can be sung several times during the meeting.[85]

By the very number of texts and tunes it is clear that the Moravians had an almost insatiable appetite for new tunes and texts. It is also clear that much of the congregational singing was done by memory, and tunes and texts were memorized as a spiritual exercise.[86] In fact, the organist often held the only copy of the tunebook and textbook during the course of a service. Singing a group of individual hymn stanzas during a Singstunde would be impossible if members had to read from tunes and texts. One Moravian gave this account of hymn singing:

> The cantor takes up the subject of the sermons that have just been given and chooses whole and half verses from 20 to 30 songs that illustrate the subject in a clear and orderly fashion: and cantor, organist, teacher are so practiced that no one is permitted to hestitate, nobody may consult a book--something that cannot be described unless it is seen.[87]

Active Chorale Repertoire

There is some discrepancy concerning the number of tunes and texts any one congregation might use on a regular basis. Adelaide Fries (1871-1949), archivist for the Moravian Church in Salem during the early twentieth century and editor of the multi-volume Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, stated that the congregations in and around Salem used over 1000 hymns in the Singstunde. Fries most likely meant both tunes and texts, but her statement is not entirely clear.[88] However, Karl Kroeger, former director of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, determined from trombone partbooks in Salem that the number of familiar hymns was probably substantially less.[89] The trombone choir partbooks contained written out music for 157 chorale melodies in 1785. Kroeger stated that since the trombone choir accompanied the congregational singing under many circumstances, either alone, or with the organ, the number of tunes for the trombone choir indicates an active congregational repertory of around

157 tunes. If the repertory had been much larger, as Fries indicated, a greater number of chorale tunes would have been included in the trombone partbooks.

Concerning the manner of singing chorales, did the congregation harmonize with the trombone choir or did all members sing in unison? The Choral-Buch, written out in two parts, soprano and bass, with figured bass to help the organist, contained no middle parts. The best evidence suggesting vocal harmonizing comes from Gregor's preface in the Choral-Buch. Gregor writes:

> The basses [of the tunes] have been for the most part set to harmonize best with a long-standing custom in the singing of the Brethren, where many sing a specific kind of middle part, or seconding (secondiren).[90]

From this statement it is clear that the congregation did harmonize with the melody in some fashion by the end of the eighteenth century. Hans T. David, a well known Baroque scholar, indicated in his publication, Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Unitas Fratrum, that singing in parts during congregational gatherings did not occur until around the time of Johann Herbst.[91] Donald McCorkle indicated that singing in harmony first occurred about the middle of the eighteenth century.[92] Both scholars, while expressing it differently, came to the same conclusion. Gregor's statement about the secondiren, although not entirely

clear, does imply that it was almost certainly improvised.

Hymn Accompaniment

The accompaniment of hymns was of primary concern to the Moravian organist. The organ fulfilled almost a single purpose in the course of the service: that of accompaniment for singing. The organist's accompaniment to congregational singing was almost as much a matter of attitude as it was a matter of ability. The organist was to provide reverent support to the singing without distracting the worshippers. Any accompaniment that clouded the melody or disrupted the harmonic progression was regarded as inappropriate or irreverent. In his preface to the Choral-Buch Gregor wrote:

> an organist in the Brethren's Church not so much directs the singing after his own discretion as he more often only carefully supports it and aids it, seeing that it proceeds sweetly and appropriately. If he accommodates himself to the congregation in requisite circumstances, ar[1] also considers and sings along in his heart with each stanza being sung, he can thus by that means ascertain best of all that nothing impious comes to his accompaniment, but on the contrary, that they become much more suitable not only in design of melody and harmony, but also in the interludes and in the various uses of the organ registration. . . . If the congregation is accustomed to good singing, the organist has only to see that a firm melody and good harmony are retained. He does not have to offer elaboration; they are not suited to this occasion and can cause one neither to perceive the clear outlines of the melody, nor to determine from the harmony which

> tones are to be sung, or in which direction the modulation will lead.[93]

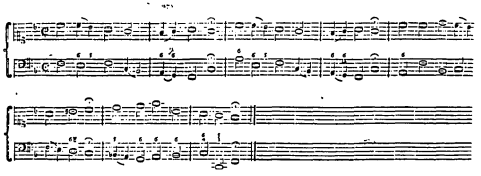
Church leaders frequently complained that young organists too often added inappropriate embellishments and flourishes to the chorale tunes which disguised the melodic line. In a letter to his children, Christian Latrobe admitted that he was guilty of such abuse as a young organist.[94] Bishop Spangenberg called the young Latrobe to the bishop's chamber to request Latrobe's assistance in the next worship service. Spangenburg, who was disturbed by embellishments during the accompaniment of hymns, asked Latrobe to play the organ in the simplest manner as a means of showing the young organist the effectiveness of unadorned hymns. According to the letter[95] Latrobe sent to his daughter Agnes some years later, the effect in the service so moved Latrobe that he accepted and encouraged the use of simple chorales from that moment on.

Christian Gregor also described chorale tunes in the simple terms in his Choral-Buch. He wrote:

> the melodies are for the most part plainly notated in half-notes according to their principal sounds and contours; and with reference to the flow of the melody, it will be left to the singer and organist to supply whatever transitions they think proper. However, this must not be done too often, because, with them, the melody can easily become tedious.[96]

Careful observation of an example from his tune book supports this description (see Example 32).

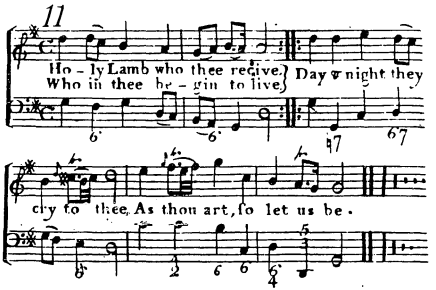
Example 32: "Jesu, komm doch selbst zu mir," Art 11a of Gregor's Choral-Buch.



It should be noted here that although most Moravian congregations sang chorales in simple unadorned notes, some publications exist that indicate certain congregations may have added trills, appoggiaturas and grace notes to their tunes. One example was the London tune book, The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with Several Translations from the Moravian Hymnbook,[97] published in 1744 by the Moravian James Hutton. Little is known about Hutton except that he published the collection with private funds, perhaps at the request of friends. The tunes, although based on those in the Choral-Buch, were different in appearance (see Example 33

and compare with Gregor's version of the same tune in Example 32).

Example 33: "Holy Lamb Who Receive Thee," Art 11 from Hutton's The Tunes.



Hutton's version of the tune, which was changed to common time, contained dotted rhythms and three trills not found in Gregor's version. Hutton also made a small harmonic change on the second beat of measure 5 by adding a seventh to the tonic chord. In measure 7 Hutton changed the bass part by making the second chord a V^4_2 instead of a vii^6 chord as is Gregor's version. Since one copy of Hutton's book was included in the Salem Collection, it is plausible that the Salem congregation was familiar with the book and may have used the tunes on

occasion. How or when the tunes may have been used is open for speculation, and Karl Kroeger believes that ornamented chorales were not widely used.[98]

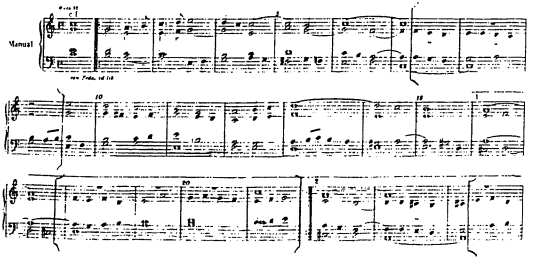
While the use of ornamented chorales may not have been widespread, another type of embellished chorale was accepted and used by a large number of Moravian communities--the chorale with interludes. The use of interludes during the singing of hymns was a significant feature of Moravian services in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many examples corroborate the use of interludes, and several sources give instructions for interludes with appropriate examples.

The purpose of the interlude was to connect the phrases of the tune without hindering the meaning or flow of the whole chorale.[99] The interlude, according to Christian Latrobe, was "not intended to be a prolongation of the strain of the chorale, but to be a pause for the voice between two lines and a gentle and appropriate transition from one to the other."[100] Gregor states that a good organist should suit his accompaniment and interludes to the mood of the hymn.[101]

The use of interludes in congregational singing did not begin with Moravians. In his Das Hilfsbuch für Liturgen und Organisten in der Brudergemeinen (1891), Theodore Erxleben stated that Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) was the first Lutheran organist to use

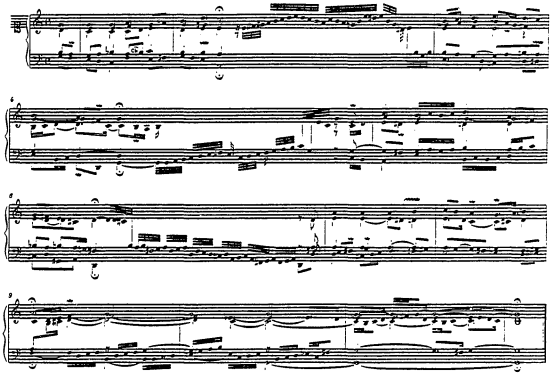
interludes in congregational hymns.[102] One of his chorale preludes provides an example of such an interlude between phrases of the chorale (see Example 34). The brackets indicate the location of the interludes.

Example 34: Chorale Prelude "Ein Betlied zu Christo," by Johann Pachelbel, mm. 1-21, Ausgewählte Orgelwerke: Zweiten Teil der Choralvorspiele, Band III (Kassel: Barenreiten, 1950), 45.



J. S. Bach also made use of chorale interludes in his accompaniment of chorales. His chorale accompaniments displayed a series of complicated and intricate interludes between highly ornamented chorale phrases (see Example 35).

Example 35: Chorale "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," with interludes by J. S. Bach (BWV 722); Neue Ausgabe Sämtliche Werke: Orgelwerke 4, Band 3 (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1961), 31.



Bach's interludes, more artistic displays than "gentle and appropriate transitions," did not reflect Moravian practices. Although the Moravian tradition of chorale accompaniment may have stemmed from the Lutherans, it is certain that virtuosic displays were frowned upon among the Brethren. Peter Latrobe, son of Christian Latrobe, wrote in the 1854 edition of his father's Hymn Tunes Sung in the Church of the United Brethren that

> in adopting the German practice, the Brethren have however endeavored to simplify it. The interlude of a skillful Lutheran organist, however fine as a composition, is too apt to perplex the hearer by its length and the richness of its combinations.[103]

Church leaders insisted that chorales should be sung simply, devoutly, and with careful attention to the meaning of the text. According to Christian Gregor:

> Everything that sounds strange in the singing of the congregation disturbs not only its agreeable concord, but also the peaceful devotion of the heart. This is especially noticeable in the interludes between lines of the hymn. If these are merely artistic, or quite thoughtless and improper, or if they depart from their real purpose of being simple, agreeable, and proper guides for transition from what precedes to what follows, then they disturb the close connection of the one with the other.[104]

While both Gregor and Latrobe offered a general statement concerning interludes, Peter Latrobe included six rules regarding the construction of interludes in the preface to the 1854 Hymn Tunes. The six rules, although somewhat general, are useful in determining the characteristics of Moravian interludes. These six rules, as found in the 1854 preface, are listed below:

1. The interlude should be generally short and simple, neither rambling in style, nor intricate in character.

2. While free from all levity, its structure should be marked by lightness rather than heaviness.

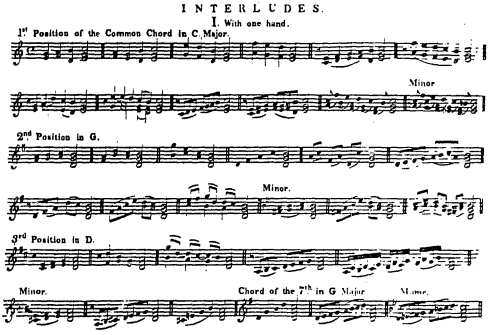
> 3. In certain cases, the interlude may be altogether omitted, particularly in tunes which require the repetition of the whole or part of a line (e.g. Tune 56) or in which some of the lines are extremely short (e.g. Tunes 58, 115, 149, 157, 160, 228, 230).
>
> 4. Care should be especially taken, that the interlude corresponds with the harmony of the tune, and that it does not needlessly interrupt the sense of the verse.
>
> 5. In making an interlude, the organist must observe the ordinary laws of musical composition, especially making the difference between the ascending and descending scales in the minor keys, though in regard to time, considerable license is allowed, as in the execution of recitatives.
>
> 6. And lastly, the style of playing appropriate to the organ must never be laid aside. . . .In general, the same rule applies to the interlude as to the voluntary--that whatever might distract the attention, or disturb the devotion of the hearers, should be carefully avoided.[105]

In addition to these rules in the preface, Peter Latrobe included an appendix at the end of Hymn Tunes in which he illustrated specific use of interludes for the young organist. Although the 1854 publication date places this edition late in the period of time under consideration, the contents reflect the continuation of the use of interludes which is consistent with the period under consideration.

The first section for one hand, offers several interludes for C major or minor, G major or minor, D major or minor and even for the dominant seventh chord on D (see Example 36). These parallel thirds, sixths,

scales, or brief figural patterns indicate the variety possible with any given interlude.

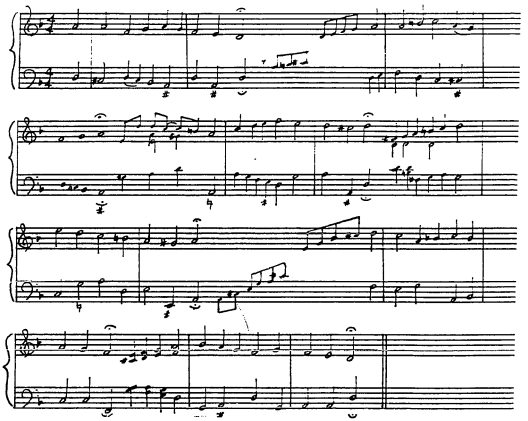
Example 36: Appendix in Peter Latrobe's Hymn Tunes, 94.



Each interlude in the above example could be inserted prior to a chorale phrase starting with the same harmony. That is, if the chorale phrase begins on a C major chord, any C major interlude could be inserted prior to the initial chord. Each interlude concludes on a long note which suggests that the rhythmic activity must cease temporarily. Actually, the long note marks the beginning of a new chorale phrase and the conclusion

of the interlude. That is, the interlude acts in anticipation of the new chorale phrase rather than a prolongation of the previous phrase. The interlude provides a sense of forward motion which effectively draws the singers forward to the next phrase. This effect is best demonstrated in the last example of the appendix, Tune 96 with interludes (see Example 37).[106]

Example 37: "We Humbly Pray With One Accord," Art 96, with interludes by Peter Latrobe, Hymn Tunes, 96.



The first interlude follows a D minor chord and prolongs the D minor harmony by means of an ascending D minor scale. The chord following the interlude is also a D minor chord. The final interlude of the example is also a common-chord modulation on the D major chord.

The second and third phrases of the hymn are connected by a common chord modulation with a change of mode. The second phrase ends in A major and the third phrase begins in A minor. Since the chord progression in the interlude includes a V^6/V, the entire progression moves toward the dominant harmony. The third interlude does not connect two common chords. The last chord of the third phrase is D minor and the first chord of the following phrase is G major. The interlude does not prolong the D minor harmony but acts as the dominant of G major by changing the D minor to major. Similarly, the modality of the next interlude changes the modality from A minor to A major and serves as the dominant of the next chord D minor. Each interlude, in effect, propelled the chorale forward without an undue sense of hesitation or awkwardness. While all interludes were unequal in duration, they provided a sense of motion through each cadence point. For example, in Peter Latrobe's "We Humbly Pray With One Accord," the first interlude consisted of four beats, the second consisted of three beats, the third and fourth interludes consisted of five

beats, and the last consisted of three beats. The variance in length appears irregular at first glance, but careful study reveals that each interlude is an independent figure that is determined by factors other than rhythmic duration. As Peter Latrobe stated in his preface, "in regard to time, considerable license is allowed, as in the execution of recitatives."[107] Since interludes were not restricted to a consistent number of beats, other factors must have contributed to determining the length of interludes. Three such factors were melody, rhythm, and harmony. In Peter Latrobe's hymn with interludes, for example, each interlude relied on melodic tendencies to determine its character and length. The first interlude, an ascending D minor scale starting on tenor A, climbed one octave to conclude on A', the starting pitch of the second phrase of the chorale. Because the congregation was familiar with the chorale tune, it was able to anticipate the next chorale phrase by listening to the melodic tendencies in the interlude. That is, since the singers knew the second phrase began on an A, the scale served to dramatize that entrance without confusing the singers. The rhythmic drive to the strong beat on A' also helped to prepare the singers for the phrase entrance.

In the second interlude the melodic tendency of the motion from D-C-B-natural-A was strengthened by the

harmonic tendency of the G-sharp to move upward to A, the initial pitch of the third phrase. By melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic tendencies coupled with the singers' expectations, the interlude created a transition between chorale phrases without disturbing the momemtum of the chorale. The length of each interlude was relatively unimportant compared to the melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic factors. As long as the interlude was generally from two to five beats in length, Moravian congregations entered on each new phrase without hesitation.

While Peter Latrobe's guidelines are helpful, they do not give a complete picture of how interludes were constructed. Another treatise, written by the Moravian composer Johann Christian Bechler and included below, gives examples as well as descriptions on the formation of interludes.

Rules for Interludes[108]

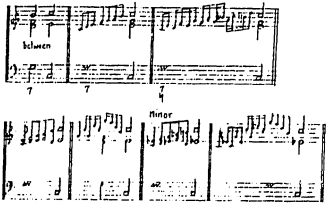
I. The principal purpose of interludes in chorales is to correctly modulate from the final chord of the preceding phrase to the beginning chord of the following phrase, and where possible, to make a smooth transition.

II. Usually an interlude employs one chord as the fundamental; or if the modulation leads through many primary chords, then the last chord of the modulation must be the leading or connecting chord. Thus it is sufficient to give these clear rules;

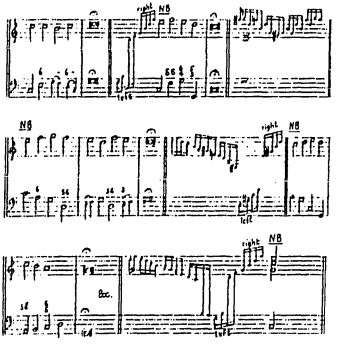
III. The leading chord of the interlude will be determined by the beginning chord of the following phrase. If the phrase begins:

A. With a root-position triad, so that

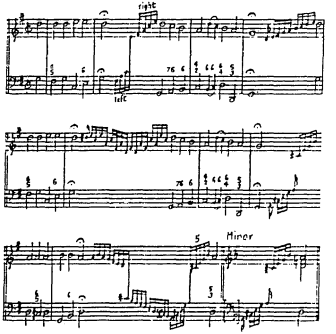
1. the tonic lay on top: In this case the leading chord is the seventh chord on the dominant of the root of the beginning chord.



2. the third lay on top: In this case the leading chord is the seventh chord on the dominant of the root of the beginning chord.

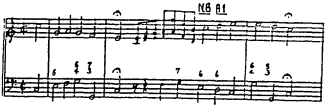


3. the fifth lay on top: In this case the leading chord is as follows: Play a diminished seventh chord on a note a half-tone lower than the root of the beginning chord. (One can also take the third below the root when playing this chord as an arpeggio.)

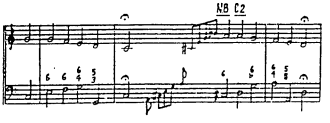


B. The phrase can begin with a sixth chord. In this case make an interlude

1. Either as in A1



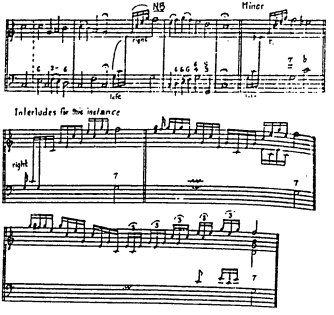
2. or as in C2



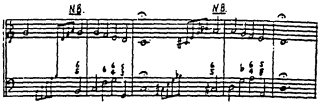
In the first instance, the sixth chord is only a first inversion of the principal chord; in the second it is an implied six-five chord.

C. The phrase can begin with a seventh chord, or with one of its inversions.

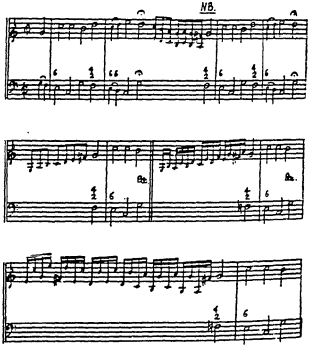
1. When it begins with a seventh chord: In this case take for the interlude the six-four chord on the bass note of the beginning chord.



2. When the phrase begins with a six-five chord: In this case take for the interlude the (diminished) seventh chord on the same bass note that begins the phrase.



3. When the phrase begins with a four-two chord: In this case you can use the same rule as with the root-position triad when the tonic lay on top (See A1).

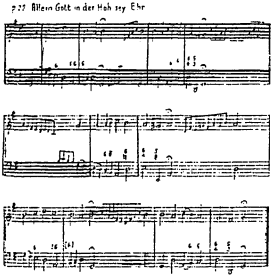


There does not appear to be any limit to the number of beats taken up in the interlude; however, two to five beats are common in most of the examples. By Peter Latrobe's description of the interlude as "a pause for the voice between two lines,"[109] the congregation must have paused momentarily from singing. The presence of dissonance between the final harmony of the chorale phrase and the first harmony of the interlude also supports the momentary pause. It would be difficult and musically unsound for the singers to hold a tonic harmony while the organist played a dominant harmony. It would be unpleasant as well for singers to be in a minor harmony while the organist played in a major one.

Another source of interludes, personal manuscript books, provided examples that organists wrote (or copied) for their own use. One such example, Andraes Lorey's "Clavier-Buch" (1772) contains a few piano pieces and several chorales with interludes.[110] Although little is known about Lorey, his manuscript book also bears the date 1782 and the name Christian Schaaf. A Moravian minister who traveled to Bethlehem in 1795 and to Salem in 1819, Schaaf presumably brought the book from Europe in 1782. Lorey's interludes were also similar to the ones discussed earlier in their use of short scalar passages and other figurations between chorale phrases.

The following example from the manuscript includes the tune "Allein Gott in der sey Ehr" with Lorey's interludes (see Example 38).

Example 38: Tune "Allein Gott in der sey Ehr" with Lorey's interludes from "Clavier-Buch."



With such a large body of examples available to study, it is easy to ascertain that the organist could exercise great freedom in the construction of interludes. The major restraint was the need to avoid any distraction to the congregation.[111] The practice of using interludes also fell from favor by the end of the nineteenth century. Rufus Grider confirmed this decline in his book of 1873:

> Here in Bethlehem it has been customary for the organist to play interludes between the lines, which custom has grown from a simple turn into elaborate and highly colored passages. Such interludes not only tended to obscure the melody, but those features which caused the adoption of choral music by the churches--its grandeur and simplicity. Many object to their use, and they are now frequently omitted by the present organist.[112]

The accompaniment of chorales, an important part of any Moravian organist's regular duty, was not the only obligation of a Moravian organist. In the preface to Hymn Tunes, Peter Latrobe included a list of ten duties for the Moravian organist, some of which have been discussed earlier in this paper. In order to provide the reader with an understanding of the organist's responsibilities in Moravian worship, Latrobe's list of duties has been included in its entirety in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DUTIES OF THE ORGANIST

At this point it is clear that the organist played for the singing of chorales in at least four services: the Singstunde, the Liturgien, the Gemeinstunde, and the Liebesmahl. His duties, in addition to playing for congregational singing, included accompanying choral groups or small vocal ensembles in the performance of duets, anthems, or other choral selections. Special groupings of chorales during the Singstunde demanded that the organist be familiar with at least 150 hymn tunes and probably many more texts. The use of figures also required that the organist be adept at realizing two-part writing both in chorale tunes and in choral anthems. The addition of interludes between chorale phrases required careful attention to voice-leading and rules of harmony. All of these requirements were important to Moravian organists. According to numerous references made in official diaries, young organists were trained at an early age. For example, in the

Salem Minutes of the Aeltesten Conferenz in 1790, the following references were made:

> [12 September 1781]: "Brother Peter will . . . give Brother Oesterlein lessons in organ playing so that Bethebara [near Salem, North Carolina] may have an organist."[113]

> [30 June 1790]: "In order that the daily services may have organ music, the Brethren who can play the organ, that is, Reuz, Schober, Seiz, and Meinung, shall be consulted next Sunday. Brother Bagge shall be asked whether he can and will give time to his son Benjamin to play the organ in the children's services."[114]

> [14 July 1790]: "Brother Bagge . . . will be glad to have Benjamin [his son] used for the organ playing in the children's services."[115]

Duties of the organist were shared by as many capable performers as were availible in a community, usually from two to four. According to Rufus Grider's publication, Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 1741-1871, Bethlehem had six organists around the year 1800 which shared the duties of the position.[116] Each organist performed one week of services in rotation with the other organists. It must be remembered that American Moravians were amateur performers with no salary or benefits for their musical contributions.

The Ten Qualifications of an Organist

The duties of the Moravian organist, as seen by a Moravian organist of the eighteenth century, were stated concisely by Christian Latrobe in his preface to Hymn Tunes. The ten qualifications of a good organist according to Latrobe are stated below as they appeared in Hymn Tunes.

> I. The organist should be able to play the hymn tunes, in most if not all the different keys, extempore, because, upon many occasions, the verses sung by the minister, according to his own choice, are taken from a variety of hymns, and it would be next to impossible to turn continually to the Tune-Book, without detriment to the singing; especially as such single verses are seldom given out. This latter circumstance requires
>
> II. That he should be acquainted with most if not all the hymns in the Hymn Book, that, upon their being given out, or sung without previous notice, he may assist a weak singer, by pitching immediately upon the right tune in a proper key, if left to his choice, or in the key the singer himself pitches upon.
>
> III. In case the organist is not able to follow the singer easily in difficult tunes, for instance, in G# or F# and must seek an easier key, he should never ascend, but always descend half a tone--viz. from C# to C or from F# to F--as the congregation will more naturally fall in with him by lowering its voice.

IV. The usual interludes between the lines should be short, and suited to the contents of the hymn sung, leading gently and insensibly into the succeeding line.

V. If in any hymn two lines are so connected together, that the usual pause between them would injure the sense, the interlude should not hinder the singer from proceeding without delay.

VI. The organist cannot be too attentive to the singer and the congregation, not every verse being sung according to strict time, but according to the gravity or chearfulness of its contents, especially in accompanying a single voice, which should be left at large to vary the time as occasion requires, particularly in chanting. For this purpose,

VII. The organ should never overpower the voices, neither in accompanying any individual, the chorus, nor the whole congregation, but yet have sufficient strength of sound to prevent their sinking. If the congregation consists of a mixed multitude, neither accustomed to moderate their voices, nor acquainted with our tunes, then the organ ought to be played loud enough to be heard by all distinctly, even by the most vociferous, which may be the more safely done, as on such occasions, the hymn is always given out.

VIII. The louder the organ is played, the greater simplicity is required; and it is a great mistake to suppose, that a chearful and majestic tune acquires any additional brillancy by a number of shakes, and other ornaments, very ill suited to the character of hymn tunes, and undermining the very effect the player wishes to produce.

IX. There are generally some in the congregation that sing a kind of second bass to the tunes. The organist should also pay attention to these singers, and, to avoid a discord, not play

Treble b c d e

Bass e a g f e

when the congregation is used to singing

Treble b c d e

Bass e a g e

or in the like instances. If he even justly prefers a bass, different from that marked in the Tune-Book, yet he should sacrifice his opinion to the prevailing custom, if not utterly false, and even then be cautious and gentle in leading into the right track. But in accompanying a single voice, or playing the tunes before or after the service, this caution in not so necessary.

X. To be able to play a voluntary, is by no means an essential part of the qualifications of an organist among the Brethren. The congregation will always prefer hearing hymn tunes played in its stead, which, besides affording a great variety, have a pleasing and edifying effect. If a voluntary is played, all incongruities should be avoided, and the audience, not even undesignedly, be led from the aim of their meetings to attend, either with admiration or displeasure, to the dexterity of the organist's fingers, or rather to the levity of his mind.[117]

The subject of the voluntary in Moravian music, referred to in the final guideline above, is an interesting and intriguing aspect of Moravian worship. In other churches, such as the Lutheran church, the performance of the voluntary was an essential part of the organist's duties. In the Moravian church, however, the playing of the voluntary occupied an extremely small place in religious worship. Because the Brethren followed the Lutherans in many traditions,

it seems strange that they did not make use of the organ preludes based on chorale tunes. It seems equally strange that with the quantity of music that has been preserved in Moravian communities, virtually no music for solo organ has been uncovered. One exception, the set of nine preludes by Christian Latrobe, is the only known example of Moravian solo organ music. These preludes, along with over forty other preludes by European composers, were first published in an appendix to L. B. Seeley's Devotional Harmony (1806).[118] Latrobe's preludes represent the only known published Moravian preludes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is possible that skilled Moravian organists may have improvised preludes in a similar style to that of Latrobe, but none were apparently written down or preserved.

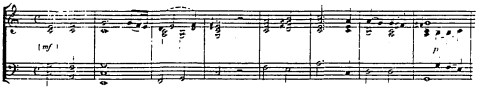
The Nine Preludes of Christian Latrobe

Of the nine preludes, three are for two manuals and six are written for one manual. While all the preludes could include the pedals, if available, none actually specify the use of pedals. All are basically harmonic progressions with a limited amount of independent voicing, and all include a rather large

amount of ornamentation. Only Prelude IV includes a single melodic line in the right hand which could be performed on a solo register. None is based on pre-existent tunes.

In Prelude I, Latrobe exploited the use of terraced dynamics by changing manuals and the position of the swell shades. The use of swell shades is necessary in measure 8 where the top voice is sustained while the inner voices are marked soft. A change of manual on the second beat would not achieve the proper effect (see Example 39).

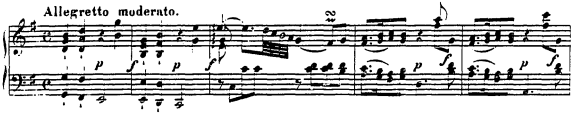
Example 39: Prelude I, of Latrobe's Nine Preludes for Organ, mm. 1-8; ed. Karl Kroeger (Charlotte: Brodt Music Co., 1978), 3. All subsequent examples of Latrobe's preludes will be taken from Karl Kroeger's edition.



Since the swell mechanism was already in use in England by the latter part of the eighteenth century, and since David Tannenberg first used the swell shades in 1801, it is highly plausible that Latrobe knew of the mechanism and anticipated its use by Moravian organists. Other dramatic changes in dynamics occur in

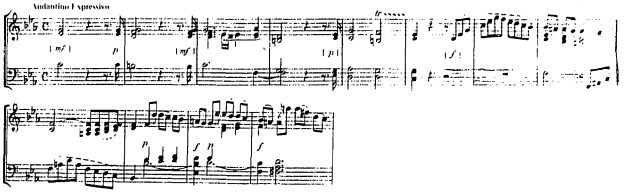
measures 20 and in 28-29. Each time a single chord is marked sforzando, followed by a phrase marked piano. These sudden changes are typical of other European keyboard works from the late eighteenth century. For example, Piano Sonata VI in G Major by C. P. E. Bach demonstrates the abrupt changes in dynamic levels prevalent during the late eighteenth century (see Example 40). Latrobe's prelude, since it includes a manual change in measures 26 and 31, was intended for organ rather that for piano. Nevertheless, it exhibits late-eighteenth century tendencies.

Example 40: C. P. E. Bach's Piano Sonata VI in G Major, mm. 1-5; in C. P. E. Bach, Sonatas, Fantasies, and Rondos for Piano Solo II (New York: Kalmus, 1965), 35.



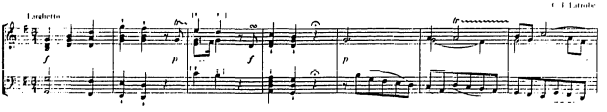
Prelude II, in addition to making use of sudden changes in dynamics in measures 10-12 (see Example 41), relies upon an ascending triadic figure for melodic interest. Transpositions of the figure occur in C major, F major, G minor, C minor, and A-flat major.

Example 41: Prelude II, mm. 1-12, by Latrobe.



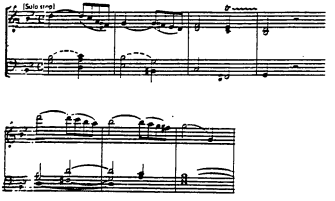
Prelude III is a combination of a majestic harmonic progression (Example 42) contrasting with a lyric theme. The term "theme" must be used in its general sense since the prelude is long enough to state only short ideas one time before it concludes.

Example 42: Prelude III, mm. 1-7, by Latrobe.



Prelude IV, the only one of the collection that is suitable for a solo register, begins with a G minor chord in both hands. The harmonic support in the left hand begins in measure 2 and continues throughout. The solo line, although including additional notes at cadence points, is primarily a single voice. The opening theme occurs only once with a varied second statement in measure 22 (see Example 43).

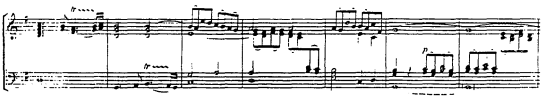
Example 43: Prelude IV, mm. 4-7, 22-24, by Latrobe.



Preludes V, VI, and VIII are similar in style to Prelude III with their use of parallel thirds and sixths alternating with simple chordal progressions. Prelude VII, while similar in style to V and VI, is unusual in that it is only ten measures in length. Prelude VIII is similar to Prelude II in its inclusion

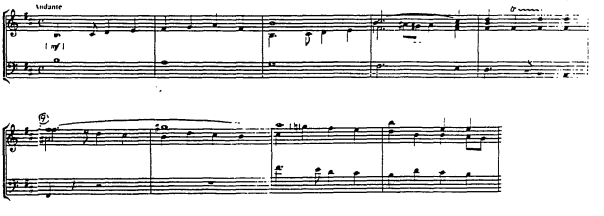
of the stepwise passages and two-note phrasings (see Example 44).

Example 44: Prelude VIII, mm. 10-15, by Latrobe.



Prelude IX is different from the other eight selections because of its fugal style. The B minor scale, in long notes or short notes ascending and descending, is the basis for the work. The opening idea combines a descending B natural minor scale in long notes with a B natural minor scale ascending in quarter notes (see Example 45).

Example 45: Prelude IX, mm. 1-5, 9-12, by Latrobe.



In measure 9 the relationship is reversed at the octave on the note F. The ascending long notes use the raised G-sharp and A-sharp of the melodic form while the descending quarter notes retain the natural minor form. Prelude IX, the most tightly constructed and thematically consistent of all the preludes, includes no dynamic changes or indications. These characteristics indicate that the work may have been written much earlier than the other preludes of the collection.

The Playing of the Prelude in the Sunday Preaching Service Or Festival Gathering

References to the use of the prelude, or voluntary as it was often called, placed the prelude at the beginning of the weekly Sunday Preaching Service. The Preaching Service was typically a simple service lasting about 45 minutes which included an organ prelude and the singing of an opening and closing hymn. The service did not include the singing of a choral anthem, even on festive occasions such as Easter, Christmas Eve, All Saints Day, or New Year's Day. On these days a special service was held, usually replacing the morning litany or prayer service. The special service, usually called a Festival Gathering

(Festversammlung), often substituted for the Church Litany, a long prayer normally chanted. The special service usually followed this order of events:

Call to assemblage by the trombones playing chorales
Organ voluntary
Choir anthem
Congregational chorale
Discourse on the event commemorated
Time of thanksgiving
Prayer, spoken or sung
Benediction, sung[119]

Other services like the Liebesmahl were held on the Festival Day, but the Preaching Service remained relatively simple.[120] One exception to this tradition occurred during the consecration of the new Central Moravian Church in Bethlehem in 1806. In his A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892, Joseph Levering described the occasion, one of the few documented Preaching Services which included an anthem, this way:

The Church Service
a. Call to assemblage by the trombones, trumpets, and woodwinds from the belfry of the new church
b. Prelude by organ and trombones
c. Choir anthem by a large choir with elaborate orchestral accompaniment (the second part of the One Hundreth Psalm)
d. Hymn
e. Dedication
f. Address[121]

No study of the organ in Moravian worship would be complete without a discussion of the organ's design during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Selected organs of an important Moravian organ builder David Tannenberg will be used as the basis for the discussion of Moravian organ design.

CHAPTER V

ORGAN DESIGN

David Tannenberg, sometimes called Tannenberger, was born to Judith and Johann Tannenberg in Berthelsdorf, Saxony (near Herrnhut) on 21 March 1728. David Tannenberg left his family for a short time in 1748 to join a Moravian community in Zeist, Holland; however, his final destination was a new settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania on 12 May 1749. Tannenberg came to Bethlehem as a joiner, but by 1752 he had moved to Nazareth to manage the business affairs for the community.[122]

The first reference in the Nazareth diary to Tannenberg as an organ builder came in the entry for 13 January 1758.[123] Johann Klemm (1690-1762), already established as an organ builder in Pennsylvania, employed Tannenberg during the construction of two organs in Nazareth.[124] Although Klemm died in 1762, Tannenberg convinced the elders of the community to permit him to continue as an organ builder.[125]

The design of Moravian organs is of particular importance to the understanding of the organ's role in Moravian worship. Since many of the instruments during the latter part of the eighteenth century were

constructed by David Tannenberg, himself a Moravian, it is possible to qualify the type of sound that Moravians preferred. It is also significant that many of his instruments are still in playable condition and provide an aural record of his voicing. Tannenberg's instruments, along with letters and contracts concerning their construction, contribute considerably to the study of Moravian organs. Stop lists of individual Tannenberg organs are one source of useful information concerning Moravian tastes.

Each Moravian organ was designed to be compatible with a trombone choir, a small orchestra, or choral ensembles of various sizes. Upon selecting suitable stops for the Moravian church in 1803, Tannenberg commented upon his choices in a letter to the town leaders:

On Main Manual:			
1.	Principal	8'	Since we have no
2.	Octav	4'	mixtures a work
3.	Quinta	3'	must have these
4.	Octave	2'	so the organ has an even tone in such a large building.
5.	Viola de Gambe	8'	
6.	Gedackt	8'	These are lovely
7.	Floeth	4'	stops.

The Upper Manual:			
1.	Principal dulcis	4'	These are lovely
2.	Flauth Amabile	8'	stops and pleasing
3.	Gedackt Lieblich	4'	for our [Moravian]
4.	Floeth	4'	use.
5.	Salicional	8'	
6.	Quinta Dehn	8'	
Pedal:			
1.	Violon	16'	This I would like
2.	Sub-Bass	16'	to make of tin
3.	Octav Bass	8'	[Zinn]. It is
3.	Octav Bass	8'	admitted a little costly but is much better than the Posaun Bass since it always stays in tune.[126]

Although the Bethlehem organ was never built because of Tannenberg's death in 1804, the final stop list was proposed as follows:

Main Manual:			
1.	Principal (of good English tin)		8'
2.	Viola di Gamba (metal)		8'
3.	Gross Gedackt (wood in bass metal in treble)		8'
4.	Quintaden	(metal)	8'
5.	Oboe	(metal)	8'
6.	Gemshorn	(metal)	4'
7.	Flaute	(wood)	4'
8.	Principal octav (of English tin)		8'
9.	Principal	(metal)	2'
Upper Manual:			
1.	Principal Dulcis (of English tin)		8'
2.	Salicional	(metal)	8'
3.	Bourdon or Lieblich Gedackt (wood)		8'
4.	Flauto Amabile	(wood)	8'
5.	Rohr Floethe	(metal)	4'
6.	Salicet	(metal)	4'

Pedal:

1.	Octav Bass	(wood)	8'
2.	Subbass	(wood)	16'
3.	Violon Bass	(metal)	16'
4.	Posaunen	(wood)	16'

Couplers: 2 unspecified.[127]

Another organ that was completed in 1801 was for the "Home Church" in Salem, North Carolina. The stops list is as follows:

Great Organ:

1.	Open Diapason	8'
2.	Flauto	4'
3.	Stopped Diapason	8'
4.	Gamba	8'
5.	Principal	4'
6.	Fifteenth	2'
7.	Twelfth	3'
8.	Viola [added later]	8'

Swell Organ:

1.	Salicet	4'
2.	Open Diapason	8'
3.	Flauto Douce	4'
4.	Flauto Amabile	8'
5.	Piccolo	2'
6.	Viol di Gamba	8'

Pedal:

1.	Violonalto	8'
2.	Bourdon	16'

Couplers

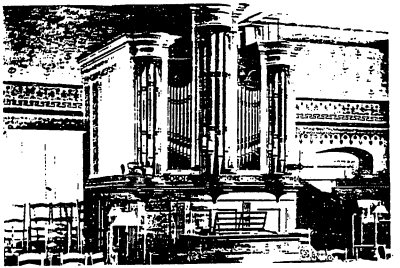
Great to Pedal; Swell to Pedal; Swell to Great.[128]

The Salem organ had a reverse console which was similar in construction to the German Positiv: the pipe chamber was placed behind the organist with trackers running under the pedalboard of the organ. The organist faced away from the pipes and had a clear view of the

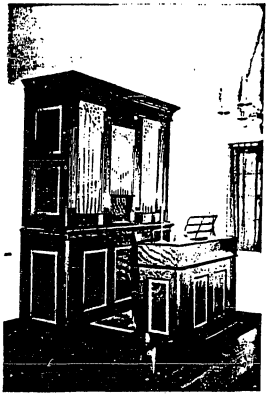
proceedings in the service (see Examples 46 and 47 for two examples of the reverse console design).

With a reverse console the organist could face the congregation or minister with an unobstructed view. Tannenberg placed the Salem "Home Church" organ (1801) in the gallery of the church with the organ chamber against the wall and the console positioned so the organist faced the front of the church.[129]

Example 46: The 1801 organ in the "Home Church" in Salem. Reproduced by permission, Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem.



Example 47: The 1798 organ for the Congregational Chapel. Reproduced by permission, Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem.



The need for the organist to maintain constant visual contact with the minister or leader stems from the peculiarities in Moravian singing practices. Although not all of the organs built for Moravian congregations

included a reverse console, it is interesting to note that none of Tannenberg's organs for Lutheran and Reformed churches included this design. The arrangement of the console appears to be a Moravian innovation which accomodated Moravian needs.

An interesting feature of the above mentioned organs is that they do not include a mixture. It was not a matter of Tannenberg's inability to build them, for a study of his organs built for Lutheran and Reformed Churches reveals that Tannenberg built many organs with mixtures. The organ specifications for Zion Lutheran Church (1790) in Philadelphia included two mixtures: a IV-VI rank mixture on the Main Manual, and a IV rank mixture on the Upper Manual. The organ at Christ Lutheran Church (1804) in York, Pennsylvania has a II rank mixture on its single manual.[130] Even Tannenberg commented in his suggestions to the Brethren in Bethlehem that "since we have no mixtures, such a work must have these so the organ has an organ tone."[131] The absence of mixtures appears to have been accepted by all Moravian congregations without disagreement, at least according to existing records. The Brethren purchased organs with the capacity for a bright principal sound, a soft flute or string sound, or a combination of sounds with the addition of mutation stops.

For example, the Salem organ (1798) for the Gemeinsaal (chapel) contained five stops.[132] When the organ was rebuilt in 1965, Charles McManis faithfully constructed several missing pipes using those still intact as a pattern. He observed that the flute pipes made of metal or walnut wood had a moderate nick, that is, the pipes produced a moderate level of chiff. The principal 4' pipes were made from 75 percent tin which produced a very bright sound.[133] The Quinta 2 2/3' and the Terzian (t.c.) 1 3/5' combined to make a sesqui-altera, which has been described as a "pseudo-reed." McManis' findings provide further evidence that the organ was primarily designed to act as a blending or unifying agent in the musical performance.[134] As stated earlier, the organist often performed with the trombone choir, the orchestra, any of the choirs, the congregation, or any combination of the above. As Gregor stated, "one. . . perceives a lovely harmony of voices and musical instruments, especially the organ."[135]

Since a mixture could not be a part of the blended sound that Gregor described, it had no use in Moravian worship. Even the solo voluntary was seen as an aid to worship and contemplation, and required no use of a mixture. Because no American Moravian organ built by Tannenberg contained a mixture, it is plausible to

conclude that the American Brethren as a whole resisted its use.

The restoration of the Salem organ also revealed another feature of Tannenberg's craft: his pipes were of the same size and scale as those of Andreas Sorge's organs in Germany. Sorge (1703-1778), an organ builder and organist in Lobestein, Germany, sent a letter to "his friends in Pennsylvania" which he titled "The Secret Art of Mensuration of Organ Pipes described by George Andreas Sorge, Court and Town organist at Lobestein, 1764."[136]

In this document Sorge provided detailed diagrams of pipes which included pipe widths, diameters, mouth widths and cut-ups; his diagrams included measurements to 1/1000 of a foot regarding the construction of pipes.[137] There was evidence that Sorge sent an earlier copy of this treatise to Pennsylvania, perhaps to Johann Klemm.[138] The original letter to Pennsylvania may have been lost or destroyed, but for whatever reason, Tannenberg was forced to request a second copy from Sorge. Tannenberg followed Sorges's measurements precisely during the construction of the Salem organ (and most likely all his organs). Since several of Tannenberg's instruments have been destroyed, it is impossible to prove this position conclusively. Nevertheless, it would be logical to characterize all of Tannenberg's organs in the same basic

terms, giving allowance for different sizes and stop selections.

Not only was Tannenberg informed about current trends in Germany, he also was aware of new developments in England, namely the introduction of the swell mechanism. Tannenberg used the mechanism in the Salem "Home Church" organ (1801), only about twenty years after it was used in England. The organ builder was quick to make use of any innovation that could benefit the performance in Moravian worship services.

The method of tuning was an important consideration in the latter part of the eighteenth century. English builders and musicians still favored a form of mean tone temperament[139] while in Germany equal temperament became the norm. In her document "Bishop Johann Herbst (1735-1812), an American Moravian Musician, Collector and Composer," Joan Falconer proposed that the Moravians in America tuned their church instruments by older methods.[140] She arrived at this conclusion by the fact that Herbst favored anthems with three or less accidentals in the key signature.[141]

However, Tannenberg himself refutes this argument with a letter now kept in the Moravian Music Foundation. In most cases Tannenberg tuned and serviced his organs, but after the installation of the Salem organ in 1801, he felt that his age prevented him from returning to North

Carolina. He therefore sent directions to the Salem Congregation regarding his methods of tuning. This letter provides specific information concerning Tannenberg's use of equal temperaments. He states:

> [One must] go through the circle of fifths and inspect the temperament to see whether against the main note, namely the G against the C, all the fifths beat a little under.[142]

The entire letter, although brief, clearly specifies his techniques to achieve equal temperament. The selected Tannenberg organs mentioned above reflect the importance of the organ in congregational accompaniment. Whether considering the lack of mixtures, the tonal character of the pipes, the use of swell shades, or the use of equal temperament, one can characterize the Moravian organ as an accompanying instrument. The Moravian organ was clearly designed to support singing during religious gatherings. In addition to the historical significance in congregational singing, the role of the organ in Moravian communities has important ramifications for authentic performances of Moravian music. The next chapter will address those applications in the course of summarizing the findings of this study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

While coming to America in the eighteenth century as missionaries to the American Indians, the Moravians brought with them a unique musical culture that reflected European trends without losing its own individuality. The Brethren established two important centers for Moravian culture and music in America, one in Salem, and one in Bethlehem. The primary focus of Moravian music in these centers from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century was the singing of chorales, liturgies, or anthems as a daily activity for all members of the congregation. Each choir, whether children, single adults, married adults, or widows and widowers, held its own meetings with special liturgies and chorales; each choir also had its own feast day in which the choir performed for the special activities of the occasion. The congregation as a whole often met daily to hear the reading of the Losung and Lehrtext and to sing chorales and liturgies.

The four primarily singing services, the Singstunde, the Liturgien, the Gemeinstunde, and the

Liebesmahl, stressed a particular activity for the congregation. The Singstunde provided the opportunity to sing chorales in a series according to religious subject. Individual choirs and the whole congregation held Singing Hours on a regular basis. The Liturgien was developed as a means of performing two types of liturgies in the Moravian Church. The composed liturgies such as canticles, chants, and choral settings often relied upon responsorial singing between the men and women, or between the leader and the congregation. The hymn liturgies used liturgical texts set to familiar hymn tunes. Both types were intended to include all communicants of the church in religious worship which in turn was to promote godly living. The Gemeinstunde and Liebesmahl both employed congregational chorales as well as choral anthems during the service as the primary medium of religious worship. Chorales, especially those in Christian Gregor's Choral-Buch and Christian Latrobe's Hymn Tunes, were memorized and sung in numbers ranging from 157 to almost 1000, depending upon the source. Chorales, which were basic to the Brethren's worship, were sung in simple chordal style with few embellishments and ornamentation. The only acceptable embellishment, the chorale interlude, involved the use of organ accompaniment between phrases of the chorale. Each

interlude lasted from 3-5 beats and prohibited the momentum from lagging at each cadence.

The organ served as the primary accompaniment for congregational singing because of its versatility and tonal quality. Even though Moravian organs, especially those built by David Tannenberg, made no use of mixtures, the tonal quality of the principal chorus was bright enough to sustain congregational singing. The adherence to equal temperament in tuning also permitted the organist to lower the chorale by one half-step if the key chosen by the liturgist was an awkward one.

Congregational participation in the Gemeinstunde and Liebesmahl, in addition to the singing of chorales and liturgies, also included the singing of choral anthems. Since the choir system divided the entire congregation into functional groups according to age, sex, and marital status, each congregational choir participated in the singing of anthems for the weekly Gemeinstunde of special festivities. Just as the organ provided the primary accompaniment for congregational singing, the orchestra provided the accompaniment for the singing of choral anthems. Although the organ realized the continuo during the performance, it was secondary to the orchestral accompaniment. The organ part took two forms in those anthems which were scored for orchestra and organ continuo: a part with some

figures to be realized, and a fully written-out score. A few selected anthems by Christian Latrobe were written with organ accompaniment alone. From the best evidence available and from a close study of the accompaniment parts, the organ was clearly included during the performance of anthems. European practices of the eighteenth century included the organ or harpsichord in most performances, and the Moravians followed that tradition. Those organ parts that were only a bass line with figures were realized according to the rules of figured bass; those parts that were written out were to be performed as written. In the event that the orchestra was not present or not complete, the organ provided the accompaniment or missing parts. Otherwise, the organ improvised basic harmonic support from the figures.

In addition to accompanying chorales and choral anthems, the organist performed voluntaries during regular Preaching Services. Voluntaries, or preludes, were often improvised pieces in a simple style intended to set the mood for the service. Nine preludes by Christian Latrobe, the only Moravian voluntaries that have been uncovered thus far, are short, rather simple pieces that reflect an early Classic style.

The study of the organ in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music has important ramifications

concerning modern-day performances of Moravian chorales and anthems. Chorale interludes, for example, while no longer in use, provide insight into the interpretation of the fermata at each cadence. In fact, the study of chorale interludes can provide documented evidence on the historical performance of chorales. Historically, the fermata indicated the end of a phrase rather than the exact duration of the note.[143] Modern performers invariably have disagreed on the appropriate value for the fermata, and for that reason, chorales are often neglected in modern congregations. From the discussion in this document it is clear that the interlude provided a suitable transition between chorale phrases. These interludes, often constructed by the performing organist, were only occasionally written down in publications or personal copy books. Organists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were familiar with the rules of interlude construction much as they were familiar with the rules of proper ornamentation. The Moravians, although conservative in their approach to interludes, were careful to record the basic rules of construction. These rules and musical examples provide sufficient evidence to suggest that the fermata indicated a duration of from two to five beats. The final pitch of each phrase was not held the full duration but was released at the playing of an

interlude. Further research is needed to determine what compositional rules and examples of Lutheran interludes still exist from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that might substantiate other forms or uses of interludes.

Another important finding from this study concerns the role of the organ in choral anthems. From the numerous anthems discussed, the majority of evidence favors the active participation of the organ in anthems scored for orchestra and organ. The fact that about two-thirds of the anthems in the Herbst Collection had no organ parts indicates that the organ was not always used in choral performances. In those anthems with organ scores or figured bass, it seems clear that the organ was a member of the performing ensemble. While the use of continuo was already in decline by the early nineteenth century, that the organ participated in numerous Moravian choral anthems during the early part of this century seems certain.

Just as the use of continuo was in decline, the orchestra as a musical medium was gaining great prominence. Even in Moravian communities the orchestra was beginning to overshadow the organ in importance. From the Bethlehem records during the later part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Rufus Grider compiled a list of important musicians which

participated in the community.[144] Of all the organists listed (twenty-three), twenty lived and worked in Bethlehem prior to 1800; three, who were also pianists, worked after that date. In the year 1800 alone, six organists shared the duties in Bethlehem. After 1800, the emphasis seemed to shift to instrumentalists, especially those who played wind and brass instruments like clarinet, horn, and cornet. String players and flautists were listed in greater numbers prior to 1800. As the chorale interlude declined through the early nineteenth century, the emphasis on choral anthems and orchestral accompaniments increased. The focus, whether congregational or choral, was always upon singing. The medium of accompaniment followed contemporary trends, but the emphasis on singing remained the same. During the eighteenth century especially, the organ provided the support for all singing by accompanying the congregational singing and performing the continuo part in many anthems. After the middle of the nineteenth century, the orchestra became increasingly more important as the significance of the organ declined.

The role of solo organ music was relatively small in Moravian music as compared with solo organ music in other German denominations like the Lutherans. Moravian organists, despite their ability to improvise preludes, failed to record their improvised works for

others to use. In a community where almost every detail of life was recorded, the lack of organ music is truly indicative of its low station in Moravian music. Even a chorale prelude such as the one by John Kellner discussed in Chapter III was not retained in Moravian collections as a solo organ work. It was rather transcribed for chorus and orchestra with organ continuo. The Brethren apparently preferred the playing of a chorale or a short improvised piece to the chorale prelude. It is also interesting to note that chorale tunes were quoted in chorale anthems but not in organ voluntaries. None of the nine preludes studied made use of a chorale tune. Regardless of the reason, Moravian solo organ works hold a small place in Moravian sacred music.

Many subjects worthy of further investigation were touched upon only briefly in this study. One topic was the use of word painting in the accompaniment of choral anthems. Much more research is needed to uncover the full extent of word painting in Moravian choral music. Another topic was the role of women and children in Moravian communities. Both segments of society, while traditionally holding a slightly lower station in the eighteenth century, were important parts of the Moravian structure. The musical contribution of women

especially to Moravian music has yet to be fully understood and documented.

The organ was at the center of Moravian worship in America and was instrumental in sustaining musical development in Moravian communities. The organ provided the necessary flexibility in the Singstunde to allow for the joining of individual tunes on a single subject. No ensemble could follow the liturgist as effectively as could the organist. The organ provided the necessary variety of sounds to accompany congregational singing, instrumental ensembles, or choral groups. No other instrument possessed such dynamic range and tonal variety. Perhaps the Brethren's emphasis on simplicity applied to organ music more than it did to choral music; nevertheless, the emphasis upon simplicity did not diminish the variety of music, nor the quantity of musical expression in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The organ, perhaps more than any other instrument, provided a basis from which Moravian sacred music developed and flourished in America.

NOTES

[1]Oscar Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1907), 8.

[2]Marilyn Gombosi, A Day of Solemn Thanksgiving (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 8.

[3]Donald McCorkle, "The Moravian Contribution to American Music," Moravian Music Foundation Publications, No. 1 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: The Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., 1956), 2.

[4]Donald McCorkle, "John Antes, 'American Dilettante,'" Musical Quarterly 42 (October 1956): 493.

[5]Marilyn Gombosi, A Day of Solemn Thanksgiving, 3.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Cantus Fractus (broken melody), sometimes called cantus coronatus (crowned song), refers to the medieval practice of improvising divisions in chants like the Kyrie, Gloria, Graduals, and Alleluias. It also refers to the use of faburden (original melody in the middle with improvised thirds and fifths below and fourths above). The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, s.v. "Cantus coronatus."

[8]Peregrinus is Latin for "foreign mode."

[9]J. A. Comenius, ed., Historiae de origine et rebus gestis fractum Bohemicorum liber octavis (Amsterdam: n.p., 1649), Chapter 13; quoted in Walter Blankenburg, "The Music of the Bohemian Brethren," Part 6, Protestant Church Music, ed. Friedrich Blume, trans. Hans Heinsheimer (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1974), 599.

[10]Michael Weiss, ed., Gedruckt zum Junger Buntzel in Behmen (Jungbunzlau: Georgen Wylenschwerer, 1531).

[11]Ibid., quoted in Blankenburg, "The Music of the Bohemian Brethren," 599.

[12]Ibid., Front Plate. Reprinted by permission, from Blankenburg, "The Music of the Bohemian Brethren," 596.

[13]Chester Davis, The Hidden Seed (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Wachovia Historical Society, 1959), 15.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Matthew 28: 19-20.

[16]Davis, The Hidden Seed, 29.

[17]The Brethren seldom started a mission where another group or denomination had been established. In fact, in 1735 a group of Moravian missionaries abandoned a mission in Sweden when they discovered that another mission had been established in the area. Ibid., 28.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., 30.

[20]Ibid., 31.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Some scholars [such as Chester Davis] refer to the Moravian social system as a precursor of communism; however, the Moravian system, unlike communism, was similar to the theocratic system described in the Old Testament. Communism was based on atheistic principles. See Marilyn Hertel, "Development of the Moravian Sacred Music" (M.A. Thesis, Bob Jones University, 1968), 8; See also Davis, 63.

[23]Hertel, 1.

[24]The term "hymn" often refers to the text, especially when the tune and text are published separately. Since Moravian tunes and texts were often exchanged with others similar in meter and form, the term "hymn" best refers to the text alone. The separation of tune and text among the Moravians can be observed in Gregor's publications: the Choral-Buch of 1784 (tune book) and the Gesangbuch of 1778 (text book).

[25]Hertel, 15.

[26]Christian Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch enthaltend alle zu dem Gesangbuch der Evangelischen Bruder-Gemeinen von Jahre 1778 gehörige Melodien (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784); repr., ed. James Boeringer, preface trans. Karl Kroeger (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Music Foundation Press, 1984), 46. Future references to Gregor's preface will cite text and page numbers from Kroeger's translation in the reprint edition.

[27]Edwin Kortz, "The Liturgical Development of the American Moravian Church," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 17, Part 2 (Easton, Pennsylvania: Laros Printing Co., 1962), 270.

[28]Hertel, 15.

[29]The town was founded in 1753, but the actual Salem congregation did not become a self-governed assembly until 1771.

[30]"Salem Diary," 6 and 7 October, 1772; quoted and trans. in Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, ed. Adelaide Fries (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922-1941), 2: 690.

[31]William Armstrong, Organs for America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 97. More will be said about Moravian organs in Chapter V.

[32]Karl Kroeger, "On the Early Performance of Moravian Chorales," Moravian Music Foundation Bulletin 24 (Fall-Winter 1979): 2.

[33]Hertel, 36.

[34]The publication was called Die tagliche Loosungenund Lehrtexte der Brudergemeine [The Daily Watchword and Bible Text of the United Brethren], published each year since 1731.

[35][Heinrich Lynar], Nachricht von dem Ursprung und Fortgange, und haupsächlich von der gegenwartigen Verfassung der Bruder-Unitat, rev. 2d ed., with a forward by Anton Friedrich Busching (Halle: Johann Jacob Curt, 1781), 98.

[36]James D. Nelson, "Herrnhut: Friedrich Schliermacher's Spiritual Homeland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1963), 204.

[37]Blankenburg, 600.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid., 600-601.

[40]Nelson, "Herrnhut," 77-78. Gerhardian hymns refer to those hymns composed by Christian Gerhard, an eighteenth-century German Moravian.

[41]Kroeger, "On the Early Performance of Moravian Chorales," 2.

[42]Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1927), 209-210.

[43]Christian Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes Sung in the Church of the United Brethren (London: John LeFebre, 1790), v.

[44]Hertel, 36.

[45]Christian Latrobe, Original Anthems for One, Two, or More Voices Adapted for Private Devotion or Public Worship (London: Printed for the Author, 1828), 185.

[46]"Dass Te Deum Laudamus," tune from Gregor's Choral-Buch, Art 235, text from Gegangbuch, no. 1612, trans. Marilyn Gombosi; reprinted, from Gombosi, A Day of Solemn Thanksgiving, 43-48.

[47]"Diary of the Congregation in Salem," 4 July 1783, Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[48]Helmut T. Lehmann, ed., Luther's Works, vol. 53 of Liturgy and Hymns, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), 172.

[49]Gottlieb Spangenburg, Kurzgefasste historische Nachricht, trans. Traugott Bagge (Leipzig: n. p., 1774), sec. 3, art. 15.

[50][Christian Gregor], "Trauungs-Liturgie," Herbst Collection, Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, H 2.

[51]Christian Gregor, "Gelobt seyst der, der du sizest uber Cherubim," text from Das Liturgien-Buchlein nach der bey den Brudern dermalen hauptsächlich gewöhnlichen Singe-Weise (London: gedruckt in der Bruder-Officin, 1755), I, trans. Marilyn Gombosi, Herbst Collection, Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carlina, H 4.

[52]Martin Luther, "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir," Choral-Buch, comp. Christian Gregor (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784), Art 132e.

[53]Lehmann, ed., Luther's Works, 172.

[54]The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, s. v. "Thoroughbass."

[55]Ibid., s. v. "Cornett."

[56]Ibid., s. v. "Cornett" and "Trombone."

[57]Gregor, comp., Choral-Buch, Art 151A.

[58]Lehmann, ed., Luther's Works, 172.

[59]Hertel, 15.

[60]Kortz, "The Liturgical Development of the American Moravian Church," 279.

[61]Hertel, 30.

[62]Spangenburg, Kurzgefasste, trans. Traugott Bagge, sec. 3, art. 15.

[63]Hertel, 33.

[64]Ibid., 38.

[65]James Boeringer, "A Guide to the Moravian Lovefeast," Moravian Music Journal 26 (Fall-Winter 1981): 86-87.

[66]Hertel, 50.

[67]Karl Köpe, interview by author, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 7 June 1989.

[68]Christian Gregor, "Ach wie die Ruh so gutlich," Herbst Collection, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, H 26.1; transcription for voices and orchestra of Johann Peter Kellner's "Herzlich thut verlangen," Choralvorspiele von alte Meister, ed. Karl Straube (Leipzig: Peters, 1907), 80-83.

[69]Christian Latrobe, Original Anthems, London: Printed for the Author, 1828.

[70]Catalog of the Salem Congregation Music, ed. Frances Cumnock (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980).

[71]Marilyn Gombosi, A Day of Thanksgiving, 35.

[72]Reinhard Pauly, Music in the Classical Period, 2d. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1973), 43.

[73]Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, mit Exempeln und achtezehn Probe-Stücke in sechs Sonaten erlautert (Berlin: Printed for the Author, 1753; ed. and trans. W. J. Mitchell, New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1949), 15.

[74]Karl Köpe, interview by author, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 7 June 1989.

[75]Karl Kroeger, "A Core Repertory of American Moravian Hymn Tunes," Moravian Music Journal 31 (Spring 1986): 3.

[76]Letter from Bishop Stephan to Elector Friedrich III; quoted in Blankenburg, "The Music of the Bohemian Brethren," 593.

[77]Kroeger, "A Core Repertory," 3.

[78]Christian Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, iv.

[79]Hertel, 16, 43.

[80]Gregor, 47.

[81]Ibid., 46.

[82]Kroeger, "A Core Repertory," 3.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Christian Gregor, Gesangbuch zum Gebrauch der evangelishcen Brudergemeinen (Barby: Lorenz Friedrich Spellenburg, 1778).

[85]Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch, 49.

[86]Kroeger, "On Early Performance," 2.

[87]Blankenburg, 600-601.

[88]Fries, Records 1: 419.

[89]Kroeger, "Core Repertory," 3.

[90]Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch, 47.

[91]Hans T. David, "Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Unitas Fratrum," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 13 (1942; repr. Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Music Foundation, 1959), 40.

[92]Donald McCorkle, "Moravian Music in Salem: A German-American Heritage" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1959), 82.

[93]Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch, 49.

[94]Christian Latrobe, Letters to My Children, ed. J. A. Latrobe (London: Seeleys, 1851), 34-37.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch, 47.

[97]James Hutton, The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with Several Translations from the Moravian Hymn Book (London: Bible and Sun, [1744]), 8.

[98]Karl Kroeger, "On the Early Performance," 3.

[99]Christian Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, vii.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch, 49.

[102]Theodore Erxleben, Das Hilfsbuch für Liturgien und Organisten in der Brudergemeinen, 2d. ed. (Gnaden, Germany: n. p., 1891), 6.

[103]Peter Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, 22, 94-96. Peter Latrobe added his own preface to his father's tune book and published the music in his father's edition without alterations.

[104]Gregor, preface to Choral-Buch, 49.

[105]Christian Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, vii.

[106]Peter Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, 96.

[107]Ibid., 22.

[108]Quoted in Kroeger, "On Early Performance," 7.

[109]Peter Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, 22.

[110]Andraes Lorey, "Clavier-Buch," 1772; Salem Congregation Collection, Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, No. 596.

[111]Peter Latrobe, preface to Hymn Tunes, 22.

[112]Rufus Grider, Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania from 1741-1871 (Philadelphia: John L. Pile, 1873; repr., Winston-Salem: Moravian Music Foundation, 1957), 12.

[113]Records 4: 1729.

[114]Records 5: 2307.

[115]Records 5: 2308.

[116]Grider, 12.

[117]Peter Latrobe, 22-23.

[118]Devotional Harmony (London: n. p., 1806); Nine Preludes for Organ by Christian Latrobe has been printed separately, Karl Kroeger, ed. (Charlotte: Brodt Music Co., 1978).

[119]Nelson, "Herrnhut," 178-179.

[120]Hertel, 39.

[121]Joseph Levering, A History of Bethlehem (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1903), 15.

[122]Armstrong, Organs for America, 11.

[123]Ibid., 15.

[124]Ibid., 17.

[125]Ibid., 64-65.

[126]Original contract between Tannenberg and Bethlehem, 25 July 1803, archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem; quoted in Armstrong, 111-112.

[127]Paul Beck. "David Tannenberg, Organ Builder," Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society 30 (1926): 5.

[128]Armstrong, 106.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Ibid., 100-101, 109-110.

[131]Ibid., 65.

[132]Charles McManis, "David Tannenberg and the Old Salem Restoration," The American Organist 48 (May 1965): 19.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Gregor, 46.

[136]Carl O. Bleyle, trans. (Uitgevery: Frits Knuf, 1978).

[137]Ibid., 32.

[138]The opening statement of Sorge's letter states that this was the second copy sent to Pennsylvania. McManis, 15.

[139]Thomas McGeary, "David Tannenberg and the the Salem Organ," Moravian Music Journal 31 (Fall 1986): 18.

[140]Joan Falconer, "Bishop Johann Herbst," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969), 257.

[141]Ibid.

[142]"Tannenberg Letters," Letter from Tannenberg to Samuel Stotz, 25 May 1801, Moravian Music Foundation.

[143]s. v. "Chorale," New Harvard Dictionary.

[144]Rufus Grider, 18.

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