



**MONASH** University

# **From Mass to Politicised Concert Mass:**

A study of the transition of the mass from  
music for the Eucharist to ideological concert music

**STEPHANIE ROCKE**

Bachelor of Business (Swinburne University of Technology)  
Bachelor of Music (Hons) (University of Melbourne)  
Master of Arts (Monash University)  
AMusA (Flute)

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

at Monash University, School of Philosophical and Historical Studies

September 2015



## Declaration and Notices

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. To the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Stephanie Rocke

Date:

## Copyright Notice

© Stephanie Rocke (2015). Except as provided in the Copyright Act 1968, this thesis may not be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the author.

I certify that I have made all reasonable efforts to secure copyright permissions for third-party content included in this thesis and have not knowingly added copyright content to my work without the owner's permission.





## ABSTRACT

In the thirteenth century the mass cycle became established as a sacred musical form. By the end of the twentieth century the politicised concert mass had overshadowed it. Surprisingly, despite becoming a significant contributor to the Western art music repertoire, the concert mass has never attracted serious scholarship. While individual concert masses have been the subject of some studies, the form itself has received only limited attention, and never been comprehensively defined. This anomaly is addressed here by investigating three main topic areas: the variety of attitudes to sacred music within the Roman Catholic Church, the changing social, political and religious nature of Western societies, and the text of the mass itself. Focusing particularly on the twentieth century, this study brings together selected sources that span eight centuries to show that at each stage of the transition of the liturgical mass to its politicised form it has reflected changing attitudes towards religion in Western societies. While analysis of elements of key transitional concert masses provides the most substantive evidence, as a work of historical musicology that deals with religious as well as musical changes, the research of historians, sociologists and religious studies scholars, among others, has also been drawn upon. In combination, these primary and secondary sources reveal that it was the convergence of a range of human-centred impulses that brought about the establishment of first the concert mass in the later eighteenth century and then the politicised concert mass in the twentieth century. Whereas Renaissance masses presented God to humankind, and concertised masses presented humankind to God, politicised concert masses present humankind to humankind.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to my supervisors David Garrioch, Peter Howard, Paul Watt and Peter Murphy who each contributed to bringing this thesis to completion. David's advice on historical matters, Peter Howard's advice on theological matters, Paul's advice on musicological matters, and Peter Murphy's encouragement in the first year of candidature, all add a depth to the thesis that would have been difficult to achieve otherwise. In addition, Paul Watt's feedback turnaround times were nothing short of extraordinary. Thanks also to those composers and others who corresponded with me about masses they composed or were involved with, notably Paul Chihara, the late David Fanshawe, and Daniel Lentz. Thanks to Monash University for the various travelling and other grants received, including a Monash Graduate Scholarship, as well as for their administrative support and training programmes. In particular, the thesis writing groups led by Kate Egan were particularly beneficial in my final eighteen months of candidature. Kate's wide-ranging knowledge and advice on technical matters was a great asset and her supportive attitude an excellent motivator. Thanks too, to the general public for enabling my work through their taxes by funding both the degree and an Australian Postgraduate Award, which continued on for the first year of my PhD candidature from my Masters degree. Special thanks are extended to my family who gradually got used to their mother/wife being a seemingly perpetual student. From commencing as an undergraduate in music in 2003 to completing the thesis in 2015, more than a dozen years have passed. I have met many interesting students and academics during that time, and value the new friendships formed. In addition, I have found work, both paid and voluntary, in a range of related areas, from journal editing to teaching to creating radio documentaries to committee positions in professional bodies, to organising conferences. These experiences both inform the current thesis and add a breadth of experience that, like the research process itself, can be capitalised on in future pursuits.

# Table of Contents

## From Mass to Politicised Concert Mass

Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of Figures .....	vi
List of Tables .....	vii
Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1 Origins and nature of the liturgical and musical mass .....	17
Roman Catholic liturgy as living tradition.....	18
The (musical) mass as living tradition.....	27
Haydn's <i>Harmoniemesse</i> (1802).....	34
Chapter 2 Becoming a concert mass .....	47
Sacred music in concerts .....	49
Eucharist as prototypical concert .....	52
Concertised mass to concert mass .....	61
From Court and Church to Choral Societies and freelance composers .....	67
Other nineteenth-century masses.....	73
Chapter 3 The consequences of differing opinions regarding music within the Church.....	91
Early Christendom.....	92
Early Modern Catholicism.....	93
Concertisation .....	97
<i>Motu Proprio: Tra le Sollecitudini</i> (1903).....	101
Masses for concert halls up to 1963.....	105
Chapter 4 Responses to Vatican II .....	121
Vatican II (1962-65).....	122
Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> (1973) .....	132
Chapter 5 The Long 1960s: Breaking down boundaries.....	155
The Electric Prunes – <i>Mass in F Minor</i> (1967) .....	159
Chapter 6 Challenging Christianity: Provocative models .....	179
Peter Maxwell Davies's <i>Missa Super L'homme Armé</i> (1969-71) .....	181
Leonard Bernstein's <i>Mass</i> (1971) .....	189
Chapter 7 Expanding the mass into new territories.....	199
Subversive protests.....	200
Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum: Folk Song Mass</i> (1975).....	207
David Fanshawe's <i>African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace</i> (1973).....	222
Chapter 8 Concert masses for the environment .....	241
Paul Winter's <i>Missa Gaia/Earth Mass</i> (1981).....	245
Daniel Lentz and Jessica Karkaker's <i>wolfMASS</i> (1987) .....	256
Libby Larsen's <i>Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth</i> (1992) .....	267

Chapter 9 Conclusion .....	275
Appendix I Front pages, Gloria 1-8 & Interlude of Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> .....	282
Appendix II List of Performances of Paul Winter Consort's <i>Missa Gaia/Earth</i> .....	300
Appendix III Jessica Karraker's notes regarding <i>wolfMass</i> .....	302
Appendix IV Liturgical Inclusions and Omissions in eagle-Credo of Daniel Lentz's <i>wolfMass</i> .....	303
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	304

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure I.1 Transitioning from mass to politicised concert mass .....	3
Figure I.2 Conceptual Framework .....	10
Figure 1.1 Trinity in the Gloria .....	21
Figure 1.2 Roman Catholic Belief as stated in the Credo .....	22
Figure 1.3 Floorplan including location of side chapels in Tournai Cathedral .....	28
Figure 1.4 Unusual and remarkably short settings of 'Christe eleison' in Joseph Haydn's "Harmoniemesse" (1802) .....	36
Figure 1.5 Bergkirche Eisenstadt Organ Gallery .....	41
Figure 1.6 Texture in Sanctus from Joseph Haydn's "Harmoniemesse" (1802) Bars 1-50 .....	42
Figure 2.1 Engraving by Melchior Hüsel showing a musical performance in the Salzburg Cathedral, 1682 (Salzburg, Museum Carolino Augusteum) .....	54
Figure 2.2 Movements and sections of Paisiello's <i>Mass in B-flat</i> .....	62
Figure 4.1 Placement of sections of each of the mass texts in Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> (1973) .....	135
Figure 4.2 Placement of text fragments in Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> – Gloria & Credo .....	138
Figure 4.3 Placement of text fragments in Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> – Sanctus & Agnus Dei .....	139
Figure 4.4 Agnus Dei 0 and Agnus Dei 0 (Soloist) from Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> .....	140
Figure 4.5 Gloria 8 from Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> .....	141
Figure 4.6 Fragment placement choices in Gloria of Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> .....	142
Figure 4.7 Credo 1 and Credo 11 of Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> .....	144
Figure 4.8 Performance Notes relating to the Credo of Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> from the beginning of the 1973 score .....	145
Figure 4.9 Schema of Daniel Lentz's <i>Missa Umbrarum</i> (Mass of Shadows) revised for the 1985 recording .....	150
Figure 5.1 Track Listing and lyrics of <i>Mass in F Minor</i> by David Axelrod as it appears on the reverse of the LP cover released in 1968 .....	164
Figure 6.1 Rapid tempo and time signature changes in Peter Maxwell Davies's <i>Missa Super L'homme Armé</i> , Introduction to [G], with examples from the published score, pp. 23 and 26 .....	183
Figure 6.2 Latin text set in <i>Missa Super L'homme Armé</i> with English Translation and position in score .....	185

Figure 6.3 Structure & Staging Instructions of Leonard Bernstein's <i>Mass</i> (1971) with irrereligious texts bolded.....	191
Figure 7.1 The location of the portions of the various folksong lyrics set in Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum</i> (1975) .....	211
Figure 7.2 Opening of the Kyrie from Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum Brevis</i> (c1972) .....	212
Figure 7.3 Existing Melodies heard in Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum</i> (1975) .....	215
Figure 7.4 Locations of Texts and Melodic Materials in the Gloria of Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum</i> (1975) .....	217
Figure 7.5 Three folk song melodies as set in the Gloria of Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carmimum</i> (1975) .....	218
Figure 7.6 Building to a climax, bars 9-26 of Gloria from Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum</i> (1975) .....	219
Figure 7.7 Climax abates and moves to homophony in bars 21-28 of Gloria from Paul Chihara's <i>Missa</i> .....	219
Figure 7.8 Sighing motive (bar 1-2) in Sanctus of Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum</i> (1975) .....	221
Figure 7.9 Location of Sighing Motif in Sanctus of Paul Chihara's <i>Missa Carminum</i> (1975) .....	221
Figure 7.10 Melismatic sections representing swells of pleasure in Agnus Dei of Paul Chihara's <i>Missa</i> .....	221
Figure 7.11 Sources of music in David Fanshawe's <i>African Sanctus</i> (1973) .....	228
Figure 8.1 Text of <i>wolfMASS</i> (1987) as it appears in the Liner Notes for the Aode Records CD <i>wolfMASS</i> (2000) .....	261
Figure 8.2 Credo from Libby Larsen's <i>Missa Gaia: A Mass for the Earth</i> (1992) .....	268

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Masses by Mozart and Haydn for vocal soloists, chorus and instrumental ensemble or orchestra .....	34
Table 2 Masses scored for female voices or instrumental ensemble or orchestra 1904 to 1963 .....	107



## Introduction

The mass is an extraordinary musical form. Initially comprising a cycle of medieval chants that set the five main sections of the Ordinary of the Roman Rite, by the twentieth century the mass had become a repository for an eclectic range of theological and political ideas.

The change in character of the mass is a curious development. The central historical question it poses, and which guided this study, is why the mass became bifurcated into two forms: the church, or liturgical mass form and the politicised concert mass form. Occurring over eight centuries, many factors could come into play, with many associated questions arising. For example, when did the mass become a concert form? When was it politicised? Are the standard texts of the liturgy that are set in masses an important factor, both in terms of their length and their potential for conveying emotional content through music? What impact did the opinions and regulations of the Church have on the development of large-scale masses? Are composers' personal religious viewpoints important to the transition of the mass to its politicised concert form? To what extent did the lengthy tradition of the mass contribute to

composers' decisions to adopt it? And, although grandiose settings for orchestra, soloists and chorus are usually labelled concert masses, is this all that a concert mass is?

In addition to these religious and musical questions, questions relating to secular factors are also important. For example, how did social, intellectual and political changes impact on the form's transition from religious to secular venues? And, how were such historical changes manifested in the form itself? The latter question is the most crucial to demonstrating my argument that the mass became a vessel for alternative theological and ideological views, and requires extensive exploration of selected concert masses.

The term concert mass is used loosely in both scholarly literature and among musicians. Most commonly the term refers to any musical work that includes "Mass" in the title, and is scored for significant forces – at least choir and orchestra, and often soloists and organ as well. This is the case regardless of whether the mass was composed for a church service or a concert venue.

A definition that accords with such broad common usage would be 'any mass written for at least choir and orchestra'. However, this definition is problematic. Some later twentieth-century masses that are not large-scale works were composed explicitly for the concert hall and, for a variety of reasons, are unsuitable for performance during the Eucharist. Similarly, many Baroque masses are scored for orchestra, soloists, choir and organ, but they are insufficiently unified across the entire work to meet listener expectations in concert situations. Such examples may be termed concertising masses – that is, they are composed for performance during the celebration of the Eucharist, thereby concertising the sacramental ritual – but they are not concert masses.

With these points in mind, the concert mass can be defined as follows: A concert mass is inspired by past settings of the liturgical texts of the Roman Rite of the Catholic Church; it is conceived of as a concert piece whether premiering during a church service or a concert; it is constructed as a unified whole, cohesive across multiple movements, and it is received as a genuine engagement with religion that acknowledges a metaphysical ideal, initially but no longer exclusively, the Christian God.

Identifying key developments in the Western world that are of relevance to the concert mass, this thesis marks out the historical territory in which the form developed. As depicted in Figure I.1, the mass began to be concertised in the seventeenth century and, although remaining a liturgical form, composers were purposely striving to create a unified concert work by the end of the eighteenth century. From the



nineteenth century onwards, masses began to be composed for concert halls and, by the end of the twentieth century, the politicised concert mass had become an established sacred form, accepted by audiences in secular venues. On the one hand, churches were being deconsecrated because participation in most Christian denominations was declining in the West; on the other, religion was reasserting itself in secular spaces through the continued composition and performance of sacred musical forms such as the concert mass.

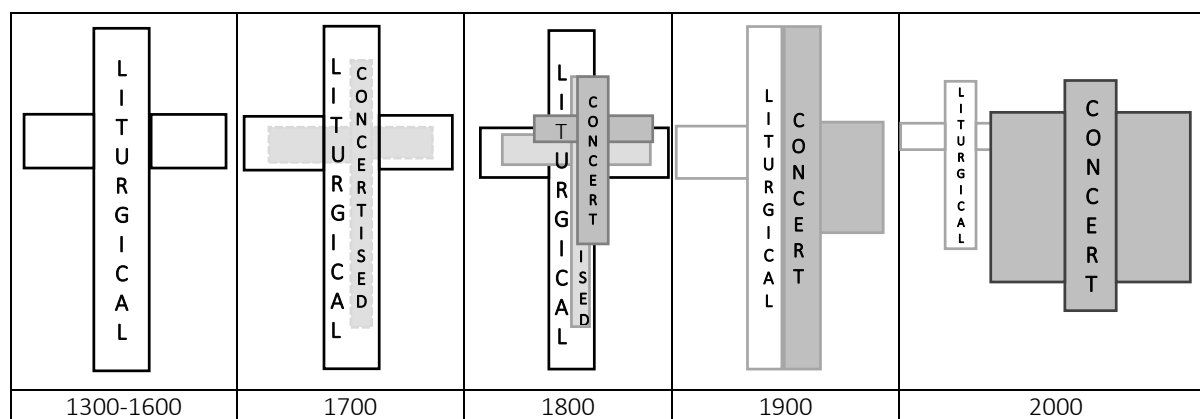


Figure I.1 Transitioning from mass to politicised concert mass

Although there is abundant literature on the mass as both religious celebration and musical form, there is very little literature dealing explicitly with the development of the concert mass as a distinctive form with its own characteristics, separate from the liturgical form. There is one important exception to this, Eftychia Papanikolaou's doctoral thesis, "Profane rites and sacred symphonies: Critical perspectives on the symphonic mass".<sup>1</sup> Spanning the long nineteenth century, this thesis analyses and discusses selected concert masses of Beethoven, Schubert, Listz and Bruckner, together with Mahler's eighth symphony for orchestra, choir and soloists. Mahler's symphony does not include any texts of the mass, nor the word "mass" in its title, but as Papanikolaou points out, Mahler himself described it as "his 'Mass'".<sup>2</sup> In coining the term "symphonic mass" rather than using the existing term "concert mass", Papanikolaou was then able to use the case of Mahler to argue that the forms of the symphony and the mass merged during the nineteenth century when, she asserts, concert halls became sacred places of ritual in a society whose Christian underpinnings were expanding to incorporate new notions of belief.

While the term symphonic mass is useful, particularly in the context of the nineteenth century, it is subordinate to the term concert mass, as it describes only a certain type of concert mass. Symphonic

<sup>1</sup> Eftychia Papanikolaou, "Profane Rites and Sacred Symphonies: Critical Perspectives on the Symphonic Mass" (PhD, Boston University, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ix.

masses utilise the significant musical resources of full orchestra, large choir, and soloists; whereas, in the twentieth century, many concert masses were of much more modest proportions. Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum (Folksong Mass)* (1975), for example, is an unaccompanied choral work, while Libby Larsen's *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* (1992) is scored for choir and only a small instrumental ensemble.

Besides Papanikolaou's work, there are several other dissertations that deal with individual examples of concert masses. In addition to my previous two dissertations, which consider Louis Bacalov's *Misa Tango* (1997) and Karl Jenkins's *The Armed Man a Mass for Peace* (2000) respectively, there are three other significant studies dealing with non-liturgical twentieth-century concert masses, each of which is helpful in understanding the variety of musical works with "mass" in the title that now exist.<sup>3</sup>

Jonathan Kraemer contemplates Karl Jenkins's *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* (2000) in the context of other "British anti-war choral works", notably Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* (1962) and Ralph Vaughan Williams's *Dona Nobis Pacem* (1936).<sup>4</sup> Kraemer believes that each of these works belong to the mass genre.<sup>5</sup> While *The Armed Man* is certainly a concert mass, and the requiem is a specific type of mass, the Vaughan Williams piece is a cantata rather than a mass, setting only portions of the liturgy among other texts.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, *Dona Nobis Pacem* and other works that do not have the word "mass" in their title are not considered in this thesis as it is argued that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the composers themselves did not consider the works to be masses.

The second example of a significant study that considers an individual concert mass is by Tina Thielen-Gaffey. She applies both empirical and music-analysis methodologies to her comprehensive study of David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* (1973).<sup>7</sup> Reconstructing the history of its creation and subsequent performances, Thielen-Gaffey analyses the entire work in terms of collage. Her research, together with Meredith Kennedy's minor Masters thesis, which contemplates acculturation in *African Sanctus*, is drawn on in my own exploration of Fanshawe's mass in Chapter 7.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Stephanie Roche, "From Tournai to Tango: An Expansion of the Boundaries of the Musical Mass in Luis Bacalov's *Misa Tango* (1997)" (Hons, Melbourne University, 2007); "The Armed Man: a Mass for a Secular Age" (MA, Monash, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Kraemer, "Echoes Of War—the Resonating Patterns of Influence: An Examination of Recurrent Musical Trends in Large-Scale, Sacred, British, Anti-War Choral Works of the Twentieth Century" (PhD, Texas Tech University, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>6</sup> The words of the Agnus Dei provide the text for the first movement of Vaughan Williams's *Dona Nobis Pacem* and a brief setting of the Gloria is included in the final movement.

<sup>7</sup> Tina Louise Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*: One Work for One World - Through One Music" (DMA, University of Iowa, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> See Meredith Kennedy, "Europe Meets Africa: Cultural Connections in David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*" (MFA, California State University, Long Beach, 2007).

The third significant study of individual concert masses was completed in 2008 by Rebecca Marchand. Demonstrating the ways in which three American concert masses composed between 1968 and 1986 reveal the impact of Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), her case studies also demonstrate the politicisation of the form.<sup>9</sup> Starting with Leonard Bernstein's *Mass* of 1971, Marchand suggests that this is probably not a mass but rather a theatre piece.<sup>10</sup> Bernstein's *Mass* does include the five texts of the Ordinary; however, these only contribute to about a quarter of the nearly two-hour work's libretto, which Marchand reads as a commentary on Catholic ritual. The second case study considers Lou Harrison's *Mass for St Cecilia* (1986). Harrison, a Buddhist, nonetheless showed his respect for Christian tradition by writing a monophonic mass that links it to the early plainsong masses. The third mass, Paul Creston's *Missa "Cum Jubilo"* (1968), Marchand labels as a "protest" mass because Creston intentionally gave it attributes that rendered it unsuitable for church use.<sup>11</sup>

Some sixty other dissertations investigate a variety of twentieth-century masses and, although none comment on the concert mass or its politicisation, some were useful in providing background information and commentary relevant to the development of the concert form. The more useful sources include David P. DeVenney's catalogue of American Masses and Requiems published in 1990.<sup>12</sup> Often featuring quite substantial annotations, the catalogue assisted in determining which masses might repay further investigation. In 1963, William Tortolano completed a doctoral thesis that analyses the style of 64 twentieth-century masses by 33 composers.<sup>13</sup> Providing titles, year composed, and the musical resources required by each mass, the thesis is useful in a similar way to DeVenney's catalogue. Many dissertations cover lesser known or other small-scale unaccompanied masses that are not relevant to this study; however, two discuss concert masses by notable composers that are relevant to the mass's transition to its politicised concert form, specifically the masses of Alexander Grechaninov (1864-1956) and Dave Brubeck (1920-2012).<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Rebecca Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council on the American Concert Mass" (PhD, University of California Santa Barbara, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>12</sup> David DeVenney, *American Masses and Requiems: A Descriptive Guide* (Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> William Tortolano, "The Mass and the Twentieth Century Composer: A Study Of Musical Techniques and Style, Together With The Interpretive Problems Of The Performer. (Volume I And Volume II)" (DSM, Universite de Montreal (Canada), 1964). Another survey of masses composed in the first half of the twentieth century was completed around the same time: M. Christian Rosner, "Contemporary Trends in the Musical Settings of the Liturgical Mass" (PhD, The University of Rochester, 1957).

<sup>14</sup> Melodie G. Galloway, "A Conductor's Perspective of Dave Brubeck's 'To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual'" (DMA, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2006). Bradley Alan Holmes, "'Missa Oecumenica' and the Roman Catholic Masses of Alexandre T. Grechaninov" (DMA, Arizona State University, 1990).

Literature on the more ancillary topics has been surveyed, including publications covering the origins of the liturgy, and material that throws light on the development of the mass as a musical form, if not explicitly the concert mass. Texts regarding the history of the musical form of the mass include Karl Gustav Fellerer's *The History of Catholic Church Music* (1961), which draws on Otto Ursprung's *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik* (1931) and informs Paul Westermeyer's *Te Deum: The Church and Music: A Textbook, a Reference, a History, an Essay* (1998).<sup>15</sup> The latter, more modern text is not a musical survey, as Fellerer's is, but a discursive exploration of issues relating to church music. It also brings the case of America more firmly to the fore and notes that two histories of twentieth-century church music could be written, "one ... titled ecumenical cooperation, the other sectarian conflict".<sup>16</sup> In stating this, Westermeyer highlights both one of the prevailing themes of twentieth-century concert masses – religious tolerance – and one of the reasons why the mass moved from church to concert hall – internal dissent within the Church. Although these texts deal with the mass, none of them identify the concert mass as a distinctive form.

To understand the nature of the Roman Rite, Joseph Jungmann's two-volume investigation into the liturgy's antecedents and final established form remains the authoritative source and informs the first chapter of this thesis.<sup>17</sup> From an explicitly, but not exclusively musical perspective, further information about the development of the liturgy can be garnered from Christopher Page's 692-page *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years*.<sup>18</sup> Although not its primary purpose, the book documents disputes about music, showing that they existed from the earliest days of Christianity. A summary of the "Heritage, History and Liturgy" of the Rite can be found in the first part of T.E. Muir's monograph, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?*<sup>19</sup> Muir's book also

---

<sup>15</sup> Karl Gustav Fellerer, *The History of Catholic Church Music*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961); Otto Ursprung, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik*, ed. Ernst Bücken, Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athanaion, 1931); Paul Westermeyer, *Te Deum: The Church and Music : A Textbook, a Reference, a History, an Essay* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998). See also Peter Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies : A Handbook of Plainsong. Part 1. Origin and Development of the Forms of the Liturgical Chant up to the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Agnes Orme and E.G.P. Wyatt (New York: Da Capo Press, 1986 [1901]). Wagner's book remains useful only if read in conjunction with contemporary texts about the origins of the liturgy. For development of Gregorian Chant since the early Middle Ages, see David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, Cambridge Introductions to Music (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne et al: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>16</sup> Westermeyer, *Te Deum : The Church and Music*, 311.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. Rev. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, [1951/1986] 1992).

<sup>18</sup> Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: the First Thousand Years* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> T.E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 15-58. Muir's book also provides an especially helpful long view of the many attitudes and opinions about sacred music that exist within the Church.

provides an especially helpful long view of the many attitudes and opinions about sacred music that exist within the Church.

A compendium of the strictures placed on Catholic Church music since the earliest days of Christianity is found in Robert F. Hayburn's *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (c1979), while, more specifically, Craig Monson's article about the implications of the rulings of the Council of Trent (1545-1643) revises common misconceptions about the Council's impact on Roman Catholic church music.<sup>20</sup> Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* of 1903, *Tra le Sollecitudini*, is a particularly important instruction in the context of concert masses as, from this point onwards, large-scale masses are abandoned by the Church in favour of relatively modest settings requiring only limited instrumental accompaniment.<sup>21</sup>

Two theses that strive to clarify the provisions of the *motu proprio* are Lauren Fowler's discussion of the twentieth-century unaccompanied English mass and Jonathan Kigore's analysis of the manner in which four twentieth-century masses resonated with the strictures of the *motu proprio*, yet remained musically forward looking.<sup>22</sup> The masses Kigore considers are all by notable composers: *Mass for double choir a cappella* (1922-29) by Frank Martin, *Mass in G Major* (1937) by Francis Poulenc, *Mass* (1948) by Igor Stravinsky, and *Mass in G Minor* (1921) by Ralph Vaughan Williams. These masses demonstrate that in the decades following the *motu proprio* some composers were working to show that new church music need not be stylistically regressive, even if the musical resources permitted were more constrained than previously. The inference of these studies is that the concert mass tradition could have lived on within Eucharistic celebrations, albeit in a more modest form, if the instructions of the Second Vatican Council had been interpreted differently.<sup>23</sup> As this was not the case, by the 1970s, even moderate masses would only be heard in concert halls.

---

<sup>20</sup> Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Harrison, NY: Roman Catholic Books, c1979).

Craig A Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (Spring 2002).

<sup>21</sup> The full text of *Tra le sollecitudini* is available in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish via the Vatican website: Pope Pius X, "Motu Proprio," Vatican, accessed 19 April 2015, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu\\_proprio/index.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu_proprio/index.html). An English translation is available at "Church Documents *Tra le Sollecitudini*, Instruction on Sacred Music, Pope Pius X, Motu Proprio Promulgated on November 22, 1903," Adoremus Society for the Renewal of Sacred Liturgy, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Lauren Patricia Fowler, "The Twentieth-Century English Unaccompanied Mass: A Comparative Analysis of Masses by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Herbert Howells, Bernard Stevens, and Edmund Rubbra" (DA, University of Northern Colorado, 1997). Jonathan Candler Kilgore, "Four Twentieth-Century Mass Ordinary Settings Surveyed Using the Dictates of the Motu Proprio of 1903 as a Stylistic Guide" (DMA, The University of Southern Mississippi, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> Further evidence of liturgical masses being composed in a contemporary style can be found in Bruce Vantine's four-mass analysis of Paul Hindemith's (1895-1963) *Mass for mixed choir a capella* (1963) and three masses that Kilgore later considers. (Vaughan Williams's mass is not included). Bruce Vantine, "Four Twentieth-Century Masses: An Analytical Comparison of Style and Composition Technique" (DMA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982).

From a sociological perspective, the final decades of the twentieth century saw the development of the secularisation thesis by a range of scholars who argued that religion was waning in the West.<sup>24</sup> Such theories are intuitively counter-thetical to the composition of concert mass in these decades. In the final few years of the twentieth century, sociologists begin to acknowledge the religious diversification that, among many other examples, these cultural artefacts reflect.<sup>25</sup> At this point, sociologists turn away from the secularisation thesis and begin to account for the development of alternative, less institutional forms of religious practice, particularly those that focus on spirituality. Such alternative approaches to attaining religious experience, together with new religious movements that follow traditional institutional models, as well as the increasing presence of Eastern religions and Islam, have been counteracting the decline in influence of the long-standing Christian denominations in Western societies and show that religion remains an important component in the lives of many in the West.<sup>26</sup>

Music history studies that throw some light on the transitory stages between masses composed primarily in the service of the liturgy to masses composed as concerts in their own right includes works by William Weber, Constant Pierre, and Bruce McIntyre. Weber traces changes in musical taste in Boston and four European cities from 1750 to 1875, and provides a wealth of evidence relating to shifts in concert programming, including those of the *Concert spirituel* series that originated in Paris, but later spread to other European cities.<sup>27</sup> These concert series mixed sacred choral music with virtuosic

---

<sup>24</sup> While scholars disagree on the extent to which the West is secular, until recently there has been a general acceptance that the relevance of religion at societal, institutional and individual levels has declined since medieval times. The more recent sources on the topic include Steve Bruce, *God is Dead: Secularization in the West*, ed. Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead, *Religion and Spirituality in the Modern World* (Malden; Oxford; Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, [2002] 2007); Karel Dobbelaere, *Secularization: An Analysis at Three Levels*, Gods, Humans and Religions (Brussels: Presses Interuniversitaires Européennes, 2002); David Martin, *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory* (London: Ashgate, 2005); Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, ed. David C. Leege and Kenneth D. Wald, *Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> Articles entitled "Secularisation, R.I.P." and "Religion in Modernity as a New Axial Age: Secularization or New Religious Forms", appear in a collection compiled subsequent to a session at the meeting of the Religious Research Association and Society for Scientific Study of Religion in 1997. William H. Swatos Jr. and Daniel V.A. Olson, eds., *The Secularization Debate* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc and the Association for the Sociology of Religion, 2000).

<sup>26</sup> For arguments about the waning of secularisation, see Peter L. Berger, ed. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999). Also Berger, *Religious America, Secular Europe? : A Theme and Variations* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008). For the argument that individual spiritual experience is replacing institutional religion see Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead et al, *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is Giving Way to Spirituality*, *Religion in the Modern World* (Malden; Oxford; Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); David Tacey, *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality* (East Sussex; New York: Routledge, 2004); Gordon Lynch, *The New Spirituality: An Introduction to Progressive Belief in the Twenty-first Century* (London; New York: I.B. Taurus, 2007). For a collection of essays identifying and analysing a range of New Religious Movements and their impact see Phillip Charles Lucas and Thomas Robbins, eds., *New Religious Movements in the 21st Century* (New York; London: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>27</sup> William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste : Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*, Digitally printed ed. (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne et al: Cambridge University Press, 2009 [2008]).

instrumental music and were put on during Lent, the four week period before Easter when Christians made sacrifices that included attending church services that were free of elaborate music. Thus church music began to be heard in secular venues. Yet, as a close inspection of the concert programs that are included in Pierre's *Histoire du Concert Spirituel 1725-1790* reveals, of the sacred works performed during the concerts, masses themselves were rarely performed, but rather, motets and other incidental church music.

From the opposite perspective, Bruce MacIntyre's book on the late eighteenth-century Viennese concerted mass is helpful in identifying the manner in which musical celebrations of the Eucharist were effectively being constructed as concerts.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Erik Arenas discusses (Johann) Michael Haydn's (1737-1806) masses in the context of that composer's contribution to the concertising of the mass form.<sup>29</sup> Demonstrating Michael Haydn's importance to sacred music during his lifetime, Arenas notes that his masses have not enjoyed the same concert success as those of his famous elder brother, Joseph Haydn (1732-1809).<sup>30</sup> Michael Haydn's subordination – at least in terms of the Western art music canon – is likely to be a result of his oeuvre consisting primarily of church music, whereas Joseph Haydn's reputation was established primarily through his secular works, with his masses perhaps enjoying performances in concert halls only as a consequence of the success of his symphonies and string quartets. More than this, however, various studies of the later masses of Joseph Haydn present evidence of the mass beginning to be conceived of as a concert work by the composer, even though they were composed for specific liturgical occasions. The cohesive, and symphonic-like unity of Joseph Haydn's masses – a key ingredient in separating concert masses from the earlier concertised masses – are particularly commented upon by Demaree and Moses in *The Masses of Joseph Haydn: History, Style, Performance*.<sup>31</sup> From this point on the mass begins its dual life as both concert item and liturgical work, and the concert mass has been invented.

### Historical Forces and Significant Masses

Approaching the transition of the mass to its politicised concert mass form diachronically, as shown in the conceptual framework appearing in Figure I.2, key historical factors are found in three broad spheres of influence: musical, religious and secular. Drawing from a database of masses compiled predominantly from information contained in the composer works lists of the musicological

<sup>28</sup> Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classical Period* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986).

<sup>29</sup> Erik Arenas, "Johann Michael Haydn and the Orchestral Solemn Mass in Eighteenth-Century Vienna and Salzburg" (PhD, Stanford University, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Robert W. Demaree and Don V. Moses, *The Masses of Joseph Haydn : History, Style, Performance* (Rochester Hills, Mich.: Classical Heritage, 2008).

encyclopaedia, *Grove Music Online*, the presentation of case studies that exemplify the impact of historical forces upon the form serve to demonstrate the chameleonic nature of the mass.

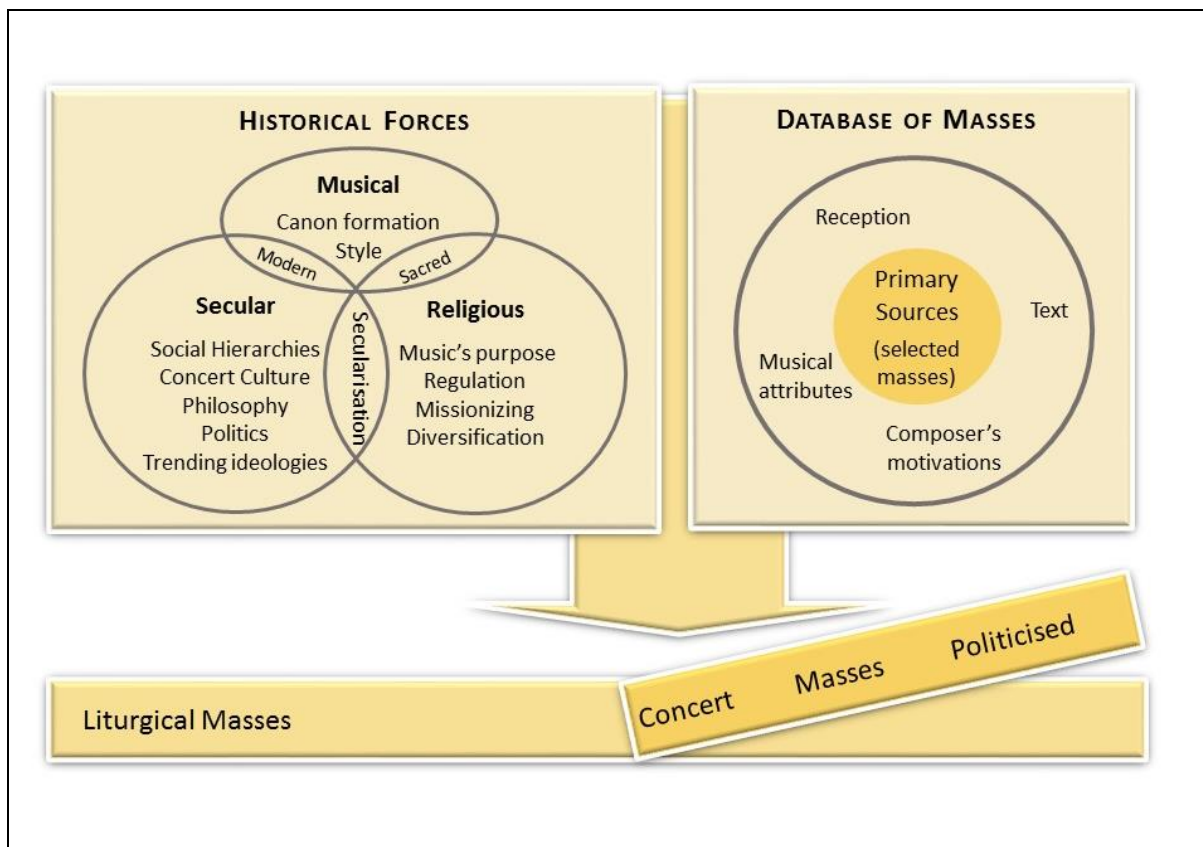


Figure I.2 Conceptual Framework

Within the secular sphere, changes in hierarchies of social status during the early modern period, together with the development of the nation state, had a significant impact on the mass. As greater wealth accrued to those in the middle levels of society, and governance shifted from Church and Court to State, artistic music-making in secular settings – previously the preserve of the aristocracy – became available to more people through the efforts of a growing group of entrepreneurs. A concert culture developed and flourished, supporting the mass once it took on its concert form. In addition, the application of philosophies that promoted humanism and scientific rationalism contributed to the increasing secularisation of Western societies and would lead to concert masses with a humanist agenda being composed at the beginning of the twentieth century. In tandem with secularisation, political factors impacted on the mass. In the early twentieth century, nationalism was a potent force. Later that century, other political movements and ideologies would gain favour and be found in concert masses. In the 1960s and 1970s, for example, masses reflect both the spiritual quest of the hippy counter-culture and the various protest movements that prevailed during that era. Masses of the 1980s reflect a concern with environmental issues.



Within the musical sphere, the development of a musical canon was important because historical examples of masses were preserved not only as manuscripts, but as performed items and recordings with which composers could become acquainted. In addition, differing opinions regarding the appropriate style of liturgical music provoked arguments that energised some composers to create masses in a contemporary style that often constituted their best work. Such composers and their supporters were acting under the auspices of the theory that God is best honoured through the development and application of new musical techniques. Other composers claimed sacred music should be differentiated from profane music by being composed in its own distinctive style, a style that would change little over time.

Within the religious sphere, debates about musical style began from as early as the first century and were further impacted when alternative religious views and practices within Western societies began to challenge the hegemony of Roman Catholicism in the fifteenth century. The regulation of music by the Roman Catholic Church itself was ongoing but often either ambiguous or poorly enforced. By the beginning of the twentieth century, advocates of a conservative 'sacred' style that drew for inspiration from plainsong and Renaissance polyphony would be officially favoured over those who preferred contemporary, or 'modern' large-scale music. In 1903, Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* required masses to be vocal settings that maximised textual clarity and were accompanied by limited musical resources – preferably only an organ. Accordingly, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the large-scale concert form of the mass was no longer considered appropriate for inclusion in the celebration of the Roman Rite. Sixty years later, the interpretation of instructions issued by the Second Vatican Council further diminished the scope of church masses to simple settings in the vernacular that congregations could sing with ease. The ultimate consequence of Church regulation of music was that the concert form of the mass was now heard only in secular venues.

In the meantime, Church missionaries in the colonies of the Western powers were infusing masses with local culture. Some, such as the Congolese *Missa Luba* (1958) and the Latin-American *Missa Criolla* (1963), were published, recorded and distributed in the West. They were still liturgical masses, but, when performed in concert settings or aired on the radio, their specific religious purpose was lost, or at least significantly diminished. Furthermore, for later composers, the melding of Christianity with the sounds of a culture that had traditionally been bound to an indigenous spirituality set important precedents.

The diversification of religion in the West, which began with the Protestant movement of the fifteenth century, accelerated rapidly in the twentieth century. Westerners were exposed to an increasing range of religious views, both through their own travel and through the work of immigrants who set up mosques, temples and other places of worship in their new homelands in the West. Similarly, the expansion of information technology, which enabled the dissemination of information at unprecedented levels, first via the radio, then television and the internet, had the effect of normalising the existence of diverse religious practices, regardless of whether any particular individual accepted any particular practice to be valid or not.

### Case Studies

The impacts of the various historical forces that have been identified are exemplified in certain masses selected from a database comprising some 2400 composers.<sup>32</sup> The most significant masses selected for close investigation in this thesis are:

Joseph Haydn, *Harmoniemesse* 1802

Frederick Delius, *A Mass of Life* 1905

Leoš Janáček, *Glagolitic Mass* 1927

David Axelrod/The Electric Prunes, *Mass in F-minor* 1967

Peter Maxwell Davies, *Missa Super L'homme Armé* 1971

Leonard Bernstein, *Mass* 1971

Daniel Lentz, *Missa Umbrarum* 1973

David Fanshawe, *African Sanctus* 1973

Paul Chihara *Missa Carminum* 1975

Paul Winter Consort, *Missa Gaia/Earth Mass* 1981

Daniel Lentz & Jessica Karraker, *wolfMASS* 1987

Libby Larsen, *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* 1992

---

<sup>32</sup> To determine the volume of masses that have been composed across time, and to isolate those that would be of most interest, I searched the works lists of all composers included in *Grove Music Online*, the authoritative first reference for musicologists. A global search of the encyclopaedia's composer works lists in January 2012 for "mass" and its various translations, including "missa", "misa", "missae", "messe", and "mässä", produced a list of 2384 composers who had composed masses. With nearly sixteen thousand composers listed in Grove at the time, this indicates that approximately 14% of all notable composers of Western art music have composed one or more masses. The list of composers who have composed one or more masses was imported into a database, and the masses composed by each composer – as recorded in Grove music – was subsequently imported for each composer. Undoubtedly there are masses that are not listed in Grove; however, with such a large sample, all of the types of masses that have been composed at various times and places are likely to be represented. As my research progressed, masses that were not in Grove Music were added to the database as they were encountered.

Demonstrating each case's contribution to the transition of the liturgical mass to its politicised concert form, the masses selected can be explored through one or more of several lines of enquiry. In all masses selected, the composer's motivations are important because these reveal how the work fits within its socio-religious context as either a response to the current situation, a catalyst for change, or both. In most masses, the texts that are set provide the greatest insight in this regard. However, in masses composed by living composers who were willing to engage in correspondence with me, the information they provided afforded equally valuable insights, although some allowance for the fallibility of hindsight observations must be made.<sup>33</sup> For some masses, further information can be gleaned through musical analysis or by considering any critical reception that is available. For each mass selected for extended study, all avenues of enquiry were considered, but only those that provided material of relevance to the thesis argument have been reported upon.

Primary questions mobilising my investigation into the reasons why composers adopted the mass as a vehicle of political or non-liturgical religious expression were: what ideological or theological message is the composer putting forward in his or her mass? Why did he or she choose a mass rather than some other musical form? Is there anything in the way the music is constructed that emphasises the composer's message? What response (if any) was there to this mass? What other masses strive for the same or similar objectives? Is the issue that the composer grapples with one that was being grappled with in the larger community at the time, including the scholarly community? How does the work fit within its historical context and thereby contribute to the transition of the form from liturgical music accompanying the celebration of the Eucharist to ideological concert mass?

Joseph Haydn's *Harmoniemesse* (1802) was selected because Haydn was among the first to conceive of the mass as a single unified work, thereby creating the first concert masses. As Haydn sets the standard liturgical texts, an analysis of the text itself is unnecessary; however, analysis of how the text is set to music exhibits the mass' potential to provide satisfying concert music.

From this point onwards, text does become an important line of enquiry because composers were beginning to adapt the liturgy to make a theological point. Schubert omitted the words "*in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam*" ([I believe] in one holy catholic apostolic church) from the Credo of each of his six masses. Brahms, a Lutheran by birth but agnostic in practice, replaced the standard liturgical text of the Requiem with excerpts from the Lutheran Bible, completing *Eine Duetsche*

---

<sup>33</sup> In addition to corresponding with several composers, notably Daniel Lentz, Paul Chihara and David Fanshawe, I also contacted directors and occasionally performers involved in premieres of specific masses. Usually, such requests met with positive responses.

*Requiem* in 1868. Englishwoman, Ethel Smyth asks for the Gloria to be sung at the end, rather than its usual position (after the Kyrie) of her *Mass in D Major*, which premiered in Albert Hall, London in 1893.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the previous examples become precursors to a much more extreme case in which Frederick Delius replaces the standard liturgical texts of the mass with excerpts from Nietzsche's humanist-atheist *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Replacing God with the Übermensch in *A Mass of Life*, completed in 1905, Delius's mass presents the faith of humanist-secularists and atheists to concert goers only two years after Pius X had ordered concert masses of the scale of Delius's out of Roman Catholic churches through his *motu proprio*. All of the subsequent masses listed above as being particularly significant have texts that are non-standard. They are also either religiously inclusive (rather than exclusively Catholic), political, or in some other way echo the cultural ethos of the time.

Almost without exception, the issues that composers are engaging with in politicised concert masses are the same as those that are being engaged with in the scholarly community. Accordingly, relevant contemporaneous scholarly writing has been accessed in order to present each mass within its particular ideological or theological position in history, and to provide a more nuanced understanding of the issue. In addition, historical surveys have been accessed to construct a broad social context in fields of relevance to each mass discussed.

Being interdisciplinary in nature, discipline-specific terms will be explained as needed to facilitate a non-specialist's apprehension of the point being made. Conversely, for words that may be defined differently by different disciplines – such as 'Christian', 'religion' and 'secular' – commonly understood meanings have been applied. More specifically, the word 'mass' can refer to both the Eucharistic Rite and the musical form; however, when used without qualification it will mean the musical form.

Throughout the thesis, the material is presented in approximate chronological order, although the first several chapters consider roughly the same period (from the first century through until the end of the eighteenth century), albeit from three different perspectives. In order to demonstrate the reasons why the mass attracts composers, the first chapter describes the origins and nature of the liturgical texts of the mass, together with its history as a musical form up until the nineteenth century. A case study of Haydn's *Harmoniemesse* (1802) completes the chapter. Chapter 2 considers the history of the concert as musical event, focusing particularly on the inclusion of sacred music from the earliest concerts, thereby explaining precedents for the mass itself becoming a concert form. Chapter 3 chronicles the differing opinions about music within the Catholic Church from early Christendom until Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* in 1903, and goes on to discuss the implications of the *motu proprio* for the concert mass

up until the convening of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). Chapter 4 considers concert masses that constitute direct reactions to the instructions of Vatican II, thereby demonstrating why masses would rarely be heard in churches from the later 1960s onwards unless they were simple monadic settings of a contemporary idiom in the vernacular. Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* (1973) explicitly mourns the loss of Latin from the Eucharist and provides the majority of the content for this chapter.

Chapter 5 discusses the Electric Prunes' *Mass in F Minor* (1967) as being indicative of changing modes of religious expression, particularly among the youth. A psychedelic rock mass composed by a record producer, it is a commercial product inspired by a counter-culture that proposed that hallucinogenic drugs elevated human consciousness to a higher plane where quasi-spiritual enlightenment would lead to new human achievements. Chapter 5 discusses two music-theatre masses that are more strident in their non-conformity, Peter Maxwell Davies's *Missa Super L'homme Armé* (1969 rev. 1971) and Leonard Bernstein's *Mass* (1971). In their provocative challenge of Christian faith and practice, they have parallels with the civil rights and student protest movements of the 1960s.

With the Roman Catholic Church abandoning the concert mass, composers began to expand the form to meld broadly Christian views with those of other religions. Two masses that do this are discussed in Chapter 7, David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* (1973) and Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum (Folk Song Mass)* (1975). These masses also reflect the double-barrelled hippy slogan of "peace" (in the case of Fanshawe), and "love" (in the case of Chihara). The final chapter explores three American concert masses that emanate from an environmental ethic that merge ecological issues with natural spirituality, folding both Gaia (Mother Earth) and Amerindian beliefs into the once purely liturgical form. At this point it is clear that the concert mass is no longer (only) a Christian form, let alone a Roman Catholic form, but has become a broadly religious vehicle that composers feel free to manipulate theologically or ideologically, in order to express their personal point of view.





## Chapter 1 Origins and nature of the liturgical and musical mass

“A concert mass is inspired by past settings of the liturgical texts of the Roman Rite of the Catholic Church... it is constructed as a unified whole, cohesive across multiple movements...”<sup>1</sup>

This chapter examines the standard liturgical texts of the Eucharist to demonstrate their attraction to composers. The variety of emotions encapsulated within the five main sections of the Ordinary of the Roman Rite, together with their overall length, is significant to the establishment and survival of the concert mass. In the first half of the chapter, the origins of the texts and the development of the musical form is surveyed up to the point that the concert mass emerges in the later eighteenth century. In the process, it will be shown that secular elements were present in liturgical masses from the earliest polyphonic examples onwards, setting precedents that, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, would be expanded in the twentieth century. The chapter concludes with a description of the ways in which Joseph Haydn utilises the drama inherent to the standard texts of the mass to create one of the first concert masses, *Harmoniemesse* (1802).

---

<sup>1</sup> Part of my definition of the concert mass as stated on page 2 of this thesis.

## ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGY AS LIVING TRADITION.

### Liturgical origins

From soon after his crucifixion, followers of Christ came together in ceremonial meals that included prayers and the breaking of bread.<sup>2</sup> By the third century CE the ceremony had become a sacrament.<sup>3</sup> The ritualised service centred upon the commemoration of the Passover meal that Christ had shared with his disciples the night before he was crucified.<sup>4</sup> During this meal Christ took bread and wine and said “this is my body ... this is my blood” (Matthew 26:26-7; Mark 14:22-3). Breaking the bread and sharing it with his disciples, Christ then instructed them to “do this in memory of me” (Luke 22:19). Over the ensuing centuries various localised ritual practices evolved concurrently; however, for both pragmatic and political reasons, a movement in favour of standardisation saw the Mass of the Roman Rite settled upon and begin to become widely adopted by the Christian churches of the West in the thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

The Roman Rite consists of four main sections: the Introductory Rites, the Liturgy of the Word, the Liturgy of the Eucharist and the Concluding Rite. Within the first three of these sections are included the five texts ordinarily recited or chanted during the celebration of the Eucharist, or mass: the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Differing from the remainder of the Rite, whose liturgical and

---

<sup>2</sup> Acts 2:42.

<sup>3</sup> The Catholic Church defines sacraments as “efficacious signs of grace, instituted by Christ and entrusted to the Church, by which divine life is dispensed to us. The visible rites by which the sacraments are celebrated signify and make present the graces proper to each sacrament. They bear fruit in those who receive them with the required dispositions”. See “Part Two: The Celebration of the Christian Mystery, Section One: The Sacramental Economy, Chapter One: The Paschal Mystery in the Age of the Church, Article 2: The Paschal Mystery in the Church's Sacraments, In Brief,” *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (2003), accessed 15 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/\\_P35.HTM](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P35.HTM).

<sup>4</sup> For an accessible text on the nature of the early mass see Mike Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 2nd ed. (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor Inc, 2007). This book should be read in conjunction with the work of Paul Bradshaw who challenges the view that the Last Supper itself was commemorated by the majority of Christians from the outset. See Paul F. Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2009), 3-19. Bradshaw demonstrates the vibrant and revisionist nature of early Christian studies at the present time, having published, co-published or edited twenty books on early Christianity in various editions and translations since the 1990s. In the musical realm, a significant and lengthy contribution is provided by Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*.

<sup>5</sup> The Christian Church split into East and West after the Great Schism in the early eleventh century; however, it would take many centuries for the Roman Rite to be recited in all churches of Western Christendom. For example, it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Roman Rite would be heard in all churches in Bavaria. See Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher, *The New Cultural History of Music* (Oxford ; New York et al: Oxford University Press, 2014), 57-59. Stephen van Dijk and Joan Hazelden explain the role of the Franciscans in the dissemination and acceptance of the Roman order of the Mass throughout Western Christendom. See J.P. Stephen van Dijk and Joan Hazelden, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the 13th Century* (Westminster, MD; London, UK: Newman Press; Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), particularly Part 3, 179-411.



biblical texts change depending upon the religious season, these five texts are collectively known as the Ordinary.<sup>6</sup> Numerous versions of chants for each text of the Ordinary were developed.

From at least the thirteenth century, the chants of the Ordinary began to be grouped together as cycles in choir books, or graduals, paving the way for the five sections to be conceived in terms of a single work by composers from the fourteenth century onwards.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the texts of the Ordinary – the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei – when set to music, became known collectively as *Missae* or the vernacular equivalent to the Latin, such as *Messes* in German and *Masses* in English.

Steeped in the writings and traditions of the Jewish faith into which Christ was born, and from which the early Jewish-Christians and their gentile and pagan converts would break away, the texts are laden with drama and emotion.<sup>8</sup> The pleading for mercy of the Kyrie moves to expressions of delight in the Gloria and proceeds to a heart-rousing affirmation of individual and collective faith in the Credo. The Sanctus is a worshipful prayer of thanks for the possibility of Heaven that leads to the concluding text, a final plea for mercy and peace in the Agnus Dei. For the believer, the texts of the Ordinary are both joyous and comforting; they acknowledge human frailty but celebrate the wonder of an omnipotent ever-loving God who has promised to forgive all who repent.

Within the context of the mass service, each text of the Ordinary is separated from the next by the changing texts of the Proper or readings from the Bible, and is accompanied by ritualistic action.<sup>9</sup> Within the context of the concert mass, however, the texts flow one to the other with virtually no break and, in place of the visual physicality of the ritualistic action, the music contributes a sonic emotional backdrop that has the potential to match, emphasise or even contradict the meaning of the words set. To understand the purpose and shape of the concert mass then, some knowledge of the origins and meaning of the texts of the Ordinary is needed.

---

<sup>6</sup> The Introductory Rites include the Kyrie and the Gloria, the Liturgy of the Word includes the Credo, while the Liturgy of the Eucharist includes the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass : Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 172-73.

<sup>8</sup> For correlations between Jewish holy texts and the Catholic liturgy, see Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge; Liturgical Parallels in Synagogue and Early Church* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970).

<sup>9</sup> The liturgical texts of the Proper are selected for each service based upon the day the mass is said. Specific texts are designated for different religious seasons and festive days. There are two main categories of Propers: those that are recited by the Priest or other officiating person (Collect, Secret, Postcommunion), and those that are recited by the choir or the congregation (Introit, Gradual, Alleluia or Tract, Sequence, Offertory, and Communion). Some masses may include a setting of one or more of the texts of the Proper.

## Kyrie

While almost all of the Roman Rite is in Latin, the text of the Kyrie provides the one exception, it is in Greek, the common language of the Mediterranean region during classical antiquity until it was supplanted by Latin in the early third century.<sup>10</sup> Adopted into the Roman liturgy from Eastern – or Oriental – liturgical practices in around the fifth century, the Kyrie was originally a litany.<sup>11</sup> The officiant or priest would make a number of petitions to God saying “*Kyrie eleison*” (Lord have mercy) or “*Christe eleison*” (Christ have mercy) at the end of each. The list of petitions varied from case to case, but would generally include “prayers for the whole Church, for the clergy, for the people, and the ruler, for those on a journey and for the sick, for the benefactors of the Church and for the poor, and for peace”.<sup>12</sup> By the sixth century, however, the petitions had been generally dropped for pragmatic reasons: the service was becoming too long. Accordingly, the text settled upon for the Roman Rite is short and simple comprising three statements of *Kyrie eleison* followed by three statements of *Christe eleison*, concluding with a further three statements of *Kyrie eleison*.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the petitionary flavour of the early longer versions remains encapsulated in the multiple repetitions of the word *eleison* (mercy). Similarly, the symbolism of the three-by-three invocations was not lost in the abbreviated version. The number ‘three’ had become increasingly significant to the Christian Church, particularly with the development of the Triune concept of the three persons in one God, codified early in the third century by Tertullian of Carthage (c160-c230).<sup>14</sup>

## Gloria

As shown in Figure 1.1, the second section of the Ordinary, the Gloria, draws explicitly upon the Trinitarian concept of God as comprising three persons – the Father, Son and Holy Spirit – yet remaining only one being. It is a much longer text than the Kyrie, and has a different musical origin. Whereas the Kyrie developed out of a series of prayers, and was recited by the priest in the early Churches and gathering places of the first several centuries, the Gloria seems to have been a song or hymn sung by the congregation from the first, its early melodies kept simple in order to accommodate people of all musical abilities.<sup>15</sup> A joyful hymn of praise, the Gloria is recited on all Sundays of the year except during

<sup>10</sup> Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 20.

<sup>11</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite I*, 1, 334.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>13</sup> Jungmann suggests that Gregory the Great (c540-604) dropped the litany from the Kyrie in order to make it less like the Greek, or Eastern service. Ibid., 338-39.

<sup>14</sup> In *Adversus Praxean*. See Geoffrey D. Dunn and Tertullian, *Tertullian, The Early Church Fathers* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 24-25.

<sup>15</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite I*, 1, 358.

the penitential periods of Advent and Lent.<sup>16</sup> Revering the Gloria's ancient status and heritage, Catholic liturgist, Joseph Jungmann describes it as an

heirloom from the treasure of ancient Church hymns, a precious remnant of a literature now almost buried but once certainly very rich, a literature of songs for divine service written in the early Church in imitation of the biblical lyrics, especially the psalms.<sup>17</sup>

The Gloria is more than simply a song of praise, Jungmann continues; the second longer section invokes the peace of heaven attainable through Christ.<sup>18</sup> The mystery of the Trinity is outlined in poetic form, revealing that, within the one "person" of God, Christ sits at the right hand of the Father and, with the Holy Spirit, intercedes on the believer's behalf. Certainly, for those focused on the material realities of the world, the idea of the three separate beings comprising only one being is difficult to comprehend, let alone countenance, yet believers accept the mystery of the Trinitarian construct in an act of faith.

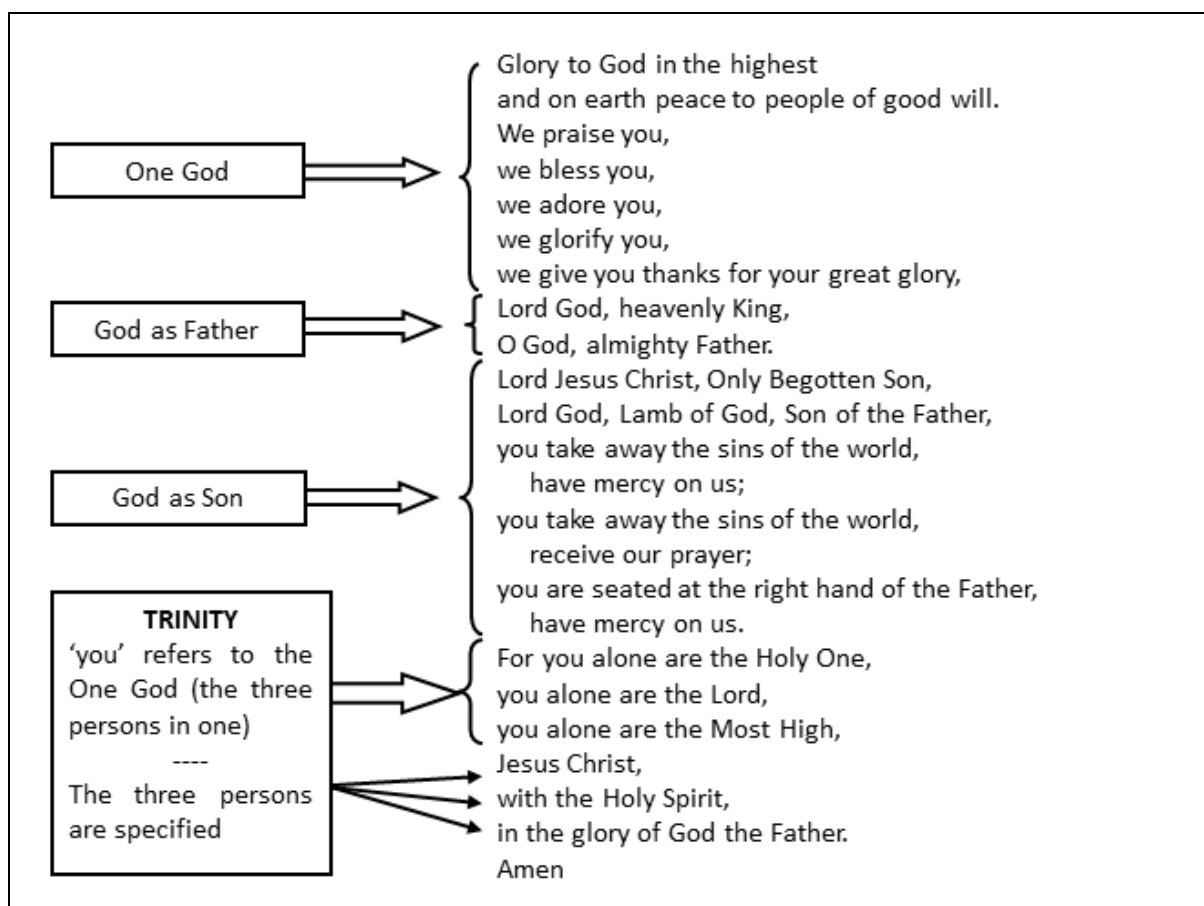


Figure 1.1 Trinity in the Gloria<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Advent is the four or five weeks leading up to Christmas, and Lent is the four or five weeks leading up to Easter.

<sup>17</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite I*, 1, 346.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 351.

<sup>19</sup> Diagram prepared by author. Text is as taken from the new English translation of the *Roman Missal* introduced in 2011.

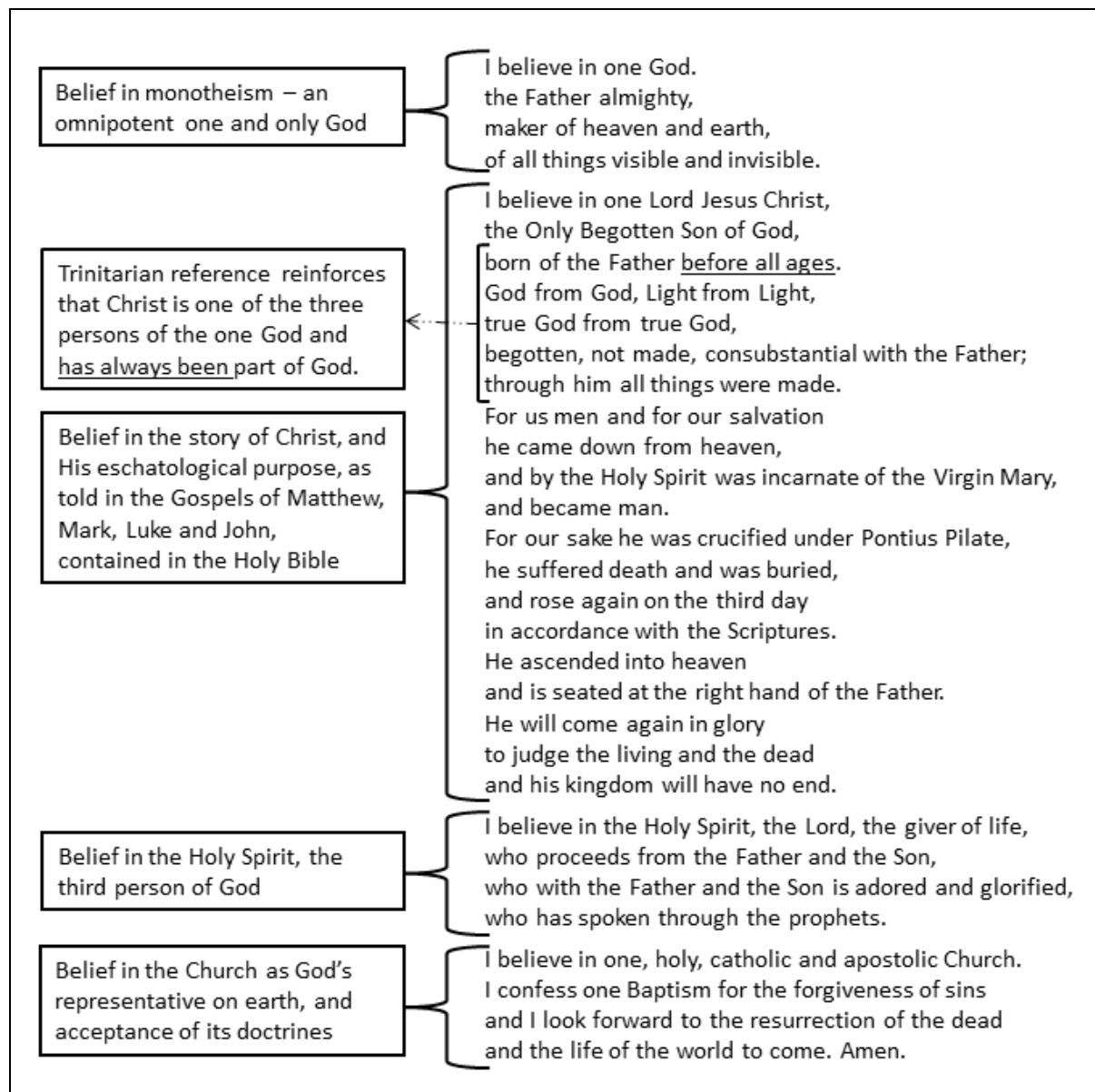


Figure 1.2 Roman Catholic Belief as stated in the Credo<sup>20</sup>

## Credo

Christian faith is the topic of the third section of the Ordinary, the Credo. As shown in Figure 1.2, this lengthy text identifies precisely what the Christian who conforms to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church believes. The Credo, or creed, has its roots in the early rituals of baptism during which those to be christened into the fledgling Christian religion would affirm their faith in the Triune God.<sup>21</sup> Also known as the Symbol, or Profession of Faith, a version of the Credo was adopted first into the Eastern liturgies – the Masses of the Orient and Greece – in the fourth century. This was well before it

<sup>20</sup> Diagram prepared by author. Text as per the new English translation of the *Roman Missal*, introduced in 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite I*, 1, 463; 470.

was included in the Roman liturgy.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, even as late as 1014, the Holy Roman Emperor from the Ottonian dynasty of Germanic Kings, Henry II, came to Rome and expressed surprise that the Credo was not recited at Mass there. The response of the Roman clerics, as recounted by Jungmann, was disparaging: “the Roman Church” they declared, “had never been disturbed by [the possibility of any] error in their belief, and therefore had no reason to profess the Credo so often”.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the Pope at the time, Benedict VIII decided Henry II’s consternation was well founded, and proclaimed that the Credo should be included in the Roman Rite from then on.

The Trinitarian concept is again outlined, but the Credo also tells of other mysteries, including Christ’s birth to the Virgin Mary, Christ’s rising from the dead, and the alluring promise of eternal life for believers. For Jungmann, it is the “joyous ‘yes’ of the faithful” who accept God’s mysteries without need for proof.<sup>24</sup>

### Sanctus

The Sanctus is even more overtly a joyous text. It prepares the congregation for the enactment of one such mystery. For the believer, the bread and wine presented in the Offertory is transubstantiated into Christ’s body and blood. This occurs when the priest recites the words of institution “this is my body... this is my blood”. Those initiated into the sacrament of Holy Communion enter into communion with the Real Presence of Christ by eating the bread and drinking the wine a little later in the celebration.

The Sanctus has its roots in the ancient Hebrew scripture of the *Nevi'im* (*N'bhi'im*), the writings of the Judaic prophets that are included in the Old Testament of the Christian Bible. The first part of the Sanctus, “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory” comes from Isaiah 6:3, an angelological verse that states “And they [the angelic choirs of heaven] were calling to one another: ‘Holy, holy, holy is the LORD Almighty; the whole earth is full of his glory.’” For Christians, the three-fold repetition of the word “holy” by Isaiah is considered prophetic of the Trinitarian doctrine.

The second part of the Sanctus, “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the Highest”, is often given its own title of Benedictus, and can be separated from the former text by a pause while the host is elevated. The Benedictus is generally accepted as deriving from the writings of

---

<sup>22</sup> Until the eleventh century, the Romans used the much briefer Apostles’ Creed. Ibid., 463.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 469-70.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 471.

another prophet, Ezekiel who was also speaking of angels: “Then the Spirit lifted me up, and I heard behind me a great thunderous voice: ‘Blessed is the glory of the LORD from His place!’” (Ezek. 3:12).

These two sections – from Isaiah and Ezekiel – had been combined in the Jewish rituals of the *Kedusha* either prior to, or perhaps concurrent with the early rise of Christianity; thus, the Sanctus as a single unit of prayer is directly linked to a prayer of the synagogue.<sup>25</sup> Eric Werner demonstrates convergences between Judaic melodies and the oldest version of the Sanctus in Gregorian chant, asserting that the genealogy of the Sanctus constitutes not only “an important case of liturgical ... interdependence between Church and Synagogue” but also “an important case of ... musical interdependence”.<sup>26</sup>

Not all early Christian worship ceremonies included the Sanctus but when it was included, like the Gloria, the entire congregation sang it. It was understood that the peoples of the earth should join with the heavenly choirs in singing about God’s glory.<sup>27</sup> The uplifting nature of communal celebration of the wonder of God is captured by the text, affording composers an opportunity to create equally uplifting music.

### Agnus Dei

While glory is also implicit in the final section of the Ordinary, it is God’s redemptive power that is the primary focus in the Agnus Dei. Unlike the other texts, which have fairly straightforward meanings, the Agnus Dei is complex, requiring some knowledge of the Christological and eschatological tenets of Christian doctrine to comprehend its meaning. The explanations of musicologist and theologian, Paul Westermeyer, are useful in this regard. In framing any contemplation of the nature of Christ, the scholar reflects that “[t]he coming of Christ required those who were grasped by him to make some judgements. Who was he? What did he do?”<sup>28</sup> In answering the first question, Westermeyer proposes that Christ is both divine and human: “[n]o matter how difficult it may be to say or to comprehend, in him God was present, but he also took on our human nature”.<sup>29</sup> In answering the second question – what did he do? – Westermeyer identifies three different perspectives existing side by side within the early Church. The simplest of these revolved around the idea of Christ as a model human upon whom all other humans could draw for moral guidance. A second viewpoint, emanating from a pessimistic perspective of humanity as “fallen”, perceived Christ primarily as the redeemer of a fallen world.

<sup>25</sup> Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, 108-21, particularly pp.109-10 and pp.120-21.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 126. Werner is referring to Sanctus XVIII

<sup>27</sup> Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development*, trans. Rev. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, [1951/1986] 1992), 128.

<sup>28</sup> Westermeyer, *Te Deum : The Church and Music*, 51.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 52.

Escalating this orientation still further, the third line of thought was that “the twin enemies of death and evil are at war against us. Their power needs to be broken and Christ breaks it. Sin and death think that in the cross they will destroy Christ, but they are destroyed instead”.<sup>30</sup> As the early Church developed, all three views – Christ as leader, saviour and conqueror – were conflated and adopted into Christian dogma:

According to Christian doctrine, the way Christ lived his life provided humanity’s saviour – he gave himself as the ultimate sacrifice to God, exchanging his death by crucifixion for God’s forgiveness of human transgressions. And, in rising from the dead, Christ conquered both the evil that put him on the cross and death itself. He promised eternal salvation to those who came to believe in him and his ways – life after death.<sup>31</sup>

The salvatory aspects of the Christian faith contributed to its spread, particularly once Roman Emperor Constantine (c272-337) proclaimed that Christianity was the religion of the Romans through the Edict of Milan in 313CE. By the middle of the fourth century, over fifty percent of the sixty million strong Roman Empire had converted, thereby dislodging classical paganism as the “dominant faith of Western civilisation”.<sup>32</sup> To have guidelines on how to live life that are based upon the fellowship of humankind, which are at least conceptually achievable, is reassuring. Similarly, to be told that that failure to behave according to those guidelines is forgivable, and that there is some type of existence after death, is comforting. Furthermore, from a collective perspective, believing that good behaviour is rewarded by the promise of eternal life has positive consequences for any society whose aim is the attainment of orderly everyday life. For the individual, in providing the hope of eternity, everyday existence not only becomes more hopeful, but trials that might otherwise have spurred a negative reaction become tolerable.

Returning to the Agnus Dei, the text begins “Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world”. For the Hebrews, the lamb was the sacrificial animal, and the Christians carried this idea forward. For Christians, Christ sacrificed himself to save humanity, so Christ becomes the lamb. In the context of the Eucharist, the lamb – that is the sacrificial Christ – is represented by the bread that is broken up by the priest, just as Christ broke and shared bread with his disciples during the Last Supper, the night before his crucifixion. In the Eucharist, this ritual is called the Fraction. In the earliest days of the Church, the

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>32</sup> Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (1997: HarperCollins, 1997), 3, 7.

words “Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us” were repeated as many times as was necessary until all of the bread had been broken up.<sup>33</sup> As Jungmann advises, the Fraction ritual died out when individual hosts (comprising small round wafers) began to make their way onto the Church altars in the ninth century; however, nobody wanted to drop the Agnus Dei from the liturgy.<sup>34</sup> Sung by both congregation and clergy to a simple melody, it was well loved. Accordingly it remained in its place in the liturgy, but there was a need to determine how many times the single phrase should be sung. Unsurprisingly, the number three with its Trinitarian association was chosen. Originally the same plea “have mercy on us” was sung during all iterations, but with the loss of the Fraction, and hence the Agnus Dei’s link to the breaking of the sacrificial bread, Joseph Jungmann advises that “here and there from the tenth century, and with increasing frequency in the eleventh”, the third statement of the Agnus Dei concluded with *dona nobis pacem* – grant us peace.<sup>35</sup>

### Multiple influences

The liturgy of the Mass is a living tradition that includes aspects of the cultures, societies and belief systems that influenced Christianity in its first thousand years. More than mere traces and historical legacies, however, even in this very brief summary of the history of the Ordinary of the Roman Rite, the actual presence of non-Roman cultures and pre-existing beliefs has been made manifest. The influence of Greek culture, so important in the early Church, is found in the Kyrie; the presence of the Credo, although not Germanic in origin, can be attributed to the Ottonian dynasty whose Emperor recommended its permanent inclusion. The very fact that the Roman Rite became standardised can be attributed to the work of the Franciscans, the mendicant monks of the Frankish lands. The legacy of the Jewish faith into which Christ was born is found most clearly in the Sanctus but also resonates within the Gloria, Credo and Agnus Dei. The Gloria owes a debt to the Psalms in its lyrical exultation, and the Agnus Dei to the idea of the sacrificial lamb of the Jewish biblical period. Although the idea of sacrifice to a divinity for personal or communal gain was a common practice of Jews and non-Jews alike in the ancient Levant, the idea of offering sacrifice to the one and only God – rather than to one god of many gods – was unique to the Jewish faith. As the theologian N. Ross Reat and Buddhist philosopher Edmund Perry note, “Judaism founded ethical monotheism in the world ... there is no other source of moral law than the moral will of the Lord”.<sup>36</sup> In the context of the Christian liturgy, not only is this central tenet of Judaism made explicit in the Credo, which begins “I believe in one God”, but the idea of repentance

---

<sup>33</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite II*, 2, 333.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 337-38.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 338-39.

<sup>36</sup> N. Ross Reat and Edmund F. Perry, *A World Theology: The Central Spiritual Reality of Humankind* (Cambridge, UK; New York; Oakleigh, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 139; 175.



embodied within the Agnus Dei implicitly relies upon the acceptance by Christians of the rules of the “one God” of the Jews, the Ten Commandments handed to Moses on Mount Sinai.

### THE (MUSICAL) MASS AS LIVING TRADITION

The range of emotions contained within the texts of the Ordinary of the Roman Rite provide a wealth of opportunity for composers to set them in unique and novel ways. Just as the liturgical texts reflect a living tradition within the Roman Catholic Church, so too do the musical settings reflect different opinions on the nature of sacred music.

Facilitated by the establishment of a somewhat standardised musical notation system of neumes, plainchant settings of the texts of the Ordinary of the mass began to be grouped together in music manuscripts across Christendom from at least the thirteenth century.<sup>37</sup> At this time the mendicant orders were striving to achieve standardised communal worship across Christendom and creating collections for universal use. One of the earliest extant examples of a plainsong collection, the Kyrieale section of the *Franciscan Graduale* of 1251, contains ten groupings of Kyrie-Gloria-Sanctus-Agnus Dei chants, each group designated to be sung during a specific liturgical celebration, such as Holy days, non-festive, or ferial, weekday services, Marian feast days and others.<sup>38</sup> These grouped settings can be considered the first masses. The Credo is selected for any given mass from a separate section of the Kyrieale containing only Credos.

Concurrent with the development of plainchant cycles, notated polyphony was developing from its simplest form of two parallel melodic lines sung an octave apart, to increasingly more complex structures. The two concepts – polyphony and grouped, or cyclic, settings of the Ordinary – came together in the fourteenth century with the earliest extant polyphonic mass being the three-voiced *Tournai Mass*.<sup>39</sup>

Thought to be a compilation of the works of two or more composers, *Tournai Mass* includes settings of the five texts of the Ordinary and a motet, *Ite missa est*, which includes secular inferences. *Ite missa est* are the final words of the liturgy with which the priest “dismisses” the congregation. In the *Ite* of the *Tournai Mass* the tenor sings repetitions of the three word phrase *ite missa est* while the motetus, or

---

<sup>37</sup> For a brief survey of the origins and development of chant see Susan Boynton, “Plainsong,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9-25.

<sup>38</sup> Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, 172.

<sup>39</sup> *Tournai Mass* only slightly predates other polyphonic settings from Toulouse, Barcelona, and Sorbonne.

second part, sings a Latin text that instructs the rich to take care of the poor. The triplum, or third part, however, sings “an amatory text” in a French dialect on the theme of unrequited love.<sup>40</sup> Not only are the secular and profane brought together through the words, but they are combined musically too; each voice sings one on top of each other. Even from the earliest polyphonic cycles then, secular inferences have been admitted into the mass and, although not commonplace, this practice would continue, accelerating in the twentieth century. Anne Walters Robertson comments on the juxtaposition of the secular with the sacred in the *Tournai Mass*, noting that such profane texts as the triplum’s were often coupled with sacred Marian devotional texts because both relate to the idea of the perfect but unattainable woman.<sup>41</sup>

Robertson also speculates upon the prior usage of the individual movements of the *Tournai Mass* to draw the conclusion that polyphony was only gradually admitted to the most sacred of Christian celebrations, the High Mass. She suggests that the *Ite* motet was probably composed initially for performance during an Annunciation play, which would have been staged as an interlude during a festive celebration of the Eucharist at the Cathédrale Notre-Dame in Tournai. The play would have been put on either in the transept or in a side chapel of the cathedral, not in the Chancel where the Eucharist is celebrated by the priests and other clergy (see floorplan reproduced in Figure 1.3).<sup>42</sup>

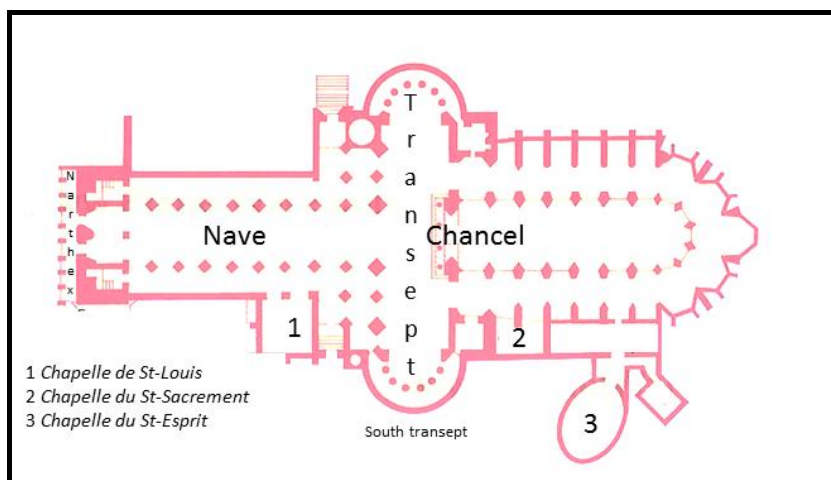


Figure 1.3 Floorplan including location of side chapels in Tournai Cathedral<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Anne Walters Robertson, "Tournai Mass," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (26 Oct 2011), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/28222>.

<sup>41</sup> "Remembering the Annunciation in Medieval Polyphony," *Speculum* 70, no. 2 (April 1995): 296.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 275. Annunciation plays tell the story of Mary up to the Annunciation - the point when she is visited by the Archangel and told she is to be the mother of Jesus. It is an imaginative elaboration of the story told in Luke 1:26-38. The transept is the space between the Chancel (where the Mass is celebrated by the Priests and other clergy) – and the nave, (the central area of the Church reserved for the congregation).

<sup>43</sup> Adapted from floorplan, Cathédrale Notre-Dame, Tournai, *Baedeker Belgium* (Basingstoke, AA: 2000).

In turning to a contemporaneous extraliturgical mass, Guillaume de Machaut's *Messe de Notre Dame* for further support, Robertson concludes

The more we learn about the origins of [early] polyphonic settings of the mass, the more it appears that they were special, extraordinary works performed in side chapels or elsewhere. Polyphony generally was not added to the regular liturgy of the day celebrated at the high altar.<sup>44</sup>

Once polyphony became accepted in masses, however, composers began to create bigger and more complex works as time passed. Using the same pre-existing melody for the foundation of each section of the Ordinary, and working principally within a single harmonic mode, late Medieval and Renaissance masses worked from a principle of unity, onto which composers strove to graft variety, utilising a range of techniques to do so.

The foundation melody most often had a religious provenance, such as a Gregorian chant, but need not. Some were drawn from chansons. Guillaume Dufay's (c.1397-1474) *Se la face ay pale* speaks of a pale-faced, dejected lover, and Hayne van Ghizeghem's (c1445-1476-97)'s chanson *De tous biens plaine* speaks of a woman with every virtue. These examples provide further evidence that the music of the mass was developing in tandem with the music of the secular realm of Christendom and, despite frequent efforts to delineate between Church and secular music, the mass has always had its feet in both the sacred – or divine – and the secular – or human.

As time passed music was increasingly employed to satisfy the desire for ever more magnificent ways of worshipping God. On a more earthly plane, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, elaborate masses could also demonstrate the commissioner's prestige, whether that person was a high-ranking member of the clergy, or a nobleman. Similarly, the inclusion of polyphonic music in votive masses was believed to provide a greater credit for the person for whom the service was being celebrated, thus reducing his or her time in purgatory, and contributing to an accelerated ascension to eternal happiness in heaven.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Robertson, "Remembering the Annunciation," 296.

<sup>45</sup> The doctrine of purgatory is provided in "Part One : The Profession of Faith, Section Two: The Profession of the Christian Faith, Chapter Three: I Believe in the Holy Spirit, Article 12: 'I Believe in Life Everlasting'," *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc\\_css/archive/catechism/p123a12.htm](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p123a12.htm).

### Masses to elevate the spirit through polyphonic techniques

Working to accommodate the appetite for glorious masses, composers began to become ever more ingenious in finding musical solutions to setting the sections of the Ordinary. The enduring masterpieces of early Renaissance composers such as Du Fay, Binchois, Dunstable, Ockeghem and others, attest to the success of their endeavours. In discussing the application of a variety of compositional techniques, the Renaissance composer and theoretician, Johannes Tinctoris states that, of the three main musical forms of the early-to-middle Renaissance – chansons, motets and masses – technical devices are found less in chansons, more in motets, and to the greatest extent in masses.<sup>46</sup> As musicologist, Andrew Kirkman argues, technique was the servant of social structure. Acknowledging the popularity of Classical theories of rhetoric in Renaissance society, Kirkman assigns the adjectives “‘lofty,’ ‘tempered’ and ‘commonplace’” to the musical forms of mass, motet, and song respectively, in order to situate each form within its societal function.<sup>47</sup> For the Renaissance auditor, the music of the mass should elevate the spirit or soul, the music of the motet should appeal to the mind or intellect, while song was purely sensory entertainment. This is not to suggest that music for the mass was the most difficult for composers to create; composing good music for limited resources can be equally taxing.

Nonetheless, the emphasis on technique shows that simplicity is not what many Renaissance and later composers were striving for in their masses. Rather, with the large-scale structural unity assured by utilising a single *cantus firmus* and a single harmonic mode across all movements of the mass, Renaissance composers were trying to insert as much variety as they could via the elements of music at their disposal. William Weber argues that masses were composed as much for other composers as for the Church, and that the intellectuality Kirkman ascribes only to motets was also an important factor in the composition of masses:

Polyphonic sacred music was ... academic on a certain plane, it was composed with the intention of being studied as much as to be performed. Protected by ecclesiastical or courtly patronage, this highly professional, intellectual musical world looked inward to its corpus more than outward to the public.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Johannes Tinctoris, "Concerning the Eighth and Last General Rule, Which Teaches That Variety Must Be Most Accurately Sought for in All Counterpoint," in *Johannes Tinctoris (c1435-1511) The Art of Counterpoint (Liber de Arte Contrapuncti) [1477]*, trans. ed. Albert Seay, Musicological Studies and Documents (American Institute of Musicology, 1961 ), 139.

<sup>47</sup> Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, 27.

<sup>48</sup> William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 23.

In addition, and as will be more fully explored in Chapter 3, there has always been a tension between those who want to put on a spectacle that encompasses the musical styles of the courts and later the opera and concert halls, and those who want to preserve a more humble style of composition for liturgical music. The latter favour a style that leaves the focus on God; on music that can unobtrusively assist the congregation in their worship and prayer. Those who support the idea of mass as variety-filled spectacle argue that mankind should provide God with the best possible music; music that challenges the performer to ever greater heights of virtuosity in the service of God; music that takes advantage of all that has been learnt before and strives to do something new: something extraordinary in its novelty for God to enjoy.

### Unity

Eventually however, the quest for variety resulted in the mass largely losing its structural unity as the idea of each movement utilising the same melody as its *cantus firmus* gave way to each movement being composed as a unique entity. As Baroque sensibilities revolving around the “Doctrine of the Affections” became ever more pronounced, the practice became so extensive that often each subsection of each section of the Ordinary – and sometimes as little as a single distinct phrase – would be given its own unique treatment in an effort to convey the emotional content of the words that were being set, and thus move, or “affect” the emotions of the listener accordingly.<sup>49</sup> It was the creation of discrete units of ‘music of the moment’ that was the pre-eminent concern of Baroque composers and, despite rational Enlightenment philosophies that promoted systemisation, devising musical techniques that would provide structural unity were not generally a priority when composing masses.

For example, Heinrich Biber’s (1644-1704) *Mass in B-flat* for SSATBB, chorus and organ was composed for performance in Salzburg Cathedral, probably in the 1670s when the composer was in his early thirties. It “represents a kind of meeting ground for the *stile antico* [of the Renaissance] and the *stile moderno* [of the Baroque]”. Whereas the typical Renaissance mass has five movements based upon a single tactus (beat), Biber’s mass has twenty-two movements totalling 975 bars, with eleven tempo changes.<sup>50</sup> One hundred years later, Joseph Haydn (1732-1809), also in his thirties but stylistically spanning the Baroque/Classical divide, composed *Missa Cellensis* (1766) for soloists, chorus, organ, and orchestra. It has twenty-one movements extending over 1744 bars, and many more tempo changes

---

<sup>49</sup> For an overview of the Doctrine of the Affections see John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe 1580-1750* (New York; London: WW Norton & Company, 2005), 389-98. For a bibliography of primary and secondary sources discussing rhetoric and affect see George J. Buelow, “Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography,” *Notes* 30, no. 2 (1973).

<sup>50</sup> Eric Chafe, *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber*, ed. George J. Buelow, *Studies in Musicology* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1987), 78-79.

than the Biber, with all but one movement requiring a change from the previous. Bach's composite *Mass in B minor* is even more grandiose, with sections that span the last twenty-five years of his life brought together into a massive twenty-seven movement work that can take almost two hours to perform.<sup>51</sup>

Contributing further to the lack of unity across a mass, in the case of high feasts the musical offerings could incorporate more than a mass and motets, but also include instrumental music. In one example, the Sebastian Brotherhood organised a mass for the Feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian on 20 January 1773 (a Wednesday) that included Karl Ditters von Disserdorf's *Mass in C* (excluding the Credo), the first movement of Robert Kimmerling's *Symphony in C*, and Joseph Haydn's "Super flumina" motet.<sup>52</sup> Such examples led historian, Bruce Mac Intyre to reiterate Otto Ursprung's opinion that some of the most ornate masses could be considered "church concerts with liturgical accompaniment".<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, if it is accepted that instrumental music is not unambiguously sacred music because there are no words to define it as such, the inclusion of the symphony provides evidence of the secular continuing to intrude upon the sacred in the music heard during the Eucharist.

Having used the Biber and the Haydn masses as examples of the trend in Baroque masses towards diversity, this is not to say that they are devoid of unifying aspects. In both cases they have been singled out as being somewhat exceptional in this regard. As Eric Chafe advises, in Biber's *Mass in B-flat* the organ adopts a unifying role and the two styles – *antico* and *moderno* – "are differentiated and juxtaposed systematically" across the whole structure.<sup>54</sup> In the case of Haydn's *Missa Cellensis*, Robert Demaree and Don Moses identify six highest-level structural units and, as they step through each movement, they find already by the beginning of the Gloria that "[i]ncreasingly, every compositional choice [Haydn] makes is at the service of the Structure".<sup>55</sup> By the end of the Gloria they concede that the movement constitutes a "panoply of styles" but they also stress the section's overall coherency:

The 1766 *Mass* is the work of a young genius exploring in his first large-scale choral/orchestral work the potential of what will become his ultimate Mass form. ... He proves to be ... an emerging leader of the Viennese Classical style. In a work so derivative

---

<sup>51</sup> The mass comprises revised versions of a 1724 Sanctus and a 1733 Kyrie-Gloria pair, with the remainder of the mass composed in the later 1740s.

<sup>52</sup> Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*, 18. The Haydn motet is part of Hoboken XXIIIa: 7.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 19. Citing Ursprung, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik*, 219. The relevant phrase from Ursprung is "förmlich zu Kirchenkonzerten mit liturgischer Präsenz ausgeweitet". Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Chafe, *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber*, 79.

<sup>55</sup> Demaree and Moses, *The Masses of Joseph Haydn*, 176.

of the traditions of his predecessors, he shows himself to be also one of the great *Baroque* composers.<sup>56</sup>

Indeed, Haydn will mature to become not merely the ‘father’ of the Classical style, but will also compose through to the height of the Classical era, dying in 1809 when the Romantic styles of composition were beginning to develop. He would compose six masses in the final two decades of his life, and it is in these that we see the mass become understood not, or at least not only, as a work that serves the liturgy, but as a musical work that has an internal cohesiveness across all five movements. Just as polyphony became part of the liturgical music of the mass via the wings, or sacred margins of the late medieval cathedral, so too did the re-unification of the mass come from the secular institution of the concert hall; more specifically, from the multi-movement symphony.<sup>57</sup> And just as the mass became the form in which Renaissance composers could create their largest, most highly resourced works, so too did the mass take on the crown for becoming the largest, most highly resourced work of the Classical era. Symphonies by the pre-eminent composers of the later eighteenth century do not employ choirs or vocal soloists and tend to be twenty to thirty minutes long, whereas many of the masses by these same composers do require choirs and vocal soloists and take thirty to forty minutes to perform.<sup>58</sup> Demonstrating this, Table 1 lists the masses of Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) that are scored for instruments, choir and vocal soloists, together with the average duration of each work.<sup>59</sup>

The development of the concert, as it impacted upon the mass, is discussed in the next chapter, as are the historical and social factors that contributed to the mass becoming a concert mass. Accordingly, these matters will not be considered further here; however, the elements of the mass that contribute to its appeal as a concert work will be discussed through Haydn’s last mass, *Harmoniemesse* (Windband Mass) of 1802.

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 190; 220-21.

<sup>57</sup> The relationship between the mass and the symphony is circular – the multi-movement, or cyclical masses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries inspired the development of the multi-movement instrumental form.

<sup>58</sup> These durations are based upon a survey of contemporary recordings of a range of symphonies and masses and are indicative only. Durations are based upon averaging 3 contemporary recordings of each work. The approximate average duration of Mozart’s concert masses is thirty minutes, while Haydn’s is forty minutes. In both cases, their concert masses are, on average, fifteen to twenty minutes longer than the average length of the two composers’ symphonies.

<sup>59</sup> Both composers also composed a capella-style masses with organ accompaniment. In addition, Mozart began a requiem for choir, soloists, and orchestra which remained incomplete at the time of his death in 1791.

Table 1 Masses by Mozart and Haydn for vocal soloists, chorus and instrumental ensemble or orchestra<sup>60</sup>

Haydn No.	Mozart	Title; Key	Year	Approx. Duration (Min.s)	
				Brevis	Full
Hob. XXII 5		<i>Missa Cellensis in honorem BVM (Cantata Mass); C maj</i>	1766 [c?1773]		65
	K139	<i>Missa solemnis, ("Orphanage"); c min</i>	1768		41
	K66	<i>Missa, ("Dominicus"); C maj</i>	1769		38
Hob. XXII 6		<i>Missa Sancti Nicolai; G maj</i>	1772		25
	K167	<i>Missa, ("Trinity"); C maj</i>	1773		31
Hob. XXII 4		<i>Missa in honorem BVM (Missa Sancti Josephi); E flat maj</i>	1774 [?c1768–9]		34
	K220	<i>Missa brevis ("Sparrow"); C maj</i>	1775–7	16	
	K262	<i>Missa Longa; C maj</i>	1775		30
	K257	<i>Missa ("Credo"); C maj</i>	Nov 1776		28
	K258	<i>Missa brevis (Spaurmesse); C maj</i>	1775/6	17	
	K259	<i>Missa brevis ("Organ Solo"); C maj</i>	1776	16	
	K317	<i>Missa ("Coronation"); C maj</i>	1779		25
	K337	<i>Missa ("Aulica"); C maj</i>	1780		22
Hob. XXII 8		<i>Missa Cellensis (Mariazellermesse); C maj</i>	1782		34
	K427	<i>Missa (Great Mass) c min</i>	1782/83		76
Hob. XXII 10		<i>Missa Sancti Bernardi von Offida (Heiligmesse); B flat maj</i>	1796		34
Hob. XXII 9		<i>Missa in tempore belli (Kriegsmesse; Paukenmesse); C maj</i>	1796		38
Hob. XXII 11		<i>Missa (Nelsonmesse; Imperial Mass; Coronation Mass); d min</i>	1798		40
Hob. XXII 12		<i>Missa (Theresienmesse) B flat maj</i>	1799		40
Hob. XXII 13		<i>Missa (Schöpfungsmesse) B flat maj</i>	1801		40
Hob. XXII 14		<i>Missa (Harmoniemesse) B flat maj</i>	1802		45

### HAYDN'S *HARMONIEMESSE* (1802)

My purpose in outlining some of Haydn's text-setting methods and musical choices in *Harmoniemesse* is not to account for every possible nuance or to provide a detailed technical analysis, as this work has been done by others.<sup>61</sup> My intention is to reveal how the capacity for portraying narrative and drama has been realised in one of the first concert masses. Just as attending the Eucharist can send the faithful celebrants and congregants out into the world feeling uplifted and empowered by God's grace, attending a concert of a well composed and executed mass such as Haydn's *Harmoniemesse*, can help believers to forget the trials of the present day and become invested with a sense of hope gained from

<sup>60</sup> Source: Data from the works catalogues of Haydn and Mozart in *Grove Music Online*, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com), accessed 28 Dec 2011.

<sup>61</sup> In terms of Haydn's masses, a comprehensive analysis is found in Demaree and Moses, *The Masses of Joseph Haydn*.



recalling and celebrating the power and glory of the triune God. For the non-believer, that same mass can also send appreciative musicians and audiences out into the world feeling uplifted and empowered – not because they have been reminded of God’s magnificence, but rather – because they have enjoyed the magnificence of an outstanding human creative work.<sup>62</sup> Haydn may well have been a religious man but enjoying his music does not require a listener to be religious. Thus the nature of the texts of the liturgy are an important contributor to the ongoing success of the concert mass even when the church abandoned it after the Second Vatican Council. In addition, the ongoing performances of past concert masses such as Haydn’s keeps the form in the public domain, reminding composers of its potential as a vehicle for religious expression and inspiring some to create new contributions to the repertoire.

Composed in 1802 for performance during a festive high mass celebrating the name day of the wife of Haydn’s employer, Prince Esterhazy, *Harmoniemesse* comprises six movements setting the five sections of the Ordinary, with the Sanctus divided between two movements, Sanctus and Benedictus. It is Haydn’s longest mass and is scored for the full complement of musical resources: orchestra, choir, soloists and organ.

## Kyrie

Since the seventeenth century each movement of the mass had been commonly broken up into multiple discrete sections. Such division afforded the composer the opportunity to present multiple emotions or moods within the same movement, changing the mood to reflect the text or the occasion for which it was commissioned. In the case of the short Kyrie, it usually comprised three sections: one section setting the first statements of *Kyrie eleison*, the second section, often in a different mood, setting the words *Christe eleison*, and the third section, often returning to the mood of the first section setting the second statements of *Kyrie eleison*. The Kyrie of the *Harmoniemesse* is, however, exceptional in this regard. Developing organically, it is not sectionalised and the music for the words *Christe eleison* are not markedly different from that setting the words *Kyrie eleison*.

What is even more unusual about the Kyrie’s lack of a distinctively different *Christe eleison* section is the fact that the normal *Kyrie-Christe-Kyrie* schema is replaced with a schema that presents two, albeit exceedingly short *Christe eleison* settings, as shown in Figure 1.4. The first time the words *Christe eleison* are set only three times; in their second appearance they are set a mere two times. By comparison, the phrase *Kyrie eleison* is heard 24 times with further melismatic settings of the single word *eleison*

---

<sup>62</sup> It is acknowledged that believers may also be impressed by the composer’s work, while non-believers may have found listening to the performance a spiritual experience.

occurring in multiple places throughout. Structurally, Haydn's music does not match the text, nor does it conform to most contemporaneous settings. Perhaps the emphasis on Lord (Kyrie) rather than Christ (Christe) pays homage to the Prince – the 'Lord' of the principality – or perhaps it was a case of rhythm, with the trisyllabic *Kyrie* preferred over the disyllabic *Christe*. Regardless of the actual reason, the preferencing of musical coherency and individuality over convention is one of the hallmarks of the then newly establishing concert mass form.

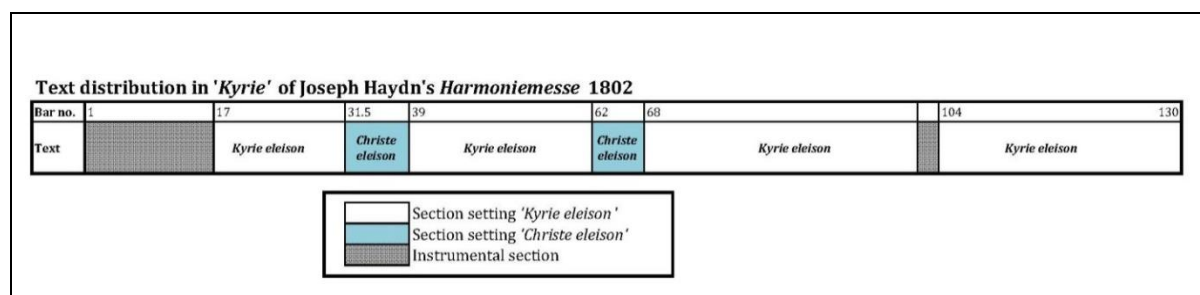


Figure 1.4 Unusual and remarkably short settings of 'Christe eleison' in Joseph Haydn's "*Harmoniemesse*" (1802)<sup>63</sup>

Headed with the instruction of *poco adagio* (a little slow) and given a stately 3:4 tempo, the Kyrie's instrumental opening is marked by a dramatic use of dynamics that alternate between loud, timpani-reinforced single notes and a soft, winsome melody. This contrast is well suited to the introduction of a mass for the name-day of a Princess, paid for by her majestic Prince. After about a minute (at bar 17) the choir enters on B-flat, the tonic of the key of the work, with a loudly proclaimed *Kyrie eleison* (Lord have mercy).<sup>64</sup> In fact the harmony is ambiguous here because the low instruments (double bass, cello, viola, bassoons and organ) are playing a loud E-natural against it. This is the pitch furthest from the choir's B-flat as possible and the most striking discord in music, the tritone. The other instruments fill in the remaining notes to complete a diminished seventh chord, but it is the stridency of the tritone that dominates.

Whereas the instrumental opening can be interpreted as representing a combination of supplication and majesty well suited to the dual needs of a text begging for mercy and a desire to emphasize the Prince and Princess's elevated worldly status, the musical attributes of the choir's entry have the effect of depicting power: the power of God, and the power of the Prince. The bass soloist enters, alternating with the quartet of vocal soloists as the movement proceeds. What follows is a series of majestic,

<sup>63</sup> Chart prepared by author from the score as published in Joseph Haydn, "Messe Nr. 12 'Harmoniemesse'," ed. Friedrich Lippmann, Joseph Haydn Werke (G. Henle Verlag München, 1966).

<sup>64</sup> Timings are taken from "The Complete Haydn Masses," in *Trinity Choir, Rebel Baroque Orchestra, Burdick, Glover* (2009), Disc 6, tracks 8-19. The bar numbers refer to those in the 1966 G. Henle Verlag München edition. "Messe Nr. 12 'Harmoniemesse'."

winsome, and powerful interludes, all developed cohesively from the initial material, and coming to a conclusion approximately eight minutes after the mass has begun (bar 130).

## Gloria

While the Kyrie of the *Harmoniemesse* is structurally unusual compared to other masses of the Classical era, the Gloria is much more regular, with three sections, each designed to reflect the text being set. After the slow Kyrie, the first section appears to have an extremely quick tempo, although the stipulation is *Vivace assai* (not quite vivaciously) and not the *presto* that the rapid iterations of the first phrase, *Gloria in excelsis deo*, make it seem. Further compounding the contrast with the Kyrie, Haydn makes full use of instruments from the Prince's military band, adding trumpet and horn fanfares and flourishes that emphasize the glorious nature of God and give the mass its name. The music transitions into a more solemn and loving mood with a setting of the words *et in terra pax hominibus* (and peace to his people on earth). A third change occurs with the phrase *Laudamus te, benedicimus te* (we praise You, we bless You): now the sounds are celebratory. Rapidly, if only very briefly, the music quietsens down for the third of the four-part phrase, *Adoramus te* (we worship You), before beginning the relatively lengthy and loud concluding portion of this section, setting the words *Glorificamus te* (we glorify You). Through each of these mood changes, Haydn is painting the words with the emotion that the congregation might feel when praising, worshiping or glorifying God, wielding the musical elements skillfully to ensure the music flows coherently from one emotion to the next.

In direct contrast to the exuberant first section, the second section of the Gloria begins in the subdominant (E-flat major) with the instruction *Allegretto*, and sets the words *Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam* (we give thanks for your great glory) to an elegant three-eight tempo. The music is idiomatically very much of the Classical era with regular harmonies, tidy and predictable cadences, a string section that is rarely silent, and decorative flourishes from the woodwinds. The choir and three of the vocal soloists are silent, leaving the alto soloist to present the opening words as if singing an aria (bar 83). As the text flows on, the harmony transitions to B-flat major and the alto is replaced by the soprano (bar 115). It then transitions to C minor with the passing of the solo to the tenor (bar 141) who is eventually joined by the bass soloist (bar 152) to sing the words *Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris* (Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father) in a very brief duet. At around the midpoint of this middle section of the Gloria (bar 161) the vocalists fall silent and the full orchestra takes over, pushing the music forward loudly and paving the way for another modulation, this time to F minor. It is a key that a less capable composer may not have contemplated in a piece that began in E flat major, but which, in the hands of the mature Haydn, is successful. The unusual modulation at

around the three- minute mark demonstrates a commonly found facet of the concert mass: the composer's willingness to push musical boundaries to new limits, just as they would with secular music.

Regardless of whether the listener understands the technical devices Haydn has employed, they are likely to realise that the section is extraordinary. With their attention more completely re-captivated by Haydn's display of skill, the ensuing setting of the words *qui tollis peccata mundi* (you take away the sins of the world) is heard all the more emphatically (bar 169). As each of the four choral parts enter, one after the other, this group may easily be perceived by any listener so inclined, to be invoking Christ's power for forgiveness on the listener's behalf. The text-setting in all parts is precise, with normal spoken accents applied unequivocally and emphatically – *qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di* – and the sopranos soar above the others to a high A-flat as if they are taking the sins out of the world with their song (3'30"; bar 193). The music is convincing, lending its own credibility to the text, so that it is easier for the faithful to believe that the repenting sinner will be forgiven.

The phrase *suscipe deprecationem nostram* (receive our prayer) begins relatively quietly (bar 201), returning to the mood of the opening of the *Gratias* section, with only the strings accompanying the four vocal soloists at first, although the wind instruments provide flourishes as the setting proceeds. Soon, however, there is growing sense of excitement; the choir is building an argument that finds its denouement at bar 222 through the words *qui sedes ad dextram Patris* (you are seated at the right hand of the Father) set to the same forceful patterns as the earlier *qui tollis*. It is as if the music is providing the subtext of the justification for the request for salvation: 'You (Christ) have immediate access to the highest power (God) and our request for intercession is accordingly entirely valid'. The argument plays out at full volume for most of the final minute of this section, before coming to a gentle close with a setting of the phrase *miserere nobis* (have mercy on us), the sorrowful muted plea having all the more effect for coming after the drama of what has gone before.

In contrast, the third section of the Gloria begins joyously with the mystery of the Trinity laid out for the listener in both music and words: *Quóniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu: in gloria Dei Patris. Amen* (For you alone are the holy One, you alone are the Lord, you alone are the Most High, Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, in the glory of God the Father. Amen). The joyous mood continues to the end and can only bolster the faith of any believer; the thesis that sins can be forgiven is proven by remembering first that Christ said he came on earth specifically for this purpose, and second by being reminded that Christ, who was being asked to

intercede on the sinners behalf in the previous section, is one of the three persons that comprise the One (Christian) God.

## Credo

The categorical statement of Roman Catholic faith is the work of the next text. Musically the *Harmoniemesse* Credo is adept but predictable, telling the story of the long text affirmatively, yet acknowledging the sections that require some change of mood, such as the *et incarnates es* (and was made man) section, which tells of Christ coming to earth. This section is set sorrowfully, as if Haydn is apologising to God on humankind's behalf for the betrayal of Christ. Overall, however, the music fits well with the needs of a Church for whom, in the words of Demaree and Moses, "everything about a Credo should express confidence. Any tinge of doubt or of uncertainty would be, in fact, a deviation from orthodoxy".<sup>65</sup> They conclude by advising that the setting comprises "Haydn's standard stance in approaching this text".<sup>66</sup>

Haydn's own faith seems to have been strong but pragmatic. Living through a time when intellectual elites were espousing the Enlightenment-driven philosophies of secularism, the ideas of humanism could not have escaped him, and although he is cited as having paced up and down reciting the rosary when musical problems beset him, and falling to his knees in thanks when the solutions were revealed, he was, as Mark Berry highlights, also prepared to accept that others did not believe in God, or believed in other things.<sup>67</sup> Although quick to discount the idea that Haydn was profoundly philosophical, Berry does note that Haydn voluntarily attended "Viennese salons of the 1780s, salons in which reading and discussion centred on early Enlightenment writers or on contemporaries with similar beliefs"; Berry also acknowledges that Haydn's library included books by Enlightenment writers, not to mention "eight books placed on the Roman Catholic Church's Index of forbidden works".<sup>68</sup> Maria Hörwarthner, whose research into Haydn's library inventory informs Berry's thoughts, notes that "it is striking that there was no Catholic devotional literature" in his library.<sup>69</sup> She argues that Haydn was not the naïve, faithful Catholic he is generally held out to be; rather, she asserts, he had a broader faith that also made room for the secularising impulses of the Enlightenment. As evidence, Hörwarthner points to his Oratorio *Die Schöpfung* (The Creation). Composed in 1799, the oratorio was banned from churches during his

---

<sup>65</sup>Demaree and Moses, *The Masses of Joseph Haydn*, 706-7.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Mark Berry, "Haydn's Creation and Enlightenment Theology," *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (2008): 28-29.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 29. Citing Maria Hörwarthner, "Joseph Haydn's Library: An Attempt at a Literary-Historical Reconstruction," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (New York: Princeton, 1997), 400-01; 421; 444.

<sup>69</sup> "Joseph Haydn's Library," 448.

lifetime because of its “secularization of originally sacred subjects”.<sup>70</sup> In addition, Haydn’s very conception of the mass as concert item as well as music for the liturgy provides evidence of an individual’s preparedness to think beyond accepted religious norms and act upon his ideas. Although not necessarily a prerequisite for composing concert masses, as the following chapters will reveal, such a broadly tolerant outlook and approach to religion as Haydn’s would be reflected in the attitudes of the composers of many of the concert masses of the twentieth century.

#### Benedictus

By the end of 1802, Haydn had a relatively large group of musicians at his disposal. According to a personnel roster compiled from palace payroll records by Demaree and Moses, thirty-one musicians were employed by the Prince: a concertmaster, four other violinists, a cellist, a violonist, an organist, two bassoonists, two horn players, two clarinets, two oboists, three trumpeters, two descants (sopranos), three altos, two tenors, two basses, a choral director (chordienner), a Vizekapellmeister and Haydn as Kapellmeister.<sup>71</sup> Given *Harmoniemesse* calls for flautists but none are included in the roster, Demaree and Moses suggest that other musicians could be called upon as needed. By today’s standards, when orchestras can number over one hundred and choirs in the several hundreds, Haydn’s group seems small even with supplements. Yet for Haydn to have used greater musical forces would have been impossible, at least for the first performance; the *Harmoniemesse* was performed in the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt and the musicians had to fit in the organ gallery. As is apparent in Figure 1.5 the Bergkirche gallery may have been reasonably well endowed by organ gallery standards, but it is no concert hall stage.

Nevertheless, using today’s orchestras and choirs as a measure is inappropriate. Haydn used all of the musicians available, including casual subcontractors, to create the *Harmoniemesse*. The accepted extravagance of the concert mass form in the context of a wealthy Prince’s domain afforded Haydn the opportunity to work through his ideas in many more creative ways than if he only had a few voices and an organ. Although harmonies, melodies, tempos and rhythms are less dependent on ensemble size and constitution, textural colouring and dynamic range are necessarily limited the smaller the ensemble. With a full orchestra, organ, choir, and soloists, the opportunities to move from solos to duets to full tutti, and from the slightest pianissimo of a single instrument to the greatest fortissimo of the full ensemble, are diverse.

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Demaree and Moses, *The Masses of Joseph Haydn*, 785-86.

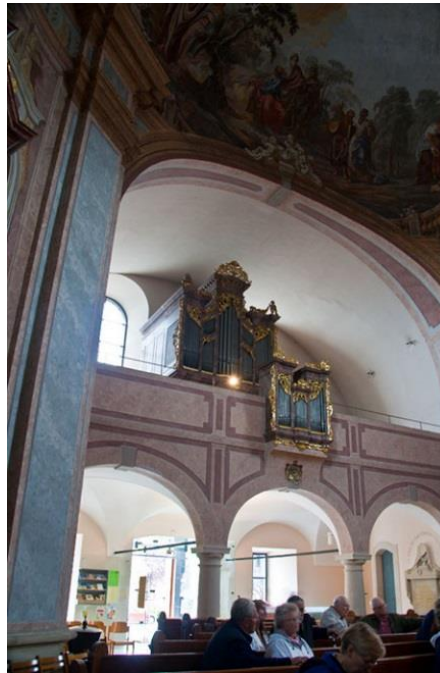


Figure 1.5 Bergkirche Eisenstadt Organ Gallery<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Sources of photos: Left: Photo by Michael Barone/American Public Media's PIPEDREAMS. © 2009. Used with permission. All rights reserved. The photo also appears online in Pipedreams Tour 2009, *Pipedreams*, accessed 13 Aug 2014, [http://pipedreams.publicradio.org/events/tours/austria\\_2009/day\\_11/](http://pipedreams.publicradio.org/events/tours/austria_2009/day_11/). Right: Photo taken by Dongsok Shin who is the organist in the Naxos recording of Haydn's masses referred to in this thesis. © 2009. Used with permission. All rights reserved. The photo also appears in *Music in a Modern World, Artek Musician Gwendolyn Toth shares her life as a musician*, accessed 13 Aug 2014, [http://artekearlymusic.blogspot.com.au/2010\\_08\\_01\\_archive.html](http://artekearlymusic.blogspot.com.au/2010_08_01_archive.html).

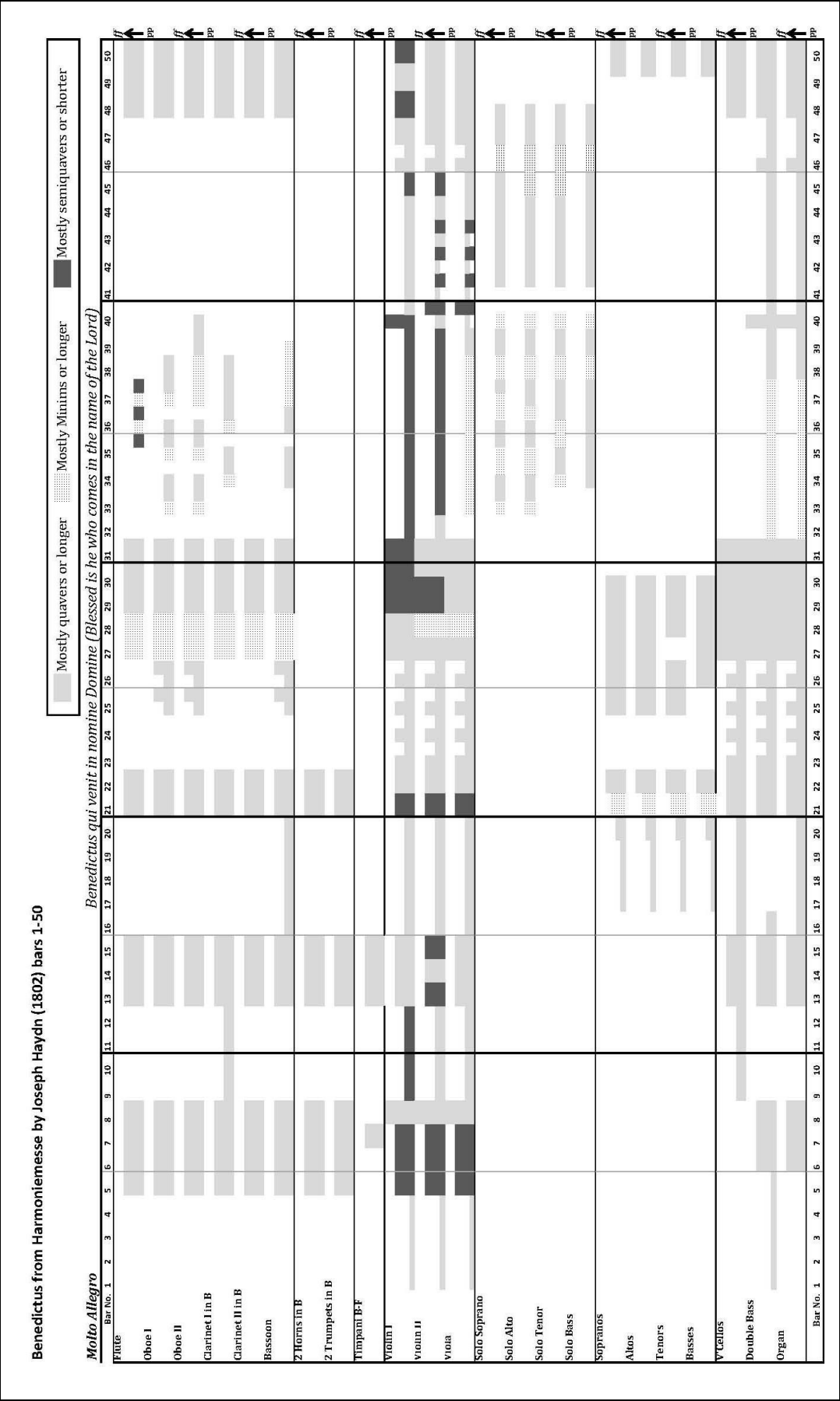


Figure 1.6 Texture in Sanctus from Joseph Haydn's "Harmoniemesse" (1802) Bars 1-50  
Chart prepared by author from the score as published in Joseph Haydn, "Messe Nr. 12 'Harmoniemesse'," ed. Friedrich Lippmann, Joseph Haydn Werke (G. Henle Verlag München, 1966).



Throughout *Harmoniemesse* Haydn takes full advantage of his resources to vary the sonorities the listener hears in order to create an appropriate ethos for the text being set. While any passage in *Harmoniemesse* could be used to demonstrate this, the first 50 bars of the Benedictus portion of the Sanctus text serves the purpose well. As Figure 1.6 shows, the movement begins *pianissimo* (very quietly) with just the strings, but within five bars all of the instruments have joined them at a loud *forte* dynamic with the violins and violas busily playing semiquavers up to the *fortissimo* climax at bar 8. Although very loud, without the choir or soloists, the volume of sound is not at the maximum.

The choir does not begin until bar 17, entering at *pianissimo* with the words *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* (Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord). Although not shown on the chart, the phrase will be repeated many times, alternating between the choir and the soloists, through until bar 196. The texture thickens from bar 21 and the dynamics rise from a near *tutti piano* to a near *tutti forte* by bar 27 with the strings and basso-continuo contingent (organ, cello, and violon or double bass) instructed to play *fortissimo*. Once again, this is loud music, and with the violins playing semiquavers from bar 29 the effect is heightened all the more. But the brass and percussion – the horns, trumpets and timpani – are not playing, so Haydn still has not tapped into the full potential here. More delicately, in bars 33-39 the chart shows that the woodwinds and vocal soloists are quietly working together, with the violins once again busy with their semiquavers. By bar 50 the texture is full again, but the horns and trumpets remain mute as they will continue to do until Haydn moves to the next and final phrase of the Sanctus-Benedictus text, *Osanna in excelsis* (Hosanna in the highest), some 56 bars later. This final exuberant phrase warrants the full contingent of instruments and voices.

Haydn's orchestration of the conclusion of the movement fully accords with the liturgical text being set, leaving the listener in no doubt of God's omnipotence at the end. Nonetheless, what has gone before, setting the words "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord", has been equally dramatic. With such a short text to set, Haydn has been able to express the joy of the faithful that is implicit to the text through music that is varied in dynamic, timbre, texture and rhythm.

### Agnus Dei

The final movement, the Agnus Dei, is broken into two parts. It begins slowly and quietly with an *Adagio* that provides a direct contrast to the preceding *Hosanna* of the Sanctus. The second part, which sets the words *dona nobis pacem* (Grant us peace) is a brisk *Allegro spiritoso*. The slow beginning is not unusual. The text *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* (Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world have mercy on us) typically lends itself to a quiet setting that acknowledges human

sin and Christ's sacrifice on the cross implicit to the text. Similarly, the opening oboe duet, poignantly appealing though it may be, is not unconventional. What is less conventional is Haydn's use of pizzicato in the strings. The pizzicato does not merely change the quality of the sound and the dynamics but provides a visual element that might be lost when performed during a church service, particularly – as was the case with the Bergenkirk – when the instrumentalists are in the gallery behind the congregation. Although Haydn used pizzicato frequently in his symphonies, it is rare in his masses, and was only beginning to receive regular dramatic application<sup>73</sup>

Haydn ends his final mass loudly, as is fitting for a work composed for a Courtly occasion. He chooses to set the words *dona nobis pacem* (grant us peace) not as a request but as a positive statement. For the believer, Haydn's setting at this point is an acknowledgment that God is all powerful, and if He wants to grant peace He will. After a processional-style *tutti* fanfare the choir and orchestra romp loudly through multiple statements of *dona nobis pacem* only to be interrupted at bar 173. Here the vocal soloists, paired as upper and lower voices and doubled by clarinet and bassoon, begin a duet that acknowledges the fact that, from the liturgical viewpoint the text actually does ask for mercy, not assume that it will be granted. But the gentle interlude lasts only a brief 22 bars before the choir, soloists and full orchestra are blazing forth again, and it is the court that is being served first, not the church.

In his forty minute *Harmoniemesse*, Haydn demonstrates that the concert mass can accommodate any performance technique, any choice of orchestration. It need not be a conservative vehicle of musical expression, but can take on the hue of contemporary compositional styles without damaging its religious aspirations. It can be operatic, it can be symphonic, but it is neither and it is both. It is a work that has a dramatic narrative with few limits on the way it needs to be told.

## Conclusion

Haydn was not the first to reveal the potential of the mass form to be both worshipful and artistic. From Dufay to Palestrina to Mozart, many composers had created finely executed masses that honoured the church yet permitted the full gamut of contemporary musical possibilities to be displayed also. The liturgical texts, fixed since the thirteenth century, and deriving from disparate sources including the Hebrew Bible and the early Christian Church, provide the challenge of a lengthy work within which composers can demonstrate their skill in manipulating musical resources in an unambiguously religious work. Moreover, the mass is a dramatic form that affords the composer a range of opportunities to

---

<sup>73</sup> Sonya Monosoff, "Pizzicato," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/21883>.

express his or her appreciation and understanding of the liturgical texts. The spectrum of emotions found in the mass, skilfully encapsulated in music that is structurally unified across the entire work, sustain the listener's attention even when it does not form part of the celebration of the Eucharist, but is heard in a concert hall.

Accordingly, structural unity is important in determining whether a mass is concertised or a concert mass. In medieval times the notion of a unified mass cycle was motivated by a desire to establish consistent worship across Christendom, as much as it was a function of musical concerns. In order to bring about consistency, specific Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei chants were combined as sets in the Kyriale section of the Franciscan Graduale in 1251. When the possibilities of polyphony began to be explored, it took some time for composers to develop their skills. Accordingly, the polyphonic music heard during the Eucharist comprised single movements that would be brought together in accordance with the needs of the service. The fourteenth-century *Tournai Mass* is one such compilation mass. By the fifteenth century, however, composers were creating masses with multiple movements that used a single mode and a single *cantus firmus* as the basis for all movements, thereby working from a basis of structural unity. Nonetheless, from this point they worked to animate their work with a sense of variety through the implementation of technical devices. With the establishment of diatonic, or functional harmony in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and a gradual shift to a more emotionally expressive style of music, Baroque composers subdivided the movements of the mass into ever smaller sections, sometimes creating an *affect* for each of the liturgical phrases set. Within the context of the ritual of the Eucharistic celebration such masses made sense, but they were not designed to be listened to as standalone musical works. It would not be until the Classical period that unity would be restored to the mass, most notably in the hands of Mozart and Joseph Haydn who applied the unifying techniques that were also a feature of their four-movement symphonies.

Social changes, particularly those arising from democratisation, secularisation, and growing market economies, contributed as much as musical developments to creating the first concert masses. In the next chapter, the social, political and economic factors that would lead to the establishment of a concert culture will be considered, while in Chapter 3 the attitudes towards music within the Church, which would ultimately result in the abandonment of the concert mass within Roman Catholic celebrations of the Eucharist in the twentieth century, will be discussed.





## Chapter 2 Becoming a concert mass

“A concert mass is ... conceived of as a concert piece whether premiering during a church service or a concert...”<sup>1</sup>

Terminology does not dictate change; change requires new terminology. The mass has always had the potential to present elements of the phenomenon now called ‘concert’, and this chapter identifies what these were. Beginning with an historical account of the rise of concerts in London, I then go back in time to identify the aspects of concerts that were present not only in Baroque and Renaissance masses, but even in the communal celebrations of early Christendom. Having established the Eucharist’s potential for concertisation, the transition from concertised masses to concert masses is explored through the liturgical music practices of Napoleonic and Restoration France. Following on from this, the impact on music-making that the change in social circumstances – brought about by industrialisation and the political transition to nation states and secular rule – is explored in the context of its impact upon the mass. Particular areas of focus are the establishment of strong choral societies, and the manner in which composers received financial compensation for their work. Finally, selected works by predominantly nineteenth-century composers of concert masses from Schubert through to Delius are

---

<sup>1</sup> Part of my definition of the concert mass as stated on page 2 of this thesis.

considered to determine why they were composed and the extent to which religion remained a factor in a composer's decision to do so.

Concerts arose in the later seventeenth century, first in London, but soon spreading to other places in Europe.<sup>2</sup> Like the various forms of opera that had already captured the public imagination, the increasing popularity of music concerts can be attributed largely to an increase in the number of people with leisure time, disposable income, and a desire to participate in cultural activities that had previously been the preserve of the aristocracy; in short, the rise of a consumer society.<sup>3</sup> Coupled with increasing political stability and a shift in employment opportunities from noble patronage to entrepreneurial activity, musicians found themselves performing in public venues to the new "urban élite".<sup>4</sup>

In addition, religious attitudes and affiliations had shifted intractably since the protestant Reformation, impacting upon the type of music that would be heard in non-Catholic churches, and a decline in the use of Latin. Anglicans sang mass in English, while on the continent Lutherans favoured chorale-based music setting sacred texts in German, and Calvinists eschewed the sensuality of polyphony entirely, opting for monophonic singing, also in the vernacular.<sup>5</sup>

Religious diversification, coupled with "the expanding universe of unbelief" brought about by Enlightenment rationality challenging religious mysticism, gradually reduced the number of people who would attend a church.<sup>6</sup> As Charles Taylor notes "the salient feature of the modern cosmic imaginary ... is that it has opened a space in which people can wander between and around all [religious] options without having to land clearly and definitively in any one" - or not land in any one at all.<sup>7</sup> With Enlightenment philosophies had come an emphasis on the individual as an autonomous, self-directing being who could challenge the status quo through the process of rational enquiry. Initially a phenomenon of a libertine elite, from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards atheism was on

---

<sup>2</sup> For an historical survey of early London concerts from the perspective of entrepreneurship see Simon McVeigh, "The Constrained Entrepreneur: Concert Promotion in Eighteenth-Century London," in *Organisateurs et Formes d'Organisation du Concert en Europe 1800-1920: Institutionnalisation et Pratiques*, ed. Hans Erich B Bödeker; Patrice Veit; Michael Werner, *Musical Life in Europe 1600-1900: Circulation, Institutions, Representation* (Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 47-56.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, vii.

<sup>4</sup> McVeigh, "The Constrained Entrepreneur," 48.

<sup>5</sup> Hill, *Baroque Music*, 143-47; 153-4. *Deutsche Masses*, comprising a Kyrie and Gloria pair, were still heard in some Lutheran Churches. From around 1700 a new form, the Cantata, setting a sacred text and performed by orchestra, choir and vocal soloists would emerge and become popular in Lutheran Germany.

<sup>6</sup> "The expanding universe of unbelief" is the title of the tenth chapter in Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 352. This Chapter deals with how art is understood in the Romantic period.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 351.

the rise.<sup>8</sup> For those not inclined to affiliate with institutional religion, the establishment of concerts ensured that the quality of music people may have otherwise heard in church was available elsewhere.

## SACRED MUSIC IN CONCERTS

### London

Counteracting the elements of secularisation, from the late seventeenth century onwards, attendees of the earliest concerts may well have heard masses or movements of masses in the secular venues that accommodated the new social phenomenon of public concerts. The Academy of Vocal Music (later The Academy of Ancient Music) was founded in London in 1726 specifically to promote sixteenth and seventeenth-century sacred music and madrigals.<sup>9</sup> The motivation to do so emanated from an unprecedented desire to develop a catalogue, or canon, of high quality musical works from the past. Whereas music that was more than thirty years old tended to be put aside to make way for new works, the Academy was, according to one contemporaneous writer, Sir John Hawkins, keen to “check the wanderings of fancy, and restrain the love of novelty within due bounds”.<sup>10</sup> Obtaining and copying music for a growing library of scores, and establishing an annual subscription season of concerts, the Academy met weekly in London taverns and also had “publick nights” on Thursdays, to which members could bring two guests.<sup>11</sup>

In trenchantly Protestant post-restoration England, motets and madrigals were the most common forms of music performed by the Academy, yet the liturgical music of the Catholic mass was occasionally heard. As Owen Rees has discovered, one member of the society, a civil servant named Henry Needler copied manuscripts, not only for his own edification but also for performance by the Academy. One such manuscript was a *Liber Missarum*, a “Book of Masses”, by the Portuguese composer, Duarte Lobo (c. 1565-1646).<sup>12</sup> Of the scarce number of Academy concert programmes extant, Rees advises that one at least includes a Lobo mass.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, William Weber, who explored

---

<sup>8</sup> Nigel Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, 1750-1830*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 56-58.

<sup>10</sup> Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 2 (London; New York: Novello, Ewer & Co.; J.L. Peters, 1875), 886. See digital editions (accessed 15 April 2015), [http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6976635M/A\\_general\\_history\\_of\\_the\\_science\\_and\\_practice\\_of\\_music](http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6976635M/A_general_history_of_the_science_and_practice_of_music).

<sup>11</sup> Owen Rees, “Adventures of Portuguese ‘Ancient Music’ in Eighteenth-Century London,” (Barnard’s Inn Hall: Gresham Lecture, 25 Jun 2010). See digital transcript (accessed 15 April 2015) <http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/adventures-of-portuguese-ancient-music-in-eighteenth-century-london>.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. Rees notes that the Kyrie is called “A Motet for Four Voices” in the programme.

the phenomenon of canon formation within Western art music, lists a number of sixteenth or early-seventeenth-century composers whose masses were performed by the Academy, including those of Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso and William Byrd.<sup>14</sup> In 1761, 1773 and 1775 Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's masses were also performed.<sup>15</sup>

Another amateur London music society, the Madrigal Society was formed by one of the members of the Academy of Ancient Music, John Immyns in 1741. According to Hawkins, Immyns was, "altogether for old music ... and this he indulged to such a degree that he looked upon Mr Handel [1685-1759] and Bononcini [1670-1747] as the great corrupters".<sup>16</sup> Unsurprisingly, the staple of the Society's programme content was the polyphonic madrigal; nevertheless, many madrigals were religious and at least one programme included a movement from a Palestrina mass, the Crucifixus from the five-voice *Missa Vestiva i colli*.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the Concert of Antient Music, established in London in 1776, performed the occasional movement from a mass. Although it was secular music that dominated their programmes, the occasional inclusion of psalm and mass settings would impact upon public concerts in England, inspiring provincial musical festivals to include sacred items from time to time also.<sup>18</sup>

### Paris and the Continent

In Catholic Paris, masses – or parts of them – also might have been expected to be heard in the *Concert spirituel des Tuileries* series established in 1725. This series of concerts was created to ameliorate the prohibition of opera performances on Catholic feast days. Involving orchestra, chorus and soloists performing in a specially designed hall in the palace of Louis XV, those who attended heard a mixture of sacred and secular music on the thirty or more days of the year when Paris theatres, notably those of the Académie, or Opéra, the Comédie Française, the Comédie Italienne, and the Opéra Comique, were required to be closed.<sup>19</sup>

An investigation of the summaries of some 1,280 *Concert spirituel* programmes collated by Constant Pierre reveals that, with only two exceptions, settings of the Ordinary of the Mass were not, in fact, sources of repertoire for the series. Jean Gille's (1668-1705) *Messe des morts*, or selections from it were

---

<sup>14</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 64.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>16</sup> Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2, 887.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Day, "A Renaissance Revival in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Musical Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (Oct 1971): 586. The Crucifixus is a section of the Credo.

<sup>18</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 184.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720-1780* (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 611.



scheduled on five occasions between 1750 and 1770, and portions of François-Joseph Gossec's (1734-1829) *Messe des morts* were performed on two occasions in 1773.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, these were requiems, a special class of mass well suited to the specific religious seasons or days they were performed in: Holy Week, which commemorates the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, and All Saints day, which commemorates all those beatified by a Pope after their death. Furthermore, two exceptions may well be explained by circumstantial factors alone. Gille's *Messe* was already considered exceptional music, having "gained widespread admiration ... for its lively character", and would be used for the requiem service of King Louis XV in 1774.<sup>21</sup> In the case of Gossec's mass, not only would it have been a startling novelty to contemporary audiences, requiring two orchestras, one of which comprised twenty-three woodwind and brass instruments that were concealed from the audience, but Gossec was also the director of the *Concert Spirituel* when the excerpts from his mass were performed, and so was well placed to ensure they were included.<sup>22</sup>

Although masses were rarely programmed, sacred music of other types were a staple of *Concert* programmes, and this would contribute to the eventual normalisation of masses in the programmes of other concerts as time passed. By 1827, concerts that included a mass or other lengthy work in the second half of the programme had begun to be organised by Alexandra Choron at the *Institution royale de musique religieuse de France*.<sup>23</sup> Jean Mongrédien advises that these concerts featured the "first historical performances" in France of "older sacred works by Josquin des Prés, Palestrina, Jannequin, as well as more recent music by German and Italian composers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries".<sup>24</sup>

Further afield, Bruce Mac Intyre finds a similar case to eighteenth-century Paris in the Leipzig *Concert Spirituel* series, identifying only a single incidence of music from a mass appearing on a programme, a Kyrie and Gloria pair from Florian Gassmann's (1729-1774) *St Cecilia Mass* in C, which was performed

---

<sup>20</sup> Constant Pierre, "Programmes du Concert Spirituel," in *Histoire du Concert Spirituel* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2000). Gille's *Messe* appears in the programmes of concerts scheduled for 1 Nov and 2 Nov 1750, 8 April 1751, 4 April 1762 and 1 Nov. 1770. Gossec's *Messe* appears in the programmes of concerts scheduled for 6 and 9 April 1773. The offertory from Gossec's *Messe* is also mentioned in a summary of concerts to be performed in April 1775: see entry 930, p. 304.

<sup>21</sup> Theodore Karp, Fabrice Fitch, and Basil Smallman, "Requiem Mass," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/43221>.

<sup>22</sup> There are also a number of motets named 'Benedictus' included in Pierre's summaries, but these draw from the bible for their texts, not the second portion of the Sanctus of the Roman Rite (which was often separated from the first portion and headed 'Benedictus').

<sup>23</sup> Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*, trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland, Or: Amadeus Press, 1996), 200-01. After the July Revolution in 1830, funding for the Institution was withdrawn, but it was re-established by Louis Niedermeyer as the *Conservatoire royal de musique classique de France*. Niedermeyer retained Choron's teachings and principles.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

on 8 December 1779.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, in Hamburg, few examples of liturgical music being performed in a secular venues exists, with one notable exception: the Credo, or *Symbolum Nicenum*, from J.S. Bach's B minor mass. Performed on 1 April 1786, during a charity concert organised to raise funds for a medical institute for the poor, it was probably only included because the concert was directed by Bach's son, Carl Philip Emmanuel.<sup>26</sup> While the omission of masses in the Roman Catholic tradition from concert programmes in Lutheran-dominated cities might be unsurprising; it was also the case in Catholic Vienna. Nonetheless, this was largely accounted for by a ban on the performance of liturgical music in secular venues enforced by Austrian censors.<sup>27</sup> It was not until the ban was lifted and the *Concert Spirituel* was established in Vienna in 1819 that masses would be heard in secular venues there.<sup>28</sup>

#### EUCHARIST AS PROTOTYPICAL CONCERT

Leaving aside the idea of the mass (or movements from it) as eighteenth-century secular concert item, the origins of the Eucharistic service itself as 'concert' can be traced back to at least the twelfth century when John of Salisbury (1120-1180) writes

When you hear the soft harmonies of the various singers, some taking high and others low parts, some singing in advance, some following in the rear, others with pauses and interludes, you would think yourself listening to a concert of sirens rather than of men, and wonder at the powers of voices, which the nightingale or the mockingbird, or whatever is most tuneful among birds, could not equal. Such is the facility of running up and down the scale; so wonderful the shortening or multiplying of the notes, the repetition of the phrases, or their emphatic utterance: the treble and shrill notes are so mingled with tenor and bass, that the ears lost their power of judging.<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, the quality of music-making in churches is well documented. The writings of a late sixteenth-century English visitor to Rome, Gregory Martin, reveal how highly the music performed in churches in that city was valued:

---

<sup>25</sup> Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*, 38.

<sup>26</sup> John Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge UK; New York; Melbourne; Spain: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding censorship in Viennese theatres specifically, see Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge; London; New York; New Rochelle; Melbourne; Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40-47.

<sup>28</sup> Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*, 38.

<sup>29</sup> John of Salisbury, *De nugis curialium* in J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completes: Patrologiae Latinae* (Paris: J.P. Migne, 1844-1855) 199:402, as translated and quoted in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 18.

It is the most blessed varietie in the world, where a man may goe to so many Churches in one day, chose where he wil, so heavenly served, with such musike, such voices, such instrumentes, al ful of gravitie and majestie, al moving to devotion and ravishing a mans hart to the meditiation of melodie of Angels and Saintes in heaven.<sup>30</sup>

Martin was writing at least a century before concerts began to earn space on social calendars, but his words suggest that church services that featured high quality music may in fact have been sought out in the same way that present day concert goers seek out concerts that appeal to his or her taste.

### Bologna and Salzburg

A century after Martin visited Rome, evidence of the concertisation of masses can be found in Mary Schnoebelen's study of music-making from 1660-1730 at San Petronio, the cathedral of the north Italian papal city of Bologna. As Schnoebelen reports, one chronicler from the time opined that "the Bolognese 'frequented the churches more to hear the singing than out of devotion'".<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, she quickly goes on to qualify this opinion by quoting an excerpt from the papers of Padre Giovanni Battista Martini to demonstrate that "it was acknowledged that music, even instrumental music, could [also] have certain 'devotional' effects on the hearer".<sup>32</sup> Martini states

On occasion of the Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, it is customary for the string players to make heard certain Gravi which move the souls of the hearers to a most singular veneration toward the Most Holy Sacrament... because they are of a style which is grave and serious, but at the same time tender, which draws tears from the eyes.<sup>33</sup>

Schnoebelen goes on to describe the 132-metre-long church itself, including the spaces available for the musicians, noting particularly the dominance of "two magnificent organs, one on either side of the coro", and describing the various renovations completed during the 1660s, which included moving the altar forward to the sixth vault in order to give the coro more space.<sup>34</sup> The end result was "that one-sixth of the church is given over to musical purposes: the coro for the singing of the Office by the canons,

---

<sup>30</sup> Gregory Martin, "Solemnitie of Divine Service," in *Roma Sancta*, ed. G.B. Parks (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, [1581] 1969), 96. As quoted in Richard Sherr, "Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina," *Early Music* 22, no. 4 (Nov. 1994).

<sup>31</sup> Mary Nicole Schnoebelen, "The Concerted Mass at San Petronio in Bologna: ca 1660-1730. A Documentary and Analytical Study" (PhD, University of Illinois, 1966), 33. Translating Francesco Vatielli, "L'Oratorio a Bologna Negli Ultimi Decenni del Seicento," *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale* 15 (1938): 28.

<sup>32</sup> Schnoebelen, "The Concerted Mass at San Petronio," 33.

<sup>33</sup> Giovanni Battista Martini, "Scrittori di Musica," (Bologna: Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale). H/63 f.142 r. As quoted in Schnoebelen, "The Concerted Mass at San Petronio," 34.

<sup>34</sup> "The Concerted Mass at San Petronio," 40-41.

and the surrounding enlarged cantoria for the musicians”.<sup>35</sup> Comprising balconies over the coro, the cantoria could accommodate “eighty to one hundred musicians, especially if they were singers and did not require extra space for instruments”.<sup>36</sup>

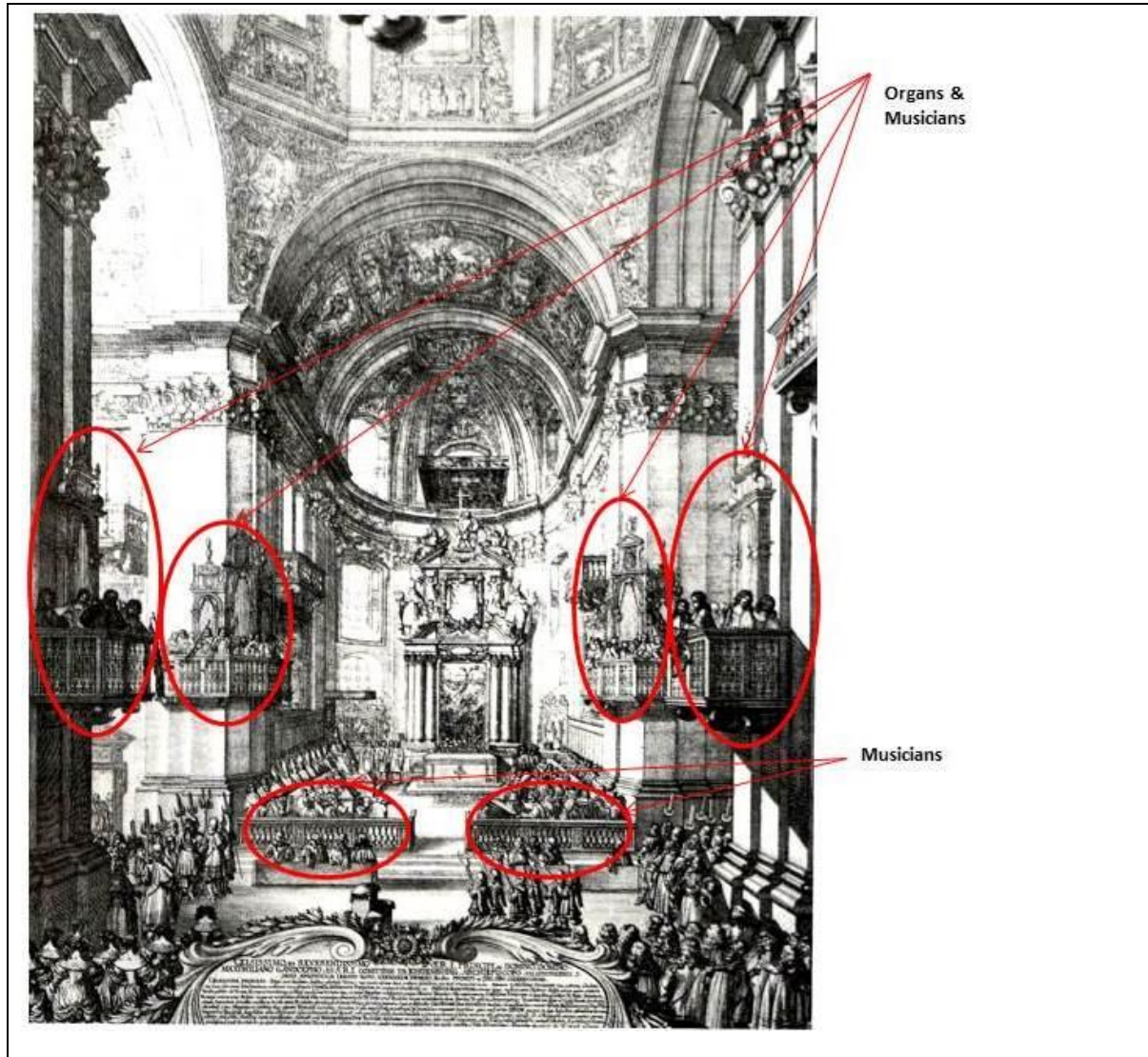


Figure 2.1 Engraving by Melchior Hüsel showing a musical performance in the Salzburg Cathedral, 1682 (Salzburg, Museum Carolino Augusteum) <sup>37</sup>

In Germany, Salzburg Cathedral was equally well endowed in the late seventeenth century, with five organs and up to eighty musicians available for performance in six separate spaces, a further organ being added in the early eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Figure 2.1 reproduces an engraving by Melchior Hüsel

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> The etching together with a disposition of musicians as they appear in the etching is also reproduced in Chafe, *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber*, 44-45. The main organ is located at the rear of the Cathedral and so is not shown.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 33; 40.

that demonstrates the cathedral's capacity for music-making in 1682. Finding a prominent example of an extravagant mass in Heinrich Biber's *Missa Salisburgensis*, which features "a truly kaleidoscopic shifting of sonorities and locations in the sixteen solo sections", Eric Chafe asserts, "concerted antiphonal music reached its peak" in Salzburg Cathedral.<sup>39</sup>

Perhaps the most elaborate musical occasions were commemorative services funded by a wealthy member of the community, sometimes in perpetuum, which could last two days and include a sung vigil and high Mass with choirs, vocal soloists and instrumentalists contributing throughout.<sup>40</sup> In providing such opportunities for self-aggrandisement, the Cathedral was a prestigious venue for activities that blurred the borders between the sacred and the secular.

Similarly in Bologna, Schnoebelen concludes that San Petronio could hold its own in terms of dramatic presentations, despite the fierce competition of opera and oratorio:

In the context of the liturgical service with its colourful investments, stately processions and impressive ceremonies, the music of the concerted Mass was an important contribution to spettacolo—that combination of spectacle and drama which characterized the Italian Baroque. The mass was, after all, the central act of worship in the liturgy to be celebrated on festive occasions with as much grandeur as possible ... The 'program' might include instrumental pieces and motets culminating, possibly, with a magnificent Te Deum sung to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums while cannon and muskets were fired in the square outside, blending the liturgical with the theatrical.<sup>41</sup>

As with the preceding examples, Schnoebelen is describing the concerted mass. Not only were the various sections of the masses discrete, stand-alone pieces, but festive church music-making in Bologna might well include motets and Te Deum's as well as sinfonias and other instrumental interludes – sometimes at the expense of the standard liturgical movements of the mass.

In a significant departure from the norm elsewhere, during the period covered by Schnoebelen, settings of the Sanctus or Agnus Dei were entirely missing from the masses at San Petronia, although they always included paired settings of the Kyrie and Gloria, and on some occasions included "separated

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 51; 65. The date of the mass's composition is unknown. Chafe (p.259) suggests it may be 1682.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 60-1.

<sup>41</sup> Schnoebelen, "The Concerted Mass at San Petronio," 263.

credos".<sup>42</sup> After tracing the precedents for the exclusions of the later sections of the Ordinary in Bologna, Schnoebelen hypothesises that the Sanctus and Agnus Dei may well have been recited in plainchant, or been represented by instrumental interludes which could "show off properly the abilities of the instrumentalists" who were otherwise required to be subservient to the singers.<sup>43</sup> Alternatively, Schnoebelen suggests that it may have been pure expediency that brought about the omissions in Bolognian masses:

The Kyrie was necessary because of its initial position, the Gloria because of its festal character; the Credo for doctrinal, didactic reasons had to be treated deferentially, if sometimes hastily. Already in 1623 Ignatio Donati gives us a similar explanation for the shortening of [the final] two movements: '... the Sanctus and Agnus Dei are placed so simply and briefly *alla venetiana* to hurry them up and to give place to the Concerto for the Elevation and to some Sinfonia at the Communion.'<sup>44</sup>

The notion that church services featuring music were attended for pleasure as much as piety is further supported by the accounts of the eighteenth-century traveller, Charles Burney, whose description of attending mass at the Catholic Cathedral of Notre Dame in Antwerp on 19 July 1772 exhibits high expectations of the music he would encounter. Unfortunately he would be disappointed. Despite moving around the church, the English traveller discovered no place that his expectations could be met:

At nine o'clock high mass began, and continued upwards of two hours. I attended this in the choir, in different parts of the church, and in the organ loft, to hear the music, and its effects, at different distances, and in different situations, but I found none that pleased me.<sup>45</sup>

Burney goes on to compare the experience unfavourably with both those of Italy and his hometown, London, complaining, for example that the Antwerpian bassoonists were worse than "those nocturnal performers, who, in London, walk the streets during winter, under the denomination of *Waits*".<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. Citing Ignatio Donati, *Salmi boscarecci concertati a 6 v...* op. IX, (Venezia: Vincenti, 1623). The '*alla venetiana*' reference implies that brief and expedient musical settings of the sections of the mass prevailed in Venice. The concerto and sinfonias were instrumental pieces.

<sup>45</sup> Charles Burney, *Dr Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. Percy Scholes, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1979), 12.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. Although England was predominantly Anglican, a well-sustained choral music tradition resulted in high quality musical performances during services, including masses sung in English.

Yet even beyond the sophistication of a capital city such as London, in provincial England the idea of linking the church with musical performance was not new. As Peter Borsay notes, prior to the rise of the concert hall, not only were churches in the eighteenth century “part of the public fabric of a town”, they were also “the largest covered space in the community” and so a “natural home for concert performances... of appropriately sacred character”.<sup>47</sup> Proprietary chapels, such as the Octagon Chapel of Bath built in 1767, featured commodious surroundings that afforded high levels of comfort for those who attended.<sup>48</sup> Borsay suggests that such attributes would be more expected in secular performance spaces than in those created for religious rituals, and their presence indicates that the Chapel had been designed with the expectation that concerts would be staged within its walls. Yet even in the more widely accessible churches than the Octagon Chapel, “the galleries frequently inserted into Georgian churches ... provided excellent seating for concert-goers” even if the primary reason for the galleries’ construction was the accommodation of larger congregations in a rapidly urbanising England.<sup>49</sup>

Returning to the Continent, and to Burney’s unfavourable comparison of Antwerp with Rome, it should be noted that it had been in recalling an earlier visit to Rome in 1770, that Burney had already spoken of a general decline in church music even there, and had identified its probable causes as being related to changing social conditions and, more specifically, the impact of opera:

I had indeed been told, before my arrival at Rome, by a friend who had resided there nineteen years, that I must not expect to find the music of the Pope’s chapel so superior in the performance to that of the rest of Italy, as it has been in times past, before opera were invented and such great salaries given to the principal singers; then the Pope’s musicians being better paid, were consequently more likely to be possessed of abilities superior to those elsewhere, but, at present, this is not the case, and the consequence is obvious; their situation is somewhat similar to that of our choristers and choirmen in England, where their salaries remain at the original establishment, and at that point of perfection their performance seems to remain likewise; living is dearer, money of less value; more is given elsewhere; another profession is usually tacked to that of singing, in order to obtain a livelihood; and church music, of course, falls into decay, and goes from bad to worse, while that of the theatres receives daily improvements by additional rewards.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Peter Borsay, “Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Hants, UK; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2004), 23.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>50</sup> Charles Burney, *Dr Burney’s Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. Percy Scholes, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1979), 231. Burney’s emphasis.

Venice had suffered the same fate as Rome, but much earlier. While its cathedral, San Marco had a strong reputation for church music in the early seventeenth century, particularly for the poly-choral compositions of the Gabriellis, by the end of that century the situation had changed dramatically. As Olga Termini advises, with the exception of Giovanni Legrenzi (1626-1690), most high calibre composers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – not to mention singers and instrumentalists – had been attracted away from the renowned cathedral to the city's opera theatres where the economic rewards were much higher.<sup>51</sup> In one notable example, Francesco Cavalli (1602-1676) received as much for a single opera score as he did for a whole year's employment at San Marco.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, Europe's taste for Italian opera, and particularly for the sophisticated bel canto style of Italian singers, saw numerous vocalists travelling abroad, further reducing the city's ability to present high quality music in sacred venues.

#### Appropriate Church music: differing opinions

Not only was concertised church music suffering for economic reasons, but also from differing theological views on the style of music suited to the Eucharist. The desirability or otherwise of music usurping the pre-eminence of the religious ritual has been discussed for centuries. While this debate continues to wage, and will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter, the opinions of some of those who believed secular styles of music were permissible in the Church will be mentioned here.

As early as the twelfth century, John of Salisbury recommended moderation, worrying that excessive displays of musical ostentation “degraded even religious worship, bringing into the presence of God, into the recesses of the sanctuary a kind of luxurious and lascivious singing... more fitted to excite lust than devotion”.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, he was cautiously in favour of using modern musical techniques in church music: “Kept in the limits of moderation, it drives away care from the soul and the solitudes of life, confers joy and peace and exultation in God, and transports the soul to the society of the angels”.<sup>54</sup>

Over the years, more polarised views would be expressed and acted upon so that, by the later sixteenth century, two contrasting styles of liturgical music could be heard in the churches of Christendom, *stile antico* and *stile moderno*. Those composing in *stile antico* followed the lead of Giovanni Palestrina (1525/6-1594). While their music no doubt satisfied the requirements of their employers, it is not

---

<sup>51</sup> Olga Termini, "Singers at San Marco in Venice: The Competition between Church and Theatre (c1675 - c1725)," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (1981): 65.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. Termini cites Henry Prunières, *Cavalli et l'Opéra Vénitien au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Rieder, 1931), 33.

<sup>53</sup> John of Salisbury, *De nugis curialium*, as cited in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.



usually these masses that are performed in concert venues today, although Palestrina's music still is. Kept alive by church choirs since the Council's ruling, Palestrina's music has stood the test of time, although not without some difficulty.

For example, when Charles Gounod (1818-1893) encountered the music of Palestrina in the Sistine Chapel in 1840 he initially found it unsettling, but with further exposure learnt to appreciate its allure.<sup>55</sup> When he obtained his first full time job in a Paris parish in 1843, it was the music of Palestrina and Bach that the congregation were required to listen to during the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>56</sup> More accustomed to the style of music prevailing in French salons, they objected; yet Gounod held firm, advising the Abbé "I didn't come here to consult the taste of your parishioners, but to improve it".<sup>57</sup> Slowly the parishioners became accustomed to the older style of music and came around to Gounod's view.<sup>58</sup>

Palestrina composed music that achieved a stylistic perfection that could not be improved upon. The logic of the Renaissance style had reached its conclusion, just as the logic of Bach's music would mark the culmination of the Baroque style. And just as Bach's secular music is the equal of his sacred music, so too is Palestrina's. In arguing for a need for composers of sacred music to be permitted to write in a contemporary style in 1916, Camille Saint Saëns (1835-1921) makes this same point, stating

the madrigals of Palestrina differ so little from his sacred music, that if we were to take one of them and fit Latin words to it, and have it sung in church, the faithful melomaniacs would doubtless discover therein that true religious style which they refuse to recognize in modern music ...

What music, then, ought there to be in the Church? Music of a grand style, in accord with the elevated sentiments expressed in the liturgy ... to my mind it is a great mistake to exclude modern works; every epoch has the right to express the religious sentiment in its own way.<sup>59</sup>

In similar vein, Karl Fellerer argues that it was exactly when the Church was at its most rigid that liturgical music became limpid and impoverished:

---

<sup>55</sup> James Harding, *Gounod* (London,: Allen and Unwin, 1973), 40-41.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Gounod, *Autobiographical Reminiscences, with Family Letters and Notes on Music*, Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series (New York,: Da Capo Press, 1970), 129.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>59</sup> Camille Saint-Saëns, "Music in the Church," *The Musical Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1916): 4-6.

In the course of history, ecclesiastical polyphony has stiffened into a mere backward-looking formalism only during those periods when the religious attitude lost its power to create its own means of composition and to give materials at hand ecclesiastical significance.<sup>60</sup>

Thus it was not music in the *stile antico* that would lead to the establishment of the concert mass, but music that was stylistically indistinguishable from the music of the concert hall: *stile moderno*. As has already been shown in the cases of San Petrono and the Salzburg Cathedral, in addition to choral music, instrumental interludes were included, particularly in Court chapels. John Walter Hill notes that during the later seventeenth century in Vienna

music played in the imperial court chapel during Mass and Vespers could be as festive and brilliant as the music of the outdoor ceremonies, because the church was as much a venue for projections of majesty as the procession route, the triumphal arch, or the courtyard ceremony.<sup>61</sup>

Thomas Day argues that sacred art that was equal to or better than the best non-sacred art of the day was sponsored by Church officials who were reacting to charges of “monkish backwardness” that bespoke of “ignorance and superstition”.<sup>62</sup> Just as the elaborate decoration of churches could portray a Roman Catholic Church that had not merely “emerged from the challenge of Protestantism, it had triumphed”, music too could be used to redress the problem of perceived nescience.<sup>63</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century,

the music of Mozart’s Masses for Salzburg’s cathedral, Haydn’s Masses, and even Beethoven’s *Mass in C*, communicated in the language of a modern musical style that seems to proclaim faith in a God who is cheerful, benevolent, and un-monkish – the Enlightenment’s idea of a perfectly acceptable sort of deity.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Fellerer, *The History of Catholic Church Music*, 56.

<sup>61</sup> Hill, *Baroque Music*, 306.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Day, “Foreword,” in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 5.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 5-6.

## CONCERTISED MASS TO CONCERT MASS

As noted in the previous chapter, once public concerts had been established across Europe, the concert mass came into existence when composers such as Mozart and Haydn began to construct the mass as a unified and cohesive work that did not require the rituals of the Eucharist to make sense of it. Drawing from techniques developed in symphonic writing, which required the devising of “organizing factors” to replace the “skeleton” previously dictated by text in vocal music, the concert mass is a product of both the symphony and of choral writing.<sup>65</sup> This may not have occurred, however, if the mass had not first been concertised.

Having discussed Italian and Viennese concertised masses above, selected masses of Napoleonic and Restoration France will now be explored to more fully explicate the transition from concertised mass to concert mass in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As will be shown, in attending to the French desire for uncomplicated entertainment after the experience of the Terror, composers would make decisions regarding masses that set precedents that extended the way in which the form would be utilised.

## Masses during Napoleonic and Restoration France

Even before the dechristianisation movement of 1793-4, Catholic Church music had entered a period of lassitude in France.<sup>66</sup> With the incoming revolutionary administration sweeping away the two challenges to its authority in 1789 – the King and the Church – sacred music became almost non-existent for over a decade. The Church Choir Schools, long-established musical training grounds found throughout France, were abolished, and no music for church was composed until religion was restored by Napoleon in 1801.<sup>67</sup> Shortly thereafter, religious music was reinvigorated when Napoleon reinstated the chapel at the Tuileries and appointed the Neapolitan composer Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) as *maître de chapelle* in 1802.<sup>68</sup> Napoleon had admired Paisiello’s music for some time, commissioning a piece from the composer in 1797 to commemorate a colleague.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Louise Cuyler, *The Symphony*, ed. Karl Geiringer, The Harbrace History of Musical Forms (New York; Chicago; San Francisco; Atlanta: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich), 8.

<sup>66</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music*, 160. Mongrédien attributes the decline to the public’s loss of interest in grand motets due to over exposure to the form, particularly through the *Concert Spirituel* series discussed above.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 161-63.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>69</sup> Michael F. Robinson and Ulrike Hofmann, *Giovanni Paisiello, A Thematic Catalogue of his Works*, ed. Colin Mason, 2 vols., vol. I, Thematic Catalogues Series (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), xxiii.

During Paisiello's tenure at the Tuileries his church music had "a fashionable and secular character, which corresponded to the taste of contemporary French society".<sup>70</sup> In fact, the format of his masses changed little from those he had composed in Naples, continuing to comprise a Kyrie and an elaborate Gloria supplemented by settings of other, non-liturgical religious texts, but no other sections of the Ordinary.<sup>71</sup> There was one notable exception: his *Mass in B-flat*, performed during Napoleon's coronation as Emperor of France in December 1804 at Notre Dame Cathedral. By this time Paisiello had departed his position in Paris, and so the performance was directed by his successor, Jean-François Le Sueur (1760-1837). Paisiello's *Mass in B-flat* included movements for all five sections of the Ordinary, to which Le Sueur added a *Te Deum*, also by Paisiello, the *Vivat* by Abbé Roze (1745-1819) and four other pieces composed by Le Sueur to accompany the ceremonial moments during the coronation: the Pope's procession, the unctions, the remittal of the imperial sword, and the entrance/exit march.<sup>72</sup> The ceremonial mass was a great spectacle with some four hundred musicians in two orchestras and two choirs, one of each located at opposite ends of the transept.<sup>73</sup>

While Paisiello's mass for this grand occasion did include all five sections of the Ordinary plus the prayer '*Domine salvum fac*', as shown in Figure 2.2, its assortment of keys and tempos, combined with the highly fragmented Gloria make it characteristically Baroque and concertised. Yet the relatively sparsely sectionalised Credo shows some limited conformity with concert mass structural norms, as developed by Haydn and discussed in the previous chapter.

Kyrie	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus Dei	Domine
B-flat maj. <i>Larghetto</i>	G major <i>Allegro vivace</i> C major <i>Andante movibile (Gratias tibi)</i> E minor <i>Andante mosso (Domine Deus)</i> E minor <i>Larghetto (Qui tollis)</i> D-G maj <i>Larghetto (Qui sedes)</i> G major <i>Allegro (Quoniam tu solus)</i> B-flat maj. <i>Moderato (Cum sancto spiritu)</i>	G maj <i>Moderato</i> C maj <i>Larghetto (et incarnates)</i> G maj <i>Moderato (et in spiritum)</i>	C major <i>Andante</i>	F major <i>Andante</i>	D Major <i>Moderato</i>

Figure 2.2 Movements and sections of Paisiello's *Mass in B-flat*<sup>74</sup>

Other than such exceptional celebrations as a coronation, mass at the Tuileries was generally said each Sunday at noon and lasted a bare half hour.<sup>75</sup> One consequence of this brevity was that the music in the Sunday Eucharist at the Tuileries might be performed while the priest was reciting the liturgy at the

<sup>70</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music*, 172.

<sup>71</sup> Michael F. Robinson and Ulrike Hofmann, *Giovanni Paisiello, A Thematic Catalogue of his Works*, ed. Colin Mason, 2 vols., vol. II - The non-dramatic works, Thematic Catalogue Series (Stuyvestant: Pendragon Press, 1991), 52-135.

<sup>72</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music*, 164.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 164-65.

<sup>74</sup> Prepared from information in Robinson and Hofmann, *Giovanni Paisiello II*, II - The non-dramatic works, Item 4:16.

<sup>75</sup> Boris Schwarz, *French Instrumental Music Between the Revolutions* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987), 18.

altar, effectively drowning the cleric out. This was not a new practice, it was just more extreme because very few of the priest's words would not be covered by music. What might have been disturbing for a pious Catholic was that the words sung by the choir would sometimes have little or no bearing on the ritual being enacted at the altar by the priest, and some parts of the liturgy might not be heard at all.<sup>76</sup> For example, in 1802, Paisiello's twenty-three minute *Mass No. 4* was supplemented by a further five-minute soprano aria *Domine salvum fac*, leaving a bare two minutes in a thirty minute service in which music would not be heard.<sup>77</sup> Given Paisiello had, as he usually did, excluded the Sanctus and Agnus Dei (replacing them with settings of biblical texts), even these two fundamental texts of the Ordinary were not likely to have been heard by the congregation on that occasion.

On other occasions and with other composers, Mongrédien observes, further liberties might be taken. This was particularly true of Paisiello's successor, Le Sueur. In his third *Messe Solennelle*, Le Sueur includes a setting of the Offertory text that is effectively a musical pageant, "a sort of little drama integrated into the middle of the mass".<sup>78</sup> Certainly, there were no costumes or props, but the inclusion of a commentary in the score that is akin to stage directions demonstrates that spectacle was put ahead of service to the liturgy in the composer's ambitions for the piece.<sup>79</sup> In another example, in *Mass No. 5* Le Sueur "dared to introduce into the Kyrie words totally foreign to this prayer".<sup>80</sup> Le Sueur's pupil at the time, Hector Berlioz (1803-1859) provides a musical explanation for his teacher's decision to supplement the Kyrie text:

The works performed during the ordinary services of the Royal Chapel – at least during Le Sueur's tenure – were rarely masses in the proper sense.... In order to avoid excessive repetition of the words Kyrie eleison, Le Sueur added words of liturgical origin that allowed him to use many different rhythmic forms and to vary the accents of the prayer while making the best of the principal idea.<sup>81</sup>

Mongrédien speculates on the underlying reason for such liberties being taken, suggesting first that "the richness of counterpoint" that enabled other composers to spin out the short Kyrie text was not to the taste of the French at this time and few were proficient at devising polyphony, having received little systematic training in the technique.<sup>82</sup> Second, Mongrédien suggests, given Napoleon's desire to

---

<sup>76</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music*, 170.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. Mongrédien advises that the timings were marked in the score of the mass.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>81</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Review et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 10 June 1838. As cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 170-71.

<sup>82</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music*, 171-72.

reinstate religion as a means of re-establishing moral order, Le Sueur's dramatics were prompted by the need to attract the "new generation of *Merveilleuses* and *Incroyables*" who had not been brought up as church goers and so required reasons beyond the promise of spiritual enlightenment to attend.<sup>83</sup> This is confirmed by an article in *Le Citoyen Français*, cited by Mongrédien, which derides advertisements for forthcoming mass services that emphasize, among other attractions, organ playing by "the famous Mr So and so" and music composed by "illustrious *maître de chapelle* So and so".<sup>84</sup> The article comes to the sardonic conclusion that "[t]his manner of requesting their presence seems to mean: 'If you simply come to pray, you will be bored, but we have arranged things so that this nuisance will not fall upon you.'"<sup>85</sup> Of course, if the music was not to the congregant's taste, boredom would set in anyway. According to Wilhelm Speyer this was the case at the Tuileries Chapel when a mass by Le Sueur that "was lacking in spirit and very monotonous" caused Napoleon to become "agitated" doing "nothing to conceal it. He snorted several times, leaned his whole body from left to right and bit his nails".<sup>86</sup>

After Napoleon's defeat in 1815, religion continued to be promoted in France, although for more traditional reasons. Yet full settings of the five sections of the Ordinary remained exceptional. As François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871) reports, during the reigns of Kings Louis XVIII and Charles X "it was rare that an entire mass be sung in the Royal chapel. Often the time of the service was taken up by a Kyrie followed by a motet".<sup>87</sup> Visiting Paris in 1821, Louis Spohr (1784-1859) was astounded by the music he heard in Tuileries Chapel, wondering "[h]ow could they have a single pious thought when hearing such trivial music?"<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless he acknowledges that the French did not share his opinion, admitting "still, I saw the congregation pray with fervor" as they listened to Le Sueur's Christmas *Messe de Minuit*.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, Le Sueur's skill is posthumously lauded in the foremost post-Napoleonic Catholic newspaper of the time, *L'ami de la religion: Journal ecclésiastique, politique et littéraire*, which commended the composer's appropriation of popular Christmas carols into his *messe de Noël* without detracting from the seriousness of the occasion for which it was composed.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 177. The original *incroyables* and *merveilleuses* (incredible [men] and marvellous [women]) formed an aristocratic subculture that, during the penultimate stage of the French Revolution (1795-99), was noted for its extreme decadence.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 177-78.

<sup>85</sup> "Correspondance des Professeurs et Amateurs de Musique," *Le Citoyen Français* 30 Floréal year XII (20 May 1804). As translated and cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 177-78.

<sup>86</sup> Edward Speyer, *Wilhelm Speyer, der Liederkomponist, 1790-1878* (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1925). As translated and cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 182.

<sup>87</sup> François-Joseph Fétis, "Cherubini," in *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens* (Paris 1884). As translated and cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 170.

<sup>88</sup> Louis Spohr, *Selbstbiographie*. Kassel, 1860-61 2:131ff. As translated and cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 173.

<sup>89</sup> Louis Spohr, as cited in *ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> "Politique, mélanges, etc.," *L'ami de la religion, Journal Ecclésiastique, politique et littéraire* 103 (Oct-Dec), no. 3197. Discussion regarding the dramatic, Oratorio-like nature of Le Sueur's masses can be found in Howard E. Smither, *A history of*

### Resurrection of old sacred music by Choral Societies

On his way to Paris, Spohr had been impressed with a performance of sixteenth-century sacred music by the Heidelberg choral society led by Anton Thibaut, a collector of sacred music of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.<sup>91</sup> The Heidelberg choral society was representative of a growing number of organisations established across Europe who felt a historicising urge to restore, preserve and sing music from the past, including Alexandra Choron's initiative at the *Institution royale de musique religieuse de France* mentioned above. Perhaps as a corrective to what he had experienced in Paris, upon his return to Germany, Spohr composed an unaccompanied mass for ten voices inspired by the music of the Heidelberg concert. Striving to write in the *stile antico* but with modern harmonies, Spohr's stylistically hybrid *Mass* op. 54 (1821) would prove too difficult for the Leipzig choral society who first attempted it, and it was not until a simplified version was published several years later that a successful performance would be given by the choral society in Kassel (then Cassel) in November 1827.<sup>92</sup> While Spohr was considered by his contemporaries to be "worthy of a place beside Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven", it would not be Spohr's mass that would enter into the main corpus of the concert mass repertoire, despite having been composed at the composer's whim rather than for a liturgical service.<sup>93</sup> It would be the later masses of Haydn and Mozart and those of Beethoven, composed in fully contemporary style, and for much more significant musical resources, that would.<sup>94</sup>

With the possible exception of Paisiello, the first composer in France to create a mass that looks similar to the late works of Haydn and Mozart was another Italian, Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) who had settled in Paris by around 1794. Cherubini began the mass while visiting the Prince of Chimay's Belgian country-seat in 1808 and a portion of the incomplete work was performed there during the celebratory feast day mass of St Celia.<sup>95</sup> Emulating the structure of Haydn's masses if not the Austrian composer's style, the completed *Mass of Chimay* is a lengthy work of nineteen sections in six movements, which takes

---

*the oratorio*, Vol. 1, *The oratorio in the Baroque era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, [1977] 2012; repr., Google books <https://books.google.com.au/books?isbn=0807837733>), 577-81.

<sup>91</sup> Clive Brown, *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 147.

<sup>92</sup> Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Autobiography: Translated from the German*, trans. Anon, 2 vols., vol. 2, Cambridge Library Collection: Books of Enduring Scholarly Value (New York [London]: Cambridge University Press [Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green], 2010 [1865]), 138.

<sup>93</sup> Clive Brown, "Spohr, Louis," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/26446>.

<sup>94</sup> In the forward to the Cambridge University Press reproduction of Louis Spohr's *Autobiography*, it states that "only the Octet op. 32 and the Nonet op. 31 are heard regularly today". Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Autobiography: Translated from the German*, 2 vols., vol. 1, Cambridge Library Collection: Books of Enduring Scholarly Value (New York [London]: Cambridge University Press [Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green], 2010 [1865]). Spohr's Mass was revived and recorded in 1994 by the Berlin Radio Symphony Chorus and by the Prague Philharmonic Choir in 1998.

<sup>95</sup> George T. Ferris, "Cherubini and His Predecessors," Project Gutenberg eBook ed., *Great Italian and French Composers* ([1891] 2006), [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17462/17462-h/17462-h.htm#2H\\_4\\_0007](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17462/17462-h/17462-h.htm#2H_4_0007). Chapter VII.

upwards of fifty minutes to perform.<sup>96</sup> Scored for full orchestra, STB choir and soloists, its first full performance was conducted not during another church service, but rather during a glittering private gathering at the Parisian residence of the Prince de Chimay in 1809, making it one of the first masses to receive its premiere in a concert setting.<sup>97</sup> Fétis describes the event in the following glowing terms:

I shall never forget the effect produced by this beautiful work performed by such great artists. Every Parisian celebrity from all walks of life was present for this occasion, which resulted in an unprecedented success for the composer. During the pause between the Gloria and the Credo, the audience gathered in groups in the salons and everyone expressed unqualified admiration for this new style of composition, with which Cherubini surpassed every previous attempt in the sacred concertante style [requiring two or more soloists]. The combination of the severe beauty of the fugue and counterpoint with the dramatic character and the rich instrumental effects show us Cherubini's genius at its best.<sup>98</sup>

Although *Mass of Chimay* was sung in Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, and London over the next five years, one German journalist who attended the premiere was less than impressed by Cherubini's style, comparing his technical prowess unfavourably with "the German geniuses ... Bach, Beethoven, Mozart and Handel", and concluding that "[i]n order to compose perfect works in this genre, one must have practiced counterpoint and fugal style all one's life".<sup>99</sup>

Nevertheless, as Mongrédien points out, and as Spohr noticed even a decade later, the early Romantic French, having survived the Revolutionary excesses that had terrorized so many, actually preferred "simple melody over harmony" with its direct and immediate emotional content.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, they generally followed the stance of the Enlightenment thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau who was of the opinion that "if each part is given its own melody, all the melodies heard at once destroy one another and produce no melody".<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Basil Deane, *Cherubini*, ed. Colin Mason, Oxford Studies of Composers (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 18-19.

<sup>97</sup> Michael Fend, "Cherubini, Luigi," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/53110>.

<sup>98</sup> Fétis, "Cherubini."

<sup>99</sup> Anon, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1809. As translated and cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 174.

<sup>100</sup> Mongrédien, *French Music*, 175-77.

<sup>101</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la Musique Française* (Paris 1753). As translated and cited in Mongrédien, *French Music*, 176.



Writing in the late nineteenth-century, George Ferris cites another critic, Luigi Picchianti, whose highly favourable review compares Cherubini's mass with the music of Palestrina:

All the musical science of the good age of religious music, the sixteenth century of the Christian era, was summed up in Palestrina ... without instrumental aid, Palestrina knew how to awaken among his hearers mysterious, grand, deep, vague sensations, that seemed caused by the objects of an unknown world, or by superior powers in the human imagination ... With all the means which a composer nowadays can make use of, Cherubini perfected another conception ... depicting man in his various vicissitudes, now rising to the praises of Divinity, now gazing on the Supreme Power, now suppliant and prostrate.<sup>102</sup>

Identifying a key factor in the transition of the mass to its concert form, Picchianti concludes "while Palestrina's music places God before man, that of Cherubini places man before God".<sup>103</sup> Put another way, in the sixteenth century, God was central to European society; by the nineteenth century, humankind had become central and, if Picchianti is correct, this transition is made manifest in the music of Palestrina and Cherubini.

## FROM COURT AND CHURCH TO CHORAL SOCIETIES AND FREELANCE COMPOSERS

### Choral Societies

From the single movement compositions of medieval times through until the multi-movement works of the early nineteenth century, masses had been composed by clerics and employees of churches and courts who provided music that served the ritualistic and ceremonial needs of these institutions. However, the revolutionary march away from aristocratic and papal rule towards nation states run by secular leaders, combined with a growing disenchantment with religion, saw a decline in the power and affluence of Church and Court. Celia Applegate argues that this decline contributed to the increasing popularity of choral singing because the Societies that organised the choirs offered ritualised spaces for communal gathering that proffered the same sense of belonging that religious institutions provided, but without any requisite of faith.<sup>104</sup> This is not to suggest that choral societies saw themselves as alternatives to religion, merely that, over and above any benefit gained from singing the music itself, choir rehearsals and performances offered a social alternative to church-going.

---

<sup>102</sup> Luigi Picchianti, as cited in Ferris, "Cherubini and His Predecessors," Chapter VII.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Celia Applegate, "The Building of Community through Choral Singing," in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia, Routledge Studies in Musical Genres (New York: Routledge, 2013), 59-63.

In speaking of “the circumstances in which modern forms of choral singing developed”, Applegate writes that choral groups achieved organisational longevity because they established themselves within existing social frameworks:

Unlike the new reading groups, patriotic societies, or secret fraternal organizations such as Masonic societies, the beginnings of choral societies did not mark a clear break from the past. While early founders ... held similar aspirations to contribute to the improvement of mankind, they generally regarded their efforts as working *with* rather than *against* the grain of their times and its leading institutions of court, church, and local government.<sup>105</sup>

Choosing to fit in with the leading moral arbiters of European life, which still included its religious institutions, Choral Societies performed sacred music regularly, including masses, or movements of masses. In an early example of a composer creating a mass especially for performance by a choral society, including full orchestra, Friedrich Schneider (1756-1853) composed a mass for the Viennese *Concerts Spirituels*, which they performed in March 1820.<sup>106</sup>

The burgeoning popularity of choral singing would not only result in choirs becoming available to perform large-scale musical works accompanied by orchestras that would swell to ever greater proportions as the nineteenth century progressed, but would also create a demand for editions of choral works, thereby creating a new market that publishers could expand into. In addition, as demonstrated by the circumstances from which Spohr’s unaccompanied mass and Schneider’s large-scale mass arose, composers were becoming increasingly self-directed and self-promoting in order to survive. Consequently, while still retaining its liturgical legitimacy, the mass – like all music in a slowly democratising Europe – was also becoming a commodity of the people.

#### From patronage to freelance composers

In the nineteenth century composers experienced a transition away from court and church patronage to self-management. This was the case with Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), who would briefly work for Joseph Haydn’s employer. With Haydn having ceased composing four years earlier due to an illness from which he would never recover, in 1806 Prince Nicholas Esterhazy commissioned Beethoven

---

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>106</sup> David Wyn Jones, “The Missa Solemnis Premiere. First Rites,” *The Musical Times* 139, no. 1864 (Autumn 1998). Jones cites a conversation between the Director of the *Concerts Spirituel*, Franz Xaver Gebauer and Beethoven, recorded in *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte I* (Leipzi, 1972) 342-45, in which Gebauer advises that the series had commissioned Schneider’s mass.

on a freelance basis to compose his wife's annual Name Day mass. Completed only a few days before the September 1807 service, Beethoven's *Mass in C* was not well received by the Prince, and Beethoven was not granted the same commission the following year.<sup>107</sup> Even had the Prince liked Beethoven's mass, commissions from the court of Esterhazy would soon have dried up. The Austrian Financial Crisis of 1811, caused primarily by excessive spending on military endeavours, saw a devaluation of the Austrian currency by 80% and this, coupled with the Prince's high propensity for spending on luxury items, permanently reduced the Court of Esterhazy to a pale replica of its former splendour.

While Beethoven's first mass was at least commissioned by a prince, and so still fitted within the old model of aristocratic patronage, his second mass, begun some twelve years later, was instigated by himself with no promise of a direct payment for a first performance. Admittedly the mass was begun with the intention that it would be used for the investiture of Archduke Rudolph (1788-1831) to the position of Archbishop of Olmütz in middle Moravia (now Olomouc in the Czech Republic) on 9 March 1820, and Rudolph, together with two others, had been paying Beethoven an annual allowance since 1809.<sup>108</sup> But this differed from the patronage systems of the past in that none of the trio contributing to Beethoven's upkeep controlled what he composed. In offering to compose the mass, Beethoven may have been hoping for a further supplementary payment from the Archduke, or simply to show his respect, but, over and above such secular considerations, it is possible that he also wanted to compose the mass as an expression of Christian faith. Although Beethoven, baptised a Catholic, may well have developed a somewhat sceptical attitude towards Catholic doctrine and dogma as he matured, Roger Fiske argues that he seems to have retained a belief in the Christian God.<sup>109</sup> In justification, Fiske draws on Beethoven's *aide-mémoire* regarding the proposed *Missa Solemnis*, which concluded "tranquilly will I submit myself to all vicissitudes and place my sole confidence in Thy unalterable goodness, O God ... Be my rock, my light, forever my trust".<sup>110</sup>

For Eftychia Papanikolaou, Fiske's conclusion is too simplistic. Writing about the results of her analysis of several nineteenth-century "symphonic masses" in which she strove to determine what they reflect of each composer's religious belief, Papanikolaou argues that *Missa Solemnis* "does not reflect Catholic belief in its purest sense, but rather an amalgam of enlightened Reason, philosophical idealism, romantic subjectivity, Catholic pantheism, classical pagan fatalism, and even eastern

<sup>107</sup> Günter Thomas, "Esterházy," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 19 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/09020>.

<sup>108</sup> D. Kern Holoman, "Masses and Requiems," in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia, Routledge Studies in Musical Genres (New York: Routledge, 2013), 129.

<sup>109</sup> Roger Fiske, *Beethoven's Missa Solemnis* (London: Paul Elek, 1979), 30.

<sup>110</sup> Alexander Thayer, *A Life of Beethoven*, Elliott Forbes, ed. (Princeton, 1964) pp. 480-81 as cited in *ibid*.

transcendentalism".<sup>111</sup> Moreover, for Papanikolaou, Beethoven's second mass encapsulates the philosophical ruminations of nineteenth-century Europe's thinkers, when, she suggests, all belief systems "were examined on an equal basis in a search for harmony rather than antagonism".<sup>112</sup> If Papanikolaou is correct, perhaps the first stirrings of an eclectic approach to religion can be found in Beethoven's second mass; an eclecticism that would feature much more overtly one hundred and fifty years later, when composers would begin to incorporate non-standard texts from a variety of belief systems into their masses.

Beethoven did not complete the mass in time for the Archduke's installation. Instead, one of ten subscribers who purchased manuscript copies of the yet unpublished score, Prince Nikolai Galitzin, arranged its premiere in a concert in St Petersburg on 7 April 1824.<sup>113</sup> Meanwhile, Beethoven's stipend from the trio of patrons, including Archbishop Rudolph, continued. Yet, even coupled with commissions, the stipend was insufficient for Beethoven's needs, and so it was essential that the income streams available from publishing houses were exploited. At this stage, masses of concert proportions attracted little interest from publishers because they were costly to produce and there was, as yet, virtually no market for them. Although not all would agree with his sentiments now, for Roger Fiske, publishers were not interested in large-scale masses because

[a]s a concert work any Mass is a bit of an embarrassment. The only proper place for a musical setting of the Eucharist is a church, yet an elaborate special-occasion Mass with full orchestral accompaniment is quite unsuited to a church apart from the particular service for which it was written.<sup>114</sup>

Consequently, when masses were published, composers were expected to be satisfied with the attendant prestige rather than any monetary benefit. Beethoven would certainly have been aware of this, yet he persisted with his requests for remuneration, advising publishers Breitkopf and Härtel that "if only you will arrange a performance in Leipzig you'll find music lovers will immediately come forward and want the music. Publish it by all means in a vocal score with German words. However you do it, I guarantee its success".<sup>115</sup> The publishers did publish *Mass in C*, but not until 1812, and only because Beethoven gave them the right to publish four potentially more lucrative works – his Fifth and Sixth

---

<sup>111</sup> Papanikolaou, "Profane Rites and Sacred Symphonies," 44.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Holoman, "Masses and Requiems," 132-33. The concert was a benefit for the widows and orphans of the philharmonic society.

<sup>114</sup> Fiske, *Beethoven's Missa Solemnis*, 8.

<sup>115</sup> As cited in *ibid.*

symphonies, the A major Cello Sonata, and the Op. 70 Piano Trios. Beethoven's second mass, completed in 1823, three years after the Archduke's installation, suffered a similar fate, and was not published until 1827, just after Beethoven's death, and then only with the lure of his Ninth symphony and a set of string quartets.<sup>116</sup>

Masses, then, do not appear to have been financially lucrative for the freelance composer. In the early nineteenth century and beyond, those who were not in receipt of a funded commission chose to compose a mass for other reasons. The circumstances leading to the composition of Hector Berlioz's first mass throws light on one of them. In 1825 Berlioz's *Messe Solennelle* was the first of his works to receive a public performance, and may not have been performed at all were it not for a loan from his friend Augustin de Pons.<sup>117</sup> Although the mass was performed in a church – St Roch in Paris – it was a dramatic work composed not primarily to serve the liturgy or even to express a personal faith, but rather – as his letters to family and others make plain – to serve Berlioz's desire to establish himself as a credible composer of serious music and to thereby convince his father, who held the purse strings far too tightly for the young Berlioz's liking, that his chosen career path was not as ill-advised as his father believed.<sup>118</sup>

Yet, if all the young Berlioz wanted was to establish himself as a composer worth reckoning with, why compose a mass rather than, for example, an opera or symphony? There is no indication in any of his letters of the time that he was highly religious, or even temporarily religiously motivated, and so the answer must lie elsewhere. In fact, it seems it was simply the case of a fortunate confluence of circumstances: a combination of Berlioz's energy and enthusiasm, a Vicar who wanted to support him and offered the (unpaid) commission, the performance economics of the time and the connections and influence of his composition teacher and mentor, Le Sueur.

As an inexperienced yet ambitious composer, Berlioz realised "that to get on in Paris, a young composer had to have contacts".<sup>119</sup> He wanted to make as big an impact as possible with the biggest work he could arrange to have performed. Opera was almost certainly out of his reach as a fledgling composer

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. Holoman makes the point that the mass was published within days of Beethoven's death, with multiple errors. Holoman, "Masses and Requiems," 133.

<sup>117</sup> See Berlioz's letter to his father, Dr Louis Berlioz, written in Paris on 25 April 1825. A translation appears in Hugh MacDonald, ed. *Selected Letters of Berlioz*, First American ed. (New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 20.

<sup>118</sup> See Berlioz's letters to his father and mother, and to his sister Nanci dated 25 April, 14 July and 12 December 1825 respectively, as translated in *ibid.*, 20-26. For information regarding the circumstances in which the mass was commenced, and eventually performed see David Cairns, *Berlioz*, 2 vols., vol. 1 *The Making of an Artist 1803-1832* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 149-56; 59-60; 63-66; 71-78.

<sup>119</sup> *Berlioz*, 2 vols., vol. 2: *Servitude and Greatness, 1832-1869* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999), 142.

without money. He could not afford to fund its production himself, would not have had sufficient contacts to arrange for it to be performed by professional musicians and opera singers without payment, and, as a yet unproven composer, his work was too great a risk for any entrepreneur to take on.

Having ruled out opera, his options were the symphony and the mass. As has already been demonstrated, masses were typically longer than symphonies, and so that might put the mass ahead of the symphony; however, the extra resources of a large choir and vocal soloists required by the mass would seem to mitigate against this.<sup>120</sup> But Berlioz could count on the choir at St Roch being at his disposal, and, although less certain a prospect, Berlioz also expected that Le Sueur would let him “borrow” the King’s musicians – including vocal soloists – for the occasion, free of charge.<sup>121</sup> Another possible motivation for selecting a mass over a symphony is the fact that Le Sueur was the pre-eminent composer of French church music of the time, and so Berlioz may have wanted to compose a sacred work out of respect for his teacher, or to capitalise upon his expertise. Probably all of these factors came into play. As it transpired, the musicians of the Chapelle Royale became unavailable due to a last-minute requirement of the King and, as mentioned above, it was only the spontaneous offer of a friend to lend Berlioz money to pay the musicians that allowed the mass to proceed as planned. The mass received both popular and critical acclaim, with Berlioz reporting that, had it been performed in a secular venue not a church, Le Sueur believed it would have received “three or four rounds of applause”.<sup>122</sup>

In fact, the *Messe* not only launched Berlioz’s career, but it also fed his career, passages from it providing material for no less than six subsequent works including a number “Ah! cher/maudit canon du Fort Saint-Ange” (Ah! Blessed/accursed canon of Saint-Ange Fort) from the opera *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838) which was based upon the life of a sixteenth-century scoundrel.<sup>123</sup> This number employs an adaptation of the “*cuius regni non erit finis*” (and His kingdom shall have no end) portion of the Resurexit from the Credo of Berlioz’s *Messe Solennelle*; hardly an appropriate match, but the emotional ambiguity of music allows such ironies to succeed.

---

<sup>120</sup> Beethoven’s 9<sup>th</sup> symphony requires a choir for its fourth and final movement.

<sup>121</sup> Le Sueur shared responsibility for directing the activities of the Chapel Royale with Cherubini.

<sup>122</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Correspondance Générale de Hector Berlioz*, ed. Pierre Citron, 8 vols., vol. I (Paris: Flammorian, 1972), no. 48. A translated excerpt is included in The Hector Berlioz Website, “Berlioz in Paris: Eglise Saint-Roch,” accessed 15 April 2015, <http://www.hberlioz.com/Paris/BPStRoch.html>.

<sup>123</sup> For an annotated list of Berlioz’s recycling of musical ideas see ‘Berlioz and his music: self-borrowings’, *The Hector Berlioz Website*, <http://www.hberlioz.com/Works/borrowings.htm#table>, accessed 28 Dec. 2011.

Two later examples of the mass being composed as a 'calling card' can be found in the works of Robert Schumann (1810-1856) and John Knowles Paine (1839-1906). When Schumann moved from Lutheran Saxony to Catholic Rhineland in 1850 and found his failing mental health giving rise to disputes with his employers, he "hoped to win over his largely Catholic audiences" with *Missa Sacra* (1852) for soloists, chorus and orchestra and *Requiem* (1852) for chorus and orchestra.<sup>124</sup> While neither work would be performed in full during Schumann's lifetime, Jürgen Thym is of the opinion that the composer "most likely thought of the concert hall as the ideal venue" for the two.<sup>125</sup> In the second example, Paine, an American, arranged a concert performance of his *Mass in D* in Berlin in 1867 in the hope that it "would provide a substantial boost in helping to establish him as a composer in the United States".<sup>126</sup> These hopes were gratified when the Berlin premiere was a success and his mass was scheduled for a performance in Boston, 1868. Although it appears that the Boston performance did not go ahead, Paine's career certainly did; he is credited with being the first American composer of orchestral music of note.<sup>127</sup>

#### OTHER NINETEENTH-CENTURY MASSES

As the nineteenth century proceeded, large-scale, or symphonic concert masses were composed alongside simpler ones. Some notable composers, such as Charles Gounod (1818-1893) and César Franck (1822-1890), found employment in churches early in their careers, contributing to the mass repertoire in these roles. At twenty-one, having just won the Grand Prix de Rome, Gounod was commissioned by the chapel-master of St Eustache in Paris to compose a mass for choir and full orchestra in 1839, and would complete a further eighteen masses and two requiems over his lifetime.<sup>128</sup> Some are small scale a capella works and others, like *Messe Solennelle de Sainte Cécile* (1855), much more grandiose. As an employee of the parish of Sainte-Clotilde, also located in Paris, Franck, who was not keen on choral composition but was a faithful Catholic, would labour over a three-voice mass for several years, commencing the work in 1858 and finally publishing it in 1872.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Jürgen Thym, "Preface" in Robert Schumann, *Missa Sacra, Opus 147*, Repertoire Explorer (München: Musikproduktion Höflich, 2007), II.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. The Kyrie and Gloria from the mass were performed under Schumann's direction in 1853.

<sup>126</sup> John Calvitt Huxford, "John Knowles Paine: His Life and Works" (PhD, The Florida State University, 1969), 44-47.

<sup>127</sup> DeVenney, *American Masses and Requiems: A Descriptive Guide*, 25-26; David Paul DeVenney, "A Conductor's Study of the 'Mass in D' by John Knowles Paine" (DMA, University of Cincinnati, 1989).

<sup>128</sup> Gounod, *Autobiographical Reminiscences*, 51.

<sup>129</sup> Laurence Davies, *César Franck and His Circle* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 93.

But opportunities within the church were both limited and limiting so other composers created masses for personal religious reasons, or to demonstrate compositional expertise as Berlioz and Paine did. Regardless of the reason, however, as Schubert scholar, Leo Black notes, “a composer will most likely engage with [the lengthy mass texts] only if there is some call for it, some hope of the result’s being performed”.<sup>130</sup>

In the case of Franz Schubert (1797-1828), his first mass was the result of a prestigious (although unpaid) commission for the centenary of the Lichtental church in 1814, and the next three masses were probably composed for the same church.<sup>131</sup> While the reason why Schubert composed his final two masses is uncertain, Robert Winter is of the opinion that, being completed only months before the composer’s death, the sixth at least “seems to have been a response to inner need rather than external imperative”.<sup>132</sup> Glenn Stanley’s analysis of the text-setting in the Gloria of the final mass concurs with this view, showing that Schubert’s text setting “shifts the focus away from God onto man’s fear of damnation ... and hope for salvation”.<sup>133</sup>

All six are considered controversial in that Schubert omitted the phrase “*in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam*” ([I believe in] one holy catholic apostolic church) from the Credo of each.<sup>134</sup> In doing so, he rendered his masses officially (if not in practice) inappropriate for liturgical performance. The reason for the omission has never been established conclusively; however, after presenting several alternative theories, Schubert biographer Brian Newbould is inclined to accept that the obvious explanation is the most likely, and that the phrase was not set because Schubert did not believe in “one holy catholic apostolic church”.<sup>135</sup> Black too, sees nothing institutional about Schubert’s faith. In his study of the composer’s “religious, passive, wandering side” he concludes that “Schubert was in touch with a different reality”, a reality that, Black suggests, was more in accord with Rudolph Otto’s ideas regarding the numinous than specific Christian doctrines.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Leo Black, *Franz Schubert: Music and Belief* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 29.

<sup>131</sup> Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 39-40.

<sup>132</sup> Robert Winter, "Schubert, Franz - Works - Sacred Music," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/25109pg2#S25109.2>.

<sup>133</sup> Glenn Stanley, "Schubert's Religious and Choral Music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 222-3.

<sup>134</sup> For details on these and omissions in Schubert’s masses see Ronald Stringham, "The Masses of Franz Schubert" (PhD, Cornell University, 1964), 87.

<sup>135</sup> Brian Newbould, *Schubert: The Music and the Man* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1997), 35-36. An extensive coverage of the issue is also contained in Papanikolaou, "Profane Rites and Sacred Symphonies," 99-110.

<sup>136</sup> Black, *Franz Schubert: Music and Belief*, xiii; xi. Black (p. 30) simply mentions the matter of the omitted phrase in passing without engaging in the debate. Rudolph Otto writes that encountering the numinous is awesome, overpowering, sublime and energetic, leading to “the strangest excitements, to intoxicated frenzy, to transport, and to ecstasy;” or, in direct contrast, the numinous can also be experienced as “a gentle tide, pervading the mind with a tranquil mood of deepest



Whether Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) was aware of Schubert's unconventional faith is uncertain; however, he decided to arrange movements of Schubert's final mass for five voices over an extended period of five years to 1861. Published posthumously as *Missa Canonica*, neither of the two most heavily doctrinal movements – the Gloria and the Credo – were arranged, only the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Writing to a friend in 1863, Brahms extolled Schubert's virtues effusively by likening him to a god of the 'pagan' religion that Christianity had displaced:

Where else is there a genius like his, that soars with such boldness and certainty to the sky where we see the very greatest enthroned? He impresses me as a child of the gods, who plays with Jove's thunder, and occasionally handles it in an unusual manner.<sup>137</sup>

This reference to Roman religion and myth, which has the god of sky and thunder, Jove (or Jupiter) as its king of all the gods, read in conjunction with Brahms's choice to arrange a portion of the Catholic Mass, and later, to compose *Eine Deutsche Requiem* (1865-68), supports Papanikolaou's argument that nineteenth-century attitudes to religion were reflected in "symphonic masses". Brahms's *Requiem*, composed in response to the deaths of first Robert Schumann and then his mother in 1865, takes the example of the Napoleonic masses of the Tuileries, in which music was performed over most of the priest's recitation, in a different but equally contentious direction. Brahms does not include any of the traditional liturgical texts of the Requiem mass.<sup>138</sup> In their place he includes a range of verses in German (not Latin), from the Lutheran Bible that he was brought up with.<sup>139</sup> Selecting texts from eleven books across the old and new testaments, it is evident that Brahms spent some time compiling his libretto.<sup>140</sup> As Daniel Beller-McKenna, who shows much concordance with Papanikolaou, emphasises

[Brahms's] continued interest in religious texts (Luther's Bible in particular) suggests that he privately maintained throughout his life some measure of the Christian outlook on the world with which he was raised. Even if we take into account a variety of pessimistic and secularizing comments from his later years, there is nothing to suggest that Brahms ever betrayed that formative religious training. Brahms was nevertheless a typical product of the post-Romantic secularization of German culture ... Outside the church it led to various

---

worship". See Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: an Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*, trans. John W. Harvey, 2 ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 12-13.

<sup>137</sup> Johannes Brahms, Letter to Adolf Schübring, Hamburg, 19 June 1863, as translated in Karl Geiringer, *Brahms: His Life and Work*, trans. H.B. Weiner & Bernard Miall, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1963), 354.

<sup>138</sup> As will be noted below, Delius takes it further by setting Atheistic texts.

<sup>139</sup> A chapter is devoted to the Requiem in Geiringer, *Brahms: His Life and Work*, 92-102. See also Edwin Evans, *Historical, Descriptive & Analytical Account of the Entire Works of Johannes Brahms* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970 [1912]), 165-70.

<sup>140</sup> Texts are drawn from Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Isaiah, Matthew, John, Corinthians, Hebrews, James, I Peter, and Revelation.

forms of secular religion, including two manifestations that bear directly on Brahms's music: the new quasi-sacred setting of the concert hall and the ritual celebration of the state.<sup>141</sup>

### Early religious eclecticism

Beller-McKenna's statement may be directed at a composer of the nineteenth century with nationalistic impulses, but its essence remains true today. As shall be demonstrated later in this thesis, of those composers who created masses that departed from traditional settings of the Latin Ordinary in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, most hold beliefs that are not constrained by any specific doctrine. Nevertheless, in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, Brahms's religious eclecticism and his non-traditional approach to text remained the exception with regard to concert masses. Up until the beginning of the twentieth century, most composers of concert masses appear to have had some level of Christian faith, and a desire to set the traditional texts in full. Where nineteenth-century composers depart from tradition, however, is in their being equally content for their work to be performed in a concert hall as during high mass, thereby supporting Beller-McKenna's view that the concert hall had achieved a "quasi-sacred" status. Several examples will serve to demonstrate this ready transition to the concert hall, as well as providing evidence relating to each composer's attitude towards religion.

Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) spent his early adulthood in monasteries and in teaching positions. Although he did not commence formal composition lessons until he was 31, he would then create three symphonic masses that are acclaimed as being among the most significant choral compositions of the nineteenth century.<sup>142</sup> Although the critic, Ludwig Speidel would write that Bruckner "allowed himself to be seduced by the dramatic content of the text" in the third mass in F Minor (1868), which premiered in 1872 in the church of the Augustine Friars in Vienna, Speidel is nonetheless impressed by Bruckner's "expertise and craft" and has no doubts about the composer's Roman Catholic faith.<sup>143</sup> Confirming this affiliation himself, Bruckner states that he had organised the performance and paid the musicians from his own funds because, "written for the glorification of God, I wanted the work first performed in church".<sup>144</sup> Despite the difficulty in arranging its premiere, the Wagnerian theatricality of Bruckner's

<sup>141</sup> Daniel Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit* (Cambridge MA; London UK: Harvard University Press, 2004), 31.

<sup>142</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, "Anton Bruckner and the Austrian Choral Tradition: His Mass in F Minor," in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia, Routledge Studies in Musical Genres (New York: Routledge, 2013), 403.

<sup>143</sup> Ludwig Speidel, "Bruckner, *Messe F-moll*," *Fremdenblatt* 20 June 1872. As cited in Hawkshaw, "Anton Bruckner and the Austrian Choral Tradition," 401-2.

<sup>144</sup> Letter from Bruckner to Moritz von Mayfield, 11 Jun 1872. As cited in Rüdger Bronhöft, "Preface," in *Anton Bruckner Mass in F Minor for Soloists, Mixed Chorus and Orchestra*, ed. Rüdger Bronhöft & Roland Erben (Frankfurt; Leipzig; London; New York: C. F. Peters, 2006), n.p.

mass would find it become his most performed major work in his lifetime.<sup>145</sup> For the first twenty-one years it was performed in churches but in 1893 it received its first concert performance in the prestigious Vienna Musikverein.<sup>146</sup> Speidel reviewed the performance once again, reiterating his first impression and stating “Bruckner takes liberties. But the freedom he allows himself is the original expression of a man who is full of imagination and faith, of an artist who believes”.<sup>147</sup>

In terms of a concert performance lagging almost two decades behind a church premiere, a similar case can be found in Antonin Dvořák's (1841-1901) *Mass in D major* (1877), composed in the same year as his popular *Stabat Mater*. The result of a commission from an architect, Josef Hlávka, in its original version *Mass in D* is a lengthy but modest composition for voice and organ, which was first performed during the dedication service of Hlávka's chapel near Plzen in Austria-Hungary (now the Czech Republic).<sup>148</sup> Later, on the behest of Novello publishing house, Dvořák orchestrated the work and it was performed in this format in London in 1893. Whereas at the beginning of the century Beethoven had had trouble selling his masses to publishers, the case of Dvořák shows that the mass had become a concert item that was considered saleable by the end of the century.<sup>149</sup>

In another example of the marketability of masses, in the wake of the unprecedented success of his operetta *Fatiniza* in 1876, Franz von Suppé (1819-1895) would dust off and revise a mass he had begun at the age of sixteen in order to capitalise upon his success.<sup>150</sup> The first edition of *Missa Dalmatica* (1877) was issued a year later by the Viennese publishing house of C. A. Spina, receiving its first performance at the Cathedral of St Anastasia in Zara, the capital of Dalmatia in 1890.<sup>151</sup>

Returning to Dvořák, his mass also demonstrates that composers who completed masses usually retained some level of Christian belief. In the case of Dvořák, he is commonly accredited with a very strong Roman Catholic faith. Writing about his *Stabat Mater*, composed after the death of Dvořák's third child, D. Kern Holoman notes that Dvořák was a “devout Catholic”, and finds the work to be that of a “grieving father finding solace in the traditional texts of his faith”.<sup>152</sup> This appears to have remained

---

<sup>145</sup> Hawkshaw, "Anton Bruckner and the Austrian Choral Tradition," 402.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 425-26.

<sup>147</sup> Ludwig Speidel, "Bruckner - Messe F-moll," *Fremdenblatt*, 23 April 1893. As cited in Hawkshaw, "Anton Bruckner and the Austrian Choral Tradition," 436.

<sup>148</sup> Alan Houtchens, "Antonin Dvořák," in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia, Routledge Studies in Musical Genres (New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 890.

<sup>149</sup> Holoman, "Works with Secular and Non-Liturgical Texts."

<sup>150</sup> Rainer Boss, "Forward (abridged)," in *Franz von Suppé: Missa Dalmatica quamterna virili voce pulsantibus organis concinendam composuit et Dalmatiae suae dicavit*, ed. Rainer Boss (Stuttgart: Carus, 2003), 6.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Holoman, "Works with Secular and Non-Liturgical Texts," 239.

the case. In a conversation between Brahms, Dvořák, and Joseph Suk after a concert on March 26 1896, five years before Dvořák's death, Suk reports that the discussion turned to faith and religion:

Dvořák, as everybody knows, was full of sincere, practically childlike faith, whereas Brahms's views were entirely opposite. 'I have read too much Schopenhauer, and things appear much differently to me,' [Brahms] said ... Dvořák was very reserved on the way back to the hotel. Finally, after a very long time he said: "[s]uch a man, such a soul - and he believes in nothing, he believes in nothing".<sup>153</sup>

Even in those who have had little or no serious religious affiliation, an effusion of faith that resulted in the composition of a mass could be spurred by a significant event. This was the case with both the English composer, Ethel Smyth (1858-1944) and the Austrian-born Henrich von Herzogenberg (1843-1900) who was, coincidentally, the husband of one of Smyth's friends.<sup>154</sup> Whereas Herzogenberg would, as discussed below, begin composing his mass after the premature death of a friend, Smyth was inspired to do so when she met a Roman Catholic family, the Trevelyns, who helped to lift her from a state of depression she described as "a strange dread of the future".<sup>155</sup>

Brought up an Anglican, even when her faith had waned, Smyth writes "I had been very High Church, and ... this aspect of Anglicanism had never lost its grip on my imagination".<sup>156</sup> Both the kindness of the Trevelyns and, in particular, the ethereal nature of the faith of their daughter, Pauline, lifted Smyth's spirits and inspired a religious fervour within the composer. "Naturally therefore" Smyth advises "the new religious conviction that now welled up within me poured itself into the old [musical] channel" – the mass.<sup>157</sup> Her love of the ritual of the Anglican high mass might result in the composition of a Latin mass in the Roman Catholic tradition, yet she would not subsume her Anglican upbringing entirely, and would find herself reprimanded for not doing so.

Smyth's *Mass in D major* (1891) for orchestra, soloists and choir received its premiere by the Royal Choral Society in 1893 in Albert Hall, London. Unusually, the Gloria was performed at the end rather

---

<sup>153</sup> Suk, Joseph. "Aus meiner Jugend. Wiener Brahms-Erinnerungen von Joseph Suk," *Der Merker* 2 (1910): 149. As cited in Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit*, 31. Dvořák's son's biography also highlights the composer's piety. Otakar Dvořák, Paul Polansky, and Miroslav Nemec, *Antonín Dvořák, My Father* (Spillville, Iowa: Czech Historical Research Center, 1993).

<sup>154</sup> The friendship between Smyth and Lisl von Herzogenberg is reported in Linda J. Farquharson, "Dame Ethel Smyth: *Mass in D*" (DMA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996), 5-9.

<sup>155</sup> Ethel Mary Smyth, *Impressions that Remained* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1919), 440-41.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

than in its correct liturgical position, after the Kyrie, causing critics from a number of papers and magazines to reprimand Smyth.<sup>158</sup> Placing the exuberant Gloria at the end of a work might afford the opportunity to end with a much greater flourish than the text of the Agnus Dei lent itself to, but the whim of a composer should not, the critics felt, result in the sacrifice of tradition.<sup>159</sup> Yet, as the only music paper to write a review of the concert noted, within the tradition of the Church of England the Gloria is recited at the end of the service, and has been at least since the Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1662.<sup>160</sup> However, Smyth had used the Latin text of the Roman Rite, not the English text of the Book of Common Prayer, and this perhaps formed the basis of the reprimand.

Two interpretations of the criticism are possible. The first is that it may reveal some resistance to her failing to abide by the liturgical requirements of the Roman Catholic Church, even when the work is performed in the newly ritualised space of the concert hall. This view is supported by the review appearing in *Lady*, which accuses Smyth of “destroying the continuity of the sacred subject”.<sup>161</sup> Alternatively, it could indicate that the processes of secularisation had developed so far in the nineteenth century that the mass’s liturgical purpose was irrelevant to the commentator, and it is Smyth’s failure to abide by the art music tradition of the mass, that is being criticised. Evidence for this idea can be found in the *Daily Telegraph* review, which accuses Smyth of sacrificing “artistic consideration... for mere effect of sound”.<sup>162</sup>

Although more ambiguous, the *Pall Mall Gazette* review is also inclined more towards the second rationale: “If Miss Smyth did it to court a little cheap applause, it was inartistic; if it was done to provide the work with a more effective climax, it was a confession of weakness, and showed that the composer had but a slight opinion of her ‘Dona Nobis Pacem.’”<sup>163</sup> Regardless of the intent of the critics, Smyth’s approach to the mass was non-traditional and marks the form’s impending division into two distinct

---

<sup>158</sup> The critics complaints are surveyed in Elizabeth Kertesz, "Issues in the Critical Reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass and First Four Operas in England and Germany" (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2001), 83-84. Five reviews of the premiere comment on the Gloria's position.

<sup>159</sup> As reported by Smyth, the dramatic nature of the work is confirmed – although with acclaim not censure – by the Wagnerian conductor Hermann Levi who exclaimed to Smyth “you must at once sit down and write an opera” after hearing her mass. Ethel Smyth, *As Time Went On* (London: Longmans, 1936), 47.

<sup>160</sup> "The Royal Choral Society," *Musical Standard* 28 Jan 1893, 71-72. As cited in Kertesz, "Issues in the critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass," 83.

<sup>161</sup> "Miss E.M. Smyth's Solemn Mass in D," *Lady*, 26 Jan 1893, 101. As cited in Kertesz, "Issues in the critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass," 83.

<sup>162</sup> "Royal Choral Society," *Daily Telegraph* 19 Jan 1893, 3. As cited in Kertesz, "Issues in the critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass," 83.

<sup>163</sup> "Royal Choral Society," *Pall Mall Gazette* 19 Jan 1893, 2. As cited in Kertesz "Issues in the critical reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass," 83.

types, one type composed for the Church and the other, for the concert hall. This process would be assured, as will be explained in the next chapter, with the installation of a new pope in 1903.

In the United States, further evidence of masses being composed purely for concert performance is found in the preparations for the premiere of a young Amy Beach's (1867-1944) mass, while two contrasting examples from Europe further highlight the impending split. In the first a hoped for concert performance does not eventuate, in the second a concert performance seems the only expected outcome.

Etiquette was dominating the preparations for the premiere of Beach's *Mass in E-flat Major* (1889) for mixed chorus, four soloists, organ and orchestra on 7 February 1892 in Boston. To mark the occasion the Handel and Haydn Society, which was putting on the concert, believed a festive air was in order and asked the female performers to "in their own appropriate and graceful ways, make the appearance of the Chorus as bright as possible with flowers or otherwise", while the gentlemen should all "wear bouquets".<sup>164</sup> No doubt this was to mark the unusual occasion of a large-scale work by a female composer being performed by the Society, but the fact that this aspect takes precedence over the sacred nature of the work indicates that the mass in the concert context is becoming simply art music. This is further exhibited in a review of the premiere by local critic, Philip Hale:

[Beach] has treated it subjectively and objectively; hence we find mysticism that is intended to suggest to the hearer a mood, and we also find direct dramatic appeals. There is the natural exaggeration of youth. The mysticism at times approaches obscurity. The dramatic appeals are occasionally unduly emphasized.<sup>165</sup>

What is striking here is the use of the word "mysticism", which does have religious connotations, but does not require any belief in the specific dogma of the liturgical text.

Not long after Beach had completed her mass in 1889, the Dutch composer Alphons Diepenbrock (1862-1921) was beginning one that would, he hoped, successfully combine traditional liturgical requirements with modern musical techniques and so satisfy both church and concert hall. Writing to a friend six months after having begun he advises that

---

<sup>164</sup> As cited in Robert Saladini, *Notes in Amy Beach, Mass in E-flat, SATB chorus with soloists and piano* (Ft. Lauderdale: Walton Music Corp, c1995 [1890]), n.p.

<sup>165</sup> As quoted in William Frothingham Bradbury, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society (founded A.D. 1815)* 2 vols., vol. 2 (Boston: Caustic Clafin Co. Printers, 1911), 17. Copy accessed 20 Aug 2014, <https://archive.org/details/historyofhandelh212perk>.

I feel the ancientness and grandiosity of these words that have stood for twenty centuries as pillars in the cathedral of the mind of the people, deeper than a battalion of musicians put together, and the emotions of my very religious early youth that lies so far behind me now, are even now great and beautiful enough to channel that feeling into sound.<sup>166</sup>

Although hoping to arrange a performance in the prestigious Amsterdam Concertgebouw later that year, Diepenbrock experienced an unexpected compulsion to continue to revise his mass for several years, so that it was not completed to his satisfaction until 13 March 1894. In recalling the experience of composing the mass, the exceptional attention he had paid to this sacred work is revealed in a letter he wrote to another friend six years later, in which he declared “never again did I write anything with such dedication and such an unconscious tyrannical drive”.<sup>167</sup> The hoped for concert premiere did not eventuate, but the fruits of his labour would eventually be heard by the composer in 1916 when his complex *Missa in die festo* for male choir and organ received its first performance in a high mass at St Catherine’s Cathedral in Utrecht.<sup>168</sup>

Soon after Diepenbrock finalised his score in 1894, Herzogenberg began work on a much larger scale mass than the Dutch composer’s. Having taken up a position as a professor of composition at the *Hochschule fur Musik* in Berlin a decade earlier, it would be Herzogenberg who would receive the Concertgebouw performance that Diepenbrock had coveted.<sup>169</sup> The death of a close friend, the Bach scholar Philip Spitta who had passed away at only 53 years of age, had prompted Herzogenberg to begin the mass. Writing to the physiologist Theodor Wilhelm Engelmann on 21 May 1894, five weeks after Spitta had died, the composer confesses to being in a highly emotional state, yet also highly productive:

What is life that it takes hold of one anew? ... We should be ashamed, before our dead, that we live on ... It is like a shipwreck: loved ones go under, but one clings to one's plank, reaches the shore and plants potatoes. Just so I am doing crazy things, writing simultaneously Italian street songs and a Missa Solemnis.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Diepenbrock to E.T. Kuiper, 20 November 1890, *Brieven en Documenten - bijeengebracht en toegelicht door Eduard Reeser*, 10 parts (The Hague & Amsterdam: (Koninklijke) VNM 1962-1998), I 240, as cited in Ton & Odilia Vemeulen Braas, "Introduction," in *Diepenbrock Missa in die Festo 1890-4*, ed. Ton & Odilia Vemeulen Braas, *Schatten van de Nederlansk koormuziek [Treasures of Dutch Choral Music]* (Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis: Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands, 2005), xxiv.

<sup>167</sup> Diepenbrock to J.C. Hoi, 17 October 1902; BD IV, 22, as cited in *ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvi.

<sup>169</sup> It was performed in the Amsterdam Concertgebouw on 13 and 14 December 1895. Heinrich von Herzogenberg, *Messe op. 87, per soli (SATB), coro (SATB) ed orchestra (2 flauti, 2 oboi, 2 clarinetti, 2 fagotti, contrafagotto, 4 corni, 2 trombe, 3 tromboni, tuba, timpani, 2 violini, viola, violoncello, contrabbasso, organo ad libitum)*, Erstausg. Forward by Bernd Wiechert. ed. (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, c2002), vii.

<sup>170</sup> Letter from Herzogenberg to Theodor Wilhelm Engelmann, 1 Dec 1894, as cited in *ibid.*

The “craziness” he was experiencing saw the full mass completed two months later. In his announcement of its completion to the head of the *Hochschule für Musik*, Joseph Joachim, Herzogenberg exposes some level of faith, writing “Mass just finished - for me and beloved God”.<sup>171</sup>

Whether through divine inspiration or otherwise, the memorial *Mass in E Minor* for large orchestra, organ, choir and vocal soloists had been composed, in the words of Philipp Spitta’s brother Friedrich, “with a swiftness reminiscent of Handel and Mozart”.<sup>172</sup> Well prior to the *Concertgebouw* performance, it received its premiere in Berlin at a private concert put on by the singers and instrumentalists of the *Königliche Hochschule für Musik*.<sup>173</sup> In a letter to the composer the day before the concert, Theodor Engelmann drew on his scientific background to comment generally on Herzogenberg’s style and in doing so, shows an attitudinal change towards religion that was gaining strength in Europe and beyond:

We are proud of you and thank you for being what you are, a [conservative] pillar in this miserable fin de siècle, this age which regards misrepresentation of nature as the highest art. It sometimes makes one long for a perfectly clean cell, where all earthly dross remains below and the soul breathes pure ether. Music has the power to transport us there and I especially trust your Mass to perform this miracle.<sup>174</sup>

In using the words “soul” and “miracle” in conjunction with “cell” and “ether”, Engelmann combines the language of religion with the language of science in a clear, if unconscious, depiction of the uncertainty that gripped the intellectual mind of the later nineteenth century with regard to the place of religion in a self-consciously scientific world. Also indicative of the uncertainty regarding traditional religion, was the short-lived religious cult established by Erik Satie (1866-1925) in 1892, and for which he composed *Grand Messe de l’Eglise Metropolitaine d’Art*, (Mass of the Metropolitan Church of Art of Jesus the Leader).<sup>175</sup> The mass, which was composed for organ and choir, was later given the rather less ostentatious and more conventional title of *Messe des Pauvres* (1893-5).

The search for religious and spiritual truth had also opened the door to the ideas of Eastern religions, particularly reincarnation, which would result in the establishment of new religions such as Spiritism

---

<sup>171</sup> Letter from Herzogenberg to Joseph Joachim 14 July 1894, as cited in *ibid.*, viii.

<sup>172</sup> Friedrich Spitta, “Heinrich von Herzogenberg,” in: *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst* 5 (1900), 312 as cited in *ibid.*, vii.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> Letter from Theodor Wilhelm Engelmann to Herzogenberg as cited in *ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> Charlene Spretnak, *Dynamics in Modern Art: Art History Reconsidered 1800 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 66; Robert Orledge, “Satie, Erik,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/40105>.



(or Spiritualism).<sup>176</sup> Spiritism, which flourished particularly in France between 1850 and 1930, drew from Christian doctrines but also posited a “continuum” of existence linking those living in the physical world with those who “had already gone beyond the grave”.<sup>177</sup> Séances were Spiritism’s primary method of communication between the material world and the after world.<sup>178</sup> Sofie Lachapelle finds five groups of people who were not only invested in the ideas and practices of spiritism but who also approached or investigated their religious practice of séances from a scientific perspective. The groups consisted of the spiritists themselves, occultists, metaphysists, psychical researchers and medically oriented professionals including physicians, psychologists and psychiatrists.<sup>179</sup> Spiritists foresaw the possibility of a perfect or “super” human based upon an amalgam of Christian compassion and Eastern reincarnation that gave each human the chance, across multiple lives, to contribute to “[creating] a society that recognized the needs, rights, and interests of all”.<sup>180</sup>

#### Frederick Delius - atheism

The opening of the doors to non-Christian views about the nature of existence would find perhaps its most reactionary expression in the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) who, in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, replaced God and the afterlife with the *Übermensch* (Superman). In contrast to the Spiritists’ view of the perfect human, through the exposition of the notion of a super human who exists nihilistically for himself alone, Nietzsche replaced the morality of religion with the cult of the individual.

The anti-Christian, fascist vitalism of Nietzsche’s will-to-power would be a source of inspiration for English composer, Frederick Delius (1862-1934), who composed a work for orchestra, choir and soloists entitled *A Mass of Life* (1904-05). This mass does not set the liturgy, but rather excerpts from *Thus Spake Zarathustra* selected by the composer and his friend, the conductor Fritz Cassier. As Derrick Puffett points out, just as Delius wanted to fairly represent the ideas of the text’s author (Nietzsche), the composer could not have called the work a mass if he had not also intended there to be some correlation with that form.<sup>181</sup> Puffett points out similarities between the text and biblical themes, including Zarathustra’s collection of disciples over the course of the story and the final meal they share

---

<sup>176</sup> Lynn L Sharp, *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century France* (Lanham; Boulder; New York; Toronto; Plymouth UK: Lexington Books, 2006).

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., xi.

<sup>178</sup> Sofie Lachapelle, *Investigating the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853-1931* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 2-3.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>180</sup> Sharp, *Secular Spirituality*, xv.

<sup>181</sup> Derrick Puffett, "A Nietzschean Libretto: Delius and the Text for 'A Mass of Life'," *Music & Letters* 79, no. 2 (1998): 245; 357 n44.

together, noting that “the parallels to the Last Supper is striking”.<sup>182</sup> Overall, he finds *Thus Spake Zarathustra* also has “a biblical toughness and severity: the verses read as if they have been hewn out of the hardest possible substance. And small wonder, for this was how Nietzsche wanted himself to be perceived”.<sup>183</sup> In terms of musical parallels, Puffett also finds a concurrence between Delius’s mass and Bach’s B-minor mass, both in its length (approximately 100 minutes) and in the repetition of a section heard in the first part of Delius’s mass that is restated in the final movement, just as Bach recapitulates the ‘*Gratias agimus tibi*’ section of the Gloria “note for note” in the *Dona nobis pacem* section of the Agnus Dei in his mass.<sup>184</sup>

Delius’s mass is in two parts, the first, with five movements, is approximately half the length of the second, which has six movements. In terms of the mass form, Puffett argues that *A Mass of Life* can be understood to be a double mass, particularly if Nietzsche’s fascination with the idea of eternal recurrence is taken into account.<sup>185</sup> Nietzsche (drawing on the writings of Heinrich Heine) posits that time is infinite but events are finite, and eventually, every event will be repeated. Applying the theory to Delius’s mass, Puffett suggests that “the work might be imagined as beginning again in Part Two, retracing the earlier events and then implying the start of a third cycle at the very end”.<sup>186</sup> Although Delius sets different texts to different music in the second part, the basic idea of recurrence is plausible.

In addition to the structural and thematic parallels Puffett has highlighted, further parallels can be found between the libretto and the liturgy, as the following analysis of the first part of *A Mass of Life* shows. The first movement, traditionally a plea to God for mercy in the liturgical mass, substitutes God for the Will:

Nietzsche	Liturgical parallel
O thou my Will! Dispeller thou of care!	[Kyrie (Lord)]
Thou mine essential in life!	[Kyrie (Lord)]
Preserve me from all petty conquests!	[eleison (have mercy)] <sup>187</sup>

---

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 249.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>185</sup> Puffett cites Deryk Cooke when he makes this point. Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> All quotations of the libretto are from William Wallace’s translation of the original German text, reproduced in the Liner Notes of *Delius: A Mass of Life*, Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra; Richard Hickox (cond.), Chandos CD 9515(2), 1997; 2002.

Then the phrase beginning “preserve me” is repeated with different endings, but similar meaning, throughout the movement, just as the words *Kyrie* (or *Christe*) *eleison* are in the liturgical text:

Preserve me for one great final destiny ...

Preserve me for one great triumph! ...

Preserve me from all petty conquests!”

In addition, as noted in the previous chapter, in its earliest formulation the *Kyrie* was a litany, with various specific petitions being made to God, to which the *Kyrie* (or *Christe*) *eleison* response would be appended. The text in the central section of the first movement of *A Mass of Life* too, has the caste of a litany:

that I may stand prepared and ripe in the full noon-tide  
prepared and ripe like glowing ore in the furnace  
prepared for myself and for my deepest and most secret Will

[that I may stand prepared like] a bow craving its arrow

An arrow seeking its mark among the stars

A star prepared and ripe in its noontide splendour, glowing, transpierced, enraptured ‘mid  
the blaze of the sun’s bright arrows

[that I may stand prepared like] Yea, a sun itself, and a stern, inflexible sun-will swaying, for  
destruction, for triumph!

The second movement of *A Mass of Life* takes on the joyous flavour of the Gloria in words that are almost liturgical:

Now lift up your hearts, all, lift them, brothers high, higher!

And forget not also to dance for joy.

Of course, in *Nietzsche* the object of admiration is not God but self:

Lo, this crown of the Laughing One, this fair garland of roses I have set on my own head!

I myself pronounce holy my laughter.

The third movement, like the traditional Credo, is the longest, running to almost double the length (in performance) of the first two movements put together. In this movement, both belief and disbelief are presented. First, the mezzo-soprano sings that “the longed for dance” of belief that “my toes attentive would fain understand”, is not forthcoming:

Towards thee I bounded; from my bound thou didst swiftly recoil...  
From thee I sprang back as if lashed by serpents  
Then stoodst thou, half-turned towards me; thine eye was filled with longing  
With crooked glances show'st thou me crooked pathways; on crooked pathways my foot  
learns cunning.

Zarathustra's “cunning” brings about an affirmation of the creed of eternal recurrence by the Mezzo-soprano, who denies any claim on eternal love because the tolling of the midnight bell (of death) prohibits it:

O Zarathustra!  
Far beyond good and evil we discovered our island, and our meadow forever green –  
We two alone  
So needs it must be that we love each other  
Zarathustra, thou art not true enough to me  
There is an ancient bell tolling!  
When, waking from slumber at midnight thou hearest it tolling, recall then my words. O  
Zarathustra, I know that soon thou wilt have forsaken me.

It is difficult to find any parallels between the Sanctus and the fourth movement of *A Mass of Life*, which focuses upon death:

Woe is me!  
Wither is time fled?  
...  
Spider, what weav'est thou round me?

These words signal none of the sanctity of the liturgical words “Holy Holy Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and earth and full of Your glory”. And yet, the Nietzschean text has elements of hope to it, even

in the bleak-sounding presentation of the approach of death, because, within the theory of eternal recurrence, the answer to the question asked is predestined:

Ah, the dew falls, the hour is nigh, the hour when I shall shiver and freeze, the hour that asks and asks: 'Who hath the heart for it' Who shall be Earth's master?'"

If, as eternal recurrence posits, every event is repeatable, the birth of another *Übermensch* who will "be Earth's master" is inevitable. Furthermore, these words resonate with those of the second half of the Sanctus, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord". Translated into the language of Zarathustra, this can be restated as 'Blessed is the *Übermensch* who comes to order the people'.

The final movement of the first part further emphasises Nietzsche's acceptance of eternal recurrence as the only saving grace in a nihilistic world view. When the Baritone soloist (Zarathustra) bemoans his fate to live surrounded by death, singing

Light am I: oh, would that I were Night!  
But this is my solitude, that I am girdled round with Light

the Chorus cruelly responds "Night reigneth".

Nevertheless, the very admittance of "light" into the movement parallels the spirit of the Agnus Dei that admits to the reality of the believer's everyday struggle against sin, but attests to God's mercy and willingness to grant forgiveness to the remorseful when the inevitable failure occurs.

Even though, as discussed in the next chapter, the Pope had sounded the death knell for large-scale masses being composed for liturgical performance two years prior to *A Mass of Life* being completed, Delius's contribution did not mark the final destiny of the mass form in any prescriptive way. No other composer of note would write such an explicitly atheistic mass. What *A Mass of Life* does do, however, is epitomise the chameleonic nature of the mass. When religious attitudes of the society within which a mass is created permit, Delius's contribution demonstrates that the mass has the potential to be manipulated even to the extent that it can present an entirely opposite, atheistic view to that of the Roman Catholic Church and still be accepted as a valid work of art.

## Conclusion

The rise of a concert culture in London and then the Continent in the later seventeenth century would eventually lead to masses being performed regularly in secular venues. At the same time, church music declined in many parts of Europe, often because opera was attracting the better performers away from the churches by offering better remuneration packages and greater prestige. A growing interest in “old” music resulted in choral societies in London, and later the Continent, reviving sacred works, including masses, and commissioning new ones. Also influential on the transition from mass to concert mass was the ban on music in Catholic churches during the penitential period of Lent. First in early eighteenth-century Paris and then in other Catholic-dominated cities, entrepreneurs took advantage of the situation to establish an annual series of concerts called the *Concerts Spirituel*. Settings of the Ordinary of the mass were rarely performed at the *Concerts*, but sacred music was regularly programmed. Although the *Concert Spirituel* series would largely die out in Paris with the French Revolution, the idea of sacred music as public concert item had become well established. With Napoleon re-establishing Catholicism in France in 1801, Cherubini’s *Mass of Chimay* (1808-9) was one of the first masses to receive a full premiere in a secular venue.

Choral Societies became increasingly popular in the nineteenth century and provided the resources for ever larger-scale works to be performed. At the same time, the changing economic situation brought about by industrialisation, together with the development of the nation state resulted in a decline in Court patronage and the need for composers to become more entrepreneurial. Beethoven worked hard to get the best price for his work from publishers, while later in the century Dvorak would receive a commission from an architect. One consequence of the loss of aristocratic patrons was that composers were not constrained by the preferences of a single employer, and so had greater freedom to choose what they composed. Some, like Dvorak and Bruckner, were devout Catholics and expressed their faith in masses that conformed to Roman Catholic doctrines, but many held only broadly Christian beliefs and were prepared to take liberties with the texts. Schubert omits “one holy catholic apostolic church” from the Credo in all of his masses, Smyth prefers the Gloria to be performed at the end of her mass, and Brahms sets biblical not liturgical texts in his *Deutsche Requiem*. These precedents would all culminate in Delius’s *A Mass of Life* (1905) which sets extracts from Nietzsche’s atheistic *Thus Spake Zarathustra*.

The Catholic Church continued to commission masses in the nineteenth century, including symphonic masses. Eventually, however, the differing opinions within the Church regarding the type of music that was suitable for celebrating the Eucharist, a debate that goes back to at least the twelfth century, would

see unaccompanied masses become increasingly favoured over those requiring orchestras and massed choirs.

In tracking the development of concert-like attributes of first the liturgical mass, and then the concert mass, and in considering the religious attitudes of composers, this chapter has demonstrated that, by the beginning of the twentieth century the mass had become a concert item that, although still understood to be religious, would not be assessed purely on its ability to correctly reflect Catholic teachings. When, in 1903, Pope Pius X refused to allow large-scale masses to continue to be performed during the Eucharist, the concert mass was sufficiently established to be able to break away fully from the church, and become a distinct genre in its own right. The next chapter explains the historical factors that led the Pope to make this decision, and then explores the ensuing sixty years to see what impact the decision had on masses, particularly concert masses, composed during that time.







## Chapter 3 The consequences of differing opinions regarding music within the Church

“A concert mass... is received as a genuine engagement with religion that acknowledges a metaphysical ideal, initially but no longer exclusively, the Christian God”<sup>1</sup>

In 1903 the mass is definitively bifurcated between liturgical and concert forms. This chapter identifies the issues underlying key pieces of Church intervention regarding music, from the earliest days of Christian worship through to Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* of 1903, then considers masses composed after the *motu proprio* up until Vatican II (1962-65). Focusing upon key aspects that will be reflected more fully in masses from the 1960s onwards, the chapter concludes with an exploration of the widely disseminated nationalistic – yet ecumenically received – *Glagolitic Mass* (1926-27) of Leoš Janáček, and Gretchaninov's deliberately ecumenical *Missa Oecumenica* 1944.

The regulation of musical settings of the liturgy by the Roman Catholic Church has generally arisen from the perceived need to reaffirm that music must serve the word and not vice versa. From this

---

<sup>1</sup> Part of my definition of the concert mass as stated on page 2 of this thesis.

perspective, music that assists the ritual worship of God is acceptable but music that interrupts worship and is spectacular for its own sake is not. In the preface to the English translation of Karl Fellerer's *The History of Catholic Church Music*, its translator, the Redemptorist cleric Francis A. Brunner C.Ss.R. expresses this view, stating that music is

a fine but unnecessary ornament of the liturgy; it is, in the words of Pope St. Pius X, a functional part—*parte integrante*—of divine worship, serving both the glory of God and the edification of the faithful. Ideally, sacred music is the handmaiden of the liturgy, wholly absorbed in the service of the altar.<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, as with all aspects of the wide-spread Roman Catholic religion, Brunner's view was never universally subscribed to. Music that dominated the Eucharist blossomed under the care of clerics and others, who believed the music of the Church should reflect the best of contemporary styles, thereby provoking new attempts to legislate against it.

## EARLY CHRISTENDOM

The music of the Christian church has always been the subject of protective measures. These may be local and particular or, as the Church grew in power and stature, all-encompassing Church-wide calls for reform. Robert Hayburn's comprehensive annotated catalogue of Papal Legislation on Sacred Music makes this amply evident, as the following examples drawn from his compilation reveal.<sup>3</sup>

Within the earliest groups of Christians living among Jews and pagans in the first century CE, there were some who felt the need to protect their fledgling traditions from non-believers. Whereas by the twelfth century the texts of the liturgy could be sung outside the Church because almost everyone within Christendom was Christian, in around 95CE Pope Clement of Rome instructed "[i]n the pagan festivals, let us not sing the psalms, and let us not read the Scriptures".<sup>4</sup> As Christopher Page recently noted, whether or not such feelings were ubiquitous is difficult to ascertain because "[t]he task of trying to form an impression of Christians ... in the first three centuries is like assessing the position of Muslims today using only the websites of Islamic extremists and official pronouncements about the War on Terror".<sup>5</sup> For those Christians who experienced subjugation and persecution under Roman rule, preventative policies would have held much appeal, at least until the Edict of Milan (313) was issued.

---

<sup>2</sup> Francis A. Brunner, C.Ss.R., "Translator's Preface" to Fellerer, *The History of Catholic Church Music*, n.p.

<sup>3</sup> Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*.

<sup>4</sup> Pope Clement, as cited in *ibid.*, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, 523.

This edict permitted the freedom of Roman citizens to practise any religion within the Roman Empire. With Emperor Constantine (271/2-337) converting to Christianity soon after, Christianity became the official religion of the Empire and the then designated 'pagan' majority slowly converted to the new faith.

Enjoying a more settled existence, clerics began to order Christian worship, including its music. Within five hundred years of Christ's death, an appreciation of the valuable contribution to worship that music can make, and the extent to which certain hymns had become standardised, is reflected in the establishment of "two monasteries for the care of the chant" by Saint Hilary (d.468).<sup>6</sup> The following century, Pope Gregory I (540-604) was much occupied with revising Christian worship and he, in particular, is credited with collating and codifying Roman chant, allocating each one to a specific place in the liturgical calendar.<sup>7</sup> Three centuries later, Pope Leo IV (847-855) laid down the law regarding chant unequivocally stating "[w]e command under sentence of excommunication that, in the singing and readings in your churches, you carry them out in no other way than that which Pope St. Gregory handed down", which implies there was variation in chanting practices.<sup>8</sup> The manner in which chant was recited was also the topic of reprimands issued by Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) and Pope Clement V (1304-1313). Gregory IX decried the indifferent quality of morning singing by clerics who perpetually chose social activities over sleep, while Clement V decried clerics "dancing in church cemeteries" and "singing silly songs" rather than "assisting at prayers in the churches".<sup>9</sup> In both cases, the Popes decreed that a more devout chanting of the Hours of the Divine Office was required.<sup>10</sup>

## EARLY MODERN CATHOLICISM

### Council of Trent

In terms of polyphonic masses, the most notable first attempt to restrain composers occurred in the later meetings of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Comprising a series of twenty-five sessions, the Council was convened to address issues of un-Christian clerical practice that had prompted the protestant movements led by Luther in 1517, and subsequently by Calvin, Zwingli, and Knox in the

---

<sup>6</sup> Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Gregory I's role with regard to Gregorian Chant is discussed in *ibid.*, 3-7.

<sup>8</sup> Pope Leo IV, "Letter to Abbot Honoratus", as cited in *ibid.*, 8. The term "Gregorian Chant" takes its name from Pope Gregory I (c540-604) See *ibid.*, 4. Gregory I's actual role regarding the chant collections that bear his name remains uncertain. See Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 91-92.

<sup>9</sup> Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 12-13.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

European Continent, and Cranmer and Hooker in England.<sup>11</sup> In accordance with the canon laws passed during the Council, the Catholic Church underwent a period of reform that impacted all aspects of Catholic practice, including music.<sup>12</sup>

Dealing with music in September 1562 under Canon 8 of the “Abuses in the Sacrifice of the Mass”, the Council did not forbid polyphony as some, including the Bishop Bernadino Cirillo of Loreto, who favoured plainsong and the ancient modes, had wished.<sup>13</sup> Yet even the requirement for composers to set the words to music in such a way as they could be clearly heard did not appear in the final decree, despite being included in a draft canon.<sup>14</sup> The final accepted decree relating to music spoke only of removing secular inferences from music: “Let them keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice”.<sup>15</sup>

This law banned practices such as those outlined in 1555 by the Italian composer and music theorist, Nicola Vincentino (1511-1575/6):

Some compose a Mass upon a madrigal or upon a French chanson, or upon “La Battaglia”; and when such pieces are heard in church they cause everyone to laugh, for it almost seems as if the temple of the Lord had become a place for the utterance of bawdy and ridiculous texts—as if it had become a theatre, in which it is permissible to perform all sorts of music of buffoons, however ridiculous and lascivious.<sup>16</sup>

Just as issues relating to polyphony were not dealt with in Canon 8, the position regarding instruments in church also remained ambiguous to future interpreters. Instruments were explicitly permitted, but there was no guidance with regard to the extent of their use. Similarly, in not mentioning polyphony at all, the Council implicitly permitted its continued use without any stylistic restriction.<sup>17</sup>

The Council’s avoidance of the issues of the suitability of polyphony and instruments in worship confirms that there were competing, often polemical views about it, ranging from staunch support for

---

<sup>11</sup> For a comprehensive coverage of the issues the Council dealt with see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That : Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000). Coverage of the Council itself is discussed in O'Malley's more recent publication *Trent : What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

<sup>12</sup> See Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," 2.

<sup>13</sup> K.G. Fellerer and Moses Hadas, "Church Music and the Council of Trent," *The Musical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1953): 582-83.

<sup>14</sup> Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> As translated by Monson in *ibid.*, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Nicola Vincentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), as cited in *ibid.*, 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

elaborate polyphony to a movement advocating the revival of “the plainsong practice in the Mass”.<sup>18</sup> Evidence for these diverging opinions can be found in several sources. In favour of the restoration of plainsong were Giovanni Morone (1509-1580), who had briefly banned polyphony at the Duomo of Modena in the 1530s, and Gerolamo Seripando (1493-1563), who had attempted to ban nuns from singing polyphonic forms at the Augustinian church of Santa Monica in Rome in the 1540s.<sup>19</sup> The types of musical “abuses” that the papal legate, Bishop Hosius (1504-1579) deplored, similar to those of Vincentino, are contained in his submission to the Council of 1562. As shown in the following excerpt, they centre on music-making during the Elevation of the Host, and omissions of the liturgical text:

Around the moment of the elevation of the most holy sacrament, when, as it were, a lofty silence ought to be observed by everyone, and a focused commemoration of the Lord’s death, organs make a great noise and musicians sing, and some other things intrude which, apart from the fact that they are untimely, also frequently appear to recall something licentious and to distract souls from spiritual inclinations. [...] The Creed is not recited complete, nor the Preface, which is also an expression of thanks, and the Lord’s Prayer, too, is suppressed, for the sake of music made together with singers, musicians and instruments.<sup>20</sup>

Over and above issues relating to the extent to which music-making was considered appropriate in church worship, the other main issue regarding music was the complaint that polyphony had the potential to render a text incomprehensible. For example, Bartholomew of Braga (1514-1590) implored the Council to not only order “profane songs be removed from the church or sanctuaries, but likewise singing that conceals the text, such as there is in polyphony”.<sup>21</sup> As shown above, Canon 8 of Session 22 deals with the first half of the request, but not the second.

Implicit within these complaints is an acknowledgement that there were those who felt that virtually any form of music was acceptable in church. Accordingly, Charles Monson argues that, because the Council was divided on the issues of polyphony and the use of musical instruments in church worship, the legates who were drafting Canon 8 of Session 22 decided it would be prudent to leave any mention

---

<sup>18</sup> Fellerer and Hadas, “Church Music and the Council of Trent,” 593-4.

<sup>19</sup> Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited.”

<sup>20</sup> As cited in *ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>21</sup> Bartolomaei a Martyribus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Malachia d’Inguimbert, vol 2 [Rome: Typis Hieronymi Mainardi, 1735], 408 as cited in *ibid.*, 7.

of these issues out of the final draft in order to secure a speedy vote from the gathering.<sup>22</sup> They did not want to risk prolix discussion in a session that had a myriad of other minor abuses to decide upon.

Partially in consequence of this avoidance strategy, music was reconsidered by the Council in the twenty-fourth session in November 1563, but the resulting decree is even more general than the earlier one. The section of Canon 12, Session 24 that relates to music simply states “Let them ... praise the name of God reverently, clearly and devoutly in hymns and canticles in a choir established for psalmody”.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, although not dealing with music directly, other parts of the same canon would have significant consequences for music. As Monson points out, the later provisions of Canon 12 would have the effect of retaining the existing decentralised method of decision-making on music. Thus, the Council of Trent decided to leave the precise regulation of music to regional church councils and, between meetings of such synods, to individual bishops counselled by two canons, rather than try to regulate it directly from Rome. Canon 12 of Session 24 continues:

With regard to the proper direction of the divine offices, concerning the proper manner of singing or praying therein, the precise regulation for assembling and remaining in choir ... the provincial synod shall prescribe an established form for the benefit of, and in accordance with the customs of, each province. In the interim, the bishop, with no less than two canons, one chosen by himself, the other by the chapter, may provide in these matters as seems expedient.<sup>24</sup>

Accordingly, the variety of music that was already being experienced throughout Catholic Christendom continued, if in a somewhat more restrained form in some places.

Nonetheless, the intelligibility of text-settings “remained a live issue” after the Council of Trent.<sup>25</sup> In Rome at least, what some had tried and failed to achieve through canon law would be achieved through the decisions of those controlling the music there. In 1565, for example, the Rome-based cardinals asked the papal singers to “sing some masses and test whether the words could be understood”, thereby signalling that textual clarity would be a requirement in future.<sup>26</sup> Two years later, the cardinals’

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>23</sup> As cited in *ibid.*, 18.

<sup>24</sup> As cited in *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>26</sup> Quotation from chapel diary as cited in *ibid.*, 24.

preferences were made manifest in masses of Giovanni Animuccia (1520-1571). Commissioned by the Capella Giulia of the papal basilica of Saint Peter to compose five masses that accorded with the Canons of the Council of Trent, Animuccia would consciously work to make sure that “the music may disturb the hearing of the text as little as possible”, completing the set in 1567.<sup>27</sup>

Although Canon 12 of Session 24 permitted local decisions to be made with regard to music, Rome was looked to for guidance and so, for those churches that were relatively ambivalent about music-making, the expectation that polyphony should not interfere with textual clarity was abided by.<sup>28</sup> For others, the musical practices of Rome were simply ignored. For King John IV of Portugal (1604/6-1656), music’s ability to persuade lay in its contemporaneity; old music would not speak to congregations whose ears were otherwise filled by the modern musical sounds of the secular world.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, he asserts, composers should write dramatically, using everything in their means to communicate the meaning of every word through their music: “Good composers habitually accommodate the music to the words in two ways: One by giving conviction to what is said... and the other by pointing up the meaning of the words”.<sup>30</sup> Taken to its extreme, such a view on music – at least music that is successful according to the aims King John IV laid out – would justify music taking over the liturgy of the mass entirely because, the argument follows, music has the ability to communicate the meaning of the words of the liturgy without any real need for the actual words to be heard.

#### CONCERTISATION

While many popes spoke in favour of plainsong after the Council of Trent, there was little direct intervention from Rome on musical matters, and masses became ever more musically elaborate, at least in many of the larger centres, as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries progressed.<sup>31</sup> In mid-seventeenth-century Bavaria, for example, the two existing Catholic churches in the regional centre of Standshut, just north of Munich, complained when the Jesuits advised they would be building a new church with an organ in the town. The aggrieved clerics were of the opinion that the music that the Jesuits intended to offer each Sunday and on Feast days would be better than what the existing churches offered, and so would “draw parishioners away from the established churches: they would

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>29</sup> King John IV of Portugal, *Difesa de la musica moderna contra la errada opinion del Obispo Cyrillo Franco*, Lisbon, 1649, 37-48, as translated and cited in Fellerer and Hadas, “Church Music and the Council of Trent,” 584.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Kieran Anthony Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903* (Portland: Four Courts Press, 1995), 2.

wake up late, neglect to go to early Mass and go instead to the musical service at St Ignatius [the new church] beginning at nine".<sup>32</sup>

The Jesuit Provincial's response was to advise the complainants that music in Jesuit churches elsewhere was greeted "with great approbation and fruitful assistance, for the greater glory of God and the edification of our neighbors".<sup>33</sup> Presumably the Provincial was issuing a challenge to the existing churches to compete by improving the quality of their musical offerings. Construction went ahead in Standshut and the new church with its organ was consecrated in 1642.<sup>34</sup>

Compounding the problems of the older Standshut churches, however, was a matter of architecture. St Ignatius was built in the new style typical of Jesuit churches, with a high vaulted ceiling but without pillars, choir screens, or large side chapels.<sup>35</sup> This design provided clear sight lines from the main body of the church towards the action at the altar, enabling a greater feeling of participation in the ritual for the congregation. It also gave the church a more theatrical feeling, with the musicians – instrumentalists and choristers – now visible, almost as if they were on stage.<sup>36</sup> Speaking of the Cathedral of St Michael consecrated in Munich in 1597, upon which St Ignatius was modelled, Alexander Fisher argues that, although the music was relatively conservative there, "it is no exaggeration to depict the Jesuit conduct of the liturgy as a kind of theatre, a sacral analogue to the opulent plays with which they hoped to impress the eyes, ears, and souls of laypersons".<sup>37</sup> Such a church design certainly facilitated the concertisation of masses.

In 1657 Pope Alexander VII (1599-1667) strove to curb the trend towards the theatrical in masses through a papal bull. Through *Pia Sollicitudinis*, he instructed "we now forbid anything to be sung in their churches and chapels except those compositions which have words which are prescribed in the Breviary and Missal".<sup>38</sup> Stiff penalties, including excommunication, were threatened for non-compliance.

Yet Alexander VII was dealing only with the content of the texts being set, not musical style, and so was simply reaffirming Trent's Canon 8 of Session 22. The more comprehensive encyclical *Annus qui*, issued

---

<sup>32</sup> Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 52.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 53; 42-43.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> As cited in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 77.



by Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) in 1749, did call for a reform in music, discussing chant, polyphony, motets, the use of instruments, and orchestral music. Approving both plainsong and non-theatrical polyphony, he did not dismiss orchestral music either, although he did require controls to be put in place:

where its use has been introduced it may be tolerated as long as it is serious and does not, because of its length, cause boredom or serious inconvenience to those who are in choir, or who are celebrating at the altar.<sup>39</sup>

In endorsing plainsong and non-theatrical polyphony, but also accepting orchestral music, Benedict XIV “sanctioned the musical dualism of the period in which the conservative *stile antico* technique of vocal polyphony existed side by side with the *stile moderno*”.<sup>40</sup> It was not a great step forward from this for both vocal and instrumental music to be composed in *stile moderno*.<sup>41</sup> Benedict XIV’s ruling had the effect of freeing composers from liturgical constraints, enabling them to concertise masses in an expansionist vision that drew much from the operas of the secular realm. Had it not been for the strong influence of the Austrian composer and pedagogue Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741), who published a manual of counterpoint in 1725 that adapted the historically aware *stile antico* to a more “contemporary and expressive viewpoint”, unaccompanied vocal settings of the mass may have slowly become a thing of the past.<sup>42</sup>

### Cecilian Movement

Fux’s legacy would be continued by Johann G. Albrechtsberger (1736-1809) and, together with groups of German and Austrian Catholic Church musicians working under the banner of the Caecilien-Bündnisse (Cecilian Leagues), would pave the way for the formal establishment of the Cecilian Society by Franz Xavier Witt (1834-1888) at Barberg, Germany, in 1868.<sup>43</sup> The Cecilian Society, like the Cecilian Leagues that preceded it, and the 15th-century Congregazioni Ceciliani before that, took the name of the Patron Saint of music, St Cecilia who lived in the second century CE.<sup>44</sup> According to the legend of St Cecilia, in a successful attempt to convince her reluctantly accepted ‘pagan’ husband of the sanctity of a celibate marriage on their wedding night, she “sang in her heart to God alone: ‘May my heart and my

---

<sup>39</sup> Pope Benedict XIV, *Annus qui*, (19 Feb 1749) as translated in *ibid.*, 104.

<sup>40</sup> Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*, 2.

<sup>41</sup> For a comprehensive exploration of Viennese concertised masses see Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*.

<sup>42</sup> Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Siegfried Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian movement," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05245>. Also, Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*, 3-4.

<sup>44</sup> Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian movement".

body be kept immaculate lest I be cast into confusion’".<sup>45</sup> The purity of Saint Cecilia, demonstrated by this prayer to retain her virginity, even in the face of marriage, provides an apt metaphor for what the Cecilian Leagues and the Cecilian Society advocated as a pure style of music.

Sigfried Gmeinwieser describes the historical factors driving the Cecilian Movement and its aims, attributing them mainly to the processes of industrialisation and historicisation:

Cecilianism was nurtured by the early stages of industrialization, which engendered a longing for simplicity, unworldliness and the past, and a concentration on essentials, and by the generally historicizing climate of the 19th century. Like the Nazarenes in the visual arts, the Cecilians took the old masters of the 15th and 16th centuries as models for their own compositions. They viewed Palestrina as the leading figure in church music (a complete edition of his works, under the general editorship of Haberl, was published between 1862 and 1903), and based their criteria on the music performed in the chapels of Rome rather than on the more emotional 18th-century repertory.<sup>46</sup>

Under Witt, the Cecilian Society would inspire the formation of sister organisations in places well beyond its German centre of Regensburg, particularly in the United States and Ireland.<sup>47</sup> Motivated by the belief that there should be one sacred musical style that could feasibly be implemented in all Catholic churches, "from the smallest village to the largest cathedral", the Societies promoted a mixture of plainsong and a capella vocal settings, with organ the only instrumental accompaniment permitted, and then only to support the choristers.<sup>48</sup> For Witt, chant was the "true ecclesiastical song" from which simple polyphony that maintained textual clarity could be derived.<sup>49</sup>

The economically and politically motivated reforms of Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II would both aid and frustrate the Cecilians in their efforts, at least within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In dissolving monasteries within the empire he strove to reduce the power of the Church, but in doing so, he also dealt plainsong a severe blow, as monks were the primary conduits of the ancient form. In advocating for greater congregational participation in music-making through the singing of hymns, which had the financial benefit of requiring fewer – or even no – musicians to be placed on the church payroll, he

---

<sup>45</sup> Thomas H. Connolly, "Cecilia (i)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (25 July 2013), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05243>.

<sup>46</sup> Gmeinwieser, "Cecilian movement". Parenthesis in the original.

<sup>47</sup> Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*, 8-21.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>49</sup> From a booklet produced in 1865 by Franz Witt, as translated and cited in *ibid.*, 13.

facilitated the Cecilian's objective of abolishing musical instruments, other than an organ, from church music.<sup>50</sup>

The Cecilian Society worked in tandem, if not always in unison, with those involved specifically with the restoration of plainsong, notably Franz Haberl (1840-1910) of Germany, and Dom Guéranger (1805-1875) of France. Haberl produced a modern edition of the chants contained in the *Medicean Gradual* of 1614/15, updated to include "newly composed chants [by Haberl] to cater for festivals authorized or revised since 1615".<sup>51</sup> The resulting Ratisborn *Graduale* (1869) was granted an official licence by the Church; its status as a preferred edition subsequently reiterated by the Sacred Congregation of Rites through a decree *Romanorum pontificum sollicitudo* in 1883.<sup>52</sup> This would not prove to be the definitive edition, however. Rather, it would be the research and work of Dom Guéranger and his disciples, Dom Paul Jausions (1834-1870) and Dom Joseph Pothier (1835-1923), which would ultimately receive Vatican approval. These monks' scholastic rigour and reliance upon much older sources than Haberl, including the St Gall Codex 359 and the thirteenth-century Montpellier Codex, was endorsed as the superior edition of Church plainsong when it was published as the *Vatican Kyriale* in 1905.<sup>53</sup>

Meanwhile, the larger battle between the Cecilians and those who supported the symphonic-style concert masses had been won by the Cecilians. Even those who also called for reform in church music but took a more moderate line, wanting to "maintain a connection between liturgical music and the contemporary developments in symphonic music", would lose to the Cecilians, whose call for simplicity resonated the most strongly with a newly invested Pope at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>54</sup>

### *MOTU PROPRIO: TRA LE SOLLECITUDINI* (1903)

Twenty-two weeks after taking on the Papal role on 2 June 1903, Pius X issued a *motu proprio* concerning sacred music, *Tra le Sollecitudini*.<sup>55</sup> As the Latin term *motu proprio* implies, it was issued "of

---

<sup>50</sup> A summary of Josephine reforms as they impacted upon the music of the mass can be found in Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 17-20.

<sup>51</sup> Katharine Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant in fin-de-siècle France*, ed. Simon P. Keefe, Royal Musical Association Monographs (Surrey, England; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2013), xix-xx.

<sup>52</sup> Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*, 10.

<sup>53</sup> A brief summary of the conflict that highlights the importance of technology to the success of the monks of Solesmes is noted in Mary Berry, "Gregorian Chant: The Restoration of the Chant and Seventy-Five Years of Recording," *Early Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 197-200.

<sup>54</sup> Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> The full text of *Tra le sollecitudini* is available in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish via the Vatican website: Pope Pius X, "Motu Proprio" [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu\\_proprio/index.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu_proprio/index.html). An English translation is available at "Church Documents *Tra le Sollecitudini*", <http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html>.

his (the Pope's) own accord", and does not imply that any consensus regarding sacred musical style was reached among the Cardinals prior to its issuance, let alone among Church musicians. Regardless of whether those responsible for music in each parish privately agreed with the instructions of the *motu proprio* or not, from this point on all music heard in Roman Catholic services was required to consist of choral settings of the liturgy with very limited instrumental accompaniment other than organ. Masses could not contain any text omissions or insertions, and word repetitions were to be avoided. Clarity was of the essence; each individual word should be distinguishable from the next. Settings should be of a length that met the needs of the service for which they were composed. Drums, cymbals and loud brass were explicitly forbidden, and no extended vocal solos were permitted. Females could not perform in the choir because females are ineligible for liturgical office under Roman Catholic canon law.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, the congregation generally – including females – should be given the opportunity to sing occasionally during the Eucharist.

After the *motu proprio* was issued a composer could no longer be commissioned to compose a large or theatrical mass for the Catholic Church, although in some places the instruction would take longer than others to be implemented. In the churches of Melbourne, Australia, for example, the concert mass flourished for decades after the 1903 *motu proprio*. Led for forty-six years by a charismatic and politically active Irish-born Archbishop Daniel Mannix (1864-1963), the Irish immigrants, who comprised the majority in Catholic congregations, thoroughly enjoyed theatrical worship. Wealthy from the rewards of the gold rush they could afford also to support it, even to the extent of regularly inviting visiting opera singers to perform in Melbourne's churches.<sup>57</sup> No doubt relishing the sense of independence generated by being so far from the Holy See, the reforms were successfully resisted for some time. The onset of World War II coincided with close scrutiny by the Vatican and a consequential insistence that Melbourne parishes fall in line with the *motu proprio*.<sup>58</sup> This, together with a general dislike for plainsong, the loss of so many males to the war, and the largely untrained congregations' inabilities to sing together in polyphony saw "the parish churches of the archdiocese of Melbourne endure ... a slow, but inevitable withering of the triumphs of past decades".<sup>59</sup> With the exception of St Patricks Cathedral, which had benefited from the internment of the visiting Vienna Mozart Boys' Choir at the start of the war, music in almost all Melbourne churches had virtually disappeared by the early 1940s.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Choristers were deemed to hold liturgical office

<sup>57</sup> John Henry Byrne, "Archbishop Daniel Mannix and Church Music in Melbourne, 1913-1963," in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 263.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 265.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 269.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 268-69.

Over and above such renegade examples, large-scale masses were also performed for significant festive occasions in other locations. Joseph Jongen's (1873-1952) *Mass* op. 130 (1945-1948) for solo voices, chorus, brass, and organ was first performed in the Cathedrale St-Paul, Liege, on 23 June 1946. The work celebrated Jongen's discovery that his son, who had been arrested by the Gestapo in 1944, was discovered to be alive.<sup>61</sup>

As the organist who performed in the premiere, John Scott Whiteley, confirms, Jongen's work was part of a high mass that was

directed by Jongen himself. The occasion was the ceremony to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the Institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi in Liege, and the mass was led by His Eminence Cardinal Griffin of Westminster; an English priest ... So ... the first performance was at a service and not at a concert.<sup>62</sup>

Speaking about the next two performances Whiteley advises that the second was probably also a church performance, but that the third was performed in a concert hall:

Flor Peeters told me that he remembered playing for the [second] performance in St. Rombout's, Mechelen. I can't imagine that this was not at a service. The third performance at the Palais des Beaux Arts on 23 January 1948 definitely was a concert performance, with Flor Peeters (organ) and Jules van Nuffel (conductor).<sup>63</sup>

Two further examples of masses endorsed by the church for liturgical performance, but which fall outside the expected format, are Ariel Ramirez's (1921-2010) well-known *Misa Criolla* (1964) and the lesser known but still popular *Missa Luba* (1958), fostered and notated by Belgian missionary Father Guido Haazen while working in the Congo. Reflecting liberal theological policies, the two masses bring elements of the culture of the people for which they were composed into the music. The incorporation of the musical sounds of the local people and, in the case of *Missa Luba*, Haazen's encouragement of the Congo Catholic converts to create their own musical mass, suggest that the two masses may be a syncretic blend of Christian and indigenous religions; however, these masses are not examples of inculturation. Retaining the standard liturgical texts of the Ordinary, they remain fully Christian in form

---

<sup>61</sup> Jeffrey M. Alban, "A Survey of the Sacred Choral Works of Joseph Jongen with a Conductor's Analysis of the Mass, Op. 130" (DMA, University of Miami, 2008), 9.

<sup>62</sup> John Scott Whiteley, email correspondence, 3 Sep 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

and function. Although *Misa Criolla* is exceptional in its setting of a Spanish translation of the Roman Rite, *Missa Luba* retains the Greek and Latin. At best they might be considered hybrids that graft local culture onto the Western form, but there is no religious melding.

The Church's actual position with regard to *Missa Criolla* and *Missa Luba* is unlikely to be recognised by most who listen to these masses in concert settings. Many will hear them as colourful concert pieces without appending any specifically Catholic significance to them. In a review of a recording of *Misa Criolla*, Giordano Bruno highlights its appeals to a wide spectrum of Western and Latin American societies, attributing this to its musical syncretism, which he then equates to religious syncretism:

The "mixed-blood" nature of the Misa Criolla can't be overlooked. The music exists in two realms, and the various recordings of it represent both. It has been recorded by professional choirs in posh concert settings -- this performance with opera star Jose [Carreras], for instance -- and it has been sung by community choruses or school choirs in modest churches from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Santa Fe, Argentina. Its music is inherently syncretic, just as Christianity is syncretic throughout the Americas.<sup>64</sup>

As the reviewer contends, Christianity may well be syncretic in practice throughout the Americas; however, this does not coincide with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which believes itself (as do most religions) to be the single Universal Church. The expectation is that in time, the Church will attract the fully conforming faith of all humankind.

Demonstrating the Church's aversion to bringing other religions into the mass format, the performance of *Messe sur les air vodouesques* (1947-1953) by Haitian church composer Werner Jaegerhuber (1900-1953) was forbidden, even though it had been commissioned for the inauguration of a new cathedral, one of the events celebrating the 150th anniversary of Haiti's independence.<sup>65</sup> This was not necessarily because it included voodoo melodies, but it was definitely because of the interspersion of the exclamatory word "o" among the standard liturgical texts, a vocalisation that has much significance in voodoo culture.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Giordano Bruno, "Hybrid Remastering, Hybrid Music [Review of Misa Criolla, Universal CD (2007)]," amazon.com, accessed 15 Feb 2014, <http://www.amazon.com/review/R1TNZ73VLDE69Z>.

<sup>65</sup> For more on this mass see Robert Grenier and Claude Dauphin, "Werner Jaegerhuber's Messe Sur Les Airs Vodouesques: The Inculturation Of Vodou in a Catholic Mass," *Black Music Research Journal* 29, no. 1 (2009).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 80.

Regardless of the intent and mission of the Church, however, as will be shown in later chapters, the commonplace perceptions of people who have heard *Missa Luba*, and particularly *Missa Criolla*, as either a live performance or in recorded format, are reflected in later, non-liturgical masses that do strive to bring two or more religions together. The most notable first example of a concert mass that brings multiple religious views into a single mass is David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace*, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

#### MASSSES FOR CONCERT HALLS UP TO 1963

One of the consequences of the *motu proprio* was that the mass now had two distinct masters: the Church, with its tight restrictions, and the Western Art Music tradition, which had few or no restrictions. As discussed in the previous chapter, Frederick Delius proved this with his *A Mass of Life*, taking the form to its furthestmost religious extreme by setting the atheistic texts of Nietzsche. Two decades later a spate of secular masses in the late 1920s and early 1930s would follow Delius's lead to one degree or another. Karl Hartmann (1905-1963), for example, would compose an a capella *Profane Messe* (Secular Mass) in 1929. Setting texts by Max See, it recognises the key life experiences of humanity, as is depicted in the movement titles "Die Zeit" (Time) "Das Erwachen" (The Awakening), "Das Schicksal" (Fate) "Festtagen" (Feastdays) and "Vom Leiden und Lachen" (From suffering and laughter).<sup>67</sup> The ideology undergirding Hartmann's mass also reflects "Socialist and Communist worldviews and aesthetics ... [or] an attempt to elevate the common and non-religious to the celebratory and ritual status of the religious ceremony".<sup>68</sup>

At least two other secular masses were composed at around the same time. First, Bruno Stümer (1852-1958) completed a futuristic *Die Messe des Maschinen-Menschen* setting texts by Kurt Heifer in 1931. Reflecting a Futurist fascination with the "intoxicating orchestra" of the industrial landscape of early twentieth-century Europe, Stümer wonders if God is (in) the machine.<sup>69</sup> Adorno, who attended and reviewed the August 1932 premiere, is not convinced by the work, finding the desired reconciliation of

---

<sup>67</sup> Andrew D. McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Thematic Catalogue of his Works* (Wilhelmshaven; New York: Edition Heinrichshofen, 1982), 160-63.

<sup>68</sup> David Allen Jr. Chapman, "*Ich Sitze Und Schaue Aus*: Genesis, Evolution, and Interpretation of K.A. Hartmann's First Symphony" (MA, Kennesaw State University, 2001), 27. Chapman attributes this opinion to Christoph Lucas Brehler, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Untersuchungen zum Frühwerk der Jahre 1927 bis 1933* (Zürich: Kunzelmann, 1999), 59.

<sup>69</sup> A leading figure among Futurists, Luigi Russolo describes the sound world of twentieth-century Europe in Luigi Russolo, "The Art of Noises: Futurist Manifesto [1913]," in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Robert P. Morgan (New York: Norton, 1998).

the liturgy with the profane to be unsuccessful.<sup>70</sup> The second example of a secular mass comes from the opposite end of the scale, where humans not machines are central. Paul Nordoff (1909-1977), who would ultimately dedicate his life to developing music therapy programmes for special needs children, completed *Secular Mass* in 1934, setting the life-affirming poetry of his friend, Walter Prude.<sup>71</sup>

While the creation of a secular or atheistic mass represents a highly polemical approach, it is an approach that proved to be a temporary anomaly, not – in the context of the entire history of the concert mass – a sudden shift. With the exceptions noted, changes in approaches to the concert mass would continue to occur incrementally after 1903; a steady drift that might be expected to culminate in an atheistic mass if the secularisation thesis posited by sociologist David Martin and others from the late 1970s had continued to ring true in the twenty-first century.<sup>72</sup> But, just as sociologists are now arguing that religion remains a strong force within Western societies, the idea of an atheistic or secular mass has drawn little interest from composers since the 1930s.<sup>73</sup>

### Concert Masses 1903-1963

Looking specifically at the sixty years after the *motu proprio* was issued, Table 2 comprises a list of masses composed between 1903 and 1963 that were, for the most part, destined for the concert hall. Usually setting the standard Latin and Greek texts, the 78 composers included in the list rendered their masses unsuitable for Catholic Church performance because their scores require vocal soloists, or brass instruments, or other significant (rather than limited) instrumental accompaniment (other than organ), or specify female voices, or a combination of any of these three.

---

<sup>70</sup> Adorno writes “Die angestrebte Versöhnung von Liturgie und Profanität ist mißraten. Die Liturgie wird vertreten von einem vag pantheistischen, gegenständlich höchst undeutlichen »Evangelium der Liebe«, das schließlich Gott 'in' der gleichen Maschine zu finden vorgibt, die eingangs als Fluch erfahren wird; die Profanität aber wird, eben unter dem Symbol der Maschine, so verflüchtigt, daß ihre konkrete Gestalt der »Messe« entfällt”). Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften in zwanzig Bänden - Band 19: Musikalische Schriften VI* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag GmbH, 1984), 229.

<sup>71</sup> Youngshin Kim, “The Early Beginnings of Nordoff-Robbins Music Therapy,” *Journal of Music Therapy* 41, no. 4 (2004): 323.

<sup>72</sup> David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978).

<sup>73</sup> See Introduction of this thesis for a review of sociological literature debating the secularisation thesis.



Table 2 Masses scored for female voices or instrumental ensemble or orchestra 1904 to 1963<sup>74</sup>

Surname	First names	Female Voices	Instruments	Orchestra	Description as per <i>Grove Music Online</i> or other source
Delius	Frederick			x	A Mass of Life (F. Nietzsche), S, A, T, Bar, chorus, orch, 1904–5
Ferrata	Giuseppe			x	Messe solennelle, op.15, 4 vv, orch/org, 1905
Keldorfer	Viktor			x	Missa solemniss, g, op.60, chorus, str orch, org, 1908
Moór	Emanuel			x	Mass, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1911
Horst	Anthon van der			x	Mass, solo vv, 2 choruses, boys' chorus, orch, org, 1915
Andriessen	Willem			x	Missa, S, A, T, B, chorus, org, orch, 1914–16
Boero	Felipe			x	E minor Mass, chorus, orch, 1918
Harmat	Artúr		x		Missa in honorem Beatae Margaritae Belae IV regis Hungariae filia, solo vv, chorus, org, small orch, 1918
Klemperer	Otto			x	Missa sacra, C, solo vv, chorus, children's chorus, org, orch, 1919
Stanford	Sir Charles Villiers			x	Op.173 Mass "Via victrix, 1914–1918", solo vv, chorus, orch, org, 1919
Villa-Lobos	Heitor			x	Vidapura (Missa oratória), chorus, orch, 1919 KGCSBA
Antonio	José			x	Mass, D, solo vv, orch/org, 1920
Hallén	Andreas		x		Missa solemniss, 4 solo vv, chorus, org, pf, cel, 1920–21 (Stockholm, 1923)
Messner	Joseph		x		Mass, D, op.4, solo vv, chorus, wind, org, 1920
Sojo	Vicente Emilio			x	Misa cromática, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1922 KGCSBA
Sorabji	Kaikhosru S.			x	Black Mass, 1922, chorus, orch [lost, probably inc.]
Fuchs	Robert		x		Mass G, 4vv, str, org, op.108 (Vienna, ?1923)
Chávez Aguilar	Monseñor Pablo			x	Misa solemne al centenario de la batalla de Ayacucho, [War of Peruvian Independence] 4vv, orch, 1924
Harmat	Artúr			x	Missa in honorem Sancti Gerardi episcopi martyriae, solo vv, chorus, org, orch, 1924
Plaza	Juan Bautista			x	Misa breve, e, TB, orch, org, 1924
Plaza	Juan Bautista			x	Misa en honor de Santiago Apóstol, STB, orch, 1926, arr. TTB, org, 1944
Windsperger	Lothar			x	Missa symphonica, op.36, solo vv, chorus, orch, org, 1926
Karg-Elert	Sigfrid			x	Mass, b, woo 64, solo vv, chorus, orch, org, 1923–7, unfinished, unpubd
Janáček	Leoš			x	Mša glagolskaja [Glagolitic Mass] (Old Church Slavonic, arr. M. Weingart), S, A, T, B, SSAATTBB, orch, org, 1926–7, vs, ed. L. Kundera (Vienna, 1928), fs (Vienna, 1929)
Collet	Henri	x	x		Missa brevis in Pentecoste (Et in Honorem), op.90, S, A, T, B, female vv, cl opt., hmn/org, str qt, 1928
Letelier	Alfonso			x	Mass, op.1, SATB, org, orch, 1929
Dohnányi	Ernő			x	op.35 Missa in dedicatione ecclesiae (Szeged Mass), 4 solo vv, 8vv, orch, org, 1930
Maliszewski	Witold			x	Missa pontificalis Papae Pii XI, op.29, solo vv, chorus, orch, org, 1930 (Warsaw, 1932)
Lavrangas	Dionysios			x	Missa solemniss, D, S, T, B, chorus, org, orch, 1931
Messner	Joseph		x		Mass, Bb, op.29, S, chorus, wind, org ad lib, 1931
Müller-Zürich	Paul	x	x		Kleine Messe, op.17, female vv, insts, 1931
Stürmer	Bruno			x	Die Messe des Maschinenmenschen, Bar, male chorus, orch, 1931
Wildgans	Friedrich		x		Missa minima, S, cl, vn, vc, 1932, rev. 1953–4
Sojo	Vicente Emilio			x	Misa breve, solo vv, low chorus, orch, 1930–33
Nordoff	Paul			x	Secular Mass (W. Prude), chorus, orch, 1934
Schneider-Trnavský	Mikuláš			x	Slovenská omša [Slovak Mass], G, chorus, orch, org, 1934
Fornerod	Aloys H.-G.			x	Messe solennelle "Ancilla Domini", op.38, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1937
Hovhaness	Alan		x		Missa brevis, op.4, SATB, org, str, 1935
Kauffmann	Leo Justinus		x		Mass, chorus, org, str, 1935
Gilardi	Gilardo			x	Misa de Gloria, soloists, female chorus, org, orch, 1936
Grechaninov	Aleksandr T.			x	Missa oecumenica, op.142, 4 solo vv, chorus, orch, org, 1933–6
Harrison	Julius			x	Mass, C, vv, chorus, orch, 1936–47
Ullmann	Viktor			x	Sym. Mass, op.13, choir, orch, org, 1936
Messner	Joseph			x	Mass, G, op.46, chorus, orch/org, 1937
Plaza	Juan Bautista			x	Missa "Popule meus", TTB, orch, 1937
Alain	Jehan		x		110 Messe modale, SS, fl, str qt/org, 1938
Alain	Jehan		x		111 Messe grégorienne de mariage, T, str qt, 1938
Miramontes	Arnulfo			x	Misa solemne, SATB, orch, org, 1938
Tittel	Ernst		x		Missa "Magnus et potens", op.15, chorus, brass, org, 1939
Freitas	Frederico de				Missa solene, 4 solo vv, chorus, orch, 1940
Jolivet	André		x		Messe pour le jour de la paix, 1v, org, tambourine, 1940
Prieto	José Ignacio			x	Misa jubilar, chorus, orch, 1943
Casella	Alfredo			x	Missa solemniss "Pro pace", op.71, S, Bar, chorus, orch, 1944
Jongen	Joseph		x		Mass, op.130, solo vv, chorus, brass, org, 1945–8

CONTINUED .../

<sup>74</sup> Source: The Works Lists of the various composers listed in the table as they appeared in *Grove Music Online* in January 2012. This list comprises all of the masses identified in the entire collection of works lists in *Grove* in January 2012 that were scored for something other than voices and organ.

Table 2 Masses scored for female voices or instrumental ensemble or orchestra 1904 to 1963 *continued*

Surname	First names	Female Voices	Instruments	Orchestra	Description as per <i>Grove Music Online</i> or other source
Suder	Joseph			x	Festival Mass "Dona nobis pacem", D, S, A, T, B, SATB, children's chorus, orch, org, 1947
Büsser	Henri		x		La messe de Domrémy à la gloire de Ste Jeanne d'Arc, chorus, 4 tpt, 1948
Stravinsky	Igor		x		Mass (1948) TrATB, 2 ob, eng hn, 2 bn, 2 tpt, 3 trbn
Creston	Paul			x	Missa solemnis, op.44, SATB/TTBB, org/orch, 1949
Messner	Joseph		x		Mass, A, op.66, chorus, str, c1949
Barlow	Wayne			x	Mass, G, chorus, orch, 1951
Burkhard	Willy			x	Mass, op.85, S, B, chorus, orch, 1951
Champagne	Claude		x		Messe brève, chorus, 16 rec, vc, 1951
Harrison	Lou		x		Mass to St Anthony, unison vv, tpt, hp, str, 1939–52,
Lajtha	László			x	op 50 Missa in tono phrygio, chorus, orch, 1950
Genzmer	Harald			x	Mass, E, S, A, Bar, vv, orch, 1953
Hallnäs	Hilding		x		Missa, chorus, 13 wind, org, 1953
Remacha	Fernando	x			Misa en honor a la Virgen del Rosario, 2 female vv, org, 1953
Rosenthal	Manuel			x	Missa Deo gratias, S, Mez, T, B, chorus, orch, 1953
Sojo	Vicente Emilio			x	Misa a S Cecilia, solo vv, chorus, orch, 1953
Cortés	Ramiro	x			Missa brevis, female vv, pf, 1954
Freitas	Frederico de	x			Missa Regina mundi, female vv, 1954
Harries	David			x	Missa brevis, op.4, chorus, orch, 1954
Lewkovitch	Bernhard		x		Mass, op.15, chorus, wind, hp, 1954
Naylor	Bernard Naylor		x		Missa da camera, S, A, T, B, SATB, chbr orch, 1954/66
Donovan	Richard Frank		x		Mass, unison vv, org, 3 tpt, timp, 1955
Halffter	Cristóbal			x	Misa ducal, chorus, orch, c1955
Monnikendam	Marius			x	Missa festiva, chorus, orch/org, 1956
Bonet	Narcís			x	Missa in epiphania Domini, S, A, T, B, chorus, orch, 1957
Arnestad	Finn		x		Missa brevis, SATB, fl, cl, bn, 2 hn, tpt, 1958
Dorati	Antal		x		Missa brevis, chorus, perc, 1959
Gattermeyer	Heinrich		x		Missa Bernardi, TB, str, 1959
Messner	Joseph			x	Mass in E, soloists, chorus, orch 1959
Johansson	Bengt			x	Missa sacra, T, chorus, orch, 1960
Tomasí	Henri		x		Messe de minuit, children's choir, galoubet, ob, cel, vib, 3 gui, 1960
Barbe	Helmut		x		Missa brevis, chorus, 2 fl, ob, eng hn, bn, vc, 1961
Sorabji	Kaikhosru S.			x	Sym. High Mass, chorus, orch, 1955–61
Jolivet	André		x		Mass "Uxor tua", S, S, A, T, B/SSATB, fl, ob + eng hn, bn, trbn, va/org, 1962
Korte	Karl			x	Mass for Youth, SSA, orch, 1963
Marx	Karl	x	x		Stufen (Messe), female vv, insts, 1963
Valcárcel	Edgar			X	Mass, chorus, orch, 1963

The table provides clear evidence that it has been composers themselves who have saved the concert mass from becoming an elaborate relic of the Catholic Church. Accordingly, a number of examples from the table will be briefly laid out before concentrating on two masses, Janáček's *Glagolitic Mass* (1926–7) and Grechaninov's *Missa Oecumenica* (1944). These masses point to the religious and cultural diversity that is displayed in many of the masses of the second half of the twentieth century.

### Selected examples

Travelling to Switzerland from London in 1911, a young Emmanuel Moór (1863–1931) left the score of the mass that he had just completed on a train. Fortunately for the son of a Synagogue Cantor (once opera singer), the score for two solo voices, chorus, and orchestra was returned to him intact by the constabulary he had enlisted to help.<sup>75</sup> Some years later, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), an

<sup>75</sup> Max Pirani, *Emmanuel Moór* (London: MacMillan, 1959), 71–72.

Anglican composer who had been commissioned in 1893 to compose a concert mass for the Roman Catholic Brampton Oratory, decried the consequences of Pius X's *motu proprio*, claiming in 1914 that it had brought about "whole stacks of sentimentalized rubbish, decked out in gewgaws, and as ill-suited to their surroundings as a music-hall song in the Baireuth Theatre".<sup>76</sup> Sir Charles's musical response was to celebrate the Allies' victory in World War I with *Mass Via Victrix* (1914-1918) for two soloists, choir, orchestra and organ. Five years later, Monseñor Pablo Chávez Aguilar (1898-1950), having just concluded studies at the *Scuola Pontificia di Musica Sacra* in Rome, would celebrate his return to Peru in late 1924 with a newly composed mass for choir and orchestra that commemorated the centenary of Peru's battle of Independence at Ayacucho, *Misa solemne al centenario de la batalla de Ayacucho*.<sup>77</sup> Shortly after Pope Pius XI (1857-1939) had negotiated the sovereignty of Vatican City with Italy in 1929, and while head of piano and composition at the Budapest Academy in 1930, Ernő Dohnányi (1877-1960) would compose *Missa in dedicatione ecclesiae* (Mass dedicated to the Church) for four solo voices, chorus, orchestra and organ.<sup>78</sup> At around the same time, the Polish composer, Witold Maliszewski (1873-1939) composed *Missa pontificalis Papae Pii XI* for soloists, chorus, orchestra and organ, which gained its premiere in Warsaw in 1932.<sup>79</sup> Viktor Ullmann, a German Jew, was in self-imposed exile in Prague exploring anthroposophical practice, when he composed *Symphonic Mass* (1936), possibly in an attempt to regain the approval and acceptance of the Catholic Church.<sup>80</sup>

In 1944, at the behest of his Roman Catholic friend, Nadia Boulanger, Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) retreated from the trials of his life to a small Dominican convent in south-east Wisconsin.<sup>81</sup> Shortly after this he commenced work on *Mass for the Roman Catholic Church*, explicitly differentiating it from the Russian Orthodox tradition of his upbringing. After a break to complete some commissioned works, he went back to work on the piece in 1947, striving to write "very cold music, absolutely cold, that will appeal directly to the spirit".<sup>82</sup> Scoring his mass for mixed choir and ten wind instruments, Stravinsky hoped the lack of strings and percussion, together with the work's restrained style, may see it being performed during Catholic masses, but this was not to be. It premiered at La Scala concert hall in Milan

<sup>76</sup> Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), 310.

<sup>77</sup> J. Carlos Estenssoro, "Chávez Aguilar, Monseñor Pablo," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/45181>.

<sup>78</sup> Bálint Vázsonyi, "Dohnányi, Ernő [Ernst von]," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (31 Jan 2002), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/07927>.

<sup>79</sup> Teresa Chylińska, "Maliszewski, Witold," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article\\_works/grove/music/17556#S17556.1](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article_works/grove/music/17556#S17556.1).

<sup>80</sup> Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann : Leben und Werk* (Kassel; Stuttgart: Bärenreiter; Metzler, 2008).

<sup>81</sup> Stravinsky spent much of the summer of 1944 at Sinsinawa Mission in south-eastern Wisconsin. Amy Keyser, "A Question of Religion: Igor Stravinsky's Early Sacred Works" (MA, Florida State University, 2003), 32.

<sup>82</sup> Igor Stravinsky, as quoted by Joachim Herrmann in a programme note for a Musica Viva concert, Munich 6 July 1956. As cited in Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and his Works*, Second ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 446.

in 1948, the same year that it was completed, and has enjoyed a successful life as a concert piece since that time.

In 1952, Lou Harrison a Buddhist, revised a mass he had composed in response to the atomic bomb being dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The event had invoked for him a “cry for mercy” that he acknowledged was perfectly embodied in the Kyrie of a mass.<sup>83</sup> Named after the patron saint for lost items and lost causes, the original version of *Mass for St Anthony* was scored for unison voices and percussion, with snare, side, and bass drums evoking a military soundworld. Apparently not aware of the more specific provisions of the 1903 *motu proprio* Harrison re-scored a new version of his work for trumpet, harp, and strings, only to have a “monk in Vermont” advise him that he would be seeking permission from his Bishop to be able to perform it in church with the “loud brass instrument” – the trumpet.<sup>84</sup> After this unambiguous illustration of a strict acquiescence to the dictums of Rome, Harrison was all the more surprised by a nun who advised she wanted to use the first version of *Mass for Saint Anthony*, complete with percussion, and not the “tidied up version”.<sup>85</sup> As with the Melbourne situation, this is another example of the strictures of Pius X’s *motu proprio* not always being adhered to consistently.

The next example of a concert mass composed prior to 1963 also relates to a mass that would be revised. Originally composed for his son’s wedding, André Jolivet (1905-1974) revised *Missa Uxor Tua* in order to satisfy a commission by the French Radio Choir. For the concert version, completed in 1962, he replaced the liturgically acceptable organ of the wedding version with a small ensemble comprising Flute, Oboe, English horn, viola, trombone and bassoon. Underpinning the mass is Jolivet’s theological and ideological viewpoints, outlined during an interview in 1961 in which it is made clear that he does not believe in rigid Catholic doctrine, but rather, holds a broadly Christian faith that is infused with strains of humanism. He also finds a direct correlation between music and religion, stating that “music, in my opinion, must be spiritual, being a religious art, if it is to play a role of first importance in the life of human society”.<sup>86</sup> Theologically, music for the Catholic-born Jolivet is always religious. Ideologically, music for Jolivet is a tool best wielded in the transformative service of human beings’ spirituality. As the

---

<sup>83</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 178. Marchand cites an interview with Lou Harrison by David Brunner, on April 11, 1987, the transcript of which is included in the DMA thesis, David Brunner, "The Choral Music of Lou Harrison" (DMA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 312.

<sup>84</sup> Lou Harrison, Interview with Virginia Rathbun, as cited in Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 176. A transcript of the interview appears in Virginia Rathbun, "Lou Harrison and His Music" (MA, San Jose State University, 1976), 65.

<sup>85</sup> Lou Harrison, Interview with Virginia Rathbun, as cited in Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 175. A transcript of the interview appears in Rathbun, "Lou Harrison and His Music," 66.

<sup>86</sup> André Jolivet, as quoted in Martine Cadieu and Andre Jolivet, "A Conversation with Andre Jolivet," *Tempo* 59 (1961): 14.

twentieth century proceeded, the concert mass format attracted composers such as Jolivet who think deeply about issues of religion but do not hold a conventional faith that accords fully with one or other of the Christian denominations.

Furthermore, in almost all of the aforementioned examples, composers have been seen to have a subsidiary reason for composing their mass. Wars have been commemorated or remonstrated against; the Catholic Church and the Pope have been celebrated. Of course, some have composed a mass to demonstrate his or her skill without necessarily feeling any specifically religious or ideological motivation. Nonetheless, the summary also demonstrates that non-Catholics have adopted the mass without qualm. Aside from the composers of secular masses who, at least at the time of composing their masses were presumably aligned to agnosticism or atheism, Lou Harrison was a Buddhist, Igor Stravinsky was Russian Orthodox, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford was Anglican, and Emmanuel Moór and Victor Ullmann were Jewish. The religious inclusivity of the concert mass form that is implicit to this list of composers of a range of faiths, is also evident in the final masses to be discussed in this chapter, Leoš Janáček's *Glagolitic Mass* (1926-7) and particularly Alexandre Grechaninov's *Missa Oecumenica* (1935-44).

#### *Glagolitic Mass* (1926-7)

While it can be perceived to be ecumenical in its combination of a musical format established within the Roman Catholic Church and an old, non-Roman form of the Liturgical Rite, it was not an inclusive ecumenism that motivated Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) to compose his mass, but rather an exclusive nationalism that is also a feature of his five operas.<sup>87</sup> Janáček began composing his Czechoslovakian *Glagolitic Mass* for orchestra, choir and soloists in 1926, completing it the following year. In this mass, Janáček sets an early version of the liturgical rite that Greek missionaries had translated, among other Christian texts, into the Macedonian dialect of the Slavonic language in the 860s. This had required the devising of a new alphabet by one of the missionaries, Saint Cyril (826-69) and the language became known as Old Church Slavonic.<sup>88</sup> In the ninth century, however, the Christian Church, although not yet separated decisively into East (governed from Constantinople) and West (governed from Rome), had already begun to develop different streams of theological thought and this proved to be problematic when evangelising in new territories.<sup>89</sup> Prince Rastislav (846-870) of Greater Moravia, which forms part

---

<sup>87</sup> See Paul Wingfield, *Janáček: Glagolitic Mass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>88</sup> Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1963), 82-83.

<sup>89</sup> Christianity was ruptured into two Churches (The Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church) during the Great Schism of 1054. See *ibid.*, 51-81. Earlier Eastern breakaway movements saw the establishment of the Coptic, Jacobite, and Nestorian religions. See Aziz S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1968).

of the present-day Czech Republic, had invited missionaries from Constantinople to establish Christianity within his realm, and Saints Cyril and Methodius (c.815-885) had certainly achieved this aim. Yet it would be the missionaries affiliated with Rome, who came of their own volition a little later, who would ultimately take over.<sup>90</sup> Although vestiges of Old Church Slavonic remained even two hundred years after the arrival of Saints Cyril and Methodius, it was the Roman Liturgical Rite that would become universally recited in Moravian churches from soon after Methodius's death in 885 until the reforms of Vatican II (1962-65).<sup>91</sup>

This background information demonstrates that Janáček combined an ancient text developed by the missionaries of the Eastern Orthodox Church with a musical form that saw its greatest expression in the Roman Catholic Church. In so doing, Janáček could be understood to have turned back the clock to a time of relative Christian unity; a time prior to the Great Schism (1054) when Christianity split irrevocably into East and West, with each branch claiming to be the "one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic church", as they continue to do to the present day.<sup>92</sup> Nonetheless, over and above the fact that Janáček had selected the Glagolitic liturgy for nationalistic, not ecumenical reasons anyway, any claim of a metaphorical merging of East and West that is sponsored by an urge to effect conciliation would be an anachronistic interpretation of *Glagolitic Mass*, both from a religious and a musical perspective.

While Janáček chooses to use the Slavonic form of the liturgy developed by missionaries of the Eastern Orthodox Church, he does not abide by that church's musical traditions, which do not permit instrumental music in their churches. In utilising a full orchestra, Janáček places his mass in denominational no-man's land. Musically it is a mass of the Western art music tradition that, as shown above, grew out of the Roman Catholic tradition. Religiously, in choosing to set the Glagolitic Rite in Old Church Slavonic, it is of the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Had it been composed twenty-one years earlier, it might have been performed during the Roman Eucharist on the feast day of Saints Cyril and Methodius when the Old Church Slavonic Rite could, exceptionally, be used.<sup>93</sup> But it was composed after the *motu proprio*, *Tra le sollecitudini* was issued and, given its extensive use of instruments and soloists, *Glagolitic Mass* could not be performed at all in a Roman Catholic service without transgressing the provisions of the Pope's instruction. Showing little consideration for the requirements of either

---

<sup>90</sup> Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 83-4.

<sup>91</sup> See *ibid.*, 84.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 70; 315.

<sup>93</sup> Jaroslav Vogel, *Leoš Janáček: His Life and Works* (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1962), 348. Josef Foerster had composed a simpler *Glagolitic Mass* (Opus 123 for chorus and organ) in 1923. The feast day, already celebrated by the Bohemians, Moravians, and Croats was extended to the whole Roman Catholic Church in 1880. See Leo XIII, "Grande Munus: Encyclical Of Pope Leo XIII On Ss. Cyril And Methodius," *Vatican.va* (30 Sept 1880), accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/leo\\_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_30091880\\_grande-munus\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_30091880_grande-munus_en.html).

Eastern or Western Christianity, the result is an idiosyncratic nationalistic work that appears to use the religious framework of the mass for political – that is, nationalistic - purposes.

Nevertheless, a closer look at Janáček's own words on the mass suggests that his aim was not only to proclaim his pride in the country of his birth, but also to graft a wider spirituality onto the Christian form, creating broadly religious art rather than specifically Christian art. Janáček's opinion that "in art, every era, every nation and every composer ha[s] the right to an expression of their own, no matter how individual", is constrained by nothing but his own imagination.<sup>94</sup> Accordingly, the Czech composer had no compunction in adapting the Christian mass to create a work for the concert hall because he felt little affiliation with the Church. Despite a typically Catholic upbringing as the son of an Archbishop's choirmaster, the deaths of his son in 1890 and daughter in 1903 contributed to Janáček's later avoidance of churches. With "[t]ombs under the floors, bones on the altar, pictures which are nothing but torture and dying", for Janáček, churches represented "concentrated death".<sup>95</sup>

Yet to use such statements to claim him as an atheist, as Paul Winfield does, is to adhere insufficient complexity to Janáček's relationship with religion.<sup>96</sup> When a Brno critic, writing about *Glagolitic Mass*, dubbed Janáček a "firm believer" in 1928, the composer retorted

I am not at all a believer; no not at all. Until I see for myself ... In [the *Glagolitic Mass*] I wanted to portray faith in the certainty of the nation, not on a religious basis, but on a strong moral foundation which calls God as witness.<sup>97</sup>

Even in his remonstrance against belief Janáček contradicts himself. If he did not believe in God, why would he want God to be called as witness; why would he compose a mass setting liturgical texts at all? He clearly felt some connection with the liturgy, as his description of *Glagolitic Mass* published in the national daily newspaper, *Lidové noviny*, points to the work being a musical surrogate for the Eucharistic celebration it could never be part of:

---

<sup>94</sup> Leoš Janáček, "A Mozart Celebration: On the Centenary of his Death," *Moravské listy [Moravian Letters]*, 9 December 1891. Translated in Mirka Zemanová, *Janáček's Uncollected Essays on Music* (London; New York: Marion Boyars, 1989), 167-69, from the version in Bohumír Štědroň, ed. *Leoš Janáček kritikem brněnské opery v letech 1980-92 [Janáček as a Critic of the Brno Opera 1980-92]* (Brno: Otázky Divadla a Filmu, 1970).

<sup>95</sup> As reported by Janáček's niece, Věra Janáčková, *Lidové Noviny* 7 Aug 1940. Also cited in Vogel, *Leoš Janáček*, 348.

<sup>96</sup> Wingfield, who has published a study of Janáček's *Glagolitic Mass* and completed an earlier Janáček mass (in E flat major), labels him an agnostic in 1992, but then states that he was an atheist in 2000. See Wingfield, *Janáček: Glagolitic Mass*, 2. "Janáček, Mass in E Flat," in *Janáček, Mass in E Flat; Kodály, Missa Brevis, Laudes organi* (London: Hyperion Records, 2000). Liner notes, 4.

<sup>97</sup> Leoš Janáček in *Literární svět* (8 March 1928) as translated Wingfield, *Janáček: Glagolitic Mass*, 120-21. Janáček was responding to Ludvík Kundera's piece in the Prague periodical *Tempo* (Feb 1928), also translated in *ibid.* See also Zemanová, *Janáček's Uncollected Essays on Music*, 124 and Vogel, *Leoš Janáček*, 346.

The fragrance of the moist Luhačovice woods was the incense. The cathedral grew out of the giant-like magnitude of the forest and the vault of the sky with its misty distances. The bells were the ringing of a flock of sheep.

I hear in the tenor solo, an arch-priest; in the soprano, a maiden-angel; in the choir, the voice of our people. The candles—tall firs of the forest lit up with stars; and during the ceremony I see the vision of St Wenceslas and hear the language of the missionaries Cyril and Methodius.<sup>98</sup>

For Janáček, *Glagolitic Mass* encompasses a celebratory blend of the Slavic people, the natural beauty of the Slavic countryside, and a mythologised Slavic spirituality, all bound up in a Christian format that bears allegiance to the Greek Saints, Cyril and Methodius. It is a complex engagement with multiple religious ideas and, like the works to be discussed in later chapters, is the composer's definitive statement on religion at that (late) point of his life. He believed something, but was not sure exactly what; with nothing but the rituals of existing religions to express the ineffable, he chose art music's most serious religious form to do so.

#### Influence of the art music canon

While Janáček's nationalistic intentions and religious inclinations have certainly garnered serious attention by scholars, this would not have occurred had his mass not found a place in the classical art music canon. Accordingly, as an early example of a mass that does not conform to the Roman Catholic traditions, the influence of *Glagolitic Mass* upon the transfer of the mass from church to concert hall is furthered by its success. It has been recorded multiple times by major labels including Deutsche Gramophon, Decca, Chandos and Phillips.<sup>99</sup> It was also used in full for the soundtrack of the 1954 film *Inauguration of the Pleasure Dome*, which draws inspiration for its surreal content from the quasi-religious law of *Thelema* that was being developed during Janáček's lifetime by writer-magician Aleister Crowley.<sup>100</sup> With its acceptance into the concert repertoire and its use in an art film, *Glagolitic Mass* is not simply a marker of change, it is also a catalyst for change. The substitution of the Slavonic text for the Roman text sets a precedent for infusing the form with a theo-political agenda that, due to *Glagolitic*

<sup>98</sup> Leoš Janáček, *Lidové Noviny* 27 Nov 1927. As cited in Vogel, *Leoš Janáček*, 349. An alternative translation of the full text also appears in Wingfield, *Janáček: Glagolitic Mass*, 116-19.

<sup>99</sup> Recordings were issued by Supraphon in 1963, 1985, 1988, 2002; Deutsche Gramophon in 1965; Decca in 1974, 1999, Chandos in 1984, 1994; EMI Classics in 1988, 2009; Telarc, 1991; Phillips in 1993; Sony 1992; and BBC Music in 2008.

<sup>100</sup> Kenneth Anger, "Inauguration of the Pleasure Dome," (1954). A revised version of the film, screened during the Boston Film Festival in 1978, replaces *Glagolitic Mass* with all but one track from The Electric Light Orchestra's 1974 album *Eldorado*. "The Inauguration of the Pleasure Dome," (Mystic Fire Video, 1986). This version is available online at <http://vimeo.com/26491270> (accessed 14 Feb 2014).



*Mass's* relative prominence, may well have influenced later composers to further adapt the mass to suit their own ideological or theological ends.

#### *Missa Oecumenica* (1944)

In a second example of a Slavic-influenced mass, Alexandre Grechaninov (1864-1956) takes a different course to Janáček with his symphonic *Missa Oecumenica* (c1935-1944). Born in Moscow and studying composition in St Petersburg, Grechaninov did not begin to compose sacred music until he was thirty-five.<sup>101</sup> Composing two choruses with Russian chant as their basis, he would become swept up in a movement to rejuvenate "old Slavonic church singing" in order to create a contemporary Russian musical style for the church.<sup>102</sup> When the first rumblings of the Bolshevik Revolution were unsettling him, he felt a need to write religious music as a distraction, but rather than staying within the Russian Orthodox tradition, he composed a piece for choir and orchestra, *Laudate Dominum* (Praise the Lord) setting Psalm 150, which he later incorporated into a larger work, *Laudate Deum* (1915). Arguing that not only were instruments encouraged in Psalm 150, but also that there is a prayer for the reconciliation of Catholic and Orthodox faiths at the beginning of every Russian service, Grechaninov hoped the work would contribute to a change in Orthodox doctrine regarding music that aligned it more with Roman Catholic musical traditions.<sup>103</sup>

His second sacred work with instruments, *Liturgia Domestica*, displays a similar ambition. Scored initially for voice and piano in 1917, by 1918 it was expanded to include strings and a harp and later, chorus. Grechaninov belonged to a group of composers, including Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943), who hoped that, by creating sacred works that included instruments, and in performing them in concerts, the Russian Orthodox Church might be persuaded to permit music with instrumental accompaniment in worship.<sup>104</sup> Given that the Roman Catholic Church had reduced the extent to which this could occur in their services some fifteen years earlier, had the group succeeded then the result would have been ironical.

Just as there has always been debate in the Roman Catholic Church regarding the type of music that is suitable for church use, there were those in the Russian Orthodox tradition who argued strongly against the adoption of new ideas such as Grechaninov's. According to Anton Preobrazhensky, writing in 1894,

---

<sup>101</sup> Holmes, "'Missa Oecumenica' Grechaninov," 24; 28.

<sup>102</sup> A.T. Grechaninov, *My Life* (New York: Coleman-Ross Co., 1952), 71-72.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>104</sup> Holmes, "'Missa Oecumenica' Grechaninov," 40-42. See also Vladimir Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986), 224.

there were two main schools of thought, the first being “drawn to the ancient chants”, while the second “renounces or simply ignores them”.<sup>105</sup> Three decades later, in an article by Russian composer, Alexander Kastalsky (1856-1926), published in *The Musical Quarterly* in 1925, Kastalsky’s approach to Russian Church music is similar to the Cecilians’ in his preference for music based on “the ancient singers of the Psalter”. Furthermore, he asserts “I should like to have music which could be heard nowhere except in a church, and which would be as distinct from secular music as the church vestments are from the dress of the laity”.<sup>106</sup> But, as with Janáček, Kastalsky was also motivated by a nationalistic impulse. The future for Orthodox Church music, Kastalsky asserts, “lies in the idealisation of authentic church melodies, the transformation of them into something musically elevated, mighty in its expressiveness and near to the Russian heart in its typically national quality”.<sup>107</sup>

Although Kastalsky and Grechaninov sat in opposite camps with regard to instruments in Russian Orthodox Churches, their views coincided in two important aspects. Kastalsky was not opposed to creating large-scale sacred choral works, and Grechaninov was not opposed to composing distinctively Russian sacred music. Indeed, Vladimir Morosan is of the opinion that Kastalsky’s influence on Grechaninov’s sacred music is marked.<sup>108</sup>

With life in revolutionary Russia frustrating Grechaninov’s ability to continue to conduct his career on a financially stable basis, he emigrated to France in 1925 at the age of 61 and then to the USA in 1939, at the age of 75.<sup>109</sup> A decade after the break from his homeland he began to compose Roman Catholic liturgical music. Although initially commencing work on *Missa Oecumenica*, the first works completed were *Missa Festiva* (1937) and *6 Motets* (1937), both for mixed chorus and organ. When these works won him first prize in a French competition, he recommenced work on *Missa Oecumenica*. He would also go on to compose a further four liturgically suitable masses for voices and organ over the ensuing two decades.<sup>110</sup>

Motivated to bring the Christian religions of East and West together in his music, in *Missa Oecumenica* Grechaninov does not strive to compose distinctively Russian sacred music as he did with his earlier sacred works, but rather to compose a mass that fits within the concert mass tradition of the Roman

---

<sup>105</sup> As reproduced in *Choral Performance*, 218.

<sup>106</sup> A. Kastalsky and S. W. Pring, "My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1925): 246.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Vladimir Morosan, "Research Report: Two Russian Choral Giants: Alexander Kastalsky (1856-1926) and Sergei Taneyev (1856-1915)," *The Choral Journal* 48, no. 11 (2008): 93.

<sup>109</sup> Holmes, "'Missa Oecumenica' Grechaninov," 34.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 43; 6.

Catholic Church, and imbue it with some Russian musical elements. Where Janáček welds Old Church Slavonic to the Western liturgical form, Grechaninov deliberately takes a more moderate approach. He utilises motifs from Russian Orthodox Chant but retains the Latin and Greek text, thereby adhering some elements of an Eastern musicality to the Western liturgy. In doing so, Grechaninov accepts the inclusion of the word "*Filioque*" (and the son), which appears in the Roman Credo but not in the Orthodox version. Resisted by the Orthodox (Eastern) Bishops on theological grounds relating to the Trinity, the inclusion of the word *filioque* was a primary cause of the Great Schism of 1054.<sup>111</sup>

In addition, Grechaninov's decision to compose for large musical resources, despite the Roman Catholic Pope's *motu proprio* issued some two decades earlier, confirms that by the later 1930s, the dual musical life of the Roman Catholic liturgy had become well established. For Catholic Church services, a setting of the liturgy that utilised modest musical resources was the appropriate response; but it was becoming equally acceptable for a composer to set the liturgy in a large-scale work for the concert hall, and for it to be considered still part of the Western (Roman Catholic) tradition.

For some people, however, a hierarchy between Church and Concert Hall still exists, with a church service remaining the more elevated situation for a mass to be performed in. A prioritising of church over concert can be found in an extended note in Bradley Holmes's thesis, which explores all of Grechaninov's masses, but most notably *Missa Oecumenica*. Writing in 1990, Holmes argues

To say that the *Missa Oecumenica* is merely a concert work with no intention of liturgical performance may be simplistic in view of Grechaninov's earlier [futile] attempts at breaking down [Russian Orthodox] church restrictions. ... In spite of its concert like quality and its instrumental accompaniment, Grechaninov clearly hoped it might serve a liturgical purpose. Later he scored it for possible a cappella performance. The grand scale of the *Missa Oecumenica* should not imply that Grechaninov would not have wanted it performed in a church. More than a concert setting, it is a statement of faith from an artist struggling to bring his various worlds together.<sup>112</sup>

That Holmes uses the word "merely" in the first sentence and "more than a concert setting" in the last, implies that for Holmes at least, the hierarchy still existed in 1990, and that a mass for the church – regardless of size and musical stature – was the higher object. It also highlights that some still hold out for a return to the Catholic Church of High Masses featuring music of symphonic proportions.

---

<sup>111</sup> See Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 58-60; 62-65; 218-23.

<sup>112</sup> Holmes, "'Missa Oecumenica' Grechaninov," 44, n13.

Holmes also notes that *Missa Oecumenica* had received few performances because “Western audiences found [it] somewhat anachronistic both musically and philosophically”.<sup>113</sup> Indeed, Grechaninov’s only symphonic mass remains unpublished, although the Russian State Symphonic Cappella and the Russian State Symphony Orchestra recorded it for the first time in 1999, together with Grechaninov’s final symphony, his fifth.<sup>114</sup> In fact, the symphony receives top billing, indicating that, similar to the motivation underpinning Janáček’s *Glagolitic Mass*, *Missa Oecumenica* was primarily recorded for musical and patriotic reasons, not religious ones, particularly as the accompanying liner notes relating to the mass are sketchy and somewhat inaccurate.<sup>115</sup> Yet, as much as it asserts a renewed patriotism, it also takes advantage of a return of religion in the Soviet Republic that the collapse of communism brought about. Ironically, whereas Janáček’s mass was spurred by a nationalistic urge, but is received as religiously ecumenical, Grechaninov’s mass, which is overtly ecumenical, is being promoted for nationalistic reasons.

## Conclusion

Music has always been important to the Roman Catholic Church; however, little concurrence with regard to the appropriate style for masses has ever been achieved. The Council of Trent was unable to issue a definitive statement on music, leading to a capella masses in the style of Palestrina being heard in some churches, while increasingly large-scale masses with instruments, soloists and choirs that, in the most grandiose examples, could compete with Opera, were heard in others. Plainsong continued to have its advocates, with the monks of Solesmes creating a modern edition of the *Kyriale* that would be ratified by the Vatican in 1905. In 1903, it was those who wished music to be the handmaiden of the liturgy, an accoutrement that unobtrusively aided in prayer and worship, who prevailed, not those who had concertised the mass, thereby contributing to the development of concert masses. From this point on, the large-scale concert mass was driven out of the church by plainsong or choral masses with only limited instrumental accompaniment, or none at all.

Rather than let the large-scale format die out, however, composers of a variety of religious viewpoints took to composing masses for the concert hall, often imbuing them with their own ideologies or theologies. Delius’s *A Mass of Life* (1905) was an extreme example and was followed by a small number of human-oriented or secular masses that were composed in the 1920s and 1930s. Although this particular deviation from the liturgical mass tradition would gain little traction, the notion that the mass

---

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., iv.

<sup>114</sup> Grechaninov: “Symphony No. 5”; “*Missa Oecumenica*”, Russian State Symphonic Capella & Russian State Symphony Orchestra; Valeri Polyanski (cond.), Chandos Records - Premiere CD 9845, 2000.

<sup>115</sup> Liner notes to *ibid.*

could contain something other than Roman Catholic doctrine did not. The masses of Delius, Janáček and Grechaninov show that politics – such as nationalism – and alternative religious views – such as atheism or humanism in Delius’s case, natural and Slavic religions in Janáček’s case, and specifically Russian Orthodox religion in Grechaninov’s case – could be welded to the Roman Catholic form, to create music that could only really make sense in the concert hall where the religious persuasion of audiences was of little concern. Over and above any specific referencing of non-Christian elements in these composers’ masses, it was the form’s demonstrated ability to contain more than Christian theology that inspired composers in the second half of the twentieth century to create concert masses that took the themes that were already latent in the masses of this trio of composers to new conclusions.

The aggression of Nietzsche, present in the Delius mass, would be reflected in the strident religious and social protest masses of Peter Maxwell Davies and Leonard Bernstein in 1971. The inclusiveness of Janáček and Grechaninov’s masses, which bring Eastern and Western Christianity together would be reflected in David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* (1973) and later in a group of universalist or pluralistic masses in the 1990s. Janáček’s interest in folk music would be reflected in Paul Chihara’s *Missa Carminum* (1975), while the Czech composer’s vision of a natural religion would also be reflected in Chihara’s mass, as well as the environmentally oriented masses of the 1980s. These masses will all be discussed in later chapters, as will the impact on the concert mass of changes in post-World War II Western culture, particularly the development of consumerism and popular music, as reflected in The Electric Prunes’ *Mass in F Minor* (1967). First, however, the repercussions of Vatican II on the concert mass will be explored, focusing particularly on Daniel Lentz’s *Missa Umbrarum* (1973).





## Chapter 4 Responses to Vatican II

After the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) the Roman Catholic Church virtually abandoned the mass as a musical form suited to the celebration of the Eucharist. While Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* of 1903 had already reduced the scale of acceptable masses destined for Church performance, the instructions of Vatican II, as they were widely interpreted and applied to music, meant that masses would rarely be composed for the Church from the mid-1960s onwards. While many "academicians, clerics and church musicians alike" called for the restoration of polyphonic and symphonic masses, it would be the preferences of lay people – the everyday parishioners – that would determine the direction of Catholic Church music after the Council concluded. The resulting music comprised primarily monadic masses and hymns accompanied by organs or small ensembles of musicians.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter explores responses to Vatican II by composers and church musicians, notably two concert masses composed for the Church – Marcello Giombini's *Messa dei Giovani* (1966) and Dave Brubeck's *To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual* (1979) – and one for the concert hall, Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* (1973). An important contribution by a significant composer, which has not been studied before, Lentz's work will receive the greatest attention.

---

<sup>1</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 69; 241.

## VATICAN II (1962-65)

As John W. O'Malley notes, although "no obvious crisis troubled the Catholic Church ... Pope John XXIII launched a process that would culminate in what was quite possibly the biggest meeting in the history of the world".<sup>2</sup> Yet the Council, whose implementation of a modernising policy of *aggiornamento* would rapidly change the lives of the Catholic faithful, did not arise in a void. Rather, Vatican II endorsed and expanded upon certain practices that were already occurring in various parts of its globalised realm.

This was certainly the case with two issues discussed during the Council that are of particular note to the concert mass's ongoing devolution from sacred liturgical context to secular concert, even though the issues do not relate directly to music. The first issue concerns lay participation in communal worship, including the extent to which the vernacular language of the congregation should be incorporated into the Eucharist. The second issue relates to acknowledging the rights of others to practice non-Catholic religions.

In the first case, following the conclusion of Vatican II, congregations were no longer to be treated as spectators in the celebration of the Eucharist, but rather as active participants. To facilitate this the Eucharist would begin to be celebrated in the "mother tongue" of each congregation rather than Latin.<sup>3</sup> While this was certainly a sharp change for most Catholics, recitation in the vernacular was not entirely unheard of in the 1960s. In Germany, for example, a *Vorsprecher* might recite the liturgical rite loudly in German from a position adjacent to the chancel entry while the priest whispered it at the altar in Latin.<sup>4</sup>

In the second case, the position of the Church regarding its official attitude towards other religions was encapsulated in the Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Aetate*, (In our Age) proclaimed by Pope Paul VI on 28 October 1965, five weeks prior to the Second Vatican Council's conclusion. Although the primacy of the Roman Catholic faith was asserted in the document,

---

<sup>2</sup> John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA; London, England: Belknap Press, 2008), 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> The relevant regulatory document, which explains the rationale behind the changes to the liturgy including the use of the vernacular, is "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* Solemnly Promulgated By His Holiness Pope Paul VI On December 4, 1963," *Vatican.va* accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19631204\\_sacrosanctum-concilium\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html). In fact, a close reading of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* reveals that the intention was not to remove Latin entirely from the mass. For example, section 36.1 states a desire to preserve the use of Latin through the Latin Rite, while Section 56 states that "steps should be taken so that the faithful may also be able to say or to sing together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass which pertain to them".

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Hutchings, *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Erik Routley, Studies in Church Music (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 84.



the integrity of other world religions was acknowledged through *Nostra Aetate* and a policy of active engagement was urged:

The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these [other] religions. She regards with sincere reverence those ways of conduct and of life, those precepts and teachings which, though differing in many aspects from the ones she holds and sets forth, nonetheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men.

... The Church, therefore, exhorts her sons, that through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith and life, they recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among these men [of other religions].<sup>5</sup>

This too, is not a sharp change in direction, but an acknowledgement of an existing attitude, particularly, if not exclusively, held by missionaries wishing to make the Roman Catholic faith explicable and acceptable to the people they chose to work amongst. In one musical example, *Missa Luba* (1958) was created in the Congolese city of Kamina where a large Belgian military base had been established at the end of World War II. Although, as noted in the previous chapter, it is very much a Catholic mass, the presence of Congolese aspects gives it an inclusive caste. Arranged by a Belgian priest, Guido Haazen, from improvisations by members of the choir he had established in the city of Kamina, *Missa Luba* utilises the Latin text of the Ordinary yet is musically an African-Western fusion. Employing western harmonies it features local drumming techniques, melodies and dance rhythms, while also requiring extemporisation.<sup>6</sup>

Over and above the indirect changes that would affect the music of the Eucharist, such as reciting in the vernacular, in terms of dealing with liturgical music directly, the early instructions that were promulgated by the Pope in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963) were imprecise. This lack of precision made room for multiple interpretations and ongoing dissent among a liturgical-musical community that had never been united in their opinions regarding music prior to Vatican II anyway.<sup>7</sup> Evidence for the post-Vatican II state of disunity can be found in the Foreword to a collection of essays proceeding from the Fifth International Church Music Congress held in Chicago and

---

<sup>5</sup> Pope Paul VI, "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate*," *Vatican.va* (28 Oct. 1965), accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html).

<sup>6</sup> Doris Anna McDaniel, "Analysis of the *Missa Luba*" (MA, University of Rochester, 1973).

<sup>7</sup> See previous chapter and also Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 53-67.

Milwaukee, USA in 1966. During this Congress, the implications of Vatican II for music were discussed in the light of retaining some consistency with the *motu proprio*, *Tra le sollecitudini*, issued by Pope Pius X in 1903, and discussed in the previous chapter. The editor of the collection writes “it may not be too surprising, in these times of ferment ... that it is necessary to refer to the constant attacks made against the [Fifth International Church Music] Congress and its organisers who were maligned personally, falsely, and unfairly”.<sup>8</sup>

With the organisers of the Congress in favour of retaining the sung prose texts of the Ordinary in Latin and not the vernacular, preferably through Gregorian Chant or polyphonic settings sung by choirs, the types of music that the Congress was typically arguing against is epitomised by *Messa dei Giovani* (1966) by Italian composer, Marcello Giombini (1928-2003).<sup>9</sup> Giombini’s youth mass was probably the first high-profile mass in the rock idiom to be both employed in the service of the Eucharist and recorded as a commercial enterprise. Performed to an overflowing church congregation in the Chiesa della Vallicella, Rome in April 1966, and involving three bands, the Barritas, The Bumpers, and Angel and the Brains, *Messa dei Giovani* was recorded and distributed as an LP album in the same year.<sup>10</sup> Scored for voice, electric guitar, keyboard and percussion, it combined Italian texts by Scoponi, Gasbarri and Federici with those of the Ordinary, also in Italian.<sup>11</sup> A concert mass with a liturgical purpose, Giombini’s work was believed by progressive Catholics to satisfy the requirements of Vatican II because it is a mass in the vernacular of a popular musical style that young people particularly could relate to, thereby facilitating the retention of the next generation within the congregations of the Church. Not all would agree and, in the case of *Messa dei Giovani* it would be the conservative voices on music within the Church that would ultimately win. Pamela King recounts a story told by the Angel’s drummer, Angelo Ferrari, of “bitter and vicious arguments within the church and the media” that resulted in the Vatican disassociating itself from the youth mass it had initially encouraged.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Johannes Overath, “Foreword” in Johannes Overath, ed. *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966* (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969), n.p.

<sup>9</sup> For a summary of the issues the Congress dealt with see James Overath, “Introduction,” in *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966*, ed. Johannes Overath (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969).

<sup>10</sup> For an exploration of *Messa dei Giovani* in relation to liturgical reform see Mauro Scaringi, “La Messa dei Giovani di Marcello Giombini all'indomani della riforma liturgica” (Diss., Ufficio Liturgico Nazionale, 1996). The LP album is *La Messa dei Giovani*, Marcello Giombini (composer); Angel and the Brains; I Barritas; The Bumpers, Ariel LP LNF 202, 1966.

<sup>11</sup> Marcello Giombini, *Messa dei Giovani* (Rome: Edizioni Musicali Casimiri, c.1966).

<sup>12</sup> Pamela King, *Angel with Drumsticks: The Rock that Shook the Foundations of the Vatican* (Thorpe-Bowker, 2015), Back Cover.

Among musical conservatives in the Church, over and above the belief that *Tra le Sollecitudini* remained relevant, and therefore electric guitars and drum kits were not suitable for church worship, the main arguments centred upon those provisions in the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* of 1963 that explicitly recognised the value of both Latin and the “sacred song” of the church including the following two:

36.1. Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites.

112 The musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of inestimable value, greater even than that of any other art. The main reason for this pre-eminence is that, as sacred song united to the words, it forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy.<sup>13</sup>

Taking other provisions of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* into account, particularly those regarding the encouragement of congregational participation, each of the two positions regarding music could find support for their vision within the Constitution. Citing Ralph Keifer, Rebecca Marchand attributes a specific character to each view, stating “the major polemic surrounding the Mass after Vatican II” emanated from “a tension between a ‘call to joy’ ... and a ‘call to awe’”, with “awe” being epitomised by choirs singing plainsong and Renaissance polyphony, and “joy” being epitomised by congregational singing in the vernacular that may or may not be led by a choir.<sup>14</sup> Marchand accepts that calls to joy and to awe “are not mutually exclusive categories” because choirs and organists in some parishes may provide devotional music at certain points of the mass, and play a supporting role for congregational singing at others.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, Marchand follows Keifer in asserting that it was the call to joy that would prevail. Accordingly, although exceptions do exist, the commissioning of a mass was rarely considered a fitting response for liturgical worship. Alternative arguments, such as Rodolf Graver’s belief that sacred art was appropriate in church worship because it emanates from an artist who, as a conduit of God’s will, brings work into existence that is simply “a re-creation of the pattern set in his soul by the divine Creator”, were largely disregarded.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* Solemnly Promulgated By His Holiness Pope Paul VI On December 4, 1963".

<sup>14</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 50. Selected quotations from Ralph A. Keifer, *The Mass in Time of Doubt: The Meaning of the Mass for the Catholic Today* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983), 113.

<sup>15</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 50.

<sup>16</sup> Rudolf Graver, "Religion and Art," in *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966*, ed. Johannes Overath (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969), 41.

## Transcultural liturgical Masses

In 1903 the mass had two masters – the Church and, via the concert mass, the Western art music tradition. From the late 1960s the mass, as concert mass, had become almost exclusively the property of Western art music, although settings of the liturgy that integrate distinctive musical idioms derived from a collective sense of ethnicity or generational identity did continue to be created for liturgical purposes. For example, Canadian priest, Fr Juan Marco Leclerc was following the lead of *Missa Luba* when he established a *Mariachi Mass* (1966) in the Mexican town of Cuernavaca.<sup>17</sup> Infusing the liturgical texts with mariachi cultural expression, it not only continues to be performed during Sunday mass at the town's cathedral today, but also inspired a version, *Misa Panamericana*, which was adopted by Hispanic communities in Los Angeles in 1968.<sup>18</sup> In another example, Norman Luboff composed *African Mass* (1964), setting the standard Latin (and Greek) liturgical texts to music for choir, solo voices and tuned drums, specifically for the African American community.<sup>19</sup> Following the vernacular examples of Giombini's *Messa dei Giovani* and Ariel Ramirez's Argentinian-Spanish *Missa Criolla* (1963), communities in the United States with "strong ties to ethnic polka culture" would occasionally celebrate masses setting English-language texts to polka-style music from the 1970s onwards.<sup>20</sup> In Ireland, simple polyphonic settings, such as Aloys Fleischmann's *Mass* (1972) for four juvenile or female voices and organ were popular.<sup>21</sup> Dedicated to Sister Rosario and the South Presentation Convent Choir, Fleischmann's *Mass* set the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei in English together with two hymns.<sup>22</sup> Yet liturgical masses such as these were exceptional; most commonly, masses that did get sung on a somewhat regular basis were monadic settings with easily learnt tunes in the vernacular that might mimic Gregorian chant but were contemporary in style.

Had the Church reclaimed the concert mass in the 1960s by regularly encouraging commissions of large-scale masses in contemporary Western art music style, it is possible that the form would not have gained such favour among non-Catholic composers as it did, because there would have been many more masses of a liturgical cast that utilised modern musical styles but did not go beyond the boundaries of Christian doctrine.

<sup>17</sup> Joanna Moorhead, "The Marachi Mass - A Meeting of Liturgy and Culture," *Alive Publishing* (4 May 2010), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.alivepublishing.co.uk/bible-alive-articles/the-marachi-mass-a-meeting-of-liturgy-and-culture>.

<sup>18</sup> Steven Loza, "The Musical Life of the Mexican/Chicano People in Los Angeles, 1945-1985: A Study in Maintenance, Change, and Adaptation" (PhD, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 135-36.

<sup>19</sup> Norman Luboff, *African Mass* (Walton Music Corp., 1969).

<sup>20</sup> Robert Walser, "The Polka Mass: Music of Postmodern Ethnicity," *American Music* 10, no. 2 (1992): 183.

<sup>21</sup> Other simple masses by Irish composers include Éamonn ÓGallchobhair's *St Colmcille Mass* (1971), Frank Corcoran's *Aifreann* for unison voices, and organ (1973) and T.C. Kelly's *Mass in Gregorian Style* (1974).

<sup>22</sup> The manuscript of Aloys Fleischmann's *Mass* is available via the Cork City Library website, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://www.corkcitylibraries.ie/fleischmann/afworks/A043.pdf>.

## American responses

In her thesis "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council on the American Concert Mass" Marchand considers masses by Leonard Bernstein, Lou Harrison and Paul Creston. Marchand describes Bernstein's *Mass* as a theatre piece that provides "a commentary on the liturgical mass and the context in which it existed in the decade following Vatican II".<sup>23</sup> Although *Mass* is a significant work it is less a direct response to Vatican II than the other masses to be considered in this chapter. Primarily, it constitutes a protest emanating from a desire for a more compassionate and egalitarian American society, and will be investigated as such in Chapter 6.

Harrison's *Mass for St Cecilia's Day* (1983-6) was commissioned by an eclectic Californian-based group named the St. Cecilia Society for the Preservation of Gregorian Chant and Peking Opera.<sup>24</sup> Not affiliated with any religion, the Society was nonetheless evangelically inclined with regard to issues of morality, suggesting (among other ideas) that Harrison might compose a mass in honour of St Sebastian (d.287CE). The saint is claimed by the gay community as their patron saint, a designation the Roman Catholic Church certainly could not condone, given that acting on same-sex desire is forbidden by Church dogma.<sup>25</sup> In another example of the Society's inclination to promote a specific moral position, the proceeds of the sale of 150 silk-screened copies of the calligraphed score of *Mass for St Cecilia's Day* were given to Planned Parenthood, an organisation whose *raison d'être* was in direct conflict with Roman Catholic doctrine on contraception.<sup>26</sup>

Deciding to opt for a less controversial icon, the patron saint of music, Harrison dedicated *Mass for St Cecilia's Day* in memoriam to Charles Gordon, a Jew whose wife had become the patron of the work.<sup>27</sup> The fact that a Jewish woman would have no qualms about endorsing a mass provides evidence that for at least some people, the mass in concert had rendered its liturgical heritage irrelevant; it was no longer Roman Catholic music, it was simply serious music with a weighty tradition.

---

<sup>23</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 99.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>25</sup> See Pope John Paul II, "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons," *Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith* (1 Oct 1986), accessed 15 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc\\_con\\_cfaith\\_doc\\_19861001\\_homosexual-persons\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19861001_homosexual-persons_en.html).

<sup>26</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 183. Founded in Brooklyn New York in 1916 Planned Parenthood is an organisation that has become a powerful lobby group promoting "the fundamental right of each individual ... to manage his or her own fertility". "Mission", *Planned Parenthood*, (accessed 15 April 2015), <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/who-we-are/mission>. Abstinence as the sole approved method of birth control was reiterated in an encyclical, issued by Pope Paul VI in 1968. See Pope Paul VI, "Humanae Vitae," *La Santa Sede [The Holy See]* (July 25, 1968), accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/paul\\_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_enc\\_25071968\\_humanae-vitae\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_25071968_humanae-vitae_en.html).

<sup>27</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 182.

With so many non-Catholic influences and outcomes, and Harrison's own perspective as a Buddhist with a wide-ranging interest in all manifestations of spiritual expression, the absence of a Credo in *Mass for St Cecilia's Day* is unsurprising. Yet this does not mean Harrison was disinterested in the musical consequences of the Second Vatican Council. He was aware that the singing of Gregorian chant had been largely set aside by Vatican II's requirement to say masses in the vernacular, for example. Yet rather than find fault with the decision, Harrison was moved to demonstrate that melodic inspiration for modern-day masses that congregations could sing could be derived from the existing plainsong repertoire. Accordingly, he created a work for unison voices and harp (with organ ad lib) in a modern idiom.<sup>28</sup> As Marchand advises, for Harrison "chant was not simply some medieval museum piece destined to remain as part of ancient history. Instead, chant became an organic form of expression, a method in which to capture Harrison's ideal melodic aesthetic of simplicity".<sup>29</sup> This viewpoint springs from Harrison's notion that the composer belongs to the "research and development section of a bigger enterprise, which is the whole world of music".<sup>30</sup> In setting the Latin text in *Mass for St Cecilia's Day*, Harrison did not go so far as to compose a mass in the vernacular that could actually be used without contest in post Vatican II Catholic Churches, but that was not his brief: the commission had been for a concert work by an organisation with no affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church.

Paul Creston's *Missa "cum Jubilo"* (1968) was not a church commission either, although Marchand attests to its being "tied directly to the Catholic Church".<sup>31</sup> Despite Creston's employment by St Malachy's Church in New York as organist and choir director from 1934 to 1967, the tie, however, is not a positive one. Rather, it emanates from Creston's very direct response to the favouring of the "mother tongue" over Latin in church services. Whereas Harrison works collaboratively with a range of traditions to develop new music that is sympathetic to past and present, Creston, motivated by anger, creates a mass that meets the requirements of Pope Pius's *motu proprio*, *Tra le sollecitudini* of 1903, rather than the norms established for Church music after Vatican II. In the preface to his polyphonic mass for two choirs and optional piano, organ, or string orchestra, he blames Vatican II directly for the abandonment of even modest concert masses, although in fact, it was only the way in which the Council's various instructions were interpreted and applied, that caused the loss:

*Missa "cum Jubilo"* was composed in protest to the abolition by the Second Ecumenical Council of the *Missa Cantata* in Latin ... It is labeled "A Liturgical-Concert Mass" as it

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>30</sup> William Duckworth, *Talking Music: Conversations with John Cage, Philip Glass, Laurie Anderson, and Five Generations of American Experimental Composers* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999), 97.

<sup>31</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 199.

conforms to the *Motu proprio*; but until such time as the Church reconsiders its ruling regarding music for the High Mass, *Missa "cum Jubilo"* may be performed in concert.<sup>32</sup>

Creston includes instructions for both church and concert performance, affirming, even as a Catholic church musician of conservative tendencies, the legitimacy of the mass as music suitable for secular performance. But his statement also shows that, for Creston, concert performance is only an interim measure designed to ensure masses that reflect the richness of the liturgical tradition prior to Vatican II continued to be composed. Taking his words at face value, should the Church have changed its mind with regard to the liturgical appropriateness of masses such as *Missa "cum Jubilo"* during his lifetime, Creston would presumably have withdrawn his support for secular performances.

*To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual* (1979)

Ten years after Creston composed his liturgical concert mass, Martin E. Marty highlights the fact that there remained no definitive ruling on music for the Eucharist by the Pope, but points out that this is unsurprising for an institution focused upon expanding its global outreach and increasing its impact on issues of humanity:

The Western Christian world has just experienced a decade of experiment occasioned by everything from the Second Vatican Council to the Counter Culture. To argue that matters of taste have something to do with the shape of God's action in Christ when the New Testament says so little about music and the arts is daring. Why bother with taste in a time when it is vital to evangelize the world and urgent to feed it?<sup>33</sup>

One person who believed taste to matter in liturgical music was Ed Murray, editor of the American national Catholic weekly *Our Sunday Visitor*. In the late 1970s, Murray commissioned the jazz musician and classical composer, Dave Brubeck to create a mass that would be widely appealing. Brubeck was asked to compose a mass that could not only be "performed by a church choir" but also by "school chorus, or [even] a symphony orchestra and chorus", a task that, Murray acknowledged, required the skills of an extraordinary composer who could straddle both the popular and the classical approaches

---

<sup>32</sup> Paul Creston, *Missa Cum Jubilo : A Liturgical-Concert Mass for 4-part chorus of mixed voices, a cappella with optional organ or piano or string accompaniment : op. 97* (Toronto: Kerby, 1973), Foreword.

<sup>33</sup> Martin E. Marty, "Foreword," Erik Routley, *Church Music and the Christian Faith*, as cited in an advertisement for Routley's book in "A Compelling Statement on Church Music, Taste And Order by the Distinguished Pastor/Hymnologist Erik Routley," *Pastoral Music*, Aug-Sep 1979, 44.

to music-making.<sup>34</sup> Murray was keen for Brubeck to create a high quality contemporary work that would incorporate the changes to the Catholic liturgy, particularly with regard to the use of the vernacular and the participation of the congregation.<sup>35</sup> Murray's trust in Brubeck's ability to do this was confirmed when Sister Theophane Hytrek, after assessing a draft of three movements of the emerging mass on the composer's request, advised Brubeck "to continue and don't change a note".<sup>36</sup>

The resulting mass, *To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual* (1979), which sets predominantly English-language liturgical texts, was first performed in Philadelphia on 9 April 1980 at the Cathedral-Basilica of Saints Peter and Paul, with a second performance in the Providence Cathedral of the same name in Rhode Island several days later.<sup>37</sup> It is a relatively long work of fifteen movements including English settings of all of the sections of the Ordinary except the Credo. Several other sections of the liturgy also have musical settings, including the Processional, the Preface, and the Doxology. In two exceptions to the norm, the third movement, The Desert and the Parched Land (Isaiah 35:1-4), replaces the Old Testament reading when performed during the Eucharist, while the Gloria is to be sung at the end, rather than its correct liturgical position, in concert performance.<sup>38</sup>

Recorded in the Washington National Cathedral in 1996, *To Hope!* has been included in the programmes of such diverse events and venues as the Rudolphinum concert hall in Prague and the Jazz and Heritage Festival of New Orleans.<sup>39</sup> Although the composer took on the commission with much trepidation, his decision proved momentous for his spiritual development. *To Hope!* would lead to his adoption of the Catholic faith shortly after its completion, and then to his receiving the prestigious *Laetare* medal in 2006, an annual award of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, which honours "a Catholic 'whose genius has ennobled the arts and sciences, illustrated the ideals of the Church and enriched the heritage of humanity'".<sup>40</sup> While its commissioner might believe *To Hope* reflects the "fresh mind of a soon-to-be-convert", it has nevertheless been performed more often in concerts than during the Eucharist.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Dave Brubeck in William M. Skoog, "An Interview with Dave Brubeck Regarding His Choral Music," *Choral Journal* 49, no. 11 (2009): 30-31.

<sup>35</sup> Lorene Hanley Duquin, *A Century of Catholic Converts*, Google Books ed. (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 2003), 186.

<sup>36</sup> As cited in Michael Sherwin, "Jazz Goes Back to Church," *America: The National Catholic Weekly*, 24 August 2003, accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.americamagazine.org/content/article.cfm?article\\_id=3082](http://www.americamagazine.org/content/article.cfm?article_id=3082).

<sup>37</sup> Galloway, "A Conductor's Perspective of Dave Brubeck's 'To Hope!'," 42.

<sup>38</sup> Dave Brubeck, *To hope! : A Celebration* (Dayton, Ohio; Old Hickory, Tenn.: Heritage Music Press; Pastoral Arts Associates of North America, c1979).

<sup>39</sup> Skoog, "An Interview with Dave Brubeck " 29; 32.

<sup>40</sup> Michael O. Garvey, "Jazz legend Dave Brubeck to Receive Laetare Medal," Notre Dame News, University of Notre Dame, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://newsinfo.nd.edu/news/8301-jazz-legend-dave-brubeck-to-receive-laetare-medal/>

<sup>41</sup> William Bole, "Dave Brubeck's Rhythms of Hope," *Our Sunday Visitor* 15 Dec 1996, 11.



Brubeck solves the problem of dual destination – church and concert hall – by providing alternative instructions on the score that can be acted upon according to the occasion. Further, at the beginning of the score Brubeck provides a broad instruction to concert (rather than church) conductors that emphasises the need to communicate the work's structural unity when it is performed outside its religious context:

The requirement to make *To Hope!* work in liturgy and also flow as a concert piece is a constant challenge. By nature the mass is sectional, its form dictated by ritual requirement. And yet, there must be a compositional unity. In a concert performance, this unity can be enhanced by a sensitive director.<sup>42</sup>

These brief instructions differentiate the concerns of composers of liturgical masses from those of concert masses. Concert masses must be musically satisfying – unified – not merely a series of interludes designed to enhance the congregation's experience of the ritual of the Eucharist.

*To Hope!* also provides further evidence that at least some members of the Church accept that the mass has a legitimate home beyond its Roman Catholic walls. Whether or not Murray and others associated with the commission agree with Creston that concert masses for secular venues are a stop-gap measure, useful only until the Church changes its mind in favour of larger-scale liturgical masses, some evidence for a prioritising of liturgical masses over concert masses can be found in one journalist's commentary about *To Hope!*, even thirty years after its premiere. Following an interview with Brubeck, published in the *Choral Journal* in 2009, William Skoog's concluding remark that it "can be done as a concert mass" goes further than simply acknowledging *To Hope!*'s dual status.<sup>43</sup> Skoog also asserts a hierarchy between concert and liturgical performances, with the liturgical performance being placed in a pre-eminent position, just as Holmes had done with Grechaninov's *Missa Oecumenica*, as discussed in the previous chapter.

This is certainly not the case with the composer of the main mass to be considered in this chapter. Daniel Lentz had no expectation that *Missa Umbrarum* would be performed in a church. Indeed, given its complexity he had little expectation that it would be performed more than a handful of times in his lifetime, once the initial performing group, the San Andreas Fault, disbanded. Nonetheless, Lentz did find himself in a church in the Netherlands supervising a slightly modified performance of *Missa Umbrarum* during a celebration of the Sunday Eucharist only months after its premiere.

---

<sup>42</sup> Dave Brubeck, *To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual* (Alfred Music Publishing, 1995), 7.

<sup>43</sup> Skoog, "An Interview with Dave Brubeck " 38.

### DANIEL LENTZ'S *MISSA UMBRARUM* (1973)

Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* or *Mass of Shadows* (1973) is scored for a mixed choir of 8 (or 16) voices, solo male performer and 263 shadows, the 'shadows' being achieved through live playback of recordings made earlier in the piece. Dedicated to philanthropist, Kit Tremain, the mass premiered in a concert at the chapel of the Old Mission in Santa Barbara, California at 8:30pm on Saturday 26 May, 1974, sharing the programme with Bill Budd's *Song of Praise: 17 Illuminations on the Koran*.<sup>44</sup> Describing his experience of the concert, the Santa Barbara News-Press critic, Richard Ames writes:

the text of the traditional Latin Mass reverberates as in a giant echo chamber. Fragments of words and phrases superimpose themselves on the consciousness with a spaciousness that is weightless and timeless, like wisps of memory that keep reforming and regrouping into new truths within the vastness of the subconscious. The whole is one gigantic chord whose mass keeps changing in a limitless series of mellifluous, seductive timbres.<sup>45</sup>

*Missa Umbrarum* received several further performances in September and October of that year when Lentz, who had won first prize in the Stichting Gaudemus International Composers Competition was sponsored by the Netherlands-based organisation to take his ensemble, the San Andreas Fault, on tour to Europe.<sup>46</sup> During this tour, in addition to the liturgical performance in Amsterdam, *Missa Umbrarum* was heard as a concert in art galleries in Stockholm, Paris and Aberdeen; in museums in Oslo and Copenhagen; and in cathedrals in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium and France.<sup>47</sup>

*Missa Umbrarum* is different to the masses of Bernstein, Creston, Davies, and Harrison in that Lentz's initiating force was musical rather than political. Although Lentz's mass does protest the loss of Latin from Roman Catholic Churches and so comprises a direct response to the Second Vatican Council's recommendations, this was a secondary motivation. First and foremost, Lentz wanted to create a new type of work using the latest tape recording and playback technologies available, thereby developing skills he had learnt from Luciano Berio and Karlheinz Stockhausen.<sup>48</sup> Lentz also wished to explore the

---

<sup>44</sup> There was no printed programme for the concert, but Lentz advises that he was the conductor and controlled the tape decks. He was also soloist in the *Agnus Dei*. Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 20 Oct 2011, 7 July 2013, 29 Dec 2014, 30 Dec 2014. The singers are listed in Richard Ames, "Capacity Crowd Hears New Music at Mission," *Santa Barbara News-Press* 26 May 1974, B-10.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Winners are listed at "Hall of Fame," Gaudeamus Muziekweek, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.muziekweek.nl/organisatie/archief/>.

<sup>47</sup> BD, "Interview: Daniel Lentz," *The Mouth Magazine* (26 Jun 2014), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://themouthmagazine.com/2014/06/26/daniel-lentz/>.

<sup>48</sup> Martin Perlich, "Video Interviews: Daniel Lentz," in *Martin Perlich Interviews* (<http://martinperlichinterviews.com/archives/interviews/daniel-lentz/>, 4 Feb 2010), after 31:54.

possibilities of using wine glasses as musical instruments. In achieving these aims, *Missa Umbrarum* sets the standard Latin text of the Ordinary, but not in any standard way. Lentz divides the liturgical words into fragments (usually syllables, but sometimes single consonants), which are then separated and placed throughout the main body of the work ready to be brought back through live tape recording and playback at various prescribed points, eventually culminating in a full statement of the Ordinary.

The Latin mass was perceived by Lentz to be an ideal vehicle for his purposes because most listeners would be unfamiliar with the language, and so would not be constantly trying to make linguistic sense of the fragments. Instead, audiences would listen purely to the sonic effect he had so carefully contrived. As Lentz explains:

I wanted to use a Latin text because of the way I had planned to deconstruct it and then reassemble it via the delays, which take quite a long time. Most listeners (certainly [C]atholic ones) have a general idea as to what the Latin phrases ‘mean,’ (Agnus Dei, Sanctus Dominus Deus, etc) but not necessarily the individual words (pleni, tollis, celli, etc). I thought that Latin would lend itself to my process much better than English.<sup>49</sup>

The companion piece on the 1985 LP recording of an abridged version of *Missa Umbrarum* utilises the Seneca Indian language for the same reason.<sup>50</sup>

As Lentz continues to explain his motivation for constructing *Missa Umbrarum*, he also emphasises the difficulty with which it is performed:

The genesis of MU was actually fairly pedestrian: a (then) recent infatuation with red wine, a conceptual opportunity to deconstruct the ordinary Latin and reconstruct it via a simple-but-complex echo system, a group of 8 singers willing to experiment with me in the properties of wine glasses and their flight through the echo set-up, and also willing to rehearse for about 6+ months before its premiere. The social element -- and music is a social art, don't you think? -- was critical in bringing it to performance.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 11 Nov 2011.

<sup>50</sup> *O-ke-wa* (North American Eclipse) was composed after *Missa Umbrarum* in 1974. *O-ke-wa* means “dance for the dead”.

<sup>51</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 25 Nov 2011.

Although Lentz's impetus was primarily musical and he had little interest in Christian doctrine, he was not disinterested in the mass as religious artefact.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, in the early 1960s Lentz had composed music for his own marriage to a Polish Catholic when he was a student at St Vincent College in Pennsylvania. Studying composition under the Roman Catholic prelate, Rembert Weakland, he had become well versed in the mass form. Nonetheless, it was the ceremonial aspects of the elaborate nuptial mass that most interested Lentz then, and it is ritual that continues to animate his work some five decades on. Confirming this in an interview with Martin Perlich in 2010, he states "I'm not a... believer in religion or anything like that, but I love the ritual – and not just the Latin mass, but any ritual".<sup>53</sup>

In each of the five standard movements of *Missa Umbrarum* (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei), vocalists sing fragments of the Latin words in a seemingly arbitrary sequence. Nonetheless, the location of each fragment is dictated by a very precise score that ensures that the various liturgical texts are eventually heard in full.<sup>54</sup> The performers are also required to play wine glasses as percussion instruments from time to time, either by tapping them or rubbing their rims. To change the pitch of a glass, the performers drink a prescribed amount of the wine at the times marked on the score.

As shown in Figure 4.1, each of the texts of the Ordinary is divided into eight to eleven sections and these are spread across the piece so that the texts interpolate themselves in among each other. In this way, the conventional idea of a "movement" is shifted away from what is generally understood by musicians. It no longer belongs to a discrete period of time, but rather, each movement in *Missa Umbrarum* regularly stops to make space for one or more of the other movements before re-starting. For example, the Credo starts before the Kyrie concludes, the Gloria does not complete before some sections of all the other movements have been heard, and so on. This departure from musical tradition parallels the Church's departure from the traditional Latin.

---

<sup>52</sup> Lentz advises that as a young boy, his parents would drop him and his brother off at Church on Sundays, but that they would go to the nearest store instead and purchase "candy and cherry coke" with the quarter they had been given for the church plate. Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 21 Dec 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Perlich, "Video Interviews: Daniel Lentz." After 43'15". Lentz reiterated this during discussions with me at Santa Barbara 7-9 Feb 2013.

<sup>54</sup> Many thanks to Lentz for providing me with a digitised copy of the full score, which is not commercially available.

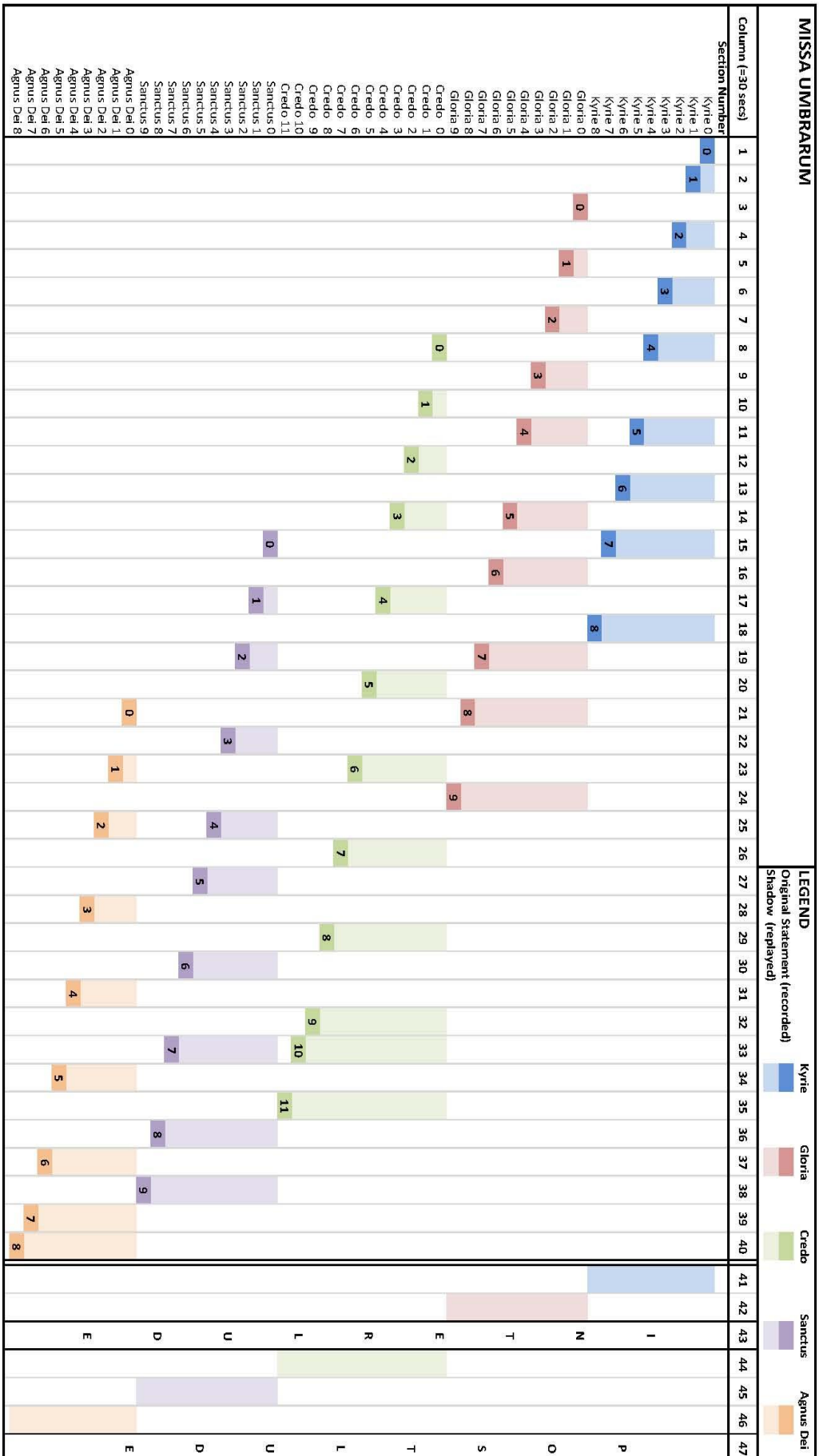


Figure 4.1 Placement of sections of each of the mass texts in Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* (1973)

The controlling principle of the piece is that each section is the same length (30 seconds), thereby allowing the sections to be layered one on top of the other in real time through live tape recording and playback. Although other methods of achieving this result are possible, Lentz utilised four four-channel tape recorders in the performances he supervised.<sup>55</sup> Lentz calls the taped and replayed sections “shadows”, which is where the mass gets its name. As is also shown in Figure 4.1, each movement of the mass is completed when the final section is performed live against the penultimate shadow for that movement, which contains all of the previous sections. The Kyrie is heard in full for the first time at 8’30”-9’00” (column 18), the Gloria at 11’:30”-12’00” (Column 24), and so on. The completed movements are returned once the Agnus Dei has been completed, so that the entire mass is heard consecutively and in full (with the exception of the Credo, as discussed below) from the twenty-minute mark (column 41).

Within each section of each movement, only disjointed fragments of the relevant text are sung or spoken, but they are located in such a position as to create the consecutive airing of the full text when all sections of the movement are heard together.<sup>56</sup> The charts in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 depict how each text is completed for each movement except the Credo. The Credo is different to the other movements because its text is not split and mixed up, but rather chanted in its regular order, spanning the eleven sections allocated to it.

To provide graphic examples of the ways in which the sections link in to create the large-scale form, and to give some idea of the complex nature of the work, the first section of the Agnus Dei (Agnus Dei 0) for both the soloist and the choir parts appears in Figure 4.4, together with Gloria 8 which is performed concurrently with Agnus Dei 0 and appears in Figure 4.5. As these examples show, Lentz uses three methods to indicate his timing requirements: beats, conventional notation (bars), and seconds (time). In Gloria 8, the basses sing the text fragments “cel” (at 4 seconds), “mi” (at 10.5 seconds), “lun” (at 13.5 seconds), “ne” (at 20.33 seconds), “ra” (at 20.5 seconds) and “ca” (at 28.33 seconds). In the Agnus Dei 0, the choir sings only the Latin fragments “MI”(bar 5) and “DO” (bar 13), while the soloist sings “De” (beat 3) “di” (beat 7.5) “mi” (beat 3 line 2), “De” (beat 2 line 3), “di” (beat 6.5 line 2) and “do” (beat 3, line 4). The shadows of Gloria 1-7 are returned by the tape deck operator, and heard at the same time as Gloria 8 and Agnus Dei O.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> At the time the work was composed, echoplexes or other cascaded echo devices could replace the 4-channel tape playback system. Today, software such as MAX/MSP or Abelton Live could provide a cleaner result with much greater ease. As advised by Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 30 Dec 2014.

<sup>56</sup> In the case of the Gloria, the text is completed in the Interlude.

<sup>57</sup> The full set of Gloria parts (0-9) are included as Appendix I, together with the Interlude and the front pages of the score, which include the Performance Notes for the work. As discussed later, the Interlude completes the Gloria

### Fragment placement choices

As shown in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3, Lentz presents the fragments of the various texts in a seemingly arbitrary order in the subsections that eventually accumulate to create the full text of each movement. While something of a pattern is evident in the zigzagging of the locations of the fragments when presented chronologically, the selection appears more haphazard than precise. There is certainly no mathematical formula that has been rigorously applied. Furthermore, although it is not impossible that Lentz placed fragments in specific sections with some acknowledgement of their religious meaning – for example, keeping the syllables from Dei (God) apart from those of *peccata* (sins) in the Agnus Dei – there is nothing concrete to suggest that this is a consideration, let alone an over-riding principle. Perhaps fragment placement decisions were simply a case of random selection, but this seems unlikely given the amount of thought that has gone into other aspects of *Missa Umbrarum*'s construction.

Given that Lentz did not want listeners to be distracted by words that sounded familiar, the most likely rationale for selection order is one based upon linguistics, particularly phonetics. Indeed, Lentz alludes to the pre-eminence of linguistic concerns over others when he states that *Missa Umbrarum* was the first of a series of works that reveal his “fascination with the interplay between words and music, and ‘theater.’”<sup>58</sup> This series of works would include *the crack in the bell* (1986), “Totoka” from *Apologetica* (1995), *Café Desire*, (2002) and most recently, *Beginning* (2010).

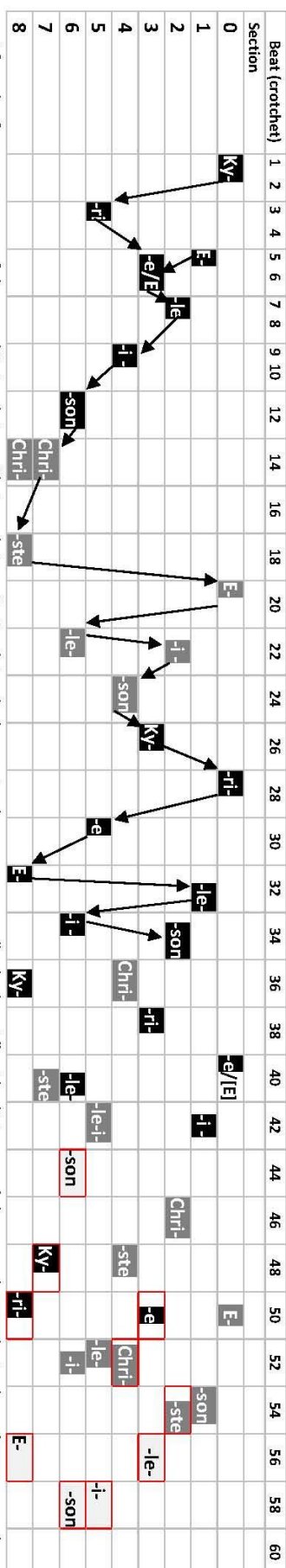
Avoiding the distraction of familiarity is to some extent achieved by placing fragments a minimum of three beats apart, and usually much further than that; however, the most logical method of comprehensively avoiding listener familiarity is to select a series of syllables that have no English meaning so that they can be placed as close to, or as far away from their neighbours as the needs of the score require. For example, Lentz does not combine ca- -na -bis (cannabis) or qui -s (quiz) or -se- tol- (settle), although he could have done so in the Agnus Dei. In addition to avoiding real words, the novel but pleasing sounds resulting from a particular series of syllabic selections seem also to have been a factor. Accordingly, the guiding principle in fragment placement appears to have been based upon the sound of the fragments themselves. Looking at the Gloria for confirmation of this, as shown in Figure 4.6, in most cases, the syllables in each section either utilise a minimum number of different vowel sounds or rely upon some other synergistic characteristic. The final section (Gloria 9) is unique to the entire work in seeming to be superfluous to needs, at least in terms of completing the Gloria text. It simply doubles whole words whose syllables are heard in previous sections.

---

<sup>58</sup> Daniel Lentz, from draft funding application to Creative Capital, emailed by David Lentz, 17 Feb 2012.

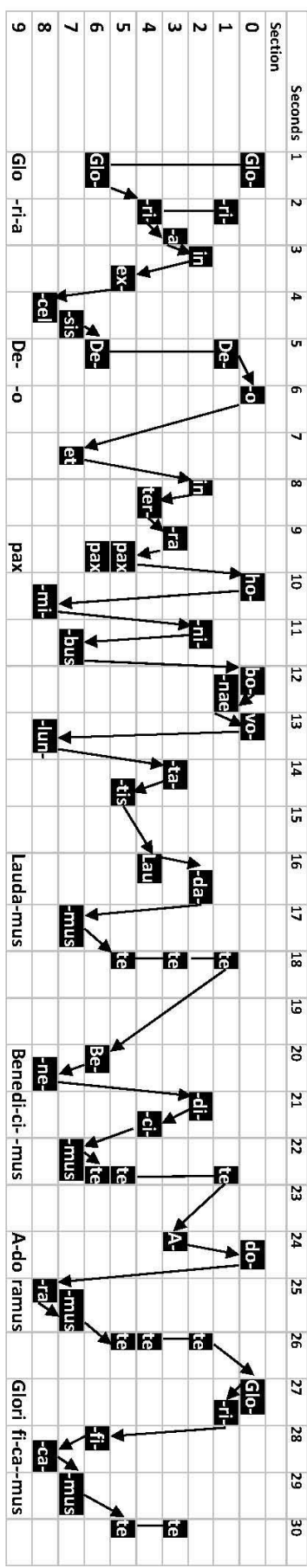
The text is sung (and recorded) across each line. When all sections are heard together (during playback of the recorded ‘shadows’), the composite result sounds as per the arrows.

# KYRIE ♩=60



After the first statement of the text (*Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*), the setting becomes more “polyphonic” with elisions and the two phrases being heard concurrently. At the end, both the *Kyrie* and the *Christe* phrases share the final statement of the word *eleison*.

# GLORIA ♩=60



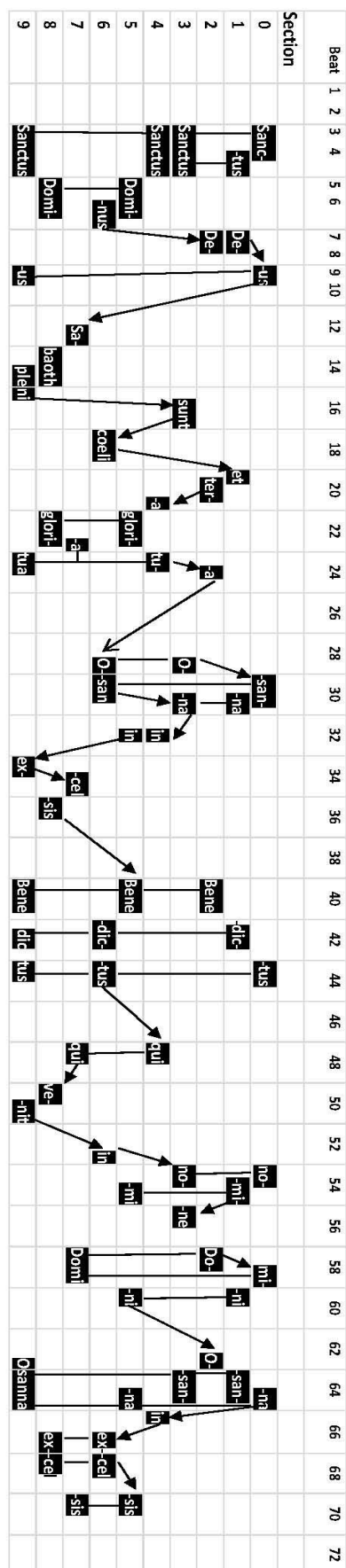
Text of Gloria completed in Interlude

Figure 4.2 Placement of text fragments in Daniel Lentz's Missa Umbrarum – Gloria & Credo Charts constructed by the author from the 1973 score



The text is sung (and recorded) across each line. When all sections are heard together (during playback of the recorded “shadows”), the composite result sounds as per the arrows.

**SANCTUS J.&J.=72**



AGNUS DEI ♯=72

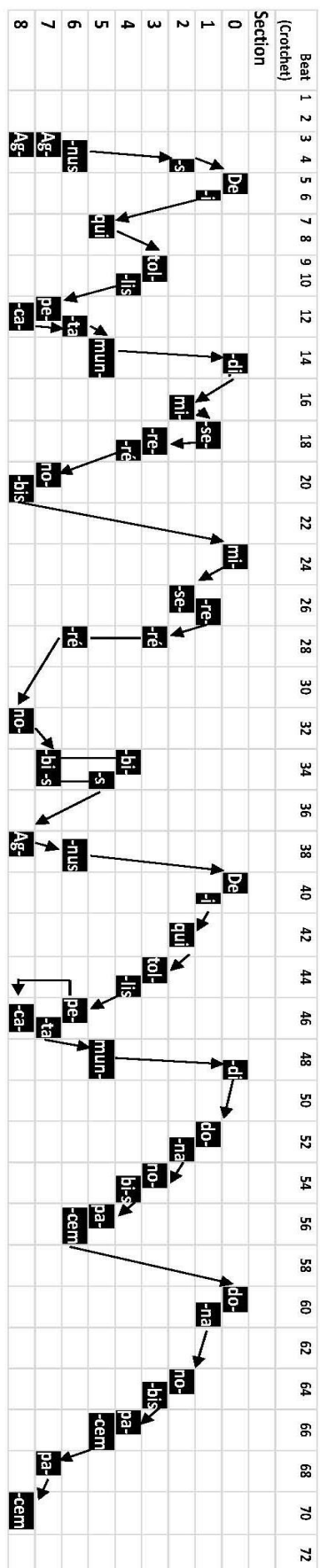


Figure 4.3 Placement of text fragments in Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* – Sanctus & Agnus Dei  
Charts constructed by the author from the 1973 score

### AGNUS DEI O (Soloist)

$\text{♩} = 72$

Beats: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Soloist:  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

De-(i)  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

-di  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

Mi-  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

De-(i)  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

-di  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

do-(na)  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

*sf sf* *sempre*

Organ

### Agnus Dei O (with Gloria 8)

$\text{♩} = 72$

Precisely, yet flowing

Sop. 1  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

Sop. 2  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

Alto 1  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

Alto 2  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

Ten. 1  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

Ten. 2  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

S.  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

A.  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

A.  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

T.  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

MP  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

DO-  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$

$p < p > pp$

Figure 4.4 Agnus Dei O and Agnus Dei O (Soloist) from Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum*  
Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved

**Gloria 8**  
(with Agnus Dei 0)

Sechs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

Note: The Tenors perform the Agnus Dei 0 along with the Soprano and Alto.

**B1**

(118) ————  
— cel —

**B2**

(146) ————  
— cel —

Sechs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

**B1**

(122) ————  
— ten —

**B2**

(135) ————  
— ten —

Sechs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

**B1**

(128) ————  
— ten —

**B2**

(136) ————  
— ten —

Figure 4.5 Gloria 8 from Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum*  
Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved

Section	Fragments	Possible sonic-based explanation for choice
0	Glo- -o ho- bo- vo- do- Glo-	'o'
1	-ri- De- -nae te te -ri-	'i' and 'e'
2	in in -ni- -da- -di- te	'ni' is reverse of 'in', consecutive 'd's
3	-a -ra -ta- te A- te	'a' and 'e'
4	-ri ter- Lau -ci- te	rolls off tongue
5	Ex- pax -tis te te te te	Consonants
6	Glo- De- pax Be- te -fi-	?
7	-sis et -bus -mus -mus -mus -mus	's' and 'us'
8	-cel -mi- -lun- -ne- -ra -ca	?
9	Gloria Deo pax Laudamus Bendicimus Adoramus Glorificamus	Emphasising certain words through doubling

Figure 4.6 Fragment placement choices in Gloria of Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum*<sup>59</sup>

In fact, Lentz has not set the entire text of the Gloria in the 9 sections dedicated to it, only the beginning. He places the remainder – more than half – in the Interlude, which (as shown in Figure 4.1, column 43) is not performed until immediately after the final (second) statement of all of the Gloria shadows. This may simply have been an expedient choice. Whereas Lentz solves the problem of the length of the Credo by setting it to a fairly rapid chant, his decision with regard to the Gloria is to divide it into two parts to make it more manageable within his overall conceptual schematic.

Nonetheless, given that simplicity is not a feature of this piece, expedience seems to offer an inadequate explanation for Gloria 9's exceptionality. Another possibility relates to the portions of the Gloria text that have been relegated to secondary status; that is, the second half of the text and the words from the first half that were not emphasised in Gloria 9. Whereas the first half of the Gloria worships God, and can be accepted beyond its Roman Catholic context by anyone who believes in a higher being, the second half is specifically doctrinal, comprising a statement of Christian belief in the Trinitarian God; the Holy and unique One God. Accordingly, the second part of the Gloria excludes non-Christians, including Lentz who, although baptised a Roman Catholic prior to his first wedding, has never truly ascribed to church doctrine. Rather, he asserts, "my 'spirituality' resides more in the 'post string theory' end of such matters. Certainly not in the religious realm, as I am deeply non-religious".<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, as a later comment reveals, Lentz's belief system is not completely out of keeping with the words of the Gloria that have been set. Over the years his love of ritual has remained strong, to the point that it can be described in terms of faith. In addition, he does not dismiss the possibility of a higher being:

<sup>59</sup> Derived from 1973 score; prepared by author. The sections of the Gloria from the score are included in Appendix I.

<sup>60</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 15 Oct 2011.

Yes, I do believe in ritual, and it's *[sic]* transformational possibilities ... music, dance, sports, painting (cave painting), poetry (when read aloud), even architecture -- like pyramids, Stonehenge, Pentre Ifan, Sydney Opera House ... Then there is the Adagio from B's [Beethoven's] Opus 132 qt [string quartet], for the person who can conjure his/her inner ritual and touch the face of god.<sup>61</sup>

The idea that Lentz is obscuring the specifically Christian aspects of the texts in *Missa Umbrarum* in order to make the work more universal, or simply to fit his own perspective, is further supported by the words that are omitted in Gloria 9. The fact that he does not double the “te” (you) is probably accounted for by the fact that it is doubled or tripled in other sections of the Gloria. However, Lentz does not double “in excelsis” (in the highest), or “et in terra... hominibus bonae voluntatis” (and on earth ... to all people of good will), retaining only the word “pax” (peace) from the latter phrase. There seems no aesthetic reason for not including these words; Lentz has already ‘broken his rule’ of only including seven or less fragments in a section, and could have doubled the whole text. Perhaps, in not asserting the Christian God to be the “highest”, and by removing the inference that the Christian God is (the only one) capable of bringing peace to people of goodwill (Christians) he is also downplaying doctrinal segments of the text. In summary, the emphasised words (including the “te” which is doubled and tripled elsewhere), in English translation are “Glory to God. Peace. We praise you, we bless you, we adore you, we glorify you”. A non-specific or universal god that brings peace to the world can certainly be praised, blessed, adored and glorified by many, if not the atheist. Alternatively, the idea of peace itself can be praised, blessed, adored and glorified, particularly in a world that is too often characterised by its opposite.

Further support that Lentz is masking Christian doctrine can be found in the treatment of the Credo. Rather than divide it into two, as he did with the Gloria, or fit the entire 163-word text into the 30 seconds allotted to the other movements, which would almost certainly have required different portions of the Credo text to have been heard at the same time, Lentz finds an alternative solution. Each section is performed by three groups of which only two – those singing textless pitches in an open-mouthed hum, and those tapping the base of a wine glass – are recorded. The third group, comprising two voices intoning the Credo text on a single pitch, is not recorded and so does not become part of the shadow for the section (see Credo 1 and Credo 11, which have been reproduced with the relevant Performance Notes from the beginning of the score in Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8).

---

<sup>61</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 31 Dec 2014.

### Credo 1

### Credo 11

Figure 4.7 Credo 1 and Credo 11 of Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum*

Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

**PERFORMANCE NOTES FOR CREDO.**

From Credo 1 to Credo 11 there are three phenonema operating simultaneously. At the top of the page is a four part choir (usually, but not always S.A.T.B.). This part is sung without words and with mouths opened. It is to be done very smoothly and, if possible, in one breath. The sound is always rising when it is not static as it momentarily is when the white chords occur. The dynamics are always Forte (F) to Mezzo Piano (MP) to Forte. This is visually simplified if one thinks of the white notes as sounding Forte and the black notes as sounding Mezzo Piano. The small black notes that are placed within brackets are included as guides only. These represent or indicate exactly where in his or her upwards glissando the singer should be at all points in time. A white note indicates an unmoving or static pitch. The upwards gliss begins with the large black note which is always joined to the preceding large white note with a tie. The singer continues the upwards gliss until the next white note is reached and so on and so forth. The conductor must coordinate the timing throughout.

In the middle of each Credo page is a rhythmic section performed by two of the voices. The sounds are accomplished by tapping the base of the wine glass with the mallet. These must be performed as precisely as possible. The notation and symbols are as follows: [Filled Triangle with stem below (large and small)] - the glass base is open (not stopped with finger or hand) when struck [Empty Triangle with stem below (large and small)] - the glass base is closed or stopped when struck [Any triangle with stem above] = triplet duration. Large triangles should be performed with quarter note durations in mind. Small triangles should be performed with eighth note durations in mind. When a triangle is on the top line of the two-line systems the glass base is to be struck with the hard end of the mallet. When the triangle is attached to the bottom line the base is to be struck with the soft end of the mallet. The four small vertical lines between each long and thicker line on the systems can be thought of as representing four quarter rests. These are silent (silences) except when joined by one of the symbols mentioned above. Dynamics, with the exception of accented symbols, should be uniform throughout (Mezzo Forte).

At the bottom of each Credo page (excepting Credo 0) a chant-like section is included. This is to be performed by a Female and a Male voice. They must articulate the texts precisely together. Even the inflections in speech must be synchronized between the two. Dynamics are uniform throughout (Mezzo Forte). This part of the Credo does not enter into the Shadow Scheme. With the exception of the Interlude, this is the only part of the Mass that exists without shadows.

Figure 4.8 Performance Notes relating to the Credo of Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* from the beginning of the 1973 score

Transcribed with permission. All rights reserved

As a consequence, the text of the Credo does not return at the end of the work – only the textless singing and the wine-glass percussion is heard. In the final iteration, the main statement of doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is dismissed completely apart from the word Credo, which is included in the final seconds of the singing part of Credo 11 (See Figure 4.7). Furthermore, even when the sections are being performed live, the monotone recitation of the spoken words at a constant (mezzo forte) dynamic in which “even the inflections in speech must be synchronized between the two”, is likely to have a mesmerizing effect that makes it difficult to focus on the words.<sup>62</sup> This is particularly the case as the Credo shadows accumulate and the singers are accompanied by pitched singing from a choir that is constantly moving from loud to soft and back to loud again, while the tapping of the wine glasses is becoming increasingly incessant. Only someone very familiar with the Latin liturgy would be able to follow the text; those who are unfamiliar will simply be listening to the soundscape Lentz has created.

<sup>62</sup> “Performance Notes,” Daniel Lentz, *Missa Umbrarum* (Manuscript Score, 1973). The notes for the Credo are transcribed in Figure 4.8

Nonetheless, just as the other movements are heard in full twice in the work, so too is most of the Credo. From Credo 2 onwards, each section repeats the segment of text recited in the second half of the previous section before moving to a new segment. For example, the words “*et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum Filium Dei Unigenitus et ex Patre natum ante Omnia saecula*” are heard in the second half of Credo 1 and the first half of Credo 2.

#### Assertions through musical means

Other musical choices show that Lentz has thought carefully about the liturgy and has a good understanding of it. He may not believe in Roman Catholic doctrine or dogma, but, as a firm believer in the high value of ritual, neither does he wish to show disrespect for Roman Catholic tradition. In particular, the complex array of sounds he requires the performers to create with both their voices and the wine glasses produces a sonic pallet that has sufficient variety to ensure that each movement of the mass can have its own distinct characteristic. This characteristic may or may not match the meaning of the text, but will have some causal link nonetheless.

The Kyrie has an awkwardness to it that mimics the difficulty a person might feel about admitting wrong doing, while knowing they must do so if they are to avail themselves of God’s mercy. The Gloria has a contrasting smoothness and features cheerful bell ringing (achieved through tapping the bowls of wine glasses), and so is also somewhat sympathetic to the first half of the Gloria text that is set in its sections (Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to people of good will etc.). More ambivalently, the Interlude that sets the second half of the Gloria is scored in a modal medieval style that, for modern ears accustomed to functional harmony, neither questions nor attests to the Trinitarian doctrines outlined in that portion of the liturgy. Nonetheless, its medieval idiom endorses a time when Christian belief was ubiquitous to the Western world, and is perceived by modern-day audiences as “religious”. The Credo too has some minor aspects that match the text, but for the most part parallels are hard to find. The tinkling from the wine glass tapping is reminiscent of a lightly rung small altar bell, but, in its light-hearted alterity does not sound as if it is affirming any particular belief. It is like a precociously charming small boy putting his hand over his ears and singing “tra la la la la” to block out any unwanted sermonising.

The sound of the Sanctus is distinctly different to all that has gone before because it relies upon the vocalists reciting the text in *Sprechstimme*. The supernatural style of *Sprechstimme*, in which the performer neither speaks nor sings, may point to the otherworld (including heaven), but it has a wispiqueness and occasional harshness that has little correspondence with the celebratory nature of the



words it is setting. For Lentz, however, it is a “sexy Sanctus” and so has an earthly affinity with the text, if erotic union is considered among the closest to heavenly (or spiritual) experience possible in this world.<sup>63</sup> Finally, the range of timbres, rhythms and pitches performed by the three groups in the *Agnus Dei* results in music that is best described as complex; nonetheless, despite the clutter of variegated inputs, aspects of those inputs do have a tendency to represent peace.

While this catalogue of discrepancies and concurrences between the music and the liturgical text could indicate some ambivalence with regard to Church doctrine, the seriousness with which Lentz has approached his task mitigates against the work being considered potentially blasphemous. The doctrinal aspects of the mass may have been deliberately downplayed, but they are not dismissed, indicating that Lentz still wishes his work to be received by both Church and concert hall as a serious contribution to the sacred music genre.

### Symbolism

It is not only through musical means that Lentz’s position with regard to religion, Latin and ritual is revealed. *Missa Umbrarum* is suffused with symbolism, not least through its muted theatricality. Also a feature of Lentz’s contemporaneous *Gospel Meeting* (1975), whereas the theatricality in *Missa Umbrarum* is controlled, in *Gospel Meeting* the opposite is the case. Reviewing a performance in 1975, Bob Taub reports that, towards the end of *Gospel Meeting* “[t]he music and lighting rose and fell in crescendos of torment, as this weird opera finally came to a crashing halt with both preacher and saved lying supine on stage”.<sup>64</sup> It is clear that Lentz tailors his theatrical devices according to his topic, thinking about them as carefully as he does his musical devices. The passion of a gospel meeting is contrasted with the age-old rituals of the Eucharist, which, for Lentz, demand a more hushed response.

In the Performance Notes for *Missa Umbrarum* (see Appendix I), Lentz asks for candles to be the only light in the auditorium, thereby using the naked flame to symbolically link the performance with a church service, in which candles are of great significance.<sup>65</sup> For the Santa Barbara Old Mission premiere, he and his fellow lighting and stage hand, Miles Varner, installed several six- to eight-foot tall candles.<sup>66</sup> Also in the Performance Notes, Lentz asks for the technology that is required to support the performance to be as invisible as possible, stating:

---

<sup>63</sup> BD, “Interview: Daniel Lentz”.

<sup>64</sup> Bob Taub, “Electric Candlelight Concert Jolts Unsuspecting Audience,” *The Michigan Daily*, 28 Jan 1975, 5.

<sup>65</sup> “Performance Notes” in Lentz, *Missa Umbrarum*, n.p. See Appendix I.

<sup>66</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 29 Dec 2014.

It may be necessary for the Conductor to use an electric light metronome. If used, it should be visible to him or her only ...

Although the voices are lightly amplified throughout the Mass, the equipment should be set up in a manner that will increase rather than decrease the naturalness of the sound sources and their shadows ...

If possible, the loud speakers (and all other equipment) should be invisible to the listeners.<sup>67</sup>

In wanting the equipment to be invisible, Lentz is striving to create the illusion of a miracle occurring: if the audience members are not aware of the technological support, they will wonder how an ensemble of nine musicians can achieve such a depth and layering of sound. For Ames, the reviewer of the concert, the low lighting certainly adhered a mystical aura to the concert, but also had the unfortunate side-effect of making "the visual ceremonies planned in conjunction with the performance ... ineffectual".<sup>68</sup>

The final aspect of theatricality in *Missa Umbrarum* relates to the use of red wine and wine glasses. The performance kit Lentz put together includes "9 crystal wine glasses (4 large Bordeaux-type glasses, 4 large Burgundy goblets, and 1 very large Burgundy goblet) and 9 Mallets", while in the Performance Notes, Lentz institutes another ritual, asking that "the performance should begin with the Conductor pouring the wine into each of the glasses".<sup>69</sup> Although in the Eucharist, the wine is not poured into the Chalice at the beginning, there is no mistaking the symbolism of a silence filled only with the sound of red wine being carefully transferred from one bottle after another to a series of glasses, which must be filled to the specific levels marked. It is a powerful ritualistic gesture that gives the audience time to move from the chit-chat of everyday life, to a more sacred, or spiritual space, in whatever way that may be conceived by the individual.

The glasses are used in all movements except the Kyrie and Interlude. Laid beneath the interwoven and accumulating text fragments are harmonies created by running fingers around the rims of wine glasses filled with different amounts of red wine to produce a range of pitches. The wine glasses are also tapped with mallets (hard and soft) either on the base or, if a pitch is required, on the bell of the glass. Further effects can be achieved by slowly tipping the glass.

---

<sup>67</sup> "Performance Notes" in Lentz, *Missa Umbrarum*. See Appendix I.

<sup>68</sup> Ames, "Capacity Crowd Hears New Music at Mission," B-10.

<sup>69</sup> Lentz, *Missa Umbrarum*.

One of the reasons for Lentz's group, the San Andreas Fault taking six months to perfect the premier performance of *Missa Umbrarum* was the requirement for singers to drink from the glasses to change the pitch to the one required further on in the score, leading to the potential intoxication of the performers during prolonged rehearsals. This is particularly the case for the soloist in the Agnus Dei, even in performance, who, the Performance Notes instruct, must drink from "an exceptionally large Burgundy goblet (a crystal glass with a capacity of approximately 60 ounces [1.77 litres]) ... there should be nine levels marked on the bell of the glass. These should denote the level that should be reached for each new page".<sup>70</sup>

It transpires that the quantity required in the goblet is not simply a factor of the pitches Lentz wants heard, but is also determined by the rules of physics, in which greater changes in pitch can be achieved with smaller amounts of liquid the fuller the glass is. Accordingly, the soloist is not required to drink the entire contents of the 60 ounce goblet during the performance, just a quarter to a third of it, but this still equates to four to five standard drinks being consumed in the nine minutes spanning the time from the conclusion of Agnus Dei 0 to the beginning of Agnus Dei 8. Lentz, himself, took on the role of tenor soloist for the premiere, while also conducting the work and taking control of the four tape decks.<sup>71</sup>

More than purely a musical device or theatrical prop, the use of wine (rather than the more practical option of water) is a piece of theatre that directly and intentionally points to the ritual of the Eucharist during which, for believing Catholics, wine is transubstantiated into Christ's blood by the priest. Despite the concession in the Performance Notes that "a reasonable facsimile" of red wine may be used "if necessary", for the young Lentz, even red-coloured water was an unsatisfactory substitute as it eroded the authenticity of the work; possible intoxication was a performance challenge that he and the singers were required to overcome. Forty years later Lentz might admit that red water is an acceptably pragmatic option that would result in a more accurate rendition of the work, but at the time, the youthful idealism of the long 1960s can be seen to have permeated the conception and presentation of the work.<sup>72</sup>

*Missa Umbrarum* in a revised and condensed format that reduced the number of sonic shadows from 273 to 118, was recorded in 1985.<sup>73</sup> The full schema of the condensed work, as it appears on the insert of the LP recording, is reproduced in Figure 4.9. In this revised version, the text of the Credo is fitted

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 29 Dec 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Lentz, 8 February 2013.

<sup>73</sup> *Daniel Lentz: Missa Umbrarum Mass of Shadows*, New Albion Records LP 006, 1985. The recorded version has 31 Sections, as shown in Figure 4.9.

into eight sections and, like the full version, they are not recorded. However, unlike the full version, the voices sing an abbreviated statement of the Credo with the accumulated shadows (Credo 1-8) at the end.<sup>74</sup>

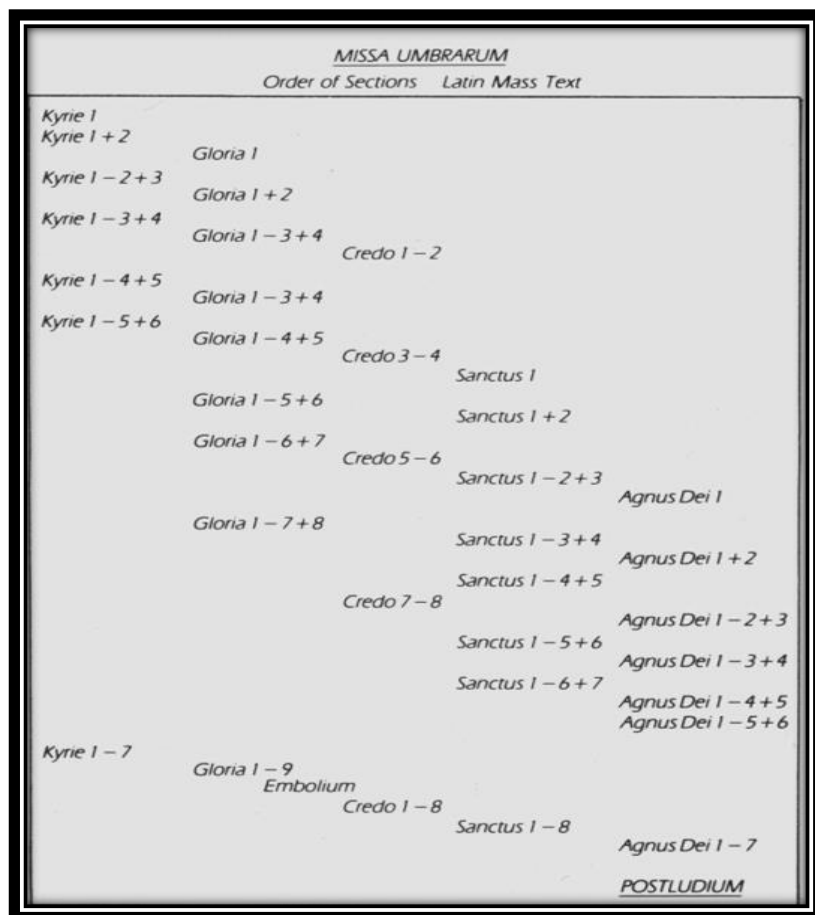


Figure 4.9 Schema of Daniel Lentz's *Missa Umbrarum* (Mass of Shadows) revised for the 1985 recording<sup>75</sup>

### Liturgical implications

Yet overall, in both versions of *Missa Umbrarum*, Lentz does reconstruct the liturgy reasonably accurately, belying in its concluding minutes the primarily linguistic and technological impetus of its initial inspiration. *Missa Umbrarum* reflects a conscious decision by Lentz to ensure that his mass would be at least “quasi-liturgical”.<sup>76</sup> His intention was not to challenge the Church directly but simply to advance his point of view that Latin should be retained.

<sup>74</sup> The abbreviated Credo is “Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium. [...] Sancto ex Maria Virgine : ET HOMO FACTUS EST. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato. [...] Et unam, sanctum, catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum. Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen”.

<sup>75</sup> Source: LP Album Insert, *Daniel Lentz: Missa Umbrarum Mass of Shadows*, (1985). Scanned and reproduced by myself.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 18 Oct 2011.

The name of Lentz's performance group, San Andreas Fault, referring as it does to a geological fault line running down the west coast of America, further indicates that Lentz was cracking the mass ritual open in a deconstructive gesture typical of its time. How better to communicate the loss of Latin than to pull the text apart in a metaphoric parallel, only to painstakingly reconstruct the liturgical Latin text to show the Church the error of its ways? For Lentz, the musical outcome of Vatican II's decision about vernacular recitation meant that "[a]ll the mystery was lost. For me at least -- and quite a few of my [C]atholic 'superiors.' Agnus dei became rack of lamb".<sup>77</sup> In the light of this comment, the emphasis in *Missa Umbrarum* on the first word "Agnus" (lamb) but not "Dei" (God) is perhaps Lentz's way of making this point. This selective emphasis is brought about by "Ag" and "s" being placed in the same place in two of the nine Agnus Dei sections, thereby doubling their volume when section 9 is performed with shadows 0-8, and when the movement is heard in full (See Figure 4.3). Latin had become the sacrificial lamb of the desire to make the Eucharist celebration more relevant to lay people.

The liturgical performance of *Missa Umbrarum* during a Sunday Mass in Amsterdam may simply have been a serendipitous result of Lentz's touring with his group at a time when the Catholic Church in the Netherlands was taking a leading role in Church reform.<sup>78</sup> Certainly the Dutch were not disputing the decisions of Vatican II with regard to the vernacular, lay participation and a spirit of inclusivity rather than exclusivity; on the contrary they were advocates for *aggiornamento*. Of particular interest to the Dutch was the fostering of a greater level of collegiality within Church structures; for example, bishops should be "bridge-builder[s] between different groups in a pluriform church".<sup>79</sup> *Missa Umbrarum* comprises an avant-garde work that appeals to a certain demographic and, within a pluriform Church its performance was acceptable, even if it did not abide by the rules of Rome. In fact, Lentz advises that "although Catholic", the church where the mass was performed "was not sanctioned [by Rome]. The administering priest was very old but very hip ... [and amazed] at what we youngsters were performing. He saw it as a good sign for Catholicism".<sup>80</sup>

*Missa Umbrarum* has strong symbolic resonances with the Eucharistic rite. The performance, like the Consecration, is central, but much has happened prior to this to ensure the performance goes ahead. The hall is booked and prepared, the instruments and machines gathered, the performers rehearse for six months. Over and above these practical considerations, Lentz breaks the text, just as the priest breaks bread; he uses wine to change the pitch of the notes that the wine glasses produce just as the

<sup>77</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 28 Nov 2011.

<sup>78</sup> For a study of the Catholic Church in Holland at this time see John A Coleman, *The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism, 1958-1974* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California, 1978).

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 264.

<sup>80</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 29 Dec 2014.

priest transubstantiates the wine into Christ's blood. Lentz asks for candles and, by hiding the technology he uses, imitates miracles (such as transubstantiation) through his concept of a darkened auditorium in which the implements of recording and playback are invisible. In reconstructing the text at the end he shares the liturgy of the word among the audience. Regardless of whether they believe its tenets or even understand the reconstructed words, they are sustained by the structure of his work, which takes the broken fragments and slowly pieces them together, just as those who have shared the consecrated bread are sustained in their faith during the Eucharist. And all the time that *Missa Umbrarum* is being performed, the audience contemplates its meaning in the solitude of their own minds; it is a prayer-like silence into which the music feeds its influence. Afterwards, thoughts may be shared with others who have been there, and faith in whatever form it may take – musical, humanistic, or religious – is affirmed. Lentz has created a new contribution to the ritual of the concert hall, a venue that has accommodated the sacred mass when its traditional owners have largely dismissed it from their churches, monasteries, and cathedrals.

## Conclusion

Although Vatican II did not explicitly dismiss the mass from the Eucharistic celebration, the prevailing interpretation of one of the Council's governing documents, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, was that the performance of a musical setting of the Ordinary in the traditional liturgical languages of the Roman Rite (Greek and Latin), did not fit well with the overarching recommendation for increased lay participation in all aspects of Catholic worship. Accordingly, masses were rarely commissioned and those that were tended to be simple vernacular settings that congregations could sing. Exceptions exist, particularly masses composed for Churches that were of an idiomatic style that was culturally specific, suiting the ethnic or generational identity of a particular community; these might be quite expansive, requiring more significant musical resources.

Of more interest to this thesis is those masses that constituted responses to the Church's turn away from the concert mass. Lentz's work can be used to make many statements about the nature of music and faith, but its specific agenda is to call for a return to Latin recitations of the Roman Rite across all Catholic churches throughout the world, and as such comprises a direct response to Vatican II's decision to favour the vernacular. In conveying this message Lentz has much in common with Paul Creston. However, where Creston hopes the Church will revert to approving masses that meet with the provisions of Pope Pius X's *motu proprio* of 1903, and looks only to the past for his musical inspiration, Lentz sits himself between past and future, striving to create new music that fits within the mass tradition. Where Creston forges his concert mass in the hot flame of anger, protest is just one of several

motivations that brought Lentz's work into fruition. For Lentz, the mass provided a suitable form to explore new musical techniques within a variety of soundscapes, creating a different soundscape for each movement. Musically, his approach is ideologically akin to Lou Harrison's. Although *Missa Umbrarum* is far more complex than *Mass for St Cecilia's Day*, both composers seek to create a modern idiom that nonetheless references and respects the past traditions of the Church. In the case of Harrison, this was partially a consequence of his mass being commissioned by a society who wanted to preserve Gregorian chant. Lentz, however was constrained by nothing other than his own ideas and beliefs, one of which is a love of ritual.

Dave Brubeck's stylistic choices for *To Hope!* were, like Harrison's, bridled by his commission. For Brubeck, however, the commission came from a Roman Catholic and reveals an alternative approach to interpreting the instructions of Vatican II from those that were commonly resulting in monadic masses and hymn singing in churches; Brubeck was commissioned by the editor of an American Catholic weekly newspaper to create a mass that could be performed both liturgically and as a concert. From the point of view of concert masses, *To Hope!* demonstrates that there were members of the Roman Catholic Church who accepted the migration of the concert mass from the church to the concert hall without acrimony, and were prepared to capitalise upon it. Such people would no doubt also accept Lentz's mass on its own terms as a work of the concert hall, while also feeling a special filial relationship towards it, claiming it as a musical offspring of the Church's more ostentatious liturgico-musical past. Among those who endorsed the idea of a pluriform Church, such as existed in the Netherlands in the early 1970s, even Lentz's underlying protest about the loss of Latin might be accepted without rancour. Certainly, the Dutch priest who agreed to *Missa Umbrarum*'s performance during the celebration of the Eucharist that he presided over did so.

The ideal of worship in a single language within a global church is not unique to Roman Catholicism. The Adhan of the Islamic faith is always recited in Arabic, calling Muslims across the globe to turn towards Mecca five times a day and pray. In fact, it was the Adhan, or Call to Prayer, sounding with the Kyrie in St George's Cathedral in Jerusalem in 1966, and in conjunction with the general cacophony of the streets outside, which, as discussed in Chapter 7, would inspire David Fanshawe to compose *African Revelations* in 1972.

Yet the changes to Catholic Church music actually wrought by the convening of Vatican II were but one of many manifestations of a period marked by cultural and social upheaval across the Western world. Without the turbulence of the various forces that came to play in the long 1960s, composers may not

have been so inclined to think it permissible to create masses permeated with personal ideologies, theologies, or philosophies in the ensuing decades. These factors, together with the commercialisation of music, are discussed in the next chapter, which focuses particularly upon The Electric Prunes' psychedelic rock *Mass in F minor* (1967).





## Chapter 5 The Long 1960s: Breaking down boundaries

With the conclusion of World War II, the West settled into a time of hopeful peace and increasing prosperity. Yet, although more people were enjoying higher levels of disposable income, peace would prove illusive. Where there had been an external enemy to fight in the war years, authorities would soon find conflict breaking out within their own boundaries in the form of a variety of protest movements that sought to bring about more egalitarian, less discriminatory societies. At the same time, the hippy subculture emerged, forming its aspirations in terms of peace and love and searching for alternative forms of spiritual enlightenment. As a consequence of these political, social, religious and economic forces, the “long 1960s” spanning the later-1950s to the mid-1970s, became an intensely transformative period that would impact upon Western societies for many decades.<sup>1</sup> Coupled with this social unrest were technological advances that enabled music to be disseminated more widely among a youthful population who would come to be labelled ‘baby boomers’.

---

<sup>1</sup> For a study that reinforces the political utopianism of the era, see Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68 : Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: New York : Oxford University Press, 2007). For a study that analyses the period in terms of its cultural aspects, see Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States c.1958-1974* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Marwick (p.5) defines the long 1960s as the period 1958-1974.

Being a Western musical form, the concert mass is susceptible to the forces at play in the societies within which it is created. The long 1960s is no exception, marking an acceleration in the form's transformation. Focusing upon a new type of concert mass, the rock mass, this chapter also presents a selection of ideas and events from the 1960s whose impact on the concert mass would have long term consequences. Woven throughout the discussion will be one particular work, *Mass in F minor* by David Axelrod. Recorded in 1967 by The Electric Prunes psychedelic rock band, it was released as an LP album early in 1968. As a cultural artefact that was notable in its time, and which is recalled with nostalgia by sufficient numbers of people to warrant its re-release in CD format three times since 1990, the work provides a useful lens through which to consider how the cultural and political situation in the West was being made manifest in musical outputs and in changing attitudes to religion during the 1960s.

### Civil protest

In the West, the international causes of workers' rights and systemic university reform led to riots in Italy, France, Germany and Britain. In the USA, protestors added the culturally embedded causes of race relations and the Vietnam War.<sup>2</sup> Persuaded by the moral imperative of just civil disobedience contended by Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), and animated by the practice of peaceful – or civil – protest initiated in 1906 by Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi (1869-1948), people in the 1960s, especially the youth, came together to effect change in their world through sit-ins, marches, boycotts and freedom rides.<sup>3</sup>

According to Kenneth Cmiel, axiomatic to the methodology of non-violent or civil protest was the bedrock of gospel-informed conceptions of Christian love; a love that must be so all-encompassing as to include one's enemies.<sup>4</sup> Given that it is much easier to love one's friends than one's enemies George Lipsitz argues that "political 'sit-ins' evolved into cultural 'be-ins' and 'love-ins'", the evolutionary pair constituting a ritualised "sharing of public space" where the common enemy might not always be at the forefront of protestors' minds.<sup>5</sup> Public ritual would also be a significant feature of the emerging hippy sub-culture, which sought alternative spiritual paths to those offered by traditional Christianity.

---

<sup>2</sup> See *The Sixties*. Of particular note is Chapter 12, which covers the student protests across four countries in 1968.

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Cmiel, "The Politics of Civility," in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 265.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> George Lipsitz, "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth culture, Rock 'n' roll, and Social Crises," in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill; London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 214.

In the case of the “enemies” of peaceful protesters, however, without extant response models that defused rather than crushed the gatherings, the authorities used force to disperse them.<sup>6</sup> As protests escalated, the boundaries between “civil disobedience” and “uncivil violence” became increasingly blurred among protestors. In but one example of particular relevance to a discussion of the concert mass, three priests joined six other Catholics to act violently against Dow Chemicals in March 1969. They were motivated to do so because Dow was a supplier of the napalm that was used to burn jungles in Vietnam as part of the US military’s war tactics. The military’s disregard for the protection of civilians in Vietnam was the main issue. Although not inflicting direct physical harm on any person, the protest group, which had become known as the Catonsville Nine, ransacked Dow Chemicals’ Washington DC offices in an effort to publicise their cause, and bring about the end to napalm bombing:

They threw files out the window, hung pictures of Vietnamese peasants and children burned during a napalm attack, and poured blood on furniture and equipment ... Although the priests were arrested, stood trial, and were found guilty ... the multinational quietly allowed its napalm contract to expire in 1969.<sup>7</sup>

The Catonsville Nine had received their *nom de guerre* the previous year after stealing and burning 378 selective service files in a parking lot in Catonsville, Maryland. Led by a priest, Daniel Berrigan, their fuel was homemade napalm and a sufficiently “strong hope in the power of life, and in the vitality of [their] society, as to test [their own] lives rigorously at the hands of power”.<sup>8</sup> Through active protest they were “declaring that the initiative of action and passion belonged to the peaceable and the resisting” not only to the authorities.<sup>9</sup>

From a socio-cultural perspective, such high profile attacks would have boosted the image of the Catholic Church among those who supported both the anti-Vietnam War cause and, more globally, the practice of civil disobedience on issues of social justice.<sup>10</sup> Despite the recently assassinated US President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) having professed a Roman Catholic faith, the Church itself remained a marginalised institution existing within a predominantly Protestant country. Accordingly, the activists

---

<sup>6</sup> For a guide of the vast literature covering the protest movements of the 1960s, see the “Bibliographic Essay” that concludes Horn, *The Spirit of '68*, 241-52.

<sup>7</sup> Terry H Anderson, “The New American Revolution: The Movement and Business,” in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill; London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 181. The contract was awarded to another supplier.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Berrigan, *No Bars to Manhood*, First ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 51; 24.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Patrick W Carey, *The Roman Catholics*, ed. Henry Warner Bowden, Denominations in America (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 125.

of the Catholic Left could not but have contributed to bringing about changing perceptions of the role of the Church in American society. As John H. Patton notes, “a central element in the confrontative act at Catonsville was the transformation of certain personal and institutional images into suasive signs directed toward the surrounding culture”.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, in acting against legitimate secular authority, activists of the Catholic Left had pushed back against societal-level secularisation by legitimising a role for ecclesiastics in civil matters.<sup>12</sup> As the following excerpt from Berrigan’s book shows, Berrigan justifies his group’s activities by bringing together the founder of the secular movement of passive resistance, Ghandi, with the founder of the Christian religious movement, Christ.

The point for Gandhi and Jesus, is not that men would agree with them, or do the same things they did. The point is that others would come to a deepened consciousness; that their sense of existence and human issues would be sharpened to the point where they would ‘do their thing’ — a good thing, a human thing, as they were doing theirs.<sup>13</sup>

In engaging with secular politics, the Church’s representatives were breaking down the barriers that the processes of secularisation had constructed around religion. In the context of the concert mass, even though the Church was no longer sponsoring the large-scale musical form of its heritage in its services, the idea of a Church becoming involved in issues of social conscience resonates strongly with the attitudes of those composers who subsequently kept the form alive in the concert hall in order to make an ideological or broadly theological statement. Just as in some quarters, perceptions of religion benefitted from the Church’s engagement with secular issues, so too did the works of secular composers — those not in the employ of a religious institution — benefit from the composer’s engagement with religion through the form of the mass. Moreover, by taking interest in the concerns of everyday Americans — not to mention those of the Vietnamese — and in the wake of the explicit encouragement of lay participation in the Eucharist by the Vatican II reforms, the Church had become less forbidding as an institution, perhaps making it easier for composers to believe they could write religious music that drew from Catholic traditions yet did not conform to them, and to do so from ideological positions that perceived the resulting masses to be furthering those traditions through peaceful discourse, rather than trampling upon them with irreverence.

---

<sup>11</sup> John H Patton, “Rhetoric at Catonsville: Daniel Berrigan, Conscience, and Image Alteration,” *Today's Speech* 23, no. 1 (1975): 4.

<sup>12</sup> See further, Carey, *The Roman Catholics*, 125–26.

<sup>13</sup> Berrigan, *No Bars to Manhood*, 56.

Over and above any issues associated with the Catholic Church, the protest movement contributed to a breaking down of social barriers. Different races, classes and genders rallied around a common cause, mixing in public and disregarding traditional social taboos. The social revolution was further reinforced by live music performances that attracted diverse audiences who largely disregarded demographical heterogeneity, replacing stereotypical class behaviour with behaviours considered normal among the music crowd they had joined.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, political movements utilised the power of music to communicate “serious commentaries on political issues” with great effect.<sup>15</sup> The equalising power of music, as well as its ability to be utilised as a form of protest, would be realised by composers of concert masses that will be discussed in later chapters.

The long 1960s was not just a time of protest movements, it was also a time of increasing disposable incomes and rapid technological development in which music products could be distributed to a growing market. Accordingly, with its roots in the 1920s and developed throughout the 1930s and 1940s, rock music benefited from improvements in technology and individual prosperity. Bill Haley and the Comets’ highly successful *Rock Around the Clock* of 1955 marks the beginning of a consumer-led expansion of rock music as a popular new genre.<sup>16</sup> By 1973 revenues of \$2 billion were reported in the United States recording industry, with rock music accounting for close to eighty percent of all tapes and records sold.<sup>17</sup> It would be into a rapidly diversifying market structure that drove and capitalised upon the creation of subgenres that The Electric Prunes would record the psychedelic rock *Mass in F Minor* in 1967.

### THE ELECTRIC PRUNES – *MASS IN F MINOR* (1967)

In such commercially expeditious circumstances, it is perhaps unremarkable that one of the first to compose a mass specifically for secular audiences in the 1960s was not a composer trained in Western art music techniques, but rather a record producer, David Axelrod (b. 1933). Working with the psychedelic rock group, The Electric Prunes, Axelrod composed and produced *Mass in F minor* (1967)

---

<sup>14</sup> Lipsitz, "Who'll Stop the Rain?," 214.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Robynn Stilwell, "Music of the Youth Revolution: Rock Through the 1960s," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014), 419.

<sup>17</sup> Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977), 171-72.

for garage band (singer, electric guitar, electric bass guitar, drums), French horns and cello. The mass was released as an LP album in 1968.<sup>18</sup>

The younger son of four children whose father, a garment cutter and member of the International Workers of the World, was actively unionist, Axelrod was brought up in a predominantly black neighbourhood in South Central Los Angeles. After his father died in 1945, Axelrod took to roaming the streets, eventually moving to New York.<sup>19</sup> Unlike many of his cohort, however, it was not only alcohol and drugs that he found in the streets, but also music. He developed friendships with musicians who would shape the direction of his life, discovering and encouraging his raw musical talent to the point where he became a house producer for Capitol Records “scoring production credits” with notable musicians such as Lou Rawls.<sup>20</sup>

Composing albums intermittently over the next three decades, it would be Axelrod’s 1960s sounds and rhythms that would enjoy a reincarnation in the 1990s when those engaged in the new technique of sampling, notably DJ Shadow, would mix Axelrod’s material into their musical creations.<sup>21</sup> Although conflicted on the morality of sampling, the unexpected injection of cash allowed Axelrod to purchase the “dozen or so giant hard back volumes [of] *Groves Dictionaries of Music*”.<sup>22</sup> Explaining in 2001 that he had always wanted the musicological encyclopaedia, he concluded “I just sit down and read the scores”.<sup>23</sup> Axelrod might always be dubbed a rock composer, but he clearly saw himself as a creator of serious music committed to the art music tradition that *Groves* – at least to that point – represented.<sup>24</sup>

Although Axelrod had taught himself composition in the 1960s from the classically-oriented textbooks of Walter Piston and Heinrich Schenker, Axelrod’s work is equally informed by his experience as a record producer.<sup>25</sup> Likening record producing to film directing, he states

---

<sup>18</sup> *Mass in F Minor*, The Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer); Dave Hassinger (producer), Reprise LP RS 6275, 1968. Giombini’s *Messe dei Giovani* (1966), discussed in the previous chapter, may have been influential, but it was a mass for the Church, not for secular audiences.

<sup>19</sup> Andrew Male, “Those are the Breaks,” *Mojo*, *Soloesides* (June 2001), accessed 26 Feb 2014, <http://www.soloesides.com/winblad/david%20axelrod/axelrodmojo0601.html>.

<sup>20</sup> “David Axelrod,” Concord Music Group, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://www.concordmusicgroup.com/artists/David-Axelrod/>.

<sup>21</sup> Male, “Those are the Breaks”.

<sup>22</sup> Sam Inglis, “Out of the Shadows: Producer David Axelrod,” *SOS Sound on Sound* (August 2001), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.soundonsound.com/Contents.php?Month=8&Year=2001>; Male, “Those are the Breaks”.

<sup>23</sup> Male, “Those are the Breaks”.

<sup>24</sup> *Grove Music Online* is now including articles on popular music composers, although Axelrod himself is not currently mentioned.

<sup>25</sup> Inglis, “Out of the Shadows: Producer David Axelrod”.

What a director does, a producer should do. What is a song but a story anyway? The arrangement becomes the screenplay; the musicians and singers are the actors. The engineer is like the camera man. And the producer is the boss. You gotta pull it all together. That's how I've always gone about it.<sup>26</sup>

Yet Axelrod goes further, demonstrating in his explanation of the process of recording *Mass in F Minor* that music composition can become a logical extension of the producer's brief:

Right from the beginning I was always hearing for groups or orchestras. That's why I studied composition.

I wrote the rhythm parts out – that's how we recorded everything... You'd go in and record the rhythm section, and then go home again and start listening to the tracks, and decide how you're going to sweeten them. Strings, horns, whatever -- what are you going to do? And then you figure that out, and you bring in your strings and horns and everything and record them. Then the singer comes in last and the singing is recorded last.<sup>27</sup>

#### Axelrod's motivation

With two small exceptions there is no discussion of religion in interviews and biographies of those associated with *Mass in F Minor*. Lead singer, James Lowe advises that he “grew up in a Catholic school, my mom was glad I was doing a mass” when asked what aspects of *Mass in F Minor* “stick out as highlights” for him.<sup>28</sup> Guitarist, Mark Tulin recalls that fans – fearing the band had “gone religious” – were not very impressed by the album.<sup>29</sup> There is no discussion of Axelrod's own religious beliefs, let alone those of his managerial collaborators, possibly indicating that interviewers – like the fans Tulin refers to – generally preferred to avoid anything to do with religion. Although there are conflicting reports, it seems as if the idea to create a rock mass may not have been Axelrod's own, but rather that of his manager, Lenny Poncher who also managed The Electric Prunes.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Richie Unterberger, "James Lowe," *Richie Unterberger Website* (2000), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.richieunterberger.com/lowe.html>.

<sup>29</sup> "Electric Prunes: Interviste," *Retrophobic* (28 April 2007), accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.retrophobic.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=383&Itemid=27#ENGLISH](http://www.retrophobic.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=383&Itemid=27#ENGLISH).

<sup>30</sup> See *ibid.*; Male, "Those are the Breaks"; John Cody, "Mass was the First 'Christian Rock' Album," *JohnCodyOnline.com Words & Music*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.johncodyonline.com/home/articles/2010-07-DavidAxelrod.html>.

The absence of any religious commentary is all the more intriguing because Axelrod was already accustomed to working with religious topics, having produced *Soul and Inspiration* featuring gospel singer, Clara Ward, just before beginning to work on *Mass in F Minor*, and being booked to produce the recording of David Rose's (1910-1990) composition *The Bible*, which was duly released in 1968. Also in 1968, Axelrod composed the music to a collection of Jewish and Christian texts he had selected for the final The Electric Prunes album, *Release of an Oath*, produced by Dave Hassinger. The notes that appear on the back cover present a humanist-oriented psychedelia appropriate to the rock genre Axelrod was composing within, but were not written by Axelrod himself. In contrast, the seven songs on the album can be classified as falling into one or other of two categories: straightforward homages to the Abrahamic God, or admissions of human frailty. The first song sets the Jewish Kol Nidre, which concludes

May God help us to endure  
The hardships of life  
With fortitude  
And sufferance, Amen.

The final song sets repetitions of

Glory to the living God,  
Give Glory to Him  
...  
Praise be his name  
Forever and ever.<sup>31</sup>

Continuing to include religious music in his output, in 1971 Axelrod produced his own rock arrangement of Handel's *Messiah* and in 1993 he produced a further religiously-oriented album containing another of his compositions, *Requiem: The Holocaust*.

Although little can be made of this in determining Axelrod's affiliation or non-affiliation with any religious belief system, what it does reveal is that Axelrod wanted to compose meaningful music. To do so, he used the themes of the Judeo-Christian religions that underwrite the moral codes of Western societies. Similarly, by composing in the weightier forms of the classical repertoire, he is able to

---

<sup>31</sup> *Release of an Oath*, The Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer), Dave Hassinger (producer), Reprise LP RS 6316, 1968.



demonstrate his ability to create serious music within the popular idiom. In being among the first to combine orchestral instruments with the rock sound, he was striving to create distinctively modern music, just as his aleatoric, minimalist and serial music contemporaries were doing in their compositional fields. In 2004, Axelrod's innovative approach was acknowledged when he was invited to conduct a concert of his music in Royal Festival Hall, London in March 2004.<sup>32</sup>

Three years earlier, Axelrod had revealed a pragmatic approach, advising that he "hate[s] artists, who talk about the *muse*. Got a job to do? Do it".<sup>33</sup> However, at this point he is talking about production, not composition, concluding forcefully that "production isn't an *art*".<sup>34</sup> Indeed, Axelrod admits to submitting to the muse himself when speaking about the albums he commenced soon after completing *Release of an Oath*. These albums comprised settings of a selection of William Blake's poems that he had "got involved with ... in [his] early twenties, reading the poems over and over.<sup>35</sup> The combination of producer-pragmatics and artistic inspiration enabled him to compose the first of the two Blake anthologies, *Song of Innocence*, in a single week.<sup>36</sup> Axelrod was accustomed to working to tight schedules; he had only been given one week to compose and record *Mass in F minor*.<sup>37</sup>

As shown in Figure 5.1, which reproduces the back cover of the *Mass in F Minor* album, Axelrod only includes a portion of the standard liturgical texts in his mass, but this was not due to time constraints. Explaining his rationale in a *Time* magazine interview soon after the release of the LP album, Axelrod says "I took just the words I thought were relevant, like 'Lamb of God, grant us peace.'" Then, referencing the peace and love ethos of the hippy subculture and 1930s jazz and swing, he concludes "that's awfully hip for these times".<sup>38</sup>

On the insistence of Axelrod, it is the Latin and Greek texts that are sung in *Mass in F minor*, not the English translation.<sup>39</sup> This submission to tradition suggests that Axelrod wanted his contribution to be a modern incarnation of the masses of the great composers he had studied on the pages of the classical composition textbooks he had taught himself from. His choice of F minor (rather than E minor, which

---

<sup>32</sup> Dorian Lynskey, "David Axelrod, Royal Festival Hall, London," *The Guardian* (19 March 2004), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2004/mar/19/popandrock1>.

<sup>33</sup> Male, "Those are the Breaks"; Eothen Alapatt, "The Axe - Part 1 of *Big Daddy's* David Axelrod Interview," *Wax Poetics* (2005 [1999-2000]), accessed 13 April 2015, <http://www.waxpoetics.com/features/articles/david-axelrod-part-1>.

<sup>34</sup> Male, "Those are the Breaks". Emphasis in the original.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. For a detailed discussion of *Song of Innocence* see "Song of Innocence," *Wikipedia*, accessed 24 April 2015, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Song\\_of\\_Innocence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Song_of_Innocence).

<sup>37</sup> Cody, "Mass was the First 'Christian Rock' Album".

<sup>38</sup> "Rock: Something Heavy," *Time*, 29 Dec 1967.

<sup>39</sup> "Mass was the First 'Christian Rock' Album".

the Electric Prunes guitarist would have preferred to play in because it was easier) suggests he may have been particularly influenced by Bruckner's third mass, which is also in F minor.<sup>40</sup> As a self-taught composer-producer and autodidact, it is quite possible that Axelrod would have accessed one of the two recordings of Bruckner's mass that were issued as LPs in 1963, one by Angel Records, and the other by Deutsche Grammophon. A later mass, Eela Craig's *Missa Universalis* (1978), which is in the same progressive rock style that Axelrod had experimented with in the second half of *Mass in F Minor*, explicitly references Bruckner's mass.<sup>41</sup>

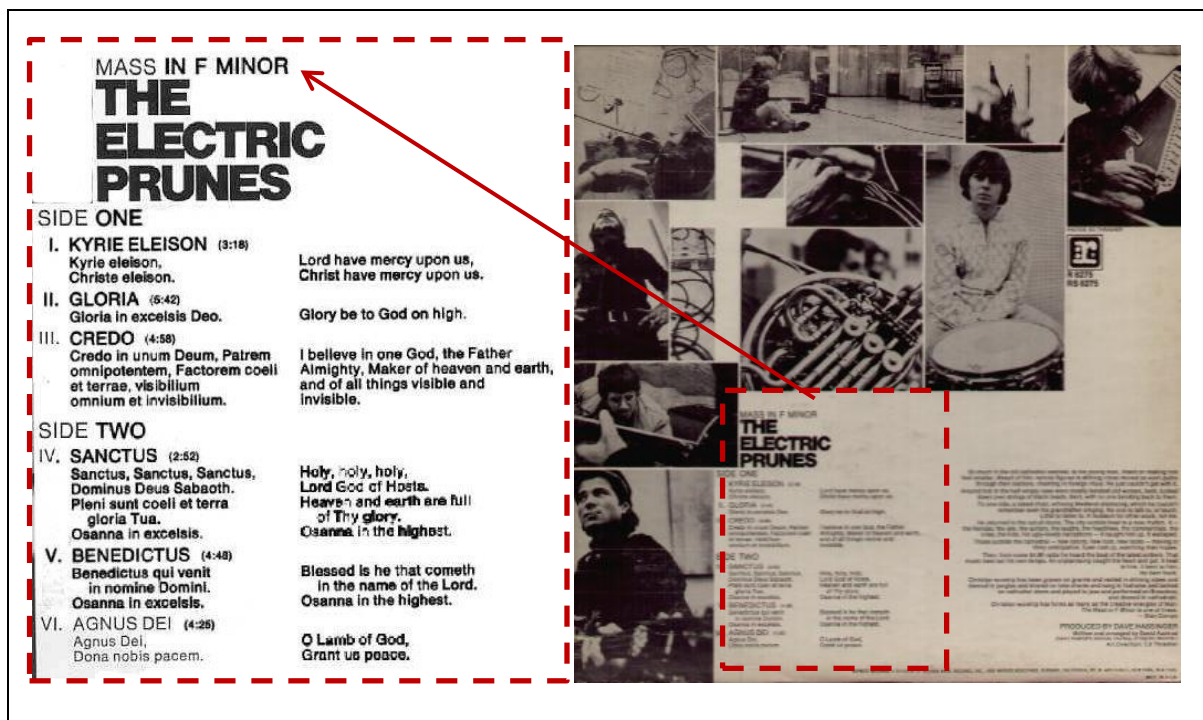


Figure 5.1 Track Listing and lyrics of *Mass in F Minor* by David Axelrod as it appears on the reverse of the LP cover released in 1968<sup>42</sup>

Axelrod's decision not to use English meant that the words would be incomprehensible to many listeners. Confirming this, J. Thompson recalls listening to *Mass in F Minor* in the 1960s, writing "I heard the first track, Kyrie Eleison ... and I liked it, however my Latin knowledge was/is nil".<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, it would only be those listeners who knew the traditional liturgical texts or had access to the album cover, which contains the English translation, who might have found the words *Agnus Dei qui tolis peccata*

<sup>40</sup> The bassist of the Electric Prunes, Mark Tulin states "if it were up to us we'd have done Mass in E. It's a better key for rock" in Male, "Those are the Breaks".

<sup>41</sup> Liner notes of *Missa Universalis*, Erdenklang Musikverlag CD 50822, 1995.

<sup>42</sup> From rear of LP cover. *Mass in F Minor*, (1968). Scanned by author.

<sup>43</sup> J. Thompson, "I've Never Heard Anything Like This Before," *Reviews: Mass in F Minor* (3 February 2012), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.amazon.com/Mass-Minor-The-Electric-Prunes/product-reviews/B00004W3KS/>.

*mundi, dona nobis pacem* as “awfully hip” as Axelrod did. But then, according to British reporter, Chris Campling, reminiscing in *The Times* in 2001, the record sleeve itself virtually defined hip at the time: “[i]t was one of those record sleeves you carried around under your arm to look cool... Unlistenable, but deadly cool”.<sup>44</sup>

Certainly the album was sufficiently cool – and presumably listenable enough – to have moderate chart success, debuting in the Billboard Top 200 LP’s on 7 January 1968 at number 198 and climbing steadily to its peak at number 135 by 17 February, dropping out 7 weeks later.<sup>45</sup> The album also “proved to be a good seller in Europe” according to Warner Brothers-Seven Arts international director Phil Rose.<sup>46</sup> It remains of interest to the present day, having been re-released twice as a standalone album in CD format, in 1990 and 2000, and most recently, in combination with *Release of an Oath* in 2013.<sup>47</sup>

Spurred by the re-releases, another personal reflection about *Mass in F Minor* half a century after purchasing the original LP comes from “Black Pete”, a retired literacy instructor, musician and freelance writer of Thunder Bay, Canada. In his blog “Red Wine and Garlic” he records a less cynical and more reflective response than the British journalist, Campling, and also provides useful insight into why the concert mass form, albeit in rock style, would receive popular acceptance outside its institutional home:

The album was really carried by the string and horns section, with the rock musicians not as prominent. The wild experimentations of rock and especially psychedelia simply weren't going to happen in this album: the rock musicians were effectively collared. Spiritually, going for a prefab musical structure like a Roman Catholic mass gave the music ground to build from, but when liturgical music was already moving away from the older structures, *Mass in F Minor* plopped itself down in the middle of the ancient of days, so to speak.<sup>48</sup>

Here Black Pete demonstrates that there was at least one listener who did know about the changes to Catholic liturgical music and was conscious of the album’s insertion into a long tradition that had recently taken a new path.

“And yet ... and yet”, Black Pete continues

---

<sup>44</sup> Chris Campling, “Hip Replacements - Arts,” *The Times*, 28 September 2001. Digitised copy provided by Newsbank.

<sup>45</sup> As per the relevant issues of Billboard Magazine, accessed 23 Sept 2012, <http://www.billboard.com/charts#/archive>.

<sup>46</sup> “Rose off to Europe to Push Rockers,” *Billboard*, 27 April 1968.

<sup>47</sup> *Mass in F Minor / Release of an Oath: Kol Nidre*, Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer); Dave Hassinger (producer), 1-2-3-4-GO! CD B00CI5MYNQ, 2013.

<sup>48</sup> “Black Pete”, “Reflecting on the Electric Prunes - Mass in F Minor,” *Red Wine and Garlic* (11 April 2010), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://redwineandgarlic.blogspot.com.au/2010/04/electric-prunes-mass-in-f-minor.html>.

The [Electric Prunes] Mass, in the face of Vatican II, was sung in Latin. Latin sings infinitely better than English--any language with a plethora of vowels does. Singing in Latin freed a listener who didn't know the exact meanings to enter into a trance brought about, as thousands of years of Catholic worship has shown us, by the chanting.<sup>49</sup>

Whether the trance-inducing properties of chanted Latin and Greek factored into Axelrod's decision to retain the languages, is difficult to know. It seems equally likely that Axelrod was simply following tradition, using the same words that had been set by other composers for centuries.

#### Religious music on a continuum with Catholic tradition

Black Pete moves on to another aspect of the mass. Given music's expressive properties, even without English words, the underlying meaning of each text may still be represented emotionally in the music and identified by the listener. In the case of *Mass in F Minor*, however, the psychedelic rock idiom effectively cloaks the Catholic texts and, although the music may represent the emotions of the liturgical excerpts Axelrod sets, without the clues of Gregorian Chant or a capella polyphony, they may not be perceived as being specifically Catholic, but rather, simply religious or spiritual. Black Pete continues:

The guitars and keyboards beautifully articulated a primary element of any religious service or spiritual experience: yearning, desiring to be at one with the Godhead, whoever/whatever that is to the suppliant. Listening to it is a trancing experience--you feel you've been somewhere when you've given it a listening, somewhere away from the present day and hour. The orchestra and rock musicians actually worked quite well together, given their very different approaches to music and the producer's own biases.

At the end of the day, you had a spiritual, unsentimental, worshipful album, that had nowhere to go but our record players at the time.<sup>50</sup>

Black Pete's retrospective review of *Mass in F minor* demonstrates how the concert mass, with its centuries-old history, allows the composer to tap into the listener's spiritual or religious imagination in ever-new ways to create music that draws on the weight of tradition but speaks in a modern idiom without confessional bias. This idea is reinforced by a United Church of Christ "pastor, artist and public

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

citizen”, “RJ” Rev. Dr James Lumsden from Pittsfield, New England who writes in response to Black Pete’s blog entry:

Well how interesting that you should write about the Prunes and their Mass. I bought this, too, when it first came out and loved it until some junkie stole my records, turn table and first bass guitar from a basement in St. Louis, MO while I was in CA organizing with the Farm Workers. ... I was a hippie church geek even back then - and found it both soothing and lovely.<sup>51</sup>

Leaving aside the confirmation that the spiritual psychedelia of *Mass in F Minor* appealed to “hippy-geeks”, the reference here to the Farm Workers’ campaigns of the early 1970s provides a reminder of the ongoing and widespread conflict throughout the United States as, in this case, Unions struggled to obtain better working conditions and increased remuneration for their members by organising picket lines, strikes and boycotts. Here too, as with the civil rights and Vietnam War rallies, peaceful protest was met with escalating violence, not just between workers and employers, but between unions competing for the right to represent the same groups of workers.

In the case of the farm workers represented by the United Farmworkers Union (UFW), which was led in 1973 by the “nonviolent direct action” proponent, Cesar Chavez, it was the Teamsters Union that was eager to take over.<sup>52</sup> Supported explicitly by the Nixon administration, the Teamsters adopted aggressive policies of intimidation that, combined with the Growers’ own retaliations, resulted in “echoes from the Deep South and the civil rights movement” with police utilising “beatings with billy clubs, vicious dogs with long leashes, mace, metal pipes, baseball bats, tire irons, deputies in riot gear creating their own riots...” in their attempts to bring the “labor battle” to a conclusion.<sup>53</sup> In this dispute, too, those within the Catholic Church who were persuaded by the ideals of liberation theology were active. Interpreting the Bible from the perspective of the ordinary person and emphasising freedom from poverty, 70 of the nearly 2000 strikers jailed in Fresno, California over a four-month period were women-religious or priests.<sup>54</sup> One of these, Father Eugene Boyle, said mass in front of the jail shortly after his release, in the course of which advising hundreds of farm workers that “[t]his is the greatest

---

<sup>51</sup> “RJ”’s *Blogger* profile appears at <http://www.blogger.com/profile/13545420303456278246>. “RJ” maintains two blogs: “Peace-making through music” and “When love comes to town”.

<sup>52</sup> José-Antonio Orosco, *Cesar Chavez and the Common Sense of Nonviolence* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 9-12.

<sup>53</sup> Roger A Bruns, *Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Movement*, eBook ed., Landmarks of the American Mosaic (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 79-81.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

number of religious persons ever jailed in the United States. I hope it says something about our deep and profound belief in your cause. We know you will overcome".<sup>55</sup>

Here once again we see ecclesiastics pushing against the tide of secularisation by working with the oppressed, this time in the realm of workers' rights. As in the case of the anti-napalm demonstration, the support for the workers by religious activists would have enhanced their standing among the majority of working and middle class Americans, who must rely upon corporations and wealthy individuals for their livelihoods. Through active resistance, both Protestants such as the Reverend Dr James Lumsden, and Catholics such as Father Boyle, contributed to a shoring up of a decline in the acceptance of institutional religion within American society, and this strengthening of the meaningfulness of religious institutions would in turn add to the appeal of the mass as a structure that composers could work with to make a religious statement. Paradoxically perhaps, it would also contribute to an acceptance of the mass as a legitimate carrier of religious discourse that breaks the bounds of institutional religion by being conducted beyond its walls.

In his closing comment, Father Boyle referenced perhaps the best-known protest song of the civil rights movement, "We shall overcome". Popularised in the early 1960s by folk singers such as Pete Seeger and Joan Baez, Boyle links the Farmworkers' cause with past causes, demonstrating once again the ability of music to powerfully communicate a particular message, in this case the message of optimistic hope. Certainly the words are spoken by Boyle, not sung, and it is not a direct quote, but Boyle's words would have been received with a thickness of meaning that the allusion to the well-loved song invests them with.

Similarly, the persuasive power of music is evident in the commentary about *Mass in F Minor*. In one final response to it, Bill Nicholas received the music rather differently to those mentioned above, but still understood it as religious:

[t]his album is not the Sunday celebration--it is the creepy service those people who shot Billy and Captian [sic] America in Easy Rider attended. The kind of images in church that creeped the hell out of you when you were a kid. You didn't understand WHY Christ was bleeding, he just was. This music has that black vale [sic] over it. Is shrouded in that freaky mystery.

---

<sup>55</sup> Father Eugene Boyle as quoted in Jacques E. Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 505.

Not that the music is conservative. It is actually adventurous, with its heavy atmosphere and dramatic dynamics.<sup>56</sup>

### Psychedelia and the counter-culture

Musically, the twenty-six minute *Mass in F minor* has some prototypical 1960s psychedelic rock moments, and lives on due to its quasi-spiritual cult appeal. Constructed with the intent of creating music that imitated the experience of being under the influence of hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD, psychedelic rock was the music of the 'Hippies' and, in the United Kingdom, the 'Freaks', both counter-cultural movements that impacted strongly upon the hegemonic societal norms of the 'Western World'. As defined by historian Arthur Marwick, the Western World constitutes

all the attitudes and values and practices springing from the traditions of ancient Athens, modified by Christian religion, by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, by the French Revolution, by Romanticism, by overseas conquests and colonialism, by the upheavals of the twentieth century.<sup>57</sup>

Citing two Liverpool school teachers who were teenagers in the 1960s, Marwick argues that the counter-cultural influence may not have been revolutionary, but it was transformative and long-reaching. Speaking together in the first person, the teachers provide a summary of the enduring changes they believe the period brought about:

And did all that upheaval in living standards, in attitudes and fashion have a lasting effect on the lives of the adults who were teenagers in Liverpool in the sixties? I believe it did. It gave us tolerance for new ideas, and brought us a step nearer in equality of rights, removing many prejudices of sexual, racial and moral origin. It gave us the freedom to accept or reject things on their own merits and according to our own individual preferences. I believe that the sixties were a mini-Renaissance in which the right of individual expression was encouraged, applauded and nurtured by a generation whose naïve belief was that all we needed was love.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Bill Nicholas, "Classic," *Reviews: Mass in F Minor* (13 December 2009), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.amazon.com/Mass-Minor-The-Electric-Prunes/product-reviews/B00004W3KS/>. Nicholas's is one of 35 reviews of the re-released album that appeared on the amazon.com site as at 15 April 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Marwick, *The Sixties*, 11.

<sup>58</sup> Maureen Nolan and Roma Singleton, "Mini-Renaissance," in *Very Heaven : Looking Back at the 1960's*, ed. Sara Maitland (London: Virago, 1988), 25.

The “right of individual expression” would certainly be reflected in concert masses that would branch away from Catholic traditions, increasingly reflecting diverse positions on religion. More broadly, Marwick explains one of the reasons why this occurred:

the various counter-cultural movements and subcultures, being ineluctably implicated in and interrelated with mainstream society while all the time expanding and interacting with each other, did not *confront* that society but *permeated* and *transformed* it.<sup>59</sup>

Marwick notes that the term “counter-culture” originated midway through “the long 1960s” (1958-74), having been “put into wide usage” by Theodore Roszak’s book *The Making of a Counter Culture* first published in 1968.<sup>60</sup> In this book Roszak both acknowledges that the emerging counter-culture “embraces only a strict minority of the young and a handful of their adult mentors”, and accepts that it “has much maturing to do ... before any well-developed social cohesion grows up around it”.<sup>61</sup> His commentary on a report from the New York underground press is useful in capturing the spirit and collective imagination of the hippy and youth protest movements at their most intense:

On October 21, 1967, the Pentagon found itself besieged by a motley army of anti-war demonstrators. For the most part, the fifty thousand protestors were made up of activist academics and students, men of letters... New Left and pacifist ideologues, housewives, doctors . . . but also in attendance... were contingents of ‘witches, warlocks, holymen, seers, prophets, mystics, saints, sorcerers, shamans, troubadours, minstrels, bards, roadmen, and madmen’ – who were on hand to achieve the ‘mystic revolution’. The picketing, the sit-down, the speeches, and marches: all that was protest politics as usual. But the central event of the day was a contribution of the ‘superhumans’: an exorcism of the Pentagon by long-haired warlocks who ‘cast mighty words of white light against the demon-controlled structure,’ in hopes of levitating that grim ziggurat right off the ground.

They did not succeed—in floating the Pentagon, that is. But they did manage to stamp their generation with a political style so authentically original that it borders on the bizarre.... Even those protestors who did not participate in the rite of exorcism took the event in

---

<sup>59</sup> Marwick, *The Sixties*, 13. Marwick’s emphasis.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 5; 11-12.

<sup>61</sup> Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*, 1995 ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1995 [1968]), xl.



stride. Perhaps, after all, the age of ideology is passing, giving way to the age of mystagogy.<sup>62</sup>

While the presence of a variety of religiously oriented characters is notable, it is the ability of all around to take their presence “in their stride” that marks the 1960s from the conformism of the previous decades. Tracing the origins of this fascination with unconventional incarnations of non-material culture to the earlier Beat generations’ adoption of westernised Zen practices, Roszak also references the writing of Aldous Huxley, specifically his 1962 book *Island*, which presents a utopian vision of a psychedelic drug-infused, peaceful culture steeped in Buddhist principals, replacing the void created by the demise of Christianity.<sup>63</sup> Taking Huxley’s book to be prophetic, Roszak advises that “[t]he dissenting young have indeed got religion”.<sup>64</sup> Focusing particularly upon Zen Buddhism, he suggests that its appeal to youth stems, at least in part, from “its unusual vulnerability to ... adolescentization”.<sup>65</sup> Matching “the wise silence” with the “moody inarticulateness of youth” and Zen’s “commitment to randomness” with “the intellectual confusion of ... unformed minds”; its lawless “antinomianism” with “the need of freedom”, and Zen’s inherent “amorality” with the heightened libidinal drive of the young, Roszak’s hypothesis was compelling for many.<sup>66</sup> Adding the increasingly ubiquitous drug LSD into the mix, it is not surprising that the creation of hallucination-heightened quasi-religious music such as *Mass in F Minor* came about.

Writing also in 1968, psychiatrist Timothy Leary does not merely advocate the use of consciousness-expanding drugs such as LSD in his book *The Politics of Ecstasy*, but also occasionally applies a technique of slow motion, stop-start, off-beat writing that mimics the drug-induced hallucinatory state, thereby demonstrating his commitment to the belief that psychedelic drugs are essential to healthy societies:

Let no one be concerned about the growth and the use of psychedelic chemicals. Trust your young people. You gotta trust your young people. You had better trust your young people. Trust your creative minority. The fact of the matter is that those of us who use LSD wish society well. In our way we are doing what seems best and right to make this a peaceful and happy planet. Be very careful how you treat your creative minority, because if we are crushed, you will end up with a robot society.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 124-25. Quotations are from *The East Village Other*, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 124-31.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 134-35.

<sup>67</sup> Timothy Leary, *The Politics of Ecstasy* (London: MacGibbon Koe, 1970), 293. First published in 1968 by Putnam, New York.

For Leary, psychedelic drug-taking is not simply a healthy life choice that will avoid a robotic existence, but also a “sacramental ritual” that can bring about “shattering ... religious revelations” to “man ... a soul bearer made in one of the forms of God” whose “body is the universe ... the sacred temple, the seed centre, the exquisitely architected shrine of all creation”.<sup>68</sup> Even if advocates of LSD would not succeed in having its widespread use legitimised, such a free-form approach to religion would contribute to changing attitudes over the course of the century, a change that would lead to greater tolerance of another’s right to believe something different.

Furthermore, even if young people chose not to participate fully in counter cultural practices and activities, they were both ready and willing to escape everyday conformist reality on a regular, if only temporary basis. With more disposable income than previous generations, one way of doing so, with or without ingesting psychedelic drugs, was via psychedelic rock music.

Scored for voices, lead and bass guitars, organ, drums, keyboard and other instruments including horns and cellos, almost all of the elements of the psychedelic rock genre are present in *Mass in F minor*. These include lengthy instrumental solos, an absence of simple binary or ternary structures, a lack of transitional bridges between different musical ideas, track durations that exceed the usual three minutes, modal melodies and the use of the non-standard and therefore the more technically difficult keys, such as F minor.<sup>69</sup> In addition, lyrics that deal with spirituality, rather than the themes of love and loss typical of other popular genres, are commonly found in psychedelic rock. Studio effects such as heavy reverb are employed, as are electronic organs and instruments exotic to rock music – the cellos and horns – played with a rough harshness more suited to the rock idiom. The influence of Eastern music, particularly the drones and Indian ragas found in most psychedelic music, is only rarely in evidence in *Mass in F minor*, and then only in the form of instrumental effects that mimic features of Indian instruments. The bass guitar occasionally plays solos in the Gloria and Credo that feature a tabla-like pitch change as each plucked note decays, and the lead guitar produces sitar-like sounds in the Benedictus. Whether the lack of Eastern prominence reflects an acquiescence to the Christian heritage of the mass is uncertain, but its limited presence does point to Buddhist and Hindu belief systems whose less prescriptive attitudes towards morality fitted well with hippy lifestyles.

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

<sup>69</sup> The durations of the six tracks are 3:18 (Kyrie Eleison), 5:42 (Gloria), 4:58 (Credo), 2:52 (Sanctus), 4:58 (Benedictus) and 4:25 (Agnus Dei).

Commodification – *Mass in F minor* as a product

Regardless of any eastern aspects that *Mass in F minor* may have, it is self-consciously a western Christian work at heart. Although their garage-band, play-by-ear instrumental skills did not meet with the requirements of Axelrod's music charts, and most of The Electric Prunes were replaced early on by sessional musicians who would ensure the project was completed on time and so not accrue hefty overtime bills, the lead singer of The Electric Prunes, James Lowe, does provide the vocals throughout, producing a suitably monk-like vibrato-free sound. Recording his voice on multiple tracks to represent a small choir, most of the vocal sections emulate plainchant sung in unison, although exposed parallel fifths and gentler harmonies do occasionally provide stark contrasts in the Gloria and Credo. The first three movements of *Mass in F minor* encapsulate the often surreal, potentially consciousness-shifting psychedelic sound that was at its peak at the time. Furthermore, the band's very lack of technical skill has parallels with contemporaneous church music, designed for all of the congregation to sing, regardless of musical ability. For example, the harmonium introduction at the beginning of the Gloria features an awkward, feel-it-as-you-go vibe that resonates with the idea of an amateur organist haltingly leading the congregation into song.

The Electric Prunes' recording of *Mass in F minor* is regularly referred to by contemporaneous commentators as a 'concept Album'. "Aspir[ing] to the status of art", concept albums were a relatively new idea, instituted and developed by the marketing departments of the recording industry.<sup>70</sup> To this point, albums of popular music usually comprised collections of disparate tracks, with the only common link being that they were performed by the same group or the same solo artist. The Electric Prunes' first two albums followed this model. The concept album, however, contains music on one explicit theme. Drawing a parallel between the development of the concert mass and the development of the concept album, in its assertion of a large-scale structure that first defines and then unifies the separate musical items, the concept album is rock music's equivalent to the transition from the concertised Baroque masses of often unconnected parts, to the first unified concert masses of the late eighteenth century.

The concept of a rock mass was of sufficient interest to the media that *Mass In F Minor's* pre-release promotion included a lip-synched performance of the Kyrie by the band, which went to air on WGN-TV Channel 9 on 13th November 1967 during the NBC syndicated TV program *The Pat Boone Show*.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Roy Shuker, *Key Concepts in Popular Music* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 5.

<sup>71</sup> "The Electric Prunes: Concerts & Performances," accessed 13 April 2015, <http://shadwell.tripod.com/concerts.html>.

Another psychedelic rock band, Pink Floyd from England, had performed on the show the previous week.

In another marketing strategy, liner notes that would add cultural caché were commissioned. Accordingly, the notes provided for *Mass in F Minor* by Stan Cornyn are as psychedelic as the music. In acknowledging and contrasting the reality of everyday Californian life in 1967 with the ancient Church traditions that were undergoing a process of *aggiornamento* in the modern church, the notes show that at least Cornyn, if few others associated with the project, had thought about the current state of religion at more than a superficial level; indeed Cornyn argues for the possible contribution of the *Mass in F minor* to generalised Christian worship:

So much in the old cathedral seemed, to the young man, intent on making him feel smaller. Ahead of him, remote figures in shining robes moved on worn paths through their stations, chanting in foreign ritual. He just couldn't get with it.

Around him in the half-empty rows were mostly isolated old women, bent, tucked down over strings of black beads. Bent, with no one bending back to them.

To one side, a robed choir, echoing Medieval plainsong, which he couldn't remember even his grandfather singing. No one to talk to, or touch.

Little to listen to. A museum for other souls, not his.

He returned to the out-of-doors. The city outside beat to a new rhythm. It – the Hondas, the jets, the guitars, the laughs, the headlines, the commercials, the cries, the kids, his ugly-lovely cacophony – it caught him up. It walloped.

Those outside the cathedral – new colours, new cuts, new looks – moving in lively [*sic*] anticipation. Eyes cast up, watching their hopes.

Then, from some \$4.98 radio he heard the beat of the latest anthem. That music beat out his own tempo. An unplainsong caught his heart and gut. It beat in him. It bent to him.

He bent back.

Christian worship has been graven on granite and vested in shining robes and danced in jungles and shared on lake shores and sung in foxholes and tacked on cathedral doors and played to jazz and performed on Broadway and droned in cathedrals.

Christian worship has forms as many as the creative energies of Man.<sup>72</sup>

Like Cornyn, the author of an article that appeared in *Time* shortly after *Mass in F minor* was released, also comments on its suitability for worship, reporting that Axelrod

avoided overdubbing and other wizardry of the recording studio, stuck to simple scoring (the Prunes, augmented only by cellos, French horns and various keyboard instruments) to make non-studio performances practical. Already several churches have bid for it; the Prunes plan to use it on an upcoming campus tour.<sup>73</sup>

#### The Electric Prunes/*Mass in F minor* – legacy

No evidence of *Mass in F minor* having been performed during a church service has been found; however, The Electric Prunes did perform the mass to a live audience once, or at least they began to. Unfortunately, according to James Lowe, they were so poorly rehearsed that “[a]ll of a sudden some kid hollers, 'Do the hit' and throws a beer bottle and then another ... the curtain started to close ... They eventually called the police”.<sup>74</sup> Lowe speculates that the audience “thought we were making fun of Jesus or something”.<sup>75</sup>

It would not be the only time The Electric Prunes’ music would be used in contexts that were considered blasphemous, at least by some. In Durban, South Africa in 1969 a psychedelic youth evening service at the Anglican parish church of St Columba’s Greenwood Park was held. The service was led by a young Stephen Hayes who would become a deacon of the Orthodox Church of South Africa some two decades later. Recalling the evening service, he states

It began with the church in darkness and a voice saying ‘Let there be light’, followed by flashing lights and loud recorded music (from *The Electric Prunes*), to symbolize light emerging from darkness and order from chaos. Instead of taking a collection, we passed

---

<sup>72</sup> Stan Cornyn, *The Electric Prunes Mass in F Minor* (Hamburg: Line Music, 1990 [1963] ). Liner Notes for *Mass in F Minor*, The Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer); Dave Hassinger (producer), Linea CD 9.00888, 1990.

<sup>73</sup> "Rock: Something Heavy."

<sup>74</sup> Male, "Those are the Breaks". In the liner notes to the 2000 CD, James Lowe is quoted as saying the location of the concert was Santa Monica. Richie Unterberger, "Liner Notes for the Electric Prunes' *Mass in F Minor*," (2000), accessed 15 April 2015, <http://www.richieunterberger.com/fminor.html>.

<sup>75</sup> Unterberger, "James Lowe". Lowe also mentioned this in an interview with Jud Cost, "The Electric Prunes: The James Lowe Interview," *Ptolemaic Terrascope* (November 1997), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.terrascope.co.uk/MyBackPages/Electric%20Prunes.htm>.

round a plate of coins and invited people to take some. At the end of the service we sang a new hymn, *Lord of the dance*, and urged the congregation to dance out of the church.<sup>76</sup>

Following a complaint by St Columba's church wardens, the Bishop of Natal denounced the youth service with such vehemence that *The Natal Mercury* ran the story on the front page with the headline "Church profaned, says Bishop".<sup>77</sup> Although the music that opened the service was not The Electric Prunes' *Mass in F Minor*, but rather, the band's single, *Doctor Do-Good* released in 1967, *Mass in F minor* had been released a year before the service and so it is possible that this would have influenced the choice.<sup>78</sup>

In a more high profile use of The Electric Prunes' music, and one that indubitably accords with Axelrod's definition of "hip", the Kyrie from *Mass in F minor* was included in the sound track for the 1969 Oscar-nominated counter-cultural movie *Easy Rider*. The Kyrie provides the musical backing for two consecutive scenes. The first is a saloon bar and the second a brothel whose walls and ceilings are adorned with religious and other artworks. When the Kyrie concludes, the camera moves to a half-profile shot of Wyatt/Captain America (Henry Fonda) apparently reading from the brothel wall. Without emphasis of any kind he reads out what is written there: "if God did not exist it would be necessary to invent Him".<sup>79</sup> Typical of counter-cultural films, the scene is enigmatic, leaving the viewer to reach his or her own conclusion or to draw no conclusion at all. The way is left open. There is no indication of what the director or the writer intended; no indication as to what their opinion about religion might be.

## Conclusion

Like all bright stars, the non-conformist hippy sub-culture and the anti-establishmentarian mindset would soon burn out, fading from Western society by the mid-1970s. Yet the legacy of the 1960s still remains, both in the field of music, and in the fragmentation and diversification of religious belief. In breaking down boundaries over time, religious difference would become a less divisive issue than it had been among those of European descent living in Western societies.

---

<sup>76</sup> Stephen T.W. Hayes, "Oom Bey for the Future: A Retrospect," in *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the Witness of Beyers Naudé*, ed. Len Hansen and Robert Vosloo, Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology (Stellenbosch: Sun Press), 55-56.

<sup>77</sup> As cited in *ibid.*, 56.

<sup>78</sup> Stephen Hayes, "Psychedelic Christian Worship -- thecages," *Notes from Underground* (18 January 2008), accessed 25 April 2015, <http://methodius.blogspot.com.au/2008/01/psychedelic-christian-worship-thecages.html>.

<sup>79</sup> The section containing the Kyrie occurs towards the end of the movie and can be viewed on YouTube: "Kyrie Eleison – Easy rider", <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rwDq1AEHF2g>, accessed 25 April 2015.

The engagement in political activism by priests, monks and nuns in the 1960s changed people's attitudes towards the Catholic Church in the USA and, by default, its traditional musical form. Just as Gregorian chant would become popular despite its obvious association with the Catholic Church, so too would the concert mass become perceived as a religious vehicle that could be adapted to suit the ideology and religious persuasion of the composer. As will be shown in future chapters, composers would use the form to further a particular cause, whether theological, spiritual, ecological, universalistic or pluralistic. More than this, however, the weight of tradition that the word 'mass' brings to a piece of music remains a draw card for some composers. This was the case with regard to the main mass discussed in this chapter. A commercial enterprise that was relatively successful, The Electric Prunes' concept album *Mass in F minor* brought together the traditional languages of the liturgy, the contemporary musical style of psychedelic rock, and the backing of a large recording company to create a product that was not only perceived as quintessentially counter-cultural but was acclaimed as the height of hip.

Before exploring masses that either echo the peace and love philosophy of the hippy counter culture or emanate from it, masses that are imbued with the protest culture of the long 1960s will provide the content of the next chapter, with discussion focusing particularly on Peter Maxwell Davies's *Missa Super L'homme Armé* and Leonard Bernstein's *Mass*. Unlike the masses to be discussed in later chapters, Davies and Bernstein do not simply graft other ideas and views onto the mass form, but rather, explicitly challenge Catholic faith and practice as well as the morality of Western societies through theatrical works that see the mass used in a completely new way.







## Chapter 6 Challenging Christianity: Provocative models

The final years of the “long 1960s” are pivotal to the development of the concert mass within the Western art music tradition.<sup>1</sup> Two musical works that included “mass” in their titles but were not representative of the form as it had been understood to that point, were created by Sir Peter Maxwell Davies (b. 1943) and Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990). As with Janáček’s *Glagolitic Mass*, being the works of significant composers, their potential to influence future directions in the concert mass is considerable.

Both composers forged provocative musical theatre works that explicitly interrogate religious belief and practice in the West. While neither would immediately inspire further theatrical works with similar characteristics, Davies’s *Missa Super L’homme Armé* (1969 rev. 1971) and Bernstein’s *Mass* (1971) mark the time at which the western art music mass – as opposed to the church or liturgical mass – changed dramatically.<sup>2</sup> *Missa Super L’homme Armé* and *Mass* stem from the ideology of what Hugh McLeod calls

---

<sup>1</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, the “long 1960s”, as defined by Arthur Marwick, spans the later 1950s through to the mid 1970’s. Marwick, *The Sixties*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Felice’s *Critical Mass: a Prodigal Mass of Responsibility, Repentance, and Redemption*, for wind ensemble, percussion, choir and tape (1995-98), has similar elements to Bernstein’s *Mass*. However, where Bernstein’s *Mass* focuses on the larger struggles of Western Society, including the validity of religion, Felice’s mass begins with music over a tape of a woman phoning an ex-drug dealer, and focuses upon one individual’s (ir)responsibility. Many thanks to Felice for providing me with a copy of his score.

“The Anti-Authoritarian Movement” in which “every convention and tradition had been thrown into the melting-pot”; everything was ripe for challenge by individuals and groups who felt “intense excitement and optimism” in collective action.<sup>3</sup> It was a time when non-conformism became the default position for those caught up in the Movement. As a 1960s student protestor remembers, “we were taking on the world, the political power structure, and we sensed that rebellion from below could change it”.<sup>4</sup> It was also an epoch when binaries, such as the “battle between good and evil” were embraced.<sup>5</sup> As another activist recollects:

The fact that you were morally superior mattered, people were making a life choice at some level or another. The breaking up of the old world and the searching for a new had some apocalyptic element to it. And people made the choice because they were convinced emotionally as well as on the issues themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Although very different in approach, the character of the Davies and Bernstein masses suggest the composers were motivated by an apocalyptic vision that persuaded them to construct a strong and urgent moral message through their music. Bernstein attacks social conservatism and religious intolerance through music that is written in a highly accessible idiom, while Davies raises philosophical and theological questions that are conveyed through music that is more complex.

As unconventional works by significant composers, *Missa Super L’homme Armé* and *Mass* constitute support for Arthur Marwick’s argument that the long 1960s “was a self-contained period... of outstanding historical significance in that what happened during this period transformed social and cultural developments for the rest of the century”.<sup>7</sup> The two works premiered within twenty days of each other in 1971: *Mass* on 8 September in the Kennedy Centre, Washington, USA, and *Missa Super L’homme Armé* on 20 September during the Umbria Music Festival in Perugia, Italy.

The masses were composed at a time when Western art music had divided into two distinct mainstreams.<sup>8</sup> One stream evolved from Arnold Schoenberg’s (b. 1874) system of atonality, which he and his associates developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Transitioning into an approach

---

<sup>3</sup> Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 142-43.

<sup>4</sup> Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*, First American Edition ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 133.

<sup>5</sup> McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, 143.

<sup>6</sup> International Socialist (IS) leader, Richard Kuper, in Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*, 134.

<sup>7</sup> Marwick, *The Sixties*, 5. See also the previous chapter of this thesis and Horn, *The Spirit of '68*.

<sup>8</sup> See the chapters written by Joseph Auner, Deryk B. Scott and Arnold Whittal in Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople, eds., *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014), 228-59; 307-35; 364-94.

labelled serialism its advocates considered the new method to be boldly avant garde and forward looking. The other mainstream emerged between the two World Wars, and looked back to the formal classical ideas of late antiquity. Labelled neo-classicism, this style was manifested in a return to the functional harmony and Baroque and Classical styles of the eighteenth century or earlier.<sup>9</sup>

By the twenty-first century, elements of both “mainstreams” would be being brought together in different ways; however, in the 1970s the two remained separate and were inventing a variety of new approaches, with those inclined towards serialism exploring the possibilities of experimental and aleatory (chance) music, and the complexist and minimalist movements (arguably fed by both serialism and neo-classicism) following soon after. Bernstein, who only used serialist techniques for shock value within otherwise tonal music, belongs to the neo-classicist stream.<sup>10</sup> He adopts an eclectic mix of existing styles, bringing jazz and popular idioms together with tonal art music. In contrast, Davies developed his musical style within the school of serialism in the 1950s and, in the later 1960s and early 1970s his music is best characterised as experimental.

#### PETER MAXWELL DAVIES'S *MISSA SUPER L'HOMME ARMÉ* (1969-71)

*Missa Super L'homme Armé* retains a medieval modality but comprises a highly stylised, kaleidoscopic score controlled by precise instructions. These instructions come together with the unconventional setting of verses from the Gospel of Luke that recount Judas and Peter's betrayals of Christ, to create a work that may be perceived to be contemptuous of the Roman Catholic Church. This is certainly the view of Michael Burden, discussed below. However, by demonstrating Davies's construction of the absurd through an analysis of selected musical examples and by then considering the ramifications of Davies's choices with regard to theatrics and text selections, different, equally plausible conclusions can be drawn, showing that ambiguity, not certainty defines the work.

#### Absurdity

As noted above, *Missa Super L'homme Armé* is best described as experimental. Experimental music challenges norms, embraces the unexpected, and delights in the notion of uncertainty. Surveying a

---

<sup>9</sup> See Joseph Auner, "Proclaiming a Mainstream: Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014), 228-59. Also, Hermann Danuser, "Rewriting the Past: Classicisms of the Inter-War Period," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014), 260-85.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth LaFave, *Experiencing Leonard Bernstein: A Listener's Companion* (London, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 151; 166-67.

variety of definitions of the term, Warren Burt concludes that it comprises “a combination of leading-edge techniques and a certain exploratory attitude that places a high value on the integrity of the exploration of an idea as a good thing in itself”.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, William Brookes writes that experimental music – particularly in the hands of its foremost proponent, John Cage – involves “unexpected sounds” produced by “novel means”, the results of which were “discovered, observed, and playfully explored without tests or conclusions”.<sup>12</sup> These definitions fit well with Davies’s *Missa*, which brings disparate instrumental and stylistic conventions together to explore the idea of betrayal without presenting any definitive answers to the problem.

Paralleling the parodic British comedy of Monty Python (1969-1974), *Missa Super L’homme Armé* brings opposites together to create an improbable musical landscape that has the same unsettling effect as the act of betrayal. Full of contrast, the music begins with a fortissimo flourish only to drop back to a very soft dynamic five bars later when Davies begins his parody of the original (anonymous) composer’s music at rehearsal mark [A]. The naturally high-pitched piccolo is set against the clarinet playing in its low register and these are combined with the violin executing a series of bare, vibrato-free parallel fifths, while the harmonium plays a single melodic line as if it were a vocal part. Dynamics repeatedly swell from pianissimo (*pp*) to mezzo piano (*mp*) only to quickly die back to *pp*. The texture and tempo remain constant, but the dynamics continue to fluctuate through to [E] when the music becomes more complex, louder and, as shown in Figure 6.1, the rate of change of tempo markings begins to accelerate with 18 changes in time signature or tempo (or both) in less than 2.5 minutes.

The tempo slows four bars later to *Andante moderato* and the harmonium returns briefly, dropping out again when the percussion are instructed at [G]11 to “continue, improvising freely in nineteen-twenties dance style”.<sup>13</sup> Section [G] ends with a tempo marking of *lento* and the violins are instructed to produce a *pp-ppp* “wobbly gliss”, sliding from high g6 down to b-flat4. After four bars the voice intones the first line of text in which Judas plans his betrayal of Christ with the high priests and scribes. Only the decay of the rung hand bell accompanies the words (See Figure 6.2 for text)

---

<sup>11</sup> Warren Burt, “Australian Experimental Music 1963-1990,” *Leonardo Music Journal* 1, no. 1 (1991): 5.

<sup>12</sup> William Brookes, “In re: ‘Experimental Music,’” *Contemporary Music Review* 31, no. 1 (30 Aug 2012): 45-46. Cage’s early definitions can be found in John Cage, *Silence: Lectures and Writings* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 69. See also L.E. Miller, “Cultural Intersections: John Cage in Seattle (1938-1940),” in *John Cage: Music, Philosophy, and Intention, 1933-1950*, ed. D Patterson (London: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Peter Maxwell Davies, *Missa Super L’Homme Armé* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1978), 27.

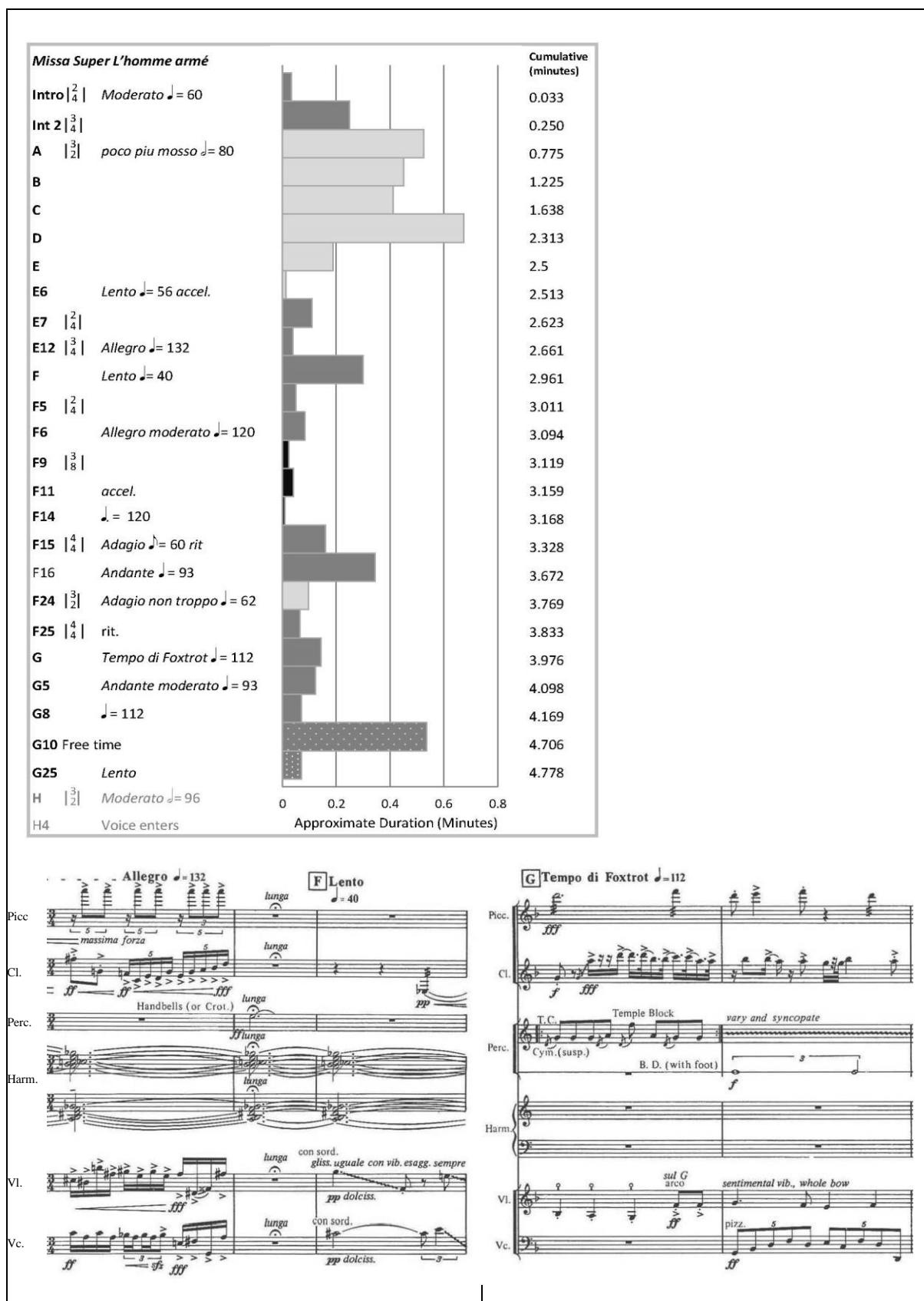


Figure 6.1 Rapid tempo and time signature changes in Peter Maxwell Davies's *Missa Super L'homme Armé*, Introduction to [G], with examples from the published score, pp. 23 and 26<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Unexpected sounds and instructions continue to pervade the music. At [K] the cello is required to play “like a bad gamba; sharp on higher notes, scratchy and swoopy”. The comical swanee whistle is introduced 5 bars later, only to fade with the change of tempo to *Pomposo* (pompously).<sup>15</sup> In the 14 bars leading up to [K] the tempo had become *Lento con amore* (slowly, with love), yet the text set here “[a]nd he promised, and sought opportunity to betray him unto them in the absence of the multitude”, hardly describes an act of love, unless it is Christ’s unconditional love, upheld by Christians, to which it is referring.<sup>16</sup> This contradictory melding of directions, musical idioms and instrumentation continues through to the end of the work.

Further adding to the absurd soundscape of *Missa Super L’homme Armé* is a theatricality that was introduced in the revised (1971) version. The taped voice of the original is replaced by a person who, Davies directs, “should be dressed as a nun if taken by a man, or as a monk if by a woman”.<sup>17</sup> Adding satirical drama to music that is already quixotic provides a direct example of one of the “chief paradoxes of the [long] 1960s” identified by Howard Brick as constituting

the coincidence of devotion to the ideal of authenticity – of discovering, voicing, and exercising a genuine whole personality freed from the grip of mortifying convention—and fascination with the ways of artifice, with the calculated techniques of image making or ‘the games people play’.<sup>18</sup>

Davies had developed confident techniques for the unique musical expression of his ideas by the 1970s, yet was also choosing the artifice of staged satire to convey his messages all the more emphatically. In *Missa Super L’homme Armé*, the opening staging instructions request that, “[i]f possible, the speaker should sit in the audience and make a dramatic entrance just before beginning his declamation ... and at the end of the piece foxtrot out, perhaps pulling off his wimple”.<sup>19</sup> Reiterating this, the closing instruction in the score states “[t]he foxtrot should be cut off in mid-stream by the speaker slamming a door upon his exit from the hall. If possible, this should not coincide with the end of the foxtrot”.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>17</sup> “Staging” in *ibid.*, front pages.

<sup>18</sup> Howard Brick, *Age of Contradiction*, ed. Lewis Perry, Twayne’s American Thought and Culture (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 88.

<sup>19</sup> “Staging” in Davies, *Missa Super L’Homme Armé*, front pages.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 44.

Latin Text (as per score)	English Translation (as per the score)
<p><i>Introduction to rehearsal mark [H]: Music</i></p> <p><b>[Luke 22: 1-6] (Judas's betrayal foretold)</b>  <b>[H]</b> In illo tempore: Appropinquabat dies festus azymorum. qui dicitur Pascha: et quaerebant principes sacerdotum et scribae, quomodo Jesum interficerent: <b>[I]</b> timebant vero plebem. Intravit autem satanas in Judam. qui cognominabatur Iscariotes, unum de duodecim. <b>[J]</b> Et abiit, et locutus est cum principibus sacerdotum et magistratibus. quemadmodum illum traderet eis. Et gavisus sunt, et pacti sunt pecuniam illi dare. Et spondit. Et quaerebat opportunitatem, ut traderet illum sine turbis.</p> <p><i>[K] to [O]: Music</i></p> <p><b>Luke 22: 33-43 and 59-62 (Peter's betrayal)</b>  <b>[O]</b> Domine, tecum paratus sum, et in carcerem et in mortem ire.  Dico tibi. Petre: Non cantabit hodie gallus, donec ter abneges nosse me.  Vere et hic cum illo erat: nam et Galilaeus est.</p> <p>Homo, nescio. quid dicis.  Et continuo adhuc illo loquente cantavit gallus.  Et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum.  Et recordatus est Petrus verbi Domini. sicut dixerat: Quia priusquam gallus cantet, ter me negabis.</p> <p><b>[P]</b> Et egressus foras Petrus flevit amare.</p> <p><i>[Q]: Music</i></p> <p><b>Luke 22: 19-22 (abridged by Davies)</b>  <b>[R]</b> Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: hoc facite in meam commemorationem.  Hic est calix novum Testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur. <b>[S]</b> Verumtamen ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa. Verumtamen vae homini illi, per quem tradetur.</p>	<p>Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover. And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him; for they feared the people. Then entered Satan into Judas surnamed Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve. And he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might betray him unto them. And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money. And he promised, and sought opportunity to betray him unto them in the absence of the multitude.</p> <p>Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.  I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.  Of a truth this fellow also was with him: for he is a Galilaean.  I know not what thou sayest.  And immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew. And the lord turned, and looked upon Peter.  And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.  And Peter went out, and wept bitterly.</p> <p>This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you. But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. But woe unto that man by whom he is betrayed.</p>

Figure 6.2 Latin text set in *Missa Super L'homme Armé* with English Translation and position in score<sup>21</sup>

### Sacrifice, betrayal and Christianity

Satire is also a feature of Davies's selection of verses from the Gospel of Luke, shown in Figure 6.2. Other than its Christian biblical provenance, the text has no relation with the texts normally set in masses. Whereas the liturgy constitutes worship of a trusted God, *Missa's* focus is upon humankind's potential for betrayal. Moreover, Luke's telling of Christ's story is the most human-oriented of the four

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Davies has used the King James Version of the bible for the English translation.

gospels; it is only in Luke that Christ is a direct witness to Simon Peter's betrayal: "the cock crew. And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter" (Luke 22:60-61).<sup>22</sup>

Certainly, the liturgy acknowledges the frailty of human nature in the Kyrie's "Lord have mercy", the Credo's "Forgive those who trespass against us", and the Agnus Dei's "Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us", but these are non-specific allusions. They are not the precise isolation of a single class of wrongdoing such as betrayal. Overall, the Ordinary of the Roman Rite speaks much more about the glorious and mysterious nature of God, revealed and embraced by Jews and then Christians over several millennia, than it does about the imperfect nature of humankind.

Accordingly, in Davies's *Missa Super L'homme Armé* the mass is only a symbolic point of departure; it endorses what the satirical vestments also make plain – that his work is about Christianity, not for Christianity. As Stephen Moss advises, Davies has been "simultaneously fascinated and repulsed by religion" throughout his life.<sup>23</sup> Although all of the musical and theatrical devices Davies employs beg a ready conclusion – perhaps about priests or about Christianity – in fact, Davies does not want the audience to leave thinking that he has come to any conclusion at all. The foxtrot is cut off midstream leaving his *Missa* open-ended, unfinished, a conversation to be continued among listeners, once the slamming door signals a departure from the stage and a return to the everyday world.

Michael Burden, however, conflates the two themes of betrayal and Christianity, laying the self-serving acts of its corrupt clergy at the doorstep of the Church. Concluding that Davies is decrying the Church as a whole, Burden believes that *Missa Super L'homme Armé* further validates his argument that criticism of the institutional hypocrisy of established religions is a common feature of Davies's musical theatre works.<sup>24</sup> Writing about *Missa Super L'homme Armé*, Burden reinterprets Davies's stage directions regarding the speaker's costume to conclude that

the central character – a soprano – is a disaffected priest habited as a nun, a piece of cross-dressing that served to emphasize the religious distortion and hypocrisy Davies sought to represent. At the final denouement, it is Judas who is associated with the church through

---

<sup>22</sup> In Matthew and Mark, Peter realises immediately after the cock crows that Christ had been right, and Peter "wept"; but in John, the cock's crow after Peter's betrayal is merely noted without commentary (Matthew 26:75; Mark 14:72; John 18:27).

<sup>23</sup> Stephen Moss, "Sounds and Silence," *The Guardian*, 19 June 2004, 20.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Burden, "A Foxtrot to the Crucifixion," in *Perspectives on Peter Maxwell Davies*, ed. Richard McGregor (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2000), 57.



the Victorian hymn played on the harmonium, while the transvestite nun declaims Christ's curse on the betrayer.<sup>25</sup>

Certainly the hymn on the harmonium, a commonplace instrument in parish churches, accompanies the text "[b]ut behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table" (Luke 22:21), and may signal Davies's desire to link Judas with the Church because some of its clerics betray their vows. Yet it could also signify the need for Judas to betray Christ in order to fulfil the prophecy of the Messiah's death and resurrection, upon which the Church (represented by the hymn) would be established.

Alternatively, Burden may be mistaken about what the harmonium represents. Just as earlier in the work, following the laying out of Judas's plans to betray Christ it is only in the harmonium part (at [M]) that the instruction *con amore* is found, here too, when the harmonium enters after [Q], it has the sole *con amore* instruction. This suggests that the harmonium does not represent the Church, but rather Christ, who loves Judas and Peter even knowing they will betray him.

Burden's focus on Church hypocrisy seems both too broad and too narrow in the case of *Missa Super L'homme Armé*. Individual clergy are not "the Church" and "the Church" is not Christianity. Without doubt, in a Church founded on self-sacrifice, hypocrisy is an appropriate label for trusted leaders who, for personal gain – whether economic or political – do not abide by Church teaching; yet this is not the same as institutional hypocrisy. In the sixteenth century, when the anonymous mass Davies uses as his starting point was composed, the melody of the *Judaslied*, a song about Judas's betrayal, was used by Lutheran polemicists to metaphorically accuse the Catholic hierarchy of hypocrisy. This is not, however, the same as accusing the Roman Catholic Church of condoning hypocrisy, but rather, some of its leaders.<sup>26</sup> As an entity that spans many centuries, the Catholic Church has consistently promoted self-sacrifice in accordance with Christ's lived example and teachings. The fact that a number of its trusted representatives disregard this founding principle does not change the fact that it is a founding principle.

Any simple reading of *Missa Super L'homme Armé* seems ill advised, particularly given its experimental nature. Davies is reputed to be "far too serious a musician ... to indulge in cheap gestures".<sup>27</sup> In terms of the construction of his music, the composer is emphatic that he expects more than a purely sensory response to his work, advising Bruce Duffey "[f]irst of all, I expect that they're going to be curious, and

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, "Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court," *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 199.

<sup>27</sup> Mike Seabrook, *Max: The Life and Music of Peter Maxwell Davies* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1994), 104.

that they're going to be made to work. I feel very strongly that you must aim for the highest possible intelligence, musicality, whatever factor in that audience and not pander to them".<sup>28</sup> Such an attitude can also be applied to the construction and presentation of his extra-musical ideas.

In a broader interpretation of *Missa Super L'homme Armé*, which expands Davies's possible critique beyond the Roman Catholic Church to Christianity as a whole, the work invites contemplation of the effectiveness of Christ's moral teachings, upon which Western societies are founded.<sup>29</sup> Christian teaching requires adherents to make sacrifices that are altruistic; Christianity requires a person to act for the benefit of others, regardless of personal circumstance (Matthew 7:12; Luke 6:31). Accordingly, as Catholic philosopher Gianni Vattimo notes, they are required to act in ways that are counter-intuitive to the self-preserving instincts that are found elsewhere in the natural world.<sup>30</sup> However, in the wake of two world wars and a Holocaust, it is easy to question whether Christian teaching provides a sufficiently useful moral foundation at all. Judas and Peter may represent all those in the world who betray others, but perhaps the greater betrayal is by Christ; perhaps Christ's example and teaching requires more from humans than they are capable of achieving. Just as Kierkegaard's theory of absurdism posits that striving to find inherent meaning in life cannot succeed because humans do not have the capacity to discover true meaning, one reading of the absurdism in *Missa Super L'homme Armé* is that it questions whether humans are betrayed by their very nature, and so do not have the collective capacity to act against the natural instincts of self-preservation, with which they are endowed.

Furthermore, Davies omits the opening phrase – "[a]nd truly the Son of Man goes as it has been determined" – from his setting of Luke 22:22, thereby leaving out confirmation of the Old Testament prophecy that the Messiah would ultimately be betrayed. The omission indicates that, at the time of composing the mass, Davies either did not believe in Christ as the Messiah, or at least had some doubt about it. If Christ is not the Promised Saviour, then Christianity is a fraud that should be unmasked.

Support for the idea that Davies is contemplating the veracity of Christian moral teachings can be found in the work of Majel Connery. Completing a study of Davies's operas *Taverner* (1969-1972) and

---

<sup>28</sup> Peter Maxwell Davies in Bruce Duffie, "Sir Peter Maxwell Davies: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," (1985), accessed 28 April 2015, <http://www.bruceduffie.com/pmd.html>.

<sup>29</sup> As Tony Judt notes, the West "lack[s] a consensual basis which is not religious in origin". Tony Judt and Timothy Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Gianni Vattimo, *A Farewell to Truth*, trans. William McCuaig (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 59.

*Resurrection* (c1972) she finds that “Christianity in the hands of Peter Maxwell Davies is a curiosity”.<sup>31</sup> For Connery, it is Christianity – not the narrow confines of the Catholic Church – that Davies is grappling with in his operas. The “distorted representation of a sullied and imperfect Christianity in its sheer perversity begs notice” she asserts, noting further that “that distortion is, after all, terribly disquieting”.<sup>32</sup> In the contemporaneously composed and revised *Missa Super L’homme Armé*, Davies also appears to be questioning the plausibility of the teachings of Christianity.

Outlining this interpretative response to *Missa Super L’homme Armé* is not to claim categorically that Davies uses the work to express disbelief or even agnosticism with regard to Christian doctrine. In keeping with Hugh McLeod’s statement that “the radicalism of the later 1960s could lead in many different directions religiously”, the only categorical statement that can be applied to the conflict and contrast in *Missa Super L’homme Armé* is that it constitutes a critique that brings together two topics – betrayal and Christianity.<sup>33</sup> Burden’s idea that the work simply derides a Church marked by hypocrisy is insufficiently nuanced. *Missa Super L’homme Armé* is a multifaceted question that strives to provoke a response that resonates with the thoughts and beliefs of the curious listener who is prepared to work through their ideas and – perhaps – come to a personal conclusion. Compared to Bernstein’s *Mass*, which features explicit critiques of the moral and social order of the West, *Missa Super L’homme Armé* is ambiguous and opaque.

It also represents a transitory stage in Davies’s approach to religious issues. Within three decades, he would compose two further masses, *Mass* (2001) and *Missa Parvula* (2003), with each comprising an uncontroversial setting of the liturgical text.

### LEONARD BERNSTEIN’S *MASS* (1971)

Almost six times the length of Davies’s *Missa Super L’homme Armé*, Bernstein’s two-hour *Mass* (1971) for soloists, boys’ choir, chorus, orchestra, actors, ballet troupe and tape is a grandiose work in all respects and is conceptually quite different to that of his British contemporary. Where Davies works with allusion and begs questions rather than answering them, Bernstein is more inclined to be explicit about the elements he is critiquing and to come to definite conclusions.

---

<sup>31</sup> Majel Connery, “Peter Maxwell Davies’ Worst Nightmare: Staging the Unsacred in the Operas *Taverner* and *Resurrection*,” *The Opera Quarterly* 25, no. 3-4 (2009): 249.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>33</sup> McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*. 142; 145.

*Mass* brings questions about religious faith together with social commentary about contemporary issues such as the Vietnam War and post-war economic policies. Structured as a running commentary of a staged celebration of the Roman Rite, complete with altar, celebrant, acolytes, pews and congregation, *Mass* is placed in the secular space of a concert hall. As Bernstein biographer Humphrey Burton describes it, the celebration is “conducted ... in limbo”.<sup>34</sup> The structure of the movements and their scoring appears in Figure 6.3, together with the staging instructions. Those sections that have specifically irreligious or socially contentious aspects are bolded, and show that the main critique occurs in the centre of the work, with the beginning and the end paralleling the spirit of *Mass*’s liturgical namesake fairly closely.

In *Mass*, the character of the music is important only inasmuch as it is of a style that gained it a high profile within the concert repertoire. It is the libretto and the critical commentary that primarily mark *Mass*’s departure from the conventions of the traditional mass form. Accordingly, it is the text and the reception data of *Mass*, together with the work’s historical context, that will receive attention rather than its musical elements.

### Faith

*Mass*’s premiere celebrated the opening of the Opera Hall of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and commemorates assassinated President John F. Kennedy.<sup>35</sup> The liturgical text and the libretto’s ultimate reaffirmation of faith accorded with the Catholic beliefs of the Kennedy family, with whom Bernstein was acquainted, including Jacqueline Kennedy who had commissioned the work.<sup>36</sup> In addition, as Rebecca Marchand suggests, *Mass* represents a charitable reaching out by a Jew to Roman Catholics and constitutes a response to Vatican II’s widely acclaimed and disseminated “Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions”, commonly known as *Nostra aetate*.<sup>37</sup> Through this document, the Roman Catholic Church reversed doctrines regarding Jews that had resulted in their persecution and marginalisation since the earliest days of the Church.

---

<sup>34</sup> Humphrey Burton, *Leonard Bernstein* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), 407.

<sup>35</sup> Roger Meersman, “The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts: The Early Years of Operation,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 1980: 590-94.

<sup>36</sup> Humphrey Burton advises that Bernstein became friends with John F. Kennedy in 1956 when they co-hosted a program about Harvard. Burton, *Leonard Bernstein*, 254.

<sup>37</sup> Marchand, “The Impact of the Second Vatican Council,” 128. Pope Paul VI, “Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate*”.

Bernstein's <i>Mass</i> (1971): Movements	Scoring	STAGING
I. DEVOTIONS BEFORE THE MASS 1. Antiphon: <i>Kyrie eleison</i> 2. Hymn and Psalm: "A Simple Song" 3. Responsory: <i>Alleluia</i>	Vocal Soloists Celebrant 6 Vocal Soloists	<p>The Setting: There is a continuous path that originates in the pit and rises as stairs onto the stage apron. This path leads to a central playing area which, in turn, leads to a raised circular altar space and then continues as stairs that ascend to a distant summit point.</p> <p>During the third sequence, choir pews appear upstage right and left, abutting the stair path, and remain throughout the work.</p> <p>The orchestra is divided into two parts: a pit orchestra of strings and percussion, plus two organs (a concert and "rock" organ); a stage orchestra of brass, woodwinds, electric guitars and keyboards, etc.</p> <p>These stage instrumentalists are in costume and act as members of the cast. The chorus of street people consists of singers and dancers. Filling the upstage pews is a sixty-member mixed choir in robes.</p> <p>A complement of dancers in hooded robes play Acolytes who assist the Celebrant in the ritual of the Mass.</p>
II. FIRST INTROIT (Rondo) 1. Prefatory Prayers 2. Thrice-Triple Canon: <i>Dominus vobiscum</i>	Street Chorus, Choir, Boys Choir Celebrant, Boy's Choir, All	
III. SECOND INTROIT: 1. <i>In nomine Patris</i> 2. Prayer for the Congregation 3. Epiphany	Celebrant, Tape Choir Oboe solo on Quadrophonic tape	
IV. CONFESSION 1. <i>Confiteor</i> 2. Trope: "I Don't Know" 3. Trope: <b>"Easy"</b>	Celebrant Male Street Chorus, Rock Singer, Descant, <b>3 Blues Singers, 3 Rock Singers (soloists)</b> Choir <b>All Blues &amp; Rock singers</b> Celebrant, All	
V. MEDITATION NO. 1	Orchestra	
VI. GLORIA 1. <i>Gloria tibi</i> 2. <i>Gloria in excelsis</i> 3. Trope: <b>"Half of the People"</b>  4. Trope: <b>"Thank You"</b> .	Celebrant, Boys' Choir Choir <b>Street Chorus, Band</b> Choir <b>Street Chorus, Band</b> <b>Soprano Solo, Street Chorus</b> Celebrant	
VII. MEDITATION NO. 2	Orchestra	
VIII. EPISTLE: <b>"The Word of the Lord"</b>	<b>Celebrant, Soloists (2 Young Men, Older Man, Young Girl), Chorus</b>	
IX. GOSPEL-SERMON: <b>"God Said"</b>	<b>Preacher, Chorus</b>	
X. CREDO 1. <i>Credo in unum Deum</i> 2. Trope: <b>Non Credo</b> [Crucifixus] 3. Trope: <b>"Hurry"</b> [Sedet ad dexteram] 4. Trope: <b>"World Without End"</b>  [Et in spiritum Sanctum] 5. Trope: <b>"I Believe in God"</b>	Celebrant Chorus & percussion on Quadrophonic tape <b>Vocal Soloists, Vocal Group</b> Tape <b>Vocal soloist</b> Tape Street Chorus <b>Vocal Soloist</b> Tape <b>Vocal Soloists</b> <b>Vocal Soloists</b> Choir <b>Soloists, Street Choir,</b> Celebrant	
XI. MEDITATION NO. 3 ( <i>De Profundis</i> , 1)	Choir, Celebrant	
XII. OFFERTORY ( <i>De Profundis</i> , part 2)	Boys Choir	
XIII. THE LORD'S PRAYER: 1. Our Father... 2. Trope: <b>"I Go On"</b>	Celebrant <b>Celebrant</b>	
XIV. <b>SANCTUS</b>	<b>Celebrant, Boy's Choir</b> <b>Celebrant</b> Choir, Street Chorus, All	
XV. <b>AGNUS DEI</b>	Grouped Soloists, Street Chorus, Celebrant, Choir <b>Tenor Solo</b> <b>Men (and a few Women)</b> <b>All</b>	
XVI. FRACTION: <b>"Things Get Broken"</b>	Celebrant <b>Celebrant</b>	
XVII. PAX: COMMUNION ("Secret Songs")	Boy Soprano solo, Bass solo, Soprano & Tenor duet, All, Boy Soprano & Celebrant, voice on tape	

Figure 6.3 Structure & Staging Instructions of Leonard Bernstein's *Mass* (1971) with irreligious texts bolded<sup>38</sup><sup>38</sup> Source: Derived from Leonard Bernstein, *Mass [Vocal Score]* (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 2000).

Other changes arising from Vatican II are reflected in Bernstein's *Mass*. Whereas the Council recommended that the Eucharist should be recited in the vernacular, but did not also instruct priests to wear 'vernacular' attire, Bernstein sets liturgical texts in both Latin and English and directs his Celebrant to appear initially in the American 'uniform' of jeans and a simple shirt. Although soon changing into traditional vestments, later the priest will tear them off again.

The encroachment of doubt within the priest that leads to this display is depicted, in "Trope: I don't Know" of the fourth movement, "Confession", which begins

If I could I'd confess  
Good and loud, nice and slow  
Get this load off my chest  
Yes, but how, Lord—I don't know.  
What I say I don't feel,  
What I feel I don't show  
What I show isn't real,  
What is real, Lord—I don't know,  
No, no, no – I don't know.<sup>39</sup>

Doubt escalates to disbelief in the Non-Credo section of the tenth movement, Credo, in which the soloist sings "I'll never say credo, How can anybody say credo?", and culminates during the penultimate, sixteenth movement, Fraction: Things Get Broken, when the celebrant hurls a glass chalice and wooden monstrance to the ground. Despite the singers and dancers cowering in the face of such blasphemy, the celebrant continues to desecrate the ritual objects of the mass, sweeping the altar clean, ripping the altar cloths and waving them in the air. He then jumps up onto the altar to dance upon it while tearing off his vestments and throwing them to the crowd.

Bernstein does not end on this atheistic note in which the priest's faith is broken, however. All through the desecration of the sacred objects the celebrant is providing a running commentary, explaining the rationale for the destructive turn that has been taken. After smashing the glass chalice, the Celebrant picks up some pieces and smashes them again, speaking words whose meaning is not immediately apparent, but will become clearer later:

---

<sup>39</sup> Excerpt from "IV Confession", as presented in the booklet (p.8) accompanying *Leonard Bernstein's Mass: A Theatre Piece for Singers, Players and Dancers*, Leonard Bernstein (cond), Alan Titus (Celebrant), Norman Scribner Choir, The Berkshire Boy Choir, Columbia Masterworks LP M231008, 1971.

Look – isn't that – odd ...  
Glass shines – brighter –  
When it's – broken ...  
I have never noticed that.<sup>40</sup>

After berating his followers for trusting him, the celebrant eventually disappears into the pit, reiterating "How easily things get broken".

Rather than admit defeat, however, the cast slowly returns to the stage in couples singing the Latin word for praise, "*lauda*", and joining hands. The Celebrant too returns. Dressed in jeans and a shirt again, he is an ordinary man. Together the cast and the priest recite a short text that asks for God's blessing, and it becomes apparent that the more brightly shining broken glass of the Fraction is a metaphor for a reinstituted faith that is stronger – or perhaps humbler (and therefore more Christ-like) – than before the crisis of faith erupted.

Bernstein's programme notes for the premiere confirm that "the intention of *Mass* is to communicate as directly and universally as I can a reaffirmation of faith".<sup>41</sup> Clearly this does not mean Bernstein is affirming his belief in Catholic doctrine. According to biographer, Kenneth LaFave, Bernstein's faith embraced "natural law" and was grounded in the "experiential"; it did not constitute a "belief in God or a creed ... but the knowledge that meaning is inherent in human experience ... [and] persists in all things".<sup>42</sup> Rather, *Mass* depicts a reaffirmation of faith that can be universally understood regardless of any particular person's religious persuasion.

### Social consciousness

In addition to its depiction of a crisis of faith, *Mass* is a social commentary. Bernstein states "[a] lot of the *Mass* is about failure, about the fact that we have come to this extraordinary point of evolution and yet we are still killing one another officially, which is an enormous failure of the human race. And it is one of the main things we have to confess in the *Mass*".<sup>43</sup> When Bernstein visited the anti-Vietnam War activist Father Dan Berrigan in prison after receiving the Kennedy Center commission, the Federal Bureau of Investigation believed the composer was planning to humiliate President Nixon by creating a

---

<sup>40</sup> Excerpt from "XVI Fraction 'Things Get Broken'", as presented in the booklet (p.23) accompanying *ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> Leonard Bernstein, *Mass*: Kennedy Center Program, 8 September, 1971, as cited in Paul Hume, "Bernstein's *Mass*: 'A Reaffirmation of Faith'," *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 9 September 1971, 1.

<sup>42</sup> LaFave, *Experiencing Leonard Bernstein*, 169.

<sup>43</sup> Leonard Bernstein in Rosemarie Zadikov, "Bernstein Talks About His Work," *Time*, 20 Sep 1971, 42.

blatantly anti-Vietnam War piece. Yet, as another Bernstein biographer, Barry Seldes outlines, nothing documented about the visit suggests that Bernstein intended to “commit an anarchist or dadaist beige against the president”.<sup>44</sup> *Mass* admits to the late Robert F. Kennedy’s – and Bernstein’s – anti-war stance, particularly in the Epistle section, which includes short letters to and from incarcerated conscientious objectors, but the anti-Vietnam theme is not central to the work. It is Robert F. Kennedy’s Roman Catholic social conscience, his vision of an egalitarian, inclusive America that is presented in the first half of the work; the second half being devoted to the loss and reaffirmation of faith.

Political and humanitarian issues are hinted at in Part IV, Confession, which includes the line “You start by sweeping standards down the well-known drain”, and Part VI Gloria, which cautions that “people... are swimming in the wrong direction”.<sup>45</sup> But they become fully explicit in Part IX Gospel-Sermon. Here Bernstein adapts the creation story from Genesis to have the “Preacher” remonstrate against a number of human failings, beginning with greed:

God...  
created the gnats...  
gnats to nourish the sprats...  
sprats to nurture the rats  
And all for us big fat cats.

Next he remonstrates against environmental carelessness:

God said to take charge of my zoo  
... he won’t mind if we  
wipe out a species or two;

next against sexual prudery:

God said that sex should repulse  
Unless it leads to results;

next against part-time Christianity:

God said it’s good to be meek  
And so we are once a week;

---

<sup>44</sup> Barry Seldes, *Leonard Bernstein: The Political Life of an American Musician* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2009), 120-25.

<sup>45</sup> As presented in booklet (p.8; 9) accompanying *Leonard Bernstein's Mass: A Theatre Piece for Singers, Players and Dancers*, (1971).



and finally, against both forced religious conversion and a perversion of God's trust:

God made us the boss  
 God gave us the cross  
 We turned it into a sword  
 To spread the word of the Lord  
 We use his holy decrees  
 To do whatever we please<sup>46</sup>

The ironic statements, liberally interspersed with the acclamation "And it was good!" from the choir, are styled to appeal to a generation of youth and others who had been protesting against conservative social and economic policies that discriminated against minorities and resulted in perceived inequities in wealth distribution.

Similarly, the music is of a style that, like Bernstein's music for *West Side Story* (1957), appeals to a wide range of people, if not those who listen exclusively to the works of the western art music canon, or to avant-garde music. For Hugo Cole, reviewing the first recording of *Mass*, Bernstein may well have "accept[ed] the Broadway conventions: that music must be easily assimilable ...", but, he cautions, "for the 'serious' listener ... the main stumbling-block may not be Bernstein's use or misuse of popular idioms, but his casual way with the idioms and vocabularies of the great [that he appropriated]".<sup>47</sup> For those who are unfamiliar with the "greats" of the canon, however, Bernstein's choices are not problematic. As LaFavre notes, "*Mass* is an energetic overflow of melodic invention sparked by the composer's encounters with the new forms and freedoms of popular music".<sup>48</sup> As far as the work's religious aspects are concerned, Cole barely considers this, opining only that Bernstein "lays] himself open to accusations of bad taste" but believes this will pass. "What will remain" he concludes, "is the composition and the quality of musical invention".<sup>49</sup>

#### Detractors

*Mass* would fuel more than accusations of bad taste, however. As the reception data shows, some people could not accept *Mass* on the terms laid out by the composer, finding the work to be heretical.

---

<sup>46</sup> Excerpt from "IX. Gospel-Sermon: 'God Said'", as presented in booklet (p.12-13) accompanying *ibid*.

<sup>47</sup> Hugo Cole, "Bernstein: *Mass*, a Theatre Piece for Singers, Players and Dancers. Alan Titus (vocalist), Norman Scribner Choir, Berkshire Boy Choir, Orchestra, c. Leonard Bernstein CBS 77256 (2 record set) [Review]," *Tempo* New Series, no. 103 (1972): 58.

<sup>48</sup> LaFave, *Experiencing Leonard Bernstein*, 154.

<sup>49</sup> Cole, "Bernstein: *Mass*," 58.

A *Washington Post* reporter advises that an unidentified female who attended a performance ten days after the premiere cried out during the offertory "Pagan! This is not Christian!"<sup>50</sup> Later, in the silence following the Celebrant's throwing down of the monstrance and chalice, she denounces the work entirely, crying "[t]his is sacrilegious" with such vehemence and timing that some believed, erroneously, that it was staged.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, Dolores Lawless in her letter to the editor of the *Spokane Daily Chronicle* remonstrates that *Mass* "is the ultimate in blasphemy".<sup>52</sup> She does not believe that any priest would act as the celebrant does in *Mass*: "[f]or the celebrant (priest) in the opera, who believes that Jesus Christ is truly present in the Holy Eucharist, to throw down on the floor the consecrated Host and chalice is a horrible sacrilege".<sup>53</sup> Of course, the priest has lost his faith when he is smashing the chalice, but the fact that Lawless disregards this is less relevant than that *Mass* provoked such a strong response from her.

From another perspective, Julius Novik of New York's alternative weekly newspaper, *The Village Voice* was waspish about Bernstein's inclusion of the Kedusha, a sacred Jewish text that, whether Novick was aware of this or not, parallel's the Sanctus in meaning and biblical provenance. Novik states

The nadir of the evening, for me personally, comes in the 'Sanctus,' when the Celebrant suddenly segues from Latin into Hebrew: Kadosh! Kadosh! Kadosh!" ... I was offended at hearing a Hebrew prayer ripped off and stuck into this high-fashion equivalent of the Greater Easter Show at the Radio City Music Hall, for the benefit of Mr Bernstein's smarmy ecumenicism [*sic*].<sup>54</sup>

More thoughtfully, Travis Yeager has framed a contrary argument, placing *Mass* within the Jewish tradition of challenging God:

*Mass* can be seen as part of a Jewish tradition of chutzpah k'lapei shamaya – a boldness with regard to heaven, even to the point of argument with or against God – a tradition that began with the Biblical Abraham and continued into the twentieth century. In this context,

---

<sup>50</sup> Paul Hume, "At Mass: 'This is Sacrilegious!'," *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 20 September 1971, B3.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Dolores Lawless, "Bernstein Mass Said Blasphemy," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, 19 Oct 1976, 35.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Julius Novick, "Bernstein's Mass Production," *The Village Voice*, 6 July 1972, 45. The relationship between the Sanctus and the Kedusha is explained in Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, 108-21, particularly pp.109-10 and pp.120-21.

elements of Bernstein's *Mass* that shock traditional Christian sensibilities may be seen rather as a modern Jewish artist's attempt to 'wrestle with God'.<sup>55</sup>

This opinion accords with Bernstein's explanation of *Mass* in an interview for *Time* magazine shortly after the premier:

... you are attending a *Mass*... and as it goes along simultaneously there are thoughts, reactions, objections, questions, doubts, emotions engendered by the liturgy itself. The *Mass* is constantly interrupted by these thoughts: 'Wait a minute! Just hold it for a second! I have a question about that, or I do not believe that'. All these interruptive thoughts are actually prayers in themselves. No matter how violent they are, no matter how angry they are, they are prayers born of an immense desire to believe, which is in conflict with the inability to go along blindly with it. It is a prayer. It is wanting to believe.<sup>56</sup>

From the Roman Catholic authorities, the verdict was mixed. Those who declared it to be inappropriate included the Knights of Columbus and Cardinal Terence Cooke who, as Archbishop of New York, had interred Robert F. Kennedy after his assassination in 1968.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, the Cincinnati Archbishop Paul Francis Leibold, who never actually attended *Mass*, decried it as a "blatant sacrilege against all we hold sacred".<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the Church granted a "muted" acceptance of *Mass*, acknowledging its status as a theatrical work that used the narrative structure of the liturgy to engage with issues of social consciousness, and to carry the story of a priest's doubt that is ultimately overcome.<sup>59</sup> In fact, Pope Paul VI would ask Bernstein to conduct a concert at the Vatican two years later during the pontiff's tenth-anniversary celebrations, demonstrating that no recrimination was felt.<sup>60</sup>

## Conclusion

Davies's *Missa Super L'homme Armé* and Bernstein's *Mass* are controversial works and as such are important catalysts for further expansions of the ambit of concert masses. Both demonstrate the potential for the concert mass to act as provocateur. Davies's *Missa Super L'homme Armé* uses the

---

<sup>55</sup> Travis Yeager, "Abstract: Bernstein's Chutzpah: *Mass* and the Jewish Tradition of Argument with God," in 31st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Music (Eugene, Oregon Feb 2005), digital version accessed 27 Jan 2015, [https://www.academia.edu/2126197/Bernsteins\\_Chutzpah\\_Mass\\_and\\_the\\_Jewish\\_Tradition\\_of\\_Argument\\_with\\_God](https://www.academia.edu/2126197/Bernsteins_Chutzpah_Mass_and_the_Jewish_Tradition_of_Argument_with_God). A similar line is taken in Jack Gottlieb, "A Jewish *Mass* or a Catholic *Mitzvah*?", *Journal of Synagogue Music* 3, no. 4 (1971).

<sup>56</sup> Leonard Bernstein in Zadikov, "Bernstein Talks About His Work," 42.

<sup>57</sup> Seldes, *Leonard Bernstein*, 240 n97.

<sup>58</sup> As quoted in Jane Boutwell, "The Talk of the Town - *Mass*," *The New Yorker*, 10 Jun 1972, 25.

<sup>59</sup> Marchand, "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council," 127.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. Also, Joan Peyser, *Leonard Bernstein* (London: Bantam Press, 1987), 373.

theme of betrayal within the context of Christianity to invite critical contemplation of the ideals that Christ expounded. He draws on the mass symbolically – through the work's title and the Renaissance musical material – to link Christianity with betrayal, and to question Christianity's role in modern life. In keeping with the provocative stance of the long 1960s, his work is challenging both in its musical content and its message. Yet it is also open-ended. Davies finds and provides no answers to the questions he provokes. In this his music fits with the experimental musical style, which "observes"; it does not conclude.

Where Davies leaves room for doubt but none for certainty, Bernstein focuses heavily on doubt yet concludes with certainty. There is a God, *Mass* affirms, thereby maintaining the status quo of the religion that provided Bernstein with a musical form to work with. Where *Mass* retains is provocation, however, is in its wrestling with social issues of the time, including conscription, poverty, environmental degradation, and sexuality. Ultimately, Bernstein too speaks of humanity's betrayal of the ideals encapsulated in Christ's teaching, berating those who have exchanged the cross of the crucifixion for the sword of self-interest.

While neither mass has inspired any further masses that so bombastically critique the foundations of Christianity, what both composers have done is show the potential for the mass to be used in alternative formats. From this point on, masses would begin to incorporate views regarding ritual, profanity, sexuality, and environmentalism, thereby extending the form beyond its Catholic doctrinal boundaries. In addition, masses would begin to incorporate the music and texts of other religions, and to promote alternative spiritualities. Accordingly, *Missa Super L'homme Armé* and *Mass* signal the coming of age of the idea that concert masses could be composed solely for the concert hall, with no liturgical aspirations.

By the middle of the 1970s, the public protest rally was waning, but the parallel peace and love counter-cultural hippy movement of the long 1960s, particularly its interest in other spiritualities, would live on and have persuasive impact as Western societies contend with the presence of both secularism and increasing numbers of non-Christian religions, all constituting strong challenges to the hegemony of Christian faith. The masses to be discussed in the next chapter are not aggressive protests, but rather positive celebrations of life that nonetheless recommend new ways of approaching religion in a world where the word 'West' was no longer synonymous with the word 'Christendom.'



## Chapter 7 Expanding the mass into new territories

As the 1970s progressed, the passion associated with the protests of the long 1960s lost impetus due to a growing impatience with the means of protest, such as marches, sit-ins and boycotts, which were perceived to be ineffectual.<sup>1</sup> The activists within those Western societies that had felt the full thrust of the movement turned away from revolutionary models, finding alternative means of expressing their dissatisfaction, settling back into a more evolutionary mode in which change becomes an almost imperceptible phenomenon that relies upon apathy as much as it does on the active will of the people. Those who continued to act were likely to do so in a variety of new ways that were less likely to involve public displays of aggression – passive or otherwise. They might establish or join a new religion, a commune, or a social movement, such as those supporting feminism, gay rights, or ecology; others might escape to the self-sufficiency of rural living.<sup>2</sup> In a hyperbolic example of the change of mood in the 1970s, PDQ Bach (Peter Shikele)'s spoof mass *Misa Hilarious* (c1977) replaces religion with comedy.

The turn away from aggression is reflected in the concert masses to be discussed in this chapter, which are either only quietly subversive in their protest, or relatively benign, ultimately endorsing at least broadly Christian ideals, if not the entirety of Roman Catholic dogma and doctrine.

---

<sup>1</sup> Stephen A. Kent, *From Slogans to Mantras: Social Protest and Religious Conversion in the Late Vietnam Era*, ed. Michael Barkun, Religion and Politics (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 2.

The first is Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum (Folk Song Mass)* (1975), which includes portions of folksong lyrics set among the standard liturgical texts and calls for religion to encompass all aspects of life. The second is David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* (1973), a large-scale concert piece that reflects Fanshawe's belief that all people, regardless of their actual religious affiliation, believe in the same One God. *African Sanctus* comprises an amalgam of Christian, African, and Islamic religions and joins the flow of masses that use peace as a central theme.<sup>3</sup> In both of these works the concert mass becomes a religious signifier that goes beyond its traditional Roman Catholic boundaries to create new meaning.

While Fanshawe and Chihara are open about their agendas, other composers have imbued their masses with a more subversive agenda. Equally passive in their musical and linguistic content, the implicit protest is only uncovered through research and insider knowledge.

#### SUBVERSIVE PROTESTS

An early example of subversive protest can be found in a South African mass composed by Arnold van Wyk (1916-1983) at a time when the modification of racial segregation legislation was only beginning to be contemplated in Southern Africa. Commissioned by the town of Stellenbosch to create a large-scale patriotic work for its tercentenary celebrations in 1979, van Wyk proposed pulling a partially completed mass from his bottom drawer and recommencing work on it. As Stephan Muller puts it "for this Calvinist town, for performance in a Dutch-Reformed Church, [van Wyk proposed instead] an a capella Roman Catholic Mass".<sup>4</sup> According to Muller and his colleague Martina Viljoen, van Wyk did so as a private protest against apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism.<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly, Van Wyk's proposal was accepted by the celebration committee, although with the concession of an orchestra being included, and the contextually ironic *Missa in illo tempore* was created and performed to commemorate three hundred years of Dutch colonial occupation of Stellenbosch.

---

<sup>3</sup> Peace masses since the 1960s include Mary Lou Williams's, *Mary Lou's Mass: Music for Peace* (1969); Seóirse Bodley's *Mass of Peace* (1976); Aloys Fleischmann's, *Mass for Peace* (1976); T. C. Kelly's *Mass for Peace* (1976); Gotthilf Fisher's *Friedenmesse*, which was presented to President Jimmy Carter by the composer in 1978, Edward Gregson's *Missa Brevis Pacem* of 1987 which replaces the Credo with a poem titled "Peace in our Time," by Gregson's wife, Susan; Virgilio Mortari's, *Missa pro pace* (1983), Bob Chilcott's *Peace Mass* (1998); Roland Corijn's, *Missa 'Da pacem'* (1998); Karl Jenkins's *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* (2000), and a compilation mass by Choir Director, Joseph Jennings which brings five newly commissioned works by different composers together in *And on Earth Peace: A Chanticleer Mass* (2007).

<sup>4</sup> Stephanus Muller, "Arnold Van Wyk's Hard, Stony, Flinty Path, or Making Things Beautiful in Apartheid South Africa," *Musical Times* 149, no. 1905 (2008): 76.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 75-78. and Martina Viljoen, "Ideology and Textuality: Speculating on the Boundaries of Music.," *Scrutiny* 29, no. 1 (2004): 74-78.

A second example of a hidden protest encoded into a mass relates to a setting by Gian Carlo Menotti (1911-2007) who believed Roman Catholic dogma regarding homosexuality to be in error.<sup>6</sup> Despite this, Menotti wanted to compose a mass and asked the Bel Canto Chorus to commission him to do so. According to David Tolan, a board member of the Chorus, Menotti wanted to compose a mass because he was “a 19<sup>th</sup> century composer, writing in the twentieth century [... and] all great 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century composers from Bach to Brahms wrote masses”. Tolan obtained \$25,000 to fund the commission from “a conservative Catholic Foundation that needed to spend some money in order to meet the distribution requirements of the Internal Revenue Code”.

Menotti refused, however, to set the Credo. Tolan explains Menotti’s reasons as follows:

Why not a Credo? He did not tell me directly, but we were fairly close during the composition period (some of it was done in my mother's apartment), and I understood that his (Menotti’s) objection [to setting the Credo] was not his belief in God, but his strong feelings about the Council of Nicea [325CE] (which wrote the Nicene Creed, aka the Latin "Credo"). The Christian Church of the first millennia [*sic*] was no more tolerant of homosexuality than that of the century in which he composed.<sup>7</sup>

It was believed that Menotti’s reasons for wanting to omit the Credo could not be divulged to the Foundation because it was likely that they would withdraw their funding. As a solution, Tolan reports, the conductor of the Chorus, James Keeley suggested that Menotti set the text of *O Pulchritudo* from St Augustine’s (354-430CE) *Confessions* as a motet. *O Pulchritudo* is a plaintive text of love, which in English translation begins “O beauty, ever old and ever new, too late have I loved you. You were ever at my side, but I was far from You”.<sup>8</sup>

Applying a broad interpretative brush to Augustine’s musings about beauty in *Confessions*, the question and answer “[w]hat is it that charms and attracts us to the things we love? It must be the grace and loveliness inherent in them, or they would in no way move us” (4.13.20), would have had a special resonance for Menotti, given his sexual orientation.<sup>9</sup> Similarly the ode to beauty that is *O Pulchritudo* would have had its own meaning for him. Just as feminist, Margaret Miles can discount Augustine’s

---

<sup>6</sup> The Roman Catholic Church calls homosexuals “to a chaste life”. Pope John Paul II, "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons".

<sup>7</sup> David Tolan, email correspondence, 6 Dec 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Translation as per vocal score, “Text of Missa ‘O Pulchritudo’,” Gian Carlo Menotti, *Missa ‘O Pulchritudo’ : for mixed chorus, soloists, and orchestra*, Vocal Score ed. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1984), n.p.

<sup>9</sup> Saint Augustine, *Confessions: Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Henry Chadwick* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 64-65.

non-feminist stance as being in-keeping with the theologian's time in history and still gain meaning from the Augustine's thoughts, so too can Menotti read *Confessions* from his own perspective. As Miles puts it with regard to her reconciliation of Augustine's implicit chauvinism:

I can take up Augustine's task of strenuous critique and reconstruction rather than his conclusions ... I can allow Augustine's intense vision of the Great Beauty to alert me to its presence – a presence Augustine himself saw as above the vicissitudes of human life – within the sensuous sensible world, in human relationships, and in passionate longing in its myriad beautiful and unbeautiful forms.<sup>10</sup>

While a theologian might feel compelled to object to such a line of thinking, in a non-conformist relativist-oriented twentieth century, Augustine's words can still hold personal currency.<sup>11</sup> Menotti knew he could not publically state the true reason for the omission of the Credo, but he could set *O Pulchritudo* in a way that satisfied his own sensitivities.

Once Menotti agreed, Tolan went to the sponsors with Keeley's theological explanation "that Augustine was using 'Pulchritudo' as a metaphor for Christ, and, by extension, for the Sacred Heart".<sup>12</sup> This was accepted, and Tolan succeeded in gaining the Foundation's acquiescence to the motet's inclusion and the Credo's omission.<sup>13</sup> The full name of Menotti's mass, completed in 1979, is *Missa 'O Pulchritudo' in Honorem Sacratissimi Cordis Jesus* (Oh Beauty! Mass in Honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus).

It appears that Menotti was more pragmatic about a smaller commission that he accepted six years after he completed *Missa 'O Pulchritudo'*. In 1985 he composed *Mass for the Contemporary English Liturgy* for Congregation SATB Chorus (optional) and organ. A thanksgiving gift of Anthony and Louise Anna Carozza in celebration of Maryland's 350th anniversary, the mass was commissioned by the Paul VI Institute for the Arts of the Archdiocese of Washington DC.<sup>14</sup> The short, nine-minute mass set the entire Ordinary, including the Credo. Perhaps the fact that this mass, unlike *Missa 'O Pulchritudo'*, was destined for church performance, and was less likely to be heard in concert halls that attracted larger, more mixed audiences, was a factor in his decision-making.

---

<sup>10</sup> Margaret R. Miles, *Desire and Delight: A New Reading of Augustine's Confessions* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 138.

<sup>11</sup> This is not to imply that relativism is a useful human construct, but rather to acknowledge that it became a popular way of rationalising the different views and beliefs arising from increasingly diverse cultures and religions in Western societies.

<sup>12</sup> David Tolan, email correspondence, 6 Dec 2011.

<sup>13</sup> David Tolan, email correspondence, 6 Dec 2011

<sup>14</sup> Gian Carlo Menotti, *Mass : For the Contemporary English Liturgy : Congregation, SATB chorus (optional), and organ* (New York; Milwaukee, WI: G. Schirmer; Distributed by Hal Leonard Pub. Corp., 1990).



From a faith perspective, the current Music Director of the Bel Canto Chorus, Richard Hynson, suggests that Menotti was ambivalent about religion (a view shared by Tolan):

My sense about Menotti's refusal to set the Credo text is that he, like other 20th century composers from Ralph Vaughan Williams to John Rutter, was a spiritual man that abstained from organized religion. Music can express so much profound spiritual emotion without getting bogged down in the minutiae of doctrine, don't you think?<sup>15</sup>

Such a position might well apply to any non-Catholic composer of concert masses who was some level of religious faith. Certainly, as discussed in Chapter 4, Lou Harrison also omitted the Credo in *Mass for St Cecilia's Day* because he could not set a text he did not believe in. Similarly, the composers of the main masses to be discussed in this chapter employed strategies to accommodate their non-conformity with the entirety of the Christian teaching of their denomination.

#### Fanshawe and Chihara: similarities and differences

Chihara and Fanshawe were both formed within Christian religions. Fanshawe was a lifelong practicing member of the Church of England while Chihara was educated in the Catholic system.<sup>16</sup> Despite this, neither composer felt empowered by his confessional upbringing to create music that was for the Roman Catholic or Anglican Churches, but rather composed religious music – concert masses – for performance in secular venues. In so doing, they provide examples of a prevailing new mode of living in Western societies: a modality of non-conformity.<sup>17</sup>

Stemming from the emancipation of the individual in the nineteenth century, itself a product of earlier and ongoing technological, economic and political developments, by the 1970s the freedom to make choices based primarily on individual preference had become the backbone of Western material culture; a culture that relied upon non-conformism to support the manufacture and design of an ever-increasing range of products and services. Ironically, popular culture is remarkable for its reliance upon conformity among large groups within society; nevertheless, fully embedded in market capitalism is an acknowledgement that non-conformity, particularly linked to the desire for novelty, drives a desire for new products, with their potential for further economic gain, and should also be encouraged.

---

<sup>15</sup> Richard Hynson, email correspondence, 30 Nov 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Chihara advises that he and his three siblings “were all baptized and educated in parochial schools (and in my case, for one year at a Jesuit university)” and that he is “still a Christian, though no longer a practicing Catholic”. Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 23 Oct 2011.

<sup>17</sup> McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, 29.

Just as the variety of products available to consumers escalated rapidly in the 1970s, “individual choice played an increasing role” in religion and spirituality too.<sup>18</sup> With obligatory conformity waning, even church-goers in the West began to “resolve many moral and doctrinal issues in their own way”, rather than blindly follow the dictates of their religion. Furthermore, those who “retained some links with Christianity” but no longer went to church were only barely governed by their formation within a Christian household, while subsequent generations would make “a clear break from Christianity” absorbing their morality from secular culture.<sup>19</sup>

Fanshawe and Chihara were born before non-conformity had gained its greatest impetus, but growing up in situations marked by difference, their creative output followed unique paths. Chihara is a Japanese American who, as discussed below, was interned as a child during the Second World War. Although treated as an enemy of the state during the war years, subsequently he benefitted from his status as a minority American. The affirmative action policies of the USA at the time he was undergoing his tertiary studies helped rather than hindered his prospects, and saw him completing a master’s degree in English Literature and then a DMA in composition at Cornell University.<sup>20</sup>

Fanshawe was born into a world of privilege as the son of an Indian-based lieutenant colonel, living within the British Raj during his early years and holidays, and attending exclusive British boarding schools from primary school onwards.<sup>21</sup> Although suffering from dyslexia and having had little formal education in music, Fanshawe’s personality, imagination, raw musicality and social position brought the attention of benefactors.<sup>22</sup> Accepted into the composition course of the Royal Academy of Music on full scholarship in 1965, he would later be granted funding by the Ralph Vaughan Williams Trust to collect traditional music.<sup>23</sup> The processes of travelling through North and East Africa recording music inspired Fanshawe’s mass.

While both Chihara and Fanshawe were trained in institutions that concentrated on furthering the Western art music tradition, both of their masses are influenced by popular culture. The 1973 recording of David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* is shaped by the skills of popular music

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 261-62.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 262. It is acknowledged that secular Western culture remains largely a product of Christian tradition; however, the impact of ongoing immigration policies brings a greater range of cultural co-contributors to Western societies.

<sup>20</sup> Liner notes, *Missa Carminum Brevis (Folk Song Mass); Magnificat; Ave Maria/Scarborough Fair*, American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, Composers Recordings LP CRI SD 409, 1979. Digitised copy accessed 5 May 2015, <http://www.newworldrecords.org/uploads/fileYh73l.pdf>. Chihara studied language compounds in Beowulf for his MA thesis. Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 23 Nov 2011.

<sup>21</sup> See the biographical sketch in Thielen-Gaffey, “David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus*,” 3-4.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., xii; 6-11.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

producer, Peter Olliff, and contains an electric guitar solo, while Chihara's *Missa Carminum* incorporates folk songs that had been recently popularised by recording artists such as Joan Baez.<sup>24</sup> This indicates that both composers wished their works to attract a broad audience than they would if composing strictly according to the tastes of the avant garde, which dominated Western art music at the time.

Nonetheless, both are serious art works and as such, demonstrate that the hegemony of the modernist school, characterised by Schoenberg then Webern and Berg, was being ever more successfully challenged. Moderates, who were more inclined to bring a variety of influences to bear on predominantly tonal music, were creating pieces that were more broadly accessible than the works of those who were inclined towards the principles expounded by the Second Viennese School and its subsequent strands.<sup>25</sup>

Chihara describes the situation of those studying composition in the 1960s as follows:

During the sixties in the West (especially in the East Coast [USA] musical and academic establishment) the world of serialism ruled, unless you were working in Hollywood or on Broadway. In fact, the division between classical and commercial music was almost totally defined by the schools of serial versus tonal music. We young lions of the "avant-garde" (as we laughingly called ourselves then) composed ardently and skillfully in the various developing schools of serialism, without which advancement in contemporary music was very difficult.<sup>26</sup>

Having gained a love for musicals as a child, Chihara found his composition teachers were "amused by [his] obvious love of popular and film music", continuing to train him in the techniques of the avant garde.<sup>27</sup>

*Missa Carminum's* blend of a modernist approach with traditional folk songs has resulted in its relative marginalisation as a performance piece compared to the high-profile success of *African Sanctus*;

---

<sup>24</sup> Olliff's influence is discussed in *ibid.*, 62-64.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion on the coexistence of the moderate and modernist mainstreams in the 1970s see Arnold Whittall, "Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream 1945-75," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014). The idea of multiple mainstreams is discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>26</sup> Chihara's first tonal work was a score for the film *Death Race 2000* which was completed in the same year as *Missa Carminum*. Paul Chihara, in David Deboor Canfield, "The Viola in his Life: An Interview with Paul Chihara," *Fanfare* 36, no. 5 (May/June 2013): 131; 133.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

nevertheless, Chihara's score is published by Peters and his composition credits are lengthy, spanning a wide spectrum of musics, including experimental music, symphonies, concertos, assorted works for small instrumental ensembles, and numerous film and TV series scores, including *Prince of the City* (1981) and 55 episodes of the TV series *China Beach* (1988-1991).<sup>28</sup>

Conversely, Fanshawe's primary life endeavour was not composition, but rather the collection and distribution of indigenous musics from the Pacific and Africa, and the promotion of *African Sanctus* as a performance piece. Both were successful enterprises.<sup>29</sup> His concert mass has proven a perennial favourite among choir directors, with over one thousand performances staged since the score was published in 1977, some five hundred of those performances supervised by Fanshawe himself.<sup>30</sup> The work quickly developed into a multi-media extravaganza that often incorporates a slide show of photographs taken by Fanshawe during his travels, and sometimes includes dance. It has been presented in such diverse locations as Johannesburg, Los Angeles, Sydney, Nairobi, Washington, Edinburgh, Budapest, Copenhagen, London, New York, and Taiwan, among many others, and continues to be performed today.<sup>31</sup> In May 2014, the South Korean premiere was performed at the Chungdong First Methodist Church in central Seoul.<sup>32</sup> In November 2014 it was performed with Fanshawe's slide show in the Napa Valley, California during a tribute concert honouring Nelson Mandela and Maya Angelou.<sup>33</sup> Further demonstrating and supporting its ongoing popularity, the official *African Sanctus* website accepts notifications of forthcoming performances and advertises them on a dedicated webpage.<sup>34</sup>

Both *Missa Carminum* and *African Sanctus* have been the subject of previous scholarly study, although in the case of *Missa Carminum*, the author, Steven Fraider covers only the earlier *missa brevis* version of the work, which does not yet contain the Gloria and Sanctus. Fraider also approaches the work from

---

<sup>28</sup> Paul Chihara, *Missa Carminum: "Folk song Mass": mixed voices (SATB-SATB) a cappella*, Edition Peters (New York: Henmar Press, 1978). Links to a biography, discography and catalogue of works can be found at "Home," Paul Seiko Chihara, accessed 3 Jan 2015, <http://www.paulchihara.com/>. The website does not appear to have been updated since Chihara resigned from his position as head of film music at UCLA in March 2014.

<sup>29</sup> A discography of those of Fanshawe's recordings that have been made commercially available can be found at "Fanshawe Discography," Fanshawe One World Music, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.fanshawe.com/discography.asp>.

<sup>30</sup> This information is provided by David Fanshawe and his wife Jane Fanshawe, who have maintained an extensive record of *African Sanctus*' performance history.

<sup>31</sup> "History of African Sanctus," African Sanctus, accessed 13 Jan 2015, <http://www.africansanctus.com/history.asp>.

<sup>32</sup> John Redmond, "Camarata Music Company will Present 'African Sanctus'," *The Korea Times* (15 April 2014), accessed 14 April 2015, [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2014/09/177\\_155447.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2014/09/177_155447.html)

<sup>33</sup> "African Sanctus: A tribute to Nelson Mandela and Maya Angelou at NVC," *Napa Valley Register.com* (12 Nov 2014), accessed 11 April 2015, [http://napavalleyregister.com/entertainment/arts-and-theatre/african-sanctus-a-tribute-to-nelson-mandela-and-maya-angelou/article\\_eab86f0c-e91a-59c2-9cba-6ab55083b3f3.html](http://napavalleyregister.com/entertainment/arts-and-theatre/african-sanctus-a-tribute-to-nelson-mandela-and-maya-angelou/article_eab86f0c-e91a-59c2-9cba-6ab55083b3f3.html).

<sup>34</sup> "Forthcoming Concerts," *African Sanctus*, accessed 5 May 2015, <http://www.africansanctus.com/concerts.asp>.

a technically oriented, choral director's perspective which is of less relevance to this thesis.<sup>35</sup> Having recently published an article about *Missa Carminum* myself, many of the points made here are supported by the research and analysis presented in that article.<sup>36</sup> *African Sanctus* has been the subject of both a Masters and a PhD thesis, each grappling to some extent with the ethical and theological underpinnings of the work.<sup>37</sup>

### PAUL CHIHARA'S *MISSA CARMINUM: FOLK SONG MASS* (1975)

Paul Seiko Chihara was born of Japanese parents in Seattle, USA, in 1938. At the age of four, he was taken to the World War II relocation camp, Minidoka in Idaho.<sup>38</sup> Whereas his parents felt "heartache, terror, rage and humiliation" during their internment, for Chihara "it was an adventure".<sup>39</sup> In particular, the presence of Roman Catholic missionaries made camp life more bearable. The missionaries did not restrict themselves to spiritual matters, but also contributed to the physical and emotional wellbeing of those incarcerated.<sup>40</sup> Sixty-nine years later, in 2011, Chihara acknowledges that such experiences as Minidoka had cultivated a need throughout his life to "attempt to reconcile opposites, usually violently conflicting opposites".<sup>41</sup> His father was a martial arts sensei (teacher) and, despite attaining a black belt, Chihara reports he was merely accommodating his father; he had no interest in fighting, preferring musical pursuits.<sup>42</sup>

The opposites he strives to reconcile in *Missa Carminum* are the concepts of the sacred and the profane, the latter being defined as "that sector of life which is not considered to be of direct religious

---

<sup>35</sup> Steven Fraider, "The Style of Paul Chihara in the *Missa Carminum Brevis* and its Influence on Interpretation" (MA, California State University, Fullerton, 1976).

<sup>36</sup> Stephanie Rocke, "Blending the Sacred and the Profane: Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)," *Eras* 16, no. 1: Music and Metamorphosis Special Edition (2014).

<sup>37</sup> Kennedy, "Europe Meets Africa."; Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*."

<sup>38</sup> Reflections upon this experience appear in Paul Chihara, "Farewell to Minidoka," (Unpublished memoirs, 2010). Located in Idaho, Minidoka was one of several camps set up to provide basic accommodation for west coast Japanese-Americans who were required to move inland several months after the Japanese Navy attacked the U.S. Naval Station, Pearl Harbour, in Hawaii on 7 December 1941. Anyone with 1/16<sup>th</sup> Japanese blood or more was affected, resulting in 12,892 people being relocated from Washington State alone. See Elizabeth Becker, "Private Idaho," *New Republic* 206, no. 18 (1992). The relocation was a result of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 signed on 19 Feb 1942. See "Proclamation 7395--Establishment of the Minidoka Internment National Monument," *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, 2001/01/22/ 2001.

<sup>39</sup> Chihara, "Farewell to Minidoka".

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 23 Oct 2011.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 23 Oct 2011. Taken to the camp from his home in Seattle at the age of four, Chihara's performance career began with impromptu singing in the canteen there. For further background see the extensive interview by David Deboor Canfield, "The Viola in his Life: An Interview with Paul Chihara," *Fanfare* 4 April 2013. Also see Richard Swift and Steve Metcalf, "Chihara, Paul," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05579>.

significance".<sup>43</sup> While the boundary between the sacred and profane shifts within the variety of religions that make up modern-day "Christendom", R. A. Markus argues that it is only within Christianity that such boundaries were created: "in the non-Christian world [of antiquity] religion touched everything".<sup>44</sup>

Inspired by the idea of Leonard Bernstein's controversial theatre piece, *Mass* (1971) (discussed in the previous chapter), Chihara was prompted to compose a non-liturgical mass also, but to broach the idea of questioning religious practice more passively. Whereas secular culture and religious ritual clash in Bernstein's *Mass*, Chihara strives for an empathetic blend of the two in *Missa Carminum*. Nonetheless, he proposes that the divide between the sacred and the profane realms of earthly life is a modernist construct that should be broken down. In particular, Chihara draws on popular folk songs, most of which speak of unrequited love, to explicitly parallel physical human love (*eros*) with love of the divine. For Chihara "my Mass was in the spirit of courtly love – that is a deification of erotic love as a tribute to spiritual purity".<sup>45</sup>

The theme of unrequited love is not without precedent in the mass oeuvre. The *cantus firmus* in Guillaume Dufay's mid-fifteenth-century *Missa se la face ay pale*, for example, utilises a ballade on this theme. In bringing this secular song into a mass, Dufay implies a conceptual link between a man's devotion to a living woman of exquisite perfection who is impervious to his admiration, and devotion to the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, who is the archetypical pure but inaccessible woman. Sacred music on a Marian theme was common in the Renaissance, including motets, madrigals and masses such as those titled *Ave Maris Stella*, *De beata Virgine*, and *O rosa bella*, among others.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, Leo Black treats with the idea of *eros* paralleling devotion to God in writing about the Benedictus of Schubert's C Major *Mass*. Citing W.H. Auden, Black argues that

it may seem strange to admit erotic links to other humans into a consideration of 'right and true devotion' – but who save a total misanthrope can fail to sense a mysterious attraction

<sup>43</sup> R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 15.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 3 July 2014. As he advises: "This tradition of erotic in religious love was especially strong in the seventeenth century during the Counter-Reformation, with its mystical meditations on extreme physical and mental transformations – the erotic becoming ecstasy engendering moments of spiritual arousal. And the Pre-Raphaelites in England (many of whose members were Roman Catholic) constantly crossed the line between physical and spiritual fulfillment. Medea, Ophelia, Proserpine were often painted in a style reminiscent of Renaissance images of the Virgin Mary".

<sup>46</sup> Of the 689 masses composed between 1440 and 1520 that are listed on Robert C. Wegman's website, approximately 7% have a Marian theme. Robert C. Wegman, "All Known Masses," Renaissance Masses 1440-1520, accessed 6 Jan 2015, <http://www.robcwegman.org/mass.htm>.

to others, having little to do with reason, achievement or even obvious sexual chemistry, and everything to do with irrational perceptions, intuitions that defy conscious formulation.<sup>47</sup>

But in terms of the melodic material for *Missa Carminum*, whereas Dufay and the other Renaissance composers who composed Marian masses selected a single song and did not set its text, using only the melody as a *cantus firmus*, Chihara not only selects and uses multiple songs in his mass, but he also sets some of the words from them, mixing them in with the traditional liturgical texts. Comprising five movements, the title of each movement except the Gloria ties a specific folk song to the traditional Latin name. I Kyrie-Sally Gardens, II Gloria, III Sanctus-Willow Song, IV Benedictus-The Houlihan, V Agnus Dei-I once loved a boy. The portion of each of the folk songs that are set in *Missa Carminum* appears in Figure 7.1.

Approaching his potentially controversial task with care, Chihara works with a folklore expert, Erika Brady, in order to select folksongs that are suitable.<sup>48</sup> When deciding which songs to use he searches for those that match the section of the liturgy that will be heard concurrently, drawing on a strong knowledge of Catholic ritual and theology acquired during his Catholic education. In doing so he demonstrates a respect for Catholic traditions. He further acknowledges the Christian heritage of the concert mass by adopting the musical techniques and gestures of Medieval and Renaissance polyphonic masses, which he adapts to a twentieth-century harmonic idiom. This is not an impulsively-conceived concert mass of the strident sixties, but a work of the seventies in which peace and love has more traction than aggressive protest. As “a particularly visible and active member... of the anti-war generation”, Chihara still wanted to change the world, but more gently.<sup>49</sup>

For those of us who lived through that time, and we were very young, [the Vietnam War] was a terrible reality because we all had friends who literally were with us one day and dead the next. It was not just a chic political stance that we took—we were really concerned about many, many serious things.<sup>50</sup>

Although the USA withdrew from Vietnam in 1973, the methods of direct action taken against many of the other social issues had met with only limited success. Sit-ins, boycotts, marches, rallies and

---

<sup>47</sup> Black, *Franz Schubert: Music and Belief*, 43.

<sup>48</sup> Chihara, *Missa Carminum* : “Folk song Mass”.

<sup>49</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 23 Oct 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Paul Chihara, as quoted in Michael Schelle, *The Score: Interviews with Film Composers* (Beverly Hills: Silman-Jame Press, 1999), 129.

demonstrations over civil rights, the women's movement, the gay rights movement and the environmental movement, among others, were not widely supported by the majority of Americans and significant improvements in these areas of protest did not seem imminent. Seeds for change were planted but they would prove to develop only slowly. Consequently, Stephen Kent argues, the leaders of the various protest movements became disillusioned in the 1970s, seeking alternative methods of bringing about a more egalitarian and compassionate society. In the United States particularly, "numerous activists turned from psychedelia and political activism to guru worship and spiritual quest as a response to the failures of social protest – and as a new means of achieving societal change".<sup>51</sup>

These actions resonate strongly with Chihara's personal experience. When the protest movement waned across the USA, Chihara turned to religion to continue his efforts to change the world. Although he did not form or even join a new religion, *Missa Carminum* provides evidence that Chihara was seeking a reinterpretation of what it means to be Christian.

The precedent for *Missa Carminum* in Chihara's creative output was an *Ave Maria* that combined "a sort of anthem of the anti-war generation", *Scarborough Fair* with the traditional sacred text.<sup>52</sup> As Chihara writes in the notes to a recording of the work, *Ave Maria/Scarborough Fair* (1971) "was my first project combining two cantus firmi whose texts are juxtaposed as commentaries on each other. The two songs, both in the Dorian Mode, are love songs, one sacred and the other secular".<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Back cover, Kent, *From Slogans to Mantras*, back cover.

<sup>52</sup> The folksong *Scarborough Fair* was popularised by singer-song writers Art Garfunkle and Paul Simon.

<sup>53</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 19 Jan 2013. See also Paul Chihara, Liner notes, *Missa Carminum Brevis (Folk Song Mass); Magnificat; Ave Maria/Scarborough Fair*, (1979).



Song	Lines set	Sung by	Movement & Rehearsal Mark
<i>Sally Gardens</i>	Down by the Sally Garden, my love and I did meet	Altos & Tenors	Kyrie [A]
	But I was young and foolish and now am full of tears	Altos	Kyrie [F]
	But I was young and foolish and now am	Sopranos	Agnus Dei [H]
	He bid me take love easy, as the leaves grow on the tree	Sopranos & Altos	Gloria [G]
<i>I was Born in East Virginia</i>	I was Born in East Virginia	Tenor II	Gloria – Dominus Deus [C]
Kedusha/ Benedictus	Kadosh Adonai who comes in the name of the Lord	Sopranos & Altos	Gloria [K]
		Sopranos & Altos	Benedictus [J]-[L]
<i>The Willow Song</i>	The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree Sing all a green willow, her hand on her bosom, her head upon her knee. Sing willow, willow, willow, willow My garland shall be We sat sighing by the Sycamore tree	Tenors & Basses	Sanctus [B] – [F]
		Tenors	Benedictus [G]
Kedusha	Kadosh Adonai	Sopranos	Benedictus [H]
	Kadosh Adonai, Kadosh Adonai, ts'va-ot. M'Lo chol ha-aretz K'vodo	Basses	Benedictus [I]-[J]
	Kadosh Adonai, Kadosh Adonai, Baruch ha'ba, B'shem Adonai	Sopranos	Benedictus [I]-[J]
	Kadosh Adonai, Baruch B'shem Adonai	Tenors	Benedictus [K]
<i>Houlihan</i> (I ride an old paint)	...I lead an old Dan, We're goin' to Montana (Louisiana; or maybe Alabama) to do the Houlihan Bill Jones had two daughters and only a song, So one went to college. The other went wrong. His wife was devour'd in a free for all fight and still he keeps singing from morning till... Ride around little dogies, ride, we're goin' to Montana to do the Houlihan. We work in your towns; we work in your farms, and all we have to show is the muscle in our arms and blisters on our feet, and callous on our hands. When I die take my saddle, turn my face to the west and I'll ride the Prairie	All voices sing some of the lines, often singing different lines at the same time	Benedictus - Sung throughout (with other texts as noted elsewhere in this table)
<i>I Once Loved a Boy</i>	I once loved a boy, and a bold Irish boy, I would come and would go at his request.	Alto	Agnus Dei [A]-[C]
	And this bold bonnie boy was my pride and my joy, And I built him a bower in my breast.		
	And this girl who has taken my bold bonnie boy, May she make of it all that she can	Tenor	Agnus Dei [B]-[C]
	For whether he loves me or loves me not, I will walk with my love now and then	Alto	Agnus Dei [H]
<i>I Wonder as I Wander</i>	[None set]		Melody only in Gloria [H]-[N]
<i>Silver Dagger.</i>	[None set]		Melody only in Gloria [N] - end

Figure 7.1 The location of the portions of the various folksong lyrics set in Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> These are the only words from the folksongs that are set. Source: Chihara, *Missa Carminum*: "Folk song Mass". Although no bar numbers are included on the score they have been derived by the author and are referred to below.

## Text juxtapositions

In *Missa Carminum*, Chihara builds upon the conceptual model of *Ave Maria/Scarborough Fair* further, creating a more complex blending of the sacred and the profane, taking care to match the liturgical words with the folk song lyric he is working with. For example, as shown in the first page of the earlier *missa brevis* version of the score, reproduced in Figure 7.2, Chihara merges the traditional Latin text of the Kyrie with two lines from the English folksong *Sally Gardens*. Knowing that “sally” derives from the word “salix” in Latin, which means “willow”, and that willow trees are traditional symbols of sadness and tears in many cultures, Chihara sets the lines from the poem that focus on human folly: “Down by the Sally Garden, my love and I did meet / But I was young and foolish and now am full of tears”.<sup>55</sup> According to lyrics later in the song, the lover had bid the songstress to “take life easy”, but she did not do so and has lost her love. To err and to regret is human, and is the reason why the mass begins with a plea for God to have mercy.

Figure 7.2 Opening of the Kyrie from Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum Brevis* (c1972)<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 3 July 2014. All lyrics cited here come from the published score of the full version of the mass: *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Source: Steven Fraider, “The style of Paul Chihara in the *Missa Carminum Brevis* and its Influence on Interpretation” (California State University, Fullerton, 1976), Appendix, 1.

Similarly, Chihara chooses another folk song that speaks of unrequited love for the *Agnus Dei*-I Once Loved a Boy. In this song the spurned girl refuses to give up on her love and even issues a vain threat to her rival that “whether he loves me or loves me not, I will walk with my love now and then”. Chihara advises that the song “is such a tragic tune (and lyric) that it sprang into my mind every time I heard the words *Agnus Dei* (*qui tollis peccata mundi*)”.<sup>57</sup> He does not explain why this is the case but there are several links between the two texts that provide possible answers. One is the transgressions (sins) of the three parties: the boy’s betrayal, the succeeding girl’s coup, and the jilted girl’s vow to continue to covet the boy “whether he loves me or loves me not”. In succumbing to lust and to envy and in breaking the tenth commandment, “thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife” the girl is committing wrongdoings that, according to Christian theology, the Lamb of God could be asked to be merciful about, should the girl repent. Another possible explanation for Chihara’s linking of the *Agnus Dei* with *I Once Loved a Boy* is the solace that the girl could avail herself of Christ’s ability to “grant peace”. Alternatively, and in a more naïve reading, the girl loses the love of her life but does not appear to hold a grudge against either party. Read from this perspective, the mercy expressed in the lines “And this girl who has taken my bold bonnie boy, / May she make of it all that she can” provides a more poignant parallel to the *Agnus Dei* text. Or perhaps none of these ideas are correct and such an explicit reading of the text is unwarranted. Chihara, still a Christian, if not a practicing Catholic, might simply be saying that the text is overwhelmingly sad, that life is often sad, and that humanity needs Christ to make it more bearable.

The Gloria is discussed in some detail below, but in terms of its text, Chihara sets only one line from each of the *Sally Gardens* and *I was Born in East Virginia* folksongs, thereby making as much room for the liturgical words as possible. In the middle of the movement, however, Chihara reveals his Christian faith. He sets a phrase that melds a Jewish sacred text, the Kedusha, with the text of the Benedictus. Whereas in the Benedictus-The Houlihan movement he will set a large portion of the Kedusha, acknowledging that the Sanctus-Benedictus has its origins in the Jewish prayer, in the Gloria, which he composed after completing the Benedictus, he sets only the words “*Kadosh Adonai*” (Holy One) and follows it with the words “who comes in the name of the Lord”. As explained elsewhere, for Jews “*Adonai*” is a Hebrew word for God, but this then makes the phrase “*Kadosh Adonai* [God] who comes in the name of the Lord” nonsensical.<sup>58</sup> The only possible reading of the phrase that Chihara sets relies on a Trinitarian interpretation that replaces “*Adonai*” with “Christ”: “Christ who comes [to earth] in the name of God”. As the Gloria celebrates the triune God, including Christ and the Holy Spirit, it explicitly

---

<sup>57</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 23 Oct 2011.

<sup>58</sup> That Chihara is attesting to the supersession of Christianity is argued in Rocke, “Blending the Sacred and the Profane,” 75-77.

attests to Christianity's supercession of Judaism as the one true belief. Accordingly, Chihara is emphasising this point, and affirming his own belief that the teachings of Christ take priority over those contained in the Hebrew Bible.

In the Benedictus-The Houlihan, in addition to the Jewish Kedusha, quite lengthy excerpts of *The Houlihan* are set. This folksong refers to working people – specifically cowboys. In matching such a song with the text “blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord”, Chihara asserts the everyday nature of a true religious faith to which any and all can subscribe. In doing so he attests to Christ's lived example, arguing that faith should permeate all aspects of the believer's life, not merely those that contemporary Western societies typically attribute to religion, such as church going, structured prayer, the sacraments and so on.

Although Chihara does match liturgical and folk texts, this does not mean that Chihara agrees with the entirety of Catholic dogma and doctrine. In fact, as noted above, Chihara omits the Credo, partly because it is such a long text, and partly because the “Non-Credo” of Bernstein's *Mass* had evoked a theological revelation in Chihara that “dogma is not what religion is about” but, rather, “God and love”.<sup>59</sup>

### Melodic juxtapositions

Musically, Chihara's argument that there should be no divide between the sacred and the profane is furthered by the combination of Chihara's own freely composed music, plainsong and the folk song melodies that permeate the fabric of *Missa Carminum*, including two songs not included in the movement titles – *I wonder as I wander* and *Silver Dagger*. The existing melodies that Chihara uses in each movement are listed in Figure 7.3.

The chants with which Chihara begins each movement except the Gloria come from *Mass XVIII – Deus Genitor Alme* of the Vatican *Kyriale*. Each mass cycle in the *Kyriale* has its own specific purpose, with *Mass XVIII* providing the chant for weekdays in Advent and Lent. According to Christian doctrine, Lent is a penitential period leading up to Easter, while Advent is the four or five week period leading up to Christmas and is marked by a reminiscence of the longing for the arrival of the Messiah. The theme of longing matches well with songs of unrequited love. Furthermore, the purpose of *Mass XVIII* – both its use during ecclesiastical periods that focus on human anticipation and human fallibility, and the fact

---

<sup>59</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 28 July 2013.

that it is only sung on weekdays, not Sundays or any other special or festive day – brings ordinary human life to the fore.

Movement	Melody
Kyrie	Kyrie from <i>Deus Genitor alme</i> , Mass XVIII of Kyriale <i>Sally Gardens</i>
Gloria	Gloria from <i>Cunctipotens Genitor Deus</i> , Mass IV of Kyriale <i>I was Born in East Virginia</i> <i>I Wonder as I Wander</i> <i>Silver Dagger</i>
Benedictus	Benedictus from <i>Deus Genitor alme</i> , Mass XVIII of Kyriale <i>Houlihan</i> (I ride an old paint)
Sanctus	Sanctus from <i>Deus Genitor alme</i> , Mass XVIII of Kyriale <i>The Willow Song</i>
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei from <i>Deus Genitor alme</i> , Mass XVIII of Kyriale <i>I Once Loved a Boy</i> <i>Sally Gardens</i>

Figure 7.3 Existing Melodies heard in Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)

For the Gloria, Chihara must select a different mass cycle because the Gloria is not recited during weekday masses, and so there is no setting of it in *Mass XVIII*. Accordingly, Chihara selects the chant from *Cunctipotens Genitor Deus* (Kyriale number IV), which is sung on the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul, the first and last of Christ's Apostles. Chihara chose this mass because he had taken Peter as his confirmation name, and so the feast day has a special resonance with him.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, in choosing the melody of a mass that commemorates Christ's Apostles, Chihara provides a signal that the Christian focus of this movement will be Jesus, the (for Christians) physical incarnation of God who lived a human life, as well as Jesus's followers – everyday people.

Supplementing this already eclectic mix of melodic material with his own freely-composed melodies, the mass brings together the ancient sacred, the traditional secular and, through his freely composed work, the very new. The latter, in this context, defies categorisation as either sacred or profane, but instead, provides the foundation for the argument that there should, in fact, be no such distinction.

### Gloria

By way of an example, the manner in which Chihara brings the multiple sources together in the Gloria appears in Figure 7.4. As can be seen, the extent to which the words of the folk songs are heard in the movement are limited to only 27 of the 207 bars; it is the liturgical text that dominates. This is not the

<sup>60</sup> Paul Chihara, email correspondence, 8 July 2014.

case with the folksong melodies, however. One or more is heard in all but 31 bars. With the exceptions noted above, it is not the lyrics of the songs that Chihara wants to emphasise in the Gloria, but rather the emotional content that the melody of each folksong enables him to harness. The opening chant from *Cunctipotens Genitor Deus* is sung by the tenor, and is followed by 8 bars of freely composed music. Then, the poignant Dorian mode melody of *I was Born in East Virginia* (see Figure 7.5a) starts in the bass part, alternating with more sections of freely composed music until part of the *Sally Gardens* tune is heard briefly in bars 67-75. Accompanying the words “*Patris misere nobis*” (Father, Grant us Peace), it is a clear reference both musically and textually to the Kyrie. Then the simple melody of *I Wonder as I Wander* (see Figure 7.5b), which praises Jesus, provides the melodic content for the words “*tu solus altissimus Jesu Christe*” (you are the highest, Jesus Christ). From bar 129, the movement continues through to the end using melodic material from *Silver Dagger* (see Figure 7.5c), which, like *I was Born in East Virginia*, is in the Dorian mode.

In the case of *Sally Gardens*, and *I Wonder as I Wander* there is a clear matching of the liturgical text with the melodic content; however, the bittersweet character of the melodies of *I was Born in East Virginia* and *Silver Dagger* seem at odds with a text that glorifies God. The melodies may not be dour but neither are they celebratory. Perhaps Chihara is highlighting the fact that everyday life is a poor substitute for heavenly life; that peace is too often not the experience of people of goodwill. The emotionally ambivalent Dorian mode melodies allow hope to be felt, but do not imply that what is hoped for will be guaranteed in the future.

In setting up a tension between what could be and what is through his melodic selections, it may be that Chihara is not merely referencing the experience of unrequited love, but perhaps also showing the consequences of a faith that is not all-encompassing; that does not inform all aspects of life. Perhaps Chihara is arguing through inconclusive harmonies that the compartmentalisation of religion into specific chronological boxes and officially-sanctioned occasions is one of the reasons why peace – whether at the personal, communal or global level – is so difficult to achieve. By acknowledging the sacred in all things, including human relationships, it becomes more possible to experience the projected bliss of heaven here on earth – particularly through the sharing of physical love.

### Locations of Texts and Melodic Materials in the Gloria of Paul Chihara's *Missæ Carnium*

## MELODIES

Freely composed (Chihara)	All Roman Rite unless otherwise depicted
I was born in East Virginia	X I was born in East Virginia
Sally Gardens	0 Sally Gardens
I wonder as I wander	+ Kadosh Adonai who comes in the name of the Lord
Silver Dagger	

## TEXTS

All Roman Rite unless otherwise depicted  
X I was born in East Virginia  
0 Sally Gardens  
+ Kadosh Adonai who comes in the name of

Introduction: "Gloria in excelsis Deo" - beginning of chant melody from Mass IV *Cunctipotens Genitor Deus* (Mass for the Feast of the Apostles): Tenor Solo

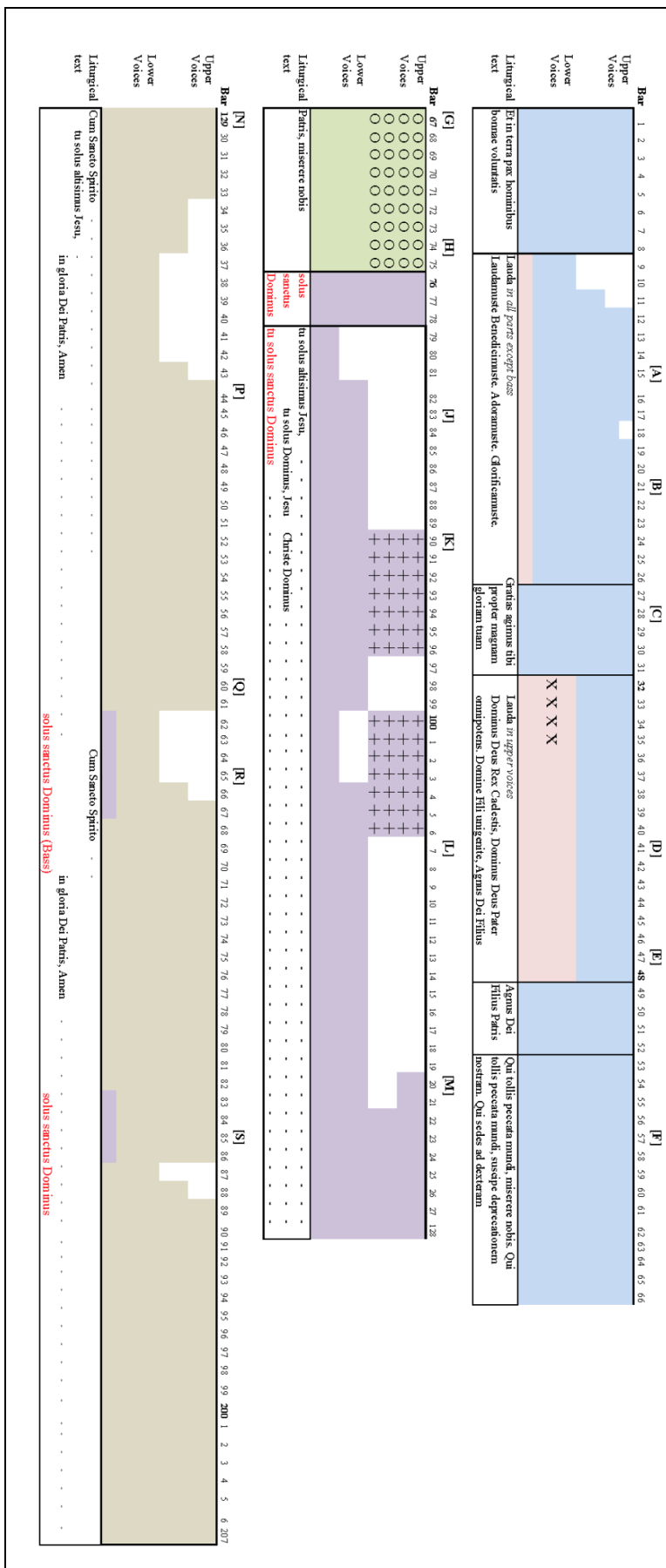


Figure 7.4 Locations of Texts and Melodic Materials in the Gloria of Paul Chihara's *Missae Carminum* (1975)  
Chart prepared by author from Edition Peters published score (1978) pp. 20–50.

**a) I was born in East Virginia – Bass entry from bar 9**

9 *Moderato espressivo*  
*mp*  
 Lau - da - mus - te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus - te. A - do - ra - mus - te. A

18 *mf*  
B A - do - ra - mus - te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus - te.

**b) I Wonder as I Wander – Tenor II entry from bar 82**

82 *p espressivo*  
 Tu so - lus sanc - tus do - mi - nus, tu so - lus Al - ti - si - mus Je -

90 *p*  
 su, Tu so - lus Je - su, Je - su

**c) Silver Dagger – Bass entry from bar 128**

128 *mf* *Risoluto*  
 [N]  
 cum Sanc-to Spi - ri - tu cum sanc-to, cum Sanc-to Spi - ri - tu A

136 *mf*  
 in glo - ri - De - i Pa - tris. A - - - men

Figure 7.5 Three folk song melodies as set in the Gloria of Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)  
 (Omissions are included in square brackets)<sup>61</sup>

### Eros in the music of *Missa Carminum*

Probably the best example of the paralleling of erotic love with the ecstasy of knowing the divine love of God is found in the Gloria. It occurs early in the movement, with the introduction of the melody of the folksong *I was Born in East Virginia* setting the liturgical words “*Laudamuste, Benedicimuste, Adoramuste, Glorificamuste*” (we praise you, we worship you, we adore you, we glorify you) over the next eighteen bars. Although *I was Born in East Virginia* is ultimately a song of unrequited love, the second stanza glowingly describes “a fair pretty maiden... with lips of ruby red”. Chihara parallels this by setting only the word “*Lauda*” (praise) in all but the bass part, the latter (as shown in Figure 7.5a) carrying the folksong melody and one line of the liturgical text. He also sets the word “*Lauda*” in such a way that the music builds to a climax through a series of nuanced dissonances.

<sup>61</sup> Transcribed from Chihara, *Missa Carminum*: “Folk song Mass”.



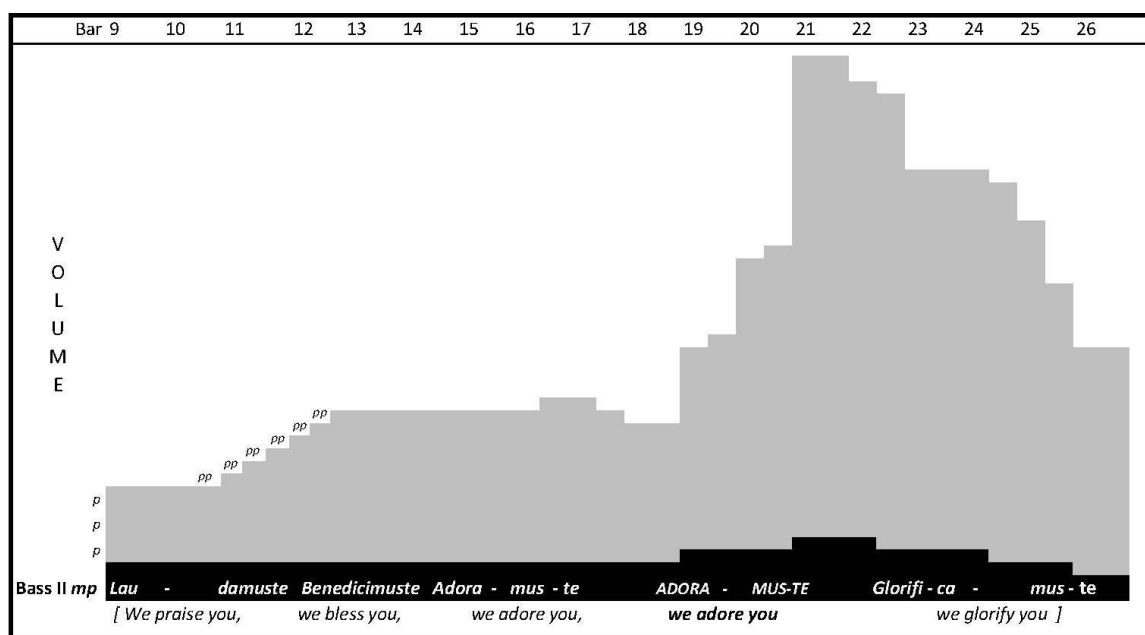


Figure 7.6 Building to a climax, bars 9-26 of Gloria from Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)<sup>62</sup>

**B**

*mf* da - - - mus - te. Lau - da - mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

*mf* da - - - Lau - da - mus - te. *p*

*mf* da - mus - te. *p*

*mf* da - - - mus. Lau - da - mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

*mf* te. Lau - da - mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

*mf* da - - - mus - te. *p*

*f* Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

*f* Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

*f* Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da Lau - da mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus - te. *p* Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

Figure 7.7 Climax abates and moves to homophony in bars 21-28 of Gloria from Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Chart prepared by author from *ibid.*, 21-26.

<sup>63</sup> Transcribed from *ibid.*, 25-26.

As depicted in the chart in Figure 7.6, a staggered entry of the upper parts with dynamics that build from piano to mezzo-forte in the dissonant upper parts and forte in the active lower parts brings the section to a climax. The climax abates and, as shown in Figure 7.7, the music suddenly becomes homophonic, with all parts singing the words “*gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam*” (we give you thanks for your great glory), thereby depicting the peaceful satisfaction immediately following spent passion.

Thus, we have a clear and multifaceted reference to the ecstasy of erotic love, not only in an earthly interpretation of the liturgical text, but also through the imagined bliss of attaining the maiden’s love in the folksong, as well as in the manner in which the music is constructed. Certainly, the poignant lyrics of *Silver Dagger*, whose melody permeates the final section of the Gloria, attests to the reality that human relationships are often painful; but, for this brief moment early in the movement, the experience of erotic bliss is what Chihara portrays.<sup>64</sup>

In another example of *eros*, the Sanctus-Willow Song begins, as does each movement, with a tenor introducing the chant melody, this time from the Sanctus of *Deus Genitor Alme* of Mass XVIII of the Kyrie. *The Willow Song*, which begins “The poor soul sat sighing...” is not heard until bar 11 [B] but, as shown in Figure 7.8, right from the beginning the music sighs by way of a simple three-note motive, with the second note slurring down a tone to the third note. Indeed, as shown in the chart in Figure 7.9, the sighing motif is heard at different times throughout the movement. While in the context of *The Willow Song*, a sigh would be expressing pain and sorrow, Chihara’s desire to infuse the work with *eros* suggests that the sighing motif has the double meaning of depicting lovemaking. Further, in wishing to parallel physical love with divine love, the sighing could be expressing the bliss felt in the presence of God.

Finally, although through-composed, the large-scale structure of the Agnus Dei can be understood as A-B-C, with A representing a time before physical union, B representing union, and C representing the moments after union.<sup>65</sup> The brief first section comprising the statement of the chant from *Deus Genitor Alme* by the tenor and the first two bars of polyphony, is quiet and sparsely scored. From Rehearsal Mark [A] through to [G] the music builds both in dynamics – from piano to fortissimo – and in melodic

<sup>64</sup> There are many versions of the *Silver Dagger* folksong. In the version sung by Joan Baez, who Chihara advises he admired greatly, the song concludes with the words “Go court another tender maiden / And hope that she will be your wife / For I’ve been warned, and I’ve decided / To sleep alone all of my life.” For the full song see “Silver Dagger,” in *Joan Baez*, Vanguard, 1960, track 1.

<sup>65</sup> The emotional content of the sections can also be understood to depict a straight reading of the text: A depicts an acknowledgement of Christ’s redemptive power, B depicts human transgressions and C depicts the granting of peace.

action, with flowing melismatic phrases becoming more prevalent from [C]. Examples of typical melismatic phrases, which, with the slur and crescendo-decrescendo marks, could represent swells of pleasure, appear in Figure 7.10. From [D] to [G] all parts are singing and quavers are scored in at least one part and often three at once.



Figure 7.8 Singing motive (bar 1-2) in Sanctus of Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)<sup>66</sup>

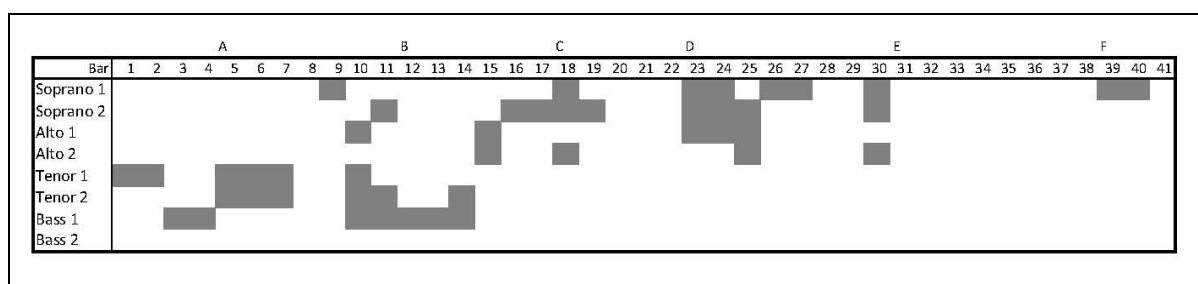


Figure 7.9 Location of Singing Motif in Sanctus of Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)<sup>67</sup>

The image shows a musical score for the Agnus Dei of Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975), bars 24-26. The tempo/mood is marked [Andante - poco piu mosso]. The score is for Soprano 1, Soprano 2, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass. The lyrics are: A - gnus De - i, Ag; A - gnus De - i A - gnus; qui tol - lis pec - ca; i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta A - gnus De; A - gnus De - i, A - gnus De - i A - gnus; ca - ta mun - di.

Figure 7.10 Melismatic sections representing swells of pleasure in Agnus Dei of Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975) bars 24-26<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Transcribed from Chihara, *Missa Carminum*: "Folk song Mass", 51.

<sup>67</sup> Chart prepared by author from *ibid.*, 51-63.

<sup>68</sup> Transcribed from *ibid.*, 81-82.

The mass closes with the words *pacem* and then *pax*, both meaning “peace”, which are set to sustained notes in all parts. As the choir fades to a *ppp*, the argument that, if there is no divide between the sacred and the profane then *eros* has the potential to be the equal of divine love is complete. Although Chihara may have lost sympathy with Catholic dogma and theology, *Missa Carminum* remains a fully religious work that endorses the broad central tenets of non-denominational Christianity, while also calling for a broadening of the idea of religion to recognise that encounters with ecstasy are manifestations of the divine love of God.

Although few in any audience may grasp the depth and complexity of Chihara’s argument, most would have come away knowing the mass was replete with references to love, loss, and Christianity and may have been provoked to think about what it might mean to merge profane folksongs with the sacred liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. Accordingly, Chihara’s peaceable challenge to the status quo – the separation of the sacred and the profane – is intent upon bringing about spiritual and theological change. *Missa Carminum* constitutes a response to “the social and political frustrations and disappointment” of 1960s activists who were turning away from the more aggressive means of protest to find alternative ways of shaping more egalitarian and caring societies.<sup>69</sup>

#### DAVID FANSHAWE’S *AFRICAN SANCTUS: A MASS FOR LOVE AND PEACE* (1973)

David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* is a very different work to *Missa Carminum*. Whereas the university-trained Chihara crafts his musical ideas with his intellect fully engaged, Fanshawe takes a more intuitive approach, relying primarily on his ear to bring styles of music that are very different together. Whereas Chihara is very conscious of the message his bittersweet mass is intended to bring to the world, Fanshawe works impulsively, creating a joyful celebration of music that he wants to share with the world. Of the two works, it is Fanshawe’s concert mass with its thousand-plus performances that can claim the greater impact. In fact, if changing the world is an underlying agenda of concert masses that expand beyond their liturgical boundaries into other ideological or theological realms, Fanshawe’s has been among the most influential concert masses of the twentieth century. With the exception perhaps of Bernstein’s *Mass*, and Benjamin Britten’s (1913-1976) *War Requiem* (1962), *African Sanctus* has attracted the most critique and commentary. For ethnomusicologist, Carol Muller, for example, *African Sanctus* is a neo-colonial “souvenir”.<sup>70</sup> For musicologist, Tina Thielen-Gaffey, Fanshawe’s “adventurous wanderlust, crazy antics and musical

<sup>69</sup> Kent, *From Slogans to Mantras*, 2.

<sup>70</sup> Carol Muller, “Achieving Africanness in Sacred Song,” *Ethnomusicology* 46, no. 3 (2002): 420.

creativity ... carved a beautiful piece of music".<sup>71</sup> Given the work has attracted such disparate opinions as these, it is the reception data that will be particularly focused upon to reveal the place of *African Sanctus* in concert mass history.

*African Sanctus* is both a preserving jar for African music collected by David Fanshawe on his tape recorder during his travels through North and East Africa between 1969 and 1973, and a celebratory piece that brings the music of peoples of disparate faiths and cultures together. Unlike other masses, which take listeners on the finite emotional journey of the liturgy from pleading for mercy to relief in the reaffirmation of Christ's soteriological power, *African Sanctus* is a cyclic work that ends where it starts – joyously, with the Sanctus. Its blend of African sounds and those of the West is both novel and exhilarating for listeners drawn to Fanshawe's unique approach and message of peace. For Fanshawe himself, "*African Sanctus* embraces the spirituality and unity of all mankind through one music".<sup>72</sup>

Hitchhiking with little more than his recording equipment for company, Fanshawe taped the sounds and music of the cities, towns and remote places through which he travelled on several trips through northern Africa from 1967 through until the early 1970s. It had been on an earlier hitchhiking trip, when in Jerusalem in 1966, that the idea of creating a mass that combined taped African music with his own compositions took root. Fifty years later Fanshawe describes his experience in Jerusalem in terms of an epiphany, revealing the passion and eccentricity that brought *African Sanctus* into fruition in the first place:

...I attended Mass in St George's Cathedral, in the old city of Jerusalem. I heard a choir singing Kyrie Eleison from the Christian liturgy ... outside the building, quite by chance or, using a fancy word, serendipitously ... the Imam started to call the Muslims to the mosques – I say mosques in plural because there were many mosques – there were maybe seven or eight mosques – and at that time, suddenly we were listening to the music of the Call to Prayer and the Christian liturgy all at the same time. Many of those in St George's cathedral were pretty annoyed to hear such a cacophony going on, not to mention carpenters. I heard that cacophony as harmony – as one world harmony – I heard it as music given to us from God ... Ultimately that was the seed, the germ, the basis upon which I thought that I should go again in 1969, that's nearly four years later, to compose a mass rather than listen to the world's mass – compose a mass in harmony with the field recordings that I would have the luck to find. Now in 1966 I was merely travelling with a backpack. I had not tape

---

<sup>71</sup> Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," iii.

<sup>72</sup> David Fanshawe, interview with Tina Thielen-Gaffey, 31 December 2009, as transcribed in *ibid.*, 135.

recorders. It was that one meeting place within the Christian temple, the Cathedral, St George's Cathedral, that was for me the generic basis of this work called *African Sanctus*, and it also fired me up to travel with a tape recorder to record these songs that I'd never heard.<sup>73</sup>

Returning from his third African sojourn, and on the encouragement of the conductor of the London-based Saltarello Choir, Richard Bradshaw, the first draft of the mass was created rapidly in 1972. Named *African Revelations*, it premiered in July 1972 at Brighton University and received its second performance some days later at St John's, Smith Square, London – a former church that had been restored and converted into a concert hall after being fire-bombed during World War II. A once sacred, now secular space, it fits well with Fanshawe's adaptation of a Christian musical form to suit a wider audience than just Christians, let alone just Catholics (or Anglicans). Just as Fanshawe had received strong positive endorsements of his recording projects from the Royal College of Music, who asked him to give lectures to his fellow students about African music after each voyage, the work itself received popular acclaim.<sup>74</sup> Fanshawe was bringing to England an exoticism that appealed to a generation of youth who, as discussed above, were searching for new spiritual answers.

The London critics, however, were not impressed by *African Revelations*, finding it musically very poor. Speaking with Thielen-Gaffey 34 years later, Fanshawe recalls that Dominic Gill was particularly cutting when describing the Pater Noster (Our Father), dubbing it, Fanshawe reports, "repugnant, populist and mere vulgar excretions".<sup>75</sup> Fanshawe's memory is not completely accurate. Gill certainly did not like Fanshawe's own compositions in *African Revelations* and did state "Fanshawe's additions to [the recorded African music] and commentary on it seem to me in this case to be little more than vulgar excrecence", but he never charges it with the 'crime' of being populist.<sup>76</sup> Further, Gill commends Fanshawe on the "excellently recorded, expertly chosen" African music, and the "driving infectious enthusiasm with which Fanshawe communicates his love of people, and of the sounds people make"; similarly, Fanshawe's "well informed... sensitive ear for Eastern rhythms" is praised.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, a composer would find it hard to value these positive statements when faced with the conclusion that "[i]t was atmospheric, genuinely moving, to hear the crash of Equatorial rain, and a recorded rain-song,

---

<sup>73</sup> David Fanshawe, telephone interview with author 6 March 2007.

<sup>74</sup> John Blacking, "The Rhythmic Community," *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 3831 (15 Aug 1975): 917.

<sup>75</sup> David Fanshawe, Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*." Fanshawe states Gill wrote for the *London Guardian*, however Gill was actually working for the *Financial Times* at the time and so the citation provided by Thielen-Gaffey is incorrect. The correct citation is Dominic Gill, "St John's: African Revelations," *Financial Times* [London], 12 July 1972, 3.

<sup>76</sup> Gill, "St John's: African Revelations," 3.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

at the moment of Crucifixion: how one wished Fanshawe's own jolly-sentimental country-parish *Crucifixus* had paused to listen too".<sup>78</sup>

Two other London critics concurred with Gill, although in rather less theatrical a style. Noel Goodwin of the *Daily Express* concluded relatively mildly that it was "not always musically convincing", while Max Harrison of *The Times* took a middle ground between Gill and Goodwin, writing "sometimes the result is merely incongruous ... [at others] loud yet inclusive ... Mr Fanshawe's own soundly traditional writing is neither powerful nor individual enough to bind the whole together".<sup>79</sup> In writing so plainly, perhaps Harrison's review was in fact the more devastating because it gave Fanshawe nothing to assuage his pain. Whereas he can recall Gill's comments and reproduce them almost verbatim because the words chosen were hyperbolic, Harrison's bald statements provide no such opportunity for cathartic outburst.

Fanshawe was shocked by the collective criticism of the London press. Choosing attack as the best method of defence he vowed to recreate the work, and did so after one more journey to Africa. With the mentorship and help of sound engineer, Peter Olliff, *African Sanctus: A Mass for Love and Peace* was recorded by Philips. The LP was released in 1973.<sup>80</sup>

Upon hearing it, a BBC director was sufficiently impressed to initiate a film project documenting Fanshawe's travels, which was broadcast by BBC Television in Easter of 1975.<sup>81</sup> Although a reporter for *The Sunday Times* found the interruption of the "visually stunning" travel story by "the antics of a beaming extrovert composer" to be "a pity", he also found the "soundtrack... very exciting".<sup>82</sup> The following year, TV critic for *The Times*, Philip Venning would recommend the repeat broadcast on BBC2 ahead of the live broadcast of *The Eurovision Song Contest* on BBC1, describing the *African Sanctus* documentary as "an extraordinary musical exploration from Cairo to Kenya".<sup>83</sup>

Reviewers of the 1973 recording of *African Sanctus* took a much less critical stance than those of the 1972 live performance of *African Revelations*, thereby indicating that the collaboratively revised work had probably become a more sophisticated rendering of the raw ideas. For Jeremy Rundall of *The*

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Noel Goodwin, "Fanshawe's Romantic Mission," *Daily Express*, 12 July 1972, 13. Max Harrison, "Saltarello Choir St John's, Smith Square," *The Times [London]* (12 July 1972): 13.

<sup>80</sup> *David Fanshawe: African Sanctus*, Owain Arwel Hughes (Cond.), Philips LP 6558 001, 1973.

<sup>81</sup> Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 71.

<sup>82</sup> "The Man Who Wasn't Told," *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1975, 44-45.

<sup>83</sup> Philip Venning, "Weekend Broadcasting - TV Choice," *The Times*, 22 April 1978, 10.

*Sunday Times*, Fanshawe's *African Sanctus* was "one of the most exciting modern works" he had ever heard.<sup>84</sup> For Alaire Lowrie, writing for *The Choral Journal*, *African Sanctus* is

a forceful argument for the expressive power of musical styles unfamiliar to us and, therefore, for our kinship with all singers everywhere. After hearing this work, one begins to believe in a kind of unity of the music in all Creation. This is a religious work in the deepest sense, a paen of praise to the Creator of all life, that One who loves the East Sudanese cattle boy as much as myself. *African Sanctus* is also a thrilling work, full of bold colors, stark contrasts and the kind of pulsing rhythms that make the heart beat faster.<sup>85</sup>

Reviews such as Lowrie's reveal the characteristics of the work that have resulted in it becoming a well-established item on choral concert programmes. It's musical and religious inclusiveness appealed to choral directors who wished to endorse pluralistic agendas.

With the new version, *African Sanctus*, proving highly successful, Fanshawe did not listen to *African Revelations* again until 2008, two years before his death at 68 in July of 2010. The mature man was humbled by the experience stating in an interview with Thielen-Gaffey that

when I listen to this, after almost 35 years since its performance, I think - that was truly a revelation. There is a wonderful rawness in that performance. You have to admit, it was revolutionary that a composer had his own tape recordings juxtaposed with his written composition. That had not been done before. I had some good ideas.....why did I change it to what it is today?<sup>86</sup>

What is notable here is the three 'r' words Fanshawe's retrospective reflection employs: "revelation", "raw" and "revolutionary". In 1972, Fanshawe was still a "raw" young man who was yet to hone his talents against the steel of criticism; despite this, perhaps in its very naivety *African Revelations* was "revolutionary" and its subsequent reincarnation as *African Sanctus* did nothing to disguise this fact. Further, for a society just beginning to think more objectively about its colonial past, suggesting that the sounds of Africa were the equal to the sounds of Western music was as much "revelationary" as it was revolutionary. Fanshawe's inclusive spirit and delight in difference, depicted through *African*

---

<sup>84</sup>Jeremy Rundall, "Taking Notes," *Sunday Times*, 18 May 1975, 32.

<sup>85</sup> Alaire Lowrie, "Review: Record of the Month - *African Sanctus* by David Fanshawe," *The Choral Journal* 19, no. 1 (Sept 1978). Originally attributed to Arthur Lawrence with error corrected in vol. 19.3.

<sup>86</sup> David Fanshawe (2006) interview with Tina Thielen-Gaffey 8 August 2006, as transcribed in Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 26.



*Sanctus* fed successfully into a cultural milieu that was engaging with the “other” for reasons ranging from escapism to a thirst for the new types of knowledge and cultural understanding that technological advancements were making more available.

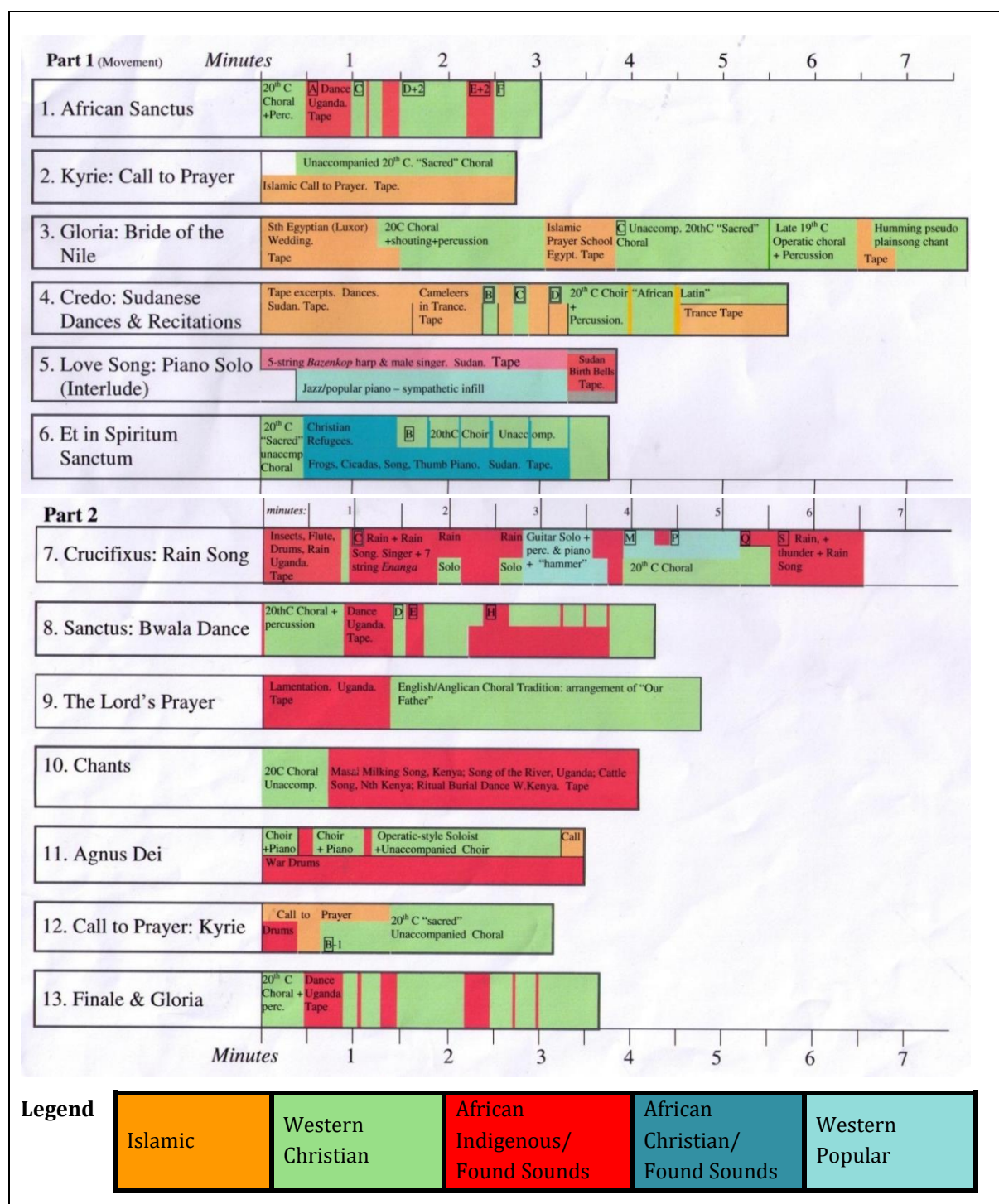
Indeed, innovative uses of sound recording technology are central to *African Sanctus*’ conception, creation and dissemination. While composers such as Varese, Babbit, Bernstein and Anhalt had been pioneering the ideas of bricolage and pastiche by incorporating taped music, found sounds, or spoken texts into their compositions in the two decades preceding the creation of *African Sanctus*, none did so in quite the same way, or for the same reasons as Fanshawe. Bernstein, for example, used several tape tracks of choral singing in his theatre piece *Mass*, discussed in Chapter 6, and Lentz used live tape recording techniques during performances of *Missa Umbrarum*, discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, in both of these cases, what was recorded comprised music the composer had composed himself and, in the case of Bernstein, the taped tracks, issuing from quadrophonic speakers, were used for acoustical reasons – to provide sonic variety – rather than out of necessity born from the fact that, in Fanshawe’s case, all suitable musicians lived another continent away.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, neither Bernstein’s *Mass* nor any other works that utilised taped sounds or music has proved as enduringly popular in performance as *African Sanctus*.

A chart showing how Fanshawe brought the different musics together appears in Figure 7.11. As can be seen, in every movement Western music is brought together with the recorded music, which has been broadly classified as either African Indigenous, African Christian or Islamic. In general, African and Islamic musics are not brought together, but this does not emanate from any ideological basis. Rather, it reflects Fanshawe’s conceptual model of the music following his journey as an English person travelling southwards through Africa from Egypt to Kenya.

The first ten movements meld western music and Christianity with the found sounds and musics of the regions Fanshawe travels through. The sounds and musics he encounters are combined with the music he, the traveller, creates – albeit retrospectively. The eleventh and twelfth movements, which do bring Islam, Christianity and indigenous African religions together, are not part of the physical journey, but rather express Fanshawe’s spiritual belief that there is one music and one God.

---

<sup>87</sup> John Miller, "Bernstein: Mass - Nagano," *SA-CD.net* (2009), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.sa-cd.net/showtitle/2476>.

Figure 7.11 Sources of music in David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus* (1973)<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Compiled by author from the 1994 CD recording and full miniature score: *David Fanshawe: African Sanctus Dona Nobis Pacem A Hymn for World Peace*, Whilhelmina Fernandez, Choristers of St George's Chapel Windsor Castle, Bournemouth Symphony Chorus, Conductor, Neville Creed, Silva Classics CD SILKD6003, 1994; David Fanshawe, *African Sanctus for soprano solo, mixed chorus, instrumental ensemble and pre-recorded tape* (London: Chappell Music, 1977). In the 5<sup>th</sup> movement, the Hadendown Love Song from the Sudan may have had Islamic influences, but has been primarily categorised as African Indigenous Music.

Neo-colonial or revolutionary?

Promoting *African Sanctus* in America, Fanshawe told a *Baltimore Sun* reporter:

I always wanted to be an explorer. The problem was how to be a David Livingstone type and mix it with music ... I hear in the bush what to my ears is great music ... as great as anything we have in the West. I love most of the sounds I hear in the wild. I don't want to preserve them as a musicologist but rather preserve them within a context that the Africans would never have conceived. The African form can be expanded along the lines of classical understanding of western music ... I wanted to harmonize it with a shout, a praise to God. It's a folk-rock-pop-classical work.<sup>89</sup>

It might have taken a self-professed musical "Livingstone" to collect the material in a fashion largely inspired by privileged colonial practices of the past and to shape it into an eclectic new mass, thereby – at least in part – reinforcing the notion of a primacy of Western music over others. However, Fanshawe himself did not understand his efforts to be diminishing of other cultures, but rather, strove to show the musics of the different cultures to be equally valuable.

*African Sanctus* rapidly captured the public imagination, with references to the work located in a variety of scholarly and other sources. Reviewing a London performance of *African Sanctus* for *The Musical Times* in 1978, Kenneth Loveland declared "the ingenuity with which Fanshaw has blended the taped Islamic calls to prayer and tribal dances with his own writing ... makes it much more than a travelogue music; something to be taken seriously".<sup>90</sup> Defending the African authenticity of Léopold Sédar Senghor's poetry, Janis Pallister draws on the *African Sanctus* phenomenon to argue that, despite Senghor's poems' "debt to [Western] surrealism or [Senghor's] Catholicism", the verses comprise "mosaics of a poetic *African Sanctus*, as rich, as diffuse, and as varied, but as authentically African in pitch and purpose as the musical one has been".<sup>91</sup> Reviewing *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain* in 1997, Mervyn Cooke challenges the author's claim that British choral societies ignore twentieth-century repertoire, citing "the burgeoning performances of... Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* and Fanshawe's *African Sanctus* by amateur forces" to demonstrate his point.<sup>92</sup> In the context of technological developments and African music influencing Western music, in his book *Big Bangs: The Story of Five Discoveries that Changed Musical History*, Howard Goodall reproduces a photo of

<sup>89</sup> Earl Arnett, "Englishman Finds 'Great' Music in African bush," *Baltimore Sun* 6 Oct 1973, A10.

<sup>90</sup> Kenneth Loveland, "Festivals," *Musical Times* 119, no. 1629 (1978): 980.

<sup>91</sup> Janis L. Pallister, "Léopold Sédar Senghor: A Catholic Sensibility?," *The French Review* 53, no. 5 (April 1980): 678-79.

<sup>92</sup> Mervyn Cooke, "The Blackwell History of Music in Britain," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 1 (1997): 115.

Fanshawe recording the Luo Tribe and notes that, in “mix[ing] Western and African music openly” *African Sanctus* demonstrates “an archival purpose ... but also a creative one”.<sup>93</sup>

Nonetheless, the fame of Fanshawe’s hybrid mass also brought about greater scrutiny from sections of the scholarly community who viewed the work more in terms of notoriety than fame. In 1976, ethnomusicologist Bonnie Wade dismisses Fanshawe’s companion book to the score and the recording as being “David Fanshawe’s sychophantic tribute to himself”, arguing that *African Sanctus, a Story of Travel and Music* has no value as an informative text on African music, but rather, constitutes “a thoughtless cataloguing of the way a ‘bwana’ perhaps exploited his African hosts”.<sup>94</sup> Published as a general interest book, not a scholarly text, in the course of recounting his travels, Fanshawe describes a collection methodology that was out of step with the developing ethical expectations of ethnomusicologists. This is particularly the case when he relates anecdotes about surreptitiously recording music without first gaining permission, and accepting culturally important artefacts as gifts, such as the traditional harp which Latigo Oteng, a policeman Fanshawe had become friends with, gave to him in Gulu, Uganda.<sup>95</sup>

Drawing particularly on the work of Mantle Hood and Bruno Nettl, ethnomusicologists were developing disciplinary standards relating to the collection of the musics of indigenous peoples throughout the 1980s.<sup>96</sup> By 1992 Anthony Seeger had published what was effectively a code of conduct for ethnomusicologists in an article titled “Ethnomusicology and Music Law”.<sup>97</sup> Seeger does not mention *African Sanctus*, but a decade later, drawing upon the principles Seeger had laid out, Carol Muller was empowered to write “whatever his stated intentions, David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus* ultimately remains only a personal narrative, a story of ‘Africa’s heartbeat captured by a musical Livingstone.’”<sup>98</sup> Although less abrasive in her criticism than Wade, Muller ultimately judges *African Sanctus* to be a “display of personalized souvenirs” of extremely limited archival value.<sup>99</sup> Whether Muller’s claims are

<sup>93</sup> Howard Goodall, *Big Bangs: The Story of Five Discoveries that Changed Musical History* (London: Vintage, 2001), 207-8.

<sup>94</sup> Bonnie C. Wade, “Henscratches and Flyspecks... [Review of 14 books],” *Notes* 32, no. 3 (1976): 541. Referring to David Fanshawe, *African Sanctus: A story of Travel and Music* (London: Collins and Harvill Press, 1975).

<sup>95</sup> Several examples of Fanshawe recording surreptitiously are included in Thielen-Gaffey, “David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus*.” See in particular her recounting of Fanshawe’s stories about the Adhan (p. 32-34) the Egyptian wedding band (p. 34), and the Lament (p. 106). The story about Oteng’s gift is included on pp.50-51. It should be noted that Fanshawe was motivated by a naïve enthusiasm for his task, seeming to have developed genuine relationships with many of those he collected music from. Similarly his cataloguing of the five hundred hours of tapes he collected in Africa as potential source material for his mass is comprehensive.

<sup>96</sup> Mantle Hood, *The Ethnomusicologist* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971); Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: 29 Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

<sup>97</sup> Anthony Seeger, “Ethnomusicology and Music Law,” *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 3 (1992).

<sup>98</sup> Muller, “Achieving Africanness in Sacred Song,” 421. Muller is quoting from the back cover of Fanshawe, *African Sanctus: A story of Travel and Music*.

<sup>99</sup> Muller, “Achieving Africanness in Sacred Song,” 420.

sustainable or even relevant is debatable, given *African Sanctus* is a performance piece not an ethnographer's filing cabinet; however, her engagement with Fanshawe's mass in a scholarly investigation provides another example of the reach of *African Sanctus* within Western culture.

Two other scholars who make *African Sanctus* the focus of significant investigations are Meredith Kennedy, whose conclusions will be discussed below, and Tina Thielen-Gaffey. Although Thielen-Gaffey finds much to commend about the work, she is perturbed by the fact that "[c]onductors and singers worldwide have performed *African Sanctus* for nearly four decades understanding the written Latin Mass text but without comprehending the recorded African text".<sup>100</sup> Fanshawe did not obtain translations of all of the recorded songs that he uses in *African Sanctus*, often basing his compositional decisions on only vague notions about a particular song's meanings. For Fanshawe, musical congruencies were of prime importance, not text. Thielen-Gaffey decided to redress this anomaly, arranging for all of the untranslated texts to be translated, presenting the results, together with the translations Fanshawe did collect, as an Appendix to her thesis.<sup>101</sup>

#### Non-Christian texts

Just as *African Sanctus* provided a culturally and religiously hybrid musical work to consider from an ethical standpoint, so too did it contribute to shaping future compositions that utilised the mass form. With the exception of Werner Jaegerhuber, who included the voodoo exclamation "o" in *Messe sur les airs vodouesques* (1953), no other composer prior to Fanshawe appears to have interspersed the texts of another religion among the liturgical texts of the Roman Rite.<sup>102</sup> Certainly, the characteristic sounds and rhythms of other cultures had been incorporated into the music of such masses as *Missa Luba* (1958) and *Missa Criolla* (1963), but these masses set only liturgical texts and did not incorporate texts from other religions or spiritual belief systems.<sup>103</sup> Fanshawe's mass is quite different. Conceptually, Fanshawe was creating a mass for all people across the globe. The idea of a universal language of religiosity derived from diverse sources was certainly revolutionary for a British society that was still, by and large, steeped in the habits and traditions of Anglicanism. Describing his perspective, Fanshawe states "I cannot expect a lady brought up in the desert to have the same beliefs as my people who come

<sup>100</sup> Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 145.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., iii; 145.

<sup>102</sup> Grenier and Dauphin, "Werner Jaegerhuber's Messe," 51. As discussed in Chapter 2, Frederick Delius had set secular-atheistic texts from Nietzsche's *Thus spake Zarathustra* in *A Mass of Life* (1904-5), but these were not juxtaposed against the standard Latin text but rather replaced it.

<sup>103</sup> A thorough musical analysis of *Missa Luba* which includes the text settings for each movement can be found in McDaniel, "Analysis of the Missa Luba." The sung text is reproduced in pages 91-96. Kennedy "Europe Meets Africa," (p.10) claims that *Missa Luba* includes songs in praise of the Congolese's grandfathers, but this is incorrect. Only the liturgical text is sung in *Missa Luba*.

from the green grass of England. To respect others and to listen to the music in which the commonality of musics combine ... is what I'm interested in".<sup>104</sup>

This is not to imply that all concur with Fanshawe's aims. As Fanshawe himself, explains:

The vast majority of Christians who I have [had] contact with [state that] to combine the mass with other faiths – they are deeply moved by it – they approve of it. And I'm talking about lay people and clergy. And they don't object. But there are a few Christians who do object .... they are usually singers ... They will not sing it. It's not that they don't like it – they don't believe it should be performed because they hold fast in their faith in the Order of the liturgy; in their view it's blasphemous – I've committed blasphemy in this piece.

... a handful of singers in any given choir, may, due to their faith, their Christian faith, not agree with the concept of combining Muslim chant with Christian chant, and they do reject the piece, they don't like it, they don't want to have anything to do with it and they have the guts to say so and leave.<sup>105</sup>

When asked how he felt about those who reject his mass he replies using a military analogy:

That is their prerogative – they are free. In my life I have grown up as a free human being. They are free to do what they want. If they want to sing, they sing. What is much worse is the person in the ranks who will sing under duress and will cause trouble in the ranks. I would much rather people declare their faith and say 'this is not for me'.<sup>106</sup>

Fanshawe found a similar situation with a minority of Muslims:

Many of them have over the years... come up to me and say "thank you, at last our faith is being recognised"... And many Muslims say how moved they were. But, once again, I have to add, a few, who have made themselves known to me over the years... for the same reasons as the Christians who will not tolerate it, they will not tolerate it.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> Fanshawe, telephone interview with author, 6 March 2007.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

As Lois Ibsen al Faruki advises, within Islamic communities some types of music are always and everywhere allowable (*halal*) and others types of music always and everywhere forbidden (*haram*). For music that falls outside of these two categories, a range of situations exist.<sup>108</sup> The recitation of the Qu'ran is always and everywhere acceptable, as are religious chants and chanted poetry. In fact, for Muslims, these are not music. Of music (in Western terms) that is *musiqa* (in Arabic terms), only family or celebration songs and occupational chants and songs – such as shepherds' tunes and caravan chants – are acceptable to most practising Muslims.

According to Ibsen al Faruki, once instruments are added into the mix, only military bands escape from falling into what she designates a controversial zone. In this zone, *musiqa* becomes increasingly less acceptable to Muslims depending upon its nature, with music of pre-Islamic or non-Islamic origins – such as Western art music – hovering just above the *haram* – or universally unacceptable – line. Al Faruki's definition for the *haram* category is

[m]usic associated with undesirable behaviour – particularly in contexts and situations where the music is being used to arouse the senses towards an inclination towards lust, prostitution, drug-taking, alcohol consumption and other activities strictly prohibited by Islamic Law.<sup>109</sup>

While none of the music Fanshawe included in *African Sanctus* belongs to the *haram* category, the interpolation of Western and Islamic musics remains potentially controversial. First, Western music's position just above the "universally *haram*" line explains why Fanshawe encountered some Muslims who did not approve of *African Sanctus*. Second, at a theological level, Fanshawe's pluralistic assertion that Christianity is the equal of Islam is problematic for Muslims. Adopting a supersessionist position, Islam holds out that Mohammed, as the final prophet in the Abrahamic line, was God's last messenger, and so Islam is the true faith, taking over from Christianity and Judaism. Aware of this line of thought, Thielen-Gaffey struggles with the idea that, historically, Islam has treated Christians as inferior, and wonders at the wisdom of setting texts from opposing doctrines together under such circumstances.<sup>110</sup> Her concerns, whether valid or not, apply equally when considering the historical treatment of Muslims by Christians.

<sup>108</sup> Lois Ibsen al Faruqi, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law," *Asian Music* 17, no. 1 (1985): 3-36. Subsequent publications that draw upon al Faruqi's work include Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Islam and Music: The Legal and the Spiritual Dimensions," in *Enchanting Powers: Music in the World's Religions*, ed. Lawrence E. Sullivan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997); Amnon Shiloah, *Music in the World of Islam : A Socio-Cultural Study* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995); Jonas Otterbeck and Anders Ackfeldt, "Music and Islam," *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 3 (2012).

<sup>109</sup> Ibsen al Faruqi, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law," 13.

<sup>110</sup> Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 146-47.

Thielen-Gaffey also worries about the bringing together of Islamic and Christian texts from another theological perspective. Considering the consequences of the Adhan-Kyrie pairing, she suggests that the Christian Trinitarian doctrine of the three persons in one – God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit – which is conveyed through the words *Christe eleison* (Christ have mercy), is undermined by the Islamic insistence on the tawhid or Oneness of Allah.<sup>111</sup>

Although finding further examples of conflict between the Christian Trinity and Islamic Oneness in the Gloria, Thielen-Gaffey does concede that

[n]ot unlike Muhammad, who determined that the religions could coexist in a peaceful manner, Fanshawe didn't worry about the possible doctrinal differences of two separate religious factions. To Fanshawe, the juxtaposition of these texts is an attempt to reconcile the disparate or contrary beliefs between the two.<sup>112</sup>

Meredith Kennedy too has concerns about *African Sanctus*, seeing a Christological bias that mitigates against the universal and inclusive aims of the work. She finds this particularly evident in a perceived lack of music representing traditional African Religions, which have multiple gods, and in the conflation of the Christian God with the Islamic God.<sup>113</sup> Nonetheless, her concerns can largely be discounted. First, the Christian God is the same God as the Islamic God – both religions stem from the Abrahamic tradition of Judah and the Israelites. Although perhaps not popularly understood, Allah is Yahweh is God.<sup>114</sup> Certainly the doctrines of the religions are different; nevertheless, to suggest that Fanshawe is in error in claiming that Muslims and Christians worship the same God is simply incorrect.

Second, Kennedy does not accept (or is unaware of) the validity of the argument that the supreme creator God of traditional African Religions – a God above all gods – is in alignment with monotheism. Certainly monotheism does not countenance multiple minor gods, whereas African Religions do. But that aside, scholars of African Religions, since at least the 1970s, have confirmed that the concept of One God is fundamental to African beliefs, as the following three examples show. In *Concepts of God in Africa*, John Mbiti lists the relevant name for the supreme God of each of 270 African Peoples.<sup>115</sup> In

---

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>113</sup> Kennedy, "Europe Meets Africa," 5; 12; 43.

<sup>114</sup> Kennedy seems to have misread the source she cites – G.D. Newby in Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions. The entry for "Allah" in the Abingdon dictionary is written by G.D. Newby, but he clearly states that "'Allah, the One,' is the Allah [God] of Judaism and Christianity". G.D. Newby, "Allah," in Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions, ed. Keith Crim, Roger Bullard, and Larry Shinn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981), 23.

<sup>115</sup> John Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: S.P.C.K, 1970), 327-36.



*African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Life*, Laurenti Magesa writes “African Religion never questions nor debates God’s ultimate importance. It is a given”.<sup>116</sup> In attempting to identify an appropriate collective noun for African Religions, E. Bolaji Idowu dismisses nine commonly used descriptors – primitive, savage, native, tribal, paganism, heathenism, idolatry, fetishism and animism – as being insufficient or inappropriate, and eventually turns to monotheism.<sup>117</sup> Arguing that “I do not know of any place in Africa where the ultimacy is not accorded to God” he concludes that African religion “can only be adequately described as ... ‘diffused monotheism.’”<sup>118</sup> While Mbiti, Magesa and Idowu are all Christians, and may have a vested interest in suggesting that Africans worship the same God as Christians, there are non-Christian scholars who also follow this line of thought. In one example, in 2009 Julius Mutugi Gathogo cites a statement by his contemporary Nokuzol Mn-dende who proclaims “I am writing from the perspective of a believer in and practitioner of African Religion. I am not a Christian. Christianity constitutes one but not the only way to God; there are many ways and African Religion is one of them”.<sup>119</sup>

Kennedy also complains that Fanshawe only presents the secular music of everyday events such as “cattle songs, love songs, milking songs, wedding songs and the like” and so does not present any examples of indigenous sacred ritual songs, but her criticism is again unfounded.<sup>120</sup> In traditional African religions the whole of life is religious, not merely the metaphysical aspects of existence. As Gathogo puts it, “African indigenous religion cultivates the whole person. African religion permeates all departments of life”.<sup>121</sup> Thus, even a milking song has religious connotations.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, the wedding song recorded in Egypt is not, or not only, an indigenous African song, but also an Islamic one, as the underlined words and phrases in the following translation make clear:

And the joy when we entered it, has made the messenger light for us  
 O’ those who are going to the city, pray for Taha, our prophet:  
On the Day of judgement he will intercede on our behalf  
Utter a prayer for the prophet

<sup>116</sup> Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1997), 40.

<sup>117</sup> E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (London: SCM Press, 1973), 108-34.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 135-36.

<sup>119</sup> Nokuzola Mndende, “Ancestors and Healing in African Religion: A South African Context,” in *Ancestors, Spirits and Healing in Africa and Asia: A Challenge to the Church*, ed. Ingo Wulforth (Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 2005), 13. As cited in Julius Mutugi Gathogo, “The Reason for Studying African Religion in Post-colonial Africa,” *Currents in Theology and Mission* 36, no. 2 (April 2009): 110.

<sup>120</sup> Kennedy, “Europe Meets Africa,” 39.

<sup>121</sup> Gathogo, “The Reason for Studying African Religion,” 109.

<sup>122</sup> See John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African religion*, 2nd ed. (Heinemann International Literature and Textbooks, 1991).

Once we saw the honourable girl<sup>123</sup>

For Muslims, Mohammed is both the messenger (of Allah) and the final prophet, also known as Taha.

In addition, there are convergences between the African songs and the Christian texts that Fanshawe brings together, thereby highlighting the religious aspects of the African contributions. For example, in the tenth movement, Chants, Fanshawe presents four recordings, a Maasai milking song from Kenya, a song of the river from Uganda, a cattle song from Northern Kenya, and the music of a Luo ritual burial dance from Western Kenya. These are all sympathetic to the preceding, ninth movement, the Lord's Prayer, which includes the words "give us this day our daily bread" and concludes "for thine is the kingdom the power and the glory, forever and ever, Amen".<sup>124</sup>

Of particular poignancy, given Fanshawe's desire to unite humanity through his music, is the Maasai Milking Song, which, although not Islamic, parallels the official Muslim tradition of tolerance captured in the Qur'anic verse "I am not going to worship whom you worship and you are not going to worship whom I worship. To you your religion, and to me mine" (Sura 109:4-6). The Milking Song begins "The cow, when giving milk, does not consider the race of the person who will drink the milk. The cow gives to all men [mankind] freely".<sup>125</sup> Fanshawe was looking for commonalities, and in this verse, a commonality between African Religion, Islam and Christianity is presented: each belief system encompasses the principles of egalitarianism.

In one final dispute with Kennedy, it seems unlikely that *African Sanctus* truly represents "secular music of pre-colonial Africa" as she asserts in her conclusion.<sup>126</sup> The music recorded by Fanshawe in 1969-73 can really only point to, not represent, pre-colonial cultures because they had already largely lost much of their historical validity, if not their essence. One example of an erosion of local culture can be found in the recording of the Bwola Dance in Liri, Uganda. In order to perform the traditional ritual the Acholi tribal leader gave two days' notice of the event to the dancers so that they could return to the town "by bicycle and on foot, carrying their 'skins' in suitcases. They changed into their regalia behind some buildings and sauntered out, discarding cigarettes and taking off their watches, as they readied for the

---

<sup>123</sup> Egyptian Wedding Song, as transliterated and translated by Ahmed Hamed Salem and reproduced in Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 148-49.

<sup>124</sup> Fanshawe's journal entries, which include translations of the songs, are reproduced in *ibid.*, 178-85.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>126</sup> Kennedy, "Europe Meets Africa," 49.

dance".<sup>127</sup> Rather than the dance being performed for ritualistic reasons in accordance with Bwola culture, it was now being performed 'on demand' as entertainment.

Certainly Fanshawe endeavoured to capture authentic performances, even to the extent of recording by stealth; yet, as Fanshawe himself admits, his recordings can only represent the African sounds of the time in which they were recorded. The cultures he encountered had been long infiltrated by the cultural cross-currents of traders, colonial empire builders and missionaries. The kiata trumpet Fanshawe recorded in Sudan, for example, originates from West Africa.<sup>128</sup> Recognising cultural change as a reality, Fanshawe scores electric guitars in his Cruxifixus movement. For Fanshawe, the guitars are descendants of the "lost instruments of Africa", of which the East Sudanese Hadendown cattle boy's basamkub harp that is heard in Love Song: Piano Solo is an exception.<sup>129</sup> Accordingly the electric guitars and basamkub harp are ironic symbols that point to what has been lost.

Fanshawe's awareness of transcultural flows impelling change is also apparent in his recounting of a profound experience in the Lake Victoria region. Here, he met the "hippo man", Mayinda Orawo of the Luo tribe, "a witch doctor, a farmer, a family man, a custodian of culture and surprisingly a church deacon. He was a Christian, there with his feathers, his hippo teeth and everything else".<sup>130</sup>

If the provocation of opposing views is a measure of the success of an artwork, then *African Sanctus* has achieved this status. Yet, drawing from Peter Murphy's ideas in *The Collective Imagination: The Creative Spirit of Free Societies*, Fanshawe's contribution to Western civilisation is not to protest, as did Bernstein and Davies, but rather to present a fascinating and absorbing art work with "an uncanny double edge".<sup>131</sup> On the one hand *African Sanctus* challenged traditional norms regarding sacred hierarchies and racial superiority; on the other it provides a vision in which the potential for a highly heterogeneous society that is harmonious is realised. Through imaginative processes, Fanshawe was able to "present something [different musics] and re-present that thing as something else [harmonious heterogeneity]".<sup>132</sup> *African Sanctus* belongs to "those ideas and practices [that] arise firstly as intuitions and then as artefacts and images, and finally, and only belatedly, as discourses".<sup>133</sup> Through *African*

---

<sup>127</sup> As summarised in Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 53.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>129</sup> David Fanshawe, Telephone interview with author 6 March 2007.

<sup>130</sup> David Fanshawe, interview with Tina Thielen-Gaffey, as quoted in Thielen-Gaffey, "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*," 143.

<sup>131</sup> Peter Murphy, *The Collective Imagination: The Creative Spirit of Free Societies* (Surrey, UK; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2012), 28.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 29. Murphy's emphasis.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

*Sanctus*, Fanshawe created a concert mass that contributed to the shifting of consciousness in the West away from religious and cultural divisiveness towards tolerance. He worked intuitively, bringing together a range of artefacts – both created and collected – in such a way as to draw the attention of groups who either admired or detested his work with sufficient passion to create discourses that continue to the present day.

## Conclusion

By exploring these quite different masses composed in roughly the same years as each other it is possible to highlight the growing diversity that the concert mass is beginning to encompass. Its capacity to inspire works and scholarship that focus upon issues that are important at the time, and its potential to influence the future have been made manifest. Compared to Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*, Chihara's *Missa Carminum* may have had little impact upon the ongoing development of masses because of its relative obscurity within Chihara's better known oeuvre; however, it has many aspects that accord with the cultural movements of the 1970s. It is a mass that draws upon the freedom of the counter-cultural movement to be non-conformist and to be sexually free, yet in its very status as a mass, rather than a song cycle or some other form that Chihara could have chosen, it affirms the value of retaining tradition. Indeed, Chihara is challenging modern notions of religious practice that separate religion from everyday life. He is calling for a return to a traditional way of being that has not prevailed since at least the Protestant Reformation, and perhaps even further back than that – to the time when Christianity first infiltrated and evangelised among polytheists, and, like those they were wholeheartedly attempting to convert, believed that all aspects of human life were religious. In this way, *Missa Carminum* may not have directly inspired future composers, but the notions it embodies feeds logically into the works to be discussed in the next chapter, which take the mass into the realms of the natural world to explore issues of animal spirituality and ecology. It also resonates with African Religions, which find sacrality in everyday activities, and whose music is included in *African Sanctus*.

In *African Sanctus* David Fanshawe can be seen to be both of his time, of a time past, and of a future time. His enthusiastic collection of music reveals a neo-colonial attitude that was beginning to be criticised as patronising and culturally destructive, while his collection methods were retrospectively judged unethical by ethnomusicological critics, if not by those who performed his works, or listened to them in concerts, or purchased the recordings. Nevertheless, his joyous challenge to the status quo encapsulates a mood within Western societies of the mid 1970s. Those who had moved away from active protest and were moving towards the comfort of materiality still lingered within the communal conviviality of non-conformity with its penchant for alternative ways of being, and were attracted to

spiritualities and cultures that were relatively exotic to the West. As a pioneer in presenting the musics of other religions and other cultures together with Christianity, Fanshawe's mass becomes a work of the future – a work that he himself promotes for decades into that future; a work that inspires further multi-faith concert masses.

In looking for commonalities, Fanshawe approaches the ideals of pluralism from a universalising perspective; there is One God and One Music. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that those living beside a lake in Tanzania will not believe the same things as those living in the highly urbanised and technologically developed societies of England. He does not ignore diversity, but nor does he present the diverse traditions separately; he does not give the listener the opportunity to appreciate the character of each different tradition in its own space. In this, his neo-colonial instinct to merge other cultures into the hegemonic culture of Western society is revealed. Towards the end of the century, masses that reflect a perceived need to correct this began to emerge, notably Kark Jenkins's *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* (2000). The transition in Western societies from a tendency to homogenise cultural differences to a celebration of heterogeneity will be discussed briefly in the concluding chapter. Before doing so, a final group of masses that bring alternative spiritualities into the Roman Rite and feature an environmental ethic will be examined – Paul Winter's *Missa Gaia/Earth Mass* (1981), Daniel Lentz's *wolfMASS* (1987) and, briefly, Libby Larsen's *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* (1992).





## Chapter 8 Concert masses for the environment

Catalysed by Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* published in 1962, the environmental movement gathered momentum quickly in the West, succeeding in bringing ecological issues to the forefront of social concern and government policy.<sup>1</sup> It was an exhilarating time according to biologist David Suzuki (b.1936) who remains an active advocate for the protection of the environment today.<sup>2</sup> Although in the USA, environmental issues would be marginalised by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, the incoming president, George H. W. Bush would re-prioritise environmental concerns in his first year of office, allocating greater resources to a Council on Environmental Quality that had become "moribund" under

---

<sup>1</sup> Eliza Griswold, "The Wild Life of 'Silent Spring'," *The New York Times Magazine* 23 Sept 2012. Rachel Carson, Lois Darling, and Louis Darling, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> David Suzuki, *The Challenge of the 21st Century: Setting the Real Bottom Line* (Sydney Environment Institute: University of Sydney YouTube Channel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9Fd5UNV6a4>, 25 Sept 2013). 28:05 to 29:00.

his predecessor.<sup>3</sup> Holding office from 1989 to 1993, and responding to public pressure, which had grown increasingly strong through the 1980s, Bush approved policies to ban the import of elephant ivory, improve air quality and encourage the development of clean coal technology.<sup>4</sup> Writing for the January 1990 issue of *EPA Journal* he would ask all Americans to plant a tree on Earth Day (22 April) in order to “give the world an example of volunteerism and environmental leadership”.<sup>5</sup> For Suzuki, the years coinciding with Bush’s tenure as President would represent a highpoint for the environmental movement, a time when the need for action was most passionately expressed in Western societies.<sup>6</sup>

Conversely, cultural philosopher William Thompson (b. 1938) draws from Chinese sages to suggest that interest in spirituality had made way for the environmentally less friendly practice of consumerism in the 1980s, stating that “[r]eversal is the movement of the Tao’ ... and so the culture of the materialistic eighties was the reversal of the spiritual seventies”.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, this chapter will show that, even if an evolving interest in spirituality had lost much of its impetus within Western cultures by the 1980s, it had not waned completely. In fact, the masses to be discussed reveal that ideas about spirituality were becoming ever more complex, moving in an ecologically-driven, neo-pagan, post-colonial sweep, to embrace the entirety of creation, while not losing sight of monotheism and the meditational religions of the East. Although the search for a new spirituality may have lost many of its subscribers, those that remained faithful to the quest benefited from the accumulated knowledge of the intense interest in spirituality of the past decade.

Often environmentalism and the quest for spiritual knowledge were linked. Loren Wilkinson writes of a “religious bookstore of sorts” within which “solar energy, organic farming, Zen meditation, altered states of consciousness, the metaphysics of sex, and Saint Francis of Assisi all resonate together”.<sup>8</sup> She suggests that such co-mingling in the 1980s was a “result... of a search for some kind of new spirituality—some alternative to what many perceive to be a destructive, manipulative, mechanistic approach to life which, it is said, has raped the earth and robbed humans of their humanity”.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Matthew J. Lindstrom and Zachary A. Smith, *The National Environmental Policy Act : Judicial Misconstruction, Legislative Indifference & Executive Neglect*, 1st ed., Environmental History Series (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), 130.

<sup>4</sup> George H. W. Bush, "What I Believe About the Environment," *EPA Journal* 16, no. 1 (1990): 2-3; "World Environment Day," *Department of State* 89.2151 (Oct 1989).

<sup>5</sup> "What I Believe About the Environment," 3.

<sup>6</sup> Suzuki, *The Challenge of the 21st Century: Setting the Real Bottom Line*. 1:21:30-1:22:00

<sup>7</sup> William Thompson, "The Lindisfarne Association: 1972-2009," *William Irwin Thompson World Wide Website* (c2009), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.williamirwinthompson.org/lindisfarne/history.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Loren Wilkinson, "New Age, New Consciousness, and the New Creation," in *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*, ed. Wesley Granberg-Michaelson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 8.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



Reflecting this new religious direction, the masses under consideration in this chapter, all by American composers, reveal a trend away from overt expressions of Christian theology towards an ever greater adoption of alternative religious views, with a particular focus on spirituality. Jazz saxophonist, Paul Winter's *Missa Gaia/Earth Mass* (1981) does assert the oneness of the universe through the word "Gaia" and the inclusion of taped animal 'song', but the work retains a strong Christian flavour and does not include challenging texts. Daniel Lentz and Jessica Karraker's *wolfMASS* (1988) also respects Christian tradition, but brings external elements such as comic book characters and military references into a mass that mixes Christian, Amerindian and Naturalist theologies. Libby Larsen pushes Christianity right to the fringes of her contribution to the genre, *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* (1992), reflecting the attitudes of those religious questers who, Wilkinson asserts, were not drawing "very much on orthodox Christianity" because Christianity was "viewed as having caused the problems [with society and the environment] in the first place".<sup>10</sup>

Underpinning Wilkinson's observation about the links between religious non-conformism and environmentalism is the conclusion of medievalist, Lynn Townsend White, who, in his influential 1967 article remonstrates that

the present increasing disruption of the global environment is the product of a dynamic technology and science which were originating in the Western medieval world ... Their growth cannot be understood historically apart from distinctive attitudes toward nature which are deeply grounded in Christian dogma ... Hence we shall continue to have a worsening ecologic crisis until we reject the Christian axiom that nature has no reason for existence save to serve man.<sup>11</sup>

Christian theologians were also considering approaches to ecology in the 1980s, however, searching both the Old and New Testaments for guidance on the contemporary predicament. Although those contributing to the 1987 collection of essays, *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth* warned that paying homage to the earth itself would constitute the worship of a false idol, they were not cautious about putting forward the case for humankind's stewardship of God's creation. They argued that God may be omnipotent and capable of righting the ecological harms of humankind;

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>11</sup> Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science* 155, no. 3767 (1967): 1207.

nevertheless, any such harm ultimately constitutes an abrogation of humanity's responsibility to work with God to maintain His creation.<sup>12</sup> According to one author, in the book of Genesis,

[h]umankind is differentiated from all other entities God has created... [and] receives multiple privileges and mandates.... [Accordingly] humanity must co-exist with nature in a symbiotic relationship of mutual fruitfulness... This leads us away from wilful disregard and destruction (but does not call us to foolish toleration of that which is destructive to the human race).<sup>13</sup>

Another author cautions that ignoring God's mandate to tend to the earth results in "ecological disaster and social oppression. And this is precisely what history and our own experience attest".<sup>14</sup>

Approaching environmental issues from a spiritual rather than institutional religious perspective, and carrying his interest as a scholar of culture a step further, Thompson had a vision for the world; a vision that he would work to bring about. In Thompson's utopia, "humankind [would] live in harmony with nature ... [in] new meta-industrial villages and smaller, decentralized, symbiotic cities".<sup>15</sup> A key figure in Winter's *Missa Gaia/ Earth Mass*, Thompson founded the Lindisfarne Association, an organisation "devoted to the study and realization of a new planetary culture". Lindisfarne was established in Long Island in 1973, and moved to New York city in 1976.<sup>16</sup> Settling into the deconsecrated Church of the Holy Communion in Lower Manhattan, the Association became "an intellectual mind jazz club", organising and presenting new art, seminars, poetry readings – both new and old – and musical improvisations that often featured Paul Winter.<sup>17</sup> Lindisfarne Fellows, who met annually to plan the forthcoming year's program, included an anthropologist, a Princeton international law professor, an English poet, an astronaut, a "renowned soft-energy advocate" and an undersecretary at the United Nations.<sup>18</sup> When the inability to source funding to renovate the Lower Manhattan premises forced

---

<sup>12</sup> The notion of human stewardship of the earth is held by all authors in Wesley Granberg-Michaelson, ed. *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987). Those who focus upon earth worship as constituting worship of a false idol include Paulos Mar Gregorios, "New Testament Foundations for Understanding the Creation," 91; Loren Wilkinson, "New Age, New Consciousness, and the New Creation," 29; 34; 52; Robert P. Meye, "Invitation to Wonder"; and William Dryness, "Stewardship of the Earth in the Old Testament".

<sup>13</sup> Robert P. Meye, "Invitation to Wonder," in *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*, ed. Wesley Granberg-Michaelson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 40; 48.

<sup>14</sup> William Dryness, "Stewardship of the Earth in the Old Testament," in *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*, ed. Wesley Granberg-Michaelson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 64.

<sup>15</sup> See Charles Redenius, "The Lindisfarne Association: An Exemplary Community of the New Planetary Culture," *The Journal of General Education* 37, no. 3 (1985): 256.

<sup>16</sup> "The Lindisfarne Association," accessed 13 April 2015, <http://www.williamirwinthompson.org/lindisfarne.html>.

<sup>17</sup> Thompson, "The Lindisfarne Association: 1972-2009".

<sup>18</sup> Redenius, "The Lindisfarne Association: An Exemplary Community," 254.

Lindisfarne to relocate in 1979, the transformation of the former church several years later would aptly demonstrate the point Thompson was making about material culture encroaching upon the spiritual. As he describes it, the church was

transformed, with an expenditure of over two and a half million dollars, into a fashionable, punk, sacrilegious discotheque in which the gliteratti gyrated on the altar of "Limelight" and stretch limos lined the littered streets that the members of Lindisfarne used to sweep after evening meditation.<sup>19</sup>

While Thompson may bemoan the repurposing of the building as a hedonistic swing in the wrong direction, Lindisfarne's move to the massive Episcopalian Cathedral Church of St John the Divine, whose grounds spread over 4.5 hectares in Manhattan's upscale residential Upper West Side, would result in the establishment of a spiritual legacy that may not have been conceived of had the organisation not relocated; a legacy that lives on today: the performance of Winter's *Missa Gaia/Earth Mass* on the first Sunday of October every year.

### *PAUL WINTER'S MISSA GAIA/EARTH MASS (1981)*

Collaboratively composed by Paul Winter and other musicians in 1981, *Missa Gaia* displays a wealth of diversity, yet, as will be discussed below, remains explicitly Christian.<sup>20</sup> While journalist Terry Mattingly might assert that conservative Christians would consider *Missa Gaia's* performance at St John the Divine to constitute "the presence of Satan's throne in a church", many, including some 4,000 congregants who attend the service each year, would disagree.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, in 1986 *Missa Gaia* would be nominated for inclusion in the United Methodist Church hymnal as a work that provided "a new way

---

<sup>19</sup> Thompson, "The Lindisfarne Association: 1972-2009". The Limelight Disco would inspire Christian singer Steve Taylor to write the song "This Disco (Used to be a Cute Cathedral)", which is the first track on his *Limelight* album released by Sparrow Records in 1986.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Halley, Oscar Castro-Neves, Kim Oler and Jim Scott worked with Winter to create different movements of *Missa Gaia*. Paul Winter et al., *Missa Gaia Earth Mass: A Mass in Celebration of Mother Earth*, ed. Joe Hickman and Wayne Abercrombie (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2006), 4-5.

<sup>21</sup> Terry Mattingly, "Liturgical Dances With Wolves (1993)," *patheos.com*, accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/tmatt/terry-mattinglys-magazine-freelance-archives/liturgical-dances-with-wolves/>. The *New York Times* estimated the likely attendance to be 5,000 in the Weekender Guide, 2 Oct 1987, however, the report on the celebration in the same Newspaper three days later estimated an attendance of 4,000. Ari L Goldman, "Every Dog (and Elephant) has its Day in St. John Rite," *The New York Times*, 5 Oct 1987.

to think about inspirational music [which] might hasten the day when the lion lies down with the lamb".<sup>22</sup>

With the encouragement of the Lindisfarne Association, *Missa Gaia* was commissioned by the Dean of the cathedral, Rev. James Parks Morton, and dedicated to the patron saint of animals and ecologists, St Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226).<sup>23</sup> First performed on Mother's Day in May 1981, from 1985 onwards *Missa Gaia* would become an annual fixture at St John the Divine, moving to the first Sunday of October in commemoration of St Francis of Assisi's feast day of 4 October. Interpreting the Saint's theological approach from an ecological perspective, the environmental pioneer, Lyn White writes that "is view of nature and of man rested on a unique sort of pan-psychism of all things animate and inanimate, designed for the glorification of their transcendent Creator".<sup>24</sup> Among other notable achievements, often relating to animals, St Francis is remembered for having tamed a wolf.

Celebrating earth and its wildlife in his mass, Winter includes live recordings of living creatures including a wolf, but also a whale and harp seals, as well as other found sounds such as wind and water. In 1985, a member of the Ecosophical Movement, which describes ecosophicism as "refer[ing] not only to human wisdom regarding nature as a household, but to the earth's wisdom as a bio-spiritual organism", found *Missa Gaia* to be complimentary to their aims, arguing that

Paul Winter 'co-composed' a Mass with other animals to demonstrate the family nature of the relationship between humans and all other cosmic forms. The successful aesthetic integration of human and other songs with the traditional structure of the sung Mass makes *Missa Gaia* an ecosophical song.... *Missa Gaia* introduces us into a new world-view, quite opposed to current scientific materialism or philosophical nihilism.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Joan Connell, "'Battle Hymn,' 'Onward Christian Soldiers' Rank Highest Among the Heavenly Hits Red, White and Blue... and Religious," *San Jose Mercury News*, 5 July 1986, 11C. The idea of the lion coexisting peacefully with the lamb comes from an prophetic tract in Isaiah 11:6, yet to be realised.

<sup>23</sup> Winter et al., *Missa Gaia Earth Mass*, 2-3; 8. Also see the liner notes for *Paul Winter - Missa Gaia / Earth Mass*, Paul Winter Consort; Cathedral Chorus and Choristers; Gil Robbins and Paul Halley (cond.), Living Music Records LP 06759 (2 vols), 1982. Reverend Morton chaired meetings of the Lindisfarne Fellows when they convened their annual meetings. Redenius, "The Lindisfarne Association: An Exemplary Community," 254.

<sup>24</sup> White, "Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," 1207.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Larson, "Paul Winter's *Missa Gaia*: Ecosophical Music of the Sphere," *EcoSpirit* 1, no. 2 (1985): 2-3.

Similarly, writing for *Environmental Review*, Mary Kime finds *Missa Gaia* “succeeds in providing through music an unmistakable intuition of the distance and magnitude of the universe, and of the unity of human life with animal life and with the cosmos itself”.<sup>26</sup>

While ecosophists and other environmentalists may claim *Missa Gaia* as a fitting anthem for their cause, Winter himself strove for his mass to remain within Christian tradition and to serve it well despite his lack of affiliation with any Christian denomination. Neither a church musician nor even accustomed to performing explicitly religious music, he was at first attracted to the Upper West Side Cathedral by its acoustic properties, enthusing that “the sound floated and hovered, and seemed to glow with a richness I have never known before”.<sup>27</sup> Performing with his Consort in the cathedral for the first time for a celebration of the Vernal Equinox on 20 March 1980, Winter describes the experience in spiritual terms. Noting that his fellow musicians were much more “confident and at ease” than was usual, he recollects that it was

as if, in the space of the Cathedral, we were shifted from the ‘scared’ to the ‘sacred’ (a word that to me implies a sense of connectedness), as if we were simply correcting a typographical error in our lives. This happens, I think, because the experience of resonating inside this grand space reconnects us to some greater perspective; and in this state of relatedness, our fears dissolve.<sup>28</sup>

Winter is attesting here to a generalised spirituality that reflected the occasion: a concert in a sacred space on the first day of spring. Yet, when it came to constructing a mass for Sunday service, even though Dean Reverend Morton assured him he could “write a Mass on anything”, Winter felt compelled to research past masses, from Machaut to Bach to Kodaly to Britten, and to also familiarise himself with the meaning of the liturgical texts; Winter wanted to ensure that his contribution to the genre would be fitting.<sup>29</sup>

### “Earth Fair”

*Missa Gaia* continues to be performed during the cathedral’s services, which conclude with individual blessings of the congregation’s animal companions, which have also sat through what has become a

---

<sup>26</sup> Mary W Kime, “Missa Gaia: Earth Mass by Paul Winter; The Paul Winter Consort,” *Environmental Review: ER* 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1983): 24.

<sup>27</sup> Winter et al., *Missa Gaia Earth Mass*, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

nearly two-hour extravaganza. A travel site blog describing the 2013 celebration at St John the Divine includes pictures of a camel, many dogs, llamas, a donkey, geese, a turkey and other farmyard birds, a kitten, a bull, a tortoise, several sheep, a kangaroo, a Shetland pony, cats, rabbits and a goat.<sup>30</sup> Various reports from other years mention an elephant and a mouse, a chimpanzee, a python and an eagle.<sup>31</sup> In 1987, the *New York Times* report mentions a skunk named Respect and a macaw named Captain Casanova, the latter comically urging its human companion "Come on! Let's go!" immediately after Dean Morton had completed the colourful bird's blessing.<sup>32</sup>

By 1989, it had become traditional for environmental organisations and community groups to hold an "earth fair" after the mass. Motivational speakers, vegetarian food, "animal adoption booths, performances and information booths" turn the cathedral and its grounds into a site of religiously-oriented ecological proselytising for much of the day.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the St Francis Day event had become so popular by 1992 that the *New Jersey Record* advised those wishing to obtain a seat in the church itself to arrive two hours early.<sup>34</sup> The service at St John the Divine was paralleling a growing and more wide-spread interest in animal spirituality, which, by the early twenty-first century, would see bookstores placing human-animal oriented publications relating to "deep philosophical and spiritual issues" adjacent to "general pet-care books".<sup>35</sup>

#### A concert mass

Being a collaboratively composed collection of pieces, *Missa Gaia* has attributes that suggest a greater affinity with concertised Baroque masses than with concert masses. Drawing from a range of musical styles, from jazz, to Brazilian, to gospel, it is not particularly cohesive across its various movements, each standing stylistically alone. From a strictly musical perspective, the bringing together of several composers, each contributing an idiomatically different style to his creation, has resulted in a work that makes most sense when the movements are separated by the ritual of the Eucharist. In the words of one critic, the concert form of *Missa Gaia* runs the risk of being heard as "pastiche... stitched together without the remotest ability to impose stylistic unity on their sum".<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Megan Roberts, "A Beastly Blessing: St. Francis Day at Manhattan's St. John The Divine," *atlasobscura.com* (2013), accessed 11 April 2015, <http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/a-beastly-blessing-st-francis-day-at-manhattan-s-cathedral-church-of-st-john-the-divine>.

<sup>31</sup> Jill Schensul, "Blessing Creatures Great and Small," *The Record [NJ]*, 24 Sept 1989, T01.

<sup>32</sup> Goldman, "Every Dog (and Elephant) ".

<sup>33</sup> "Weekender Guide: Animals in Cathedral," *The New York Times* 29 Sept 1989, C24. See also "Weekender Guide: Blessing the Beasts," *The New York Times* 2 Oct 1987, C34. and Wilma Supik, "Celebrating in the Spirit of a Saint," *The Record [New Jersey]* 1987, B08.

<sup>34</sup> Jill Schensul, "Birds of a Feather," *The Record*, 3 Oct 1992, C05.

<sup>35</sup> Susan L Holak, "Ritual Blessings with Companion Animals," *Journal of Business Research* 61 (2008): 535.

<sup>36</sup> William Littler, "Samsons in Sound Bring Down Ceiling," *Toronto Star*, 22 June 1989, C4.

Despite any perceptions of pastiche, Winter's *Missa Gaia* has been presented to popular acclaim during concerts on many occasions, including during the Elora Festival in Canada in 1994 and 2012 and "annual airing[s]" at Worcester, Massachusetts since at least 1996, not to mention many others.<sup>37</sup> In Miami, Florida, selections from the 1982 recording were heard and discussed at the First Unitarian Church in 1983, and the piece is of sufficient interest to the wider populace in the Eastern states of the USA that newspapers have reported performances of individual movements from Hummelstown, Pennsylvania to Eugene, Oregon to Atlanta, Georgia.<sup>38</sup> From a commercial perspective, by 2006 Hal Leonard Inc. was sufficiently confident of *Missa Gaia's* popularity to publish a vocal score, together with the full score and a CD of the sound cues of the "animal voices".<sup>39</sup>

Comprising seven core movements into which a range of other songs and musical interludes are frequently inserted, both in concert and in service, the first core movement, Cantic of Brother Sun is inspired by St Francis of Assisi's prayer of the same name, and is a simple contemporary hymn whose melody is reminiscent of Janis Iain's award winning ballad, *At Seventeen*, of 1975.<sup>40</sup> In stark contrast, the Kyrie is built from the cry of an Alaskan tundra wolf and, in its sympathetic blending of human voice, soprano saxophone, and wolf howl, is perhaps the most successfully syncretic of the movements. The third movement, The Beatitudes, paraphrases the familiar texts of Matthew 5:3-12 and Luke 6:20-23 and is a free-moving contemporary gospel song composed by the Winter Consort guitarist, Jim Scott.

For the Sanctus and Benedictus, Winter works with the cathedral organist Paul Halley to combine the recorded sound of a whale with an appropriate choral response. While the slow-moving choral parts certainly match the sonorous tones of the whale song, the Northeast Brazilian *baião* rhythm of the instrumental accompaniment is disjunctive but appropriate. By employing the Brazilian rhythm to depict the joyous and abundant activity of an Amazon jungle teeming with life, and contrasting it with the sound of not merely a single being, but the largest living creature on earth, the whale, the musical arrangement successfully parallels the Latin text "*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua*" (Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of your glory). The 'heavenly' is represented by ethereal music inspired by the whale and the 'earthly' is

<sup>37</sup> Appendix II provides details of many of the concert performances. For reports on the Elora Festival performances see Bob Keefer, "Concert Choir Takes Journey from Jazz to Motown," *The Register-Guard*, 5 March 2009, E3; Colleen Johnston, "Missa Gaia a Rousing Tribute to Nature," *The Record [Kitchener]* 1994, E7. For reports on the Worcester performances see Scott McLennan, "Singing Quiet Lullabies - Monica Hatch Goes Beyond Jazz," *Worcester Telegram & Gazette*, 10 Jan 2002, C1; "'Missa Gaia' to be a Feature of Concert," *Worcester Telegram & Gazette*, 24 Mar 1996, C14.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix I. The album is a composite of recordings made in St John the Divine on two occasions, and another in the Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona. *Paul Winter - Missa Gaia / Earth Mass*, (1982).

<sup>39</sup> Winter et al., *Missa Gaia Earth Mass*.

<sup>40</sup> Released on the *Between the Lines* album and as a single in 1975, Janis Iain was awarded a Grammy Award for Best Female Pop Vocal Performance in 1976 for *At Seventeen*.

represented by busy music inspired by the jungle. Furthermore, in the *Hosannah* section the unexpected conjunction of the two styles is resolved when the vocal parts stop mimicking the whale and become active and joyous also.

The next core movement, *Agnus Dei*, brings the sounds of harp seal pups from the Magdalen Islands together with the choir in a similar way to the whale and the choir at the beginning of the *Sanctus*. Winter selects harp seals because he had learnt that, in attempting to convey the Christian allegory of Christ as the Lamb of God to the indigenous people of Labrador, Christian missionaries substituted the image of the lamb with that of the seal.<sup>41</sup> Slow-moving vocal parts accompanied by instrumentalists featuring an unsettling crotchet-minim motif creates a tension in the movement that reflects the underlying premise of the *Agnus Dei*: that to err is a common, and the need for forgiveness ever present.

The sixth movement, *The Blue Green Hills of Earth*, is a gospel style song that, although placing the earth central and thereby potentially admitting Gaia, is primarily Christian. With words and music by composer, Kim Oler, it praises the Lord for the wonders of nature. Concluding the group of core movements, the seventh is a reprise of *Canticle of Brother Sun*.

Despite the stylistic disparity among the movements, unifying elements are not completely absent from *Missa Gaia*. Animal recordings are heard in several of the movements, the texts are all Christian, and the return of *Canticle of Brother Son* at the end of the mass provides a cyclic structure. In addition, for Winter himself, creating *Missa Gaia* was a unifying experience that reinforced the plausibility of the Gaia hypothesis that harmony can be achieved when the inter-relatedness of all aspects of the cosmos is acknowledged:

If the 'Gaia hypothesis' is about synergy, then the process of our creation of *Missa Gaia/Earth Mass* is truly a manifestation of Gaia. For what developed was an interweaving of creative ideas from all the members of the Consort; and our process was self-balancing, by virtue of the common instincts of taste we share in our little musical tribe. While no one of us knew all the threads with which we would weave the *Earth Mass*, together we found we did know.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Winter et al., *Missa Gaia Earth Mass*, 5.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 6. The Gaia hypothesis was first articulated by James Lovelock in 1972, and then jointly with Lynn Margulis in 1974, See James E. Lovelock and Lynn Margulis, "Atmospheric Homeostasis by and for the Biosphere: The Gaia Hypothesis," *Tellus* Series A (Stockholm: International Meteorological Institute), no. 26 (1-2) (1 Feb 1974): 3.



For Winter, *Missa Gaia* is unified through the collective understandings of a group of musicians who have rehearsed and performed together over an extended period of time.

### Gaia & God?

Drawing from the wider ecological impetus of *Missa Gaia*, the annual service at St John the Divine celebrates the entirety of God's creation, and, despite being an Episcopalian service, not a Catholic one, can be understood to reflect the decision by Pope John Paul II to extend St Francis of Assisi's patronage of animals to include ecology in 1979.<sup>43</sup> Writing for World Day of Peace (1 Jan 1990) Pope John Paul II refers to his having made St Francis the patron saint of ecology a decade earlier, stating

Saint Francis of Assisi ... offers Christians an example of genuine and deep respect for the integrity of creation. ... Saint Francis invited all of creation - animals, plants, natural forces, even Brother Sun and Sister Moon - to give honour and praise to the Lord. ... It is my hope that the inspiration of Saint Francis will help us to keep ever alive a sense of "fraternity" with all those good and beautiful things which Almighty God has created. And may he remind us of our serious obligation to respect and watch over them with care, in light of that greater and higher fraternity that exists within the human family.<sup>44</sup>

Accordingly, the environmental focus of *Missa Gaia* would appeal to Christians who believe humans must act in concert with all of nature, even while rejecting any earth-centred belief system. Christian journalist Tom Connor, for example, strives to reconcile Christian doctrine with James Lovelock's theory of Gaia, in which earth is understood to be a single living entity within which all organisms and inorganic matter inter-relate.<sup>45</sup> To do so, Connor rejects the theory's anti-anthropocentric claim that humans are no more important to Earth than any other creature or element and disqualifies Lovelock's remonstrance that the biosphere is not there simply as a "Life Support System" for human beings.<sup>46</sup> "Human centred", Connor argues "does not mean centred on human nature, rife with greed and insensitivity; instead, it refers to that which was made in the image and likeness of God".<sup>47</sup> Also endorsing the stewardship role for humans espoused by Pope John Paul II, Connor argues that environmentally aware Christians know they must act in harmony with all of life, because all of life is

---

<sup>43</sup> Pope John Paul II, "Apostolic Letter Inter Sanctos: AAS 71, 1509f," (1979). Lynn White had called for Francis to be made the patron saint for ecologists in 1967: "Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," 1207.

<sup>44</sup> "Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II For The Celebration of the World Day of Peace 1 January 1990: Peace With God The Creator, Peace With All Of Creation," *Vatican.va* (8 Dec 1989), accessed 11 April 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/messages/peace/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_mes\\_19891208\\_xxiii-world-day-for-peace\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/peace/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19891208_xxiii-world-day-for-peace_en.html).

<sup>45</sup> The theory was first expounded by Lovelock in "Letter to the Editors: Gaia as Seen Through the Atmosphere," *Atmospheric Environment* 6, no. 8 (1972). See also Lovelock and Margulis, "Atmospheric Homeostasis."

<sup>46</sup> Tom Connor, "Is the Earth alive?," *Christianity Today* 37, no. 1 (1993); Lovelock, "Letter to the Editors: Gaia," 580.

<sup>47</sup> Connor, "Is the Earth alive?," 25.

created by God: "The beauty and complexity of the Earth are God's gifts to us. Christians should be at the forefront of the ecology movement so that the glory of God is not pre-empted by a narrow humanistic agenda or an 'antihuman' value system".<sup>48</sup> One such environmentally aware Christian, Paul Gorman, vice president of public affairs and advocacy for St John the Divine, explicitly blames humans for the current state of the earth when he declares "[u]ntil people understand that creation is truly sacred, we are going to continue to despoil it".<sup>49</sup>

While some Christians who attend the annual *Missa Gaia* celebration might be unaware that the Gaia theory does not accord with Christian doctrine, and simply believe they are worshipping God, Loren Wilkinson has some doubt about this, stating "the question of who or what is being worshiped—the earth or the creator of that earth—is not well-defined [in *Missa Gaia*"]".<sup>50</sup> It seems likely that the work's ambiguity is intentional. In an evangelical gesture, Reverend Morton tolerates the Gaia references as being a partial truth about God's creation, in order for the St Francis Day service to be appreciated by both those who are inclined to believe in Mother Earth, and to those who believe in God.

Wilkinson's qualms, however, do add weight to Terry Mattingly's concerns about what the annual October Eucharistic celebration at St John the Divine had become by 1993: a vastly expanded service that, Mattingly worries, may constitute the admittance of Satan into the cathedral. Of particular concern for Mattingly was the insertion of a pan-African chant that praises the Yoruba religion's deities of Obatala and Yemanja, and the Egyptian deities Ra and Ausar (Osiris) during the offertory. This was a pluralistic step too far for Mattingly. When the bread and wine were being brought to the altar during the Offertory procession, he advises, "the musicians offered a rhythmic chant that soared into the cathedral vault".<sup>51</sup> It was not the chanting itself that perturbed Mattingly, it was the words that were being chanted:

OBA ye Oba yo Yemanja  
 Oba ye Oba yo O Yemanja  
 Oby ye Oba yo O O Ausar  
 Oba ye Oba yo O Ra Ausar  
 Praises to Obatala, ruler of the Heavens  
 Praises to Obatala, ruler of the Heavens  
 Praises to Yemenja, ruler of the waters of life

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Schensul, "Blessing Creatures Great and Small," T01.

<sup>50</sup> Wilkinson, "New Age, New Consciousness," 22.

<sup>51</sup> Mattingly, "Liturgical Dances With Wolves (1993)".

Praises to Yeminja, ruler of the waters of life

Praises to Ausar, ruler of Amenta, the realm of the ancestors

Praises to Ra and Ausar, rulers of the light and the resurrected soul.<sup>52</sup>

Mattingly explains his reaction as follows:

... I sat down, confused. As a journalist, I have attended many interfaith services and I know all about the kinds of rites now being used at many seminaries and New Age conferences. I knew all about the trendy reputation of this particular cathedral.

But this was a Sunday morning Mass, led by a diocesan bishop. Once again, I checked the printed liturgy.

What was going on?

Ra? The sun god of Egypt? Ausar?

Meanwhile, the service continued. At the altar, New York Bishop Richard Grein raised his arms and began the consecration prayers.

Still, my heart was troubled. For the first time, I decided not to receive communion at an Episcopal altar. I was not sure what I would be receiving.<sup>53</sup>

The inclusion of the worship of African and Egyptian deities has Mattingly doubt the authority and integrity of the service itself. The unthinking acceptance of pluralistic impulses has, as Mattingly identifies, the potential to dilute the potency of any given religious tradition. Even though the performance of *Missa Gaia* at St John the Divine is but an annual celebration in a single, albeit high profile church, for Mattingly the celebration is another drip of water wearing away the foundation stone of the Church.

The principle underlying Mattingly's concerns had been elucidated a decade earlier by a sociologically trained French philosopher and Christian Anarchist, Jacques Ellul. At the same time as Winter and his collaborators were creating *Missa Gaia*, Ellul was writing on the theme of the ongoing subversion of Christianity since the first century. He argues that the Church has always followed the "dominant trends" in the societies within which it operates: "[y]esterday [the Church] claimed to have absolute

---

<sup>52</sup> From the printed worship booklet for "Liturgy and Sermon, Earth Mass — *Missa Gaia*," distributed on Oct. 3, 1993, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. As transcribed in *ibid*.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*.

truth and was dogmatic, today it lets people believe what they like".<sup>54</sup> Ellul finds "no truth... incarnate in this simple conformity", concluding that, in bowing to social pressure "Christianity becomes an empty bottle that the successive cultures fill with all kinds of things".<sup>55</sup> Although his argument is hyperbolic, his conclusion is not without substance. An old tradition holds greater weight than a newer one. The weight of tradition that undergirds the mass, for example, is one of the attractions for composers. They chose the mass over other possible musical forms, such as song cycles or cantatas, because, in fitting their composition into a millennium-old tradition of setting the liturgy of the Roman Rite, they signal that their work is not frivolous; that it conveys religious meaning that should be taken seriously.

For those Christians who follow Ellul's line of thought, it can be argued that the liberties taken during the annual St Francis Day service at St John the Divine belong to an ongoing continuum representing an unwarranted perversion of "the work of God accomplished in Jesus Christ ... [with the ongoing help of] the third person of the Godhead [the Holy Spirit]".<sup>56</sup> In admitting non-traditional elements into the Christian mass; in admitting the spectacle of an elephant walking down the aisle of the house of worship, of dancers rushing to meet a wolf cry, and musicians chanting to "false" gods, the performance of *Missa Gaia* at St John the Divine can (but need not) be understood to have eroded God's revelation, as described by Ellul, a little further. It could be argued that in the annual *Missa Gaia* service the focus has moved from worship to entertainment; a spectacle in which anything is admissible. Mattingly was not particularly bothered by liturgical dance, or even the parade that give the *Missa Gaia* service a theatricality not normally found in Episcopalian worship; but the praise of Yemanjá, Ausar and Obatala alarmed him because, both logically and theologically, the implication that such deities exist is anathema to Christian faith.

It is likely that the inclusion of the African-Egyptian deity worship in the *Missa Gaia* service at St John the Divine was, at least in part, a consequence of the establishment of the Pan-African religious organisation, the Ausar-Auset Society in New York in 1973.<sup>57</sup> Ausarians are monotheistic, worshipping a single creator God with spirits or deities such as Ausar and Auset being similar to Christian saints through whom devotees can ask for intercession with God. Accordingly, the Ausarian creator God could

---

<sup>54</sup> Jacques' Ellul, *The Subversion of Christianity*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986), 8.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 8; 18.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 208-12.

<sup>57</sup> The Ausarian religion has its roots in ancient Egyptian religious practice led by the divine figures of Ausar (named Osiris by the Greeks) and his wife Auset (Isis), yet, perhaps unbeknownst to Mattingly, is monotheistic. See "Ausar Auset Society International," accessed 13 April 2015, <http://www.aasorlando.org/aboutaas.htm>.

be considered to be the same God as the Christian God. But not by Mattingly, who found the inclusion of the Ausarian chant so inappropriate that he feared Satan's intervention.<sup>58</sup>

Winter himself had addressed the question of the devil while composing his mass. Discussing the recorded wolf's cry, which includes the tritone interval traditionally understood to depict the devil (or Satan) in music Winter writes as follows:

That we can now use this interval without evoking that kind of mind-set gives me hope that we might mature as a species.... For just as we are now graduating from our inherited European fear of wolves and wilderness, so may other devils and dragons we conjure with our minds disappear. As we come to resonate, once again, with the greater community of life. This is the purpose of *Earth Mass*.<sup>59</sup>

Regardless of whether most people associate the tritone with the devil or not, trivialising Satan by putting both dragons and devils in the same category suggests Winter has not sufficiently comprehended the nature of the fallen angel, as understood by Christians. Jeffrey Burton Russell, a religious historian who is "inclined to believe that the Devil exists and that his works are painfully manifest among us", argued in 1981 that "[t]he Devil is the personification of the principle of evil... not a mere demon, a petty and limited spirit, but the sentient personification of the force of evil itself, willing and directing evil".<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, he explains, "to deny the existence and central importance of the Devil in Christianity... is intellectually incoherent. If the Devil does not exist, then Christianity has been dead wrong on a central point right from the beginning".<sup>61</sup>

For those who fall outside of the Christian tradition, there is no need to grapple with belief or disbelief in Satan – they can simply dismiss the notion as Winter does. Nonetheless, Russell contends that the idea of the Devil was never "more alive [in 1981]... than it has been for many decades, because we are again aware of the ineradicable nature of perversity in our own behaviour, a perversity that has perhaps been more evident in the twentieth century than ever before".<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> While liberal Christians may adopt a metaphorical view of Satan, Mattingly appears to be persuaded by the belief in Satan as an ever-present, ever vigilant, active opponent of God, developed particularly by medieval theologians.

<sup>59</sup> Winter et al., *Missa Gaia Earth Mass*, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1981), 12; 23.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 25. Even among Christians there are many who are inclined to disbelieve in Satan. Russell identifies six arguments against the existence of the Devil, finding reason to dismiss them all. Ibid., 221-22.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 222.

Russell's quest to understand the Devil is both informed by and a product of the heightened proclivity for spiritual searching of the previous two decades. In the broad realm of Western Societies, many were beginning to embrace – or at least to contemplate – alternative ideas regarding the cosmos and humanity's place within it, such as those encapsulated by the Gaia theory and informing *Missa Gaia*. Consequently, critical voices such as Mattingly's have had little impact on the ongoing acceptance of the inclusive theological views implicit to the Feast of Saint Francis and Blessing of the Animals service at St John the Divine on each first Sunday in October. The deluge of positive reports and reactions, both to the annual church service and to concert performances of *Missa Gaia*, ensure that the Winter Consort's collaborative mass continues to prosper. Enjoying another performance at St John the Divine on 5 October 2014, its endorsement of religious plurality through the promotion of a diversity of theological views is upheld a little more firmly as each year passes.

#### DANIEL LENTZ AND JESSICA KARRAKER'S *WOLFMASS* (1987)

Although the wolf is central to *wolfMASS* (1987), there is no evidence that the devil is contemplated by either the composer, Daniel Lentz, or his co-creator, Jessica Karraker, who commissioned the work, constructed the libretto, and is the vocal soloist in the recording. The blame for ecological degradation – the potential extinction of predatory animals and birds, specifically wolves, bears, eagles, cougars and people – is placed squarely on the heads of human beings. For Karraker and Lentz, all sentient beings, not just humankind, share a spirituality that should be honoured and respected.

Scored for solo voice, choir, midi keyboards, and midi and acoustic percussion, *wolfMASS* premiered in Rouen, France during the city's 1988 *Festival d'Été*.<sup>63</sup> It was also performed in Phoenix, Arizona in 1994 and in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1995, the latter performance occurring in an underground cave and filmed for broadcast on Slovakian television.<sup>64</sup> It is Lentz's second mass and, he believes, one of his most effective and successful compositions.<sup>65</sup> As with his first mass, *Missa Umbrarum* (1973), discussed in Chapter 4, the dogma undergirding the liturgy is of little interest to Lentz, but he still maintains a respect for the tradition and ritual of the mass. In the case of *wolfMASS*, he draws upon its theological and cultural depth to provoke thought about the endangerment of predators, including humans. As Lentz puts it, "the 'wolfMASS' was for me a kinda requiem for wild predators. I've always

<sup>63</sup> An incomplete version of the work, then titled "Mass of the Living Dead" was performed during the Three Rivers Arts Festival's "On the Edge" series at the Fulton Theatre (now the Byham Theatre) in Pittsburgh in June 1988. See Mark Kanny, "Lentz Mixes Computers, Music," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* 17 June 1988, 21.

<sup>64</sup> Jessica Karraker, "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke," (Jan 2014), 4. The full text is included as Appendix III.

<sup>65</sup> Daniel Lentz, interview, 8 Feb 2013.

wondered why it is the predators who are nearing extinction and not their prey; wolves, great bears, wild cats/tigers/cougars, eagles, and of course humans".<sup>66</sup>

Writing the notes accompanying the 2000 recording of *wolfMASS*, Arthur Sabatini is of the opinion that Lentz's familiarity with the form of the mass "allows him to express his elaborate ways of understanding, his powerful emotions, and his response to contemporary issues" in *wolfMASS*.<sup>67</sup> If Sabatini is correct, then Lentz (and Karraker) use the mass in a similar way to Winter. Both composers are familiar with the history of the mass and wish to situate their own contribution sympathetically within the tradition, whilst also pushing into new theological territory, particularly the territory of animal spirituality.

A key difference between the two masses, however, lies in Lentz and Karraker's explicit inclusion of man as not merely predator but also endangered.<sup>68</sup> In *wolfMASS* the movement names comprise a list of predators linked to the capitalised liturgical titles, namely wolf-KYRIE, bear-GLORIA, eagle-CREDO, cougar-SANCTUS, and man-AGNUS DEI.<sup>69</sup> As Sabatini notes, in the final movement, Lentz and Karraker are "reminding us that the spirit of God the Father is in humans as well as in the animals and the Earth", and, in concluding that this is "something Native Americans have always known", Sabatini highlights Lentz's heritage as the great-grandson of a Senecan woman of the Iroquois Nation.<sup>70</sup>

Lentz's totem is the wolf and *wolfMASS* was his second work featuring the animal, the first of which is *Wolf is Dead* from *On the Leopard Altar* (1982).<sup>71</sup> Like both *Missa Umbrarum*, in which the liturgy is broken up into phonetic essences that are initially heard out of sequence, and *On the Leopard Altar*, which features wordplay including homonyms and phonetic linking, *wolfMASS* also features lyrics that are not straightforward, with interjections of phrases from secular sources into the standard liturgical texts. As a reviewer for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* put it after attending a performance when it was still a work-in-progress and then called *Mass for the Living Dead*, "[it] is a melange, most jarring in use of American patriotic tunes for Latin text, most provocative in juxtaposing mercy and predator [*sic*] survival".<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 28 Dec 2013.

<sup>67</sup> Arthur J. Sabatini, "Notes," in *wolfMASS* (Aoede Records, 2000), n.p.

<sup>68</sup> Perhaps Winter does place mankind in the role of predator and spoiler of creation, and so implicitly endangered, but this is not apparent in *Missa Gaia* itself.

<sup>69</sup> The first movement is simply called 'Preludium' and has no text.

<sup>70</sup> Sabatini, "Notes"; Daniel Lentz, email correspondence 20 Oct 2011; 1 Apr 2012.

<sup>71</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 18 Oct 2011; 20 Oct 2011; 4 Jan 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Kanny, "Lentz Mixes Computers, Music," 21.

The initial idea for the theme of the work – if not the form it would take – was Karraker's:

... I told Daniel that I wanted to write the lyrics to a series of songs in which I would use the Wolf as a symbol of Mother Nature. I wanted to explore the different angles and aspects of Man's destruction of the natural world with each different song. Daniel was open to the idea, but he made two suggestions that I immediately and enthusiastically embraced. First, he said he needed me to use more animals. Second, he proposed that I base my lyrics around the Catholic Mass. Other than that, Daniel gave me no other input into what I wrote or how I interwove my own texts in English with the Latin texts of the Mass. It was also my idea to keep the Mass in Latin. I love the beauty of Latin, as much as I love the beauty of the Mass.<sup>73</sup>

The process of creating *wolfMASS* would eventually see Karraker, who was a lapsed Protestant at the time, convert to Catholicism several years later, having realised she had "thrown the baby out of the bathwater" in leaving behind the religion of her "very devout mother" when she went to college.<sup>74</sup>

In a biography prepared for the East Ozarks Audubon Society's 2008 Earth Day Festival, at which she was scheduled to perform, Karraker self-describes the motivations underscoring the *wolfMASS* libretto to be those of a spiritually inclined environmental activist:

Karraker and Lentz collaborated on a major work which ultimately became their *wolfMASS* ... This seminal work represents Jessica's first efforts in melding her passion for music with her fervor for pursuing social and ecological justice through spiritually-based activism.<sup>75</sup>

A more current biography appearing on the website of Karraker's animal rehabilitation centre, WolfStone Ranch, shows that her desire to protect animals remains strong, but her religious affiliations have changed. In writing that "[b]oth wolves and stones are universal symbols of primeval Mother Nature" she aligns herself with both New Age religious ideas and the Gaia hypothesis undergirding Winter's mass.<sup>76</sup> According to the website, she now considers herself spiritual but "not in the least

---

<sup>73</sup> Karraker, "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke," 2.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>75</sup> "Jessica Lynn Mary Karraker," East Ozarks Audubon Society, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://eastozarksaudubon.tripod.com/id47.html>. The Audubon Society is an ecologically oriented organisation. See "About us," Audubon, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://www.audubon.org/about-us>.

<sup>76</sup> Jessica Karraker, "About WolfStone," WolfStone Ranch, accessed 29 Dec 2013, <http://wolfstoneranch.org/about.html>.



religious”, although conceding, in a pluralistic impulse, that “there are many ‘righteous’ paths to God... we were all created out of God’s love”.<sup>77</sup>

When asked if she would elaborate on how her views regarding religion have changed over the past two decades, Karraker replied that, several years after converting to Catholicism, her “spirituality outgrew the Church, even outgrew Christianity. It was too ‘small’, too exclusive, too full of man-made rules and regulations”.<sup>78</sup> *wolfMASS* was a stepping stone in her path towards discovering a personal belief system, a system that has no interest in the trappings of institutional religion yet still accommodates belief in the ultimate Being of God.

In this she differs from Lentz who is interested in all theories, but when asked about God, states

I "know" about God what everybody else in history has known/knowns: absolutely nothing. But unlike many, I am at peace with not knowing. The mystery of it all is interesting of course, but so is the mystery of Heisenberg and all of quantum, from uncertainty to boson(s) and string theories.<sup>79</sup>

These are contemporary statements, and the positions of both Lentz and Karraker may well have shifted over the course of the twenty-five years since they created *wolfMASS*. Nevertheless, these personal observations indicate that Karraker is spiritually inclined, whereas Lentz shies away from any such expression and has a more disengaged, academic interest in religious matters. When asked whether music is “inherently spirituality” during an interview with Martin Perlich in 2010, he has no glib answer, but rather prevaricates, shifting the focus from spirituality to ritual, before grappling with the question more head-on, only to then stumble to an inconclusive halt:

Lentz:	Oh boy, oh gosh [pause]. It’s inherently ritual [pause] the glue of music is repetition and the glue of ritual is repetition and so they’re forever going to be married, I don’t see a divorce in the next [pause]. What was the question?
Perlich:	Good question. Was. Is music inherently spiritual?

---

<sup>77</sup> Jessica Karraker, "Who is Jessica Karraker, anyway?," WolfStone Ranch, accessed 15 April 2015, <http://wolfstoneranch.org/jessica.html>. Karraker also states “I consider myself to be very spiritual, although not in the least religious. Which means I try very hard to follow The Golden Rule. But beyond that, I think many of the rules touted in most of the world’s religions are of man, not God.”

<sup>78</sup> "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke," 4.

<sup>79</sup> Daniel Lentz, email correspondence, 7 Dec 2011.

Lentz: Oh, *spiritual*. I went off track. I can't answer that.

Perlich: Your music is saying welcome. Your music is very welcoming. It's loving

Lentz: I'm still stuck on the spiritual ... I just don't know what it means. Spiritual does not have to have anything to do with religion so in that sense, yeah, I think it's something you aim for actually, in your music. To get a spiritual [ ]. To get it to a level where it is authentically spiritual experience having nothing to do with religion. [pause] It's hard to write a mass and say it's got nothing to do with religion. [pause] Might do a Requiem someday.<sup>80</sup>

Although Lentz does acknowledge that the mass is a religious ritual, neither he nor Karraker are restrained by any specific religious affiliation, and so find in the mass form an opportunity to explore their primary, but separate passions free of confessional constraints. For Lentz it is the musical content that is paramount, for Karraker it is the animals. The mass provides a text to work with, and a tradition to work within; it provides both boundaries that confine the imagination within a manageable gaze, and a characteristic seriousness and religiosity that is appropriate to the messages the collaborators wish to promulgate. As with Lentz's earlier *Missa Umbrarum*, for many listeners the precise meaning of the Latin words of the liturgy are barely understood and, in the context of a concert mass, become little more than a signifier of religion. Moreover, in the case of *wolfMASS*, the interspersing of English language texts from Native American and popular secular culture among the largely unfamiliar Latin liturgical texts makes the English words stand out and the Latin recede into the background. Thus Karraker's primary motivation to advertise the plight of predators is satisfied, while Lentz's desire to adopt "bold musico-technological materials to create visionary performance concepts" is not compromised.<sup>81</sup>

For the purposes of this thesis, however, the foregoing analysis will be restricted to the words that Lentz set, rather than the music he created to do so. Whereas the musical construction of *Missa Umbrarum* was important to understanding how Lentz's protest over the replacement of Latin with the vernacular in the Eucharist was manifested, in the case of *wolfMASS* it is the texts that are most relevant to the nature of its protest.

Following Lentz's advice to work with the mass, Karraker set out on two research paths. The first, to discover more about the liturgy, and the second, to ascertain which "the most powerful sacred animals"

---

<sup>80</sup> Transcribed from Perlich, "Video Interviews: Daniel Lentz." From 45:02

<sup>81</sup> Sabatini, "Notes."

were within the Native American tradition.<sup>82</sup> She then began to work on pairing a specific animal with each liturgical text. Her rationale in each case is outlined at the beginning of the discussion of each movement. Not only did Karraker pair the movements with particular animals, she also advises that “the texts (or lyrics) that I wrote are also coordinated to compare and/or contrast with the texts of the Mass”.<sup>83</sup> The full text of each movement appears in Figure 8.1.

<p><b>wolf-KYRIE</b></p> <p><i>KYRIE ELEISON, CHRISTE ELEISON</i>  <i>KYRIE ELEISON, CHRISTE ELEISON</i>  <i>KYRIE ELEISON, CHRISTE ELEISON</i>  have mercy  see me as I am  and fear  the big bad  howling at your door  see me as I am  and hate  the wild beast  of hell  cock a rifle  lay a bead  my heart!  snap!  jagged jaws of steel  see me as I am  and kill  brother cyanide-suicide  noble beast  savage within</p> <p><b>bear-GLORIA</b></p> <p><i>GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO</i>  father of the mountain  <i>ET IN TERRA PAX</i>  mother of the underworld  <i>HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS</i>  grandfather, voice of the seasons  <i>LAUDAMUS TE</i>  laughing loud as autumn falls  <i>BENEDICIMUS TE</i>  sleeping dead as winter lives  <i>ADORAMUS TE</i>  dancing drunk as springtime brews  <i>GLORIFICAMUS TE</i>  singing low as summer grows  <i>GRATIAS AGIMUS TIBI PROPTER MAGNAM</i>  <i>GLORIAM TUAM</i>  it is only crying about myself that comes to me in  song  hear me! <i>DOMINE</i> smoky  hear me! winnie <i>REX</i> yogi <i>COELESTIS</i>  hear me! <i>OMNIPO</i> teddy  it is only crying about myself that comes to me in  song</p>	<p><i>QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI</i>  <i>MISERERE NOBIS</i>  papa, i'm so sorry  comrade goldilocks  has murdered baby bear  <i>JESU CHRISTE</i>  <i>CUM SPIRITU</i>  <i>IN GLORIA DEI PATRIS</i>  AMEN</p> <p><b>eagle-CREDO</b></p> <p><i>CREDO IN UNUM DEO</i>  <i>PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM</i>  <i>FACTOREM COELI ET TERRA</i>  <i>VISIBILIIUM OMNIUM ET INVISIBILIIUM</i>  “mine eyes have seen the glory of the”  warrior of the sky  he is soaring into heaven  while he's roaring into hell  pappy says ‘let's go to war’  i say ‘mama wants no more’  “shouting the battle cry of”  follow me now, you're born to kill  “hurrah! hurrah!”  follow me now, you're born to die  “hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!”  <i>QUI PROPTER NOS HOMINES</i>  <i>ET PROPTER NOSTRAM SALUTEM</i>  <i>DESCENDIT DE COELIS</i>  “off we go into the wild blue”—thunder  “flying high into the”—fire  “yankee doodle keep it up”  stick ‘em with your feather  “oh beautiful”—the enemy  the hero's last hurrah!  <i>CRUCIFIXUS ETIAM PRO NOBIS</i>  <i>PASSUS ET SEPUL TUS EST</i>  <i>ET RESURREXIT TERTIA DIE</i>  <i>ET ASCENDIT IN COELUM</i>  pappy says ‘i'm gonna die’  i say ‘better you than i—’  see you in heaven, soldier’  <i>ITERUM VENTURUS EST CUM GLORIA</i>  <i>JUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS</i>  <i>CREDO IN SPIRITU SANCTU DOMINUM</i>  “yankee doodle”—show your stuff  make ‘em beg for mercy</p>	<p><i>CREDO IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM</i>  follow me now, you're born to kill  “hurrah! hurrah!”  follow me now, you're born to die  “hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!”  <i>CREDO IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM</i>  <i>ET EXPECTO RESURRECTIONEM MORTUAM</i>  <i>ET VITAM VENTURI SAECULI</i>  AMEN</p> <p><b>cougar-SANCTUS</b></p> <p><i>SANCTUS, DOMINUS DEUS, SABAOOTH</i>  <i>PLENI SUNT COELI ET TERRA GLORIA TUA</i>  <i>OSANNA IN EXCELSIS</i>  the wildcat bows silently before her prey  while the wilderness chatters like machinegun  fire  <i>BENEDICTUS</i>  <i>QUI VENIT IN NOMINE DOMINI</i>  <i>OSANNA IN EXCELSIS</i>  while the wilderness chatter like machinegun fire  the wildcat bows silently before her prey  <i>SANCTUS</i>  <i>BENEDICTUS</i>  <i>OSANNA IN EXCELSIS</i></p> <p><b>man-AGNUS DEI</b></p> <p><i>AGNUS DEI</i>  <i>QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI</i>  papa i'm so sorry  please see me as i am  <i>AGNUS DEI</i>  <i>QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI</i>  <i>DONA NOBIS PACEM</i>  oh beautiful the enemy  i am only man!  noble beast savage within  i am only man  <i>AGNUS DEI</i>  <i>MISERERE NOBIS</i>  it is only crying about myself  that comes to me in song  <i>AGNUS DEI</i>  <i>QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI</i>  <i>DONA NOBIS PACEM.</i>    <i>PACEM</i></p>
--	--	--

Figure 8.1 Text of *wolfMASS* (1987) as it appears in the Liner Notes for the Aode Records CD *wolfMASS* (2000)

<sup>82</sup> Karraker, "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke," 3.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 4. Unfortunately time constraints precluded Karraker from elaborating further on the text parallels.

## wolf-KYRIE

[T]he **Wolf** was revered for its endurance. I knew from my wolf books that no other animal has endured as much abuse at the hands of Man as the Wolf. Man has not only vilified the Wolf, but also hunted them nearly to extinction. Worse, Man has even felt justified in torturing them, not just killing them. The **Kyrie** is all about mercy. So I paired the Wolf and the Kyrie as a plea of mercy for the Wolf ... with the Wolf begging for mercy. But of course, that really applies to all other species who are also suffering and dying at the hands (directly and indirectly) of Man.<sup>84</sup>

In the texts of *wolfMASS* a number of non-religious or non-Christian influences can be found. In all the movements, the primary theme of endangerment is readily apparent. This works well in the context of the liturgical Kyrie, which is a plea for mercy; an admission of the fallibility of the human spirit that does not always find itself behaving morally. The instruments that humans use to kill wolves are made manifest in the phrases “cock a rifle”, “jaws of steel” “kill/ brother cyanide-suicide” and give rise to an interpretation of the wolf pleading to God for mercy from human kind. Conversely, the phrase “see me as I am” asks humans to respect the “noble beast” even whilst acknowledging the “savage within” that has led to humans hunting the wolf down. The fear that the wolf has impressed upon human consciousness is also present through the reference to European folk tales: “fear/ the big bad/ howling [wolf] at your door”.

Given that fear, as much as a thirst to express power has led to the wolf being hunted, tortured and killed by humans, Karraker is admitting to a problem that is presently insoluble. To the best of human knowledge, the wolf is incapable of consciously choosing to ignore its instinct to attack in order to protect and so is treated accordingly. The human being is capable of acting altruistically, but not all are convinced that organising the planet in a way that maintains a wolf population is desirable. Karraker is asking for God’s mercy, but not on behalf of those who see the wolf as a predator, because such people, regardless of their faith or lack of faith, believe that eradicating a threat to human enjoyment of the world is more important than sustaining diversity, and would not think God’s forgiveness would be required. Karraker’s plea for mercy has a wider ambit – she is pleading with God to help her and others like her to find a solution; to find a way to convince all that the wolf should be protected, and to have mercy on them for as long as they continue to fail to do so.

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 3. Emphasis is Karraker’s.

## bear-GLORIA

I paired the **Gloria** with the **Grizzly Bear** because there is no more impressive and breathtaking creature on the North American continent. The Grizzly is, like Man, an omnivore. And it often stands on its hind legs. So there are many comparisons to Man. Simply put, no other animal is more “glorious” than the Grizzly, hence I thought it perfect for the Gloria.<sup>85</sup>

The pairing of liturgical and non-liturgical texts continues in the bear-Gloria. In the first half, each Latin phrase is matched with a phrase that is redolent of a religious outlook that worships nature and so parallels the acclamation of the Christian God that is the work of the Gloria:

<i>Latin liturgical text</i>	English translation	non liturgical paired text
<i>Gloria in excelsis Deo</i>	Glory be to God in the highest	father of the mountain
<i>Et in terra pax</i>	And on earth, peace	mother of the underworld
<i>hominibus bonae voluntatis</i>	To people of goodwill	grandfather, voice of the seasons
<i>Laudamus te</i>	We praise you	laughing loud as autumn falls
<i>benedicimus te</i>	we bless you	sleeping dead as winter lives
<i>adoramus te</i>	we adore you	dancing drunk as springtime brews
<i>glorificamus te</i>	we glorify you	singing low as summer grows

From this point onwards, however, the texts become oppositional and increasingly defiant. The Tlinget Native American lament that admits to individual limitations, “it is only crying about myself that comes to me in song” follows the liturgical “we give you thanks for your great glory”.<sup>86</sup> The word “Deus” (God) is left out of the phrase “Domine Deus Rex coelestis” (Lord God, heavenly King), and the American cultural icons of Smokey Bear, Yogi Bear and Teddy Bear are invoked, giving the text a blackly comedic cast:

hear me! DOMINE smoky  
 hear me! winnie REX yogi COELESTIS  
 hear me! OMNIPotddy

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. Emphasis is Karraker’s.

<sup>86</sup> For a discussion of Native American poetry, including brief mention of the Tlinget lament, see Kenneth Lincoln, *Native American Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 56.

In bringing the images of Yogi Bear and the teddy bear into this climactic passage, Karraker is reminding listeners that it is possible to think of bears as something other than formidable. By omitting “Deus” and invoking human-created non-living bear images, Karraker maintains that bears have been brought close to extinction because God has become redundant to a self-sufficient human race that kills what it cannot control. Consequently, bear-GLORIA contends through the Tlinget lament, all humans should cry about the consequences of forgetting that God created all creatures and, in Christian terms, having done so, “saw that it [including predatory Bears] was good” (Genesis 1:25).

The final portion of the movement omits several specifically Christian lines of the Gloria but includes the words “*qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis*” (you take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us). After the plea for mercy, which can be interpreted in accordance with the Kyrie, another folktale, modified to suit Karraker’s purposes, is brought in to condemn humanity: “papa i’m so sorry / comrade goldilocks / has murdered baby bear”.

Unexpectedly at this point, the movement concludes on a conciliatory note with most of the final line of the Gloria set without embellishment: “*Jesu Christe, cum spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris, Amen*” (Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father. Amen). In fact, in each of the movements that follow the Gloria the final words of the relevant liturgical texts are set.<sup>87</sup> In so doing, Lentz and Karraker are acknowledging the debt to the Christian liturgy their work owes and strive to avoid being accused of trampling upon tradition. It is also a symbolic precursor to Karraker’s later conversion to the Roman Catholic faith.

## eagle-CREDO

The **Credo** is a statement of belief. Put another way, it is a statement of one’s “vision” for how to live life in a sacred (meaningful, proper) way. All raptors (birds of prey) have exceptional eyesight, for hunting their prey from great distances. So I paired the “vision” of the Credo with the “vision” of the raptor. And I chose the **Bald Eagle** because it is the national symbol of the United States and I wanted to make political as well as moral statements.<sup>88</sup>

In the eagle-CREDO, an anti-war argument is incorporated by utilising the melody of the Battle Hymn of the Republic. After the first four lines of the liturgical text, the English-language section begins with

<sup>87</sup> The Kyrie ends with the words “noble beast / savage within”.

<sup>88</sup> Karraker, “wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke,” 3. Emphasis is Karraker’s.

the first words of the hymn *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord*, but replaces the final four words of the line – “coming of the Lord” – with “warrior of the sky”. In this movement in particular, Karraker’s “activist heart”, awakened by the Vietnam War protests of “the hippie college students (like at UC-Berkeley)”, is apparent.<sup>89</sup> Such phrases as “pappy says ‘let’s go to war’ / i say ‘mama wants no more’” are informed by this experience, while the lower case “i” emphasises the equality with which Karraker invests humans, birds and animals, and in fact all of nature. The hymn melody then makes way for Yankee Doodle Dandy and the anti-war message continues with ironical lines such as “pappy says ‘i’m gonna die’ / i say ‘better you than i’” and “follow me now, you’re born to kill / ‘hurrah! hurrah!’ / follow me now, you’re born to die”.

In this movement too, significant portions of the liturgical text are omitted, notably the sections relating to Christ’s virgin birth and His being one with God.<sup>90</sup> This is not to say that Christ’s presence on earth is dismissed in *wolfMASS*, for the crucifixion and resurrection section of the Credo is left largely intact, as is the idea of the forgiveness of sins and the coming of a final judgement day. However, what Karraker actually believes is of subordinate interest to her having thought carefully about what she does and doesn’t believe in the liturgical text. Words are not dismissed randomly, or, as occurred in *bear-GLORIA*, chosen to suit the English language text that is being paired with the liturgy. Karraker’s religious thought and practice may have shifted over time, but her acceptance of some Christian teaching at the time *wolfMASS* was created – even whilst rejecting any personal commitment to institutional religion – is clearly evident. Karraker strove to construct a serious, albeit highly personal theology. In doing so she epitomises the sense of autonomy that empowered people to create their own spiritual and religious spaces in the 1980s.

#### cougar-SANCTUS

The idea of the **Sanctus** is the sacredness of life. The Native Americans have a phrase “walking in beauty”, which means to have heaven and earth in harmony. They also speak of “walking the red road”, which means to live in a sacred manner. Or, like my mother, to walk the walk, not just talk the talk [of Christianity]! In short, the Sanctus is about choosing to live a moral life of integrity.

If one does this, one must (I believe) honor, respect and protect all life, all of Mother Nature, all ‘Her’ (Mother Nature’s) ‘children’ (all plants and animals). One way to show

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>90</sup> The inclusions and omissions appear in Appendix IV.

one's reverence for God (or here, God's creation, Mother Nature) is to bow down. The **Cougar** crouching, about to pounce on its prey, looks like it is bowing down in prayer. There's my connection for the Cougar and the Sanctus.<sup>91</sup>

Demonstrating Karraker's confident development of a personal theology further, in the first English-language line in cougar-SANCTUS, "the wildcat bows silently before her prey", the cougar is imagined in an act of spiritual reverence, honouring the creator who has just been glorified in the liturgical text that has preceded it: "*Sanctus, Dominus Deus, sabaoth...*" (Holy [Holy, Holy], Lord God of hosts...). Nonetheless, the wildcat's vulnerability is also broadcast in the next English line "while the wilderness chatters like machinegun fire", the onomatopoeic word "chatter" reinforcing the point that humans have the strategic advantage over animals of sophisticated weaponry.<sup>92</sup>

#### man-AGNUS DEI

Finally, the **Agnus Dei** (Lamb of God) was easy... it had to be **Man**. Jesus Christ was a Man. Jesus was also known as "the Lamb of God". But of course, Man has turned out to be the most dangerous (by far and away) of all God's creatures. Because Man is the one who is about to destroy the entire Earth and ALL God's earthly creatures.<sup>93</sup>

The cause of the cougar's vulnerability – humankind – is the subject of the final movement, man-AGNUS DEI, which brings the ideas contained in the previous movements to a conclusion. This final movement acknowledges that human-kind is also a predator threatened with extinction. For Lentz and Karraker, the reason predators are threatened with extinction is because humans – like the other predators they attack – are "savage beasts" too: "noble beast savage within / i am only man". Human beings are vulnerable, they have their own stumbling blocks to living harmoniously within the world. Each individual's imperfect nature is recognised in the reiteration of the Tlinget lament "it is only crying about myself / that comes to me in song" immediately after the words "*Agnus Dei miserere nobis*" (Lamb of God, have mercy on us). Thus, in the concluding moments, Native American and Christian theologies converge on a point of mutual acceptance. In the wider context of ecological issues, and indeed all issues that trouble humankind, vulnerability and fear are at the root of them all.

---

<sup>91</sup> Karraker, "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke," 3. Emphasis is Karraker's.

<sup>92</sup> Jessica Karraker and Daniel Lentz, *wolfMASS* (Aoede Records, 2000), n.p.

<sup>93</sup> Karraker, "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke," 4. Emphasis is Karraker's.



From a Christian viewpoint, *wolfMASS* pushes the mass perhaps further away from its Christian origins than any other to that date, or at least more comprehensively so. Like Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*, it brings in the texts of other religions; like Bernstein's *Mass*, contemporary issues are addressed in the anti-war stance; like Chihara's *Missa Carminum*, liturgical and profane texts are brought into collision with each other; and like Winter's *Missa Gaia*, ecological themes prevail. Whereas each of these earlier works introduce one or two outside influences into the Christian mass, Lentz and Karraker bring them all together. As a consequence, *wolfMASS* provides a prime example of the shifting currents within the theologies of Western societies. In the wake of the non-conformism of the long 1960s, itself a product of the focus on the individual of the long nineteenth century, the ongoing process of Western secularisation leads to more than – or something other than – a loss of faith and confessional allegiance; it is also conducive, for those so inclined, to the finding and founding of a new faith, a faith that is not constrained by institutional or confessional boundaries, but utilises past religious traditions to imagine a new belief system that suits the individual. With a confidence inspired by spiritual intuition, that person becomes his or her own bespoke theologian.

#### LIBBY LARSEN'S *MISSA GAIA: MASS FOR THE EARTH* (1992)

The final mass to be considered in this chapter reveals a similarly liberal approach to institutional religion but takes the musical form a step still further away from its liturgical origins. Libby Larsen's (b. 1950) *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* (1992) for SATB choir, violin, viola, oboe, percussion and piano eliminates the usual Latin texts in their entirety, retaining only the Latin names of the liturgical sections and even then not conforming completely to the order and names of the Ordinary. Nonetheless, in selecting texts that are sympathetic to the themes of the relevant sections the titles refer to, *Missa Gaia* maintains the spirit of the Roman Catholic tradition. Choosing extracts from sources that address "human beings' relationship to the Earth", Larsen follows a similar path to Karraker, seeking, as Larsen puts it, to "perform traditional Western rituals with new reverence, spirit and meaning" in order to "effect [ecological] change".<sup>94</sup> Yet in calling the rituals associated with the Roman Catholic Liturgy "Western" rather than Catholic, or even Christian, Larsen shows no personal sympathy for Christianity, unlike Karraker. While space precludes an extensive exegesis of Larsen's work, several brief examples demonstrate the way Larsen aligns natural theologies with the meaning of the liturgical texts she does not set.

---

<sup>94</sup> Liner Notes to *Mass for the Earth - Libby Larsen: Missa Gaia; Stephen Paulus: Echoes Between the Silent Peaks*, Oregon Repertory Singers; Gilbert Seeley (cond.), Koch International Classics CD 3-7279-2 H1, 1995.

## FROM MASS TO POLITICISED CONCERT MASS

Apprehend God in all things for God is in all Things Every single creature is full of God. And is a book about God. Every creature is a word of God. And is a book about God. Every creature is a word of God. So full of God is every creature	Meister Eckhart
My feet are elms, roots in the earth My heart is the hawk My thought the arrow that rides The wind across the valley My spirit eats with eagles on the mountain crag And clashes with thunder My brass is the breath of my flesh And the deer is the bone of my child My toes dance on the drum In the light of the eyes of the old turtle	Maurice Kenny, "They Tell Me I am Lost"
Blessed are your eyes, because they see: and your ears because they hear	Matthew 13:16
My chant is the wind My chant is the muskrat My chant is the seed My chant is the tadpole My chant is the grandfather And his many grandchildren Sired in the froth of March And the summer moon of brown August	Maurice Kenny, "They Tell Me I am Lost"
The seed is the word folded fast in an honest and good heart with perseverance	Luke 8:11;15
My chant is the field that runs with the sun And feeds the mice And the bear red berries and honey My chant is the river That quenches the thirst of the sun My chant is the woman who bore me And my blood and flesh of tomorrow My chant is the herb that heals And the moon that moves the tide And the wind that cleans the earth Of old bones singing in the morning dust My chant is the rabbit, skunk, heron My chant is the red willow, the clay And the great pine that bulges the woods And the axe that fells the birch And the hand that breaks the corn from the stalk	Maurice Kenny, "They Tell Me I am Lost"
Speak to the earth and it shall teach thee	Job 12:8
And waters the squash and catches stars My chant is a blessing to the trout, beaver And a blessing to the young pheasant That warms my winter My chant is the wolf in the dark My chant is the crow flying against the sun... My chant is the sun While there is sun I cannot be lost	Maurice Kenny, "They Tell Me I am Lost"
But ask now the beast and they shall teach Thee And the fowls of the air, and they shall teach thee. Or speak to the earth and it shall teach thee	Job 12:7-8
So full of God is every Creature	Meister Eckhart

Figure 8.2 Credo from Libby Larsen's *Missa Gaia: A Mass for the Earth* (1992)<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Source: Liner notes, ibid.

To match the beseeching tone of the Kyrie, Larsen sets excerpts from poems IV and VI of T.S. Eliot's *Ash Wednesday*, thereby introducing mother earth at the beginning through the words "Blessed sister, holy mother, spirit of the fountains", and ending the movement with a plea: "Suffer me not be separated / And let my cry come unto thee".<sup>96</sup> The Gloria sets the Jesuit poet, Gerard Manly Hopkins's *Pied Beauty*, which begins "Glory be to God for dappled things" and is the most transparent concordance of liturgy and poem of the mass.<sup>97</sup> In place of both the Sanctus and Agnus Dei texts, Larsen sets a prayer of praise and yearning from the Native American Chinook people, which begins "How lovely are the holy groves / God of heaven and earth / My soul longs and faints...", while the final movement, Benediction, sets *Eagle Poem* by another Native American, Joy Harjo, which includes the phrase "we are truly blessed".<sup>98</sup>

### Credo

Just as the Credo is central to the standard five-movement mass, and usually the lengthiest of movements as a consequence, so too is Larsen's Credo a lengthy statement of belief. The full text appears in Figure 8.2. In performance, it is almost twice as long as the first and last movements, and more than three times longer than each of the other three movements.<sup>99</sup> While the convergences between poem and liturgical text are fairly straightforward in the previous movements, the Credo has a more multi-layered aspect, as it intersperses biblical texts among the first half of Native American poet, Maurice Kenny's 'They tell me I am lost' from *The Smell of Slaughter* (1982) collection, while the words of mystical medieval theologian, Meister Eckhart begin and end the movement.<sup>100</sup>

Larsen's purpose in including the Christian texts appears to be predominantly didactic, using them to show concordances between Christian belief and Gaia and to promote the latter. She begins by showing that the medieval Eckhart also understood the interconnectedness of all of creation, selecting an excerpt that begins "Apprehend God in all things for God is in all Things" and ends "so full of God is every creature". She then allows Kenny's mantra-like poem to flow, interrupting its laying out of Mohawk, Native American-informed beliefs only occasionally to include a verse or two from the Bible

<sup>96</sup> Liner Notes, *ibid.* The bulk of the T. S. Eliot text set comes from poem VI lines 29-35. In the earlier published vocal score, the Kyrie set words from poet M K Dean on a similar theme to the same music. Libby Larsen, *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* (Boston: ECS Publishing c1999), iv; 14-17.

<sup>97</sup> Larsen, *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth*, v; 18.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, vii; 53; 66.

<sup>99</sup> *Mass for the Earth - Libby Larsen: Missa Gaia; Stephen Paulus: Echoes Between the Silent Peaks*, (1995). Movement lengths are Introit 4:52, Kyrie 2:35, Gloria 2:59, Credo 9:23, Agnus Dei/Sanctus 2:58, Benediction 5:39.

<sup>100</sup> Dedicated to Lance Henson, the poem is a partial response to the question Henson posed of Kenny "How can any self-respecting Mohawk live in a place like Brooklyn?" See Susan Ward, "Maurice Kenny, How Can Any Self-Respecting Mohawk Live in a Place Like Brooklyn," in *Maurice Kenny: Celebrations of a Mohawk Writer*, ed. Penelope Myrtle Kelsey (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 37.

that correspond with a line of the poem. After Kenny's words "In the light of the eyes of the old turtle" she inserts "Blessed are your eyes, because they see: and your ears because they hear" (Matthew 13:16), thereby reminding the listener to use their eyes and ears to help them to live in harmony with every creature.<sup>101</sup> After the words: "and the hand that breaks the corn from the stalk" Larsen sets "Speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee" (Job 12:8), thereby advising those who harvest the fruits of the earth to do so sustainably.

More controversially, earlier in the movement she follows Kenny's "my chant is the seed" with parts of two verses from the Parable of the Sower. The parable, found in three of the four gospels of the Bible, is an important story for Christians, instructing the faithful that a good life is achieved by living in accordance with the teaching of Christ.<sup>102</sup> But Larsen omits the word "God" from her selection, and in so doing undermines the text's message significantly. Whereas in Luke the words are "The seed is the word of God ... hold it fast in an honest and good heart ..." (Luke 8:11;15), Larsen sets "The seed is the word folded fast in an honest and good heart ...".<sup>103</sup> In Larsen's Credo, the seed, nurtured by Mother Earth, replaces the word of God.

Furthermore, the version of the Bible that Larsen is drawing from is unclear. Whereas she uses the *New American Standard Bible* for Matthew 13:16, and the *King James Version* for Job 12:7-8, here the best concordance with the words she sets is the *New Revised Standard Bible*. Her omission of God, and her disregard for quoting consistently from a single version of the Bible suggests a lack of respect for Christian religion that is not evident in the other movements.

In the light of these issues, beginning and concluding the Credo with Meister Eckhart's statement "so full of God is every creature", renders the issue of God in Larsen's *Missa Gaia* somewhat enigmatic. She selects texts that explicitly mention "God" for the Gloria and the Agnus Dei/Sanctus movements but removes God from the centre of the Credo. Perhaps the underlying rationale for what appears to be an anomaly is that Larsen is giving due respect to each of the traditions and doctrines that she is bringing together. God is present in the Credo, but not within the framework of Kenny's poem because God does not belong there. Melding the idea of "mother earth" with "my chant" and then the personal pronoun, "I", which represents all Native Americans, Kenny presents a personal version of the Gaia

---

<sup>101</sup> The transcription of the text in the front pages of the score attributes this translation to *The Living Bible* (TLB); however, the translation accords with the *New American Standard Bible*. Larsen, *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth*, vi..

<sup>102</sup> See Matthew 13:3-23, Mark 4:2-20, Luke 8:4-15.

<sup>103</sup> The *New Revised Standard Version* provides the greatest concordance with the words Larsen sets, although the score attributes them to *The Living Bible*. In the transcription of the text appearing in the front of the vocal and piano score, "word" is erroneously transcribed as "world". Larsen, *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth*, vi.

hypothesis informed by Native American beliefs. Neither “my chant” nor “I” is “God” but rather represent a single body that comprises “everything” in the natural world. The Sun becomes a metaphor for all of creation and is central to Kenny’s faith: “Where there is sun,” Kenny professes “I am not lost”.

This is not to say that there is a denial of a creator God, merely that such a being is irrelevant to the poem. In the second half of the poem, which Larsen does not set, Kenny deals with the present-day, material world in his effort to reassure those Native Americans who feel disconnected to their spiritual heritage, that this is not the case. In reminding Native Americans that they are part of something that encompasses everything – “the string, the bow, and the arrow” – Kenny contends that it remains possible to connect to their heritage despite the distractions of urban life:

though I hide in the thick forest	I am the shadow on the field
or the deep pool of the slow river	the rain on the rock
though I hide in a shack, a prison	the snow on the wind
though I hide in a word, a law	the footprint on the water
though I hide in a glass of beer	the vetch on the grave
or high on the steel girders over the city	I am the sweat on the boy
or in the slums of that city ...	the smile on the woman
	the paint on the man...
	I am the string, the bow and the arrow <sup>104</sup>

Accordingly, the Biblical Luke’s words are inserted into Kenny’s poem as a supportive commentary from the tradition that is supporting the structure of Larsen’s *Missa Gaia*: the Christian tradition and its mass. But any explicit mention of God would be inappropriate at this point because God does not belong to Kenny’s Amerindian faith. Similarly, bookending the movement with the Meister Eckhart excerpts, which acknowledge God, can also be seen as a structural device that acknowledges the origins of the ancient ritual of the Roman Rite.

Taking Eckhart’s words out of their medieval context and placing them in the present day, Larsen is walking a tightrope between maintaining the heritage of the Christian ritual that she has appropriated – the mass – and asserting her belief in Gaia – Mother Earth. Larsen substitutes the image of the Christian God as omnipotent being with the image of Mother Earth as omnipresent being. Mother Earth is ever-present but not all powerful, controlling but not in control. In replacing God with Mother Earth

---

<sup>104</sup> Excerpts from “They Tell Me I am Lost” in Maurice Kenny, *Carving Hawk: New & Selected Poems, 1953-2000* (Buffalo N.Y.: White Pine Press, 2002), 110-111.

Larsen avoids the problems of theodicy. Inclined towards panentheism, she does not deny the existence of a creator God, but neither does she attest to one in her mass. If Larsen is not explicitly substituting Mother Earth for the Christian God, then neither does she define God. God's nature and role with regard to human life remains unclear in *Missa Gaia*. Yet, as with Winter's *Missa Gaia*, through this ambiguity Larsen makes room for people from a range of disparate beliefs to find meaning in her work.

From an ecological viewpoint, Larsen's selection from Meister Eckhart's writing provides a reminder that the anthropocentric view of human dominion over nature that has prevailed in Western thinking has not universally been held, even by Christians. As theologian, Richard Woods stresses, the concerns of the twentieth-century environmental movement may have been inconceivable to the thirteenth and fourteenth-century Eckhart, whose acclamation that "God is in all things" was not an ecological statement but a theological testament to the glory of God; yet Eckhart's words, like those of St Francis of Assisi, do resonate with the contemporary "environmental ethic".<sup>105</sup>

Furthermore, Woods notes, Eckhart would have been familiar with the more overtly ecologically-oriented words of Pope Leo I (d. 461), who advised his congregation during a Christmas sermon to "[u]se creatures as they should be used: the earth, the sea, the sky, the air, the springs and the rivers... use reasonably and with moderation all the marvellous creatures, which adorn this world".<sup>106</sup> While still a far cry from concurring with the beliefs of Gaia, Leo I's sermon also did not explicitly recommend a stewardship role, as environmentally aware Christian theologians were doing in the 1980s in their attempt to avert an unthinking anthropocentrism that had come to prevail. Rather Leo I's words uphold the glory of all creatures, and recommends living in balance with the entirety of creation.

## Conclusion

Winter's *Missa Gaia/Earth Mass*, Lentz and Karraker's *woflMASS*, and Larsen's *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth* reveal that the strident questions and aggressive challenges to established norms and traditions that were a feature of the long 1960s had been largely left behind, replaced by an assertive approach to religion and spirituality that did not criticise the past so much as act in the present. While the masses discussed in this chapter continued to challenge Christian doctrine, particularly in terms of the role of humans within a sacred cosmos, they also have a confidence that was lacking in the more clamorous, yet also more hesitant work of both Davies, who concluded nothing, and Bernstein, who returned his mass to the status quo of traditional faith. In bringing natural religion together with Christianity, these

<sup>105</sup> Richard Woods, *Meister Eckhart: Master of Mystics* (London; New York: Continuum, 2011), 71.

<sup>106</sup> Pope Leo I, 'Sermo in Nativitate Domini 7', 2. 6, n 6 in *Patrologia Latina* 54; 217-18; 220-21, as cited in *ibid.*, 54.

environmentally-oriented masses take for granted a universal God who is more than a Christian God, a God who may render Satan unnecessary, a God who is either also Gaia or working with Gaia. If the Credo is the most likely place to find a doctrinal statement of personal belief in an ideologically-imbued concert mass, then it might also be the place where a statement of purpose can be found. Indeed, the Credo in each of these masses does provide a window into the approach taken by their creators. Winter does not include a Credo, thereby permitting his mass to remain open to everyone. It is a broadly evangelical mass inviting all to appreciate creation – whether God’s or Gaia’s – because if they do they will want to protect it from harm. Karraker selects the eagle to epitomise her Credo because the eagle is the warrior of the sky. Karraker’s mass is militant, demanding action from humanity to right its wrongs. Larsen, however, takes a more literary and historical approach, showing that there have always been those who have promoted an ecologically sustainable way of living. She matches the wisdom of the Medieval Meister Eckhart with that of the Native American poet Maurice Kenny “In the light of the eyes of the old turtle... So full of God is every creature”.

Even though the composers do take liberties with the standard liturgical texts, Christianity is neither dismissed nor even disregarded in these masses. Rather, Christianity is respected for having provided a framework to work with, a format and narrative that, established centuries earlier, enables the composers and their collaborators to create substantial works that announce through their titles – through the word ‘mass’ – that they are serious statements about a sacred cosmos. A cosmos that will only continue to sustain humans if every “hand that breaks the corn from the stalk” learns to moderate his or her consumption of its glories.<sup>107</sup>

Those who created the masses felt legitimately empowered to create musical works that bring disparate beliefs together because they had the confidence to create personalised belief systems for themselves. In the future, personalised religion would not be such an overt feature of concert masses, but the idea of bringing disparate beliefs together would become a strong motivating force.



---

<sup>107</sup> Kenny, *Carving Hawk: New & Selected Poems, 1953-2000*, 110.





## Chapter 9 Conclusion

In the thirteenth century the mass cycle became established as a sacred musical form. By the end of the twentieth century the politicised concert mass had overshadowed it. More than any other factor, religious diversification accounts for this change. Over eight centuries, the Roman Catholic societies of medieval Christendom had become Western societies in which numerous belief systems coexisted within a predominantly secular governing structure. Accordingly, social, economic and political responses to Enlightenment thinking also contributed to the devolution of the mass from its institutional origins to its unrestricted chameleonic form. When the ubiquity of Christian belief in the West was being eroded by Enlightenment philosophies, the concert mass became a discrete musical form. By the twentieth century, the cultivation of societies that encouraged freedom of expression saw the emergence of the politicised concert mass. Thus it was the convergence of a range of human-centred impulses that brought about the establishment of first the concert mass and then the politicised concert mass.

Haydn, who had grown accomplished at creating multi-movement large-scale music through his 106 symphonies, applied the techniques he had developed to his final six masses. Composed for the glory of the Prince who employed him, as much as for the God they also worshipped, these masses contain unifying devices that gave them a structural coherency across the entire work, thereby making them

suited for concert performance. The implications of turning the mass into a concert form are significant. Although Haydn's musical settings still met the liturgical requirements of a courtly Chapel, they also had the potential to meet the demands of a concert-going public. In unifying the form Haydn intentionally bifurcated the purpose of the mass. God may still be central to the work because of the liturgical text, but as a concert mass it served two masters: the Church and the Concert Hall.

As orchestras, choirs and concert halls grew ever larger during the course of the nineteenth century, so too did the concert mass. Supported by flourishing Choral Societies, composers wielded the largest-scale concert format in the Western repertoire with great determination, either to express their own religious fervour, or to demonstrate their skill. A composer might still compose a mass on commission, but he or she was increasingly more likely to begin the work on speculation. A mass might be composed as a calling card, an income-earner, or a work of worship; but regardless of the composer's motivation it was no longer just a church work and often, by the twentieth century, not even a church work, although it always remained religious.

With less oversight to contend with, some composers might take minor liberties with the standard liturgical text in order to satisfy a personal objective. Schubert does not appear to have believed that the Roman Catholic Church was the One Holy Apostolic Church and omitted this phrase from the Credo of each of his six masses. Ethel Smyth recognises the bifurcation of the concert mass's purpose by requesting that her *Mass in D's* Gloria be moved to the end in a concert situation, thereby ensuring the work finishes with a glorious flourish. Other composers such as Bruckner set the usual texts in the usual order but composed dramatic masses that can barely be differentiated from the music of opera. In doing so, such composers further alienated those people who preferred simpler masses.

Led by the Cecilian Societies, those who objected to masses of symphonic proportions believed liturgical music should bring God into the hearts of the people unobtrusively, rather than distract them with the accomplishments of humankind. This argument existed even as early as the thirteenth century when John of Salisbury worried that polyphonic singing might excite lust rather than devotion if singers were not controlled. In 1903 a newly invested Pope Pius X was convinced that the symphonic mass was a distraction and wrote instructions for liturgical music that meant large-scale masses could no longer be created or performed in churches.

Yet even modestly scaled masses would be rejected by the Church in the years following the Second Vatican Council. Undergoing a process of *aggiornamento*, the Roman Catholic Church changed the

nature of the celebration of the Eucharist in the mid-1960s, from one in which the congregations were spectators, to one in which they were participants. Composers could no longer compose multi-voice masses for the Catholic Church, with or without instrumental accompaniment, because congregations generally did not have the skills to perform them, and so their opportunity to participate in music-making during the Eucharist would be limited.

But the individual composer's voice would not be denied. Having found in the texts of the Ordinary of the Roman Rite a malleable religious narrative that lent itself to lengthy musical settings that were appreciated by concert audiences, composers continued to create masses. They need not follow Delius's lead of being entirely oppositional, but Delius's setting of the atheistic texts of Nietzsche in *Mass of Life* set a precedent that allowed composers to adapt the mass to suit their own ideological preferences. However, regardless of whether they set the standard liturgical text or some other text, any composer who did compose a symphonic mass after 1903 did so knowing that their work was destined for the concert hall or some other secular venue, and would not be performed in a church.

For any composer who was not a devout Catholic, this constraint was rarely relevant. Just as tradition and ritual are taken seriously in a church, they are also taken seriously in concert halls. This is not to infer, even in the context of the concert mass, that the church and the concert hall are the same, or even the same species. The concert hall, broadly defined as any venue in which music is heard for its own sake, does not require an affirmation of a specific faith from its audiences, as churches do. But neither does the concert hall insist upon the opposite – disbelief – or even agnosticism. Audiences and performers may hold any philosophical, ideological, or religious viewpoint they wish. The secular concert venue nourishes the chalice of choice. It welcomes all who are prepared to abide by its rituals and its conceits, while expecting nothing more from them once they have paid for their ticket and entered the doors than their silence and their applause – at the appropriate times. The concert hall is a secular venue with a pluralistic attitude – a sounding board for ideas, not sermons; a place from which people can leave with new resolve or no resolve at all; a place for contemplation, for intellectual stimulation, or for simple enjoyment; a place for sacred music, a place for secular music, and a place for music that has no such impulse at all. Whereas the Church serves God, the concert hall serves music. Both, however, are communal spaces where humans gather for metaphysical sustenance.

When the Catholic Church abandoned the concert mass, composers took the form over in the 1960s, changing its face rapidly. Commercialised rock masses were created, with The Electric Prunes' *Mass in F Minor* going so far as to link spirituality to psychedelic drugs. At the same time the concert mass began

to absorb political and theological opinions and approaches that expanded it well beyond the boundaries of Roman Catholic doctrine. As the decade drew to a close, Peter Maxwell Davies turned the mass form on itself to question the validity of Christianity, while Daniel Lentz uses the mass to chastise those who implemented the reforms of Vatican II for the loss of Latin from the Eucharist.

Alongside the various protests movements of the long 1960s, Bernstein uses his theatre piece *Mass* to promote greater egalitarianism in the early 1970s and, when the environmental movement was reaching its zenith in the 1980s, a group of composers promoted ecological issues in their masses. Whereas Renaissance masses placed God before humankind, and concertised masses placed humankind before God, politicised concert masses placed humankind before humankind.

Concert masses were not simply politicised in the later twentieth century, however. Particularly in the last three decades, they also began to regularly take on new religious ideas. Never supporting the entirety of specifically Roman Catholic doctrine, religiously alternate concert masses either pushed for changes within Christianity or brought selected elements of new religions together with selected elements from Christianity. Paul Chihara wants Christianity to be an everyday practice, not an institutional one in his folk song mass, *Missa Carminum*; Menotti protests Catholic dogma on homosexuality in *Missa 'O Pulchritudo'*; David Fanshawe celebrates religious and musical diversity in *African Sanctus* but asserts that underlying all religious practice is a belief in One God – the same God that Christians worship. The environmental *Gaia* masses of Paul Winter and Libby Larsen, as well as Daniel Lentz and Jessica Karraker's *wolfMASS*, bring into the Christian form the concepts of Gaia and of Amerindian and animal spirituality, thereby incorporating notions of universal oneness – because Christian practice is part of the universe too.

A form that was once wholeheartedly about worshipping the God of Christianity has become a multi-faceted object that strives to change people's minds on matters of importance. While the cycle of mass chants in the medieval Kyrie reflect the quest for standardisation across Christendom, the twentieth-century politicised concert mass reflects democratic Western societies that acknowledge the value of open debate.

Universalism and pluralism (future directions)

As the twentieth century drew to a close, masses with an environmental agenda would make way for those that mirror the religiously-plural societies that had become a feature of the West. Although not considered in this thesis, a number of important concert masses were composed with a multi-faith and

inclusive agenda in the later twentieth century and early twenty-first centuries. At first these masses tended to be universalising – focusing upon commonalities between largely disparate groups. Examples include *Missa Universalis I, II, and III*, (1984-1992) composed by the founder of the Society for Universal Sacred Music, Roger Davidson (b. 1952), and *Misa Tango* (1997) by Louis Bacalov (b. 1933).<sup>1</sup> In the latter case, Bacalov truncates the liturgy in order to appeal to all of the Abrahamic faiths (Christians, Muslims and Jews).

A third example of a universalising mass also incorporates a more pluralistic inclination. Carman Moore's *Mass for the 21st Century* (1994) asserts that all religions point to the same ultimate reality; however, in the end he perceives that reality to be plural: "I suspect that beyond our Universe of time/space, yin/yang, AC vibration duality the Tao has 'many mansions' and whole other ways of being".<sup>2</sup>

Similar in its mission to the masses of Winter, Lentz, and Larsen, *Mass for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* is a multi-media work that calls upon all of humanity to turn away from the materialist and ecologically ravaging path that it is proceeding along. But whereas the earlier environmental works of the 1980s are promoting natural religion, Moore acknowledges the multiplicity of religions in the world. This is particularly evident in the twelfth movement, "Credo / Pool of Prayers" when he writes

The Tao and the masters,  
 The prophets and angels,  
 The light and the shadows  
 For ever and after. In harmony.  
 Jesus, Mohammed and Mary and Krishna,  
 HaShem, Allah and Buddha and shango  
 In harmony.  
 Credo, I believe, Credo  
 I believe in perfect harmony  
 I do believe in life and love  
 Credo, credo, credo.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Roger Davidson's mission statement can be accessed at Roger Davidson, "Society for Universal Sacred Music Inc," accessed 6 Aug 2015, <http://www.imassocpr.com/images/MusicBrochure.pdf>. For more information regarding Bacalov's *Misa Tango* see Locke, "From Tournai to Tango."

<sup>2</sup> Carman Moore, *Crossover: An American Bio* (Rochester, MI: Grace Publishing Company, 2011), 86.

<sup>3</sup> Transcribed from the unpublished score kindly provided by Carman Moore.

For Moore, just as music can bring separate parts together harmoniously, so too can religions be separate yet work together harmoniously through love. Although Moore is not comprehensive in his listing of all world religions, there are enough explicitly mentioned to infer that his belief applies to all belief systems. Tao is mentioned explicitly and first, highlighting that it is this religion that Moore himself adheres to.<sup>4</sup> “Jesus” and “Mary” cater to Christians, with Mary being of particular importance to Roman Catholics. The words “Mohammed” and “Allah” bring Muslims into the fold, Krishna is a Hindu deity, HaShem (The Name) is a Hebrew word used by Jews in place of the forbidden word God, and shango is a Yoruban god. Moore’s mass acknowledges the diversity of religions co-existing on planet earth and looks to them to save it from destruction.

The final example of a mass with an inclusive purpose is entirely and intentionally pluralistic. A collaboration between its commissioner Guy Wilson on behalf of the British Royal Armouries, and the Welsh composer, Karl Jenkins, *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* (2000) is quite different to Moore’s mass. It does not prophesise, or universalise, or preach. It brings to the attention of the audience the fact of human violence, as Moore does, but combines the imagery of war with a variety of texts from both secular and religious sources on the liturgical themes of remorse, worship, love and hope. Where Moore includes a Credo, the British mass does not; where Moore breaks the liturgy up, presenting only a little of it in a text that comprises mostly of his own words, Wilson and Jenkins give each text its own movement. Where Moore reflects the multiculturalism of New York and jostles religions together with equally minimal space in his “Credo / Pool of Prayers”, Jenkins and Wilson reflect the broad multiculturalism of the United Kingdom and its village culture, giving each faith a proportional amount of space that closely corresponds to the presence of each of the five main belief systems in that country. Christianity is given the most space, followed by secularity (no religion), Hinduism/Sikhism and Islam.<sup>5</sup>

Having completed studies of both *The Armed Man: A Mass for Peace* and Bacalov’s *Misa Tango* previously, there is nonetheless much more that could be explored about these masses in the light of the other universalising masses mentioned above, as well as other pluralistically-oriented masses composed in the twenty-first century, including Joseph Jennings’ compilation mass *And on earth Peace: A Chanticleer Mass* (2007). A study that focuses upon the methods of achieving peace through music in religiously plural societies seems likely to reveal that the composers of these masses were providing significant contributions.

---

<sup>4</sup> Moore, *Crossover*, 85.

<sup>5</sup> Locke, “*The Armed Man: a Mass for a Secular Age*,” 19-23.

Yet this is only one area in which research could throw further light upon the development of the politicised concert mass. Timothy Snyder describes the process of conducting a historical study as being like marking out a path through a forest.<sup>6</sup> There are many trees that must be left unvisited in the interests of containing the study within a manageable scope. Accordingly, there are certain to be other masses and other factors that have impacted on the concert mass that have not been covered here. My aim has been to select, consider, and present masses in such a way as to provide sufficient evidence to support my central thesis that the transition from mass to concert mass and its subsequent politicisation reflects religious and ideological changes in Western societies across eight centuries. Regardless of any future decision the Church may make about music accompanying the Eucharist, the mass in its politicised concert form is set to live on as Western art music for as long as humans are prepared to engage with notions of a metaphysical ideal, whether that be God or Gaia, Buddha or Brahma or some newly conceived idea altogether.



---

<sup>6</sup> Judt and Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, 272.

Appendix I    Front pages, Gloria 1-8 & Interlude of Daniel Lentz's  
*Missa Umbrarum*  
(17 pages)



to  
Kit Tremaine

MISSA UMBRARUM  
for

A MIXED CHOIR of 8 VOICES,

SOLO MALE PERFORMER,

and

263 SHADOWS.

Composed with the aid of a grant from the National  
Endowment for the Arts  
Washington, D.C.  
U.S.A.

Daniel Lentz, 1973

## PERFORMANCE NOTES

"Music, when soft voices die,  
Vibrates in the memory." Shelly (1821)

Although *MISSA UMERARUM* is ideally for 8 voices (4 Male, 4 Female), it may be necessary to use 12 or 16 voices. If 12 are used, only 8 of these should perform with the wine glasses. The additional 4 would then perform (as singers only) in the Kyrie, the Credo, the Agnus Dei, and the Postlude and Interlude. (The extra voices might be especially helpful in the Credo due to the special requirements of that section) If 16 voices are employed, each part would simply be doubled, including those sections (Gloria, Sanctus, and Postlude) which use the wine glasses. However, of these 16, only half, or 8, should "enter into" the Shadow Scheme. Otherwise, there is a too great a chance of sonic saturation. With this single exception, these additional 8 voices perform in the normal manner.

The Soloist, who participates only in the Agnus Dei section (and optionally in the Postlude), could also function as the Conductor.

In the Shadow Scheme that follows these Performance Notes, each column represents 30 seconds of time -- always going from left-to-right. There should be a minimum of time elapsed between each column/page. One second being ideal.

In addition to the voices and wine glasses, it may be necessary to use an electric organ in order to occasionally cue the singers. If this is done, the organ should be barely audible to the singers, and inaudible to the listeners. The score includes empty staves for the organ in those sections using singing voices. The Performance Director or the Organist may fill in these staves as needed. Still, use as few cue areas as is possible. No Organ staves are supplied in the Interlude or Postlude as it was not thought necessary for these sections.

It may be necessary for the Conductor to use an electric light metronome. If used, it should be visible to him or her only.

Along with this score, there is a 'Performance Kit' that is needed to perform the Mass. Included in the 'Performance Kit' :

- 1) Complete Performance Directions
- 2) Complete Schematic for the 263-part Shadow System
- 3) 9 Crystal Wine Glasses (4 large Bordeaux-type glasses, 4 large Burgundy goblets, and 1 very large Burgundy goblet) and 9 Mallets
- 4) A Studio-Produced 4-Channel Tape which can be used to simulate the required shadows
- 5) Electric Light Metronome (with 100% accuracy)

A performance of the Mass will require the following amplification equipment:

- 1) 4-9 Low Impedance Microphones and Stands
- 2) 4-8 Channels of Amplification (Preamps, Power Amps)
- 3) 8-16 Channel Mixer (8 to 4 or 16 to 8)
- 4) 4-8 High Quality Loudspeakers

In addition to this equipment, devices will be needed to produce the required 263 Shadows (either cascaded echo devices -- Echoplexes, etc. -- or a 4-channel tape playback system).

Although the voices are lightly amplified throughout the Mass, the equipment should be set up in a manner that will increase rather than decrease the naturalness of the sound sources and their shadows. The 4 loudspeakers should be on a straight line with the voices. If possible, the loudspeakers (and all other equipment) should be invisible to the listeners. If 8 loudspeakers are used, the straight line should be preserved with 4 in front of, and 4 behind the voices. All sounds ("light" and "shadow") should emanate from all loudspeakers. The real-time or "light" sounds should be only slightly louder (1 to 2 d.b.) than their shadows.

If possible, the Mass should be performed in candlelight.

Use red wine (or a reasonable facsimile if necessary) in a performance of the Mass. The performance should begin with the Conductor pouring the wine into each of the glasses.

### KYRIE.

The textual particles should be brought out (sfz) slightly over the rest of the texture. Immediately upon completing the particle vocalization, the singers begin to hum for the durations indicated in the notation. If a word particle ends with a vowel, the follow up humming should retain the sound of this vowel (open-mouthed hum). If the particle ends in a consonant, the follow up humming is close-mouthed.

The tempo must be precise throughout. Still, it must flow and suggest "dolce" increasingly as it grows.



# GLORIA

The Gloria texts and their divisions into seconds are as follows:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10																		
	Glo	-	ri	-	a	in	ex	cel	-	sis	De	-	o,		et	in	ter	-	ra	pax	ho	-	mi	-				
11		12		13		14		15		16		17		18		19		20										
	ni	-	bus	bo	-	nae	vo	-	lun	-	ta	-	tis.		Lau	-	da	-	mus		te,				Be	-	ne	-
21		22		23		24		25		26		27		28		29		30										
	di	-	ci	-	mus	te,		A	-	do	-	ra	-	mus	te,		Glo	-	ri	-	fi	-	ca	-	mus		te.	

The Gloria texts are completed in the Interlude.

The Gloria involves two basic activities -- singing and rubbing the rims of the wine glasses. (From Gloria 7 to Gloria 9 there is an occasional striking of the glasses as well) The changing pitch centers required in the Gloria are results of the periodic drinking from the glasses. In order to obtain clear and quick-speaking pitches in rubbing the glass rims, the performers should use the extreme tip of their index finger. The pitch resulting from rubbing the rim becomes "Do" in the Major Mode. This is, of course, a moveable "Do." It changes following each sip of liquid from the glass. In the score "Do" is represented by number.

The word particle vocalizations are always performed Forte (F), and the follow up humming is always Piano (P). Still, some adaptations in dynamic levels will be necessary to obtain an overall textual and musical blend. The melismatic humming usually occurs within a second or two after the vocalization of the word particle. If a phoneme or particle ends on a vowel, the vowel's sound should be retained in an open-mouthed hum. If a phoneme ends in a consonant, the performer should hum with his mouth closed. All of this must be accomplished in an extremely legato fashion. The symbols used in the Gloria are explained below:

- = Normal; this is the pitch of the rubbed glass rim. It is also "Do" for the line following it.
- ▲ = Light pressure (as in Sul Tasto) on the rim
- △ = Heavy pressure on the rim
- = Glass is struck with soft end of mallet or with a knuckle with follow up humming
- ◊ = Glass is struck, but is not followed with any humming (word particle vocalization only)
- = hummed pitch having a duration of approximately a quarter note (from  $\frac{2}{3}$  to 1 second). It is not chromatically altered.
- ◆ = hummed pitch having a duration of half of ■. It is not chromatically altered.
- ◻ & ◊ = flat pitch (pien tones). Durations are the same as above.
- ) = drink (to next level marked on glass)
- ↓ & ∇ = Conductor's cue for word particles

The ringing of the glasses can be stopped by applying pressure to the bell with a finger or hand.

The numbers that precede many of the word particles and their glass symbols indicate the level of pitch emanating from the vibrating glasses. To get from one level to the next the Performer must take a sip of the wine (a larger drink will be necessary as the glass loses liquid). The pitches and liquid levels (which should be well marked on each glass) are as follows:

	Tenor 1		Tenor 2		Bass 1		Bass 2	
	Pitch	Level	Pitch	Level	Pitch	Level	Pitch	Level
Bass Clef (within stave)	F	1	F	1	C	1	C	1
	G	2	G	2	D	2	D	2
	A	3	A	3	E	3	E	3
	Bb	4	B	4	F	4	F	4
	C	5	C	5	G	5	F#	5
	C#	6	D	6	A	6	G	6
	D	7	E	7	Bb	7	G#	7
	E	8	F	8	C	8	A	8
	F	9	G	9	D	9	Bb	9
	F#	10	A	10	D#	10	B	10
	G	11	B	11	E	11	C	11
	G#	12	C	12	F	12	C#	12
Treble Clef (3rd space) →	A	13			F#	13	D	13
	Bb	14			G	14	D#	14
Treble Clef (2nd line) →	B	15					E	15
	C	16					F	16
Treble Clef (3rd space) →							F#	17
							G	18
Treble Clef (2nd line) →								

## INTERLUDE.

The voices are divided into two separate choirs. The first, or top choir (S.A.T.B.) sings in a normal fashion between pauses (indicated by a fermata), clearly articulating the texts. The choir should move very quickly around or between the pauses. When the choir arrives at a held chord it simply continues singing that chord for approximately 5 seconds as the second or bottom choir (S.A.T.B.) joins it in the textless humming of the notated chords. The two choirs join in the final three chords for the Amen to the Gloria texts.

The Shadow System does not operate during the Interlude.

## CREDO.

From Credo 1 to Credo 11 there are three phenomena operating simultaneously. At the top of the page is a four part choir (usually, but not always S.A.T.B.). This part is sung without words and with mouths opened. It is to be done very smoothly and, if possible, in one breath. The sound is always rising when it is not static as it momentarily is when the white chords occur. The dynamics are always Forte (F) to Mezzo Piano (MP) to Forte. This is visually simplified if one thinks of the white notes as sounding Forte and the black notes as sounding Mezzo Piano. The small black notes that are placed within brackets are included as guides only. These represent or indicate exactly where in his or her upwards glissando the singer should be at all points in time. A white note indicates an unmoving or static pitch. The upwards gliss begins with the large black note which is always joined to the preceding large white note with a tie. The singer continues the upwards gliss until the next white note is reached -- and so on and so forth. The conductor must coordinate the timing throughout.

In the middle of each Credo page is a rhythmic section performed by two of the voices. The sounds are accom -



plished by tapping the base of the wine glass with the mallet. These must be performed as precisely as possible. The notation and symbols are as follows:

- ▲▲= the glass base is open (not stopped with finger or hand) when struck  
▲△= the glass base is closed or stopped when struck  
↓ ↓ ↓= triplet duration

Large triangles should be performed with quarter note durations in mind. Small triangles should be performed with eighth note durations in mind.

When a triangle is on the top line of the two-line systems the glass base is to be struck with the hard end of the mallet. When the triangle is attached to the bottom line the base is to be struck with the soft end of the mallet.

The four small vertical lines between each long and thicker line on the systems can be thought of as representing four quarter rests. These are silent (silences) except when joined by one of the symbols mentioned above. Dynamics, with the exception of accented symbols, should be uniform throughout (Mezzo Forte).

At the bottom of each Credo page (excepting Credo O) a chant-like section is included. This is to be performed by a Female and a Male voice. They must articulate the texts precisely together. Even the inflections in speech must be synchronized between the two. Dynamics are uniform throughout (Mezzo Forte). This part of the Credo does not enter into the Shadow Scheme. With the exception of the Interlude, this is the only part of the Mass that exists without shadows.

#### SANCTUS.

The Sanctus is performed (by the Female voices only) in a wispy, whispering "sprechstimme-like" style. Only the suggestions of pitches should be present in the speech -- those coming from the changing pitch levels of the struck glasses. The glass is struck with the soft end of the mallet simultaneously with the articulation of the word particles. 38 to 40 levels should be marked on the glasses. The numbers placed before each note value and speech-glass element represent these levels. The level markings will help as guides in insuring a uniform rate of drinking. The dynamic level is always Mezzo Forte. The glass should be allowed to resonate for as long as possible. This vibration can be stopped (which is not necessary when the glass is leaned towards the mouth for the next drink) by applying pressure to the glass bell with a finger or hand.

Do not articulate those parts of words that appear in parentheses. These are included as pronunciation guides only.

The symbols that are placed over the notated values are interpreted as follows:

- Q = lean glass downwards after striking (This is done so gradually, over the span of the glass vibration)  
□ = lean glass upwards after striking

When there is no symbol like above used over a note value, there is no leaning of the glass.

After all 10 parts of the Sanctus come together in Sanctus 9, the completed Sanctus text is heard. It is as follows:

"Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis.  
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Osanna in excelsis."

With this textual section approximately 90 pitch levels should be heard in the final 30 seconds.

#### AGNUS DEI.

The Agnus Dei has two parts, performed simultaneously: a choir section and a soloist section. Both are performed in a precise, but not measured or mechanical manner. The choir section is usually done without texts, excepting the few phonemes which sound on each page and which double some parts of the soloist section. This is hummed in two ways: closed mouthed for the moving parts and open mouthed for the static, or held notes. The importance of dynamics in this section cannot be overemphasized. And a free flow must be established from the outset. The mood is "dolce-like" throughout. The Agnus (and the rest of the Mass for that matter) is always sung without vibrato.

The Soloist part in the Agnus Dei should be brought out very slightly over the textures established by the singers (MF/F). The Soloist should be a Male with a pleasant and mid-range voice. The part is performed with an exceptionally large Burgundy goblet (a crystal glass with a capacity of approximately 60 ounces). A very soft mallet should be used in striking the glass bell. Use of such a mallet will help in eliminating the ring tone. The glass is struck simultaneously with the articulation of each word particle. After each particle is sounded and the glass struck, the Soloist allows the glass to resonate until the notation reaches a star, whereupon he stops the glass resonance. Following this he takes a quick drink of the wine and begins the procedure once again. The liquid should be drunk from the glass very quietly. There should be nine levels marked on the bell of the glass. These should denote the level that should be reached for each new page.

Do not articulate those particles which appear in parentheses. These are pronunciation guides only.

The microphone should be level with the mouth of the Soloist. When he speaks the rim of the glass should be on a straight line between he and the microphone.

The completed Agnus Dei text is as follows: "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.  
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem."

#### POSTLUDE.

The Postlude is joined to the last chord of the Agnus Dei. It begins after Agnus Dei 8 has sounded for the second time.

A "drone" or drone-like undercurrent is established via the rubbed rims of all of the performers' wine glasses. (And, optionally, by humming the pitch of one's glass) By this time in the performance of the Mass most of the glasses should be nearly or entirely empty. The "Shadows" (from 8 to 16 may be used) should sound very soon after the introduction of the source sounds. They should sound somewhat louder than their source sound. Although this drone should be a continuous, static sound mass, it should have great internal motion -- accomplished by fluctuations in dynamic levels (crescendi, decrescendi, short ones and longer ones). Once the drone is well established and rich sounding (slight reverb may be added to intensify and blend the beat frequencies which will result from this type of activity), the first block of chords ("Dona nobis") should sing out over top of the drone (not necessarily louder than the drone though). Each of the chordal blocks should require from 10 to 20 seconds to perform. About 30 to 45 seconds of the glass drone should separate these.

The Postlude should end by means of a gradual disappearance of the drone and the final chordal block together.

SHADOW SCHEME.

⇒ KYRIE 0	KYRIE 1 Kyrie 0		KYRIE 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0		KYRIE 3 Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0		KYRIE 4 Kyrie 3 Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0		KYRIE 5 Kyrie 4 Kyrie 3 Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0
		GLORIA 0		GLORIA 1 Gloria 0		GLORIA 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0		GLORIA 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0	GLORIA 4 Gloria 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0
							CREDO 0		CREDO 1 Credo 0
	KYRIE 6 Kyrie 5 Kyrie 4 Kyrie 3 Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0		KYRIE 7 Kyrie 6 Kyrie 5 Kyrie 4 Kyrie 3 Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0			KYRIE 8 Kyrie 7 Kyrie 6 Kyrie 5 Kyrie 4 Kyrie 3 Kyrie 2 Kyrie 1 Kyrie 0			
		GLORIA 5 Gloria 4 Gloria 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0		GLORIA 6 Gloria 5 Gloria 4 Gloria 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0			GLORIA 7 Gloria 6 Gloria 5 Gloria 4 Gloria 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0		GLORIA 8 Gloria 7 Gloria 6 Gloria 5 Gloria 4 Gloria 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0
CREDO 2 Credo 1 Credo 0		CREDO 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0			CREDO 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0			CREDO 5 Credo 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0	
			SANCTUS 0		SANCTUS 1 Sanctus 0		SANCTUS 2 Sanctus 1 Sanctus 0		SANCTUS 3 Sanctus 2 Sanctus 1 Sanctus 0
								A. DEI 0	
	GLORIA 9 Gloria 8 Gloria 7 Gloria 6 Gloria 5 Gloria 4 Gloria 3 Gloria 2 Gloria 1 Gloria 0								
CREDO 6 Credo 5 Credo 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0			CREDO 7 Credo 6 Credo 5 Credo 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0			CREDO 8 Credo 7 Credo 6 Credo 5 Credo 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0		CREDO 9 Credo 8 Credo 7 Credo 6 Credo 5 Credo 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0	CREDO 10 Credo 9 Credo 8 Credo 7 Credo 6 Credo 5 Credo 4 Credo 3 Credo 2 Credo 1 Credo 0
		SANCTUS 4 Sanctus 3 Sanctus 2 Sanctus 1 Sanctus 0		SANCTUS 5 Sanctus 4 Sanctus 3 Sanctus 2 Sanctus 1 Sanctus 0		SANCTUS 6 Sanctus 5 Sanctus 4 Sanctus 3 Sanctus 2 Sanctus 1 Sanctus 0			SANCTUS 7 Sanctus 6 Sanctus 5 Sanctus 4 Sanctus 3 Sanctus 2 Sanctus 1 Sanctus 0
A. DEI 1 A. Dei 0		A. DEI 2 A. Dei 1 A. Dei 0			A. DEI 3 A. Dei 2 A. Dei 1 A. Dei 0		A. DEI 4 A. Dei 3 A. Dei 2 A. Dei 1 A. Dei 0		





# Gloria O

Seconds: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

Ten. 1 Glo- *f* > *p* *Semper* - Q  
 Ten. 2 Glo- *f* > *p* *Semper*  
 Bass 1 Glo- *f* > *p* *Semper*  
 Bass 2 Glo- *f* > *p* *Semper* - Q

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

T. bo-  
 T. ho- VO-  
 B. ho- VO-  
 B. bo-

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

T. do-  
 T. do-  
 B. Glo-  
 B. Glo-

# Gloria 1

Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

T.

(2½) De-

T.

(2) -ri-

B.

(2) -ri-

B.

(2½) De-

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

T.

(3) -nae

T.

(2½) te

B.

(2½) te

B.

(3) -nae

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

T.

(4) te

T.

(3) -ri-

B.

(3) -ri-

B.

(4) te

(5) -ri-



# Gloria 2

Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

T.



in

T.



in

B.



in

B.



in



in



in

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

T.



-ni-

T.



-ni-

-da-

B.



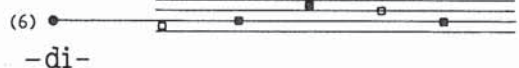
B.



-da-

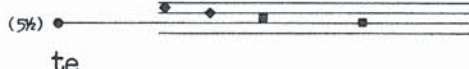
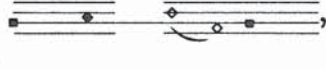
Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

T.



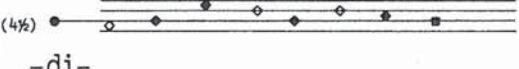
-di-

T.



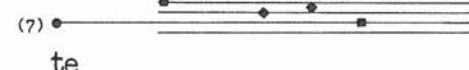
te

B.



-di-

B.



te

# Gloria 3

Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

↓

T. (6) -a -ra

T. (5½) -a -ra

B. (4½) -a -ra

B. (7) -a -ra

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

▽

T. (7) -ta- te

T. (6½) te

B. (5½) te

B. (8) -ta- te

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

↓

T. (7½) A- te

T. A- te

B. A- te

B. (9) A- te

# Gloria 4 (with Kyrie 5)

Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

↓ ↓

T. (8) -ri- ter-

T. (7) -ri- ter-

B. (6) -ri- ter-

B. (10) -ri- (11) ter-

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

▽

T. (9) Lau-

T. (8) Lau-

B.

B.

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

▽ ↓

T. (10) te

T. te

B. (7) -ci- te

B. (11) -ci- (12) te

# Gloria 5

(with Credo 3)

Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

▽▽

▽▽

○ = struck with mallet  
 ○ = struck, followed by a downwards  
 or upwards leaning of the glass  
 Do not pronounce any part of a word  
 that appears in parentheses.

T.2

(8) ○ 1.v. ,

(8½) ○

(e) X

(pa) X

B.1

(7) △  
 Q (x)



(7½) △  
 pa (x)

(ex-)

(pax)

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

▽▽

▽

T.

(8½) △  
 ti (e)



te

B.



(t1) S

te

(tis)

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

▽

▽

▽

T.

(8½+¼) ○  
 te

te

(9) ○  
 te

B.

(7½+¼) ○  
 te

te

(8) ○  
 te

# Gloria 6

Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

T. (10) Glo- De- (11) pax

T. (9) Glo- De- pax

B. (8) -a -O (8½) pax

B. (12) -a -O pax

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

T.

T.

B.

B.

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

T. (11½) Be- te (12) -fi-

T. (9½) Be- -fi-

B. Be- te (9) -fi-


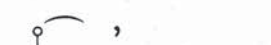






B. (12½) Be- (13) -fi-













# Gloria 7

(with Sanctus 2)



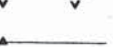
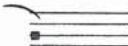



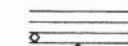






Secs. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (10)

	VV		VV							
T.				(12)				(e)		
					- <u>si</u> - (s)				- t	
T.				(9%)				e - (t)		
					(s1) - S					
B.				(9)				e - (t)		
					(s1) - S					
B.				(13)				(e)		
					- <u>si</u> - (s)				- t	

Secs. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (20)

	VV		VV							
T.		(12%)						(mu)		
			- <u>bu</u> - (s)						- S	
T.								(10) A		
			(bu) - S						- <u>mu</u> - (s)	
B.								(11) A		
			(bu) - S						- <u>mu</u> - (s)	
B.		(13%)								
			- <u>bu</u> - (s)						(mu) - S	

Secs. 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

	VV		VV							
T.		(13) A			(mu)			(13%) A		
			- <u>mu</u> - (s)			(mu) - S			- <u>mu</u> - (s)	
T.					(10%)					
			(mu) - S			- <u>mu</u> - (s)			- <u>mu</u> - (s)	
B.					(11%)					
			(mu) - S			- <u>mu</u> - (s)			(mu) - S	
B.		(14) A						(14%)		
			- <u>mu</u> - (s)			(mu) - S			- S	

# Gloria 8


(with Agnus Dei O)

Secs. 0      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9      (10)

↓

Note: The Tenors perform in Agnus Dei O along with the Sopranos and Altos.

B.1

(11%)   
- cel -

B.2


(14%)   
- cel -

Secs. 10      11      12      13      14      15      16      17      18      19      (20)

↓                      ↓

B.

  
- mi -

(12)   
- lun -

B.

(15)   
- mi -

  
- lun -


Secs. 20      21      22      23      24      25      26      27      28      29      30

↓                      ↓                      ↓

B.

  
- ne -

(12%)   
- ra -

  
- ca -

B.

(16)   
- ne -

  
- ra -

(16%)   
- ca -

# INTERLUDE

Very Quickly Between Pauses

Airy, Ethereally

①

S. Gra - ti-as a - gi-mus ti - bi propter mag-nam glo - ri-am tu - am.

A. Gra - ti - a - - - s ti - bi prop - ter

T. Do - - ne

B. Do - - ne

*p* *f* *p* *f*

Humming

S. *p*

A. *p*

T. *p*

B. *p*

S. Rex coe - les-tis Deus Pa - - ter Do - mi-ni fi - li

A. - us coe - les-tis Deus Pa - ter Om - ni - - po - tens

T. Rex coe - les - - - tis Do - mi - ne un-i - gen -

B. Rex coe - les - tis Om - - ni - po - tens fi - li

*p*

S. Do - mi-ne De-us Ag-nus De-i pec - ca-ta mun - di

A. Je - - su Qui tollis pec - ca - ta Mi-se-re-re

T. - i - te Ag - nus Dei Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta

B. Je - su Chri - ste Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris Mi - se - -

*p*



# Interlude

①

S. No - bis pec - ca - ta de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem nos -

A. No - bis Qui tol - lis su - s - ci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem

T. Qui tol - lis mun - di mun - di

B. re - re pec - ca - ta mun - di nos - tram.

S. A. T. B. *p > pp* *p* *p*

tram. mi - se - re - re no - bis Quo - ni - am tu so - lus Sanc -

Qui sed - es ad dex - te - ram pa - tris mi - se - re - re Quo - ni - am tu so - lus sanc -

Qui se - des pa - tris no - bis tu

Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram pa - tris no - bis Do - - -

tus al - tis - si - mus in glori - a De - i Pa tris

tus Je - su Chri - ste in glori - a De - i Pa tris

so - lus tu so - lus in glori - a De - i Pa tris

- mi - nus sum Sanc - to Spi - ri - tu in glori - a De - i Pa tris

*p* *p* *p* *p* *p* *p < mp* *mp > p < mp*

A - men

## Appendix II List of Performances of Paul Winter Consort's *Missa Gaia/Earth*

Full Performances - Sources: Website of Jim Scott (Paul Winter Consort Guitarist) and as noted.<sup>1</sup>

Concert/Event	Location	Date
Elora Festival	Elora, Canada	20 July 2012 <sup>2</sup>
First Unitarian Church, 10am Service	Worcester MA	Sun 8 May 2011
Allen Ave UU Church 7pm Concert – Earth day songfest and Missa Gaia singalong	Portland ME	Fri 22 Apr 2011
Holy Name Church, 3pm Concert	West Roxbury MA	Sun 10 Apr 2011
First UU Nashville		21 Nov 2011
UU Church of Silver Spring	Silver Spring MD	22 & 23 Mar 2008
Keene Chorale	Keene NH	12 & 13 April 2008
Mt Mansfield HS	Essex VT	15 April 2008
Universalist Church of W. Hartford	W. Hartford CT	2-4 May 2008
First UU Church of Sudbury 10am Service	Sudbury MA	13 May 2007
UU Church of Belmont	Belmont MA	1 April 2007
Service & Concert UU Church Madison	Madison WI	22 April 2007
Concert with Tiverton Community Chorush	Tiverton RI	4-5 May 2007
Assabet Valley Mastersingers, 1st Baptist Church	Lexington MA	7 May 2006
Assabet Valley Mastersingers, St Mays Church,	Schrewsbury, MA	6 May 2006 <sup>3</sup>
Town Hall, Andover Concert	Andover MA	7 May 2005
UU Church of Milton	Milton MA	16 April 2006
American Choral Directors Assoc. ACDA Conf NY	NY	18 Feb 2006
Worcester "annual airing"	Worcester MA	?? Jan 2002 <sup>4</sup>
	Lewiston & Rockport ME	15 & 17 April 2004 <sup>5</sup>
South Church (New Britain)	?Hartford? CT	21 April 2002 <sup>6</sup>
All Saints Church	Worcester MA	5 Mar 2000 <sup>7</sup>
Trinity-St Paul's United	Toronto	4 Jun 2000 <sup>8</sup>
UMass Fine Arts Center Concert Hall	??Northampton MA	2 Oct 1998 <sup>9</sup>
All Saints Church	Worcester	24 Mar 1996 <sup>10</sup>
?? 1 <sup>st</sup> Sacramento perf. Celebrating Earth Day	Sacramento	21 Apr 1996 <sup>11</sup>
Elora Festival	Elora Canada	July 1994
Gambrel Barn	Elora, Canada	Fri Aug 5 1994 <sup>12</sup>
Greeley's Union Colony Civic Cntr; Boettcher Hall	Rocky Mountains ??	3 & 4 Feb 1993 <sup>13</sup>
St Paul's Anglican Church	Choral Festival Toronto 1-30 Jun	21 June 1989 <sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <http://jimscottmusic.com/calendar/>

<sup>2</sup> Keefer, "Concert Choir Takes Journey from Jazz to Motown," E3.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.avmsingers.org/PastConcerts.html>

<sup>4</sup> McLennan, "Singing Quiet Lullabies," C1.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1115455/posts> CONTAINS COMMENTS

<sup>6</sup> "Classical," *The Hartford Courant*, 21 April 2002, G6.

<sup>7</sup> "Bingo," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 25 April, S-16.

<sup>8</sup> "Entertainment Briefs," *The Toronto Star*, 1 June 2000, WO09.

<sup>9</sup> "Spiritual Sax Pulls it all Together, Paul Winter to Perform Mass for the Earth," *Daily Hampshire Gazette* 1 Oct 1998, 29.

<sup>10</sup> "'Missa Gaia' to be a Feature of Concert," C14.

<sup>11</sup> William Glackin, "Something Old, Something New - A Rich Range of Familiar and Cutting-Edge Music Keeps Classical Fans On the Run," *Sacramento Bee*, 17 Sept 1995, EN4.

<sup>12</sup> Johnston, "Missa Gaia a Rousing Tribute to Nature," E7.

<sup>13</sup> Norman Provizer, "Two Sax Giants Pull into Town," *Rocky Mountain News* 3 Feb 1994, 15D.

<sup>14</sup> "Choral Coup Brings 4,000 Voices to Toronto: The Joy of Singing," *The Toronto Star*, 21 June 1989, E5. Littler, "Samsons in Sound Bring Down Ceiling," C4. "If You're in A Jazzy Mood You Don't have to Travel Far - Toronto, Canandaigua Festivals Feature Big Names," *The Buffalo News*, 4 Jun 1989, G3.

Excerpts of Paul Winter's *Missa Gaia* (1982)

Sources as noted

Conant Performing Arts Centre	Atlanta	??10 Nov 2006 <sup>15</sup>
Hult Centre	Eugene, Oregon	7 March 2009 <sup>16</sup>
Immanuel Congregational church Hartford	Hartford	30 April 1994 <sup>17</sup>
Grace United Methodist Church "Blue Green Hills"	Hummelstown PA	19 May 1992 <sup>18</sup>
First Unitarian Church – musical selections from album & discussion	Miami FL	17 Nov 1983 <sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> "This Weekend in Dekalb County," *The Atlanta Journal*, 9 Nov 2006.

<sup>16</sup> "Calendar," *Opera Canada* Summer (2012): 34+.

<sup>17</sup> R Sherman, "Mozart and Schubert plus some Cole Porter," *The New York Times* 24 April 1994, ??

<sup>18</sup> "Spring Sing Set Sunday in Hummelstown," *The Patriot-News*, 19 May 1992, C6.

<sup>19</sup> "Interfaith Thanksgiving Worship Set," *The Miami Herald*, 17 Nov 1983, ??

Appendix III Jessica Karraker's notes regarding *wolfMass*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>wolfMASS</b> Notes for Stephanie Rocke January 2014</p> <p>Stephanie, I could give you more specifics if I had the time to pull out a few old boxes of files, but I founded a dog/cat rescue/rehabilitation ranch and I'm currently in a severe financial crisis. I've got to come up with some money fast, in order to keep these 13 dogs, 22 cats and one parakeet (all rescues) alive. That's my focus now...</p> <p>WolfStone Ranch is another form of my activism. I am rescuing "unadoptable" dogs and cats, to rehabilitate and then adopt out to appropriate homes. I want to start a Spiritual Retreat for Pets (and Their People), to bring inner peace and serenity (in other words, emotional healing) to animals and their humans. I hope to use the profits generated by the retreat to support my charitable work with the animals I rescue. In case you're interested, my website is <a href="http://www.wolfstoneranch.org">www.wolfstoneranch.org</a>.</p> <p>I used to keep very organized files, but in one of my many moves (this one was from Colorado back here to Missouri 7 years ago), a couple of the boxes got damaged. One of my friends who helped pack up simply grabbed the scattered files and papers that spilled out, and then stuffed them "willy nilly" in the remaining unharmed file boxes. I was unaware of this until I started to unpack everything. I was very dismayed, because I'm a "control freak" and I like everything to be organized for easy access. Well, I've not have time ever since then to take several hours (probably even a few days) to sort everything out. So I'm sorry for the sketchiness of my story!</p> <p>I've always been a passionate animal lover. My mother said my first word was "kitty" not "mama"! I've always loved ALL animals, but as a kid I had a special attraction to horses and wolves. My father came back from one business trip with "The Wolf", a book by L. David Mech, and ever since then I've felt a special affinity for that magnificent creature. I read all the books I could about them, my family came to know that a "safe" birthday or Christmas gift for me was anything "wolf" (T-shirts, posters, etc.). I thought about becoming a wolf biologist, like Mech, but my interest in music won out.</p> <p>Later, when I learned of the Native American custom of having animal "totems", and then the modern, New Age practice of finding out what one's totem animal is, I realized I didn't need to "discover" mine because I already knew it!</p> <p>For the Native Americans (and I believe all aboriginals around the world), ALL animals were respected and honored for their unique traits and strengths. Early People wisely wanted to learn from Mother Nature. They felt a sacred connection to the rest of Mother Nature. They even believed that they gained special powers from an intense focus on and identification with a chosen animal. This included not only the splendid predators like wolves and bears, but also the ant and other tiny creatures.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2</p> <p>The Native Americans respected and honored (even revered) the Wolf for many reasons, but chief among them was their Endurance. They can run for miles and miles and miles. Like humans, they are highly intelligent. Like humans, they are also highly social and adaptable. They survive as loners, but they thrive as a pack. These are some of the reasons they are my totem animal... they are magnificent creatures who continue to inspire me!</p> <p>I was raised a Christian by my very devout mother (she really "walked the walk", not just "talked the talk"). But when I graduated from high school and left home, I also left the church. Later, I would come to see that I'd "thrown the baby out with the bath water"...</p> <p>As a teenager, I'd also been very influenced by the anti-war movement. My family would watch the news on television during dinner every night, and I was impressed with the hippie college students (like at UC-Berkeley) protesting the Viet Nam war. That's when I knew I had the heart of an activist.</p> <p>When I graduated high school, my dream was to be a "rock star", like my idols, The Beatles. I dropped in and out of college, studying music (my instrument was voice) but in my late 20's I finally started playing in rock bands. Then in 1982 I moved to Los Angeles, where I quickly met Daniel Lentz. I felt that I had "died and gone to heaven". I found his music an intense, passionate, sensual blend of the classical musical world and the modern world that included rock music. I was delighted to find that his music required not only my formal musical training, but also all I'd learned from the "opposite" world of pop music. From the start, I came on board in the dual capacity of singer and co-manager of the ensemble he wanted to start. Daniel and I lived and worked together for 12 years...</p> <p>At first I was focused on the new world of music I'd discovered through Daniel, but by the mid-to-late 1980's I'd begun to feel the stirrings of my activist heart again, as I was learning (much to my dismay) how Man was destroying Mother Nature. I decided I wanted to meld my musical career with my activist desires to try to Make a Difference, to try to help save Mother Earth and all her precious "children".</p> <p>So I told Daniel that I wanted to write the lyrics to a series of songs in which I would use the Wolf as a symbol of Mother Nature. I wanted to explore the different angles and aspects of Man's destruction of the natural world with each different song. Daniel was open to the idea, but he made two suggestions that I immediately and enthusiastically embraced. First, he said he needed me to use more animals. Second, he proposed that I base my lyrics around the Catholic Mass. Other than that, Daniel gave me no other input into what I wrote or how I interwove my own texts in English with the Latin texts of the Mass. It was also my idea to keep the Mass in Latin. I love the beauty of Latin, as much as I love the beauty of the Mass.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 3</p> <p>So I did a little research to find some of the most powerful sacred animals (according to the Native Americans) and I also studied the Mass. Here's how I paired the animals with the sections of the Mass...</p> <p>As I said above, the <b>Wolf</b> was revered for its endurance. I knew from my wolf books that no other animal has endured as much abuse at the hands of Man as the Wolf. Man has not only vilified the Wolf, but also hunted them nearly to extinction. Worse, Man has even felt justified in torturing them, not just killing them. The <b>Kyrie</b> is all about mercy. So I paired the Wolf and the Kyrie as a plea of mercy for the Wolf... with the Wolf begging for mercy. But of course, that really applies to all other species who are also suffering and dying at the hands (directly and indirectly) of Man.</p> <p>I paired the <b>Gloria</b> with the <b>Grizzly Bear</b> because there is no more impressive and breathtaking creature on the North American continent. The Grizzly is, like Man, an omnivore. And it often stands on its hind legs. So there are many comparisons to Man. Simply put, no other animal is more "glorious" than the Grizzly, hence I thought it perfect for the Gloria.</p> <p>The <b>Credo</b> is a statement of belief. Put another way, it is a statement of one's "vision" for how to live life in a sacred (meaningful, proper) way. All raptors (birds of prey) have exceptional eyesight, for hunting their prey from great distances. So I paired the "vision" of the Credo with the "vision" of the raptor. And I chose the <b>Bald Eagle</b> because it is the national symbol of the United States and I wanted to make political as well as moral statements.</p> <p>The first three animal/mass pairings were easy; the next was a little harder to conceptualize, at least at first. The idea of the <b>Sanctus</b> is the sacredness of life. The Native Americans have a phrase "walking in beauty", which means to have heaven and earth in harmony. They also speak of "walking the red road", which means to live in a sacred manner. Or, like my mother, to walk the walk, not just talk the talk! In short, the Sanctus is about choosing to live a moral life of integrity.</p> <p>If one does this, one must (I believe) honor, respect and protect all life, all of Mother Nature, all "Her" (Mother Nature's) "children" (all plants and animals). One way to show one's reverence for God (or here, God's creation, Mother Nature) is to bow down. The <b>Cougar</b> crouching, about to pounce on its prey, looks like it is bowing down in prayer. There's my connection for the Cougar and the Sanctus.</p> <p>Finally, the <b>Agnus Dei</b> (Lamb of God) was easy... it had to be <b>Man</b>. Jesus Christ was a Man. Jesus was also known as "the Lamb of God". But of course, Man has turned out to be the most dangerous (by far and away) of all God's creatures. Because Man is the one who is about to destroy the entire Earth and ALL God's earthly creatures.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 4</p> <p>I so wish I had time to walk through each of the sections of the Mass to explain each and every line, because just as there is a reason why I paired each section of the Mass with an animal, the texts (or lyrics) that I wrote are also coordinated to compare and/or contrast with the texts of the Mass!</p> <p>But in general, my message is that Man must wake up and realize what we are doing. We are destroying each other through war, through greed and selfishness and apathy. And we are destroying all other living beings as well, for the same evil reasons. Because we are made in God's image, we are capable of being agents of love, but we are not doing so. And it is not only wrong, but it is causing enormous suffering... fear and pain. And if one doesn't have any compassion for others, then here's the final argument... If we do not change, we will destroy even ourselves.</p> <p>I was raised a Protestant, but left my religious upbringing when I went off to college. But by the time I was 40, I felt something missing in my life. So I came back to my religious upbringing. But this was a few years AFTER Daniel and I wrote wolfMASS.</p> <p>I had decided to become Catholic because I had fallen in love with the Mass. I loved the sacred ritual of it, the genuflecting, the sign of the cross! It all helped me to feel a connection to the Sacred, to God. So I joined the Catholic Church through a yearlong ritual called RCIA... the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults. It was an intense year of religious study (in principle and in practice), through the loving instruction of the nuns, of what it means to be a Catholic, to be a Christian. I was able to re-examine, as an adult, everything I'd originally learned as a child. And I was a practicing Catholic for several years.</p> <p>But then my spirituality outgrew the Church, even outgrew Christianity. It was too "small", too exclusive, too full of man-made rules and regulations. I believe there are many true paths to God, many ways to connect with the Sacred, both within ourselves and outside of ourselves. So I call myself "spiritual but not religious" now.</p> <p>Yes, we performed wolfMASS three other times. I think it was in June 1994 we performed it in Phoenix, Arizona. Then in June 1995 we performed it both in the Czech Republic and then in Slovakia. The Czech gig was filmed and I have a video of that performance, which we gave in the underground caves of a truly "fantastic" castle. They played it on TV in that country (and perhaps all around Europe, I don't know).</p> <p>As I said above, if I had time to go through those boxes of mixed up papers, I could sort it out and locate all the details on the Rouen performance, as well as Phoenix, and the Czech and Slovakian performances, but unfortunately I just can't do that now. I'm so sorry! (For myself, as much as you, Stephanie!)</p>

## Appendix IV Liturgical Inclusions and Omissions in eagle-Credo of Daniel Lentz's *wolfMass*

### *Omissions in Red italics*

Inclusions in Square brackets [ ]

Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem,	I believe in one God, the Father Almighty
factorem cœli et terræ, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.	Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible:
<i>Et in unum Dominum, Jesum Christum,</i>	<i>And in one Lord, Jesus Christ,</i>
<i>Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula.</i>	<i>the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all time;</i>
<i>Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero,</i>	<i>God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God;</i>
<i>genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri;</i>	<i>begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father,</i>
<i>per quem omnia facta sunt.</i>	<i>by Whom all things were made;</i>
Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis.	Who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven.
<i>Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est.</i>	<i>and was made flesh by the Holy Ghost out of the Virgin Mary, and was made man:</i>
Crucifixus etiam pro nobis <i>sub Pontio Pilato</i> passus, et sepultus est,	He was also crucified for us <i>under Pontius Pilate</i> ; He suffered and was buried:
et resurrexit tertia die, <i>secundum Scripturas,</i>	And on the third day rose again <i>according to the Scriptures:</i>
et ascendit in cælum, <i>sedet ad dexteram Patris.</i>	And ascended into Heaven, <i>and sits on the right hand of the Father:</i>
<i>Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos,</i>	<i>And He shall come again, with glory, to judge the living and the dead:</i>
<i>cuius regni non erit finis;</i>	<i>Of His Kingdom there shall be no end;</i>
<i>Et [CREDO] in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem,</i>	<i>And I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, and Giver of Life,</i>
<i>qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.</i>	<i>Who proceeds from the Father and the Son</i>
<i>Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur:</i>	<i>Who, with the Father and the Son, is similarly adored and glorified,</i>
<i>qui locutus est per prophetas.</i>	<i>Who has spoken through the Prophets.</i>
<i>Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam.</i>	<i>And I believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church,</i>
<i>Confiteor unum baptisma</i> [Credo] in remissionem peccatorum.	<i>I confess one Baptism for</i> I believe in the remission of sins.
Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum,	And I expect the Resurrection of the Dead:
et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.	And the Life of the world to come. Amen

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "Black Pete". "Reflecting on the Electric Prunes - Mass in F Minor." *Red Wine and Garlic* (11 April 2010). <http://redwineandgarlic.blogspot.com.au/2010/04/electric-prunes-mass-in-f-minor.html>.
- "About us." Audubon, <http://www.audubon.org/about-us>.
- Adorno, Theodor W. *Gesammelte Schriften in zwanzig Bänden - Band 19: Musikalische Schriften VI*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag GmbH, 1984.
- "African Sanctus: A tribute to Nelson Mandela and Maya Angelou at NVC." *Napa Valley Register.com* (12 Nov 2014). [http://napavalleyregister.com/entertainment/arts-and-theatre/african-sanctus-a-tribute-to-nelson-mandela-and-maya-angelou/article\\_eab86f0c-e91a-59c2-9cba-6ab55083b3f3.html](http://napavalleyregister.com/entertainment/arts-and-theatre/african-sanctus-a-tribute-to-nelson-mandela-and-maya-angelou/article_eab86f0c-e91a-59c2-9cba-6ab55083b3f3.html)
- Alapatt, Eothen. "The Axe - Part 1 of *Big Daddy's* David Axelrod Interview." *Wax Poetics* (2005 [1999-2000]). <http://www.waxpoetics.com/features/articles/david-axelrod-part-1>.
- Alban, Jeffrey M. "A Survey of the Sacred Choral Works of Joseph Jongen with a Conductor's Analysis of the Mass, Op. 130." DMA, University of Miami, 2008.
- Ames, Richard. "Capacity Crowd Hears New Music at Mission." *Santa Barbara News-Press*, 26 May 1974, B-10.
- Anderson, Terry H. "The New American Revolution: The Movement and Business." Chap. 6 In *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, edited by David Farber, 175-205. Chapel Hill; London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Anger, Kenneth. "The Inauguration of the Pleasure Dome." Mystic Fire Video, 1986.
- . "Inauguration of the Pleasure Dome." 1954.
- Anon. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1809.
- Applegate, Celia. "The Building of Community through Choral Singing." Chap. 1 In *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, edited by Donna M. Di Grazia. Routledge Studies in Musical Genres. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Aquilina, Mike. *The Mass of the Early Christians*. 2nd ed. Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor Inc, 2007.
- Arenas, Erick. "Johann Michael Haydn and the Orchestral Solemn Mass in Eighteenth-Century Vienna and Salzburg." PhD, Stanford University, 2013.
- Arnett, Earl. "Englishman Finds 'Great' Music in African bush." *Baltimore Sun*, 6 Oct 1973.
- Aston, Nigel. *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, 1750-1830*. New Approaches to European History. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Atiya, Aziz S. *A History of Eastern Christianity*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1968.
- Auner, Joseph. "Proclaiming a Mainstream: Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern." In *The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople, 228-259. New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014.
- "Ausar Auset Society International." <http://www.aasorlando.org/aboutaas.htm>.
- BD. "Interview: Daniel Lentz." *The Mouth Magazine* (26 Jun 2014). <http://themouthmagazine.com/2014/06/26/daniel-lentz/>.
- Beach, Amy. *Mass in E-flat, SATB chorus with soloists and piano*. Ft. Lauderdale: Walton Music Corp, c1995 [1890].
- Beller-McKenna, Daniel. *Brahms and the German Spirit*. Cambridge MA; London UK: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Berger. *Religious America, Secular Europe? : A Theme and Variations*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- Berger, Peter L., ed. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999.
- Berlioz, Hector. *Review et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 10 June 1838.
- . *Correspondance Générale de Hector Berlioz*. Edited by Pierre Citron. 8 vols. Vol. I, Paris: Flammorian, 1972.
- Bernstein, Leonard. *Mass [Vocal Score]*. New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 2000.
- Berrigan, Daniel. *No Bars to Manhood*. First ed. New York: Doubleday, 1970.
- Berry, Mark. "Haydn's Creation and Enlightenment Theology." *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (2008): 25-44.
- Berry, Mary. "Gregorian Chant: The Restoration of the Chant and Seventy-Five Years of Recording." *Early Music* 7, no. 2 (1979): 197-217.
- "Bingo." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 25 April, S-16.
- Black, Leo. *Franz Schubert: Music and Belief*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003.
- Blacking, John. "The Rhythmic Community." *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 3831 (15 Aug 1975): 917.
- Bole, William. "Dave Brubeck's Rhythms of Hope." *Our Sunday Visitor*, 15 Dec 1996, 9-11.
- Borsay, Peter. "Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England." In *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh. Hants, UK; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2004.
- Boss, Rainer. "Forward (abridged)." In *Franz von Suppé: Missa Dalmatica quamterna virili voce pulsantibus organis concinendam composuit et Dalmatiae suae dicavit*, edited by Rainer Boss, 6. Stuttgart: Carus, 2003.
- Boutwell, Jane. "The Talk of the Town - Mass." *The New Yorker*, 10 Jun 1972, 25-27.
- Boynton, Susan. "Plainsong." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, edited by Mark Everist, 9-25. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Braas, Ton & Odilia Vemeulen. "Introduction." Translated by Hilary Staples. In *Diepenbrock Missa in die Festo 1890-4*, edited by Ton & Odilia Vemeulen Braas. Schatten van de Nederlansk koormuziek [Treasures of Dutch Choral Music] Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis: Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands, 2005.
- Bradbury, William Frothingham. *History of the Handel and Haydn Society (founded A.D. 1815)* 2 vols. Vol. 2, Boston: Caustic Clafin Co. Printers, 1911.

- Bradshaw, Paul F. *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2009.
- Brick, Howard. *Age of Contradiction*. Twayne's American Thought and Culture. Edited by Lewis Perry. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998.
- Bronhöft, Rüdger "Preface." Translated by J. Bradford Robinson. In *Anton Bruckner Mass in F Minor for Soloists, Mixed Chorus and Orchestra*, edited by Rüdger Bronhöft & Roland Erben. Frankfurt; Leipzig; London; New York: C. F. Peters, 2006.
- Brookes, William. "In re: 'Experimental Music'." *Contemporary Music Review* 31, no. 1 (30 Aug 2012): 37-62.
- Brown, Clive. *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- . "Spohr, Louis." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*.  
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/26446>.
- Brubeck, Dave. *To hope! : A Celebration*. Dayton, Ohio; Old Hickory, Tenn.: Heritage Music Press; Pastoral Arts Associates of North America, c1979.
- . *To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual*. Alfred Music Publishing, 1995.
- Bruce, Steve. *God is Dead: Secularization in the West*. Religion and Spirituality in the Modern World. Edited by Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead. Malden; Oxford; Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, [2002] 2007.
- Brunner, David. "The Choral Music of Lou Harrison." DMA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989.
- Bruno, Giordano. "Hybrid Remastering, Hybrid Music [Review of Misa Criolla, Universal CD (2007)]." amazon.com, <http://www.amazon.com/review/R1TNZ73VLDE69Z>.
- Bruns, Roger A. *Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Movement*. Landmarks of the American Mosaic. eBook ed. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011.
- Buelow, George J. "Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography." *Notes* 30, no. 2 (1973): 250-259.
- Burden, Michael. "A Foxtrot to the Crucifixion." In *Perspectives on Peter Maxwell Davies*, edited by Richard McGregor, 51-65. Aldershot, UK; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2000.
- Burney, Charles. *Dr Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*. Edited by Percy Scholes. 2 vols. Vol. 2, Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1979.
- . *Dr Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*. Edited by Percy Scholes. 2 vols. Vol. 1, Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1979.
- Burt, Warren. "Australian Experimental Music 1963-1990." *Leonardo Music Journal* 1, no. 1 (1991): 5-10.
- Burton, Humphrey. *Leonard Bernstein*. London: Faber and Faber, 1994.
- Bush, George H. W. "What I Believe About the Environment." *EPA Journal* 16, no. 1 (1990): 2-3.
- . "World Environment Day." *Department of State* 89.2151 (Oct 1989): 36.
- Butt, John. *Bach: Mass in B Minor*. Cambridge Music Handbooks. Cambridge UK; New York; Melbourne; Spain: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Byrne, John Henry. "Archbishop Daniel Mannix and Church Music in Melbourne, 1913-1963." In *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church from the 1850s to Vatican II*, edited by Paul Collins, 251-275. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Cadieu, Martine, and Andre Jolivet. "A Conversation with Andre Jolivet." *Tempo* 59 (1961): 2-4.
- Cage, John. *Silence: Lectures and Writings*. Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.
- Cairns, David. *Berlioz*. 2 vols. Vol. 2: Servitude and Greatness, 1832-1869, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999.
- . *Berlioz*. 2 vols. Vol. 1 The Making of an Artist 1803-1832, London: Allen Lane, 1999.
- "Calendar." *Opera Canada Summer* (2012).
- Campling, Chris. "Hip Replacements - Arts." *The Times*, 28 September 2001.
- Canfield, David Deboor. "The Viola in his Life: An Interview with Paul Chihara." *Fanfare* 36, no. 5 (May/June 2013): 131-35.
- Carey, Patrick W. *The Roman Catholics*. Denominations in America. Edited by Henry Warner Bowden. Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1993.
- Carson, Rachel, Lois Darling, and Louis Darling. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.
- Chafe, Eric. *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber*. Studies in Musicology. Edited by George J. Buelow. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1987.
- Chapman, David Allen Jr. "*Ich Sitze Und Schaue Aus*: Genesis, Evolution, and Interpretation of K.A. Hartmann's First Symphony." MA, Kennesaw State University, 2001.
- Chapple, Steve, and Reebee Garofalo. *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977.
- Chihara, Paul. *Missa Carminum : "Folk song Mass" : mixed voices (SATB-SATB) a cappella*. Edition Peters. New York: Henmar Press, 1978.
- "Choral Coup Brings 4,000 Voices to Toronto: The Joy of Singing." *The Toronto Star*, 21 June 1989, E3.
- "Church Documents *Tra le Sollecitudini*, Instruction on Sacred Music, Pope Pius X, Motu Proprio Promulgated on November 22, 1903." Adoremus Society for the Renewal of Sacred Liturgy, <http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html>.
- Chylińska, Teresa "Maliszewski, Witold." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*.  
[http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article\\_works/grove/music/17556#S17556.1](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article_works/grove/music/17556#S17556.1).
- "Classical." *The Hartford Courant*, 21 April 2002, G6.
- Cmiel, Kenneth. "The Politics of Civility." In *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, edited by David Farber, 263-290. Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.



- Cody, John. "Mass was the First 'Christian Rock' Album." *JohnCodyOnline.com Words & Music*. <http://www.johncodyonline.com/home/articles/2010-07-DavidAxelrod.html>.
- Cole, Hugo. "Bernstein: Mass, a Theatre Piece for Singers, Players and Dancers. Alan Titus (vocalist), Norman Scribner Choir, Berkshire Boy Choir, Orchestra, c. Leonard Bernstein CBS 77256 (2 record set) [Review]." *Tempo* New Series, no. 103 (1972): 57-8.
- Coleman, John A. *The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism, 1958-1974*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California, 1978.
- "A Compelling Statement on Church Music, Taste And Order by the Distinguished Pastor/Hymnologist Erik Routley." *Pastoral Music*, Aug-Sep 1979.
- Connell, Joan. "'Battle Hymn,' 'Onward Christian Soldiers' Rank Highest Among the Heavenly Hits Red, White and Blue... and Religious." *San Jose Mercury News*, 5 July 1986, 11C.
- Connery, Majel. "Peter Maxwell Davies' Worst Nightmare: Staging the Unsacred in the Operas Taverner and Resurrection." *The Opera Quarterly* 25, no. 3-4 (2009): 247-69.
- Connolly, Thomas H. "Cecilia (i)." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (25 July 2013). <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05243>.
- Connor, Tom. "Is the Earth alive?." *Christianity Today* 37, no. 1 (1993): 22-25.
- "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* Solemnly Promulgated By His Holiness Pope Paul VI On December 4, 1963." *Vatican.va* [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19631204\\_sacrosanctum-concilium\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html).
- Cook, Nicholas, and Anthony Pople, eds. *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*. New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014.
- Cooke, Mervyn. "The Blackwell History of Music in Britain." *Music & Letters* 78, no. 1 (1997): 115.
- Cornyn, Stan. *The Electric Prunes Mass in F Minor*. Hamburg: Line Music, 1990 [1963]
- "Correspondance des Professeurs et Amateurs de Musique." *Le Citoyen Français*, 30 Floréal year XII (20 May 1804).
- Cost, Jud. "The Electric Prunes: The James Lowe Interview." *Ptolemaic Terrascope* (November 1997). <http://www.terrascope.co.uk/MyBackPages/Electric%20Prunes.htm>.
- Creston, Paul. *Missa Cum Jubilo : A Liturgical-Concert Mass for 4-part chorus of mixed voices, a cappella with optional organ or piano or string accompaniment : op. 97*. Toronto: Kerby, 1973.
- Cuyler, Louise. *The Symphony*. The Harbrace History of Musical Forms. Edited by Karl Geiringer. New York; Chicago; San Francisco; Atlanta: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Daly, Kieran Anthony. *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903*. Portland: Four Courts Press, 1995.
- Daniel Lentz: Missa Umbrarum Mass of Shadows*. New Albion Records LP 006, 1985.
- Danuser, Hermann. "Rewriting the Past: Classicisms of the Inter-War Period." In *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople, 260-285. New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014.
- "David Axelrod." Concord Music Group, <http://www.concordmusicgroup.com/artists/David-Axelrod/>.
- David Fanshawe: African Sanctus*. Owain Arwel Hughes (Cond.). Philips LP 6558 001, 1973.
- David Fanshawe: African Sanctus Dona Nobis Pacem A Hymn for World Peace*. Whilhelmenia Fernandez, Choristers of St George's Chapel Windsor Castle, Bournemouth Symphony Chorus, Conductor, Neville Creed. Silva Classics CD SILKD6003, 1994.
- Davidson, Roger. "Society for Universal Sacred Music Inc." <http://www.imassocpr.com/images/MusicBrochure.pdf>.
- Davies, Laurence. *César Franck and His Circle*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970.
- Davies, Peter Maxwell. *Missa Super L'Homme Armé*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1978.
- Day, Thomas. "Foreword." In *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, edited by Paul Collins, 1-11. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.
- . "A Renaissance Revival in Eighteenth-Century England." *The Musical Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (Oct 1971): 575-592.
- Deane, Basil. *Cherubini*. Oxford Studies of Composers. Edited by Colin Mason. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Delius: A Mass of Life*. Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra; Richard Hickox (cond.). Chandos CD 9515(2), 1997; 2002.
- Demaree, Robert W., and Don V. Moses. *The Masses of Joseph Haydn : History, Style, Performance*. Rochester Hills, Mich.: Classical Heritage, 2008.
- DeVenney, David. *American Masses and Requiems: A Descriptive Guide*. Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1990.
- DeVenney, David Paul. "A Conductor's Study of the 'Mass in D' by John Knowles Paine." DMA, University of Cincinnati, 1989.
- Dobbelaere, Karel. *Secularization: An Analysis at Three Levels*. Gods, Humans and Religions. Brussels: Presses Interuniversitaires Européennes, 2002.
- Drynness, William. "Stewardship of the Earth in the Old Testament." In *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*, edited by Wesley Granberg-Michaelson, 50-65. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987.
- Duckworth, William. *Talking Music: Conversations with John Cage, Philip Glass, Laurie Anderson, and Five Generations of American Experimental Composers*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1999.
- Duffie, Bruce. "Sir Peter Maxwell Davies: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie." (1985). <http://www.bruceDuffie.com/pmd.html>.
- Dunn, Geoffrey D., and Tertullian. *Tertullian*. The Early Church Fathers. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Duquin, Lorene Hanley. *A Century of Catholic Converts*. Google Books ed. Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 2003.
- Dvorák, Otakar, Paul Polansky, and Miroslav Nemeš. *Antonín Dvorák, My Father* [in English]. Spillville, Iowa: Czech Historical Research Center, 1993.
- Missa Universalis*. Erdenklang Musikverlag CD 50822, 1995.



"The Electric Prunes: Concerts & Performances." <http://shadwell.tripod.com/concerts.html>.

"Electric Prunes: Interviste." *Retrophobic* (28 April 2007).  
[http://www.retrophobic.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=383&Itemid=27#ENGLISH](http://www.retrophobic.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=383&Itemid=27#ENGLISH).

Ellis, Katharine. *The Politics of Plainchant in fin-de-siècle France*. Royal Musical Association Monographs. Edited by Simon P. Keefe. Surrey, England; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2013.

Ellul, Jacques'. *The Subversion of Christianity*. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. La Subversion du Christianisme, Editions du Seuil, Janvier 1984.

"Entertainment Briefs." *The Toronto Star*, 1 June 2000, W009.

Estenssoro, J. Carlos. "Chávez Aguilar, Monseñor Pablo." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*.  
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/45181>.

Evans, Edwin. *Historical, Descriptive & Analytical Account of the Entire Works of Johannes Brahms*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970 [1912].

Fanshawe, David. Telephone interview with author 6 March 2007.

———. *African Sanctus for soprano solo, mixed chorus, instrumental ensemble and pre-recorded tape*. London: Chappell Music, 1977.

———. *African Sanctus: A story of Travel and Music*. London: Collins and Harvill Press, 1975.

"Fanshawe Discography." Fanshawe One World Music, <http://www.fanshawe.com/discography.asp>.

Farquharson, Linda J. "Dame Ethel Smyth: *Mass in D*." DMA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996.

Fellerer, K.G., and Moses Hadas. "Church Music and the Council of Trent." *The Musical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1953): 576-594.

Fellerer, Karl Gustav. *The History of Catholic Church Music*. Translated by Francis A. Brunner. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961.

Fend, Michael. "Cherubini, Luigi." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*.  
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/53110>.

Ferris, George T. "Cherubini and His Predecessors." In *Great Italian and French Composers*. [1891] 2006  
[http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17462/17462-h/17462-h.htm#2H\\_4\\_0007](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17462/17462-h/17462-h.htm#2H_4_0007).

Fétis, François-Joseph. "Cherubini." In *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*. Paris 1884.

Fisher, Alexander J. *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*. The New Cultural History of Music. Edited by Jane F. Fulcher. Oxford ; New York et al: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Fiske, Roger. *Beethoven's Missa Solemnis*. London: Paul Elek, 1979.

Fowler, Lauren Patricia. "The Twentieth-Century English Unaccompanied Mass: A Comparative Analysis of Masses by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Herbert Howells, Bernard Stevens, and Edmund Rubbra." DA, University of Northern Colorado, 1997.

Fraider, Steven. "The Style of Paul Chihara in the Missa Carminum Brevis and its Influence on Interpretation." MA, California State University, Fullerton, 1976.

Fraser, Ronald. *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*. First American Edition ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

Galloway, Melodie G. "A Conductor's Perspective of Dave Brubeck's 'To Hope! A Celebration: A Mass in the Revised Roman Ritual'." DMA, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2006.

Garvey, Michael O. "Jazz legend Dave Brubeck to Receive Laetare Medal." Notre Dame News, University of Notre Dame,  
<http://newsinfo.nd.edu/news/8301-jazz-legend-dave-brubeck-to-receive-laetare-medal/>

Gathogo, Julius Mutugi. "The Reason for Studying African Religion in Post-colonial Africa." *Currents in Theology and Mission* 36, no. 2 (April 2009): 108-117.

Geiringer, Karl. *Brahms: His Life and Work*. Translated by H.B. Weiner & Bernard Miall. 2nd ed. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1963.

Gill, Dominic. "St John's: African Revelations." *Financial Times [London]*, 12 July 1972, 3.

Giombini, Marcello. *Messa dei Giovani*. Rome: Edizioni Musicali Casimiri, c.1966.

Glackin, William. "Something Old, Something New - A Rich Range of Familiar and Cutting-Edge Music Keeps Classical Fans On the Run." *Sacramento Bee*, 17 Sept 1995, EN4.

Gmeinwieser, Siegfried. "Cecilian movement." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*.  
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05245>.

Goldman, Ari L. "Every Dog (and Elephant) has its Day in St. John Rite." *The New York Times*, 5 Oct 1987, B3.

Goodall, Howard. *Big Bangs: The Story of Five Discoveries that Changed Musical History*. London: Vintage, 2001.

Goodwin, Noel. "Fanshawe's Romantic Mission." *Daily Express*, 12 July 1972.

Gottlieb, Jack. "A Jewish Mass or a Catholic Mitzvah?". *Journal of Synagogue Music* 3, no. 4 (1971): 3-7.

Gounod, Charles. *Autobiographical Reminiscences, with Family Letters and Notes on Music*. Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series. New York,: Da Capo Press, 1970.

Graber, Rudolf. "Religion and Art." In *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966*, edited by Johannes Overath. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969.

Granberg-Michaelson, Wesley, ed. *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987.

Grechaninov, A.T. *My Life*. New York: Coleman-Ross Co., 1952.

Grechaninov: "Symphony No. 5"; "Missa Oecumenica". Russian State Symphonic Capella & Russian State Symphony Orchestra; Valeri Polyanski (cond.). Chandos Records - Premiere CD 9845, 2000.

- Grenier, Robert, and Claude Dauphin. "Werner Jaegerhuber's Messe Sur Les Airs Vodouesques: The Inculturation Of Vodou in a Catholic Mass." *Black Music Research Journal* 29, no. 1 (2009): 51-82.
- Griswold, Eliza. "The Wild Life of 'Silent Spring'." *The New York Times Magazine*, 23 Sept 2012, 36-41.
- "Hall of Fame." Gaudeamus Muziekweek, <http://www.muziekweek.nl/organisatie/archief/>.
- Hanson, Alice M. *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*. Cambridge; London; New York; New Rochelle; Melbourne; Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Harding, James. *Gounod*. London; Allen and Unwin, 1973.
- Harrison, Max. "Saltarello Choir St John's, Smith Square." *The Times [London]* (12 July 1972): 13.
- Hawkins, Sir John. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. Vol. 2, London; New York: Novello, Ewer & Co.; J.L. Peters, 1875.
- Hawshaw, Paul. "Anton Bruckner and the Austrian Choral Tradition: His Mass in F Minor." In *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, edited by Donna M. Di Grazia. Routledge Studies in Musical Genres. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Hayburn, Robert F. *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* Harrison, NY: Roman Catholic Books, c1979.
- Haydn, Joseph. "The Complete Haydn Masses." In *Trinity Choir, Rebel Baroque Orchestra, Burdick, Glover*, 8 CDs, 2009.
- . "Messe Nr. 12 'Harmoniemesse'." edited by Friedrich Lippmann: G. Henle Verlag München, 1966.
- Hayes, Stephen. "Psychedelic Christian Worship -- thecages." *Notes from Underground* (18 January 2008). <http://methodius.blogspot.com.au/2008/01/psychedelic-christian-worship-thecages.html>.
- Hayes, Stephen T.W. . "Oom Bey for the Future: A Retrospect." In *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the Witness of Beyers Naudé*, edited by Len Hansen and Robert Vosloo. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology, 47-64. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.
- Heartz, Daniel. *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720-1780*. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003.
- Heelas, Paul, and Linda Woodhead et al. *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is Giving Way to Spirituality*. Religion in the Modern World. Malden; Oxford; Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
- Herzogenberg, Heinrich von. *Messe op. 87, per soli (SATB), coro (SATB) ed orchestra (2 flauti, 2 oboi, 2 clarinetti, 2 fagotti, contrafagotto, 4 corni, 2 trombe, 3 tromboni, tuba, timpani, 2 violini, viola, violoncello, contrabbasso, organo ad libitum)*. Erstausg. Forward by Bernd Wiechert. ed. Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, c2002.
- Hiley, David *Gregorian Chant*. Cambridge Introductions to Music. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne et al: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Hill, John Walter. *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe 1580-1750*. New York; London: WW Norton & Company, 2005.
- "History of African Sanctus." African Sanctus, <http://www.africansanctus.com/history.asp>.
- Holak, Susan L. "Ritual Blessings with Companion Animals." *Journal of Business Research* 61 (2008): 534-541.
- Holmes, Bradley Alan. "'Missa Oecumenica' and the Roman Catholic Masses of Alexandre T. Grechaninov." DMA, Arizona State University, 1990.
- Holoman, D. Kern. "Masses and Requiems." In *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, edited by Donna M. Di Grazia. Routledge Studies in Musical Genres, 125-204. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- . "Works with Secular and Non-Liturgical Texts." In *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, edited by Donna M. Di Grazia. Routledge Studies in Musical Genres, 204-277. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- "Home." Paul Seiko Chihara, <http://www.paulchihara.com/>.
- Hood, Mantle. *The Ethnomusicologist*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.
- Horn, Gerd-Rainer. *The Spirit of '68 : Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976*. Oxford: New York : Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Hörwarthner, Maria. "Joseph Haydn's Library: An Attempt at a Literary-Historical Reconstruction." In *Haydn and His World*, edited by Elaine Sisman. New York: Princeton, 1997.
- Houtchens, Alan. "Antonin Dvořák." In *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, edited by Donna M. Di Grazia. Routledge Studies in Musical Genres, 879-904. New York; Oxon: Routledge, 2013.
- Hume, Paul. "At Mass: 'This is Sacrilegious!'" *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 20 September 1971, B3.
- . "Bernstein's Mass: 'A Reaffirmation of Faith'." *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, 9 September 1971, A1.
- Hutchings, Arthur. *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century*. Studies in Church Music. Edited by Erik Routley. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967.
- Huxford, John Calvitt. "John Knowles Paine: His Life and Works." PhD, The Florida State University, 1969.
- Ibsen al Faruqi, Lois. "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law." *Asian Music* 17, no. 1 (1985): 6-13.
- Idowu, E. Bolaji. *African Traditional Religion: A Definition*. London: SCM Press, 1973.
- "If You're in A Jazzy Mood You Don't have to Travel Far - Toronto, Canandaigua Festivals Feature Big Names." *The Buffalo News*, 4 Jun 1989, G3.
- Inglis, Sam. "Out of the Shadows: Producer David Axelrod." *SOS Sound on Sound* (August 2001). <http://www.soundonsound.com/Contents.php?Month=8&Year=2001>.
- "Interfaith Thanksgiving Worship Set." *The Miami Herald*, 17 Nov 1983, 27.
- Janáček, Leoš. *Lidové Noviny*, 27 Nov 1927.
- Janáček, Leoš "A Mozart Celebration: On the Centenary of his Death." *Moravské listy [Moravian Letters]*, 9 December 1891.
- Janáčková, Věra. *Lidové Noviny*, 7 Aug 1940.
- "Jessica Lynn Mary Karraker." East Ozarks Audubon Society, <http://eastozarksaudubon.tripod.com/id47.html>.
- Johannes Tinctoris (c1435-1511) The Art of Counterpoint (Liber de Arte Contrapuncti) [1477]*. Translated by ed. Albert Seay. Musicological Studies and Documents. American Institute of Musicology, 1961

- Johnston, Colleen. "Missa Gaia a Rousing Tribute to Nature." *The Record [Kitchener]*, 1994, E7.
- Jones, David Wyn. "The Missa Solemnis Premiere. First Rites." *The Musical Times* 139, no. 1864 (Autumn 1998): 25-6; 28.
- Judt, Tony, and Timothy Snyder. *Thinking the Twentieth Century*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2012.
- Jungmann, Joseph A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. Translated by Rev. Francis A. Brunner. 2 vols. Vol. 1, Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, [1951/1986] 1992. Missarum Solemnia.
- . *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development*. Translated by Rev. Francis A. Brunner. 2 vols. Vol. 2, Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, [1951/1986] 1992. Missarum Solemnia.
- Kanny, Mark. "Lentz Mixes Computers, Music." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 17 June 1988, 21.
- Karp, Theodore, Fabrice Fitch, and Basil Smallman. "Requiem Mass." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/43221>.
- Karraker, Jessica. "Who is Jessica Karraker, anyway?" WolfStone Ranch, <http://wolfstoneranch.org/jessica.html>.
- . "wolfMASS: Notes for Stephanie Rocke." Jan 2014.
- Karraker, Jessica. "About WolfStone." WolfStone Ranch, <http://wolfstoneranch.org/about.html>.
- Karraker, Jessica, and Daniel Lentz. *wolfMASS*. Aoede Records, 2000.
- Kastalsky, A., and S. W. Pring. "My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music." *The Musical Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1925): 231-247.
- Keefer, Bob. "Concert Choir Takes Journey from Jazz to Motown." *The Register-Guard*, 5 March 2009, E23.
- Keifer, Ralph A. *The Mass in Time of Doubt: The Meaning of the Mass for the Catholic Today*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983.
- Kennedy, Meredith. "Europe Meets Africa: Cultural Connections in David Fanshawe's African Sanctus." MFA, California State University, Long Beach, 2007.
- Kenny, Maurice. *Carving Hawk: New & Selected Poems, 1953-2000*. Buffalo N.Y.: White Pine Press, 2002.
- Kent, Stephen A. *From Slogans to Mantras: Social Protest and Religious Conversion in the Late Vietnam Era*. Religion and Politics. Edited by Michael Barkun. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001.
- Kertesz, Elizabeth. "Issues in the Critical Reception of Ethel Smyth's Mass and First Four Operas in England and Germany." PhD, University of Melbourne, 2001.
- Keyser, Amy. "A Question of Religion: Igor Stravinsky's Early Sacred Works." MA, Florida State University, 2003.
- Kilgore, Jonathan Candler. "Four Twentieth-Century Mass Ordinary Settings Surveyed Using the Dictates of the Motu Proprio of 1903 as a Stylistic Guide." DMA, The University of Southern Mississippi, 2008.
- Kim, Youngshin. "The Early Beginnings of Nordoff-Robbins Music Therapy." [In English]. *Journal of Music Therapy* 41, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 321-39.
- Kime, Mary W. "Missa Gaia: Earth Mass by Paul Winter; The Paul Winter Consort." *Environmental Review: ER* 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1983): 124-6.
- King, Pamela. *Angel with Drumsticks: The Rock that Shook the Foundations of the Vatican*. Thorpe-Bowker, 2015.
- Kirkman, Andrew. *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass : Medieval Context to Modern Revival*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Kraemer, Jonathan. "Echoes Of War—the Resonating Patterns of Influence: An Examination of Recurrent Musical Trends in Large-Scale, Sacred, British, Anti-War Choral Works of the Twentieth Century." PhD, Texas Tech University, 2009.
- La Messa dei Giovani*. Marcello Giombini (composer); Angel and the Brains; I Barrittas; The Bumpers. Ariel LP LNF 202, 1966.
- Lachapelle, Sofie. *Investigating the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853-1931*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- LaFave, Kenneth. *Experiencing Leonard Bernstein: A Listener's Companion*. London, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.
- Larsen, Libby. *Missa Gaia: Mass for the Earth*. Boston: ECS Publishing c1999.
- Larson, Paul. "Paul Winter's *Missa Gaia*: Ecosophical Music of the Sphere." *EcoSpirit* 1, no. 2 (8 Jan 2014 1985): 2-4.
- Lawless, Dolores. "Bernstein Mass Said Blasphemy." *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, 19 Oct 1976.
- Leary, Timothy. *The Politics of Ecstasy*. London: MacGibbon Koe, 1970.
- Lentz, Daniel. *Missa Umbrarum*. Manuscript Score, 1973.
- Leo XIII. "Grande Munus: Encyclical Of Pope Leo XIII On Ss. Cyril And Methodius." *Vatican.va* (30 Sept 1880). [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/leo\\_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_30091880\\_grande-munus\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_30091880_grande-munus_en.html).
- Leonard Bernstein's Mass: A Theatre Piece for Singers, Players and Dancers*. Leonard Bernstein (cond), Alan Titus (Celebrant), Norman Scribner Choir, The Berkshire Boy Choir. Columbia Masterworks LP M231008, 1971.
- Levy, Jacques E. *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Lincoln, Kenneth. *Native American Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- "The Lindsfarne Association." <http://www.williamirwinthompson.org/lindsfarne.html>.
- Lindstrom, Matthew J., and Zachary A. Smith. *The National Environmental Policy Act : Judicial Misconstruction, Legislative Indifference & Executive Neglect*. Environmental History Series. 1st ed. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001.
- Lipsitz, George. "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth culture, Rock 'n' roll, and Social Crises." Chap. 7 In *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, edited by David Farber, 206-234. Chapel Hill; London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Littler, William. "Samsons in Sound Bring Down Ceiling." *Toronto Star*, 22 June 1989, C4.
- Loveland, Kenneth. "Festivals." *Musical Times* 119, no. 1629 (1978): 980-983.

- Lovelock, James E. "Letter to the Editors: Gaia as Seen Through the Atmosphere." *Atmospheric Environment* 6, no. 8 (1972): 579-580.
- Lovelock, James E., and Lynn Margulis. "Atmospheric Homeostasis by and for the Biosphere: The Gaia Hypothesis." *Tellus Series A* (Stockholm: International Meteorological Institute), no. 26 (1-2) (1 Feb 1974): 2-10.
- Lowrie, Alaire. "Review: Record of the Month - *African Sanctus* by David Fanshawe." *The Choral Journal* 19, no. 1 (Sept 1978): 37.
- Loza, Steven. "The Musical Life of the Mexican/Chicano People in Los Angeles, 1945-1985: A Study in Maintenance, Change, and Adaptation." PhD, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985.
- Luboff, Norman. *African Mass*. Walton Music Corp., 1969.
- Lucas, Phillip Charles, and Thomas Robbins, eds. *New Religious Movements in the 21st Century*. New York; London: Routledge, 2004.
- Lynch, Gordon. *The New Spirituality: An Introduction to Progressive Belief in the Twenty-first Century*. London; New York: I.B. Taurus, 2007.
- Lynskey, Dorian. "David Axelrod, Royal Festival Hall, London." *The Guardian* (19 March 2004). <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2004/mar/19/popandrock1>.
- Mac Intyre, Bruce C. *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classical Period*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986.
- MacDonald, Hugh, ed. *Selected Letters of Berlioz*. First American ed. New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997.
- Magesa, Laurenti. *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1997.
- Male, Andrew. "Those are the Breaks." *Mojo*, *Solesides* (June 2001). <http://www.solesides.com/winblad/david%20axelrod/axelrodmojo0601.html>.
- "The Man Who Wasn't Told." *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1975, 44-45.
- Marchand, Rebecca. "The Impact of the Second Vatican Council on the American Concert Mass." PhD, University of California Santa Barbara, 2007.
- Markus, R. A. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Martin, David. *A General Theory of Secularization* [in English]. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.
- . *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory*. London: Ashgate, 2005.
- Martin, Gregory. "Solemnitie of Divine Service." In *Roma Sancta*, edited by G.B. Parks. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, [1581] 1969.
- Martini, Giovanni Battista. "Scrittori di Musica." Bologna: Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States c.1958-1974*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Mass for the Earth - Libby Larsen: Missa Gaia; Stephen Paulus: Echoes Between the Silent Peaks*. Oregon Repertory Singers; Gilbert Seeley (cond.). Koch International Classics CD 3-7279-2 H1, 1995.
- Mass in F Minor*. The Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer); Dave Hassinger (producer). Linea CD 9.00888, 1990.
- Mass in F Minor*. The Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer); Dave Hassinger (producer). Reprise LP RS 6275, 1968.
- Mass in F Minor / Release of an Oath: Kol Nidre*. Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer); Dave Hassinger (producer). 1-2-3-4-GO! CD B00C15MYNQ, 2013.
- Mattingly, Terry. "Liturgical Dances With Wolves (1993)." *patheos.com*. <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/tmatt/terry-mattinglys-magazine-freelance-archives/liturgical-dances-with-wolves/>.
- Mbiti, John. *Concepts of God in Africa*. London: S.P.C.K, 1970.
- Mbiti, John S. *Introduction to African religion*. 2nd ed.: Heinemann International Literature and Textbooks, 1991.
- McCredie, Andrew D. *Karl Amadeus Hartmann: Thematic Catalogue of his Works*. Wilhelmshaven; New York: Edition Heinrichshofen, 1982.
- McDaniel, Doris Anna. "Analysis of the Missa Luba." MA, University of Rochester, 1973.
- McKay, Elizabeth Norman. *Franz Schubert: A Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- McLennan, Scott. "Singing Quiet Lullabies - Monica Hatch Goes Beyond Jazz." *Worcester Telegram & Gazette*, 10 Jan 2002, C1.
- McLeod, Hugh. *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- McVeigh, Simon. "The Constrained Entrepreneur: Concert Promotion in Eighteenth-Century London." In *Organisateurs et Formes d'Organisation du Concert en Europe 1800-1920: Institutionnalisation et Pratiques*, edited by Hans Erich B Bödeker; Patrice Veit; Michael Werner. Musical Life in Europe 1600-1900: Circulation, Institutions, Representation, 47-56. Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008.
- Meersman, Roger. "The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts: The Early Years of Operation." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 1980: 589-717.
- Menotti, Gian Carlo. *Mass : For the Contemporary English Liturgy : Congregation, SATB chorus (optional), and organ* [in English words.]. New York; Milwaukee, WI: G. Schirmer; Distributed by Hal Leonard Pub. Corp., 1990.
- . *Missa 'O Pulchritudo' : for mixed chorus, soloists, and orchestra* [in Latin words, also printed as text with English translation on 4th prelim. p.]. Vocal Score ed. New York: G. Schirmer, 1984.
- Meye, Robert P. "Invitation to Wonder." In *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*, edited by Wesley Granberg-Michaelson, 30-49. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987.
- Miles, Margaret R. *Desire and Delight: A New Reading of Augustine's Confessions*. New York: Crossroad, 1992.
- Miller, John. "Bernstein: Mass - Nagano." *SA-CD.net* (2009). <http://www.sa-cd.net/showtitle/2476>.
- Miller, L.E. "Cultural Intersections: John Cage in Seattle (1938-1940)." In *John Cage: Music, Philosophy, and Intention, 1933-1950*, edited by D Patterson, 47-82. London: Routledge, 2002.

"Miss E.M. Smyth's Solemn Mass in D." *Lady*, 26 Jan 1893, 101.

*Missa Carminum Brevis (Folk Song Mass); Magnificat; Ave Maria/Scarborough Fair*. American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, Composers Recordings LP CRI SD 409, 1979.

"'Missa Gaia' to be a Feature of Concert." *Worcester Telegram & Gazette*, 24 Mar 1996, C14.

Mndende, Nokuzola. "Ancestors and Healing in African Religion: A South African Context." In *Ancestors, Spirits and Healing in Africa and Asia: A Challenge to the Church*, edited by Ingo Wulffhorst. Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 2005.

Mongrédien, Jean. *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*. Translated by Sylvain Frémaux. Portland, Or: Amadeus Press, 1996. La Musique en France des Lumières au Romantisme.

Monosoff, Sonya. "Pizzicato." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/21883>.

Monson, Craig A. "The Council of Trent Revisited." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 1-37.

Moore, Carman. *Crossover: An American Bio*. Rochester, MI: Grace Publishing Company, 2011.

Moorhead, Joanna. "The Marachi Mass - A Meeting of Liturgy and Culture." *Alive Publishing* (4 May 2010). <http://www.alivepublishing.co.uk/bible-alive-articles/the-marachi-mass-a-meeting-of-liturgy-and-culture>.

Morosan, Vladimir. *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* [in English]. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986.

———. "Research Report: Two Russian Choral Giants: Alexander Kastalsky (1856-1926) and Sergei Taneyev (1856-1915)." *The Choral Journal* 48, no. 11 (2008): 75-96.

Moss, Stephen. "Sounds and Silence." *The Guardian*, 19 June 2004.

Muir, T.E. *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Muller, Carol. "Achieving Africanness in Sacred Song." *Ethnomusicology* 46, no. 3 (2002): 409-431.

Muller, Stephanus. "Arnold Van Wyk's Hard, Stony, Flinty Path, or Making Things Beautiful in Apartheid South Africa." *Musical Times* 149, no. 1905 (2008): 61-79.

Murphy, Peter. *The Collective Imagination: The Creative Spirit of Free Societies*. Surrey, UK; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2012.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. "Islam and Music: The Legal and the Spiritual Dimensions." In *Enchanting Powers: Music in the World's Religions*, edited by Lawrence E. Sullivan, 219-235. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: 29 Issues and Concepts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

Newbould, Brian. *Schubert: The Music and the Man*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1997.

Newby, G.D. "Allah." In *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions*, edited by Keith Crim, Roger Bullard and Larry Shinn, 23-4. Nashville: Abingdon, 1981.

Nicholas, Bill. "Classic." *Reviews: Mass in F Minor* (13 December 2009). <http://www.amazon.com/Mass-Minor-The-Electric-Prunes/product-reviews/B00004W3KS/>.

Nolan, Maureen, and Roma Singleton. "Mini-Renaissance." In *Very Heaven : Looking Back at the 1960's*, edited by Sara Maitland. London: Virago, 1988.

Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion and Politics. Edited by David C. Leege and Kenneth D. Wald. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Novick, Julius. "Bernstein's Mass Production." *The Village Voice*, 6 July 1972, 45.

O'Malley, John W. *Trent : What Happened at the Council*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013.

———. *Trent and All That : Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

———. *What Happened at Vatican II*. Cambridge, MA; London, England: Belknap Press, 2008.

Oettinger, Rebecca Wagner. "Ludwig Senfl and the Judas Trope: Composition and Religious Toleration at the Bavarian Court." *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 199-225.

Orledge, Robert. "Satie, Erik." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/40105>.

Orosco, José-Antonio. *Cesar Chavez and the Common Sense of Nonviolence*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

Otterbeck, Jonas, and Anders Ackfeldt. "Music and Islam." *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 3 (Oct 2012 2014-08-30 2012): 227-233.

Otto, Rudolph. *The Idea of the Holy: an Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*. Translated by John W. Harvey. 2 ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Overath, Johannes. "Introduction." In *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966*, edited by Johannes Overath. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969.

———, ed. *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform after Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21-28, 1966*. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969.

Page, Christopher. *The Christian West and its Singers: the First Thousand Years*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Pallister, Janis L. "Léopold Sédar Senghor: A Catholic Sensibility?" *The French Review* 53, no. 5 (April 1980): 670-79.

Papanikolaou, Eftychia. "Profane Rites and Sacred Symphonies: Critical Perspectives on the Symphonic Mass." PhD, Boston University, 2001.

"Part One : The Profession of Faith, Section Two: The Profession of the Christian Faith, Chapter Three: I Believe in the Holy Spirit, Article 12: 'I Believe in Life Everlasting'." *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc\\_css/archive/catechism/p123a12.htm](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p123a12.htm).

- "Part Two: The Celebration of the Christian Mystery, Section One: The Sacramental Economy, Chapter One: The Paschal Mystery in the Age of the Church, Article 2: The Paschal Mystery in the Church's Sacraments, In Brief." *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (2003). <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/P35.HTM>.
- Patton, John H. "Rhetoric at Catonsville: Daniel Berrigan, Conscience, and Image Alteration." *Today's Speech* 23, no. 1 (1975): 3-12.
- Paul Winter - *Missa Gaia / Earth Mass*. Paul Winter Consort; Cathedral Chorus and Choristers; Gil Robbins and Paul Halley (cond.). Living Music Records LP 06759 (2 vols), 1982.
- Perlich, Martin. "Video Interviews: Daniel Lentz." In *Martin Perlich Interviews*: <http://martinperlichinterviews.com/archives/interviews/daniel-lentz/>, 4 Feb 2010.
- Peyser, Joan. *Leonard Bernstein*. London: Bantam Press, 1987.
- Pierre, Constant. "Programmes du Concert Spirituel." In *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, 227-344. Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2000.
- Pirani, Max. *Emmanuel Moór*. London: MacMillan, 1959.
- "Politique, mélanges, etc." *L'ami de la religion, Journal Ecclésiastique, politique et littéraire* 103 (Oct-Dec), no. 3197 (2 Nov 1839): 236-7.
- Pope John Paul II. "Apostolic Letter Inter Sanctos: AAS 71, 1509f." 1979.
- . "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons." *Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith* (1 Oct 1986). [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc\\_con\\_cfaith\\_doc\\_19861001\\_homosexual-persons\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19861001_homosexual-persons_en.html).
- . "Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II For The Celebration of the World Day of Peace 1 January 1990: Peace With God The Creator, Peace With All Of Creation." *Vatican.va* (8 Dec 1989). [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/messages/peace/documents/hf\\_ip-ii\\_mes\\_19891208\\_xxiii-world-day-for-peace\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/peace/documents/hf_ip-ii_mes_19891208_xxiii-world-day-for-peace_en.html).
- Pope Paul VI. "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate*." *Vatican.va* (28 Oct. 1965). [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html).
- . "Humane Vitae." *La Santa Sede [The Holy See]* (July 25, 1968). [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/paul\\_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_enc\\_25071968\\_humanae-vitae\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_25071968_humanae-vitae_en.html).
- Pope Pius X. "Motu Proprio." Vatican, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu\\_proprio/index.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/motu_proprio/index.html).
- Provizer, Norman. "Two Sax Giants Pull into Town." *Rocky Mountain News* 3 Feb 1994, 15D.
- Prunières, Henry. *Cavalli et l'Opéra Vénitien au XVIIe Siècle*. Paris: Rieder, 1931.
- Puffett, Derrick. "A Nietzschean Libretto: Delius and the Text for 'A Mass of Life'." *Music & Letters* 79, no. 2 (1998): 244-267.
- Rathbun, Virginia. "Lou Harrison and His Music." MA, San Jose State University, 1976.
- Reat, N. Ross, and Edmund F. Perry. *A World Theology: The Central Spiritual Reality of Humankind*. Cambridge, UK; New York; Oakleigh, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Redenius, Charles. "The Lindisfarne Association: An Exemplary Community of the New Planetary Culture." *The Journal of General Education* 37, no. 3 (1985): 245-258.
- Redmond, John. "Camarata Music Company will Present 'African Sanctus'." *The Korea Times* (15 April 2014). [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2014/09/177\\_155447.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2014/09/177_155447.html)
- Rees, Owen. "Adventures of Portuguese 'Ancient Music' in Eighteenth-Century London." Barnard's Inn Hall: Gresham Lecture, 25 Jun 2010.
- Release of an Oath*. The Electric Prunes; David Axelrod (composer), Dave Hassinger (producer). Reprise LP RS 6316, 1968.
- Roberts, Megan. "A Beastly Blessing: St. Francis Day at Manhattan's St. John The Divine." *atlasobscura.com* (2013). Published electronically 9 Oct 2013. <http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/a-beastly-blessing-st-francis-day-at-manhattan-s-cathedral-church-of-st-john-the-divine>.
- Robertson, Anne Walters. "Remembering the Annunciation in Medieval Polyphony." *Speculum* 70, no. 2 (April 1995): 275-304.
- . "Tournai Mass." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (26 Oct 2011). <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/28222>.
- Robinson, Michael F., and Ulrike Hofmann. *Giovanni Paisiello, A Thematic Catalogue of his Works*. Thematic Catalogue Series. Edited by Colin Mason. 2 vols. Vol. II - The non-dramatic works, Stuyvestant: Pendragon Press, 1991.
- . *Giovanni Paisiello, A Thematic Catalogue of his Works*. Thematic Catalogues Series. Edited by Colin Mason. 2 vols. Vol. I, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991.
- "Rock: Something Heavy." *Time*, 29 Dec 1967, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,844339,00.html>.
- Rocke, Stephanie. "The Armed Man: a Mass for a Secular Age." MA, Monash, 2010.
- . "Blending the Sacred and the Profane: Paul Chihara's *Missa Carminum* (1975)." *Eras* 16, no. 1: Music and Metamorphosis Special Edition (2014): 59-82.
- . "From Tournai to Tango: An Expansion of the Boundaries of the Musical Mass in Luis Bacalov's *Misa Tango* (1997)." Hons, Melbourne University, 2007.
- "Rose off to Europe to Push Rockers." *Billboard*, 27 April 1968, 6.
- Rosner, M. Christian. "Contemporary Trends in the Musical Settings of the Liturgical Mass." PhD, The University of Rochester, 1957.

- Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*. 1995 ed. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1995 [1968].
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Lettre sur la Musique Française*. Paris 1753.
- "Royal Choral Society." *Daily Telegraph*, 19 Jan 1893, 3.
- "The Royal Choral Society." *Musical Standard*, 28 Jan 1893, 71-2.
- "Royal Choral Society." *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 Jan 1893, 2.
- Rundall, Jeremy. "Taking Notes." *Sunday Times*, 18 May 1975, 32.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Russolo, Luigi. "The Art of Noises: Futurist Manifesto [1913]." In *Source Readings in Music History*, edited by Robert P. Morgan. New York: Norton, 1998.
- Sabatini, Arthur J. "Notes." In *wolfMASS: Aoede Records*, 2000.
- Saint-Saëns, Camille. "Music in the Church." *The Musical Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1916): 1-8.
- Saint Augustine. *Confessions: Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Henry Chadwick*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Scaringi, Mauro. "La Messa dei Giovani di Marcello Giombini all'indomani della riforma liturgica." Diss., Ufficio Liturgico Nazionale, 1996.
- Schelle, Michael. *The Score: Interviews with Film Composers*. Beverly Hills: Silman-Jame Press, 1999.
- Schensul, Jill. "Birds of a Feather." *The Record*, 3 Oct 1992, C05.
- . "Blessing Creatures Great and Small." *The Record [NJ]*, 24 Sept 1989, T01.
- Schnoebelen, Mary Nicole. "The Concerted Mass at San Petronio in Bologna: ca 1660-1730. A Documentary and Analytical Study." PhD, University of Illinois, 1966.
- Schultz, Ingo. *Viktor Ullmann : Leben und Werk*. Kassel; Stuttgart: Bärenreiter; Metzler, 2008.
- Schumann, Robert. *Missa Sacra, Opus 147*. Repertoire Explorer. München: Musikproduction Höflich, 2007.
- Schwarz, Boris. *French Instrumental Music Between the Revolutions*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1987.
- Seabrook, Mike. *Max: The Life and Music of Peter Maxwell Davies*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1994.
- Seeger, Anthony. "Ethnomusicology and Music Law." *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 3 (1992): 349-52.
- Seldes, Barry. *Leonard Bernstein: The Political Life of an American Musician*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2009.
- Sharp, Lynn L. *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century France*. Lanham; Boulder; New York; Toronto; Plymouth UK: Lexington Books, 2006.
- Sherman, R. "Mozart and Schubert plus some Cole Porter." *The New York Times*, 24 April 1994, A12.
- Sherr, Richard. "Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina." *Early Music* 22, no. 4 (Nov. 1994): 606-618+620-624+626-629.
- Sherwin, Michael. "Jazz Goes Back to Church." *America: The National Catholic Weekly*, 24 August 2003. [http://www.americamagazine.org/content/article.cfm?article\\_id=3082](http://www.americamagazine.org/content/article.cfm?article_id=3082).
- Shiloah, Amnon. *Music in the World of Islam : A Socio-Cultural Study*. Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995.
- Shuker, Roy. *Key Concepts in Popular Music*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Skoog, William M. "An Interview with Dave Brubeck Regarding His Choral Music." *Choral Journal* 49, no. 11 (2009): 28-38.
- Smither, Howard E. . *A history of the oratorio, Vol. 1, The oratorio in the Baroque era: Italy, Vienna, Paris*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, [1977] 2012. Google books <https://books.google.com.au/books?isbn=0807837733>.
- Smyth, Ethel. *As Time Went On*. London: Longmans, 1936.
- Smyth, Ethel Mary. *Impressions that Remained*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1919.
- "Song of Innocence." *Wikipedia*. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Song\\_of\\_Innocence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Song_of_Innocence).
- Speidel, Ludwig. "Bruckner - Messe F-moll." *Fremdenblatt*, 23 April 1893, 5.
- . "Bruckner, Messe F-moll." *Fremdenblatt*, 20 June 1872, 6.
- Speyer, Edward. *Wilhelm Speyer, der Liederkomponist, 1790-1878*. München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1925.
- "Spiritual Sax Pulls it all Together, Paul Winter to Perform Mass for the Earth." *Daily Hampshire Gazette* 1 Oct 1998, 29.
- Spohr, Louis. *Louis Spohr's Autobiography: Translated from the German*. Cambridge Library Collection: Books of Enduring Scholarly Value. 2 vols. Vol. 1, New York [London]: Cambridge University Press [Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green], 2010 [1865].
- . *Louis Spohr's Autobiography: Translated from the German*. Translated by Anon. Cambridge Library Collection: Books of Enduring Scholarly Value. 2 vols. Vol. 2, New York [London]: Cambridge University Press [Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green], 2010 [1865]
- Spretnak, Charlene. *Dynamics in Modern Art: Art History Reconsidered 1800 to the Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- "Spring Sing Set Sunday in Hummelstown." *The Patriot-News*, 19 May 1992, C6.
- Stanford, Sir Charles Villiers. *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*. London: Edward Arnold, 1914.
- Stanley, Glenn. "Schubert's Religious and Choral Music." In *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, edited by Christopher H. Gibbs, 207-23. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Stark, Rodney. *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries*. 1997: HarperCollins, 1997.
- Štědrň, Bohumír, ed. *Leoš Janáček kritikem brněnské opery v letech 1980-92 [Janáček as a Critic of the Brno Opera 1980-92]*. Brno: Otázky Divadla a Filmu, 1970.

- Stilwell, Robynn. "Music of the Youth Revolution: Rock Through the 1960s." In *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople. New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014.
- Stringham, Ronald. "The Masses of Franz Schubert." PhD, Cornell University, 1964.
- Supik, Wilma. "Celebrating in the Spirit of a Saint." *The Record [New Jersey]*, 1987, B08.
- Suzuki, David. *The Challenge of the 21st Century: Setting the Real Bottom Line*. Sydney Environment Institute: University of Sydney YouTube Channel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9Fd5UNV6a4>, 25 Sept 2013.
- Swatos Jr., William H., and Daniel V.A. Olson, eds. *The Secularization Debate*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc and the Association for the Sociology of Religion, 2000.
- Swift, Richard, and Steve Metcalf. "Chihara, Paul." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/05579>.
- Tacey, David. *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality*. East Sussex; New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Taub, Bob "Electric Candlelight Concert Jolts Unsuspecting Audience." *The Michigan Daily*, 28 Jan 1975, 5.
- Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, Mass.; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Termini, Olga. "Singers at San Marco in Venice: The Competition between Church and Theatre (c1675 - c1725)." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (1981): 65-96.
- The Hector Berlioz Website. "Berlioz in Paris: Eglise Saint-Roch." <http://www.hberlioz.com/Paris/BPStRoch.html>.
- Thielen-Gaffey, Tina Louise. "David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*: One Work for One World - Through One Music." DMA, University of Iowa, 2010.
- "This Weekend in Dekalb County." *The Atlanta Journal*, 9 Nov 2006, JB.1.
- Thomas, Günter. "Esterházy." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/09020>.
- Thompson, J. "I've Never Heard Anything Like This Before." *Reviews: Mass in F Minor* (3 February 2012). <http://www.amazon.com/Mass-Minor-The-Electric-Prunes/product-reviews/B00004W3KS/>.
- Thompson, William. "The Lindisfarne Association: 1972-2009." *William Irwin Thompson World Wide Website* (c2009). <http://www.williamirwinthompson.org/lindisfarne/history.html>.
- Tortolano, William. "The Mass and the Twentieth Century Composer: A Study Of Musical Techniques and Style, Together With The Interpretive Problems Of The Performer. (Volume I And Volume II)." DSM, Université de Montréal (Canada), 1964.
- Unterberger, Richie. "James Lowe." *Richie Unterberger Website* (2000). <http://www.richieunterberger.com/lowe.html>.
- Unterberger, Richie. "Liner Notes for the Electric Prunes' *Mass in F Minor*." (2000). <http://www.richieunterberger.com/fminor.html>.
- Ursprung, Otto. *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik*. Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft. Edited by Ernst Bücken. Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931.
- van Dijk, J.P. Stephen, and Joan Hazelden. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the 13th Century*. Westminster, MD; London, UK: Newman Press; Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960.
- Vantine, Bruce. "Four Twentieth-Century Masses: An Analytical Comparison of Style and Composition Technique." DMA, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982.
- Vatielli, Francesco. "L'Oratorio a Bologna Negli Ultimi Decenni del Seicento." *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale* 15 (1938): 26-35.
- Vattimo, Gianni. *A Farewell to Truth*. Translated by William McCuaig. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011. Addio alla verità.
- Vázsonyi, Bálint. "Dohnányi, Ernő [Ernst von]." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (31 Jan 2002). <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/07927>.
- Venning, Philip. "Weekend Broadcasting - TV Choice." *The Times*, 22 April 1978.
- Viljoen, Martina. "Ideology and Textuality: Speculating on the Boundaries of Music." *Scrutiny* 29, no. 1 (2004): 68-87.
- Vogel, Jaroslav. *Leoš Janáček: His Life and Works*. London: Paul Hamlyn, 1962.
- Wade, Bonnie C. "Henscratches and Flyspecks... [Review of 14 books]." *Notes* 32, no. 3 (1976): 537-546.
- Wagner, Peter. *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies: A Handbook of Plainsong. Part 1. Origin and Development of the Forms of the Liturgical Chant up to the End of the Middle Ages*. Translated by Agnes Orme and E.G.P. Wyatt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1986 [1901]. Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters.
- Walser, Robert. "The Polka Mass: Music of Postmodern Ethnicity." *American Music* 10, no. 2 (1992): 183-202.
- Ward, Susan. "Maurice Kenny, How Can Any Self-Respecting Mohawk Live in a Place Like Brooklyn." In *Maurice Kenny: Celebrations of a Mohawk Writer*, edited by Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, 37-46. New York: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Ware, Timothy. *The Orthodox Church*. Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Weber, William. *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. Digitally printed ed. Cambridge, New York, Melbourne et al: Cambridge University Press, 2009 [2008].
- . *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- "Weekender Guide: Animals in Cathedral." *The New York Times*, 29 Sept 1989, C24.
- "Weekender Guide: Blessing the Beasts." *The New York Times*, 2 Oct 1987, C34.



- Wegman, Robert C. "All Known Masses." Renaissance Masses 1440-1520, <http://www.robwegman.org/mass.htm>.
- Werner, Eric. *The Sacred Bridge; Liturgical Parallels in Synagogue and Early Church*. New York: Schocken Books, 1970.
- Westermeyer, Paul. *Te Deum: The Church and Music : A Textbook, a Reference, a History, an Essay*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998.
- White, Eric Walter. *Stravinsky: The Composer and his Works*. Second ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- White, Lynn, Jr. "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis." *Science* 155, no. 3767 (1967): 1203-1207.
- Whittall, Arnold. "Individualism and Accessibility: The Moderate Mainstream 1945-75." Chap. 14 In *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople, 364-394. New York: Cambridge University Press, [2004] 2014.
- Wilkinson, Loren. "New Age, New Consciousness, and the New Creation." In *Tending the Garden: Essays on the Gospel and the Earth*, edited by Wesley Granberg-Michaelson, 6-29. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987.
- Wingfield, Paul. "Janáček, Mass in E Flat." In *Janáček, Mass in E Flat; Kodály, Missa Brevis, Laudes organi*, 3-5. London: Hyperion Records, 2000.
- . *Janáček: Glagolitic Mass*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Winter, Paul, Jim Scott, Paul Halley, Oscar Castro-Neves, and Kim Oler. *Missa Gaia Earth Mass: A Mass in Celebration of Mother Earth*. Edited by Joe Hickman and Wayne Abercrombie. Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2006.
- Winter, Robert. "Schubert, Franz - Works - Sacred Music." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/subscriber/article/grove/music/25109pg2#S251092>.
- Woods, Richard. *Meister Eckhart: Master of Mystics*. London; New York: Continuum, 2011.
- Yeager, Travis. "Abstract: Bernstein's Chutzpah: Mass and the Jewish Tradition of Argument with God." In *31st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Music*. Eugene, Oregon, Feb 2005.
- Zadikov, Rosemarie. "Bernstein Talks About His Work." *Time*, 20 Sep 1971, 42.
- Zemanová, Mirka. *Janáček's Uncollected Essays on Music*. London; New York: Marion Boyars, 1989.