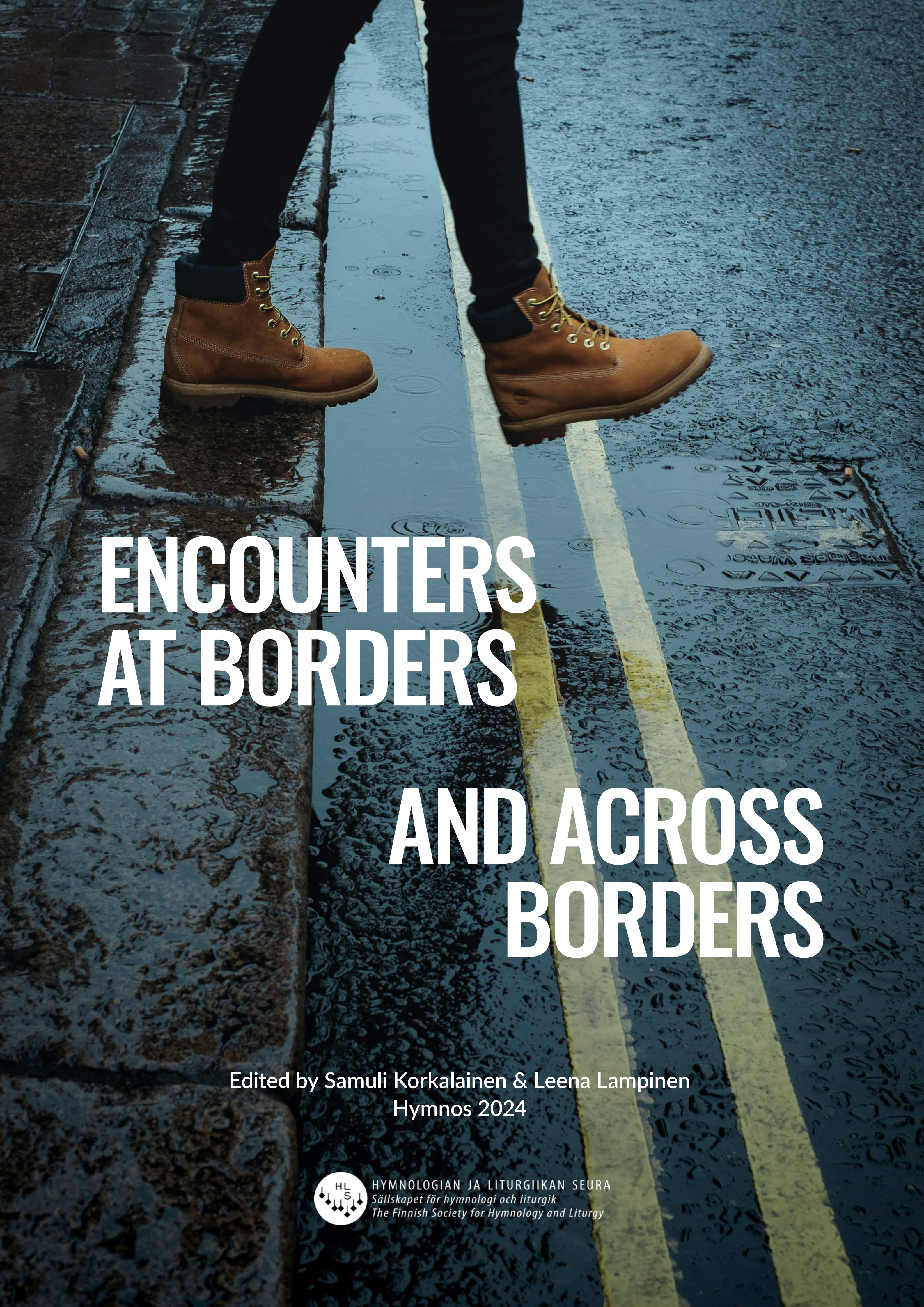

ENCOUNTERS AT BORDERS AND ACROSS BORDERS

Edited by Samuli Korkalainen & Leena Lampinen
Hymnos 2024

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Sällskapet för hymnologi och liturgik
The Finnish Society for Hymnology and Liturgy

Encounters at Borders and across Borders

Hymnos 2024:
The Yearbook of the Finnish Society for Hymnology and Liturgy

Edited by Samuli Korkalainen & Leena Lampinen

Helsinki, The Finnish Society for Hymnology and Liturgy, 2024

Layout and cover design: Sami Syrjä
Cover image: Photo by Clem Onojeghuo on Unsplash
Tim Housley assisted with proofreading.

VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
www.tsv.fi/tunnus

ISBN 978-952-69748-2-8
ISSN 2984-214X

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SAMULI KORKALAINEN & LEENA LAMPINEN

Introduction: Recognising and Crossing Borders in Hymnody and Liturgy

At borders

In Finland, we are used to encounters at borders and across borders. Being the most distant country in Western Europe, Finland has a common border of more than 1,300 kilometres with Russia. That border is not only geographical but also cultural and ecclesiastical; East and West have traditionally met in Finland. Right now, however, these encounters are difficult, or even impossible, due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. After decades of building cooperation and creating connections, Finland's eastern border has become a border between NATO and Russia. It is not an exaggeration to express that in Finland, the long common border is realised and experienced more strongly at the moment than at any time since the Second World War. The sad reality is that right now, there are no encounters at that border – and especially not across it.

Even though Finns like to emphasise that we are part of Western Europe and one of the Nordic countries, there remains the fact that our country is different from the other Nordic countries. Language forms one border between Finns and Scandinavians: when others speak their mother tongue in joint Nordic gatherings, Finnish-speaking Finns have no opportunity to do so. The relatives of the Finnish language are not in the West, but in the East. The borders formed by language are discussed in this volume in the shared article by Samuli Korkalainen, Tuuli Lukkala, Kristel Neitsov-Mauer, Per Kristian Aschim, and Jan Hellberg, who delve into the language policies in multilingual contexts of liturgical singing.

In addition, Finland differs from other Nordic countries in the ecclesiastical sense because this country has had traditionally two national churches, the Lutheran and the Orthodox. Sometimes in history, the border between these churches has been sharp, but today, we fortunately live in an era of ecumenism. There are numerous encounters at the borders of denominations, both on an official level and in local parishes, and above all, between individual people. However, the border still exists and there are many situations where it cannot be crossed. Even though we pray together, we cannot share the Holy Communion together.

This volume contains two articles written together by several people, both of which have Lutheran and Orthodox perspectives side by side. The first one is the previously mentioned text written by Korkalainen et al. In the second one, Leena Lampinen, Hilkka-Liisa Vuori, Tuomas Meurman, and Riikka Patrikainen explore mental and bodily borders and ways to cross them in the worship context. They suggest that encounters are possible through safety and respect, as well as by maintaining protective and positive borders. Acknowledging and accepting differences creates a fruitful starting point for interaction across borders within worship.

Both denominational and state borders divide churches. Traditionally, churches operate within the borders of one state, and they do not have parishes in other states, except in some exceptional cases. This practice has been in effect since the so-called Constantinian Shift, when with the actions of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (272–337), Christianity first became a legal religion in the Roman Empire and then the only religion allowed (see, e.g., Hill 2020 [2007], chapter 3). For example, in the Nordic countries, there have been strong Lutheran state churches, which have played a central role in building and maintaining national identity and the state system. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that in a theological sense, no Christian church can fundamentally be a national institution, because the essence of Christianity includes universality, and crossing borders. Since the first Christians, it has been considered important to proclaim the message across national and other borders.

However, this has never been completely self-evident, not even at the very beginning: the first negotiations on the subject took place among Jesus's disciples, as expressed in the Bible, in the Acts of the Apostles. Even contemporary churches must constantly examine their own history and present-day practices critically so that they do not drift into exclusive national communities. Currently, the Russian Orthodox Church serves as a warning example since it has given its support to the war of aggression in Ukraine, and combined Christianity and national interests in a way that does not correspond to the theological understanding of the vast majority of Christians. The goal of Christian theology should be the Kingdom of God, which breaks and crosses borders, instead of building them.

Closed borders

Based on all of the above, it was only natural for the Finnish Society for Hymnology and Liturgy to organise an international conference with the title Encounters at Borders and across Borders in May 2022. When planning the conference and thinking about different borders, we suddenly had to face a completely new situation when the global Covid-19 pandemic built new borders and strengthened existing ones. Nations closed themselves within the borders of their states. The boundaries of municipalities and provinces suddenly became significant. The most painful were the borders imposed between individuals: in many cases, even family members were not allowed to meet each other. The conference planned for the 25th anniversary of the Finnish Society for Hymnology and Liturgy in 2021 had to be postponed by a year.

Due to Covid-19, there were also new boundaries between churches, dioceses, and individual parishes. During the first months of the pandemic, the Lord's Table was not a place for cross-border encounters, but rather a risk of spreading a deadly disease. In this situation, modern technology proved to be an excellent tool for encounters at borders and across borders. Surprisingly, a 'liturgical buffet' was served, when one could follow live-streamed services from around the world, just sitting at home in front of one's laptop.

At the same time, however, it became apparent that the theology of questions related to social media and digital connections had not been considered deeply enough. For example, in Finland, the bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church announced very quickly that it was not allowed to celebrate the Holy Communion at home remotely (see, e.g., Toivanen 2020). This led to a situation in which members of the Lutheran Church of Finland could not receive communion for a long time, unlike, for instance, in the Orthodox Church in Finland (see Takala-Roszczenko 2023). Following this, the first step was that after remote services, the Lord's Supper was distributed separately to individual parishioners or families in the churches (see, e.g., Kallatsa & Mikkola 2020). But did it fulfil the theology of the Eucharist? Was not it more of a caricature of a communion?

Jochen Arnold's article in this volume shows that the solution of the Finnish Lutheran bishops was not the only possible one, and certainly not self-evident. Many Lutheran churches implemented other kinds of practices. At the same time, the article highlights the fact that the question should still be addressed, even though the pandemic no longer restricts gatherings. Social media is an everyday reality for people now, and the churches should also finally accept the fact. In fact, should not the Churches of the Reformation have the theological prerequisites for a discussion about whether the Real Presence needs the same physical location to be realised, or whether it can also be possible with digital connections?

Even though present-day Lutheran church leaders in Nordic countries agree that the Eucharist is a mark of the church, they should think more about the history of their own churches. Before the twentieth-century liturgical renewal movements, the Holy Communion was rarely available in Nordic Lutheran churches due to the Pietistic theology that had been added to the sacrament. How was this infrequency of communion rationalised? Moreover, did the old Pietistic views resurface when the Finnish Lutheran bishops denied parishioners the Lord's Supper so quickly at the beginning of the pandemic?

The alignment of the bishops and the liturgical practices of many parishes also indicated one border that was already thought to have faded: a border between the congregation and the liturgy. It seemed surprisingly easy to cut the congregation out of the service when parishioners were forced to watch a screen at home without any concrete way to participate. However, as one of our anonymous reviewers reminded us, there cannot be a liturgy without congregation, because the liturgy in the true sense of the word *is* the celebrating congregation: *leitourgia* comes from *leitos* (people) and *ergon* (service). Therefore, the liturgy and the congregation are not two separate entities.

Naturally, when the pandemic closed the churches there was no established field of research on the question of digital theology or digital communion, but very soon many theologians all over the world were involved in discussion. Jochen Arnold refers to some of them in his article, but there are many more of them (see, e.g., two thematic volumes of Cursor_, 3/2020 & 5/2023, and Mikkola 2020). We hope that this volume and Arnold's article will contribute to reigniting the discussion on the topic because after the pandemic had subsided, it seems to have been forgotten.

Crossing borders

In Western churches, even at the time of the Reformation, when borders between churches were strictly drawn and excommunications were continuously employed by one church against another on doctrinal matters, there was something that was maintaining a certain unity and crossing borders, namely church music. Besides the existence of a common repertoire that was inherited from the time of the united church, which many churches continued to maintain, musical works that were considered beautiful or popular were likely to be adopted by different churches. Several churches had not entirely abolished the use of Latin, as a consequence of which new Latin-texted works became the common heritage. In addition, speakers of the same tongue might share a vernacular church music repertoire across denominational borders (Bertoglio 2022: 290–291).

A present-day example of this kind of unity in music is Anna Pulli-Huomo's article in this volume, in which she discusses the role of music – French Roman Catholic organ music in this case – and the role of the organist as a creator of interaction in the Lutheran liturgical services. Drawing from autoethnographic artistic research, Pulli-Huomo explores how music crosses borders and can find its place and meaning in an environment that differs from the original one. The familiar order of the service, among other things, supports this process. Like the article of Lampinen et al., Pulli-Huomo's text mentions the importance of an accepting, welcoming, and communal atmosphere as an element that can enhance the experience of participation.

It is very gratifying that with Pulli-Huomo's article, we also get an example of how an artistic research method promotes the production of new knowledge in a liturgical musical research field. It is necessary to establish this kind of interdisciplinary conception of spirituality to formulate new authoritative knowledge that penetrates even more deeply into the liturgy. It can and will benefit various contexts of both academies and churches, and cross many borders.

Elsabé Kloppers discusses border crossings from the viewpoint of hymns. Hymns are, as Kloppers points out, ‘active in a variety of settings in the public sphere, where they connect personal lived religion with public religion and politics’. Hymns cross many kinds of borders, such as cultural and national ones, to mention just a few, and hymn singing can transform people and their various identities, as well as political or social systems.

As Chiara Bertoglio (2022: 291) states, for the phenomenon of music crossing borders, there are not only historical reasons but also theological causes which are based on the ‘posited innate vocation of music to create unity and communion’. Firstly, music is a unique human activity because it is so pervasively grounded in the idea of ‘plurality in unity’. The polyphonic nature of music is an exceptionally applicable instrument to express symbolically the mystery of the Trinity, and music embodies a vision of plurality as a gift. For instance, many forms of liturgical singing have ‘expressed a view of divergence and difference in a polyphonic and harmonic framework, rather than a reciprocally exclusive polarity’.

Secondly, music is an essential element of liturgy and worship for most Christian denominations. As Bertoglio (2022: 293) underlines, ‘music is not an accessory to prayer, but rather it can be considered as one of its fundamental components’. Music does not only increase the beauty of the praises of God, but by touching people’s hearts and feelings, it ‘contributes to uniting (once more) the potential for rationality and for emotionality which constitute the complexity of human experience’. Thirdly, the symbolic nature of music embodies the mystical dimension of faith. Theological discussion has utmost significance but can lose sight of the mysterious reality of God, while music can ‘help in “keeping together” contemplation with meditation, dogma with prayer, praise with thought, preaching with jubilation’.

In addition, throughout history, there have been particularly powerful individuals who have played a special role in crossing borders. In his article, Miikkael Halonen introduces one of them: composer, organist, writer, and court music director Michael Praetorius (1571–1621). Halonen does not describe him only as a mediator between the Renaissance and Baroque eras, or between Northern and Southern Europe, but also introduces Praetorius’s close connection to classical literature, and focuses on the pedagogical and ethical dimensions of his writings. In Halonen’s article, temporal, geographical, and cultural borders are crossed. He presents an overview of how Praetorius positions himself within his contemporary culture of musical humanism and classical literature. Veneration of antiquity had a great impact on Praetorius’s music but, at the same time, he was firmly following the conventions of his time.

Encounters at borders and across borders

In the conference, themes within hymnology and liturgy were addressed following its heading, through encounters at borders and crossing them. Borders that were addressed in shared sessions or individual papers and lecture recitals were: (1) borders between churches, (2) borders of religions or cultures, (3) geographical, regional, and linguistic borders, (4) borders between academic disciplines, (5) borders of hymn, spiritual song, and liturgy, (6) mental and bodily borders, as well as (7) borders set by the Covid-19 pandemic. All of these were addressed from the viewpoints of diverse academic fields. Both in the working groups and contributions of many individual scholars, scientific and artistic research were fruitfully combined.

The participants of the conference crossed many kinds of borders, such as geographical, linguistic, denominational, or those between academic disciplines. The presentations and discussions with others offered possibilities for other kinds of border crossings as well or, at least, enabled encounters at borders. This is something that we, the editors of this volume, would like to encourage. Being in connection with others, acknowledging one's borders and differences between people is a fruitful starting point for a constructive dialogue.

Keynote speakers of the conference were hymnologist professor Elsabé Kloppers from the University of South Africa, professor Jochen Arnold from Michaeliskloster Hildesheim, Germany, and Sirkku Rintamäki, who finished her doctoral project in artistic research in church music at the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki about a year after the conference. The value of this anthology is increased by the fact that both of our foreign keynote speakers have written an article for it. All of the other articles are also based on the presentations held at the conference, deepening their content, which in some cases refers to broadening the perspective, in others to narrowing the focus. Several of these texts, although to varying extent and from different viewpoints, connect with the field of Christian congregational music (see, e.g., Ingalls et al. 2016 [2013]: 2).

Even though the conference was postponed by a year due to Covid-19, preparations for participation in it started in 2021. In these preparations, skills in meeting virtually acquired during the pandemic were used in a new way. Instead of a traditional Call for Papers, scholars from diverse fields were invited to join working groups that started to meet remotely in late 2021 or early 2022, to jointly prepare their respective sessions in the conference itself, which took place on location in the Aalto University Töölö in Helsinki. The intention was that scholars learn to know each other already in advance and cooperate in preparing their own portion of the conference. The working groups were a success and brought to the conference sessions which were implemented in a new way. Two of the groups continued to meet even after the conference and both of them have written a joint article for this volume.

When the idea of the conference and the publication has been to cross borders, it would be strange if the work did not contain any articles produced in a new way. Nevertheless, the fact that an article consisting of several authors each contributing from different perspectives brings some characteristic strengths, undeniably, it also brings some weaknesses regarding its demarcation and focus. Our anonymous reviewers noticed this point as well and gave fruitful suggestions to clarify the common research questions and shared conclusions. However, according to them, given the many pitfalls of co-authoring, our two groups succeeded well in the end to keep it all together. The different sections complement one another and present themselves as one coherent argument.

Acknowledgements

As editors, we are content and proud that this anthology turned out to be comprehensive, and that it fulfils the goals set for it and the conference that preceded it. Our gratitude for this achievement goes primarily to the authors who gave their time and expertise, and commendably accepted and considered the feedback given by their unknown referees and us the editors. We would also like to thank our anonymous reviewers from many parts of the world, whose insightful, critical, but also encouraging comments greatly improved the articles in this volume and provided new relevant perspectives as well as new sources and research literature. In addition, we owe gratitude to the members of the organising committee of the conference, Johan Bastubacka, Anna Maria Böckerman, Jan Hellberg, and Sirkku Rintamäki, for their valuable input and original ideas. Finally, this publication has received a subsidy for scientific publishing granted by the Ministry of Education and Culture and distributed by the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies (TSV). For organising the conference, we got a state subsidy for organising international conferences and national seminars, distributed by the TSV, and a grant from the Finnish Cultural Foundation. We would like to express our appreciation for all the financial support we have received.

Moreover, we want to thank all of the participants of the conference for interesting papers and panels, intriguing discussions, shared professionalism, and encouraging atmosphere. There are still many borders to be crossed, and new ones are also emerging in these turbulent and challenging times. For that reason, it is important to continue the discussion, to persevere in research with a broad and multidisciplinary approach, and to promote unity, connection, and interaction in Christendom. We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the articles in this volume will awaken in their readers a desire to pursue encounters at borders and across borders.

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JOCHEN ARNOLD

Transgressing Borders in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper: New Liturgical Practices and Theological Arguments

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In the following article I consider a topic that has been very controversial in the theology and practice of the Protestant Church throughout the Covid-19 pandemic, from the first year (2020) until now: it is about alternative forms for the celebration of the Lord's Supper and their theological interpretations in the protestant German context. The aim is, on the one hand, to document new practices developed during the pandemic related to home communion and digital celebrations, and on the other hand, to give an overview of the theological discussion (*pro* and *contra*) of these innovations. After a short evaluation, I discuss the consequences for eucharistic practices after the pandemic and name further challenges.

During the first lockdown in spring 2020, we had to witness in many places that people suffering from the Covid-19 virus were isolated and even died. Especially the first pictures from northern Italy were oppressive and moving at the same time. It was therefore clear to many that our society, including our church, was in an exceptional situation (cf. Kunert 2020). The fact that church services, and thus also the Lord's Supper, were forbidden from one day to the next in public places was perceived by many as a massive challenge and real 'spiritual' hardship.[1] As a consequence of these conditions, many traditional (theological and liturgical) boundaries have shifted or have been transgressed.

For the Reformers it was 'just unthinkable', that for instance, during a plague 'people would not be able to attend worship' (Schiefelbein-Guerrero 2020: 49). Therefore, it was a challenge to find theological arguments to deal with the situation. For the proclamation of the word, technical solutions were soon found, but what about the sacrament? The first option – and certainly the easiest – was just to stop any celebration.

1 In individual statements, on the other hand, the talk of 'an emergency situation' was relativised or even denied; cf. notes on dealing with the Lord's Supper in the Covid-19 crisis, signed by the leading clergy and the president of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) on 3 April 2020.

Fasten

Some church leaders and members of theological faculties (e.g., Leppin 2020) stated that during the pandemic, it would be possible and even better to trust in the proclamation of the word as the first medium to spread the gospel and bring to us God's grace. The so-called *sacramentum audibile*[2] should be enough to nourish souls (at least) for a certain time (cf. Arnold 2020: 351–356). Theologically spoken, the whole Christ is coming to us by his Word and the Spirit to announce his grace. The lack of clarity in the digital field without a communion in the assembly and the danger of 'free floating home communion' (which might not be controlled) were mentioned as well. Finally, the chance to increase the hunger and desire for the sacrament in a new way was also brought into the discussion. Others however asked: is this the right way to deal with a crisis? They argued on the pastoral level asking, is it not necessary more than ever to be at the side of the sick showing them the fullness of his grace? Some gave theological arguments, that we are not just 'the Church of the Word' (*Kirche des Wortes*) but also 'the Church of the Sacraments' (cf. Augsburg Confession V & VII; Bekenntnisschriften 2014: 125–127). We will miss something; or, to put it even more strongly, Christian people do have the right to receive what Jesus himself ordered and promised!

The leaders of several churches (*Landeskirchen*) in Germany discussed possibilities of how the Lord's Supper with 'real' communion could be celebrated. Some bishops or leading clergy of regional churches discussed and checked their Constitutions because it had never happened before that services were forbidden. Our attention goes first to the practice of home communion.

Home communion

If we look at traditional practices, there are two options which – due to the great danger of disease – were not easily possible anymore. The first is described by Justin Martyr in his first Apology: deacons brought the already consecrated elements of the Lord's Table into the houses of those who were not able to participate in the worship (cf. Schiefelbein-Guerrero 2020: 52). The second one is that ministers themselves go to the sick – keeping a distance – and celebrate the sacrament.

All in all, we must state that the celebration of eucharistic meals in private homes has been increasingly marginalised since 1970. Traugott Roser (2020) shows, based on

2 The expression *sacramentum audibile* indicates the bodily and sacramental character of the Word in analogy to the 'wordy quality' of the sacrament which is sometimes called *verbum visibile*.

empirical studies, that the celebration of eucharistic meals in private homes has declined within the last five decades. Consequently, Christians seem to be less familiar with asking for Holy Communion in times of sickness or crisis. Roser considers this development the result of 'congregationalisation' or 'ecclesialisation' of the Christian meal communion in contrast to Pauline and Gospel texts, as well as early Christian eucharistic practice. He pleads for a contextual understanding of the liturgical meal community informed by the civil and societal practice of eating and drinking in community, exemplified by the popular German TV format *Das Perfekte Dinner.* Nevertheless, the survey sent out to CPCE Churches (Communion of Protestant Churches in Europe) in 2021 on Practice and Theology of the Lord's Supper, showed the interesting result that three-quarters of Lutheran and about sixty per cent of Reformed churches practised home communion during the pandemic. What does that mean?

Because the leadership of the sacraments' service is restricted to ordained people, it was important to deal with this problem of authority. One idea for a theological argumentation was the analogy to baptism, which *in case of emergency* may be administered by each Christian to either a new-born child or a sick person. For this case, the constitution of the Lutheran Church of Hanover (2020) says: 'In case of emergency, all members of the Church may, by virtue of their baptism, perform duties of the office of public proclamation.'[3] Similarly, the United Evangelical Church in Rhineland treated the subject: 'The celebration of the Lord's Supper is led by ordained persons. Presbyters and other members of the church congregation may participate. In emergencies, they may also lead the celebration of the Lord's Supper.'[4]

How were these things regulated, then? Some bishops or leading clergy of regional churches wrote letters with recommendations to their congregations to practise home communion according to the early Christian practice mentioned in Acts 2 (e.g., in Baden, Hessen-Nassau, Kurhessen-Waldeck, and Rhineland). In Württemberg, where pietism is very strong and church leaders were afraid that things could get out of control in sorts of *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*, it went differently: a 'permit *pro loco et tempore*' for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday was given. In this action, the original Christian practice (Acts 2) was also mentioned as a model (Zeeb 2020).

The leading Bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover, together with me and some colleagues of Michaeliskloster, decided that there should also be a special emphasis on home communion. Baptised people should be encouraged to celebrate at

3 'Im Notfall können alle Mitglieder der Kirche aufgrund ihrer Taufe Aufgaben des Amtes der öffentlichen Verkündigung wahrnehmen.'

4 'Die Feier des Abendmahls wird von Ordinierten geleitet. Presbyterinnen und Presbyter und andere Mitglieder der Kirchengemeinde können mitwirken. In Notfällen können sie auch die Feier des Abendmahls leiten.' (Art. 74§3) Something similar is also found in the EKHN's *Lebensordnung* (Section II, No. 125).

home in a familial context or with a few neighbours. The worship-format *Zeitgleich* was created by Michaeliskloster in April 2020, and in addition to readings of the Scripture, a short sermon, prayer, music, and blessing, it gave instructions and material to celebrate the sacrament in a domestic context without ordained leadership. The prerequisite for those who were responsible was commented with a quotation from the Constitution: 'In an emergency, all members of the church can perform tasks of the office of public proclamation on the basis of their baptism' (cf. Footnote 3). In other words: anyone who is permitted to perform an emergency baptism, or a baptism of youth may also preside over a celebration of the Lord's Supper. The term 'office of public preaching' (Augsburg Confession XIV) is thus deliberately extended to the sacraments in the sense of Article VII of the Augsburg Confession (Bekenntnisschriften 2014: 127).

With a simple liturgy of the Lord's Supper, a small house congregation was enabled to celebrate the sacrament on, say, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, or Easter itself. The liturgy, including the song texts, was completely available for download. Michaeliskloster Hildesheim also produced audio files with hymns and especially with the words of the institution, which could be played from the website. The intention in doing this action was to avoid a person having to say these words to themselves. The (Lutheran) *extra nos* of faith was to be made explicitly audible, as it were.

The question of whether the celebration of the Lord's Supper by an individual with elements prepared by themselves is in itself unacceptable was discussed a lot and remains controversial. Certainly, it is not theologically and dramaturgically plausible in itself for an individual to administer the meal to themselves. It needs, if at all possible, the counterpart who says: 'Given for you.' Nevertheless, it is indisputable that it is not a certain number of people – as a 'quorum of communicants' – but the promise of Christ that constitutes the sacrament. From this point of view, it should be considered whether, in an exceptional situation, the words of the institution and administration can also be heard 'from the tape' and/or, if necessary, spoken aloud. Occasionally, it has been questioned whether such a 'fragmentary' liturgical celebration is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at all (or not only an *agape* celebration or something like that). However, if one looks at the argumentation with caution, this criticism might not be relevant if, on the one hand, the words of the institution are read or heard, and on the other hand, bread is eaten, and wine or grape juice is drunk.

The positive effects of a domestic celebration of the meal for the life of the congregation can hardly be valued highly enough. Where this happens, the Lord's Supper again ties itself sensuously to its biblical roots (cf. Acts 2:42–47) and acquires pastoral depth. House churches quickly develop a sense of mutual need. They experience the strengthening and comfort of the sacrament much more clearly than larger *ad hoc* communities. Moreover, this is how the Pauline conviction is lived out – there is no sharp division between worship on Sunday and in everyday life (cf. Rom 12:1f). The profane and sacred cross-fertilise each other, and the living room becomes a temple.

We also experienced a catechetical effect. Children learned about the appropriate use of the sacrament in the preparation. They were given small active roles in reading biblical texts, setting the table, cutting the bread, *et cetera*. Listening to and singing the 'primal story' of the Exodus from Egypt (Exodus 12), they became aware of the plight in which the people of Israel celebrated the first Passover, and they were able to identify with it in the face of the pandemic.

The experiences from the Covid-19 period show that, on the one hand, the church is flexible and can adjust liturgically to such situations. On the other hand, there was also a lot of anxiety in theological debate: there was concern about hurting the ecumenical brothers and sisters, because on the Roman Catholic side, home communion without a priest was not an option at all. There was, and is, the need to clarify things carefully theologically before creating irretrievable facts through practice.

Such concerns must be taken seriously. However, now one thing seems clear: when a Christian congregation gathers on the word of Christ, shares bread, and trusts that Christ is present, this should not harm (or even judge) any church even in the modern age. Rather, it can be experienced that Christ is with his church even under difficult conditions and that He can be tasted and seen (cf. Psalms 34:9). This applies – with ever more conviction – beyond the times of the pandemic.

The experience of home communion makes clear in a concise way how ministry and sacrament have grown together over the centuries – a topic that has played a central role in ecumenical debates for decades. In my opinion, however, the experience in the Protestant context and the productive handling of the 'emergency situation' in many places also show that the order of office is made by human beings (*de iure humano*), which in case of doubt must take a back seat to Christ's invitation and mandate ('Do this in remembrance of me.' 1 Cor 11:24; cf. Luke 22:19). The experience of the pandemic should be an impetus for further conversations at this point based on the Magdeburg Declaration on Baptism (2007).[5] Its main sentence is:

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5 The declaration is signed by following (German) churches: *Römisch-katholische Kirche im Bereich der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz* (Roman Catholic Church in the area of the German Bishops' Conference), *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* (Protestant Church in Germany), *Orthodoxe Kirche in Deutschland* (Orthodox Church in Germany), *Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche* (Evangelical Methodist Church), *Selbständige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche* (Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church), *Armenisch-Apostolische Orthodoxe Kirche in Deutschland* (Armenian-Apostolic Orthodox Church in Germany), *Katholisches Bistum der Alt-Katholiken in Deutschland* (Catholic Bishopric of the Old Catholics in Germany), *Äthiopisch-Orthodoxe Kirche in Deutschland* (Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Germany), *Evangelisch-altreformierte Kirche in Niedersachsen* (Evangelical Old Reformed Church in Lower Saxony), *Evangelische Brüder-Unität – Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* (Evangelical Church of the Brethren), and *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Anglikanisch-Episkopaler Gemeinden in Deutschland* (Working Group of Anglican-Episcopal Congregations in Germany; Fauzi 2007).

> *As a sign of the unity of all Christians, baptism connects us with Jesus Christ, the foundation of this unity. Despite differences in the understanding of the church, there is a basic understanding among us about baptism. Therefore, we recognise every baptism performed according to the command of Jesus in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, with the sign of immersion in water or of the pouring over of water, and we rejoice over every person who is baptized. This mutual recognition of baptism is an expression of the bond of unity founded in Jesus Christ* (Ephesians 4:4–6).[6]

Other doctrinal conversations such as the document *Together at the Lord's Table* (2019), underline the high dignity of baptism as the fundament of eucharistic hospitality, which means that churches or congregations of different denominations might welcome each other in the celebration of the Eucharist. Further questions, which have not been discussed, might be as follows:

1. What is the connection between the Lord's Supper and the 'normal' dinner? Could re-discovering the connection and proximity of the supper and the Lord's Supper open a new approach to the original satiation dimension of the Lord's Supper? Would participation in the community of discipleship, even as a community of suffering, failure, backbiting, and betrayal, be one that 'lifts up' (i.e., illuminates and resolves) the ambivalences of life amid everyday life in both senses of the word?
2. The private or semi-public context of home communion raises the question of 'proper' commissioning for homes even beyond the emergency situation. The critical question of the leadership of such a celebration touches on diaconal-pastoral visits of volunteers in congregations. Depending on the answer to this question, broad preparation for this would have to be provided in volunteer trainings. Do we learn from the pandemic that home communion can be a new 'discovery' for pastoral care?

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6 'Als ein Zeichen der Einheit aller Christen verbindet die Taufe mit Jesus Christus, dem Fundament dieser Einheit. Trotz Unterschieden im Verständnis von Kirche besteht zwischen uns ein Grundeinverständnis über die Taufe. Deshalb erkennen wir jede nach dem Auftrag Jesu im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes mit der Zeichenhandlung des Untertauchens im Wasser bzw. des Übergießens mit Wasser vollzogene Taufe an und freuen uns über jeden Menschen, der getauft wird. Diese wechselseitige Anerkennung der Taufe ist Ausdruck des in Jesus Christus gründenden Bandes der Einheit (Epheser 4,4–6). (Fauzi 2007.)

Digital celebrations

When in 2018 the Liturgical Conference in Germany looked at digital worship, including digital communion, we could not have imagined the explosive nature of this practice two years later. However, there were practices and studies before this time (cf. Böntert 2005). For example, Teresa Berger (2016) and Christian Grethlein (2019) mention various experiences and options in publications that appeared before the pandemic.

The first option is the participation in livestream services with communion, which have been taking place in various congregations around the world for more than 20 years. People from a large online congregation have taken part in such celebrations, sometimes as a matter of course. In some cases, these celebrations have also been transmitted to hospital wards. In my opinion, they do not differ substantially from a service that is transmitted live from the hospital chapel to the hospital. Television services with eucharistic celebrations also fall more or less under this heading. Roman Catholic Christians call that 'spiritual or mental communion'. However, they just watch the celebration, they do not eat bread or drink wine in front of the stream audience.

The second option is a Eucharist app which provides access to Mass texts and songs on smartphones, as has happened since 2015 mainly in the Roman Catholic context. This is not just about reading up or downloading texts for worship preparation, but also about active liturgical use: 'May I use a Missal app during a Mass?' somebody asks and receives the following answer: 'Unless instructed not to, the answer is yes.' These apps were designed for that purpose and some even carry approval from diocesan and Vatican authorities (Kane 2016).[7]

A variation or linking of both forms is the initiative of a worldwide synchronisation of eucharistic adoration already propagated by Pope Francis in 2013 (2 June), in which every parish on the globe can link up with the celebration in the Roman Basilica of Saint Peter. On-site, of course, there was still to be a 'live communion' led by an ordained priest at the same time. In the accompanying digital media, the actual goal of the mission was understood (retrospectively?) not only in the sense of a global spatial expansion, but also a temporal dissolution of boundaries:

7 Prayer apps also exist in German-speaking countries, including the prayer app from Herder Verlag (Wilke 2020).

> *The goal of on-line adoration is not to replace or to minimize the hours spent in the PHYSICAL presence of the Blessed Sacrament, but rather to multiply them. Our mission is to bring the live electronic image of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament to those who can't be physically present in Adoration.* (On-line Adoration 2003.)[8]

The third option, also clearly different from these other forms, is staged performances on the internet. Avatars are used here, who take part in a meal celebration on behalf of real people to support the imagination of the participants on the screen (Avatar inklusive 2020, cf. Grethlein 2019).

Before 2020, my personal assessment was that this subject might be an exciting theological topic, but we will still need decades before we celebrate the Lord's Supper digitally. Nevertheless, it turned out differently. In May 2020, I and two colleagues designed and realised a celebration with about twenty young vicars of the regional Church of Hanover in a digital Zoom meeting which was a challenging but also encouraging experience. On the other side, i.e., among the participants, it was the same, even if not all of them 'mutated' into enthusiastic supporters.

We arranged the setting in such a way that two ordained persons 'properly' instituted the Lord's Supper. They also actively participated in the meal themselves and handed the gifts to each other. One person was responsible for the camera and the light. Another person accompanied the singing on the piano. The whole event was held live and deliberately not recorded to be played back later.

It was important for the preparation that each participant had the elements of bread and wine and/or juice (a chalice) ready at home so that they could take or receive the gifts themselves at the time of the 'distribution'. As a rule, the people on the other side were in any case alone and not together in a group. Music also played an important role. Recurring pieces (such as *Holy* and *Lamb of God*) as well as the song 'Connected' (Til von Dombois) were sung, and a string or cable was held across the screen. This made it symbolically clear that in prayer, in singing, and in the common celebration of the sacrament, we were connected across the boundaries of the digital medium.

Many experienced this celebration as a challenging crossing of boundaries in the best sense of the word: boundaries of human imagination and church regulations, but also boundaries of theological thinking were crossed. This experience is just personal. What do studies, such as Churches Online in Times of Corona (CONTOC), determine about the practice of digital communion? How did Protestant and Catholic churches react during the first and second lockdown in the pandemic? In the multiple responses to online

8 In 2019, the Pope also invited people to pray the Angelus in Saint Peter's Square under his 'Click to pray' App (von Kempis 2020).

forms of worship, 4 per cent of Protestant respondents said they were celebrating the Lord's Supper, while 24 per cent of Catholic respondents said they were celebrating the Eucharist. Here, the fundamental differences in the understanding of worship (and their consequences in practice), the 'priority of the sacrament' as well as the discussion about a 'digital communion' may have had a strong influence, which is why the results should be interpreted rather cautiously. Nevertheless, they suggest that a discussion about the digital form of the Eucharist and Lord's Supper is necessary, or at least desirable. Regarding the form of worship of a digital celebration of the Lord's Supper, or a so-called digital Eucharist celebration among Catholic respondents, denominational differences emerge clearly (CONTOC 2021).[9]

The above-mentioned survey within the study process of the Lord's Supper in the Communion of Protestant Churches of Europe (CPCE) also yielded results on the digital practice of the Lord's Supper: 34 per cent of the participants said they had experience with digital Lord's Supper in their churches, and 9 per cent only in special cases. Fifteen per cent said they were considering the introduction of digital communion. Forty-two per cent said no. Unsurprisingly, 50 per cent said they had changed their minds during the pandemic. Fifty-nine per cent said they had participated passively, 66 per cent named an interactive form by participating in a video conference, and 35 per cent used a podcast (with a time lag; SURVEY).

Comparing these two surveys evaluated by the same institution, it is clear that in the first case, Roman Catholic participants do not eat and drink the elements during the celebration, they just watch the priest taking it. The differing numbers in Protestant churches might be explained by the difference in survey participants: church leaders looking at the liturgical life in general (CPCE), and single participants (CONTOC).

To gain a further understanding of the different types of celebration, I will try to list a short typology of digital and hybrid practices that can be differentiated at the moment.

First of all, it has to be stated that normally a digital celebration is led by an ordained person (or person with a particular qualifying title), participants are on screen, a laptop or smartphone.

9 It might also be important to say, that even if Roman Catholic churches celebrated online Eucharist this does not, at the same time, mean that people on the screens really took bread and wine. In the Catholic way of thinking, the 'spiritual communion' (criticised by the Reformers as still Mass) has always been an option.

1. *Streamed and recorded service* (the stream is available with a time lag)
2. *Live worship service with 'analogue' congregation and 'digital guests'*
   A. Spiritual participation (no real communion, cf. Catholic practice)
   B. Active participation with elements brought by oneself in front of the screen without interaction
   C. Interactive participation (e.g., live link to location x or y), so 'hybrid'. In this case the digital participants may be seen on a big screen in the church
3. *Digital worship service as a video conference* (Zoom or others)

Individuals or groups at home celebrate in an interactive setting (e.g., intercessions in chat) where guidance is sent in advance. Faces are visible in the tiles. There is not one, but two appointed distributors.

Theological arguments

The theological debates connected with such celebrations were ignited particularly by the question of whether a celebration without so-called 'bodily co-presence', i.e., without the joint presence of celebrant and communicants in one physical room, was theologically appropriate or, in the sense of Jesus, in keeping up with the foundation. Concerning the biblical institution ('Do this…'), some felt that a digital celebration was not a celebration in the full sense, because the unity of space and time was not there in a satisfying way or that the wholeness of action was separated in two parts. Another argument was the Christological aspect of incarnation, that Jesus, who became flesh and blood, needed the receiver's bodily presence as the counterpart.

Yet another objection is explained well by Kenneth Schiefelbein-Guerrero. He argues for a ritual which 'receives its high plausibility' through the distribution from person to person: '[G]enerations of Christians have gathered physically to participate as the ecclesial Body of Christ in the sacramental Body of Christ. Distribution is important in Lutheran theology, which regularly happens from person-to-person.' (Schiefelbein-Guerrero 2020: 53.) Another argument was already mentioned in the context of home communion saying that the service of the Proclamation (only) is enough to keep the church alive as a church. For Reformed churches, this might even be more acceptable because the dignity of the sacraments is less high than in the Lutheran or even Catholic context. Another argument seems strong for me, too. It is the question of 'unity': if Christians celebrate the Lord's Supper digitally, the problem of disorder and arbitrariness might come up. Many solutions and liturgies come up at the same time. There is no rule and experience. The church might lose the overview and even the control, if congregations, parishes or even 'free' groups start to celebrate the sacrament ‘in their own way’. Consequently, people might even get insecure or unsettled. Paul would probably ask if we would care enough for the weak (Romans 14).

To this, it must be said: of course, the setting of such a communion in the digital space is new and strange for many people. The few experiences we have had so far stand in contrast to a treasure of experiences from almost two thousand years. The suspicion that liturgical experiments could all too quickly become the rule is also not entirely unfounded. However, my impression is that theological arguments and personal ‘decisions’ were often confused with each other. Leonardo da Vinci’s Last Supper scene, or – more commonly – the celebration of the Eucharist in a semicircle, has been implanted in us as a ‘primal situation’ from childhood, as it were, and continues to have an effect to this day, so that a change in this setting is automatically accompanied by great irritation.

Having mentioned the critical arguments, let us look at those who are in favour.

First of all, digital celebrations are not that different from the ‘classic communion’ as they seem to be; after all, real people (not avatars) gather here, and on a video conference they often see each other even better than in the ‘analogue’ service. They come of their own free will. Most importantly, they eat and drink, which means that they are not – as usual in the Catholic context of TV services – only communicants in Spirit. They hear the words of the institution and pray the Lord’s Prayer or sing parts of the liturgy. They can also give to each other a sign of Peace by sending a message.

What is missing then, except that they cannot touch each other, smell the air of the church space, or hear the singing of their neighbour? For many of our church members, these aspects mean a lot; they like touching hands and the hug as a sign of Peace, while others say: ‘I am missing nothing. And I am not afraid to join the digital celebration as I used to do for a long time due to the danger of infection.’

Another theological argument for digital celebration – highlighting the theology of the cross – is the fact that every form of sacramental administration or celebration is accompanied by (medial) refractions. This was true in the past as well. God does not speak and come to us directly, but always works through sinful people and corruptible natural (or cultural) things. He acts *in, mitten und unter* the broken world (cf. Romans 8:19–23). This brings us to the strong Lutheran argument of Christ’s ubiquity. The crucified and risen Lord is present everywhere. Therefore, the elements of bread and wine stand for the fact that God the Triune makes available the gifts of his creation also for the redemption and life of humans (cf. Arnold 2021). Pneumatologically speaking, the Holy Spirit blows wherever it pleases (cf. John 3:8f). The Spirit can bring the gift of grace even through virtual channels.

Hence there is a *theo*-logical question: should God, in his infinitely great creativity and vastness, not be able to use even modern digital media for the work of his Spirit? At all times, sacraments were mediated medially and at the same time 'bodily'. Therefore, we can answer frankly: 'God is not the problem here at least not in terms of theological reflection' (Berger 2016: 94).

Finally, we must consider the technical possibilities of transgressing global boundaries through hybrid celebrations. One congregation (or small group) might gather for worship with people physically present. Others might connect online. In the best case, their faces can be seen on a screen, but this is not absolutely necessary. This might be a problem for the feeling of 'communion'. The opportunities are huge: the digital participants see and hear everything that is happening in the church and can participate in the chat during prayers. It is even possible that individuals from the digital space are connected to the 'live service', which can be easily perceived by the other participants. In this way, fellowship may occur across global boundaries, or boundaries of illness and isolation.

The fact that the boundaries of previous language and thought worlds are more easily crossed in the digital space is manifested, among other things, in an exemplary way in the new service format *Brot & Liebe* ('Bread and Love'; Niemeyer & Lemme 2022) in which this leading heart prayer occurs:

*einmal, G*tt,*
da hast du
alles gegeben
hast gelebt und geliebt
bis zum letzten Hemd – auch für mich

dass ich weiß:
ich fall nicht,
ich flieg
vergeh nicht,
ich leb.

heute öffne ich dir
meine Herzenstür
hinterm Zentimeter Licht
geht die Sonne auf
und meine Fingerspitzen streifen sachte
ihren ersten Morgenglanz.

*heute will ich dir glauben, G*tt:*
zu meinem fast

legst du dein geschafft
und teilst mit mir dein Brot.
(Kuhla & Brückner 2023: 121.)[10]

From what has been said so far, we can formulate the following further questions, among others:

1. What can be learned from the digital experience for a renewed analogue (i.e., classical) liturgy of the Lord's Supper? Can we helpfully design the space of celebration, more consciously, and in a more differentiated way? How can we prepare the congregation and the liturgy even better?
2. What new forms can we develop from the digital-hybrid table fellowship? What chalices/vessels/plates do we use at home? Is there such a thing as a family chalice in worship as an alternative between a single chalice and communal chalice?
3. Could there be a liturgical church-wide 'communion-creativity' seeking to rethink liturgy, agendas, and forms after the pandemic experiences? Would an art competition for the design of a set with a group chalice, pouring chalice and individual chalices be helpful?
4. Does the digital format allow the possibility to open church doors figuratively in the twenty-first century? How do we move from regulating admission to a more unifying basic attitude to invite people to the Lord's supper?
5. Digital baptisms still seem to be far away from congregational practice. Knowing that the setting of the actors is also complex or even more complex here, one may ask how the church can behave on demand, for example, when godparents live 500 or 1,000 kilometres away. Should we not make that situation possible with a hybrid celebration?

After all, my conviction is that – in all that we do – we should ask the Triune for his/her presence, at the same time trusting that the Spirit does what Christ promised: 'For where two or three gather in my name, there am I with them.' (Mt 18:20) Taking that seriously we might say that digital communion even in a small group has strong promise. Christ will be there.

10 'once, God, / you have / given everything / lived and loved / to the last shirt – also for me

that I know / I will not fall, / I fly / do not perish, / I'm alive

today I open for you / my heart's door / behind the centimetre of light / the sun rises / and my fingertips gently touch / its first morning glow

today I want to believe in you, God: / to know that I can do without being perfect / and for you to share with me your bread.' Translation by the author.

Further questions for the development of our sacramental practice

With all that has been possible in recent months and years in terms of new departures, especially in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the fact cannot and must not be concealed that the 'frequency' of the offer and the actual participation in celebrations of the Lord's Supper during the pandemic declined significantly, not to say dramatically. The high risk of infection – especially through the use of a common cup – is undisputed. This is not even minimised by a possible *intinctio* (dipping the host into the communal chalice), on the contrary. This fact is simply to be deplored. In the meantime, congregations have celebrated *sub una* (just with bread) or have created appropriate conditions with high safety measures (tongs, gloves, pre-packaged hosts, or small vials) to help prevent infection during the celebration.

A most welcome measure is the purchase of individual goblets, possibly combined with a pouring goblet, as has been used in Scandinavian countries for years. Then, during the celebration, the wine or grape juice is poured from the pouring goblet into the individual goblets. Beautiful individual chalices made of clay and metal are now available at reasonable prices, for about five to ten euros.

In many places there are also encouragingly good experiences. The distribution at designated stations (*Wandelkommunion*) remains a good possibility to receive the elements with eye contact and distance. In addition, the classical circle or semicircle is still practicable, if the distance is kept and the distributors disinfect their hands beforehand. Families can – as on the eve of the Confirmation – also stand closer together in small groups, possibly passing the bread and chalice to each other, or sit at several individual tables.

This also leads to these further questions, among others:

1. How can we invite people to the Lord's Supper in new and imaginative ways?
2. Whom do we want to invite? Baptised members or even people who are not yet baptised or confirmed members of our church?
3. Can the highly-charged and justified criticisms about the questions of hygiene be 'neutralised'; for instance, by individual chalices and pouring chalices?
4. How can children gain their first experiences in children's services or together with adults, so that the meal becomes a matter of course for them?
5. Does the children's way of receiving also open the eyes of adults to the significance of the invitation to the Lord's table as a gift and a distinction (cf. Mark 10:15)?

Sacraments outdoors?

Little has become known about celebrations of the Lord's Supper outside. Perhaps this has to do with the fact that the risk of infection is not significantly reduced. In fact, some congregations have celebrated their confirmation suppers outside. The congregation set up tables in the outdoor area, and one family sat at each table. The celebration of the Lord's Supper itself was quite classical, but the setting made it something special.

Hanna Dallmeier staged a station service on the Passion and at Easter with confirmands and then also celebrated communion outdoors. Each station was prepared with a different group of confirmands, so that the young people were also actively involved liturgically.

Under the direction of Frank Muchlinsky, a street theatre group performed the sacrament nightly in the style of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper with 13 people at a long table. This took place in several major cities in Germany, an initiative that generated much media interest and may have significantly increased the desire to participate (Grau 2018). However, it must be asked whether a theatre play that does not include an invitation to join in the celebration can be called a sacrament. I would clearly say no; this arrangement is not a Eucharist in Christ's sense.

It should also be borne in mind that the classic 'church coffee' following the service is again often very popular in many places. Therefore, a communal Lord's Supper outside the church in the transition to a communal meal would also be an inviting statement for the public.

At this point, however, it should be noted that during the entire pandemic – but especially in the summer months – baptisms were increasingly held outdoors. Parishes and regions followed up on so-called baptismal festivals (with more than a hundred baptised persons, including adults) at rivers or lakes, which had already been very popular in the past. Other congregations opted for garden baptisms in a small circle, where the laying on of hands and wetting with water was often 'delegated' to the parents or godparents, while the pastor spoke the words. Many young parents found this form especially beautiful and would like to see this offered in the future. The same applies to confirmations in the garden and weddings in special places outside.

Theological perspectives: How can we be a welcoming church?

For many people, the Lord's Supper is an indispensable part of their faith practice and spirituality; however, this conviction cannot be assumed or even demanded of all other church members. Even more important is the fact that the Lord's Supper is not an arbitrary matter that we could simply 'leave out'. The Church of Jesus is the Church of the Word and the sacraments (Augsburg Confession V & VII; Bekenntnisschriften 2014: 125–127). His voice can be heard in it, and his body and his blood – or more carefully: signs of his corporeality – can be tasted in it. A look at our biblical sources, and also at the confessions of the Reformation, shows that the 'breaking of bread in the name of Christ' has always had a decisive effect. Eating and drinking together on his behalf and under his promise creates community and enables personal assurance of God's love. Finally, it makes the church visible and recognisable to the outside world (cf. *notae ecclesiae*).

However, to make this latter statement is not enough. We have to work on our attitude and our 'celebration' of the sacrament: it is important that the 'bitter seriousness' which still hangs over many celebrations and which, due to the pandemic, has now also absorbed the fear of the risk of infection, be overcome. The Lord's Supper should therefore not be celebrated only on Good Friday and the Day of Repentance or on the eve of confirmation (with confession). The danger at that time that the focus will only be on repentance and forgiveness is too high. This does not mean that the central soteriological meaning should be completely omitted, but it should not be the only one. The Lord's Supper should also be celebrated as a feast of joy or heavenly anticipation, as described in Isajah 25:6–9. It stands under the ports of the Kingdom of God which has already dawned, in which all people are welcome. The political relevance of this is striking – where does this exist today, a true table fellowship of poor and rich? In this respect, the Lord's Supper is a cross-border provocation of the highest inclusive or universal significance.

Therefore, we are constantly challenged to examine what it means when we say, 'All are invited!' Do we mean everyone or just all the baptised or confirmed or those 'who feel invited'? For centuries, the Methodist Church has taken a different approach than the other large denominations and practices by the so-called 'Open Table'; here, everyone is truly invited – without any preconditions.[11] Consequently, we have to ask ourselves in the coming years how we want to deal with the 'conditions of access' to the Lord's Supper (baptism). In addition, we should offer multilingual services (or at least parts of them) – especially in the city churches – and consider how people with handicaps (wheelchairs, hearing aids, etc.) can be integrated into our celebrations.

11 'Nonbaptised people who respond in faith to the invitation in our liturgy will be welcomed to the Table. They should receive teaching about Holy Baptism as the sacrament of entrance into the community of faith—needed only once by each individual—and Holy Communion as the sacrament of sustenance for the journey of faith and growth in holiness—needed and received frequently.' (This Holy Mystery 2004, 15.)

Balance sheet and outlook

The pandemic has confronted us with major challenges. The experiences already reflected here should continue to be evaluated regularly in the future. This includes surveys in the congregations, which provide feedback to the church leadership.

Liturgy–theologically, further work is needed on the central aspects of the theology of the Lord's Supper. How can the diverse theological points like Christ's presence, forgiveness of sins, community, celebration of the new world, sharing with the poor, *et cetera* resonate and shine in the celebration? What variety is needed on the one hand, and what reliability of recurring forms or songs on the other?

Clearly we cannot simply return to the usual practice for the Lord's Supper. Digital options of celebration are still needed, even if not in every congregation. How we deal with home communion in the future must be discussed further and then also decided consciously. The theological core of the celebration, however, seems undisputed: Jesus promises that he gives himself in the bread and cup and thus comforts, reassures, uplifts, and strengthens people on the way. The Lord's Supper connects the gifts of creation with spiritual strengthening. This connection must be considered also in the future (climate change, preservation of creation, sharing with all people) and thus one must not lose sight of the ethical aspect.

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ELSABÉ KLOPPERS

Singing the Sacred: Crossing Borders in the Public Sphere

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Introduction

Hymns and various forms of religious singing are generally associated with public worship, where they function as small forms of art and fulfil various functions. Hymns are also active in a variety of settings in the public sphere, where they connect personal lived religion with public religion and politics. The question addressed by this study is how prominent sacred songs and hymns function within the context of lived religion in the fluid public sphere, the reason for their presence, and the agency, influence and significance they could have in various contexts and circumstances.

Scholars attached to the International Society for Hymnological Studies (IAH; formed in 1959) have been giving attention to the performance and functions of hymns in the liturgy, as well as the meanings of hymns in the public sphere. Themes addressed are the cultural or 'secular' functions of hymns (Kurzke 2003; 2010); hymns constructing and promoting nationalist identities (Kück & Kurzke 2003); hymns as commodities in the political sphere (Bubmann 2017; 2022), and hymns functioning as protest and 'war songs' (Klek 2012; Fischer 2014). The focus has been primarily (but not exclusively) on Europe. The work of the Christian Congregational Music Studies group (formed in 2011, with conferences at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford), corresponds with certain themes, using a broader spectrum of methods and across a wider scope of contexts. Issues receiving attention are, *inter alia*, the influence of globalisation on congregational singing; the role of mass media in spreading congregational music and shaping *transnational* communities; the marketing or commodifying of praise and worship music, and the function of congregational singing in constructing 'imagined communities' (Ingalls, Landau & Wagner 2016; Mall, Engelhardt & Ingalls 2021). Becca Whitla (2020) offers important perspectives on hymn singing in diverse settings of coloniality, decoloniality and power.

Simon Frith (1987: 133–151) identified four important social functions of popular music that are also highly relevant for hymnody. Both popular music and hymnody relate to questions of identity; both help people to manage the relationship between their public and private emotional lives; both contribute to organising the sense of time and shaping memory, and both are something belonging to people and with which people *live*. For Richard Watson, it is important to recognise that the hymn has its roots deep in popular culture and that in their human appeal, hymns belong to 'believers, half-believers, and non-believers. [...] to all those who feel the stirrings of some religious sense' (Watson 1999: 17). Reflecting on 'living with hymns' is interconnected with the field of 'lived religion' where people reflect on their religious experiences in various situations (with hymns, for example), and interpret the experiences and attach meaning to what they experienced. Lived religion is studied in formal institutional contexts, as well as at all levels of everyday life and culture (Ammermann 2021). The theologian Wilhelm Gräb (2006; 2011) did important work on lived religion, also delving into the experience of music as a form of art connected to religious experience. Watson (1999: 1–21) argues that hymns are poetic or aesthetic responses to experience and therefore a form of art. Hymns are a part of the religious experience they express, and they help to create that experience. In so doing, they are subject to endless variations of human sensibility and perception; and to different ideas about doctrine, gender differences, and conceptions regarding authority and power, to mention a few.

This study operates at the intersection of hymnody, hymnology, and lived religion, opening up possibilities for doing or performing a creative practical and public theology – a *sounding* public theology (Wabel & Höhne & Stamer 2017: 9–40). Discussing the presence of hymns in diverse forms of lived religion in the public sphere and placing them in the broader cultural context of their reception histories from different times and settings, I interpret their presence critically to determine the reasons for them being there and the possible meanings they could accrue or create. Narratives play an important role in research on lived religion and in the field of hymnology – histories of hymns and stories of experiences with hymns can open up interesting perspectives. Narratives help to measure conflict zones, establish social institutions, and imagine pasts and futures. For the narrator, random encounters, coincidences, unexpected situations, conflicts, and the special 'turns of life' can open up unique details and perspectives that can be related to other data and integrated into further research (Söffner 2021; Breithaupt 2022). When speaking of music, autobiographical or auto-ethnographic perspectives are also highly relevant (Cook 2000: 84). Accordingly, I start with a narrative of personal experiences with a hymn in the public sphere, reflecting on these impressions and interpreting them hermeneutically, and then move outwards to present broader frameworks and perspectives on the reception histories and agency of the hymn.[1]

1 Parts of this narrative appeared in Kloppers (2020b), with new interpretations presented here.

Now, thank we all our God (*Nun danket alle Gott*): A varied history of reception

During a conference in England a few years ago, we sang the hymn, *Now, thank we all our God*[2] (*Nun danket alle Gott* by Martin Rinckart, 1636) at a hymn festival. Sung into being by human voices, supported by the organ, and carried by the acoustics of the space, a small work of art with many dimensions came into being. The hymn *sounded* at various levels. While being sung in the dedicated 'sacred' space of a church building, it resonated outside the walls of the building and was heard by people in the public square outside. At the same time, other small works of art in the form of stained-glass windows that also depicted the hymn, communicated the message *visually* to those who were singing inside, as well as to those on the outside. In synchronised time, all these visual and acoustic elements worked together to speak at a diversity of levels, creating an encompassing work of art reflecting gratitude and trust in the Giver of gifts.

The hymn showed up again shortly afterwards. At a busy terminal at London's Heathrow airport, someone in the dense crowd unexpectedly whistled the tune aloud. It soared above everyone and echoed in the hearts of people who knew it from their childhood. Being a well-known hymn sung worldwide in many languages, it could have spoken to a large number of people, irrespective of the language they spoke. For me, who has been travelling with this hymn from an early age, this fragment *sacralised* the 'secular' public space for a brief moment, bringing memories that crossed borders between the past and present.

Leaving Iceland after a conference a few years later, in October 2019, I had another unexpected experience with the hymn, when early one morning I arrived in Danzig, Poland, after a day and night of endless connections, and had a few hours in the city before an afternoon flight. Sitting down on a bench in a bare and cold square, I felt grateful that all had worked out thus far. Voicing my thoughts, the bells of the carillon in the tower of the city halls rang over the square and the city: *Now, thank we all our God!* After the bells had faded away, I sat motionless, hearing the echo in my mind. I then started to wonder about the bells of a city hall (*Rathaus*), the seat of socio-political power, ringing out hymns. It certainly would require the hermeneutics of suspicion. I found the information that a carillon of 14 bells was installed in the tower of the *Rathaus* after 1560. The bells were decorated with the coats of arms of the royals of Prussia, Danzig, and Poland. With the help of a rotating cylinder, the carillon was programmed with different melodies on certain occasions. To welcome the Polish king, for example, the *Te Deum Laudamus* (We

2 Translated from German by Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878) in 1858. Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology https://hymnology.hymnsam.co.uk/n/now-thank-we-all-our-god

praise you God) was played (Woyno 2020). This clearly reflects a time when there was a strong link between religion and the ruling powers of a city or a region. Religious symbols were utilised to legitimise the powers of rulers by suggesting that their power and position came from God. Apart from acknowledging God's hand in the welfare of the city, nation, and people, God was praised for giving the people a 'good' ruler or king. The sounding of *Te Deum Laudamus* on the entrance of the king into the city could strengthen the set of myths that the king's role was that of an earthly substitute for God. It could also strengthen the religious identity of the people or nation, or foster new identities. Faith identities other than Christian were either ignored or actively subverted – or was a Christian identity subverted by the hymn being adopted for a use that was not necessarily religious?

The reception history of *Nun danket alle Gott* is varied. Written by Martin Rinckart (1586–1649) for his family as a thanksgiving prayer at the table, it was published for the first time in his 1636 *Jesu Hertz-Büchlein*. As a minister in the city of Eilenburg, Rinckart led thousands of funerals during the devastating *Thirty Years War*, with pests and plagues also ruining the lives of people around him. The hymn reflects abundant gratitude, despite the depressing circumstances surrounding its origin. Originally a hymn of thanksgiving and a prayer to be blessed, it was employed later for a multitude of purposes in a diversity of fluid contexts, where singing and public religion coincided almost seamlessly. It became a kind of '*deutsch-nationalen Gratias-Hymne*' that was used not only in worship and in homes, but also in wartime and at prominent political events, such as the proclamation of the *Kaiser* in Versailles in 1871 and later also at the '*Tag von Potsdam*' in March 1933, as part of the National Socialist takeover (Bubmann 2017: 151–153).

Bubmann (2017) refers to three prominent dimensions of living the faith – the *anamnetic* dimension (memory of the past, or the past made present by remembering), the *proleptic* dimension (looking to the future) and the *transformative* dimension. In many situations, the use of *Nun danket alle Gott* served as a form of collective *anamnesis* – a solemn national remembrance and memory of victories and experiences of God's protection, while it also has a *proleptic* function. It was (and still is) sung in situations of loss and suffering. When the last 10,000 German prisoners of war returned from the Soviet Union to Germany in October 1955 (more than ten years after the end of the war), this hymn was sung, very fittingly: *Nun danket alle Gott … der uns aus aller Not erlösen hier und dort.* (… who delivers us from all distress, here and there.)

The film, depicting the return of the soldiers and their singing (Wochenschau 1955), is very touching. The voice and tone of the commentator, however, alert the viewer to 'something more': the focus on the political achievements of Konrad Adenauer, the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1949–1963). Negotiating with Russia for the return of the soldiers was one of his biggest successes – certainly something for which the people were very grateful. There was a strong awareness of the importance of the event as a visual spectacle and there clearly were many preparations for the event. In the film, it is not clear whether the soldiers and their loved ones sang *Nun danket* spontaneously. It probably was scripted carefully into the whole of the event, the ritual of homecoming, to make a deeper impression on viewers after the event. Singing the hymn certainly had a lasting impact on the soldiers and their loved ones; viewers of the film were also touched. However, with its strong undertones of German patriotism, history, religiosity, and nostalgia for a lost childhood, the singing in the film also functioned as a commodity with emotional value to sell the political success of Adenauer to the viewers.

What is meant by nostalgia for a lost childhood? There is a strong possibility that the phrase, '*...von Kindesbeine an*' / 'who from our mothers' arms'... contributes to the popularity of the hymn. People who sing it surely remember that God was with them from the very beginning – and that God carried them through difficult times in their lives. It functions as *anamnesis* – recollecting things that had happened, remembering the concrete evidence of God's protection in the past, with the memory serving as an assurance of God's protection in the present and in the future. These associations probably helped the hymn to move from the personal sphere of a table prayer to the broad public sphere, and to function in a variety of cultural, religious, social, and political contexts.

Psalm singing in various countries

Identity is about the political and cultural memory embedded in a nation's psyche. A nation's historical narrative could also reside in music that 'negotiates the borders between myth and history, thus "memorialising the past"' (Bohlman 2011: 196). Certain hymns and psalms, prominent at religious and cultural gatherings, played an identity-giving and political role that strengthened the collective cultural memory of the Afrikaans-speaking people. Functioning at the level of a civil religion, these hymns and psalms helped to keep the grand narrative of God protecting 'his people' ('*sy volk*') alive (Kloppers 2002). However, nationalism, stimulated by the singing of hymns and psalms is not limited to the South African context – it corresponds with practices worldwide (Kück & Kurzke 2003). In the Netherlands, Scotland, and other countries, where Calvinism is prominent, metrical psalms used to play a prominent role.

A strong sense of 'the other', strangers, or the perceived presence of strong enemies, contributes to the formation of collective national identities (Kurzke 2003: 223). Uncovering the paradoxical attributions behind the political categories of belonging and demarcation, Kwame Anthony Appiah (2018) shows how emphasising the similarities with one's own people and exaggerating the differences with others, create identities that are formed by conflict. He refers to these 'mistaken identities' as the fictions of belonging, or 'the lies that bind'. A relevant narrative in this regard is the story of the new Scottish Members of Parliament boarding the train on their way to Westminster after a landslide victory in 1922, accompanied by a large group of people singing metrical psalms on the platform. Through singing psalms in public, boundaries of religion and the public sphere were crossed, nationalist ideals promoted, and the convergence of political and religious identity fortified. The politicians were encouraged to stand up for Scotland, knowing that God was on their side, and that 'God's Word', in the form of God's song, accompanied them into their new political context and seat of power. The singing had a foundational, integrational, legitimising, and compensational function (Fischer 2014: 223–236). As there were no female delegates, it also cemented the idea that (only) men were suited for politics. A further example from Scotland is the singing of Psalm 100, the *Old Hundreth* – 'All people that on earth do dwell, sing to the Lord with cheerful voice…' at the 'reconvening' of the Scottish Parliament on 1 July 1999. The singing was a form of thanksgiving, of 'memorialising the past', while looking at the future. A psalm sung in the public sphere of the seat of politics served as 'a badge of identity', showing how deeply a psalm or psalms could become entrenched in the cultural memory of a nation (Kloppers 2012). These case studies show that the use of religious songs in various contexts is often laden with ideology, influenced by the politics of power, culture, nationalism, identity, race, and gender. The hermeneutics of suspicion should accompany all forms of lived religion expressed in singing hymns or religious songs.

Hymns in the public sphere in various contexts in more recent times

From a broad historical overview, I move to hymns in the public sphere in various contexts in recent times. Hymns are part of the cultural offerings representing Christian symbols in the public sphere, forming a link between personal faith, the public church, and public Christianity, while also forming bridges to a pluralist society. They are part of a secular and post-secular culture, where the Christian religion has not returned, as is often claimed, but from where it has never disappeared. Not only has Christianity shaped Western culture, it continues to shape it in a multitude of ways not always observed consciously. After big disasters or tragic incidents, people often gather in public to pray and sing. It happens as part of formal commemorative events, but often also in informal situations, such as the ritual of singing during the fire in Notre Dame Cathedral (2019) and the singing from balconies during the Covid-19 pandemic (Kloppers 2020a). At the start of the Ukraine war, people sang hymns such as *Dona Nobis Pacem* in public spaces. Quotations from hymns, and especially lines from the biblical psalms, appear on many public buildings; hymns also play a role in non-religious literature and films.

Politicians quoting hymns in public: President Joe Biden quotes *On Eagle's Wings*

It is not surprising that politicians would quote hymns in public. While not doubting the sincerity with which they do it, politicians surely can touch people in different ways and rise in the estimation of people who are oriented religiously when doing so – thus also cementing their position of power. In his first speech as President-elect, President Biden quoted the refrain of *On Eagle's Wings*, a religious song written by Father Michael Joncas in 1976. He introduced the hymn with its references to Psalm 91, Isaiah 40:31, and Isaiah 49:16 as a hymn that means a lot to him and his family, and that meant a lot to his late son Beau. He also referred to the faith that (he believes) sustains America:

> *It captures the faith that sustains me and which I believe sustains America. And I hope it can provide some comfort and solace to the 230 million … thousand Americans who have lost a loved one through this terrible virus this year. My heart goes out to each and every one of you. Hopefully this hymn gives you solace as well. It goes like this: "And he will raise you up on eagle's wings, bear you on the breath of dawn, make you to shine like the sun, and hold you in the palm of his hand."* (Biden 2020.)

Referring to the loss of his son and the difficulties for him and his family, he went on by acknowledging the grief of the people amid the pandemic, especially those who lost loved family members and friends. He then proceeded by calling the American nation to action: 'And now, together – *on eagle's wings* – we embark on the work that God and history have called upon us to do. […] with faith in America and each other…' Note the strong link: 'God *and* history', faith '*in America and each other*', as well as the aspect of 'calling' that is brought to the fore. Apart from personal comfort to people, the hymn functioned to call the nation together, promising strength through faith (in America?), connected to an ethical appeal to go out and work for a better world.

The reference to the hymn functioned at a religious, ethical, personal, and cultural level, and was meant to mobilise people. It also functioned as a commodity at a political level. It started life in the Catholic ambit, became international with translations into Polish, Spanish, Italian, and many other languages, and crossed borders to all denominations. At Luciano Pavarotti's memorial service, the people sang it in Italian (according to Joncas, in Pattison 2020). The first big civic usage of it was at the memorial service after the Oklahoma City bombings in 1995. Quoting a popular song with a religious theme associated with difficult circumstances could comfort people. However, it could also be beneficial in promoting the popularity of the politician and in fostering his or her political beliefs.

President Obama sings *Amazing Grace* – *Amazing Grace* in other settings

An earlier instance of the use of a hymn in public by an American president was President Obama singing *Amazing Grace* in June 2015 at the memorial service of a Senator from the House of Representatives. The Senator was also the pastor of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston. Nine days prior, a 21-year-old white supremacist man entered this church during a service, sat for a while, and then opened fire with a gun, killing nine people, including the Senator. The president's task was to offer comfort, not just to the family and the people of Charleston, but also to the nation. His speech was more than a speech – it resembled a sermon in the strongest sense of the word, and not the least in the tone of his voice. He referred to the concept of 'grace' that can change everything. He then paused a moment before singing *Amazing Grace* – with the choir joining in 'spontaneously', followed by the rest of the people. After the singing, he read the names of the people who died in the shooting, ending with 'May grace now lead them home'. It comes as no surprise that he finally extended the wish for grace to his country (Kloppers 2020a). (In the video, it is clear that there were members of the choir who expected the singing of the President, indicating that it was rehearsed carefully before the service.)

The prime function of the singing of the hymn was to comfort the families and the people in the inner circle. It was widened to encourage and inspire people of colour or mixed race, who were the target of the racist attack and who furthermore have a strong resonance with this hymn. The role that the recording and performances by Aretha Franklin (1972) played is legendary, even though the reception history of the hymn stretches back much further. They could identify with President Obama as a black person who could rise to hold the highest political position, but who would not shy away from showing his faith in public by singing this iconic hymn – thus identifying with what strengthens them, and who they are. The hymn singing was and is a strong tool to promote black group identity. However, *Amazing Grace* is also a spiritual icon for many other people in the USA, functioning as a commodity to foster cultural identity at a much wider level. Many people would identify with the president's singing and be strongly touched by it. The secondary 'spin-off' of the singing would be the popularity of the president of the United States of America himself. Through the televised video of this service and especially through his singing, he rose in popularity, also in other parts of the world (Bubmann 2017). The singing thus had a spiritual and pastoral – as well as a cultural, personal, and political – function.

Amazing Grace, a kind of 'autobiographical' Christian hymn with words written in 1772 by the English Anglican clergyman and poet, John Newton (1725–1807), developed to become a world hymn. Translated into numerous languages it is indeed one of the most prominent hymns sung at funerals worldwide, while it also functions in a wide range of public spheres. During the Covid-19 lockdown, a Church of England vicar, the Rev Pat Allerton, played *Amazing Grace* on his phone in a street in London – the powerful rendition of Judy Collins – and something extraordinary happened:

> *Faces appeared behind glass, windows opened and people leaned out. Residents came onto balconies. Some held up small children to see. A woman aided by a walking frame shuffled onto a path. A couple of older men in vests stood with their arms crossed; women in hijabs came out of their homes; a man wearing a kippah stopped to listen.*
>
> *Amazing Grace faded and Allerton took up his microphone. As he began the Lord's Prayer, some people bowed their heads, some put their hands together, some mouthed words taught many years before. A few wept. No one laughed or jeered or heckled. In the middle of one of the most cosmopolitan cities on earth, this was a communal moment of spirituality.* (Sherwood 2020.)

This is indeed a striking description of religion lived in public and the role that a hymn such as *Amazing Grace* could play in comforting people across the boundaries of religions, uniting them in a 'communal moment of spirituality'.

Andrea Bocelli gave a solo performance in the *Duomo di Milano* on Easter Sunday 2020 (during the Covid-19 lockdown). Ending the performance, he walked out closing with *Amazing Grace*, symbolically carrying the hymn into the public sphere. As he sang in the quiet, empty square, the cameras and YouTube carried it to the public all over the world. It had millions of views on YouTube. It is indeed very striking to see the singer who is blind, singing with eyes closed: '…was blind, but now I see.'

These narratives present a hermeneutic reading of *Amazing Grace* functioning in a range of public contexts. Utilised as a religious or spiritual instrument in the fluidity of the public sphere, it functions as a device to promote or subvert ideas, to foster processes of constructing identities or perceived identities, while also deconstructing others. It certainly is also utilised as a commodity to promote the popularity of politicians or singers.

President Cyril Ramaphosa quoting *Thuma Mina* – Send me!

In 2018, the new President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, quoted Hugh Masekela's version of *Thuma Mina* (Send me) at the end of his inaugural address. Originating from the biblical prophecies (Isaiah 6:8, 'Here I am! Send me!'), and sung in various indigenous languages, *Thuma Mina* is very popular in South Africa. It crossed borders: it is included in hymnals all over the world and now functions as a sacred song across countries and cultures. Masekela's version has a sharp socio-political edge. He released his album *Send Me* in 2002, eight years after the dawn of democracy. According to Maluleke (2018), the themes of poverty, HIV, drug addiction, violence, abuse, migration, dictatorship, and hope in his music were a direct result of his sensitivity towards the marginalised and his alertness to social issues. Maluleke (2018) refers to Masekela's biography *Still Grazing (The musical journey of Hugh Masekela*, 2004) in which he remarks that 'they were surrounded by music everywhere' when they were young. Among the many kinds of music were the choruses sung in the churches, including those he learnt from his 'God-fearing, Lutheran prayer woman' grandmother. Maluleke quotes Masekela's colourful descriptions of the influence of African church music on him as a child:

> *Bible-thumping 'born again' men and women of the Holy Sanctified Donkey Church, a palm-leaf-crowned baby donkey in the lead, would sing soulful African gospel ... pleading with us to repent, to accept God. "Guquka" (repent) they'd yell, wiping drenched foreheads with their white handkerchiefs. ...punctuating their songs with an occasional "Hallelujah!!! Aaaamen!!!"* […]
>
> *My friends and I rushed from one street to another, from squares to open fields, following Lekganyane's Zion Christian Church brass bands as they marched in their military khakhi uniforms* […] *We marched behind these battalions for God, lifting our knees high, following the ethnic pipers as though bewitched. We drank in the noises and revelled in the hilarious chaos of African sorcery and madness – oblivious of cold, rain, wind, dust or curfew.* (Masekela [2004] in Maluleke 2018.)

By quoting *Thuma Mina*, President Ramaphosa wanted to encourage people to make personal sacrifices after the destructive corruption under President Zuma and inspire them to help eradicate poverty and corruption. It touched people deeply and motivated them to 'be sent'. However, after a huge sum of undeclared money was found in a couch in Ramaphosa's home, shortly after the Covid-19 period, people were not convinced about his anti-corruption stance and questioned the use of a religious song to influence them politically. These examples show how politicians use hymns to cross borders, inspire people and mobilise them, but also how hymns function in public to manipulate the emotions of people and to promote personal popularity.

Struggle songs from the time of apartheid

In a so-called 'post-secular' world, sharp distinctions between faith, religiosity, spirituality, and 'the secular' do not exist. In Africa, the lines between sacred and secular have been fluid all along, as described in Masekela's narrative above. During the years of struggle against the apartheid government, 'songs of the church' were crossing borders seamlessly between the 'sacred' space of church buildings and the political space of protest and rallies for freedom. Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Mayibuye Centre 2000: CD 1, nr. 4) explained the singing of freedom songs in the public domain of the church as a way of 'getting rid of the energy, the spirit of war'. It meant lamenting, and singing *about war* 'before God', while also bringing a consciousness for what has to change when crossing the threshold of the church back 'into the world'. The singing opened up new spaces, it crossed borders, it had a performative, a 'reality changing' function, and it transformed the people singing and hearing it. An example that functioned in many settings is *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God bless Africa)*, written by Enoch Sontonga in 1897 and currently part of the National Anthem of South Africa. Initially meant as a hymn for church and school, its layered meaning intensified when sung in the public sphere during the struggle; it was used to negotiate cultural identity and carried a strong political message (Cook 1998 / 2000: 79–80, 126; Coplan & Jules-Rosette 2008). One of the most striking performances was that of Ladysmith Black Mambazo in Montreux, Switzerland, in 1989 (available on YouTube). In the public sphere of the concert hall, just before the last song, Joseph Shabalala announced unexpectedly: 'We'd like to pray with you now', and started singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. The group joined in. The singing touched people and convinced the world of the inhumanity of the system of apartheid. Coplan (2020) recalls listening to the group in Carnegie Hall in New York in 1988: '[...] for three uninterrupted hours [...] they kept the audience spellbound at the edge of their seats in awed, worshipful silence'. This shows how meaning and value reside in what is enacted through performance (Cook 2002: 82) and the influence exerted in the public sphere by people singing and sounding a *prophetic* voice. During the Covid-19 lockdown, people sang *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* spontaneously in Cape Town – to function in an *anamnetic* and *proleptic* way, to comfort people and give hope.

Songs can create an ethical consciousness; for example, prophetic songs protesting against injustice in the world (as illustrated above), and other songs allowing people to pray for peace and the protection of creation (Bubmann 2017: 148). *Mayenziwe 'ntando yakho*, a fragment from the Lord's Prayer often sung in public spheres, operates at all these levels. Certain that God is in control, the 'we' give the earth into God's hands and confess their dependence: *Your will be done on earth, O Lord. Mayenziwe* and other songs such as *Siyahamba* and *Siph' Amandla Nkosi* found their way into hymnals across the globe. Was it wrong to expect more of these songs in the very public memorial service for Archbishop

Desmond Tutu? At this service, it became clear that the colonial legacy of hymnody continues to play a strong role even in churches with many, or even predominantly, black members. Admitting that colonial hymns can be sung in a 'decolonial key' (Whitla 2020: 127–162), more could have been expected here. It was said that the hymns and music were Archbishop Tutu's choice, but the question is: What were actually suggested as possibilities – for example, material that family members or the church people love, or material that a choir had in its repertoire? The service was firstly for the family, but it was also a very prominent state funeral for a person who won the Nobel Prize for Peace. Meant also for people in the worldwide public sphere to participate in the mourning, and to honour the life of a much-loved person, one would expect more of the global songs mentioned above to have been included in the service – surely the fragment from the Lord's Prayer, *Mayenziwe*. A strong message of the role Archbishop Tutu had played in politics, religion, and reconciling people would have gone out through the singing. It could have brought a message connecting people from all over the world, helping them to cross borders. What could be more prophetic in this situation than a song with a text such as *We are marching in the light of God* – remembering (*anamnesis*) the march for freedom under difficult circumstances, of crossing borders amid the darkness to march 'in the light of God', while praying: 'Give us the strength, Lord, to be fearless!' Sung in the context of the memorial service, the *anamnetic* function would be expanded to include the *proleptic* dimension of hope, of looking to the future, of praying to be fearless, while also bringing about *transformatio*n in those singing, hearing, viewing, and listening.

The afterlife of struggle songs that became global songs is important. Material from other cultures could be appropriated in ways that could hurt people, even if meant differently. If a song says: 'We are marching in the light of God', it is not meant to be sung happily as: 'We are singing in the light of God / We are laughing in the light of God' (John Bell's example from what he had heard in Evangelical circles). There are also German versions of *Siyahamba* and *Siph' Amandla Nkosi*, with texts expanded arbitrarily. These songs can function in various ways and in a diversity of contexts in the public sphere and be a sign of multiculturalism. It remains relevant, however, to ask why they function in various contexts and to what end. Hymnic inheritances should be questioned to note reverse forms of colonisation, cultural imperialism, or 'entertainment', and of superficial ways of 'acknowledging other cultures', without really bearing in mind the possible circumstances of suffering under which a song came to be sung (Whitla 2020). The way a song is used or performed should be considered carefully. At an international hymn festival, *Mayenziwe* was performed dramatically, at a rapid tempo and high volume by a worship leader from the USA dressed in indigenous African 'attire'. Trying to open up a discussion afterwards, I asked about the importance of a text when choosing the tempo. Being a prayer that 'God's will must be done', could a slower tempo be considered? I added that my colleagues at the University of South Africa had indicated that in their churches in South Africa (consisting primarily of black members), they sing at a moderate tempo. The worship leader answered with authority that he based his choice of tempo on that of a (male) American scholar. Was it wrong to sense a feeling of cultural appropriation – not to mention the use of patriarchal power?

The struggle song *Senzeni Na* (What have we done?) was adapted well to new situations (Kloppers 2020a). Sung as a protest song against the Apartheid regime, people now sing it at public gatherings to protest against injustice in many forms. The University of Pretoria *Camerata* made a video to commemorate the murder of a female student at UCT in September 2019, also remembering other women who were murdered and those who suffer from abuse daily. The choir sings *Senzeni Na* while sitting scattered in the hall, with seats randomly open between the choir members – symbolising the women and girls who were murdered, and who thus were missing from their seats. With seats open between the singers, this video took on a new meaning during the Covid-19 period: the open seats now also symbolise the people who died during the period. It shows how struggle songs can obtain new life in new contexts – they can comfort people and, at the same time, be a prophetic voice. The dissonance at the beginning of this song is striking – it painfully captures the wrong in society. *What have we done*?

Performing a sounding or resonating public theology

Hymns can point in many directions and can fulfil many aims. Singing hymns is an act enabling people to cross borders between the 'sacred' and the 'profane'; the religious and the secular; the private and the public. It inspires people to cross borders between cultural groups, nations, and diverse contexts. While crossing borders between times past, present, and future, hymns fulfil an *anamnetic, proleptic, prophetic,* and *transformative* function, thus changing people and circumstances in the present and giving hope for the future. Much is made of the 'new opportunities' for worship through digital media that were opened up during the Covid-19 lockdown. To me, the most authentic expressions of faith lived in the public sphere were not the digital services constructed for YouTube, but the actions that involved people spontaneously reaching out to their communities. It was the *communal* singing of hymns at certain places, and people making music from their balconies and windows, together with their neighbours in support of their communities, that struck me most. Singing together in public is about the shared presence and the shared public sphere where unity and support are enacted. Communal singing is also about crossing borders on behalf of those who find it hard to sing – an ethical act that makes God present for others. The spontaneous singing of well-known hymns in public was (and is), however, only possible because there are people who still have hymns engraved in their collective cultural, religious, and hymnic memory. Worship and singing (the cornerstones of organised religion) were prohibited during the Covid-19 lockdown. Children could not learn hymns spontaneously in worship or in public for some time. It contributed to the loss of an essential part of the resource of collective hymns and psalms embedded in the memory of people – those known from the *communal ritual of public worship* that are recognised in the wider public sphere. The *Most-loved-Christmas-Songs* events in Finland happening in the public sphere, certainly are events keeping a corpus of religious songs alive among the people (Innanen 2016), be it for emotional, spiritual, pastoral, historic, nostalgic, or patriotic reasons. Singing in a 'sacred tone' creates a unique virtual space of experience in which everyone can have individual transcendental experiences, but still be tied together in the communal experience of sound. Singing hymns expresses in an extracted way the relationship that different people have with the world and with others. The examples in this study show that singing hymns as an aesthetic religious practice creates a public religion that is a complex phenomenon of resonance transcending the sphere of reason. The sound, the specific atmosphere, and strong feelings of community brought about by suggestive emotionality play an essential role in this form of lived religion (Bubmann 2017: 160).

Singing and hearing hymns open up space for the presence of God. Hearing a part of a fragment of the hymn *Nun danket alle Gott* unexpectedly at daybreak one morning in a cold and bare square in a strange city was a profound experience, even if the ringing originally had a political purpose. Interpreting the experience, I can say it *embodied* the presence of God and connected me with a long tradition of faith, crossing borders between past and present; between the community and me, and between the sacred and public sphere. After the bells fell silent and the echoes faded, another religious song started to play in my head, a song by Leonard Cohen: *Ring the bells that still can ring – there is a crack, a crack in everything. That's how the light comes in…* (Tischer 2017 for religious aspects of Cohen's songs). Wind and music in the cracks can bring down walls, as illustrated by the public singing that contributed to the cracks in the Berlin Wall and broke down divisions between the East and the West. Singing brought down walls in South Africa. Songs in the cracks of trenches can bring reconciliation and hope, as illustrated by *Silent Night* being sung on both sides during the First World War 1914–1918 (Kloppers 2020a: 8–9). Echoes of hope can bridge divisions – in the dark times of suppressive systems, a pandemic, and in times of war.

Hymns do not *describe* God – hymns *embody* God. The singing of hymns as an aesthetic response to religious experiences is an *embodiment of theology*, of making God present through the bodies and voices of the performers, the singers. Performing a sounding public theology, reflecting on the singing of hymns and interpreting religious experiences and forms of lived religion, means crossing borders hermeneutically between fields of hymnology, congregational singing, performance studies, reception histories, ritual studies, sociology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies, psychology, liturgical studies, and other areas of research. It includes embodied autobiographical perspectives, and reflecting as active participants on performances of lived religion while knowing these expressions and experiences are inseparable from myth, and cultural and political powers. Singing *Mayenziwe / Your will be done* communally at the end of the live performance of my lecture in Helsinki was meant to illustrate the paper. It changed the listeners into participants singing, and listening to the singing – opening up possibilities for forms of sacred experiences (individual and communal), for *prophetic* dimensions and facets of *anamnesis, prolepsis,* and *transformation*. The singing created experiences on which one could reflect (individually and communally) to give meaning to what was experienced. Done within the setting of an academic conference open for anyone to attend, it was a living example of hymn singing in the fluid public sphere serving multiple implicit and explicit purposes. Connected to the content and meaning of the paper, it provided new opportunities for participating in hymno-theological reflection, for doing a creative form of practical theology, and for *enacting* or *performing* a *sounding* public theology through which borders can be crossed.

Conclusion

Narratives and reception histories from various contexts were woven together with autobiographical experiences of hymns, reflected upon and interpreted hermeneutically within a wider cultural context, to illustrate how seemingly insignificant fragments of sacred songs and hymns function in 'non-religious' or 'secular' contexts of the fluid public sphere. I have shown that hymns can cross borders in contexts of lived religion to comfort people through a variety of rituals in different situations and that the singing of hymns can transform people as well as political and social systems. Forming a part of the beliefs, self-concepts, values, myths, symbols, and the collective cultural memory of people, hymns are used as tools cementing ideologies and as instruments of power that construct cultural, political, social, gender, and race identities – thereby actively subverting other identities. Hymns often function as a part of calculated political, cultural, communal, and personal performances meant as propaganda to influence people politically. A hermeneutics of suspicion should accompany the functioning of hymns in public, especially where songs and hymns cross borders to accrue or create new meanings in new contexts.

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SAMULI KORKALAINEN, TUULI LUKKALA, KRISTEL NEITSOV-MAUER, PER KRISTIAN ASCHIM & JAN HELLBERG

Heritage of the Tower of Babel? Language Policies in Multilingual Contexts of Liturgical Singing

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In the beginning of the Bible there is a story that tells of the Tower of Babel. Monolingual early humankind tries to build a tower with its top in the heavens, but God sees it as a threat. To solve the problem, God confuses the language of humans, so that they no longer understand one another's speech – or singing – and scatters them around the world.

Owing to globalisation, migration, and the expanded circulation of information, multilingualism is a much-discussed topic in the present-day world (Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 1). In this article, we delve into the language policies of different churches in different historical multilingual contexts from the point of view of liturgical music. In our five case studies, we ask what languages are used for, and what kind of language policies can be found regarding liturgical vocal music.

We use *liturgical singing* as an umbrella concept that includes all vocal worship music in different churches. In four Lutheran cases, we consider hymns, spiritual songs, and liturgical melodies according to the Western tradition. We make a distinction between different song collections: a *hymnal* is an officially authorised collection of hymns, whereas a *hymnbook* refers to a book used in congregational singing in worship services without institutional authorisation. Song collections for other congregational events are *spiritual songbooks*. The practice of Orthodox worship, the context of one case, differs significantly from the Lutheran, as services are sung or recited throughout. Prayers, responses, Biblical readings, musically more complex hymns, and other texts (all prescribed by rubrics, i.e., liturgical instructions, and found in liturgical books, not composed by performers) form a continuous musical dialogue through the alternating voices of clergy, chanters, and congregation.

We take *language policy* to consist of language practices (the choices made by individual language users), values, beliefs, and ideologies about language (what languages or varieties people think should be used), and language management (efforts to modify the language practices and beliefs of people), following Bernard Spolsky (e.g., 2021: 9). Language policy can be considered at different levels of society and in different domains (ibid.). Our case studies consider all three components of language policy, with different foci in each case. "All five cases examine the same domain, religion – more precisely Christian liturgical singing – but the levels range from individual worship services to congregations and nationwide churches.

To study language policy, historical and cultural events and processes must be considered, as they have an impact on the status of languages as well as on language use (Ricento 2000: 20). We approach language as communication or discourse, which means understanding language as an activity bound to time, place, and contexts. We do not explore language as a code, or a system with a certain structure and certain properties, such as grammar and vocabulary (cf. Johansson & Pyykkö 2005: 12). The discussion of multilingual phenomena should be moved, as Monica Heller (2007: 1) says, 'towards a more processual and materialistic approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action'. This kind of approach orients language studies towards process and practice, both of which are discussed in our cases.

All our cases stay in a liturgical or congregational context, which means that we focus on communities, and topics such as music as a form of personal devotion are not included. From the perspective of community, language is communication, an interactive activity between speakers in a socio-cultural context. However, language is not just a communication tool used to transfer messages from one actor to another, it is also used to construct meanings (cf. Searle 1995: 60–61). The linguistic resources that speakers – or writers or, indeed, singers – utilise are organised in ways that make sense under certain social conditions (Heller 2007: 1). Each Christian community has its own communication needs and practices, in which one or more languages can be used. For that reason, all the cases in this article are unique. However, some parallels can be explored, even across historical boundaries.

The languages under investigation in our case studies have different statuses in their linguistic surroundings. Some of the settings comprise a demographic majority language and one or more minority languages, and the socio-political status of the languages is also noteworthy. In case study number I especially, the language in focus is a vernacular in contact with minority prestige languages (see Owens 2000: 2–4). Cases III and IV describe postcolonial situations that have their own characteristics, especially regarding former colonial dominant languages (see Phillipson 2012 and, e.g., Paksi & Kivinen 2021).

We started working together in the spring of 2022 when we prepared a joint session for the conference *Encounters at Borders and across Borders*. In that session, we presented our cases and discussed their similarities and differences. After the conference, we continued remote meetings to write the article. The entire text is co-written by all the authors; the first drafts of the case studies, however, were written by the respective researchers.

Others commented on them, and they were edited and finalised together. Based on joint ponderings, the introduction, discussion, and conclusions are mainly written by Samuli Korkalainen and Tuuli Lukkala, but edited by all five authors together.

In the first case, Kristel Neitsov-Mauer delves into linguistic boundaries in Estonian hymnody. The second case by Samuli Korkalainen deals with the language shift in Finnish-American hymnody. In the third case, multi- and monolingual hymnals in Norway are studied by Per Kristian Aschim. These three cases represent cultural historical and hymnological research. In addition, Neitsov-Mauer presents her own observations on contemporary trends. The fourth case, the multilingual situation in which Lutheran churches in Namibia and Angola live and work, stems from Jan Hellberg's ethnomusicological research. Finally, the ethnographic research of Tuuli Lukkala on the soundscapes of Orthodox Christian worship in Finland asks, amongst other things, how participants experience the possible multilingualism of services. The presentation of the cases is followed by a comparative discussion and conclusions.

The first case, broadest in its temporal scope, extending from the seventeenth century until today, examines how language policies in place under different kinds of political regimes can shape a culture of liturgical singing.

Case I: Linguistic boundaries in Estonian Lutheran hymnody – from 'which language' to 'which kind of language'

What happens with a national hymn-tradition in a land under shifting foreign rule, and shifting linguistic and cultural pressure from the power in charge? The answer is that it changes. The following is a hermeneutic look at the impact of foreign language and culture on hymn singing in Estonia. A historical perspective reveals the background of today's Estonian culture and inspires questions about how to cope with foreign influences.

Estonians have constantly been living in a field of linguistic tension due to several external influencers. For about a thousand years, different foreign languages have been used in Estonia and Livonia: both Low German and German, sometimes Swedish, and later Russian (Raag 2009: 241). The Estonian language was spoken by the native inhabitants. After the Reformation, it was clear to the missionaries that to get to the heart of the indigenous people, it was necessary to know the local language, and print material in it. This material might initially have seemed foreign to the locals, but, over time, it became familiar, and certain traditions were even adopted from outsiders. The first Estonian-language hymnbook was published in 1637, and towards the end of the seventeenth century, under Swedish rule, two hymnbooks in Estonian and their reprints were printed, all ten of them edited by Baltic Germans.

After the Great Northern War (1700–1721) Estonia was ceded to the Russian Empire. The political change was associated with a theological turn: the Lutheran Orthodoxy was replaced by Halle Pietism. The influence of politics in hymns can be clearly seen: the Russian Tsar was open to Pietism, and Halle's theologians had a great influence in Estonia (Winter 1953: 255), as a result of which eighteenth-century Estonian hymnals were compiled by Pietist pastors (Paul 1999: 412–413). Since the second half of the eighteenth century, the Herrnhut Brethren also had a significant impact on the national spirit of Estonia. While the Brethren are generally praised for their closeness to the people, they, on the other hand, contributed to the demonisation of Estonian folk songs that were considered savage by the Brethren and therefore remained in their disdain (Veske 2018 [1869]: 6; Rutiku 2003: 255).

The privileges of the Baltic-German nobility were preserved under Russian rule: Baltic autonomy (*Balti erikord* in Estonian) was in force. The strength of Baltic Germans was that they communicated with Estonians in Estonian. From the last third of the nineteenth century, Russians tried to impose their ideas through Russianisation policies, and in Russian, and as a result, the German way of singing (rhymed verses vs. alliteration) became an integral part of Estonian culture (Scholz 1990: 151) and Estonians started to write such hymns themselves. Under Russian rule, Estonian culture tended more to grow towards German traditions; Russian oppression thus pinned the Estonians to German culture (Rutiku 2003: 259). The influence was so relevant that the Estonian Orthodox Church also published rhymed books for singers at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The current Estonian Lutheran Hymnal *Kiriku Laulu- ja Palveraamat*[1] was published in 1991, in the first months of the restoration of Estonian independence (the first independent republic was founded in 1918). The Hymnal received a cultural award at the time, drawing attention to the hymn as a cultural phenomenon (Salumäe 2017: 39). Today, congregational singing plays an ambivalent role in Estonian society. According to the survey of the Estonian Council of Churches (Elust, usust ja usuelust 2020), 67 per cent of people in Estonia never go to church, and only 5 per cent attend church services every week. This means that only a small number of people are exposed to singing and using hymnals in church. On the other hand, there is a certain metaphysical relationship with hymn singing in Estonian society: it has a recognisable flavour of the past, which is perceived as positive because it is traditional, and traditions are gladly kept alive in Estonia.

1 The first edition was printed in Toronto in 1991 and the second edition in Tallinn in 1992. The Hymnal was issued by the Consistory of EELC in cooperation with the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church Abroad (now reunited).

In 2016, the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC) started to prepare a new hymnal to be published in 2025 (Uus laulurааmat n.d.). When editing the new hymnal, the prime question is how the final product could reach as many people as possible. The project is taking place at a time when Estonia is one of the least religious countries in Europe (Religionszugehörigkeit 2019), and less than twelve per cent of Estonians declare themselves being members of the Lutheran Church (Annual information for employees of the EELC). The task of compiling a hymnal for all age groups and people with a broad variety of church experiences thus becomes a special challenge. For financial reasons, a hymnological companion (that describes the context and the authors of the hymns) must be dispensed with, which seems particularly disadvantageous due to the lack of church education in Estonia. Consequently, when there are only a few 'customers', the editors must be aware of the language and words used in the hymnal. One hidden problem is a lack of understanding of Christian vocabulary in general (Sooniste & Schihalejev 2022: 13).

There will be 900 hymns in the new Hymnal. About 400 hymns of the current Hymnal will be taken over into the new one, which is problematic since some of these are not broadly known and their language is old-fashioned. One of the compiling commission's aims is to ensure that the new Hymnal is better understandable in the current time. It should show a wide range of songs and hymns from different traditions and, as the former Secretary of Commission Eerik Jõks says, it should be less a book of history (Jõks 2018), yet at the same time it should remain a traditional Lutheran hymnal. A separate topic is chorale singing concerning the rhythm of the language. Jõks (2021) points out that especially in the case of translated hymns, it is very important to pay attention to Estonians' own idiomatic awareness. At the moment, the tendency is to rhythmise the chorales, to make them rhythmically near to the originals (most of them are of German origin). According to Jõks, isorhythm (all notes of the same length) gives a better chance to perceive the rhythm of the Estonian language and thus makes hymns easier to sing.

In present-day Estonia, linguistic problems are not overcome – they have simply changed. Formerly hymns had a foreign origin and had to be translated into Estonian, whereas today, Christian vocabulary must be explained to a non-Christian reader. Hymn singing lives in its own niche, but it still has a certain influence on the cultural meta-level. For this reason, there is a need to study closely what kind of language will keep hymn singing alive in the future.

The Estonian case exemplifies the singing culture in a vernacular language emerging and finding its way through the influences of minority prestige languages. The situation is different when we study the self-adopted language policies within minority immigrant groups in the midst of the language and identity politics of the surrounding dominant culture.

Case II: The language change in Finnish-American hymnody

This case study delves into the transition from the use of the Finnish language to the English language in the assimilation process of Finnish immigrants into American society from the 1920s onwards. The topic is studied by exploring the contents of songbooks produced by Finnish churches in the United States with a close and critical reading. The analysis is made from the perspective of generations using Mark Mullins's (1987) ideal-typical three-stage model of the life-cycle of ethnic churches: from (1) a monolingual stage when the language of the old home country is used, through (2) a bilingual stage to (3), another monolingual stage, this time referring to the language of the host country.

In the late nineteenth-century United States, Finnish Lutherans founded many churches, even though in Finland, spiritual movements operated within the same church. The *Suomi Synod* was formed to be a counterpart of the state church of Finland, whereas the *National Church* had its origin in the Evangelical Movement. The Laestadians formed *Apostolic Lutheran* congregations and gradually split into several groups (see, e.g., Kaukonen 2014). As Mullins (1987: 323) describes, in the first typical stage of an ethnic church the congregations were monolingual. These churches started to print spiritual songbooks, the first volumes of which were only in Finnish because all of their editors were first-generation immigrants (see Appendix 1). The use only of Finnish was an unquestioned language policy; 'the Finnish mind' and the Finnish language were seen combined (see, e.g., *Siionin Lauluja* 1919: 5).

Most Finnish immigrants from the turn of the twentieth century were single young adults, who started families in the United States. Consequently, large numbers of their children reached adulthood in the 1920s and 1930s (Hummasti 1990: 87, 89) and embraced the idea of being 'Americans of Finnish descent' rather than Finns (Jalkanen 1969: 211–212). Accordingly, English-language songs began to be included in many Finnish-American hymnals and songbooks (see Appendix 2). One could easily think that the reason was practical; people got married to other Americans and used mostly English in their everyday lives, which led to the domination of English. On the contrary, there was tension between two competing strategies: preserving Finnishness and becoming American.

From the 1890s to the 1920s, nearly 23 million new immigrants arrived in the United States. To transform them into Americans, educational, cultural, and political practices were set in place by multitudinous institutions, organisations, and individuals under the term 'Americanisation' (Hahner 2017: 22, 30, 54). Finnish children also went through the English-language Americanising educational system. In addition, in the 1920s, it was often taken for granted that immigrants stood on a lower plane mentally, morally, and spiritually than the American-born due to their inability to speak English and follow the local customs (Wargelin 1924: 15–17). From this perspective, it can be assumed that at least some Finns wanted to show that they can sing in English as well.

At all events, the Finnish churches entered the second stage of Mullins's (1987: 325) model, in which ethnic churches are forced to start responding to the tension caused by cultural assimilation. This means using the language of the host country alongside the mother tongue. The first Finnish songbook that included an English-language section was *Siionin Lauluja*, published by the Suomi Synod in 1919. In the Apostolic Lutheran songbooks, English sections started to be included from the 1930s onwards. According to Mullins (1987: 325), ethnic churches are more characterised by organisational rigidity than being open to change. Accordingly, the ultimate reason for including English songs in Finnish songbooks was the need to keep the increasingly Americanised youth in their own ethnic community. The gradual language shift was considered inevitable, and in this situation the policy was to introduce the language used by the youth (see, e.g., *Siionin Lauluja* 1924: 7–8; Heikkinen 1986: 154). To preserve the ecclesiastical tradition of the home country, even the Finnish worship agenda was translated into English, and the liturgical melodies were modified so that it was possible to sing them in English (Order 1935). Therefore, this kind of policy was aimed at protecting an ethnic religious group.

In the Suomi Synod, a profound assimilation took place, whereas most Apostolic Lutherans only adopted the language. The English-language sections of the songbooks of the Suomi Synod consisted only of songs taken from American hymnals, while the English versions in the Apostolic-Lutheran collections mostly were translations of Finnish hymns and songs. One reason for this was that the Suomi Synod cooperated with other American churches while the exclusive Apostolic-Lutheran groups only maintained close relations with their counterparts in Finland.

The language policies of the Finnish-American churches gradually began to differ from each other. Some Apostolic Lutheran groups are still in the second stage of Mullins's model: Finnish is even now used to some extent, and Finnish-language songs and hymns are included in a few present-day songbooks. Many Apostolic Lutherans have close connections with their Laestadian counterparts in Finland, as a result of which many couples are married across the Atlantic Ocean. The arrival of a substantial number of new immigrants offers an opportunity to continue ethnic religious services (Mullins 1987: 327–328).

In the third stage of the life-cycle of ethnic churches, structural assimilation and the disappearance of the first generation leads to monolingualism, at this point referring to the language of the host society. The future of the churches is usually either organisational dissolution or reorientation (Mullins 1987: 327). The first option was put into practice when the Suomi Synod and the National Church merged with other Lutheran churches in the 1960s. After this event, neither church published Finnish-language songs but used the English-language hymnals and worship agendas of their new organisations. The decision for the merger was made in both churches independently, which indicates an advanced stage of structural assimilation into American society. Apostolic Lutheran groups that switched to using only English – also in their songbooks – can be considered examples of reorientation, and their connections to Finland decreased significantly or were completely severed.

The Americanisation policies resulted in many, if not all, ethnic churches assimilating into the dominant culture, ceasing to use their original language. Another case of strong policies to assimilate minority cultures and languages is that of Norway, where, however, the story of languages in hymnbooks and hymnals has a different ending.

Case III: Multilingual and monolingual ways of caring for minority languages in hymnals of the Church of Norway

This case study examines two different ways of caring for minority languages, i.e., the languages of the Sámi indigenous people, and the national minority language of the Kvens, in hymnals and hymnbooks in the Church of Norway: by publishing monolingual hymnbooks and hymnals in the respective minority language, and by including hymns in minority languages in the main hymnal of the Church of Norway. Three Sámi languages are officially recognised as indigenous languages in Norway: North Sámi, Lule Sámi, and South Sámi. The Kven language has since 2005 been recognised as a language distinct from Finnish, the language of a national minority with Finnish roots (Niemi 2010: 152–154).

A brief review of the publication history of monolingual hymnbooks and hymnals in minority languages is followed by a short quantitative analysis of the hymns rendered in minority languages in the most recent common hymnal in the Church of Norway, *Norsk salmebok* 2013, which, alongside hymns in Norwegian, includes hymns in the four recognised indigenous and minority languages, almost always with parallel text in Norwegian, or else Swedish or English.

The context of this hymnbook history consists of the Norwegianisation policy in 1851–1959, the revival of the Sámi languages in the following period, and the revival of the Kven language since the 2000s (Sannhet og forsoning 2023: 386–424, 494–506). Torjer Olsen, Professor in Indigenous Studies at the Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø, speaks of three strategies in dealing with Sámi and indigenous themes in textbooks in the wake of the Norwegianisation policy: a strategy of *absence*, a strategy of *inclusion* – on majority premises – and a strategy of *indigenisation*, taking more of an indigenous perspective (Olsen 2017: 72–73). In this context, the categories will be applied to the two ways of caring for minority languages in hymnbooks and hymnals.

Monolingual hymnbooks and hymnals: A hymnbook in North Sámi was published as early as 1870, the same year as the first official Norwegian hymnal, *Kirkesalmebog* edited by M.B. Landstad. Due to its union with Denmark (1523–1814), Norway did not develop a hymn-writing tradition of its own until well after 1814. The first North Sámi hymnbook was extended and revised in 1878. Both these versions were edited by J.A. Friis, a professor in Sámi and Finnish, assisted by Lars Hætta, a North Sámi. A third edition from 1897 was edited only by Norwegians and included many new hymns translated from the versions in the first official hymnal in Norwegian of 1870. The first hymnal in North Sámi, authorised in 1957 and published in 1960, was also a work only of Norwegians and was to a large extent a North Sámi version of the revised Norwegian hymnal from 1926. However, this *Gir'ko-Sál'bmagir'ji* never became popular, and could not replace the old hymnbook from 1897. The spelling in *Salbmagirje* 1897 was revised in 1996, and this hymnbook is still in use. The latest publication in North Sámi is a hymnbook supplement from 2005 (Aanestad 1965; Wiig 1965; Gir'ko-sál'bmagir'ji; Holter 2020; Skaadel, forthcoming).

A hymnbook in Lule Sámi, *Julevsáme sálmmagirjje*, was published in 2005, and a hymnbook in South Sámi, *Saalmegærja*, in June 2023. Both were joint works of the Churches of Sweden and Norway. A new hymnbook in the Kven language, *Kväänin virsihäfti*, was also published in 2022. Since only a few people among the Kvens use the Kven language, this hymnbook is multilingual, rendering texts in Norwegian and Swedish as well as in Kven, Finnish, and even the Meänkieli language (the Finnish spoken in the Torne Valley in Sweden).

The most recent monolingual hymnbooks published in the 2000s can be designated as part of a 'strategy of indigenisation', creating hymnbooks from the point of view of the indigenous people. This might even be the case regarding the early North Sámi hymnbooks from 1870 and 1878. The 1897 hymnbook and the 1957 hymnal serve the same function as the two older books, but were formed more from the Norwegian majority perspective, accompanying inner missionary efforts towards the Sámi from the 1880s onwards. Making hymns in North Sámi available to the Sámi speaking members and congregations in the Church of Norway, but edited and selected on the premise of the majority, makes the two latter books examples of the 'strategy of inclusion'. The North Sámi people are included in the singing of the Norwegian hymn tradition translated into the North Sámi language.

The multilingual hymnal: The Norwegian 2013 Hymnal includes fifteen hymns in each of the four languages, i.e., North, Lule, and South Sámi as well as the Kven language (overview in the index of *Norsk salmebok* 2013: 1421–1422). Out of the total of 60 minority-language hymns, 34 are common Norwegian hymns translated from Norwegian into Sámi and Kven languages. This makes it possible to sing in the Sámi and Kven languages some central Norwegian hymns, distributed throughout the liturgical year. This practice corresponds to Olsens 'strategy of inclusion'.

The ‘strategy of indigenisation’ is at play in this hymnal in three ways. (1) Some Sámi hymns are included and made known to the Norwegian-speaking members of the Church of Norway. Ten out of sixty hymns are originally written in one of the three Sámi languages. (2) Eight Sámi and Kven folk tune melodies are linked to texts translated into the Sámi and Kven languages. (3) Translations of German or Finnish hymns which were used within the spiritual traditions of the Lule Sámi and the Kvens are now made available in Norwegian. These are hymns from the eras of Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism, transferred mostly through the Laestadian tradition.

The two ways of caring for minority languages in hymnbooks and hymnals in the Church of Norway are complementary. Together they might strengthen the recognition of minority languages in the hymn singing and liturgical life of the congregations in the Church. Both monolingual and multilingual hymnbooks and hymnals can serve strategies of ‘inclusion’ and ‘indigenisation’ in different ways. This depends on to what extent the hymnbooks and hymnals are edited on the premise of the majority or minority.

The current role of the language of the former colonial power varies in different post-colonial settings. Unlike in Norway, in Namibia and Angola the former languages of power do not have a dominant status in the churches. The linguistic situation is more complex, and values guiding the language strategies of church bodies and individual church members are varied.

Case IV: Layers of language for local worshippers in nation-state Christian churches in post-colonial southern Africa

When the earliest missionaries, Lutherans from Finland, arrived in the Owambo region in present-day Northern Namibia and Southern Angola in 1870, they began translating Christian texts. Today, Lutherans in Namibia and Angola have the Bible, hymnals, and services in local languages. However, as the language situation is complex and changing in both countries, questions of languages in worship and music are still acute in their churches.

This section derives from a research project on localisation and performed values in worship musicking. Musical localisation can be seen as ‘the process whereby Christian communities take a variety of musical practices – some considered “indigenous”, some “foreign”, some shared across spatial and cultural divides; some linked to past practice, some innovative – and make them locally meaningful and useful in the construction of Christian beliefs, theology, practice, and identity’ (Ingalls et al. 2018: 3). Participants promote localisation so that they are increasingly able to perform the values that they would really wish to perform in their worship musicking. However, the relations between values within a social group can be such that a dominant value can override another value that also is considered important (Robbins 2013). Here, parts of the project's ethnographic material – interviews, recordings, and participant observation made mainly in Namibia, but also in Angola – are used to investigate the localisation of language in worship and music, and the values that motivate this process, in two churches.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN; abbreviation pronounced 'Elsin') has 600,000 members in Namibia's population of 2.5 million and is its largest Christian church. This is due to its origins in northern Namibia, which is more densely populated than the more arid central and southern regions. Namibia has had three official languages: German when it began as German South-West Africa, Afrikaans and English when it was a South African protectorate after the first World War, and only English since independence in 1990. When speakers of Owambo languages[2] first encountered missionaries they did not know German (the language of their colonial rulers) nor Finnish (that of the missionaries), so collaboration took place only in local languages. Modernisation and urbanisation have changed this. Today, some younger Owambos do not fully relate to their parents' mother tongue and would wish to worship in English instead. In 2017, a parish and choir member in Northern Namibia, born in 1962, said:

> *...even my own children. My first-born, we speak Oshindonga very well with him, but when it comes to praying, he wants to pray in English.* [...] *He said he can't express himself in prayer in Oshiwambo. But other things we speak Oshiwambo.* [...] *My daughter...* [...] *... when I'm speaking she says: 'No, no* [...]*, I can not understand you.' 'Why?' She's saying it in Oshiwambo, yes, but she said 'No, your words are too deep.'* [. . .] *...in the elders' meeting at the church, when we are thinking of introducing English services in the morning, we thought of the young people.* (Interview conducted by Jan Hellberg.)

Today, many urban ELCIN parishes have an early Sunday service in English in addition to the main service in a local language. In a changed language situation, the same values – identification and understanding – that once motivated using only local languages now motivate a different choice. This is also localisation; as English has become some younger participants' preferred worship language it, too, has become local.

More than one local language is used in ELCIN. When Finnish missionaries and Owambo Christians started worship among speakers of the Kwangali language in the Kavango area in the Northeast in the 1920s and 1930s, hymns in Oshiwambo were used to

2 As a group, these languages are called Oshiwambo ('the Owambo language'). Of the seven languages only two, Ndonga and Kwanyama, are written languages.

start with. This is roughly equivalent to Danes singing in Swedish or Estonians singing in Finnish. In the 1950s, when hymns in Kwangali were introduced, some asked: ‘Are we supposed to understand what we are singing?’ (Personal communication with Håkan Hellberg, a medical missionary in Kavango 1958–1963). In this situation – caused by practical reasons – identification, or mystic holiness, became a more dominant value affecting language choice than understanding.

Today, a full hymnal in Kwangali (*Marusumo*, ‘Hymns’) furthers localisation in the Kavango region. ELCIN’s main hymnal (*Ehangano*, ‘The Covenant’) contains mostly hymns in Oshiwambo (that is, in Ndonga or Kwanyama) but also a few hymns in Kwangali, furthering the inclusion of the Kwangali-speaking minority in the church. In ELCIN services in towns in central Namibia, Oshiwambo is the main or only language and *Ehangano* is used, due to the strong numerary dominance of Oshiwambo speakers. In 2017, near the end of a service in Namibia’s capital Windhoek, a Kwangali speaker bypassed the pre-planned hymn set and the leadership of the official hymn starters, and started a praise hymn in Kwangali which often is sung at the closing of a service in his home area, and is included in *Ehangano*. Everyone joined, with a slight general surprise at this gesture of civil disobedience in the otherwise very orderly ELCIN way of celebrating, a gesture that seemed to say: ‘Remember, we Kwangali-speakers are here, too!’ (Jan Hellberg’s field diary and video recording). The value that spurred this linguistic intervention was identification rather than understanding; Kwangali speakers living in central Namibia are generally fluent in Oshiwambo.

With 60,000 members in a country of close to 30 million, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Angola (*Igreja Evangelica Luterana de Angola*, IELA; abbreviation pronounced ‘Iela’, with the vowels pronounced as in Portuguese) is small compared with ELCIN. It has been formed through several separate mission endeavours: old German and ongoing Finnish missionary influence as well as border-crossing mission work by ELCIN members in the south, and different European Lutheran influences further north. These influences have merged as the state has accepted the registration of only one Lutheran church. IELA works in diverse regions using Portuguese in its organisation but local languages in services. Many different hymnals are used; parishes use the most suitable hymnal available in their language, often from some other denomination. Only Oshiwambo speakers in the far south use a Lutheran hymnal, ELCIN’s *Ehangano*. Understanding is the driving value, and in most cases overrides Lutheran identification. In 2017, IELA’s general secretary expressed a wish that, in the future, his church would have its own unified Lutheran hymnal (Personal communication with the general secretary). This would combine understanding and Lutheran identification. However, a great challenge will be to make this hymnal not only token-wise representative of every linguistic group, but also practically usable for worshippers of every language within the church – to make it serve not only inclusion, but also localisation.

Like in Namibia and Angola, in the increasingly multilingual Orthodox parishes in Finland understanding what is sung is an important factor when decisions are made regarding languages of worship, but other considerations, such as identification, can be at play as well.

Case V: Languages in the soundscapes of Orthodox Christian worship in Finland

Parishes of the present-day Orthodox Church of Finland are considerably more multicultural than they were a few decades ago (Martikainen & Laitila 2014: 165–170). Despite increased human mobility, this is exceptional among countries where Orthodox Christians are in a minority, as it is common that Orthodox people of different ethnic backgrounds have each formed their own churches (Chaillot 2006: 21). In Finland, however, most Orthodox people regardless of their background attend the same churches and services of the Orthodox Church of Finland together.[3]

Finnish has been used as a liturgical language since the latter half of the nineteenth century (Harri 2013: 33) and it gradually replaced Church Slavonic as the main language of worship in Finland between 1918 and the 1950s (Hämynen 1995: 10–11; Hirvonen 2017: 101–104). Today, alongside Finnish, parishes strive to use other languages spoken or understood by the congregation (Martikainen & Laitila 2014: 165, 169–170). A dozen languages can be heard in divine services – some regularly and some occasionally.

Some services are announced in advance to be in a certain language or certain languages. However, whether the main language has been specified or not, small parts can be said or chanted in other languages as well. As the structure of a given type of service is rather constant, it is possible to follow it independently of the language(s) used.

Tuuli Lukkala's research concerning Orthodox Christian worship in Finland considers languages as a part of the soundscapes of participants of worship. Soundscapes are here defined as auditory or sonic environments and the hearer's subjective perceptions and experiences of them (Thompson 2002: 1–2). The research draws from soundscape studies, and within the broader context of cultural studies, the methodology applied is ethnography (e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson 2019: 1–20) with reflexive realist assumptions (e.g., Hammersley 1992: 52–54; Fine 1999: 535–539). The research design is an applied one:

3 There are some parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) in Southern Finland (see Martikainen & Laitila 2014: 159, 165–166).

relatively short fieldwork periods were spent in all 21 parishes of the Orthodox Church of Finland (see Lukkala 2020: 287–289). It is also insider ethnography, as the author is a long-time member of the community studied.

Based on the ethnographic research material, consisting here of field diaries and semi-structured interviews, three brief examples of different ways to consider languages in worship are presented. First, the use of different languages within a single service may be regarded as bringing together people from different linguistic backgrounds and uniting them. A Finnish-speaking interlocutor (congregation member) first tells Lukkala in an interview why they like to hear other languages in a service which is mainly in Finnish: 'It increases the community feeling. And also that there are others than me and people of my language [...] that the perception kind of broadens, or a glimpse of, that we are much more. Or that we are *something else, too*.' They go on to consider what it would feel like if there was a fragment in a familiar language within an otherwise unintelligible service: 'I guess it feels like you have been taken into account. And it kind of engages you better, in a way it is like an expression of love, that we share this common thing [...] or it is something unifying.'

On the other hand, monolingual services performed in different languages within the same parish may be thought of as reinforcing the divisions between groups defined by language:

> *In this parish* [...] *per cent of members are non-Finnish speakers. We wanted to serve in Church Slavonic so that they would not go to the Moscow Patriarchate. But if we do all-Church Slavonic services, there will be a ghettoing, two completely different groups. Then again if we use Slavonic* [in a service not marked as a Church Slavonic service], *there are people whom it disturbs.* (Tuuli Lukkala's field diary, conversation with a priest and a cantor, Finnish-speakers.)

Experiences of individual participants in worship, however, vary greatly, as we have already seen in the previous excerpts: some people like to hear other languages, others may be disturbed by their use. The third example demonstrates that the importance that one attributes to having services completely or partly in a certain language may depend, for example, on one's language skills, which can change over time. This interlocutor, in whose parish there are multilingual services but none completely in Church Slavonic, reflects on their own experience of the familiar language of worship losing significance as they have learnt Finnish:

> *It is interesting to listen to Church Slavonic, it reminds you of the home country, your own culture, it is important but not as necessary as* […] *years ago when we moved here* [laughs] *and didn't understand anything* […]
>
> *we are very grateful, back then there were* [services all in Church Slavonic]*, and then it was important* […]
>
> *but there are other people who perhaps moved here a few years ago, for them it is still important, that is why it would be good to have such Slavonic services.* (Interview with a Slavic language speaker, a congregation member, conducted by Tuuli Lukkala.)

Language policies regarding worship, more or less consciously adopted and adapted to circumstances, can thus be experienced to have different, even opposing effects. For example, multilingual services may bring a feeling of unity in a multilingual community, whereas separate monolingual services may divide people into linguistic groups that have little contact between them. However, other considerations make the situation more complex, as certain languages may be frowned upon by some, and monolingual services in one's own language can have strong meanings, especially for recent immigrants.

A church is a community that has a theologically motivated goal to bring people together while caring pastorally for each individual's needs. The question of language use can highlight how, in our increasingly multilingual societies, this can lead to tensions felt at the level of practical activities in the church, as the church actors and authorities strive to negotiate the multifarious and sometimes conflicting experiences and values of individual persons as well as the needs and aims of the community to reach an ever-deeper unity.

Language policies and liturgical singing: Comparison of case studies

Changes in political powers and authorities in the course of history shape liturgical singing, among other spheres of ecclesiastical culture, and the use of languages plays an important part in these processes. The case studies presented provide ample examples of the effects of language policy – language practices, language beliefs, and language management – on cultures of liturgical singing.

In Estonia, the use of the vernacular paved the way for the popularity of the German culture of hymn singing, and its popularity increased as a reaction against attempts to force the use of Russian. A different case of the role of language as a preserver of national, cultural, or ecclesiastical heritage is voluntary immigration to a new host country. In the early nineteenth-century United States, Finnish immigrants either adopted the ideas of Americanisation or saw it more important to maintain Finnish ecclesial heritage, as a consequence of which Finnish hymns, songs, and liturgy were translated into English. In both the Estonian and Finnish-American cases, the musical tradition and its language were separated from each other by translating the texts into Estonian and English, respectively, but the outcomes were different. The Baltic-German musical tradition remained, whereas that of the Finns was assimilated.

The pattern of Americanisation of the Finns resembles the Norwegianisation process towards the Sámi and Kven minorities. It took place in the same period, and the loss of the mother tongue was central. Nevertheless, there was a remarkable difference: in Norway, the government pursued the assimilation of native populations into a linguistically and culturally uniform Norwegian population – although some clergymen supported the minorities' use of their own language in religious matters (Sannhet og forsoning 2023: 200); whereas, in the United States, many Finns embraced the Americanisation policy and pursued its goals themselves. Such a policy is effective only when people internalise the need for assimilation and no longer pass on their linguistic heritage to their children. In the United States, only a few Apostolic Lutheran songbooks of today include individual songs in Finnish, whereas in Norway, the Sámi and Kven hymn traditions lived on in their own contexts, showed resilience and could be revived after the Norwegianisation policy had been abolished.

Language policies are always closely tied to social and political circumstances. The linguistic practices that characterise multilingualism, on the one hand, arise out of certain social conditions, which lead people to interact in particular ways in order to live together. On the other hand, multilingual practices shape new ways of interacting socially, culturally, and politically (Patrick 2007: 111). In Namibia, in a service in the dominant local language Oshiwambo, a hymn inserted spontaneously in the local minority language Kwangali is an example of using a different language as a marker of presence, a reminder of heterogeneity. This kind of multilingual language practice arises from local congregants' language beliefs and can have an impact on forming strategies of language management in their church as well. In the Orthodox Church of Finland, multilingualism in services is used consciously in striving to consider, acknowledge, and engage speakers of different languages.

The authorisation of hymnals, whether mono- or multilingual, is language management happening on the level of a whole church or a group of churches. Where authorised hymnals are in use, the possibilities for language management on more local levels, such as in a congregation, are more limited. If these kinds of hymnals are not available, as in IELA in Angola, or if the church authorities publish only the most basic music books in the dominant language and thus lack, in effect, an official language policy, as in the Orthodox Church of Finland, local congregations can be a more important level on which language management takes place.

The availability and usability of books, music, texts, and translations are examples of practical and quite universal questions related to multilingual services and liturgical singing. Such issues may lead church members to make compromises and give up some things to attain others. Sometimes these compromises are linguistic and contain the possibility of leading to a language shift, as in the case of Finnish Americans, sometimes theological. The situation with hymnals in Angola shows that language can be more important than denominational differences in the teaching expressed in hymns. Furthermore, in the United States, many of the English-language songs that the Finnish immigrants included in their hymnals came from denominations other than Lutheranism.

Language can be seen as a basic human right of its speakers, in which case attention is focused on the promotion of linguistic rights. This leads to minorities being considered equal language users in the community (Johansson & Pyykkö 2005: 17). Language can also be seen as a resource, which means that language is not only the resource of its speakers, but also the wealth of the entire community (Johansson & Pyykkö 2005: 18). In Norway, the inclusion of hymns in minority languages in the main hymnal, with parallel text in Norwegian, leads to enrichment both ways: hymns from the Norwegian hymn-tradition become available in the Sámi and Kven languages, and hymns in Sámi and hymns from Finnish traditions become available in Norwegian. In Namibia, recognising old and present-day linguistic minorities in the church (those who wish to use Kwangali or English in addition to the now dominant Oshiwambo) is a continuation of an earlier, extremely important shift in language policy: the recognition of local languages in face of colonial oppression, to which missionary and church language policies contributed decisively. Considering language a human right, it is curious that the new Estonian hymnal, being compiled at present, is not going to include hymns in any South Estonian minority languages, although there is a tendency to activate the use of these languages (see, e.g., Koreinik 2011).

Some differences in our cases also stem from theology. Since the Reformation, Lutherans have strived for everyone to understand everything in worship. This well-intentioned principle has contained a problematic obverse when several languages have not been used in the same service, and thus the speakers of different languages have been separated into their own groups. This happened in the nineteenth-century United States, where every language community had their own churches, and did not merge until English had begun to dominate. A common language thus brought ecclesiastical unity.

The Orthodox, on the other hand, have no theological obstacles to using several languages in the same service. Indeed, liturgical manuscripts show that there have been multilingual services for centuries (e.g., Galadza & Neroth van Vogelpoel 2019: 40–42).

Moreover, many Orthodox churches use old liturgical languages (such as Byzantine Greek and Church Slavonic) that participants only partly understand (discussion on comprehensibility vs sacrality of language in, e.g., Liddicoat 2012). However, in many Orthodox contexts where the vernacular is used, including Finland, discussions about understanding the liturgical language used, using several languages – and, for example, using music composed in a certain language as opposed to music adapted from another language – continue until this day, which means that the issues are far from resolved.

Because the texts sung in Orthodox worship are prescribed mostly by the same rubrics everywhere, it is possible to follow a service and know at least parts of it even if one does not understand the language. In Lutheran worship, hymns are chosen for a particular service, which means that the theological content of the service varies, and a congregant cannot know what is said if the language is unfamiliar. Nevertheless, Lutherans also can face, and get used to, situations in which everybody does not understand everything, as was the case for the early Kwangali-speaking churchgoers, who had to sing in another language for a long time and became content to do so.

Even for present-day Lutherans, it no longer seems necessary to always sing everything in their own language. For example, short Taizé songs, sung in many languages, are increasingly popular in many countries. In Estonia, they will also be included in the forthcoming hymnal, which means that they will be 'canonised'. This example, as well as the exclusion of minority hymn traditions from the earlier Norwegian hymnals, emphasise the potential of the authorisation processes of hymnals to either promote or limit multilingualism.

Conclusions

We have outlined different language policies in different contexts of liturgical singing through five cases. Some of these policies are voluntarily adopted, and some are forced by inevitable social and cultural changes or external pressure. We endeavoured to describe and understand, even criticise, the different language policies under study, striving to find resemblances and dissimilarities. We have found many similarities, yet each case is unique due to different ecclesiastical, cultural, social, and political contexts and history.

According to the Old Testament, after the attempt to build the Tower of Babel, tongues were mixed, but people continued to praise God in different languages. We have given a glimpse of understanding of what it means in the context of liturgical singing. A desire to praise God 'correctly' and in the 'right' language makes it challenging, and as shown, there are different options to operate in a 'proper' way, whatever it means in varying historical and cultural contexts. Regardless of the language community or its size, the language of liturgical singing is always tied to theological and stylistic expressions, typical of each denomination. The unique style of liturgical singing in each church is the bearer of certain traditions and therefore important for the community. Sometimes a certain style or familiar practice can make a musical expression understandable even if the language is foreign. Language policies have an impact on how different traditions of liturgical singing are kept alive and new ways of singing are created and adopted. Unlike in the story of the Tower of Babel, different languages are not a problem in today's multicultural world. On the contrary, multilingual language policies can bring speakers of different mother tongues together, enrich liturgical singing, and create unity.

As our research perspective was tightly focused on language policy, there are several possible directions for further research. For example, Lutheran hymn-writing and the relationship between traditional and contemporary songs should be explored. Many aspects of the relationship between language policies and liturgical singing could be studied further as well, and we hope that scholars of liturgical music will be inspired by our case studies to include issues of language policy in their research.

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Appendix 1

Finnish-language spiritual songbooks and hymnals edited and published in the United States. (If there are several editions, only the first one is listed.)

		Apostolic Lutheran	Suomi Synod	National Church	Baptist	Congregationalist	Methodist	Pentecostal
Hengellisiä Lauluja. Laulanut Paavali Ervasti y. m.	n.d.	x						
Amerikan Pyhäkoulun Laulukirja	1902		x					
Wähäinen Wirsi-Kokoelma	1903	x						
Rauhan-Sointuja	1906						x	
Siionin Säweliä	1906					x		
Sointuja Siionista	1911						x	
Siionin Matka-Lauluja Siionin Kansalle	1913	x						
Hartauslauluja	1915		x					
Kokoelma Hengellisiä Lauluja Jumalanlapsille	1916	x						
Matkalauluja	1916		x					
Matkalla. Taskulaulukirja	1918		x					
Uusia ja Vanhoja Armon Lasten Lauluja	1918	x						
Uusi Pyhäkoulun ja Nuorison Laulukirja	1918						x	
Itä-Amerikan Ev.-Luth. Nuorisoyhdistysten Liiton Laulukirja	1920		x					
Uusi Hengellinen Laulukirja	1920	x						
Matkalla Jerusalemiin. Kokoelma hengellisiä lauluja	n.d.				x			
Hengellisiä Lauluja ja Wirsiä	1923	x						
Viimeisenajan Pasuuna, eli Valittuja Lauluja	1927							x
Pieni Kokoelma Hengellisiä Lauluja	1929	x						
Virsikirja Amerikan suomalaisille ev.-lut. seurakunnille	1941			x				
Uusia Rauhansointuja	1947					x		
Uskovaisten lauluja	1948	x						

Appendix 2

Bilingual (Finnish and English) songbooks edited and published in the United States. (If there are several editions, only the first one is listed. The only exception is the second edition of Hengellisiä Lauluja ja Virsiä because the first edition was monolingual, i.e., only in Finnish.)

		Apostolic Lutheran	Suomi Synod
Siionin Lauluja	1919		x
Pyhäkoulun Laulukirja	1924		x
Amerikan Siionin Laulut ja Virret	1930	x	
Hengellisiä Lauluja ja Virsiä, 2nd ed.	1934	x	
Lauluja ja Virsiä Pyhäkouluille ja Kodeille	1934	x	
Uusia ja Vanhoja Hengellisiä Lauluja	1935	x	
Siionin Laulut ja Virret	1945	x	
Hymns and Songs	1948	x	
Spiritual Hymns and Songs	1974	x	
Uskovaisten virsiä	1961	x	
Songs of Believers	1981	x	
Selected Hymns and Altar Services	2005	x	

MIIKKAEL HALONEN

Polyhymnia's Agent: Musical Humanism, Exordial Rhetoric, and the Veneration of Antiquity in the Works of Michael Praetorius (1571–1621)

VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
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Introduction

The Middle-German composer Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) has been considered a cultural agent between the Renaissance and Baroque periods, as well as between southern and northern Europe (Forchert 1959: ix–x; 2021; Rode-Breymann & Spohr 2011: 15; Limbeck, Schmitt & Wirth 2022: 13). Even if this is true, the viewpoint has hitherto concerned transferring only musical styles and practices. Praetorius's agentive role over time and place is still a more multi-faceted phenomenon than one might assume. His works, both writings and compositions, also reflect extramusical, educational, and ethical dimensions. I argue that one can find certain ideals of historical continuity and inevitable imitation of ancient things (*res antiquae*) in Praetorius's writings. In other words, these ideals have to do with the ethos of sincere veneration of antiquity, not only in musical practices but in all literary culture, both ecclesiastical and civic life. His literary, poetic, and rhetorical ideals reach far, from ancient Mount Parnassus[1] to the early modern organ loft of Wolfenbüttel's Court Chapel.

In this article, my aim is to outline and present an overview of how Praetorius positions himself within his contemporary culture of musical humanism, reflecting rhetorical ideas and historical-philological intentions. Musical humanism is an analytical concept which refers to rediscovering traditional traits of ancient music and literature of antiquity, i.e., the classics and the history of Christianity in Europe (Palisca 2006; Forgács 2010). To achieve the aim, I will ask, firstly, how Praetorius relates his views with antiquity in his own network; secondly, how he applies conceptions of classical educational ideals such as notions of rhetoric in the *studia humanitatis*[2]; and thirdly, what kind of plausible purposes

1 This is the mythological home of ancient gods and goddesses such as Polyhymnia who I am referring to in my text. She was one of the nine muses, the muse of sacred poetry and polyphony among else. As a daughter of Mnemosyne, her epithets also cover the veneration and admiration of antiquity in general.

2 The *studia humanitatis* consists of the educational curriculum tracing back to the Middle Ages and ancient

there are in his organ music, especially in the midst of multiple views on liturgical organ music among the different European confessional denominations of the time.

The definition of the term 'antiquity' is slightly complicated in the writings of Praetorius. First of all, it includes the European culture and literature of the pre-Medieval time. However, to Praetorius, the antiquity seems to imply at times both ancient and recent authors[3], as far as they represent venerable Christian tradition and honest intentions of the classics. In the ecclesiastical environment, he uses a three-part analogy and states that exemplary antiquity can be labelled with the presence of mystical dignity of sanctity (*sanctionis mystica dignitas*), the usefulness of dogmatic intention (*intentionis dogmatica utilitas*), and purposeful old-established diligence (*functionis paradigmatica sedulitas*) (*SM* I: *Epistola dedicatoria*). Since ancient musical sources are still mostly unknown or deficient, I am relying here primarily on extramusical sources and poetical principles of the classics that were known to Praetorius.

On the whole, this article thus encompasses educational and spiritual spheres in trans-epochal perspectives. It deals with dialogue which crosses the temporal, geographical, and cultural borders, especially in literature and liturgy in European history. Firstly, I begin by defining some methodological issues and relevant contextual factors. Then, in the following chapters, I will analyse and explain some rhetorical ideas, as well as plausible historical-philological intentions in Praetorius's works, and compare them to the sources used by him.

Methods and sources for tracing Praetorius's historical-philological intentions

I will apply a philological method in order to examine and contextualise the sources in the educational curriculum of the time of Praetorius. Traditionally, philology is based purely on sources, not so much on theories that may even appear anachronistic. That is why in reference to the music-related works of Praetorius, I will use the term 'musical philology' to emphasise the musical hermeneutics which aims at interpreting the content, context, and purpose of his musical works. Musical philology is a broad topic but, in this article, my methodical point of departure is not so much that of analysing the scores or

Rome including the seven liberal arts (*septem artes liberales*): astronomy, mathematics, geometry, music, rhetoric, grammar, and dialectic, with emphasis on the last three language-related disciplines (Butt 1994: 3, 46–47; see also *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*). That also resulted in the concept of *musica poetica*, which means music inspired by poetics and was especially important at the time of Praetorius (see Lippius 1533; Burmeister 1606; Praetorius 1619).

3 By mentioning the recent authors, Praetorius surely refers at least to Martin Luther (1483–1546), Johann Walter (1496–1570), and Lucas Lossius (1508–1582) (see more below).

editions but, instead, primarily extramusical sources since they reveal the atmosphere and attitudes in which the music itself was composed. As Warren Kirkendale writes, historical musicology aims to deal with the concrete content of the sources and their meaning. In other words, the philologist-historian's major responsibility is 'to rediscover and reveal authors' intentions at the time of writing' (Kirkendale 2007: 598). Hence, the method is to explore historical-philologically the educational environment, personal network, and the literature that the authors such as Praetorius have been referring to; consequently, in the Renaissance and Baroque literature the notion of imitative nature in art is crucial (Kirkendale 1997).

In this article, my analytical framework owes a lot to the article of Kirkendale (1979) in which he studied the far-reaching links from the Cinquecento's humanist circles of Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) to the Leipzig Thomaskantor Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). However, my research material here differs from Kirkendale's. The material in this article consists of a three-part series of books by Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1615–1619) (abbreviated below as *SM*), especially the first book (*SM* I) dealing with the history of ecclesiastical and secular music, as well as his preface to his collection of liturgical music, *Leiturgodia Sionia Latina* (1612) (abbreviated below as *LSL*). The latter was planned to be a polyphonic arrangement of the *Psalmodia* of Lucas Lossius[4] but was never published, and only the preface survives (Leaver 2017: 329–331). In addition, I will focus on his two chorale ricercars for organ, published in the collection *Musae Sioniae VII* (1609) (abbreviated below as *MS*). These sources, the writings and organ chorales of Praetorius have not hitherto been studied from the viewpoints of classical rhetorical literature and Renaissance humanist education. Still, to understand the intentions and ideas of the composer which has been the primary aim of the historical-philological study of music since the time of Praetorius himself, one is supposed to examine written sources and music – *mutatis mutandis* – analogically from the literary perspective. Namely, according to Ernst Robert Curtius (2013: 436), 'from the Roman Empire to the French Revolution all literary art rests upon school rhetoric'.

An article related to Praetorius was published recently about the importance of scrutinising historical indices of libraries. In German this is called *Sammlungsgeschichte* (Limbeck 2022: 57) and it can have a great impact on historical musicology. In fact, it can supply the aim of understanding the cultural context and literature that inspired the authors. It can serve as a complimentary tool even if it does not necessarily open pathways to all the sources that the authors had access to. In the case of Praetorius, there are no traces left from his own personal library (Groote & Hakelberg 2016). Praetorius also

4 Lossius worked as a cantor in Lüneburg's Latin school (*Johannisschule*) and was also a colleague to Praetorius's uncle Christopher Praetorius there (*LSL*).

writes that his friends assisted him with collecting the information from the sources (*SM I*: 159). Thus, biographical information is invaluable since he had personal connections as well as contacts with other institutions, such as Latin schools and courts around the Electoral Saxony (e.g., collaboration with the composer Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) in Dresden). Hence, it is relevant to focus on the analogies of ideas that occur especially in the educational context of Praetorius's network and in his use of concepts. This can happen through phraseological comparison as well. In other words, some wider insights and close reading of the similarities of ideas, phrases, and conceptual connections are needed.

In the footsteps of his family – the biographical and educational background of MPC

Michael Praetorius was a composer, organist, writer, and court music director who lived primarily in Wolfenbüttel. He was born in a small town, Creuzburg, in 1571 and for that reason he uses the abbreviated signature of MPC (Michael Praetorius Creuzburgensis) in his works. These initials also served as a Latin motto for him: *Mihi Patria Coelum* ('Heaven is My Fatherland').[5] Moreover, it is a well-known fact that Praetorius's father was a pastor and friend of the cantor Johann Walter in Torgau. Walter was a keen supporter of Luther's work and offered guidelines for the Latin school in Torgau. He served there just before Praetorius attended the school and Praetorius himself studied under the guidance of the cantor Michael Voigt, Walter's successor. In the previous research, the Gnesio-Lutheran[6] network of colleagues, teachers, and disciples has been seen as clear evidence for Praetorius's acquaintance with the views of Luther's mature theology (Gurlitt 1915/2013; Vogelsänger 2020: 9; Forchert 2021). Furthermore, his writings, prefaces, and poems[7] seem to support Lutheran views.

The church order of Torgau (*Verordnung der Visitatoren zu Torgau*, 1575), which included the school agenda, states that Luther's Catechism was read, and his hymns were sung daily in Torgau. Besides that, pupils were instructed to read classical treatises and texts such as Cicero's *Letters to His Friends*, and the *Bucolics*, a collection of pastoral poetry by Virgil. Regarding the texts of Cicero, the school order explicitly states that pupils should

5 An allusion to *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Phil. 3:20) was pointed out recently by Wellner (2011: 63). For more analyses about the mottos and the *symbola* of Praetorius, see also Wellner 2022.

6 Gnesio-Lutheran is a name attributed to those that defended the writings and the continuity of Luther's views; e.g., regarding the Lord's Supper and other disputes between Lutherans and so-called Philippists who followed Melanchthon's compromising utterings on the doctrine and openness of Calvinism. See Hasse 2011.

7 There are also some hymns with texts from Praetorius's own hand included in the *Musae Sioniae* I–IX.

be instructed to understand principles of construction and disposition, and how Cicero employs exemplary figures and rhetorical artifices (*exempla der Figuren; artificii rhetorici*; see Sehling 1902: 677–678). After studying in Torgau, Praetorius went to the Latin school in Zerbst and then to university – in the footsteps of his elder brothers – firstly in Frankfurt (Oder) for a couple of years, and then in Helmstedt (Vogelsänger 2020: 9–15). In general, the purposes of education in the Lutheran regions of the time encompassed investigating and imitating the illustrious oratory of both recent and ancient authors, such as Luther, Cicero, Terence, and Livy (Chytraeus 1562: B2).

However, Praetorius ended up in the position of court chapel organist in Gröningen instead of becoming a pastor, and was soon entrusted with the post of court music director at the court of Heinrich Julius in Wolfenbüttel (Vogelsänger 2020: 18–37). That was also the hometown of the well-known theologian Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) who had provided the church order for the parishes in the area. Praetorius obviously became acquainted with Chemnitz's son Paul Chemnitz who also wrote epigrams in several works of Praetorius (see chorale collections *Musae Sioniae* VI, VII, and IX, published in 1609 and 1610). Interestingly, these epigrams echo not only biblical epithets but also reminiscences of classical poetry and mythological examples such as Apollo and the nine Muses, as well as Orpheus, which were held in esteem and used as metaphorical emblems at the time.[8] That is why I now move on to examine some sources for Praetorius's inspiration.

Trans-epochal and trans-local encounters within European literature and musical humanism

Renaissance humanists were used to utilising encyclopaedias as an indication of their erudition. The encyclopaedias were in fashion at the time when the epistemological principle was based on the premise that all human and theological knowledge could be collected on bookshelves (see Limbeck 2022). Praetorius follows the humanist tradition and uses, for example, Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae* (1565) and other volumes from Polydorus Virgil's *De Inventoribus Rerum* (1499) to describe ancient customs and instruments. When dealing with Latin poetry, he consults many times the Italian Renaissance humanist Julius Caesar Scaliger and his Poetics (1561). That action could not be a coincidence since Scaliger's treatise can be defined as a summa of Latin poetry modelled after Quintilian's summa of oratory, *Institutio oratoria* (Marsh 2004, 667–668). Even though these books were written in a different confessional context, Praetorius

8 For more information on the emblematics, especially in the frontispieces of Praetorius's publications, see Wellner 2011; 2022.

obviously regarded them as useful and relevant encyclopaedias – at least in such cases when he consults them. Möller-Weiser also makes a relevant proposal regarding Praetorius's abundant use of the books (e.g., *Melopoeia ex Zarlino*, 1582; *Exercitationes* 1600) of the Thomaskantor Sethus Calvisius (1556–1615) from Leipzig (Möller-Weiser 1993: 18). Praetorius had connections with Calvisius and likely with his successor Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630) (Vogelsänger 2020: 97). Much of Praetorius's information about the musical thinking of Gioseffo Zarlino[9] must have come through Calvisius and Leipzig's numerous book printers (Limbeck 2022: 63–65).

Now I will present some relationships between literature and music related to the articulation and composition of a rhetorical piece of art. Praetorius points out that music-making has much in common with the articulation and metrics of language. He refers to Quintilian who writes that the origin of all music is in the poetic inspiration that became communicated by measuring poetic feet with the ears of the listener (*SM* I: 166; Quint. *Inst.* 9,4,114). In fact, continuity can be seen in the relationship between music and textual matters over centuries since Plato (Harrán 1986). Praetorius also deals with articulation both in the prefatory text of his *LSL* and in the *Praetermissa* of his *SM* I. He speaks about musical, grammatical, and rhetorical accents[10] relying on the information provided from the studies of Munsierus, Johannes Avenarius (1516–1590), and Valentin Schindler (d. 1610) (Praetorius 1614; see also Fleming 1979: 304).[11]

Praetorius must have been impressed by trans-epochal encounters of musical ideas, the text-music relationship, and musical modulation based on the notions of ancient rhetoricians as well as Renaissance humanist scholars. Perhaps this is why he criticises some ahistorical musical practices of Scythians or Neoterics[12] who do not love music in its whole richness of tradition (*LSL*). Obviously, he does not underestimate previous musical innovations and the art of earlier eras. On the contrary, he believes that contemporary music has received its brightness from the narratives and testimonies of antiquity. Under these circumstances, both secular music and ecclesiastical music – according to Praetorius

9 Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590) was an Italian music theorist and composer. His contributions cover, e.g., contrapuntal theory as well as employing the system of twelve modes presented by the Switch music theorist and humanist Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563).

10 The musical accent means the same as musical modulation (*modulatio sive melodia*), i.e., the ornamentation of the chant; the grammatical accent means the right articulation and pronunciation (*gustus*) of the syllable which makes the uttering sweeter (*prolationem reddit suaviorem*); and the rhetorical accent means either restraining (*retinaculum sive frenum*) the metric constituent or combining (*connexio*) the two sayings under one accent (*SM* I: 150).

11 Don Harrán has discussed thoroughly these connections from Renaissance humanism to Hebrew cantillation as well as Zarlino's role in transmitting this knowledge from philologists to music theorists (Harrán 1988).

12 Both of these names originate from ancient times when people unrelated to Romans and living in the steppes were referred to as Scythians, whereas novelty-seeking poets were called Neoterics.

– imitate the ancient tradition. He states that contemporary music of the time has hardly been improved any further than the music of ancient times – in its grand delight and delightful grandness (*SM* I: 160).[13] In fact, Praetorius represents here quite an archaic ideal: we are indebted to the old times.

As far as the Ciceronian construction of rhetoric and notions on *exordium* – that is an introductory part of a speech – are concerned, there can be found some fascinating analogies in Praetorius's writings. Already Aristotle calls an introduction or proem of an epideictic speech an *exordium* (in Greek: προοίμιον). An epideictic genus was the only one of the three *genera causarum* of speeches (epideictic, deliberative, and forensic) which was abundantly used in sixteenth-century Europe (Kristeller 1947: 273). By character, it is demonstrative and used for praise or censure. Aristotle compares the *exordium* of epideictic speech to the prelude played with the flute (*Ars rhetorica* 3, 14). When speaking about profane or societal music (*musica politica*), Praetorius also refers to Pindar's second Olympian Ode and adds how Apollo first touches the lyre and then the Muses start singing.[14] This implies that instrumental music preceded singing and all pure music was seen as having godly, spiritual, and sublime origins, corresponding to what the Roman poet Ovid writes:

> *The God dwells in us, by his operation we are heated up,*
> *from the heavenly thrones comes the Spirit.*[15]
> (*SM* I: 168; Ovid. *Fasti* 6,5)

Regarding the ecclesiastical music, in the first part of *Syntagma*, the caput for the explanation of liturgy applies similar terminology and descriptions of functionality as in Ciceronian rhetoric. In Ciceronian rhetoric, the *exordium* is divided into two parts: *principium*, and *insinuatio* (Cic. *inv.* 1,15,20; see also *ad Her.* 1,4,6; Quint. *Inst.* 4,1,42; Bower 1958: 224). These parts have affective functions. Praetorius considers the introductory psalmody of the church service (e.g., Matin) as evoking benevolence and attention, which corresponds to what Cicero writes about the function of *principium* (*SM* I: 62–63; Cic.

13 'Plurimum inde [ex testimoniis antiquitatis, philosophorum, poetarum ac philologorum] lucis hodiernae afferetur Musicae, non tantum Ecclesiasticae, quae illam idololatricam pie et sancte abominatur et majestate sua πολλοῖς παρασάγγαις post se relinquit sed etiam Politicae liberaliori quae illam licite et honeste imitatur iucunda gravitate gravique iucunditate ei vix ac ne vix quidem cedit.' N. B. In the end of this quote, Praetorius uses a chiastic rhetorical figure from ancient eloquence, χίασμα as well as expression *vix ac ne vix* which occurs without one emendation in Cicero's *Letters to Friends* that Praetorius has studied in Torgau. Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9,8,2: '*vix aut ne vix*'. Similar occurrences are quite usual also elsewhere in his Latin texts.

14 'prooemium citharaedorum est proprium. Prius enim quam cantiones instituant, modos quosdam faciunt quibus introducat et attentos reddant audítores' (*SM* I: 362)

15 'Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo, sedibus ethereis Spiritus ille venit.' The prosaic translation in English is provided by the author.

inv. 1,15–18). At the same time, Praetorius adds the viewpoint of *insinuatio* exhibiting the purpose of congregants receiving aptness for being taught (*docilitas*). He seems to reflect what Cicero says, rather, that it is used to win the attention of a hostile audience by approaching the arguments more subtly and indirectly (ibid.). What is different is that Praetorius ascribes the attainment of docility and attentive affects solely to godly inspiration. Namely, concerning liturgical exordia in general Praetorius writes:

> *Finally, by beginning thus, they promise each other with faith, spontaneous attention to God in the performance of liturgical worship, and at the same time, they introduce docility into the church, along with attention, since they will surely sing and say with their lips and mouths only that which is divine and pleasing to God, and inspired by him.*[16] (*SM* I: 63; transl. in Fleming 1979: 149)

The eloquence with indirectness and politeness imitating polished epithets of the classics was still in common practice in the early modern era of Praetorius (*HWR* Vol. IV: s.v. '*insinuatio*', 421). The phenomenon can be compared musically to fugal expositions (Kirkendale 1979: 25). In this essay, I will later discuss why this notion about *exordium* is relevant for understanding the plausible purposes of Praetorius's organ music as well.

Therefore, Praetorius's own understanding of liturgical music for the breviary seems to reflect the continuity of ancient rhetorical patterns. He applies rhetorical dimensions to the liturgy and uses the same kind of rhetorical vocabulary that authors have been using for centuries, still flourishing in his cultural and educational environment. That seems to be natural based on his understanding of speech and music (*concio et cantio*) being closely related counterparts to each other (see Leaver 2007; Arnold 2014). According to Johann Anselm Steiger, the role of rhetoric became even closer to the public sphere and individuals after the Reformation due to the rebirth of German sermons which served congregations, schools, pastoral education, and – always most importantly – proclaiming the Gospel (*doctrina evangelica*). Among other theologians of the time, David Chytraeus regarded grammar, rhetoric, and dialect as necessary servants (*necessaria adminicula*), and common tools (*communia organa ac instrumenta*) for composing knowledge of heavenly and secular things and, for example, Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) followed him (Steiger 1995: 534, 538–539).

16 'Hoc exordio denique de Deo gratuitam in cultum Leiturgicum attentionem sibi cum fiducia pollicentur simulque Ecclesiae cum attentione docilitatem insinuant quod nimirum nihil nisi divinum Deoque gratum et ab ipso inspiratum labiis et ore sint cantaturi et praedicaturi.'

Church music, tradition, and innovation beyond the confessional and cultural borders

Even though Praetorius criticises – in agreement with the Lutheran Book of Concord (e.g. *CA* XXI, XIV; *SA* II,2) – the sacrifice of the Mass and the invocation of the saints in the Roman church, he still wants to underline the value of the past and traditional church music. He tells how he utilises the Medieval liturgical commentary, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, written by Durandus (1230–1296) in his *SM* I. In addition, relying on the information provided by Polydorus Vergil (c. 1470–1555) and William Perkins (1558–1602), he appreciates the impact of Pope Vitalian (d. 672) on the use of organ music in liturgical services (*SM* I: 69, 143–144). He also lists remarkable hymnwriters from earlier periods of church history, including authors such as Ephrem the Syrian from the East, and Ambrose and Augustine from the West. He even regards Moses as the first hymnographer, preceding the Greek authors (*LSL*). The overall principle for him seems to be recognising the roots (*ad fontes*). At the same time, he notices that the contributions of Ambrose and Augustine, for example, have occurred in the pre-Gregorian era, before the errors and Popish blasphemy as he understands them (*SM* I: *Epistola dedicatoria*). Still, he says elsewhere that he is not afraid of supporting any skilfully and piously established musical practice, although it could label him as a papist (*LSL*). In any case, it is obvious that Praetorius is of the same opinion as Augustine whose letter he cites. Defending the use of all good and revitalising things that are not contrary to faith, Augustine writes:

> *Those things which are neither contrary to faith, nor to good morals, and which in some way exhort a better life, should not only not be condemned, but praised and imitated wherever we see them being established, or recognise that they have been established.*[17] (Aug. *epist.* 55,18, cited in Fleming 1979: 16.)

Furthermore, in the third book of his *Syntagma*, Praetorius tells how Dutch and Italian masters have been composing good examples of innovative music (*SM* III, *Praefatio*). It is not certain, but it seems he had heard about the Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's (1562–1621) school from Amsterdam from the North German organists, such as Jakob Praetorius (1586–1651), who had been studying under Sweelinck. Naming some Italian composers and organists, he refers to such examples as Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli, but also praises the organist Hans Leo Hassler from southern Germany. The link to Italy via Hassler, who studied under Andrea Gabrieli in Venice, cannot be emphasised fully

17 'quae non sunt contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores, et habent aliquid ad exhortationem vitae melioris, ubicumque justini videmus, vel instituta cognoscimus, non solum non improbemus, sed etiam laudando et imitando sectemur' (*Patrologia Latina* Vol. 33: 221).

enough. Michael Praetorius met him several times, already in Gröningen in 1596 during the organists' renowned convent, and then in Nürnberg (Vogelsänger 2020: 29, 74).[18] According to Paul Walker, it was likely that Praetorius formed his conception of ricercars and fugues based on what was told to him by Hassler (Walker 2000: 119).

At the same time, the Franco-Flemish school must be seen as another prototype of Praetorius's work. Namely, Praetorius highly appreciates the compositions of Orlandus di Lassus, who wrote an extended output of polyphonic motets with enormous rhetorical qualities, and who likely taught Giovanni Gabrieli in München as well (*LSL*; see Haar 2001). Lassus receives an important role in Praetorius's preface to his *Leiturgodia* – to the extent that it inspires Praetorius to acknowledge his aspiration and veneration of antiquity. But what does this mean in the context of Lassus? At least, according to Praetorius himself, he admires Lassus's use of classical texts, and prosody (e.g., accentuation and pronunciation) in text-based music; that is, positing the grammar of the syllables correctly, corresponding to the metrics of poetry and music (*LSL*).

In addition, the veneration of antiquity concerns polyphonic and figural music (*figuraliter*) that Praetorius holds in high esteem (*LSL*). In my view, Praetorius calls for parallel practices that reflect both tradition and innovation, both old and new, and both imitative counterpoint and musical accents. This means utilising the text-painting diminutions of *seconda prattica* but still in the tradition of polyphonic music (*prima prattica*) as it occurs in Gabrieli's sacred concertos, and in the works of Lassus. In turn, Vincenzo Galilei (1520–1591) mostly favoured free texture, monody, and folksong-like characteristics, which seems quite contrary to Zarlino's intentions of composing polyphony (Kirkendale 1979: 33). Perhaps the emphasis of the debate between Galilei and Zarlino about the previously mentioned stylistic ideals still results in over-categorising the two styles, so that instrumental works of the older style seem to be absolute and of speculative origin; i.e., mere mathematics not allowing prosodic nuances besides numerical proportions. Why would there be any reasonable argument for treating polyphonic instrumental works as if they had deviated from text-related poetic inspiration and affective-rhetorical matters? Were these matters regarded as only a part of the new style?

Praetorius seems to think the contrary and finds rhetorical analogies for figural music by exploring both recent imitative music and ancient authors.[19] Namely, besides the mutual rhetorical features of chant and speech, he links musical modulation to the ancient invention of imitating birdsong and refers also to the poet Lucretius. Praetorius

18 This was recorded by Andreas Werckmeister (1645–1706). See his report *Organum Gruningense redivivum* (1705).

19 In fact, in Burmeister's *Musica poetica* (1606), Lassus's works are exhibited as the best model for musical figures. Overall, the North-German theorists derive much of their rhetorical knowledge from, e.g., Quintilian's treatises. See also Wilson, Buelow & Hoyt 2001.

says, referring to Scaliger's *Poetics*, that after recognising the rhetorical and speech-related content (*cantus*), ancient people were at the same time inspired by the sweetness of the diminutive embellishment of birdsong (*modulatio*)[20] that offered pleasure to the ears and excited the desires of the heart (*SM* I: 166–167). Hence, for Praetorius, all music has its roots in nature created by God and in the spiritually rich and heartfelt inspiration of poets, which is illustrated and imitated both in oratory and birdsong (or in other musical creatures of nature).

What else does Praetorius mean with his veneration of antiquity? I argue that it does not only have practical and musical implications, but also extramusical and ethical dimensions. In the beginning of his writings, Praetorius often emphasises how he cannot appreciate any anti-musical, lascivious, and superstitious practice – he thinks that they are done in vain. In the first paragraphs of his preface to the *LSL*, he warns about lasciviousness and levity. Also elsewhere, he warns about intrusion and calls for sedulousness in one's own realm, referring to Saint Paul and regarding him as a Teacher of Gentiles (*gentium Doctor*) (*SM* I: 155; 1 Tess 4,11). He also quotes some verses from an anonymous Prussian poet to underline that personal talents and expertise should not interfere with the business of others (*SM* I: 158). Surely, this information mirrors the Lutheran understanding of one's own calling, as well as the ideal of Renaissance humanism that, for example, Charles G. Nauert points out: rediscovery not only of the ancient literature as such, but also of the values, knowledge, and wisdom, both classical and Christian (Nauert 2006: 204–205, 221).

Hence, Praetorius wants to say implicitly that it is a task for music lovers to study the depth of knowledge and history of music. People are supposed to consult them in musical matters both in church and in society, despite where the musical awareness of tradition and beneficial innovation come from. As was said above, Praetorius himself recognises the admirable inventions of the classics as well as the innovations of Italian theorists and composers: for example, close text-music relationship, polychoral performances, and figures for ornamentation (*SM* I; III; see also Kite-Powell 2011). This admiration becomes obvious in Praetorius's efforts in maintaining figural music based on chorales and inspired by the classical inventions of antiquity. With this issue, he turned again to Italy and picked up the collection *Il Transilvano* (1593; 1609) by Girolamo Diruta (ca. 1554–1610). He translated a great part of Diruta's preface which can be regarded as an apology of organ music and lifted it to its sublime (*SM* I: 140–143).

The admiration of such organ music differs from the discourse of Praetorius's Calvinist opponents and their polemics on the Italian example of using organ music in

20 In this article, the term *modulatio* does not refer to modern modulation (of keys) but was an integral part of composing and performing poetic music according to Praetorius's view, as stated above; musically this can be most sufficiently clarified and illustrated by exploring the treatises on ornamentation (see, e.g., *SM* III; Soehnlein 1975).

the Mass. According to Irwin (1983), Calvinists were concerned about secular music and ended up removing organs from churches. In turn, Lutherans defended the use of *musica instrumentalis* in churches, nonetheless allowing no space either for levity or abuse in organ music (ibid.; Herl 2008, 149; see also *SM* I: 116–118). One can find several examples from the Lutheran services during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that combine instrumental music and congregational singing (see, e.g., Herl 2008: 130–131). Especially among Roman Catholics and Lutherans, there were keen supporters of organ music in liturgical services already in the seventeenth century. Many pastoral clergymen from Lutheran parishes were even citing Praetorius's writings in their organ sermons, which were given, for instance, at the inauguration of a new church organ (Braun 2019; Schiltz & Braun 2022).

Above, I have offered some biographical and cultural information that describes the education, background, and personal network of Praetorius. Clearly, certain extramusical and educational ideas, especially classical ethos, rhetoric, and Italian innovations on modulation and diminution were constructing the context of his compositions. Next, I will study how these theoretical conceptions and their applications can be found in practice and in the purposeful use of Praetorius's music at the time. According to Praetorius, all instrumental music must be contrived purposefully: primarily for glorifying God, and secondly for delighting people (*SM* I: 436).

Praetorius's organ ricercars as a linkage between liturgical and rhetorical traditions

I argue that in the core of Praetorius's musical thinking, there is an exordial nature of imitative texture, especially in the liturgical context; however, this is once again a multifaceted phenomenon. As I have shown above from the classical sources, *exordium* can be divided into *principium* and *insinuatio*. Musically speaking, their stylistic features distinguish them either as free (Aristotelian) or strict (Ciceronian); in other words, either to improvisatory or imitative preludial matters. This ancient notion is repeated also in the books of German music theorists such as Dressler (1563: Caput XII) and Burmeister (1606: 72). Furthermore, rhetorical artifices related to imitation such as diminution and augmentation were associated with an *exordium* of epideictic oratory by Quintilian, and of gravity by Cicero (Cic. *inv.* 1,15–18; Quint. *Inst.* 4,1,15; see also Kirkendale 1979: 38). In the classical rhetoric, three rhetorical styles, *humile*, *mediocre*, and *grave* can be identified (Cic. *orat.* 3,177) of which the last was in favour by Renaissance musicians (see Kirkendale 1979: 33). Perhaps this explains why Zarlino also himself wanted to maintain the polyphonic tradition, as well as Lassus and Praetorius.

Kirkendale has explored these exordial elements, Ciceronian distinctions, and the characterisation of different types of ricercars in Bach's *Musicalisches Opfer* (BWV 1079). According to him, both the freely improvised (*principium–plenum*) and the imitative (*insinuatio–nuda*) types of preludial ricercars still continued to flourish in the Baroque non-dance keyboard repertoire (Kirkendale 1979: 38). Defending the importance of the latter type that mirrors the gravity of Ciceronian style, he writes:

> *Beginning with Andrea Gabrieli, the imitative ricercar soon became the most elaborately contrived music of its time, a true counterpart of Ciceronian oratory, characterized by contrapuntal artifices such as augmentation, diminution, inversion, and syncopation of the themes.* (Ibid.: 29.)

Where can these exordial functions of music be found in Praetorius's works? I focus my attention on his two chorale ricercars for organ, due to their gravity, contrapuntal complexity, and catechetical chorale texts. Exhibiting the old style with the rich use of diminution, they echo what Praetorius himself was inspired by in chorale music: the gravity of *cantus* as well as the sweetness of *modulatio* (*gravis suavitas et suavis gravitas*; see *SM* I: 11). At the same time, I compare certain aspects of liturgical organ music traditions between the Roman Church and the Lutherans.

In the decrees of the Council of Trent, it is stated that the Credo should be sung in a way that none of the verses are played by an organ in the Roman Mass (Fellerer & Hadas 1953). This custom occurred in the Lutheran liturgy as well. In Wolfenbüttel, there was no organ accompaniment during Luther's German Credo hymn (*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*) in the Mass (Sehling 1955: 144). Still, many composers, such as Praetorius, as well as Hans Leo Hassler before him and Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654) after him, composed organ works based on German Credo. Praetorius's setting is the longest and most consistent chorale ricercar (Marshall & Leaver 2001), written in fugal style but with occasional Italian coloratura passages and diminutions, as well as his other organ work on Luther's catechism chorale about the Holy Baptism, *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*. It takes almost a quarter of an hour to play through each of these works, so that alternatim practice, that is playing interludes to the hymn verses, is not a plausible solution. Praetorius does not give any clues either for the use or function of his organ chorales in his prefatory notes but encourages skilled organists to transfer them to the new German organ tablature and to play them. However, there is no reason to assume that they were not at all part of liturgy but only didactic material without practical use even if there cannot be found any mentions of them in the church order for the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

I suggest that these two catechism chorale ricercars for organ by Praetorius might have been intended to be played not only in the Mass but also in connection with the catechism sermons and Vespers – besides the possible use outside liturgical occasions. Due to the length of the works, they did not necessarily have enough space only in the Mass. The Matins and Vespers were arranged on common Sundays and festival days; in village churches, Vespers were to be held on workdays or on the Eves of Sundays and other festival days. In Wolfenbüttel, according to the church order of Jakob Andreae and Martin Chemnitz (1569), the Sunday Vespers were preceded by catechism sermons, and the Matins were followed by catechism sermons on Luther's catechism and hymns from Luther's hymnal (Sehling 1955: 142, 153–155). What would be more obvious than the use of these organ works as an *exordium*, more precisely as an *insinuatio* to the sermons concerning the Credo and Baptism?

There is even some evidence from the early Reformation period that organ motets, in other words, chorale ricercars[21], were played right after the reading of the Scripture or Luther's catechism before the sermon, either in the Mass or in the Vespers (Dremel 2015: 21; Schneider 2015: 141). One document from the 1530s describes playing the organ just before the congregation and choir begin to sing the German Credo *a cappella* in the Mass in Eisenach and Wittenberg (see Schneider 2015: 141; Wolfgang Musculus's *Itinerarium*[22], cited in Rietschel 1892: 20). Interestingly, more evidence comes from Halle's Laurentius-kirche, where there was a grand organ motet played after reading the Gospel and before the Credo of the Mass. This source[23] dates to the 1580s (cited in Dremel 2015: 19–24). In turn, in Hamburg the catechism organ chorale *Vater unser im Himmelreich* was played after the sermon (Porter 2002: 62). These examples support the claim that there could have been similar practices elsewhere. Certainly, at least Wittenberg's liturgical practices were known to many Lutheran clergymen, including Praetorius's father, who had been studying in Wittenberg in the 1530s under Luther and Melanchthon (Gurlitt 1915/2013: 3–35).

Could the organ ricercars have been used in connection with the catechism sermons on Sunday mornings in Wolfenbüttel? Considering the estimated timetable of Matins before the Mass beginning at seven o'clock, the church order says quite strictly that the Matins begin at five o'clock in the morning and the catechism sermons at six o'clock. Before the sermon, there was antiphonary singing of psalmody, as well as a reading of the Epistle, and then, *Te Deum*, Benedictus, and Collect were to be sung. They hardly took one hour. Before all the congregants sang Luther's hymnal and listened to the one-hour sermon, there would have been a relevant time for organ music as well. Even playing a longer organ chorale was a comprehensible habit since the sermon was also long, and

21 For consistent naming of the organ chorales, see Marshall & Leaver 2001.

22 'Post hanc lectionem ludebatur in organis, succinente ecclesia: wir glauben all in eynen Gott'.

23 'Nach dem Evangelio wirdt das Patrem intonirt, welchs der Chor allewege sol absoluiren. Darnach soll der Organist das teutsche Patrem, oder sonst ein grauitetische Moteten schlahen, der Chor aber undt das gantze volck sol den glauben singen.'

the music, singing and playing, were an integral counterpart of preaching according to Praetorius. Likewise, the organist should have been there because the Mass began an hour later. As can be expected, it was likely all the congregants including the musicians were supposed to be already there listening to the early sermon. If so, the organ chorale as an *insinuatio* would also emphasise the Lutheran understanding of the importance of catechism sermons and catechism hymns. These organ chorales were published in the collection (*MS* VII) which, in fact, begins with several catechism chorale settings for choirs. Furthermore, during the decades and centuries following Praetorius, music has also carried out an important function in Lutheran catechesis as is well documented in the context of Bach (Leaver 2007: 277–282; 2010). However, it seems that a similar practice of liturgical use of musical settings on catechism chorales was established much earlier, already in the network of Praetorius.

The intentional use of chorale ricercars as suggested would reflect the classical and musical rhetoric in the continuity of the long liturgical traditions. Namely, this kind of practice of playing ricercars was already in use in Italy in the sixteenth century, not just before the sermon but before the Eucharist, the main part of the Roman liturgy; the Offertory (*Offertorium*) was thus an exordial introduction (*insinuatio*) to the Eucharistic (Kirkendale 1979). What would be a better way to also awaken sleepy citizens in Wolfenbüttel early on Sunday mornings than by an organ insinuation in which voices imitate each other like singers! Namely, Quintilian writes that the *insinuatio* was used especially when listeners were getting tired[24] (Quint. Inst. 4,1,48). The crucial part of the Lutheran church services, the sermon on the word of God, should be preceded by musical solemnity, i.e., dignity and gravity (*gravitas*), that was appropriate to ecclesiastical ceremonies in order to serve spiritual purposes and evangelical doctrine (Chemnitz 1603; see also Dremel 2015: 19–24). Praetorius's organ compositions on Luther's catechism chorales can be regarded as *insinuatio*-type ricercars that express the required dignity and gravity of *exordium* for the catechesis. They encourage people little by little and prepare them for instructive arguments of homilies. Both also employ contrapuntal techniques such as augmentation and diminution of the chorale melody, which is analogous to the characteristics of epideictic *exordium* (Quint. *Inst.* 4,1,15).

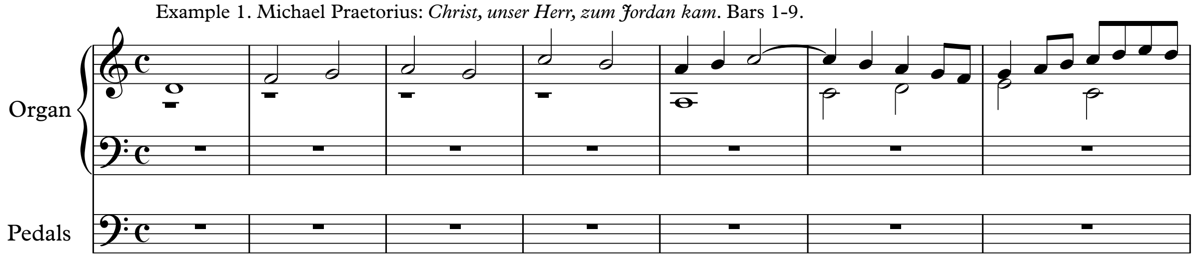
The next musical examples (based on the edition of Beckmann 1988) demonstrate the *insinuatio*-type solemnity of the imitative sections at the beginning (Example 1), as well as in the stretto passage in diminished manner (Example 2) which is preceded by some diminution and birdsong-like embellishment. The voices have also been composed in a way that the cantus firmus can be played on a different manual or in the pedal with a relevant solo registration. Moreover, the augmented and diminished theme passages occur

24 'si dicendum apud fatigatos est'.

by turns with joyful *corta* figures[25] and bright Ionian harmonies right there when Luther´s chorale text (verse 1) speaks about the new life of a person who has been baptised into the death and resurrection of Christ (Example 4). When the chorale text, in turn, speaks about the bitter death of Christ (verse 1), the texture is quite dark with the sonorities of B flat as well as several suspensions, syncopations, and dissonances (Example 3). Hence, the implicated function of the catechism chorales exhibiting the close text-music relationship is apparently to promote proclaiming the content of the catechism.

25 *Corta* figure is the rhythmic pattern of dactyl (long-short-short) or anapest (short-short-long). In Roman comedy, the anapest is the most exuberant meter representing emotional intensity (e.g., overwhelming joy), although the association with exuberance is not always inevitably immutable (Moore 2012: 201–202). The positive character of such metrical units has still been recognised in the later literature of musical-rhetorical figures, as it has been well-documented since the renown Bach-biographer Albert Schweitzer (Forsblom 1985: 60–62).

Example 1. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 1-9.



Example 2. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 61-6

Example 3. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 233-243.

Example 4. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 307-323.

The rhetorical functions of ricercars and the Italian tradition were not necessarily unfamiliar to erudite Lutheran composers. Also, Hassler and Scheidt wrote their Credo compositions in a manner of ricercar, and Hassler was surely acquainted with the Venetian liturgical practices since he had studied there. Hassler did not – nor Praetorius or any Lutheran German according to my knowledge – write any musical setting named *Offertorium*, apparently to show that the sacrifice of the Mass does not belong to the Lutheran doctrine of the means of grace, but is condemned. However, this would not necessarily imply that Lutheran musicians, for example Praetorius, who was an enthusiast of Italian musical culture and possessed scores sent to him directly from Italy, were not aware of the functions of ricercars in the liturgy of Rome even if he only writes about the preludial functions of ricercars (*SM* III). Kirkendale (1997) still assumes the contrary due to the Lutheran background of Praetorius. Even if my current interpretation of the use of Praetorius's organ ricercars must be discussed to a greater extent in the future, it seems that many factors support linkages between these two musical traditions. Among these factors there are notions of the classics, the network of colleagues, and itinerary reports. In fact, it would be relevant to study more musical florilegia, that is motet anthologies, of the time and to explore the extent Praetorius was familiar with them.

In search of continuity in the narrative *rerum antiquarum*

Altogether, it was an integral part of Lutheran identity and will to show respect for the past ecclesiastical life. This approach would not conflict with the use of ricercars. Hence, the Lutherans in the context of Praetorius wanted to point out that there was no novelty in the Lutheran faith, but there was continuity and originality from the nativity of Christ.[26] For the Lutherans, the reformation meant a return to the sources (*ad fontes*), especially to what is in line with prophetical and apostolical writings. That did not however mean excluding the more recent literary achievements either from Praetorius's lifetime or from earlier centuries (*SM* I: *Epistola dedicatoria*).

The veneration of antiquity is also presented by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) and his co-workers, who were responsible for writing the expanded volumes of the church history from the Lutheran perspective, *Magdeburg Centuries*.[27] Praetorius writes

26 *Magdeburg Centuries* (abbreviated as *Cent*.; see below) regards the nativity of Christ as the birth of the Church. See *Cent.* 1562; see also Bollbuck 2021. Of course, this does not exclude some impact of Early Judaism, which was important for Praetorius, coming through the Old Testament, including, e.g., Hebrew cantillation. See above.

27 'est autem iure antiquitas veneratione digna' (*Cent. Praef.*). *The Centuries* can be seen as a major contribution to historical method with an emphasis on what was later called 'history of doctrine' (*Dogmengeschichte*) (Backus 2003: 4, 327; Bollbuck 2021: 100).

that he consulted the *Magdeburg Centuries* while composing his *Syntagma*, especially the history of ecclesiastical music (*SM* I). For Flacius and his colleagues, as well as for Praetorius following them, the historiographical intention of the author was to describe piously historical examples because the ecclesiastical history was the history of Christ himself (*Cent. Praef*).[28] They wanted to point out both good examples and cautionary cases of struggles, and corruption (*pugnae et corruptela*), for the sake of sincere doctrine and true religion (*sincera doctrina et verus cultus Dei*) (ibid.). Praetorius also juxtaposes these two principles, the sincere notion of God and the celebration of God with music, as the basis for his practical theory, not only in ecclesiastical (*musica ecclesiastica*) but also in societal music (*musica politica*) (*SM* I: *Epistola dedicatoria*). Related to this, the notion of godly providence (*providentia vel gubernatio Dei*) and benevolence (*benevolentia*) becomes obvious in both Flacius's and Praetorius's writings (*Cent. Praef.*; *SM* I). In my view, this kind of belief and overwhelming spiritual attitude toward history – both allegorical and Christian – form a crucial theme in understanding Praetorius's acceptance and veneration of ancient musical narratives.

Both Praetorius and ancient authors notice that understanding history and biographs serve didactic values, as is the case with the rhetorical catechism chorales. In the first book of his *Syntagma*, Praetorius uses examples from the history of European literature to depict satisfying musical practices. As is the case with the ecclesiastical history above, he depicts both good and false, both rewarding and unsatisfactory examples from classical literature. This was also an ancient custom among Roman authors. For example, Livy employs such examples (*exempla*) in his historiography of Rome. In addition to historiographical purposes, they had rhetorical functions and were used for transmitting the moral models and previous practices in Roman society (Liv. *Ab urbe condita, Praef.* 10; see also Chaplin 2000: 1–5). Interestingly, Praetorius explicitly makes an abundant use of such historiographical writings of ancient authors. In addition to Livy, he refers to the narratives of the Roman polymath Varro, the ancient biographer Laertius, and the Byzantine encyclopaedia Suidas, to mention only a few.

Is it so that, by presenting the vast palaestras of history with musical humanism, Praetorius encourages people to look at the future and enjoy the music – but with enriched ethos and with remembrance of instructive narratives of ancient things (*rerum antiquarum*)? While collecting golden grains of musical art (*musicae artis analecta*), Praetorius himself writes: 'What would be more pleasant than watch and listen the rites, feasts, funerals and other actions of ancient people building upon musical singing and instrumental playing as if they were present in front of us.' (*SM* I: 162)[29]

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28 'pios hoc officii [sic] debere Christo cuius historiam conamur contexere'.

29 'Ecquid enim iucundius veterum sacrificia, convivia, funera et studia cantu musico et organis instructa aspectare coram et velut impraesentiarum auscultare?'

As far as church music is concerned, the same kind of idea of continuity is present in Praetorius's writings when he acclaims the more recent work of Johann Walter and Lucas Lossius for their efforts in maintaining old church melodies and enriching their musical use in liturgy (*LSL*). Praetorius criticises people who do not understand past musical life, but rely on something new such as strict, plain, and homophonic settings that do not correspond to the ancient type of figural ornaments as he sees them (ibid.). He may refer to the musical accents, i.e., melismatic modulation, that was used already in the Hebrew cantillation of Psalms as I mentioned above (*SM* I: *Praetermissa*) and in classical poetry. Also, he explicitly adores Ambrose and Augustine who – according to Praetorius – were mastering Latin prosody and pronunciation, that is treating poetic feet and articulation, correctly. And not the least, these notions inspired him to say: 'oh, how much I honour the antiquity'[30]. These words echo his ardent love and joy for the sake of vigorous classical ideals.

Conclusions

In this article, my aim was to study how Praetorius relates himself to musical humanism and classical literature. As I noted above, Praetorius demonstrates his sedulous intention to collect the far-reaching *exempla* and narratives of past centuries, especially citing them from primary sources, but also referring to them with the aid of encyclopaedic treatises such as Scaliger's *Poetics*. Obviously, he wanted to lead people by example to study and understand the heritage of both ancient and recent literature. However, this work was not carried out alone but through his large network of friends and colleagues.

Praetorius's writings thus reflect classical educational values of musical humanism, such as veneration and sedulity. In other words, this means that by scrutinising treasure troves of literature related to music and the classics, both churchmen and musicians as well as all lovers of art can enrich their poetic inspiration and erudition from historical examples. There are no barriers between antiquity and Praetorius's own time, as far as one can deduce from the superstitious abuse of human cults. This kind of historiographical motivation, veneration, and search for sincere religion become obvious from the basis of writings of Praetorius, as well as both Livy and Flacius, for example.

Furthermore, the veneration of antiquity as such had a remarkable impact on Praetorius's music. In this article, I have gone through some insights of the rhetorical function of his chorale ricercars, as well as the transmission of musical innovations from Italy based on classical philology (e.g., prosody and accentuation). It seems that Praetorius

30 'quantae venerationi mihi sit antiquitas' (*LSL*).

was aware of the two-fold exordial style of classical rhetoric as he is mirroring precepts from Cicero and Quintilian. Drawing on Kirkendale's research, I argue the case for the relevance of exordial nature, not only in Praetorius's ricercars, but also in the Lutheran liturgical context. What is most interesting is that Praetorius applies classical ideals also in explanations of liturgical context, as far as they occur in agreement with, and for the sake of, the purpose of church music. The purpose is, thus, to evoke benevolence and pious affects in partakers of liturgy, for example before catechism sermons. This can happen through organ music as well, which was highly appreciated by Praetorius. In fact, he was following the long tradition, imitating motet singers in instrumental compositions, and transmitting the diminution figures and writings of the Italian organist and composer Diruta.

The classical ideals of Renaissance humanist education, *studia humanitatis*, and all rhetorical art besides music in Praetorius's context, seem to align with the Lutheran theologians of the time, such as Chytraeus. He encourages the imitation of Luther's sermons and Ciceronian epideictic oratory in the life of schools and churches. Still, for Praetorius it did not mean denying the sovereign gubernation of the word of God and the exultant inspiration of the Holy Spirit, whose allegorical emblem was the ancient poetic inspiration of the Muses. The author himself knew best why he chose the name *Polyhymnia* for his large collections of chorale concertos; however, Praetorius drops hints to his readers by mentioning a mythological association. He links the classical muse, Polyhymnia, to the remembrance of ancient things[31] (*SM* I: 321).

31 'propter memoriam rerum antiquarum'.

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ANNA PULLI-HUOMO

The Organist as a Creator of Interaction in the Liturgy

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'In Thy Music, we will SEE the Music, In Thy Light, we will HEAR the Light...'[1] In 1977, French composer and organist Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992), a Roman Catholic, lectured on the existence of music in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. He believed there were three types of sacred music: *liturgical, religious*, and one that breaks through to the beyond and is expressed through *sound-colour [sic]*, resulting in a sensation of *bedazzlement*. According to Messiaen, liturgical music 'celebrates God in His Church' while '*religious* music discovers at every hour and everywhere'. Above these two is *coloured [sic]* music which 'does that which the stained-glass windows and rose-windows of the Middle Ages did: they give us *bedazzlement*' (Messiaen 1978: 2, 14, 15). As a Finnish Lutheran organist, I find these words of Messiaen speak to me about the mystery, role, and function of sacred music; in particular, how the *coloured* music he mentions interacts with earthly and afterlife realms and the profound experience it can evoke, for example, by *bedazzlement*.

This article discusses – from an organist's[2] viewpoint – the role of music in the Lutheran liturgical service[3] and how the music creates interaction between the congregation and the liturgy. Although this study does not include the experiences of the congregation, I argue that through my decisions as an organist, I can create interaction and enhance the experience for those present. This article explores the significance of experiencing the Gospel through music in liturgical services. It draws on research from my artistic doctoral study that has used French Roman Catholic organ music from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in modern Finnish Evangelical Lutheran liturgical services. In Finland, French organ music has been used more as music for concerts, not as

1 'Dans Ta Musique, nous VERRONS la Musique, Dans Ta Lumière, nous ENTENDRONS la Musique...' The concluding words of the lecture of Olivier Messiaen. Translation by Timothy J. Tikker.

2 The position of church musician in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland includes the roles of organist, singer, and choir leader, and, in addition to this, a teacher of Confirmation classes and responsibility for the maintenance of church organs. I have narrowed my research to the closest role to me, namely the role of the organist.

3 In Finland, Lutheran services usually include Communion services, Service of the Word, or Liturgy of the Hours. In this article, I will refer to these services as 'liturgical service'.

part of liturgical services.[4] Despite this tradition, in my research, I wanted to combine two of my special interests: French organ music and Finnish Evangelical Lutheran liturgical services. During the study, I noticed that using a significant amount of solo organ music from the context of the Roman Catholic Church and foreign culture has underlined the different roles of music in the Finnish liturgical service.

The framework of this article is based on Finnish Lutheran liturgical service and the basis of the liturgical theology of music behind the present official Service Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (*Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon Kirkkokäsikirja*). It also includes French organ music and organ improvisations of my study, *musical words* as a reinforcer of interaction and the feeling of agency, and dialogicity as an instrument of experience.

Using autoethnography, I have reflected on how I, as an organist, can create interaction in the liturgy as an improviser, an accompanist, an arranger, and a soloist, by incorporating different musical elements and words. I have supplemented my research with written source data on liturgy and the theory of a collaborative creative process that enhances the involvement of those present.

Music is vital in liturgical services, including Lutheran services in Finland. It has the power to evoke emotions and convey messages that are difficult to express in words. By listening to music and singing together during the liturgy, we can share a collective experience. As an organist, I am eager to find ways to enhance this experience by using organ music. I am interested in exploring how to connect music, liturgy, and people through different musical expressions and create opportunities for interaction between these elements.

Artistic research, autoethnography as a method, and the position of the researcher

This article is based on my artistic doctoral research that deals with serving as an organist in liturgical services. The primary method of analysis used in this research is autoethnography. I have written about my work through case studies and reflected on it in relation to my research questions. What is the role of music in the Lutheran

4 In the year 2003, Sirkka-Liisa Jussila-Gripentrog, a Finnish organist, wrote an article in *Kirkkomusiikin käsikirja* (The Handbook of Church Music) about the repertoire of organists in the services. She also mentions French organ music and how there is a lot of useful music. However, she adds that it is difficult to achieve the sound intended by the composer on instruments other than the French Romantic organ (Jussila-Gripentrog 2003: 394). This describes the situation in the early 2000s when there was a preference to play organ music with authentic instruments. This perspective did not contribute to the use of French organ music in liturgical services in a country where there are only a few French Romantic instruments.

liturgical service, and how does the music create interaction between the congregation and the liturgy from the viewpoint of an organist? Typical of artistic research, I apply my professional skills and experience as a liturgical service organist in my research.

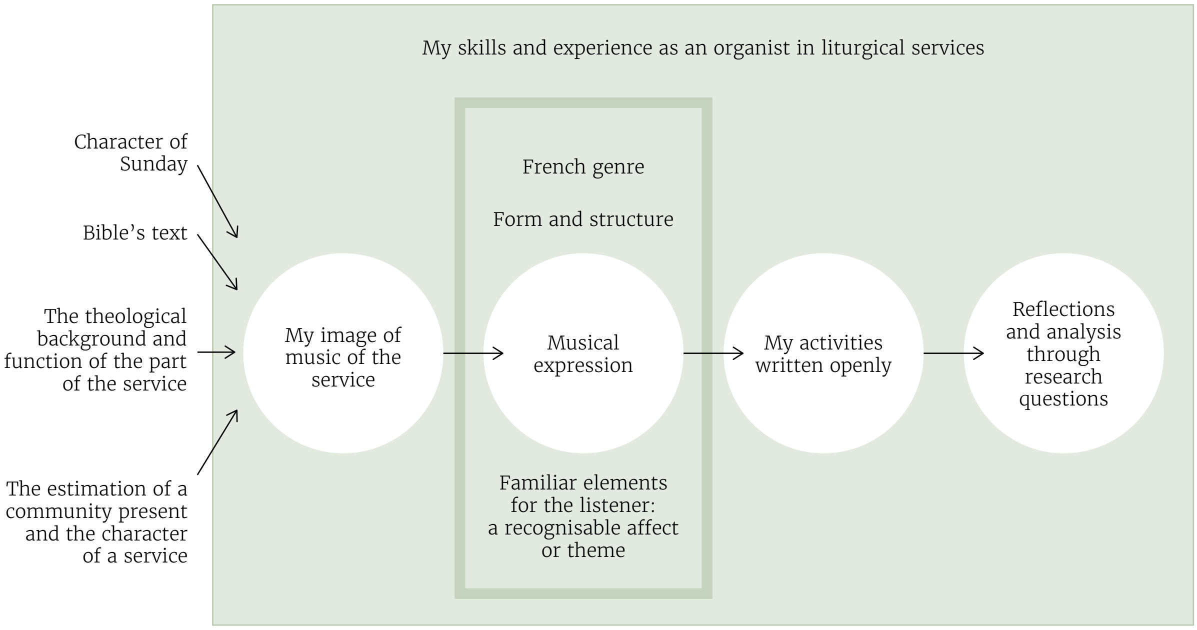
As a research field, artistic research is quite young relative to scientific research. For example, in Sweden, the concept of artistic development work was introduced in 1977 at the university. In the 1990s, the field expanded into artistic research. Today, Swedish universities provide two different perspectives on artistic research, one of which emphasises artistic development work, and the other that is closer to scientific research (Jullander 2007: 75, 82, 84). In Finland, artistic Doctors of Music have been graduating for more than 30 years. Finnish artistic research has underlined the conscious relationship between experience and research, where the language of research is based on the principles of scientific research (Hannula et al. 2003: 13–18). The focus is reflecting on the creative process, artistry, and experience (Vehviläinen 2020: 160).

I see artistic research as a new opportunity to study the liturgical service. It can be used to approach the liturgical service from an entirely new viewpoint, for example, through the experience of a musician. Artistic research creates and expands common understanding in an area that has never existed before (Hannula et al. 2003: 45). It also enables art to bring a different perspective on things already researched scientifically (Varto 2020: 120). Artistic research starts with the author, as in this paper with me, as an organist. The author is an expert on their own activities who, as the author, the solver, and the executer, has learned their methodical way of moving forward (Varto 2020: 93–94).

This type of artistic research on liturgical service has not been undertaken much in Finland previously; only Martti Laitinen, Doctor of Music, in his thesis, *The Musician's Artistic Work and Liturgical Context*, has focused on the artistic work of an organist and a choirmaster in all their diversity in the liturgical services. In Sweden, Doctor of Philosophy Per Högberg has in his dissertation 'written about the artistic process that is integrated within the performance of congregational song in interaction between organ, organist and singing congregation' (Högberg 2013: 329). Also, Doctor of Philosophy Karin Johansson has written in her dissertation about organists' descriptions, constructions, and definitions of improvisation in words and music both in liturgical and concert contexts.

Autoethnography systematically describes and analyses the experiences of a researcher to understand organisational, social, and cultural phenomena. As a method, it is both the research process and its result. In artistic research, autoethnography is a frequently used method because the author of autoethnography is both the researcher and the object of the study (Tienari & Kiriakos 2020: 272). The following Figure 1 shows a model of my method which is based on autoethnography.

Figure 1. Model of the method used.



Outside the green box are the elements that have been given from outside: which Sunday it is in the Church year, what the biblical texts are like, what kind of theological background and function the different parts of the service have, and what kind of congregation will attend the service. Inside the green box are my activities as an organist of the liturgical service. According to Karin Johansson (2008: 102–103), 'the ritual setting […] creates a framework with a centre to which all playing should relate'. First, I create from the given external elements an image that produces the musical expression. According to my skills and experience as an organist, I have decided to use the style and form of French organ music – both in composed works and improvisations. I also highlight recognisable affects and musical elements to provide musical expression. By writing, I reflect on and analyse my process through my research questions. The picture contains all the music I have played, whether it is composed, arranged, or improvised.

As a musician, I use music as a tool to study history, plan and play services, and reflect on my research questions. Through reading, writing, and playing, I gain a deeper understanding of the background and context of the music. My decisions, expressions, and experiences of the services included in my degree are the material of the research. The case examples relate to my chosen organ works, arrangements, or improvisations. I have my notes on the preparation of the events, musical material from my arrangements and ideas of improvisations, and recordings of the services and two planning meetings. In addition, I have read source literature related to the liturgical service and relevant organ music.

For around two decades, I have worked as an organist in two distinct Evangelical Lutheran churches located in the Helsinki area. As a researcher, I strive to maintain objectivity but acknowledge my background as a Nordic Lutheran organist. I began my studies and career around the year 2000 when the current Service Book of Liturgies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was approved. Over the last two decades, I have been fortunate to witness the evolution of liturgical services and participate in them as an organist through ongoing education.

The Finnish Lutheran liturgical service and the basis of the theology of music behind the present official Service Book

This study has been carried out in Finnish Evangelical Lutheran liturgical services. Like other Christian worship services, today's Finnish Lutheran Communion service has four parts. These parts are: the Gathering, God's word, The Lord's Supper, and the Conclusion. There are three kinds of music in the service: 1) *ordinarium* parts of the Communion service, 2) hymns, and 3) other music such as the opening music, the psalm of the day, response, offertory, communion, and the conclusion, which can be realised as instrumental music, choral music, or by a solo singer. Hymns and other music are part of the *proprium* parts of the service. The current Service Book does not specify the type of music to be used during the service, but it provides information about the service itself.

> *The proclamation of God's word and the sacrament of Holy Communion are the core of the service. The prayers, confession, and praise by the assembly are inseparably linked to them. The good works of the triune God and the whole history of salvation are present in a Communion service, encountering people and the circumstances in which they live . (Kirkkokäsikirja 2003: 17.)*[5]

From my perspective as a researcher, the text of the Service Book also refers to the music in the liturgy. The music of liturgical service is based on the word of God when it arises, for instance, from the Bible's texts of the day. Sacred music expresses prayer, confession, and praise. For Martin Luther 'praise is the musical response of the church to the good news of the Gospel' (M. Anttila 2013: 201). The triune God and the history of salvation come to light through the music and the *ordinarium* parts. As Anttila (2013: 201) points out, 'the liturgical service of the new covenant consists primarily of praise, it is both preaching and singing about God's great works'. The *ordinarium* parts of the liturgy repeat the history of salvation at each Mass.

5 'Messun ytimenä ovat Jumalan sana ja sen saarna sekä ehtoollisen sakramentti. Niihin kytkeytyvät erottamattomasti seurakunnan rukous, tunnustus ja ylistys. Kolmiyhteinen Jumala ja hänen hyvät tekonsa sekä koko pelastushistoria ovat messussa läsnä ja kohtaavat ihmisen hänen elämäntilanteessaan.' Translation by the author.

There has been very little theological research or discussion on the theology of music in Finland since the reform of liturgical service in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Therefore, today's theology of liturgical music still reflects the debate that took place during the reform, during which the Service Book Committee wrote two documents, *Jumalan kansan juhla* (an interim report called 'The Feast of the People of God' in the year 1992) and *Perustelut* ('Reasoning' in the year 1997). The need for a theological discussion of music arose from the visible effects of Pietism on liturgical music. An example of the influences of Pietism in the literature on liturgy from the early twentieth century is Uno Paunu's textbook on liturgy. According to Paunu, singing solo music in the liturgy was discouraged as it could draw too much attention to the individual performer, like in a concert (Paunu 1943: 96). Influences of this statement could still be observed even in the late twentieth century. The third document that takes a stand on the theology of music in the liturgy is *Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* ('Serve the Lord with joy') Service Book Guide of 2009, which the Bishops' Conference has officially approved. It is therefore justified to briefly refer to the background and content of these documents.

At the renewal of the present Service Book of Liturgies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, liturgical service has been understood as the celebration of God's saving presence. Due to renewal, among other things, the formulas of the Communion service changed and music became more substantial as an element of worship (*Perustelut* 1997: 37, 44). Also, the Liturgy of the Hours material was clarified and published in a separate book, increasing its use (Kotila 2007: 9–12).

The interim report *Jumalan kansan juhla* states that music is a gift of God's creation, as Martin Luther wrote. Singing and playing in the service is the response to the good works of God also, and the function of music is to tell about them. When we sing together, we express ourselves and create a sense of community (*Jumalan kansan juhla* 1992: 148–150).

The *Perustelut* ('Reasoning') document defines the liturgical service as celebrating God's triune presence. The purpose of the whole service is to remember God's salvation. Christ is truly present in the Word and sacraments. Christ is present in the Word when the Word is spoken, read, and set to music. Thus, the full service, through its various elements, proclaims God's Word, addressing the congregation present in multiple ways (*Perustelut* 1997: 43–44).

The Service Book Committee continuously notes that God makes all music according to the Bible: 'God's people are urged in the Psalms and Revelation to join in a new song' (Psalm 98: 1; Rev. 14: 3). Thus, 'the created reality becomes the language of meanings and contents, where form and content make a single, inseparable entity' (*Perustelut* 1997: 77). In the *Perustelut* ('Reasoning') document, the Committee has primarily raised the content of the music as a starting point for the music in liturgical services. The text and its music should support content and communicate a common subject according to the context of time and culture. The document reminds us that 'a song about content also has an emotional dimension'. During the discussion about different musical genres in liturgical services, the Committee refers again to the Bible. There are numerous instances of various musical methods used to worship God. In the New Testament, for example, it is advised to 'sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs as you praise the Lord with all your heart' when congregating (Ephesians 5:19). Additionally, the book of Psalms offers many other relevant passages (*Perustelut* 1997: 76–81).

The third document, *Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* ('Serve the Lord with joy') Service Book Guide of 2009, keeps Luther's Theology of Music important – how music is the gift of God's creation. *Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* also takes a stance on the music of services. It reminds us that there has always been music when Christians have gathered together. The service is based on the Bible, the tradition of the Old Church, and the Lutheran confession. In the Finnish Lutheran service, the liturgical tradition, hymn singing, and the function of music are also a part of the tradition. According to *Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten*, key attributes of the music of the liturgical service include purpose, content, and community (*Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* 2009: 103–105).

Reflecting on the *Perustelut* ('Reasoning') document as a musician of liturgical services, the statement that service is celebrating God's triune presence is notable for me. My attention was drawn especially to this sentence: 'Christ is present in the Word when the Word is spoken, when it is read, and when it is set to music.' For me, this means that when Christ is present in music, it brings the element of mystery to the service and its music. The music itself is immaterial. Sounds, tones, and voices, through different interpretations and genres, especially in instrumental music without words, can express something that words cannot explain. Even God's triune presence can be present in various types of music. In my research material, one example of this is the Dogme of Jeanne Demessieux. First, God is presented through massive *tutti* chords, the second part describes the life of Jesus Christ with uneven beats in an accelerating *crescendo* towards fermata, rest and resurrection, and the third part of the Holy Spirit is like a gust of wind (Demessieux 1947: 21–29). Experiencing the mystery of music in the liturgical context is like a new song that God's people are urged to join in the Psalms and Revelation.

The musical content of the research

The non-verbal music in the liturgical service never exists in a vacuum. It is always heard and experienced by those present related to the words spoken, the people around them, the space itself, its objects, and the ritual. The music is in a form of tension with the liturgy. For instance, when music is set next to a ritual, like a procession, the movement of that procession and the music are transformed, each interpreting the other (Wengert 2007: 62).

Music is also a crucial part of culture, especially in the liturgy. *The Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture*[6] finds that ‘Christian worship relates dynamically to culture in at least four ways’. In the design of the music for services of the study, the four aspects of the *Nairobi Statement* on worship – transcultural, contextual, counter-cultural, and cross-cultural – have been realised. First, according to the Statement, Christian worship ‘is transcultural, the same substance for everyone everywhere, beyond culture’. Both the French Roman Catholic Mass of the nineteenth century and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Communion service of the twenty-first century have the same main elements of the service, based on the services of the first millennium Christians (Miné 1836: 64–65; *Kirkkokäsikirja* 2003: 17–37; Griffiths 2012: 38–41). Formulas consist of four parts: the Gathering, the Word, the Communion, and the Conclusion. They also include the *ordinarium* and *proprium* parts, which are largely identical. Secondly, the Statement clarifies how worship is contextual ‘varying according to the local situation (both nature and culture)’. In my plans, I have considered the practices of the local church, the requirements of the community and the local instrument. Worship is counter-cultural, according to the Statement, when it is ‘challenging what is contrary to the Gospel in a given culture’. Playing organ music in the Finnish service is not contrary to the Gospel, but in my experience, it is counter-cultural in the Finnish worship culture to have mainly organ music in the service. Fourth, the Statement mentions that Christian worship ‘is cross-cultural, making possible sharing between different local cultures’. Using music from another culture is obviously transcultural. The repertoire choices were also influenced by my experience as a liturgical organist for 20 years.

The music I used as research material has included composed French organ music, hymns, and liturgical melodies of five liturgical services. Composed works of services I selected from the limited repertoire of the study, considering the sacred texts of the church year. Considering the content of the texts of the day, the character of the event, the expected composition of the congregation, the church space and the organ of each service, and discussions with the service team, I created a set of music for the service.

The repertoire included individual works and larger compositions, mainly from 1850 to 1950. I would especially like to mention the Evening Mass of Easter, where I played Charles-Marie Widor’s (1844–1937) *Symphonie romane* as the main composition. There was also a special work, a series of *Sept Méditations sur le Saint Esprit* of Jeanne Demessieux (1921–1968), in the Evening Mass of Pentecost. The French repertoire was largely based on

6 *The Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture* is from the third international consultation of the Lutheran World Federation’s Study Team on Worship and Culture, held in Nairobi, Kenya, in January 1996.

liturgical and biblical texts. Nevertheless, not all the works in services were originally or historically intended to be part of the liturgy.

The melodies of the hymns of the services were mainly French and based on the present official Hymnbook of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (1986). In three services as liturgical melodies, I used official melodies from the Service Book. For the fourth service, I collected liturgical melodies from the manual of *Codex Westh*[7] from the sixteenth century to pair with Widor's *Symphonie romane* based on a Gregorian melody. The *ordinarium* parts[8] of the last Mass of my degree were improvised by me using the music of Demessieux as musical inspiration.

In my arrangements of hymns and liturgical melodies, I applied French historical practices. My intention had not been to reconstruct historical practices, for example, in connection with the accompaniment of hymns. Through historical research I have found different and new perspectives from historical sources as an organist to carry out the music of the service. My improvisations were based on the image I had built of the Bible text, the hymn, or the historical background associated with the part of the Communion service in question. I also used musical elements and structures of written organ music of services as material for my improvisations. My idea was to establish a connection between different types of music through my arrangements and improvisations.

I played these liturgical services in five different churches with five different instruments. Two of the organs were so-called eclectic universal organs, one was a copy of a French romantic organ, another a copy of a French baroque organ, and one a romantic Nordic instrument. Using the various spaces and instruments in different churches prompted me to contemplate the interaction between the organist and the congregation. As Per Högberg says in his dissertation: 'The church room, the congregation that celebrates the service, and the organ all stand in relationship to one another' (Högberg 2013: 332). For example, in the churches of my first and second services, the organ was on the floor level with the congregation in front, while at the other services, the organ was in the organ loft. As an organist, the experience of accompanying the congregational singing changes concretely, depending on whether the congregation is singing at the same level towards your back, or if you are in the organ loft behind and above the congregation. Am I part of the community at the same level, or do I lead the community from above?

7 *Codex Westh* is the first and one of the most remarkable collections of Finnish manuscripts from the 1540s. The contents of the collection are based on the life of worship of that time (Tuppurainen 2012: 7–9, 11).

8 The main sung ordinarium parts of the Communion service in the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church are *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei* and *Benedicamus*.

Interaction in the liturgical service by the organist

Christians live out their faith in the liturgy. People and God are in dialogue with each other (Hulmi 2019: 16). As the Service Book Guide says: ‘Through the heard and visible Word, the triune God addresses us and makes us partake of all the gifts of salvation. A person responds to God’s address in prayers, hymns, and songs’ (*Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* 2009: viii).

Throughout the history of the Church, there has always been a debate about the interaction between the law of prayer, *lex orandi*, and the law of belief, *lex credendi*. What is the relationship between these two laws? How do they interact in practice in the life of a Christian? *Liturgical theology* is based on lived liturgy which leads to doctrine. It begins with liturgies and the meaning of the whole rite. This has been called *theologia prima.* In the Finnish reform of worship, however, the primacy of doctrine was emphasised. It is only in the last ten years that the importance of the experience of liturgical service has been considered in Finland. Thus, increasingly today, *lex orandi* and *lex credendi* can be thought of as interdependent equal partners (Hulmi 2019: 16–18; Fagerberg 2004: 4, 41).

The concept of interaction is described as ‘a situation where two or more people or things communicate with each other or react to each another’ (Cambridge Dictionary: interaction). From the point of view of an organist, in lived religion, there are many kinds of interaction in the liturgy.

The first example is the interaction between the organist and the congregation through the music of the liturgical service when the organist accompanies the congregational singing of hymns and liturgical melodies. The organist’s way of using the instrument can support or obstruct singers: for example, choices of stops, tempo decisions, the breathability of playing, and phrasing of the music, especially with pedal playing. Per Högberg highlights these elements in particular: the organist’s way of registering, the acoustics of the church space and the mechanics of the instrument used, the clarity and simplicity of the accompaniment, and the organist’s way of articulating and phrasing. These allow for a breathtaking interaction with the congregation (Högberg 2013: 168–173). The old French tradition of *alternatim*, where the organist and singers alternate with the verses of liturgical melodies or hymns, is another concrete example of interaction between the organist and the congregation (Saint-Arroman 2016: 235).

The interaction of those responsible for the liturgical service, for instance, celebrants, deacons, musicians, and assistants, is significant before, during, and after the service. I believe that collaboration with equal and respectful dialogue, and without unnecessary hierarchy and borders, is the key to creating a liturgical service where different elements serve the message of the Gospel. In my research, music was a significantly large element in the services that were part of the study. As an organist in charge of the music of these services, it was essential to communicate openly with colleagues, and clearly express the significance of the chosen music. This method allowed them to fully understand and appreciate its role in the overall experience, and plan their duties in relation to the music. Interaction with the responsible persons also helped me build wholeness of liturgical services, like in decisions concerning the order of music or length of my improvisations.

The decisions of the organist regarding the music interact with the rite of the liturgical service in many ways. How do solo organ music, *ordinarium* parts, and congregational hymns in a dialogue exist between each other and the order of service? According to Karin Johansson (2008: 100–101), there are 'a number of events where improvised music is supposed to illustrate what is happening in the liturgical narrative, and at the same time adapt its expression to it'. She continues and describes two types of interaction in liturgical improvisation. Firstly, she mentions the communication between the organist and the congregation at a specific time and place. Secondly, she highlights 'the integrated relationship between the individual organist and the conventions and traditions of the liturgical frame' (Johansson 2008: 104). In my research, I have been inspired by liturgical theology, especially also by the composed music of services. I have tried to pick recognisable musical elements – *musical words* – from the repertoire.

These *musical words* I have used as elements of my improvisations and arrangements during the service. For example, in the first liturgical service of my degree, I played *Les Mains de l'Abîme* by Olivier Messiaen as a response to the text of the Old Testament. The work begins with long *tutti* chords resembling the shout of humans towards God. After this work by Messiaen, the text of the New Testament was read, and the hymn of the day was sung. In my improvised prelude for this hymn, I used the same style of *tutti* chords as Messiaen had in his work. Those chords were like *musical words* that connected the work of Messiaen and the hymn of the day. I also used massive chords as my arrangement of the accompaniment to the hymn. For me, they formed a dialogue between themselves.

I also applied the idea of *musical words* when I planned the accompaniments and improvisations of the liturgical melodies of my doctoral services. For example, there were quick triplet patterns to create a French *Toccata* feel while accompanying the *Sanctus* of the third event. Those quick triplet patterns with typical French *anches* registration were *musical words* that interacted with other French music of that service.

The main musical work of the last Mass of my research was *Sept méditations sur le Saint Esprit* by French composer Jeanne Demessieux. As *ordinarium* parts of this Evening Mass of Pentecost, I improvised my Organ Mass using musical elements from the series of Demessieux. Every movement of this series has a title and a small introductory text from the Bible or the Liturgical Books of the Catholic Church regarding the theme of Pentecost. Therefore, the identification of the *musical words* she had used in the series was obvious, for example, the movements of water at the beginning of the Bible, the voice of God, the triune God, and the wind of the Holy Spirit. In my improvised Organ Mass, I used the same kind of *musical words* as Demessieux had used to express the continuing prayer over thousands of years of *Kyrie eleison*, the triunity of *Gloria Excelsis in Deo*, or the shouts of *Hosanna* in the *Sanctus*.

Experiencing the Gospel and liturgical service as a creative process

Miikka E. Anttila, a Doctor of Theology, has devoted his research to Martin Luther's Theology of Music. In his doctoral thesis, Anttila references the experience of the Gospel using music.

> *The most important feature of music for Luther is its ability to rule human emotions.* [...] *Music generates a variety of emotions such as love, hatred, fear, humility, calmness, and joy. As for the overall philosophical theory of emotions, music has a direct impact on affectivity.* [...] *If one is to understand the theological weight of music in Luther's thinking, one must acknowledge that joy is not a frame of mind but a gift of the Holy Spirit.* [...] *This means that believing is not simply knowing what the Bible tells us but also applying this knowledge affectively. Then experiencing the Gospel by hearing, reading, and singing is relevant and meaningful.* (M. Anttila 2013: 199–205.)

As mentioned, Christ is present in the Word when the Word is spoken, read, and set to music. Music has its content function, but we cannot define its role as a communicator with time, people, and culture by its ability to rule human emotions. Experiencing the Gospel in any way is relevant and meaningful. The instrumental music in the liturgy communicates and interacts with the spoken words of the ritual, the liturgical space, the instruments played, and the people present. As composer Olivier Messiaen (1978: 15) said, 'by *bedazzlement* music can reach something that breaks towards the beyond, towards the invisible, and unspeakable'.

Related to experiencing the Gospel, I believe that the concept of dialogical interaction has particular importance in the liturgical service, where there is a lot of music, primarily when the music is more foreign and from a different culture and church. Professor Eeva Anttila from the Theatre Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki has reflected on the dialogue in the texts of Martin Buber (1878–1965). According to Martin Buber, there are three kinds of dialogue.

> *There is genuine dialogue* [...] *where each of the participants really has in mind the other or others in their present and particular being and turns to them with the intention for establishing a living mutual relation between himself and them. There is technical dialogue, which is prompted solely by the need of objective understanding. And there is monologue disguised as dialogue, in which two or more men, meeting in space, speak each with himself in strangely tortuous and circuitous ways and yet imagine they have escaped the torment of being thrown back on their own resources.* (Buber 1947: 22.)

According to Eeva Anttila, it is necessary to distinguish dialogue from the broader phenomenon of dialogicity. Buber used the concept of genuine dialogue, where turning to the other is an essential requirement. He has written, '[S]o for a conversation no sound is necessary, not even a gesture. Speech can renounce all the media of sense, and it is still speech' (Buber 1947: 3). The starting point for a dialogical relationship is to be open to another's experience (E. Anttila 2011: 169).

Eeva Anttila concludes in her article that knowledge of art is created in the encounter. Art opens the way to understanding that your own experiences, the experiences of others, and the world, can be interpreted in many ways. There is no single truth, and everything cannot be understood; however, encountering brings another experience into our own hands. Even if the person or thing we face is unfamiliar, we can accept them as part of ourselves (E. Anttila 2011: 170–171). In the liturgical context, where there is plenty of organ music, encounters happen not only between the organist and the listener, but also between the music itself and the listener. The biblical texts of the day and the instrumental music without words reflect each other, and the listener encounters the Word through their experience of the music.

According to *Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten*, the congregation should not be passive during liturgical services. Instead, they should be empowered to plan and carry out the service (*Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* 2009: ix). In recent years, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland has also been involved in many other ways with the social inclusion discourse, which started in the 1990s in Finnish society (Nivala 2008: 166). For example, from 2011 to 2013, a project called *Tiellä – På väg* ('On the way') was carried out to strengthen the experience of the involvement of parishioners. The Official Curriculum for Confirmation classes in 2017 defines involvement as acting, influencing, being, and belonging to part of the group (*Suuri ihme* 2017: 22).

As a professional church musician and an organist, I have considered whether it is feasible to incorporate the concepts of involvement, agency, or participatory processes into the liturgical setting, where the primary task of those present seems to be to listen and be present. What is the concept of social inclusion, involvement, agency, or participatory process in this kind of situation? Is it enough to have agency through the experience and encountering of art, as Eeva Anttila has written from the viewpoint of a dialogical process?

The concept of inclusion is not socially defined and can be approached through a wide range of qualitative content. Involvement can be seen as a community experience, where given, participating, and perceived membership are combined (Nivala 2008: 166–172). According to Laura Huhtinen-Hildén and Anna-Maria Isola, creativity and creative activities can build well-being because they increase the state of inclusion. Creativity makes a space of meaning, possibilities, and inclusion. The state of inclusion is formed with needs, resources, and the experiences of importance that arise in interaction. In the context of creative activities, Huhtinen-Hildén and Isola define inclusion as a subjective experience in which a person feels part of the community. Experience is joining, belonging, sharing, participating, and influencing. The mechanisms of inclusion include needs (like feelings, security, and freedom), resources (like livelihoods, education, trust, nature, safety, and art), and interaction. These three mechanisms affect the state of inclusion and, thus, well-being (Huhtinen-Hildén & Isola 2018: 8–9).

According to Huhtinen-Hildén and Isola, the experiences of inclusion in creative activities are built and strengthened first by *tuning up*, where the action director creates a safe and permissive space for interaction. The second step is *a distance away*, where creative activity enables a safe distance from everyday life. Through art, the experience manifests freshly and innovatively, allowing us *to reword* the process in a new way. Creative activities allow for *the sharing* of feelings and experiences in a variety of ways. It also makes it possible to be seen through *acceptance* as part of the community. These experiences in the various creative process steps are constantly *reflected by language, thinking, and creative experiences*. The process itself is essential, not the outcome (Huhtinen-Hildén & Isola 2018: 10–12).

The liturgical service with plenty of instrumental music, as in my research, can be seen as a creative process where the order of the service creates a safer state to be and experience creativity and the Gospel. The role of the participants in the liturgical service differs from, for example, the role of the concert audience, where traditionally, the role of a person is to listen and receive experiences. In liturgical service, all participants are actors and agencies who serve in various roles. For instance, a parishioner can participate in praising or praying to God by listening to the instrumental music played during the liturgical service.

When I look at the liturgical services of my research, I see myself as a music designer and implementer in the role of director of the creative process. Experiencing art and exceptional music during a service is a shared creative process that can enhance the involvement of those in attendance. As an organist and thus as one in charge of the liturgical service, I have made it possible to have a safe and permissive space with joint planning of the working group and a written programme with an order of service and backgrounds of the music. I believe that the *musical words* mentioned earlier create interaction between music and people, thereby also making a safer frame of reference for the service. In this way, I have created an opportunity to involve those attending. In the context of the service, the experience of listening to unfamiliar music makes it possible to distance oneself from everyday life. The instrumental music played at the event provides a fresh perspective on the Bible texts by rephrasing the words in a way that resonates through personal experience. The opportunity to listen, be quiet, sing, and experience music together enables the sharing of feelings and experiences. The organist also senses how the people present are in the church space. Participating in the service is, therefore, not a performance but being present through the experience of participation. The starting point of the service is – or at least should be – an atmosphere of acceptance in which everyone is welcome to gather and listen and experience God's Word, pray, and have communion together.

Conclusions

In Finnish, the word for liturgical service combines the words 'God' (*Jumala*) and 'service' (*palvelus*). The compound word '*jumalanpalvelus*' has two possible translations: it means serving God or that God is serving. Thus, the interaction between God and the congregation is written in this word of the Finnish language. It has been said that the Lutheran Church is the Church of Word, and therefore it can be easily interpreted that the interaction in the context of the liturgy is mainly spoken or sung words. However, as this article has shown, the role and function of instrumental music as part of the liturgy is considerable. According to Martin Luther, music makes it possible to experience the gospel. *Lex orandi* recalls that liturgy is living and experiencing faith in reality. Thus, music is an important element of participation in this process. As Messiaen expressed it, music makes possible what words cannot say.

The organist can bring out interaction between people, music, and the liturgy through different roles. As a solo organist, accompanist, arranger of hymns and liturgical melodies, and improviser, the organist can confirm the interaction, especially by *musical words*. Incorporating musical elements from the solo organ repertoire into improvisations and arrangements can break down confrontation and disconnection between solos, hymns, and liturgical melodies. These *musical words* are comparable to spoken words of the liturgical service. Are the introductory words, the sermon, or the prayer separate spoken elements of the service, or are speakers using the same kinds of vocabulary and expression in different spoken parts to strengthen convergence?

Liturgical services, where unfamiliar music such as expansive organ solo music from the French Roman Catholic Church is played in a Finnish Lutheran liturgical service, can be viewed as a collaborative creative process that enhances the involvement of those present. Especially in this kind of exceptional situation, it is important to create a safe and permissive space for participants by using the familiar order of the service, providing a programme with information about the music, and coordinating with the celebrant to ensure that the spoken words complement the music. Creating a safe and welcoming environment through deliberate language, music, structure, and physical gestures during any religious service can enhance the overall experience for attendees.

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LEENA LAMPINEN, HILKKA-LIISA VUORI, TUOMAS A. MEURMAN & RIIKKA PATRIKAINEN

Crossing Mental and Bodily Borders: Ritual Touching in the Context of Worship

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Introduction

This article discusses seen and unseen boundaries and the possibilities of crossing them in the congregational and liturgical context. Our research method was collaborative autoethnography. The text is the result of a year–and–a–half–long process consisting of joint conversations, individual reflection, and conference presentations in a working group setting. We have not tried to blur our differences but to bring forward the richness of our experiences of lived Lutheran Mass and Orthodox liturgy. Our approach is more than a theoretical comparison of two Christian denominations and their liturgies, and is based on our experiences of Mass and liturgy and our discussions about them.

During our first discussions, we were searching for common ground:

> *Leena: 'I am interested in mental borders – identity. What distinguishes me from others, us from them? There is a border even without giving it any specific value.'*
>
> *Riikka: 'There is a mental border, even within myself. How can I as a church musician use my creativity to help the church to meet this time? I want to build and create but not break anything.'*
>
> *Tuomas: 'Mental borders exist within every religion and liturgy. They are also geographical. I hear in your discussion a question: how to make the tradition alive?'*
>
> *Hilkka-Liisa: 'We can bring the old traditions and wisdom to this day when we give our whole heart to it.'*
>
> (Group discussions, 21 January 2022 & 15 February 2022.)

The entire process has been meaningful to us since it has broadened our thinking in cherishing the multiple possibilities of crossing borders in the liturgy. 'Listening with a generous attitude and hospitality' has been our guiding principle, to borrow a concept that will be opened up later in this text. Listening is a way to cross borders, but to be hospitable while doing so, attentiveness, openness, mutuality, and a will to understand each other are essential.

We begin by describing our research process and the research method we have employed. What follows is Riikka's text in which she ponders the way singing – as an invisible, borderless medium – challenges our concept of borders in the context of worship. Riikka is a cantor in the Orthodox Church of Finland. Thus, she presents quite a different religious and liturgical background compared to the other participants in this working group. Leena continues with her exploration of how it feels to be at borders and what could be found on the other side or in between them. How does one create a 'mutual tuning-in relationship' and yet prevent one's own self from blending with others? As a Lutheran church musician who has worked in multicultural contexts, she has seen, experienced, and also crossed many kinds of borders – sometimes in a very concrete way, sometimes more figuratively. Often, these border crossings have had connections to worship. Tuomas, a Lutheran pastor, focuses on touching in the Finnish Lutheran liturgical context. With an example of a handshake in the greeting of peace, he traces the socio-cultural environment where many Finnish Lutheran Christians hesitate to engage in ritual touching of each other. Hilkka-Liisa is a researcher, teacher, and performer of Gregorian chants and a developer and cantor in the *Meditative Mass with mediaeval melodies* in the Lutheran congregation in Kallio, Helsinki. She examines generosity as an attitude in singing and listening in the liturgy. She combines mediaeval monastic singing orders with modern socio-pedagogical thoughts about hospitality as an everyday practice in meeting other people. At the end of the article, we bring together our thoughts about the concept of ritual touching.

Our goal has been to identify and explore various mental and bodily borders and to find ways to cross them respectfully. In our group, after discussing mental borders, we broadened our perspective towards bodily borders and different forms of touching:

Riikka: 'Have we talked enough about bodily borders? We need them.'

Tuomas: 'Let us gather around the campfire. Let us find the borders, examine them and discuss the bridging possibilities.'

Hilkka-Liisa: 'We also need intuitive touching and equality through physical position. The bridging can happen only if we are equal.'

Leena: 'Singing connects and touches us in many ways. We can sing many kinds of music. We can sing even when we cannot talk. It can bring us to the same level.'

Tuomas: 'How can we move towards liturgy? Why and how do I like to touch and to be touched?'

(Group discussion, 16 March 2022.)

We did not find borders a negative matter. Instead, in our thinking they are connected to respect, safety, and acceptance. Borders are needed but they should not be understood as a total separation from others. Borders exist in many contexts and situations. There are cultural borders around touch and even eye contact, gender conventions, and conventions based on age and hierarchy of various kinds. Some people have a personal antipathy to physical contact or eye contact with others. Additionally, the needs of neurodiverse people in public gatherings have to be considered, as do rules surrounding the protection of children.

Our discussions, reflections, and the different perspectives we have had concerning borders in the liturgical context have led us to employ the concept of 'ritual touching' in our text. Although not in common use – at least not to our knowledge and in this particular context – we chose to use this term as it manages to incorporate several components that have accompanied us during this process.

A ritual refers to repetition, continuity, and regularity. A central ritual theorist Ronald L. Grimes (2014: 195) usually gives this definition for his students with a wish that it would inspire them to deeper conversation: 'Ritual is embodied, condensed, and prescribed enactment.' This definition suits well the theme of this article, ritual in a Christian liturgical context. Liturgy can be understood as a ritual because 'it consists of actions and ceremonies repeated on a regular basis' (Usher 2010: 20). Familiar rituals provide people with an understanding of what is happening now and what will come next, which in turn creates a sense of safety. As a repeated and predictable flow of events, rituals are calming – in the same way as when singing a familiar song, we know where the tune and the lyrics will take us. However, despite the repetition and continuity, rituals are not invariable but dynamic and changeable in nature (Post 2022: 747). As Paul Post (2022: 753), professor of ritual studies, states, 'rituals do not exist in a vacuum'. They are exposed to various cultural, social, economic, and political influences.

By touching we mean being in connection with other people, ourselves, or God in various ways. Touching can happen through our senses, be it hearing and/or listening, sight, actual physical touch, smell, taste or, for instance, with one's voice. Philosopher Richard Kearney (2021: 9–10) connects the words tact and tactfulness with touching.

Deriving from the Latin *tango-tangere-tactum*, 'tact expresses a "common touch" in our way of heeding, humouring and handling others'. According to Kearney, being tactful with someone does not always imply physical proximity. It can as well be sensitivity to the right space between oneself and another. Tact can also be connected to touch through the senses. For example, tactful sound we can call resonance, tactful smell fragrance, and tactful sight insight. Although in this text we approach touching from a positive point of view, we recognise the fact that it can also be inappropriate and cause a lot of suffering. As Kearney (2021: 12–13) states, there are 'perversions and pathologies of touch', varying from heinous crimes to everyday acts of insensitivity. In unilateral abusive touching ('betrayal of tact') the one who touches refuses 'to acknowledge the other as singular and equal'.

Kearney's 'tact' is very close to the idea of 'hospitality' we use in this paper. Discussions about hospitality in touching and listening led us to employ the concept of ritual touching, since we concentrate on various ways of touching in ritual and worship. We set out to explore our experiences of how the various forms of touching are connected to crossing borders in the liturgical context.

Collaborative autoethnography and the research process

The research method we have employed in our work is collaborative autoethnography. Chang et al. (2012: 23–25) define it as a qualitative research method 'in which researchers work in community to collect their autobiographical materials and to analyse and interpret their data collectively to gain a meaningful understanding of sociocultural phenomena'. This means that the research process is a combination of group and individual effort. Each person acts as a researcher and a research participant, which 'creates a rich space for meaning-making and analysis'. This kind of collaboration benefits the researchers and their work by making it possible to examine, reflect on, and analyse the topics in question from a broader perspective than would be possible through individual work only. In addition, collaborative autoethnography provides an opportunity for interdisciplinary border crossings.

Our research process started with group sharing and discussions that alternated with individual reflection and writing. Those ideas were then formulated into conference presentations. What followed was another phase of discussions and reflection both individually and as a group. Like the other steps, writing was a combination of group and solo work (for the iterative process of collaborative autoethnography, see Chang et al. 2012: 24). We experienced this process as fruitful and eye-opening, especially because of the interdisciplinary and interdenominational approach. Combining different thoughts, traditions, and timetables was not always easy, but we feel that the final product and process itself have been worth all the effort.

Part of us always reaches out for a world with no boundaries (Riikka Patrikainen)

My bodily existence is marked with borders: I begin here, and I end here. Neither is my life limitless, it has a beginning, and it has an end, it has boundaries. At the same time, we feel this continuous need for connection and crossing the borders that divide us.

Borders certainly have many different functions in our life. On the one hand, they protect us and make us what we are: I am not you and you are not me. On the other hand, borders might become an obstacle to bonding between people. Therefore, it is important to give time to ponder over the many meanings the borders have – when they are needed for the sake of our identity as Christians, and when they become an obstacle to loving each other as Christians. The conversations in our group gave me the possibility to look closer at my own borders: What are they made of? Which borders are needed for my own identity, and which ones are not? How can I as a Finnish Orthodox cantor bond with others from different religious backgrounds in the context of worship?

I am a cantor (singer) in the Orthodox Church of Finland. I feel that especially singing is a way of expression that reminds us that although we live in a world with borders, there is a part of us that always reaches out for a world with no boundaries. According to my own professional experience as a singer, singing is a particularly strong medium for bonding between people. Singing crosses borders that define our identity, such as ethnicity and religion, but also borders that are made of the lack of other means of communication, like in infancy or with dementia. Maybe due to its powerfulness, singing has a central place in Orthodox worship since all the liturgy is sung from the beginning till the end.

When I am singing in Orthodox worship, I present a continuum of a tradition that took its form over a thousand years ago during the Byzantine era (see, e.g., H. Seppälä 1981: 15–16). In the service, I give my voice to the church to speak the words that were made hundreds of years ago by talented poets and teachers of the church – even thousands of years, when it comes to the Book of Psalms. The aspects of continuity and rich inheritance are important to me as a liturgical singer, but not only for me: cherishing the idea of changelessness is not unique among the Orthodox. One of the most famous Eastern Orthodox theologians of our time, bishop Kallistos Ware (1934–2022), ponders this in his book *The Orthodox Church* (1997 [1964]) as follows: 'Orthodox Christians of today see themselves as heirs and guardians to a rich inheritance received from the past, and they believe that it is their duty to transmit this inheritance unimpaired to the future'. Ware warns us of the danger of going to extremes with this, since:

> *[n]ot everything received from the past is of equal value, nor is everything received from the past necessarily true.* [...] *There is a difference between 'Tradition' and 'traditions': many traditions which the past has handed down are human and accidental – pious opinions (or worse), but not a true part of the one Tradition, the fundamental Christian message.* It is absolutely essential to question the past. (Ware 1997 [1964]: 195–197, emphasis added.)

The church is not a museum, quite the opposite! Each liturgy is a living encounter between the visible and the invisible, communication between me, you, and God (Ware 2004: 32–33). In what ways can I, as a cantor, use my talents to make the Tradition alive today? Do I only repeat what is already done or do I take the challenge to create something within the context of worship? What is my responsibility as an Orthodox cantor in bringing forth the Tradition for the generations to come?

Thus, we have many borders to contemplate inside our different Christian traditions, but also between the traditions. How could one create a natural connection between people and between denominations mentally and even bodily in the context of ecumenical worship? The task of common understanding and solutions for this is not easy. Even the past of Eastern and Western churches has not been shaped by the same periods of history (e.g., Scholasticism, Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment) for over a thousand years. One of the consequences of the history of the Western church is the 'mental over bodily' mentality, which Tuomas discusses further in his chapter in the Lutheran context. This is not the case in the Orthodox church where bodily activity is quite central in the worship.

Maybe for this reason, in our working group, the theme of ritual touching was the most complex one for me. I come from a tradition with a strongly prescribed way to perform rituals or touch ritually (e.g., kissing as a sign of veneration, blessing by touching, and ritual kisses after the Holy Communion) with no surprises in the liturgical context. The questions about ritual touching that arise in an ecumenical context were totally new for me and made me look again at my borders as a Christian: What are the protecting borders that are made of love to construct our identities as people and our traditions as different churches? How do we respect people from different backgrounds, for we cannot create bonding between us without the experience of safety and respect in the context of worship? Last, but not least: how can we achieve this experience of mutual safety and respect so that we can come together in the atmosphere of friendship, with a *generous attitude*, like Hilkka-Liisa describes in her chapter?

I believe that the first step towards this common understanding and common worship is a dialogue, a conversation where we, most of all, listen carefully to each other. Everyone must be heard, not only the loudest people, as usually happens. Being a member of the Finnish Orthodox Church means belonging to a minority church in Finland with approximately 60,000 members. The Orthodox form about one per cent of the Finnish population (Kalkun et al. 2018: 5–6). In the working group, all the three other participants were Lutheran. This set-up reminded me of the challenge of how to make the viewpoint of a lesser-known tradition be heard and eventually understood in a common discussion.

We have different borders, we come from different backgrounds, and our life experiences are different. All this we bring together when we come together. The dialogue, as I have learnt in this working group during our common work, is not only about getting to know the others – it is also learning about oneself. We should not subdue our differences, quite the opposite: many of the differences we have can be celebrated as a richness we share! Despite our different identities and backgrounds, we are unified in our goal, which is to find a safe and respectful connection between us.

By testing the boundaries that we think define us, we might understand better the boundaries that protect our identities. A strong and honestly defined identity is the best ground for building dialogue and collaboration between people.

At borders (Leena Lampinen)

Where are my boundaries and where are those of the people around me? Who am I (not)? Who are we (not)? We may be together, but we are not the same. There is something – a line, a border, a boundary, physical and/or mental – between me and others, or between our group and other groups, that separates me from others and defines where I am and where other people are. Various elements of our lives, such as ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious, are woven together forming who we are and what our (cultural) identities are like (see Hall 1996: 596). We carry with us our experiences of life, both mental and bodily, that are part of us also at the present moment. Our mental boundaries result from the circumstances and situations in which we live, and they could be seen as a frame of one's own thoughts. Since we are in constant interaction with other people, our boundaries are continually redrawn and renegotiated.

We need other people and interaction with them to make sense of who we are, but borders are needed as well so that we can be our individual and unique selves. We belong to various groups, communities, organisations, classes, cultures, and so on, but as separate persons. To borrow the idea of Croatian protestant theologian Miroslav Volf (2019 [1996]: 50), 'belonging without distance destroys [...] but distance without belonging isolates'. Distance is a way to draw a line between myself and other people and to prevent me from blending with the selves of others. However, it is important to remember that distance does not need to be understood as a total separation. Boundaries or borders can be crossed. Interaction and communication are possible over them.

Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1996: 19) has stated that 'one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs', meaning the situations when 'one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns'. Where is my place and how should I act? With whom or where do I belong? What is the distance at which I feel comfortable and safe? Being at borders and looking across them may evoke many kinds of questions since one is not sure what is going to happen or what is waiting on the other side. When crossing borders, do we directly enter another space or someone else's space, or is there perhaps a space between me and the other person, a space for us to meet? How could we cross borders sensitively and with respect? How do my ideas, previous experiences, and values resonate with those of other people?

This border crossing point or intersection of boundaries provides a platform for exploration – especially of one's own assumptions, attitudes and feelings, and it could be called in-between space, or third space (Bhabha 1994), or liminality (Turner 1991 [1969]). However, I see it rather as a 'potential space', as a space of possibilities. Potential space, a concept originally introduced by psychoanalyst Donald W. Winnicott, refers to 'an intermediate area of experiencing' (Ogden 1992: 205). It is a space of creativity and the space where communication between individuals takes place (Davis & Wallbridge 1991: 64–65). Respectful encounter requires openness and appreciation of the other, as we enter that common space with all that we are and have. Both listening and hearing are needed (Baldwin 2016: 77). I see potential space as connected to generous thinking and hospitality which Hilkka-Liisa will discuss later in this paper.

The easiest way to search for connection with others may be through features, experiences, and ideas that we have in common. However, it is also important to acknowledge differences between people in order to reach a deeper level of interaction (Ryde 2009: 114). Differences should not be ignored, since they mark the uniqueness of each person (or group). One should start by recognising and honouring differences and diversity within oneself since they lay the foundation for 'healthy recognition of alterity in others' (Baldwin 2016: 79–80).

It is possible, despite the differences, to build 'a mutual tuning-in relationship' (Schütz 1951: 79) that reaches over the borders. This concept signifies 'a precommunicative process in which self and other are experienced as sharing "we-ness"' (Neitz & Spickard 1990: 27). In the context of worship that combines the public and the individual, singing, listening, and/or hearing are ways to cross borders and to reach towards others. Singing and listening involve both mind and body, and they require attentive presence and consideration of other people. This creates a state in which one is open and tuned in to both receive and give, touch and be touched in various ways, be it singing, hearing, eye contact, handshake, or something else.

The border-crossing handshake in the Finnish Lutheran Mass (Tuomas A. Meurman)

As a working group we held a workshop at the conference *Encounters at Borders and Across Borders* in Helsinki in May 2022. There was a certain moment in our group's planning discussions that I recall as a very formative one:

> *Tuomas: Let us do a bodily introduction to the subject [at the conference workshop]: we can ask the attendees to touch the hand of the person next to them and then ponder the ideas, feelings, and connotations that arise from that gesture. As a very simple bodily exercise of crossing the border, to find borders, to examine borders, to discuss the bridging possibilities…*
>
> *Riikka: I must say that touching a stranger feels like a problem to me.*
>
> (Group discussion, 16 March 2022.)

This brief exchange of ideas and feelings led us to shape an exercise of touching in the broad sense of the term, an exercise involving the attendees of the workshop consciously touching others with their preferred ways of touching: not just by hands, as I first thought, but also by voice or eye-contact. At the opening of the workshop session, I gave simple instructions for the exercise and advised the attendees to reflect on a few questions during and after it: Which way of touching do you prefer, and why? What would be the outcome of crossing one of your borders? These questions then served as an opening to discuss further the crossing of borders in liturgical practices from the viewpoint of emotions, cultures, and theology, considering the concepts of 'touching' and 'border' opened up as diverse collections of different viewpoints as presented in our *Introduction* above.

During the 10-minute exercise people preferred mostly touching with voice. When producing a singing sound with their voice some of the participants closed their eyes in a way I interpreted as showing that they preferred to avoid touching with hands. Some attendees stood up and walked closer to others, offering their hand(s) to be touched. Some remained at their original place and posture, seeking eye contact with others. An established eye contact was often accompanied by a gesture of smiling. Similarly, those people seeking vocal contact with others could be heard singing harmonic intervals or in unison with each other, which I interpreted to mean that they willingly sought to touch each other with their voices. There was an atmosphere of meeting each other at the borders, or between the borders of individuals, in the potential space (citing the terminology of Riikka and Leena above), an atmosphere of tactfulness where the acts of touching were 'listening and responding to the other in a responsible way' and 'forming a proper relation of mutuality between perceiver and perceived' (Kearney 2021: 11, 16–17). We were conscious of the position of the other, watching and touching each other in a generous way.

Further in this article, Hilkka-Liisa proposes generosity as an attitude to chanting and listening in liturgy. Taking these insights from our workshop opening exercise to a more general level in terms of liturgical activity, I return to touching as understood in its primary or most common way: to touch something with one's skin, most often by hand(s). Constantly, the discussions of the role of touch in the liturgy of the Finnish Lutheran church tend to revolve around the question of whether people have to touch others when attending a worship service. The issue is present in the example of the greeting of peace during Mass. Although it is a theme that I am well acquainted with through the many undocumented talks and discussions with Lutheran church-going people around Finland, I think it becomes also visible at the official level, namely through a detailed look at the order of the Mass in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland.

When a Finnish Lutheran Mass proceeds to the moment of *Pax* (the greeting of peace), there is a liturgical chanted dialogue between the presiding minister and the worshipping congregation: 'The peace of the Lord be with you – and also with your spirit.' Many Christians worldwide would assume that the greeting would then be distributed in the worshipping congregation by attendees shaking hands with each other or embracing those around them with the greeting 'Peace of the Christ!' or 'Peace be with you!' (as a modernisation of the holy kiss, see, e.g., Senn 2016: 68–69). However, the Finnish Lutheran service usually proceeds straightforwardly to the chanting of *Agnus Dei* without any distribution of the greeting, although the worship book *Jumalanpalvelusten kirja* (2000: 33) contains as an option the inviting people to greet each other by saying, for instance, 'Peace of the Christ!'

In fact, in the manual of liturgy of the Finnish Lutheran church titled *Palvelkaa Herraa iloiten* ['Serve the Lord with gladness'] (2009: 27), the handshake does exist as a possibility: 'One of the eucharistic assistants or the deacon can invite people to greet each other with peace. It is recommended that a sign of peace (cf. e.g., 1. Cor. 16:20 [the holy kiss]) be added, for example a handshake.' It is noteworthy that the vocabulary here, compared to many other orders presented in the manual, carries a sense of suggesting, not obliging. Together with the common notion that one encounters the handshake-greeting-of-peace very seldom in a Finnish Lutheran Mass, this raises the question of why there is so much hesitation about ritual touching of others with hands in this context, and even an actual avoidance.

One major factor behind this phenomenon is the Finnish touching culture in general. Taina Kinnunen and Marjo Kolehmainen have made pioneering research work on opening up the issue in their article *Touch and affect. Analysing the archive of touch biographies* (Kinnunen & Kolehmainen 2019). Their theoretical deliberations based on 'touch biographies' written by people of various backgrounds in the 2010s construct a cultural framework of Finnish touching habits. They stress the importance of past experiences that, transmitted across generations, shape present experiences (Kinnunen & Kolehmainen 2019: 32). In their analysis, two main factors arise: collective post-war trauma and twentieth-century childcare ideals turn out to be keys to understanding the Finnish touching culture. The traumatic experiences of wartime (especially the Winter and Continuation Wars in 1939–1946, not to forget the Civil War a few decades earlier in 1918) and post-wartime continued to haunt new generations through silences, distances, violence, and mental disorders. The pervading pedagogics in childcare until the 1960s included strict discipline and physical punishment. These factors together form a touching culture where there is a fear of violence and an avoidance of touching and closeness, alongside a sense of and longing for care, love, and energetic warmth (Kinnunen & Kolehmainen 2019: 36–37, 49–50).

Regarding the Finnish Lutheran liturgical touching culture, the prevailing culture of avoiding or minimising touching also has other roots. In the bigger picture, the Reformation and especially the Enlightenment have moved the focus of Western Christian Protestant liturgies from bodily to mental activity, stressing the right mindset and thinking at the expense of touching, smelling, and tasting the sacred (Hulmi 2019: 108–113; Senn 2016: 3–5); mental over bodily, to make it short and exaggerated.

The liturgical touching culture of avoidance, however, has been challenged by a few trends that emerged during the 1900s and reached Finnish Lutheran worship life by the early 2000s. First, there is a post-war trend to ecumenicalise (internationalise) liturgical culture in the Finnish Lutheran Church. The findings of Catholic liturgists of the early 1900s were manifested in Vatican II. In the Finnish Lutheran Church this encouraged liturgists to import and revive liturgical gestures from the tradition and practices of the Catholic Church. The shaking of hands as the greeting of peace is an example of this kind of influence at the official liturgical level (cf. Senn 2016: 359).

Second, there has been a revival of the body in Finnish Lutheran Christianity that has to do with a larger international phenomenon, namely the holistic approach that challenges the dematerialising tendency in modern Western thinking (Hulmi 2019: 110; Kearney 2021: 34; Senn 2016: 5–8). Lately, this has been visible, for instance, in Finnish

Lutheran spirituality literature that takes touching and bodily postures and movement as a key way of practising spirituality. To name just a few, *Piirrän sinuun tarinan* ['I draw a story on you'] (Aitlahti & Reinikainen 2020) brings forth a method of telling Biblical stories as well as common hymns and prayers with touching and movement of hands and fingers on another person's back. Another example is *Hiljaisuuden tie* ['Way of silence'] (Harjunpää 2017) which introduces a collection of exercises that incorporate Hatha yoga with Christian Mystical tradition and praying with the whole body. Both methods include practices that can be applied as bodily prayer to an ordinary worship service.

These newer trends that challenge the touching culture of avoidance elucidate the tension that exists between the longing to be touched and the fear of being touched. In the context of liturgy, I see the case of the greeting of peace with a handshake as an example of this. As an ecumenical corporeal liturgical act, it is suggested in the contemporary manual, but at the same time, it is not obligatory in any way. The reason for the tension lies in the variety of touching cultures that the worship attendees bring along in their bodies. There are the still widely present ones where individuals prefer not to be touched by another person, or those that see touching in worship as something unnecessary compared to the so-called intellectual or mental participation in the liturgy. An attendee of a Finnish Lutheran liturgy may enter the church either hoping to be touched with warmth, friendliness, and respect, that is, with 'tact' (Kearney 2021: 10), or being afraid of an awkward moment to come when they should shake hands with a stranger. Ritual touching is not separate from the prevailing touching cultures in church and society. This tension in the context of Finnish Lutheran liturgy needs further research beyond the scope of this article.

As a constructive suggestion for how to proceed with this issue of touching in liturgy, I return to what I reported above about my observations during our touching workshop. When there is the freedom to choose your preferred way of touching, it can be eye-contact with a smile, instead of a handshake, that builds up the mutual tuning-in-relationship, a tactful potential space where an experience of safety and respect can be achieved in the middle of the dynamics and changes which also are parts of a ritual (see Post 2022: 747). When the recent global pandemic made us avoid handshakes in general, I encountered advice in Finnish Lutheran worship services that the greeting of peace be exchanged by waving one's hand and smiling to one's neighbour. This shows me that ritual touching is something more than just the bare act. It is an attitude to touch and to be touched safely and respectfully.

Listening as a way of liturgy (Hilkka-Liisa Vuori)

Discussions with Riikka, Leena, and Tuomas have led my thoughts towards the multiplicity of touching methods. Touching, listening, showing respect, and maintaining one's own space can all take place in the liturgy. In the liturgy, all senses need to be considered holistically with body, mind, and heart. I concentrate on the act of listening with the ears and heart.

Chanting in the liturgical context is a way of crossing bodily, mental, and spiritual borders. Voice and sound connect people with each other and also with the space they are chanting in. The liturgy of Christian churches is celebrated in the resemblance of the everlasting worship of angels around God's throne in heaven. The main work of angels in heaven is to sing and praise God. Keeping this image in mind, this should be central also in the Christian worship (S. Seppälä 2016: 230; H. Seppälä 2018: 184).

The Benedictine rule begins with the words 'Audi filio' or 'Audi filia' – 'Listen son', 'Listen daughter' (Lehmijoki-Gardner & Ainonen 2011). These words refer to the obedient heart and the obedient life of a monastery, but they can also be interpreted as concrete advice to listen. We tend to produce sound, speech, and song with a focus on ourselves. When we are praising God according to the image set by angels, our attention might leave us and go towards God. But are we listening to him or our own prayer? Is our singing powering over other people's voices or do we support and give room and attention to a fellow participant's chanting?

In many sources considering liturgy, it is made very clear that the focus should be more on attentive receiving than on producing, more on active listening than on singing, and more on you than on me. Saint Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373) describes this hospitality in her singing orders. She underlines that sisters should first chant with uniformity in their minds, and only secondarily with uniformity in their voices. Respecting others in one's mind leads to harmonious singing. According to Birgitta, the chanting should be humble, but with a burning heart, with full voice but without bringing forth all of one's own singing capacity (Sancta Birgitta; Vuori 2011: 133–142).

The culture of listening and that kind of obedience is present in the chanting. One is supposed to sing with a listening attitude. That way one's voice is not predominant but one should hear others more. My interpretation of Birgitta's singing instructions is that she is referring to the culture of listening to God and others – crossing the borders – with a generous attitude. The unison in the minds can be reached only if a person's attitude toward a fellow being is very respectful. Musicologist and Orthodox theologian, Professor Hilkka Seppälä, describes the happenings of Pentecost in similar terms. The Holy Ghost advises everybody to sing with unison in mind, unison in voice – 'So that we would praise the most sacred Spirit with one mind' (H. Seppälä 2018: 53). The idea of combining the wisdom of long tradition with an open mind and open ears of today's worshipper is central also to Riikka's article.

Listening with heart, body, and mind is approached in this article within various liturgical contexts. The aspect is also pedagogical. In my pedagogical studies, with the aim of deepening the understanding of teaching at university level, I met similar ideas about the importance of listening to others, though in the secular context. In her lecture and book *Generous thinking: A radical approach to saving the university* (2019), Kathleen Fitzpatrick addresses the university and society with ideas about active hospitality in communication. Fitzpatrick is an American humanist whose main interest is in the openness of scholarly communication and research. I felt that the thoughts of Saint Birgitta and Saint Benedict were being expressed in modern words in sociological research by Fitzpatrick for modern society: the university. She introduces generosity as a way to live a better life in university and society (ibid.).

Fitzpatrick suggests that one should learn to practise generosity in thinking and listening through everyday practices as a regular workout, just like we exercise or go to the gym to take care of our bodies, or meditate. Through regular mental practice of generous thinking, it becomes part of the structure of our everyday life. The practice of generosity requires the will to listen to other people with an attentive mind. But it should not be one-sided. Especially in cases of disagreement, the listening should be mutual, or at least have the potential for mutuality. Fitzpatrick wishes to lead universities away from the competitive state of mind towards generosity (Fitzpatrick 2019: 67–77; Vuori 2020: 111).

The regular, repeated, even everyday practice of generous thinking, or hospitality as mutual listening, could be a central practice of communication in the liturgy with all attendees present. Crossing the borders in liturgical life can be achieved through discussions and words of intelligence and diplomacy. Nonetheless, more attention should be given to the ritual character of the liturgy, which encompasses chanting and praising, including touching as a way of listening and respect. When I listen to another person or the minister, or the priest, I allow myself to be touched. Is the whole idea of crossing the mental and bodily borders the same as letting myself be holistically touched, and allowing myself to touch as well?

I suggest that when we are holistically touched within the ritual, we are also possibly sensing the holiness. Could it be said that sensing the holiness is the same thing as listening with the heart? This is an act where we do not have human-made borders or borders between churches and liturgies.

On ritual touching

In our working group, we let ourselves be touched by each other. Conversations felt fruitful because we all shared the same enthusiasm for finding out how to understand each other, even though we come from different backgrounds and Christian denominations. The concept of touching in the liturgy became broader after every discussion: the touch of music, the bonding of sung prayer, the touching of lips – with the icon or with the bread and wine in the eucharist, the touching of scents and candles, and the touching of eyes. The eyes meet the icons, other persons, and the beauty of the church. There is also a touch of hands in the greeting and prayer. The common ground of all these forms of touching, crossings of bodily as well as mental borders, is the safety of a known ritual. A familiar ritual creates a safe haven in time and within the space of a church, and between the attendees – either singing–listening or silently listening – in the context of reaching to the world unseen in the resemblance of heavenly worship.

Safety forms a basis for ritual touching. It arises from borders – borders that are protecting and positive. Protecting borders enable connecting and tuning in with others while maintaining identity. Safety includes the possibility of acting according to the degree of comfort one feels in the presence of others and within the shared space. This does not need to mean remaining unchanged since borders can be tested and explored, and through this process, it may be possible to find new viewpoints to existing ideas. However, testing one's own borders requires courage and openness since it contains plenty of not knowing and uncertainty that arises from the ritual's dynamic and changeable nature, which can even bear surprises within this safe place.

In addition to safety, another essential feature of ritual touching is respect. It includes acknowledging and accepting existing boundaries and the variety of thoughts, traditions, and backgrounds. Respect is shown for other people as well as for oneself and for the Divine. It is about respect when different forms of touching are used sensitively and with an attentive and open mind. In the ritual we can be touched by the Divine, which is outside of our intellectual analysis and not dependent on our conscious comprehension. Ritual touching, meeting at and across borders, is about searching for connection through respect and love without containing compulsion of any kind.

Ritual touching provides a means for different needs, traditions, and experiences to interact. Longing to be touched and fear of being touched are acknowledged and respected within the same space. We consider touching through different senses equal – warmth, friendliness, and respect can be achieved through all of them. Instead of prioritising some of the forms above others, we want to acknowledge individual preferences concerning touching. Whatever the form, it is implemented with a generous attitude. This being said, it is important to note that we do not want to cover the presence of inappropriate, violent, and unilateral touching and the problems it creates. All societies and church communities have had to wrestle painfully with the consequences of harmful touching in recent years. Our goal is to point to positive ways forward.

Ritual touching as a concept means giving a definition to the already existing encounters in the ritual of Mass and liturgy. It is also a way to give touching more varied forms within a ritual. The recognition of the variety of ritual forms of touching is a possibility for regular attendees to learn something new about the worship they already think they know. On the other hand, for newcomers, the deep layers of prayer can be opened up through regular practice of rituals of touching (cf. Senn 2016: 380).

Conclusions

We have been discussing the meaning of the ritual of Mass and liturgy in relation to borders. During our conversations, our understanding has grown. The mental and bodily borders can be crossed in multiple ways, but it requires respect and continuous dialogue. All the various forms of border crossings can be included within the concept of ritual touching. The safe haven of one's liturgy offers the possibility of being touched through all our senses. Ritual touching shifts the focus from oneself to the other. Instead of my own voice, I hear more the voice of other people and God. It is about stepping out of individualism and about meeting God through other people. The ritual provides safety which in turn allows us also to open up more to the touch of the invisible, towards the sense of holiness and divinity. Divinity, which is essentially met also through other attendees of the liturgy, the community in the holy communion. The idea from Western monasticism, listening with one's heart, can be described as a sense of holiness. It is a bridge, which helps us to cross the border even between liturgies and churches.

We understand that exposing oneself to (ritual) touching is a sensitive matter. Different denominational and tradition-related boundaries, different touching cultures, and our individual customs and experiences may prevent us from doing so, or at least hamper it, even when the environment and the atmosphere are as safe and respectful as possible. Unease, doubt, fear, or even anger may arise, and they need to be acknowledged. The choice not to be touched should be accepted as well, since as mentioned earlier, any kind of force is not involved in this concept.

When considering our concept of ritual touching, it is essential to acknowledge that this is a form of touching which has meaning in the known ritual. There are ways to be touched, which are directed at the same time to everybody attending. This kind of touching is, for example, the chants sung together, or the smell of incense filling the church. On the other hand, there are moments of being touched individually, a feeling that the liturgy is reaching and touching me at this very moment, like the bread on my lips, or my hand in yours for a brief moment. On the other hand, what is personally touching to one person, can feel like togetherness for another person. This is one beauty of ritual touching; it is lived in the moment.

What we have not considered in this article, is the touch of silence in the ritual. It can fill our senses from inside to outer listening, or from our outer being into our very core. We have wanted to bring forth many different kinds and forms of ritual touching. Could it be that through understanding the seen, heard, smelling, and tasting ways of touching, we can move into a deeper understanding of ritual touching, which happens in the silences of divine service?

Looking towards the future, we want to ask: can we create new forms of ritual touching or renew the old ones within the liturgies? What do we need as separate Christian churches and in ecumenical gatherings? Should we first try to pray, be ritually touched together, and only then act, rather than what we usually tend to do: discuss first, act, and then pray? When praying together in silence, in chanting, or through all our senses, the essential form of the prayer is hospitality and generosity. That way the ritual can be a place where everybody can feel accepted through a welcoming attitude – not only despite the borders but also because of them. With a subtle touch towards the borders, we can acknowledge and accept our differences and meet the other person in a communal way.

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