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First Vespers of the Titular Feast of the Saint Cäciliabruderschaft in the Domkirche of Saint Stephan in 1726

The *Bruderschaften* of Vienna were derivatives of the early monastic *Gebetsverbrüderungen* (prayer fraternities) of the eighth and ninth centuries.¹ Known as *Zechen* until the beginning of the sixteenth century, their membership included clergy and laity, noble and common, men and women, and sometimes children.² With a history spanning more than five hundred years, these organizations were primary agents in the re-catholicization of Vienna, reaching their zenith in the mid-seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth centuries.

The promotion not only of new brotherhoods but also of ‘Roman’ church music was integral to the reclaiming of Vienna for the Catholic Church. To help in this recovery, in 1626 Ferdinand II summoned the *Patres Clerici Regulares Sancti Pauli* or the ‘Barnabites’ from Rome to Vienna. In Rome, the Barnabites shepherded the church of Saint Paul outside the Walls and its two resident music brotherhoods, the *Capella Sistina* and the *Confraternitatis Musicorum de Urbe*, the guardians and advocates of music of a ‘true ecclesiastical nature’. In Vienna, they were assigned to the Michaelerkirche, the parish church of the court musicians and servants, and the residence of a medieval brotherhood of minstrels and musicians. The *sand Niclas zech dacz sand Michel und die bruederschaft gemain der spillewt* was the only

¹ See *Das Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg*, with an introduction by Karl Forstner, *Codices Selecti*, 51 (Graz, 1974), 11–12; Theodor von Karajan, *Das Verbrüderungs-Buch des Stiftes S. Peter zu Salzburg aus dem achten bis dreizehnten Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1852), 3; Angelus Albert Häußling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: einer Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte die Messhäufigkeit* [Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 58] (Münster 1973), 273–274.

² *Historische Beschreibung der [...] St. Magdalenakapelle* (Wien, 1781), 3. The old German word *Zöch* is said to mean *Bruderschaft*. See also Geraldine M. Rohling, ‘The “Music” Bruderschaften of Vienna’, in *Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften* (Ph.D. Diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1996.)

‘music’ brotherhood in Vienna at that time.³ Already in existence by 1288, the *Sankt Nicolai Bruderschaft* was one of the oldest—if not *the* oldest—brotherhood of its kind in central Europe. The term ‘medieval’ defines this brotherhood as having been established prior to the Council of Trent and its Code of Canon Law (1604), which organized and canonically certified the brotherhoods.

During the next century an active collaboration developed between the Italian Barnabites and the court musicians, to whom they ministered with an Italian flare. The court musicians, who performed at the Michaelerkirche, also became members of the resident brotherhoods, e.g. the *Divina Grazia Bruderschaft* included the court composer Carlo Agostino Badia, the alto singer Gaetano [Cajetanus] Orsini, the imperial Konzertmeister Kilian Reinhardt, and Hofkapellmeister Marc’ Antonio Ziani.

FOUNDING OF THE SAINT CÄCILIABRUDERSCHAFT

Italian roots went deep in Vienna. The succession of Italian maestri lasted almost a century, from 1619 to 1715. The alliance between the court musicians and the Italian Barnabites was significant to the practice of church music and the flourishing of the brotherhoods in Vienna. Hofkapellmeister Ziani and Vize-Hofkapellmeister Antonio Caldara, founding members of the Saint Cecilia Confraternity in Venice, were protégés and contemporaries of Pietro Cardinal Ottoboni (1667–1740), one of the great patrons of his generation. The Venetian born Ottoboni was also the esteemed Cardinal Protector of the Roman Congregation of Musicians. He participated in the revisions of the *Decreta, seu Statuta Congregationis Musicorum Urbis* [...] *S. Ceciliæ* in 1711 and 1715, and as the Cardinal Protector, he was the principal signatory of the document published in 1716, to which Pope Clement XI (1700–1721) appended his apostolic confirmation. Thus, the celebration of Cecilia as the patron saint of the imperial court musicians on Sunday, November 22, at the Barnabite church of Saint Michael, as recorded in the

³ Albert Starzer (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien [GSW]*, 9 vols. (Vienna, 1897–1921), 3/ii, Nr. 1967; Richard Müller, ‘Wiens höfisches und bürgerliches Leben im ausgehenden Mittelalter’, *ibid.*, *Von der Zeit der Landesfürsten aus habsburgischem Hause bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Teil 2), 641; *Kirchen und Pfarr Protocoll der k. St. Michaels Hoff-Pfarr Kirche*, 4 vols., iii. 2145.

Wienerisches Andachts-Büchl oder Fest-Calendar (1716), was not without some precedent.⁴

In addition to ‘countering’ the Reformation, Habsburg rule was intent upon reviving the medieval notion of the Holy Roman Empire as a divinely ordained state. One of the ecclesiastical archetypes and expressions of that medieval power and spirit was the art of contrapuntal music. To that end, in 1725, Charles VI financed and supported two significant projects: the first, the publication of the pedagogical treatise *Gradus ad Parnassum* by Hofkapellmeister Fux, and the second, the founding of the *Virtuos-Musicalischen Congregation zu Lob Gottes und Ehren der Heiligen Jungfrau und Martyrin Caeciliae* by Fux and Caldara.⁵

The remarkable popularity of the *Gradus*—the first edition sold out within the first year—was founded not on the reputation of Fux as a theorist but as that of Hofkomponist and Hofkapellmeister. Fux saw the mastery of the *stile antico* as a musical foundation upon which to build, a core principle in the art of composition upon which to introduce new musical ideas, not something to be destroyed in a quest for originality. The church music of Fux reflected the imperial taste and the *Reichsstil* in music.

The Congregation [or Brotherhood] of Musical Virtuosi to Praise God and Honor Saint Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr, like its Roman counterpart, was a protected brotherhood, i.e. under the ‘glorious protection’ of Charles VI. As such, it was exempt by decree of the Council of Trent from the unsolicited visitation and authority of bishops, cardinals, and delegates of the Apostolic See.⁶ Comparing the title pages of the Viennese and Roman brotherhoods, the name of the emperor parallels that of the pope, furthering the idea of the Holy Roman Empire as a divinely ordained state in which the emperor shared power with the pope; a parallel that was not lost on the intended audience and participants.

⁴ *Wienerisches Andachts-Büchl oder Fest-Calendar vor das Jahr M.DCC.XVI.* (Wien, 1716), 136: ‘22. Sonntag. Cæcilia / wird bey St. Michael von den Kaiserlichen Hof-Musicanten / als ihre Patronin / verehret’.

⁵ Title page of the published sermon of Don Paulo Greipl, *Fröliches Jubel-Fest*, quoted in Karl Schütz, *Musikpflege an St. Michael in Wien* [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung, 20] ed. Franz Grasberger (Wien, 1980), 76–77; *Wiener Diarium*, 1725, Nr. 72.

⁶ H.J. Schroeder OP, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1955), 156f.: session XXII, chapter VIII.



FIGURE 1. Cover pages of the statutes and rules of the Roman Congregation of St. Cecilia (1716) and the Viennese Music Congregation of St. Cecilia (1725), respectively.

Membership in this ‘imperial’ brotherhood was restricted to the composers, singers, and instrumentalists of the Hofkapelle and dilettantes.⁷ First among those listed in the membership catalogue was the emperor and empress.

The inaugural celebration of the Viennese brotherhood was held on 22 November 1725 at the Michaelerkirche. An account of the event is given in the *Wiener Diarium* and the published sermon of the ‘regular Sunday/feast day preacher’ of the Barnabites and rector of the brotherhood, Don Paul Greipl, who compared the festivities to those in Rome (1684) of the *Confraternitas Musicorum* and his fellow Barnabites. Some time shortly thereafter, the brotherhood relocated to Stephansdom, the *Haupt- und Metropolitan-kirche* of the newly designated archbishopric of Vienna (1722). The *Convention oder Verständnis* of 1725 between the brotherhood and the Barnabites, written in both German and Italian, details the payments made to the Barnabites for liturgical events and verifies this change of residence.⁸

⁷ *Articulen und Puncten* [...] *der musicalischen Congregation* (Wien, 1725), rubric 1, chapter 2. See also Rohling, *Bruderschaften*, chapter 4.

⁸ The domicile of this Caeciliabruderschaft remains an ongoing quest. Scholars have placed it at the Peterskirche, the Augustinerkirche, and the Michaelerkirche prior to its

The annual celebration of the feast of Saint Cecilia included first and second Vespers and a solemn High Mass, replete with ‘the most splendid music’ performed by the finest instrumentalists and singers.⁹ In addition, 50 Masses were celebrated for all members and special memorial services were held for the deceased.¹⁰ The sermon in the morning was given in German and that in the afternoon was in Italian. These celebrations of the imperial court musicians at the cathedral of Vienna, performing ecclesiastical music in a style canonized by the emperor, embodied the Habsburg ideal of *Reich und Kirche* and became its platform. The imperial, political, and ecclesiastical grandeur of the *Haupt- und Residenzstadt* was expressed at the *Haupt- und Metropolitankirche* via its music and piety.

FIRST VESPERS OF 1726 AT THE DOMKIRCHE

The court and its musicians frequented the Domkirche of Saint Stephan more than any other church, next to the Hofkapelle and Hofkirche. As such, it was an appropriate domicile for a brotherhood of ‘great importance’. The separation and musical distinction from the Saint Nicolai Bruderschaft of minstrels and musicians, who were considered to be of a lower, common class both socially and musically, was also important. Thus, the distance from the Michaelerkirche to the Domkirche, even though only a matter of blocks, could not have been greater.

The music for the feast day of Saint Cecilia in 1726 showcased compositions by Fux and Caldara, the standard bearers of the *Reichsstil*. An examination of the entire musical service must await another day and another presentation. For this discussion, a general comparison of the music of Caldara and Fux will best serve the topic of the Habsburg agenda of church and state.

As stated earlier, one of the ecclesiastical expressions of the power and spirit of the Holy Roman Empire as a divinely ordained state was the art of

residency at Stephansdom. Cf. Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School (1740–1780)* (New York, 1995), 296; Geraldine Rohling, ‘Exequial and Votive practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften’ (Ph.D. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1996); Michael Maul, “‘Die große catholische Messe’.” Bach, Graf Questenberg und die “Musicalische Congregation” in Wien’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 95 (2009), 153–175.

⁹ Joseph Ogesser, *Beschreibung der Metropolitankirche zu St. Stephan in Wien* (Wien, [1779], 293. See also *Wiener Diarium*, 1767, Nr. 94.

¹⁰ Ogesser, 293; *Articulen und Puncten [...] des musicalischen Congregation*, rubric 1, chapter 3.

contrapuntal music. The first Vespers begins in a manner apropos to the musical and political pursuits of Charles VI. Curiously, the first musical offering is not by Fux but Caldara, often said to have been the 'favoured' composer of the Emperor. This setting of *Dixit Dominus* (HK. 140) is in the double choir Venetian style. The dramatic *adagio* beginning, a three measure tutti fanfare on 'the Lord said', followed by an effervescent double choir dialogue ('the Lord said to my lord, come sit at my right hand') cannot be mistaken as anything less than an imperial pronouncement—double choir of trumpets and tympani—of the notion of the divinely ordained state (see ex. 1). The multi-movement *Dixit Dominus*, composed specifically for this celebration in 1726, was performed at least eight other times and only for the first Vespers of Saint Cecilia, according to the annotations on the manuscript.

The very large ensemble (2 soprani, 2 alti, 2 tenori, 2 bassi, 4 clarini, 4 tromba, 2 tympani, alto and tenor trombone, fagotto, 2 violini, violoncello, and violone, concertate e ripieni) far exceeds that of any other composition in the service. In fact, it exceeds that of the *6,000 florin Amt* and many *Te Deum* performed at the Domkirche.

For more than a century, in order 'to improve' (*Verbesserung*), 'to strengthen' (*Verstärkung*), or to supply the 'second choir' at the Domkirche or the Hofburg, 'Extra Musikanten' were recruited from the Domkapelle, which included boys and teachers of the Kantorei, and the Saint Nicolai Brüder. In the Italian style this is similar to that of the *ripieni*. There is every indication that this practice may have been implemented on this occasion and others of the Saint Cäcilia Bruderschaft.

Standing in direct contrast to the *Dixit Dominus* is the motet *Laudate pueri* (HK. 153), also by Caldara, for alto and tenor solo, violin obligato, 2 violins, fagotto, violoncello, and organ. It is rather modest by comparison. The attraction which Caldara displays for contralto/alto solo singers in his compositions may be explained in part by the fact that he was trained as a cellist and contralto, and his wife, Caterina Petrolli, whom he married in 1711, was an alto virtuoso. There is no record however, of Caterina being employed as a member of the Hofmusikkapelle.

Among the musical contributions of Hofkapellmeister Fux were the last two psalms. *Nisi Dominus* (K. 107) à 4 (soprano, alto, tenore, basso concertate e ripieni; 2 violini, violoncello, violone concertate e cornetto, alto and tenor trombone, fagotto ripieni) was composed for this occasion and was performed the first four years in succession and then sporadically thereafter for a total of seven performances (see ex. 2). *Lauda Jerusalem* (K.112) à 4 (soprano, alto, tenore, and basso concertate e ripieni; 2 violini, violoncello, violone concertate e cornetto, alto and tenor trombone, fagotto, alto viola

ripieni) seems to have enjoyed less popularity for this occasion as it was performed only one other time. One of the interesting things in this composition is the use of an alto viola as a ripieno instrument (see ex. 3).

If one takes into account the history and music outlined above, it leads one to believe that the *Gradus* was the idea and contribution of Fux towards the advancement of an imperial style and that the brotherhood and its solemnities were the contribution of Caldara. This too, is a topic to be further discussed at another time.

What began in 1725 as the *Virtuos-Musicalischen Congregation* gradually changed to the *Saint Cäciliabruderschaft*. The Viennese brotherhood shared similarities with the Roman Congregation of Musicians, e.g. its organizational structure and its pious practices but it was not an exact copy. The Viennese brotherhood had its membership dues but employment was not contingent upon this obligation and its members were neither rated nor classed.

With the deaths of Caldara in 1736, Charles VI in 1740, and Fux in 1741, the brotherhood began a slow decline. The *Decani* of the Saint Cecilia Bruderschaft, a non-elected office, was inherited by all Hof- and Vize-Kapellmeistern subsequent to Fux and Caldara. The last of the court *maestri* to hold this office were Leopold Gassmann and Joseph Bonno. On 30 June 1783, by imperial decree, the *Saint Cecilia Congregation* of Vienna was dissolved along with all the other brotherhoods in Vienna.

There is reason to believe that the *Tonkünstler Societät* founded in 1771 grew out of both the Nicolai and the Cäcilia Bruderschaften.¹¹ Many of the officers and members of the Saint Cäciliabruderschaft belonged to the *Tonkünstler Societät* (e.g. Francesco Conti, Joseph Porsile, P. Cassati, and Gottlieb Muffat). Moreover, following the dissolution of the brotherhood, the *Tonkünstler Societät* petitioned Joseph II for the transfer of funds from the *Cäcilien-Congregation* at the Domkirchen (in the amount of 7,450 fl) to its treasury. The request was granted.

¹¹ Richard von Kralik, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiener Kirchenmusik: die erste Generation des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Musica Divina*, 4 (1916), 89, refers to the *Tonkünstler Societät* as 'heir' of the Saint Cecilia Brotherhood.

EXAMPLE 1. Caldara, *Dixit Dominus*, bars 1–6

Adagio

Tutti

Clar 1/2
Coro I

Trp 1/2
Coro I

A-Trb
Coro I

T-Trb
Coro I

Fag
Coro I

Timp
Coro I

Clar 1/2
Coro II

Trp 1/2
Coro II

Timp
Coro II

Vn 1/2

S/A
Coro I

T/B
Coro I

S/A
Coro II

T/B
Coro II

Vcl/Vlne Conc
Org
M.D.C.

Di - xit Do - mi - nus. Di-xit, di-xit Do - mi- nus

Di - xit Do - mi - nus. Di-xit, di-xit Do - mi- nus

Di - xit Do - mi - nus.

Di - xit Do - mi - nus.

Di - xit Do - mi - nus.

EXAMPLE 2, Fux, *Nisi Dominus*, bars 22–26

22

Cntto

A-Trb

T-Trb

Fag

Vn 1/2

S/A

T/B

Vc

Vne

Org

M.D.C.

Tutti Ni - si Do - mi - nus cus - to -
 Ni - si Do - mi - nus cus - to - die - rit ci - vi -
 Tutti Ni - si Do - mi - nus cus - to - die - rit ci - vi -
 Ni - si Do - mi - nus cus - to -
 Tutti 4 3 6 6 4

24

die - rit ci - vi - ta - tem, fru - stra
 ta - tem, fru - stra vi - gi - lat qui cu - sto - dit
 ta - tem, fru - stra vi - gi - lat qui cu - sto - dit e -
 die - rit ci - vi - ta - tem, fru - stra vi - gi - lat qui cu - sto - dit
 6 3 6 3 9 8 6 3 6

EXAMPLE 3. Fux, *Lauda Jesrusalem*, bars 1–4

Allegro

Tutti

Cntto

A-Trb

T-Trb

Fag

Vn 1/2

A-Va

S

A

T

B

Ve

Vne

Org

M.D.C.

Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem.

Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem.

Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num, Do -

Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num,

Tutti 3 6 3 4 3 6 7 6 3 6

