

## CHORALES AND LITURGICAL MUSIC

It is a peculiar fact that Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner, the German-born opera conductor and composer, who was not employed as a church musician in Sweden until the ripe age of 62 (1821), came to make such a profound mark on church song in the country throughout the 1800s and, to some extent, the 1900s. The judgement passed on this pugnacious man and his achievements varies widely – to modern minds he is probably little other than a symbol of deathly boring hymns. But before discussing the tradition associated with Hæffner's name we must try to see the context in which he operated, the background against which his church song ideals project.

If we are to believe Carl Envallsson, who has some brief entries dealing with liturgical music in his 1802 lexicon, things were not looking good for this field at the start of the century. Schools were no longer as interested in church singing as they once were:

“[The Kyrie] is now only sung once a year on *bönesöndag* (the fifth Sunday after Easter) by a pack of schoolboys whom a connoisseur would wish to be out of sight, as well as their cantor, for the sake of the eye and the ear.” (Envallsson 1802, item: “Kyrie”.)

The phrase “for the sake of the eye” is explained under the item “Cantore”, which portrays the Catholic cantor leading his choir during Mass “without making a spectacle of himself, in front of the congregation, with such raging conduct towards the boys and grimaces and the like as bring ignominy to the service” – this last no doubt a sneer at the Swedish cantors. An idea of the musical level of the jack-of-all-trade singing leaders in the provincial churches, we get from the item “Sexton”:

“A servant of the church who in the smaller congregations, particularly in the countryside, is also the church singer.... A better schooling in music for their likes is no less necessary than learning the skill of bloodletting and cupping, which any old fishwife could do.”

Not even the priests are spared his barbs. “The Catholic priests are mostly known for their Masses, but the Swedish Mass one generally hardly dares mention” (item: “Psalmodier”). A hymn (Psalmus) is “a spiritual piece of music sung slowly to church music and with many org-points” (i.e. with fermata over the phrase end-notes).

Envallsson was critical of most aspects of the church singing of his time, although this did not, mark well, apply to the last mentioned item, the hymn tempo. He simply noted that hymns were sung slowly and that the end of the phrase was sustained on a “note [that] was to be held as long as is wished and rest long enough for the melody to obtain the pleasant and majestic pace as it meet for spiritual music” (item: “Org-point”).

The demand that hymn singing be majestic and the service ceremonial was characteristic of the new late-18<sup>th</sup> century ideas of formal worship and chimed with the contemporary craze for the sublimely simple, the older, folkish tradition having been rejected by aesthetic sensibilities, as described in dramatic terms by Hæffner in his foreword to *Svenska Messan* 1817:

“It often seems as if the Cantor and the singing congregation were in conflict with each other, each striving to outdo the other in wild howling and boisterous clamour; and the officiating priest, instead of establishing reconciliation, merely increases the mayhem.” (Hæffner 1817).

Naturally, circumstances were different when the organ joined in. In another context, Hæffner wrote of a visit to a church service in Stockholm in the early 1800s, at which the organist played a polonaise as a prelude to a Gradual hymn. As befitting custom, the first phrase of the hymn was sung by the cantor alone and unaccompanied “with even more runs and trills than

the Priest in the Mass. The melody was 191, in the Dorian mode, but was played in our common C major.” Then the congregation joined in for the second phrase, accompanied by the organ playing such dense chords that rendered the melody inaudible. Between phrases the organist played brief interludes, longer ones between the verses, all using passages from the polonaise (Hæffner 1810).

It is against such a backdrop that we must view Hæffner’s various attempts to reform liturgical music. One way of rescuing the solemnity of the church service from riotous congregational singing was to have a four-part choir take over the congregation’s unaccompanied parts of the liturgy. Hæffner’s choral passages to these sections were first printed as early as 1799 along with Olof Åhlström’s recording of a respected priest’s rather freeform liturgical chanting. When in 1817 Hæffner printed his own *Svenska mässan*, adapted to the revised church handbook of 1811, he had added models – based on former patterns – for the priest’s cantillations (intoned recitations of liturgical texts) to the choral passages, and even noted down possible organ accompaniments. Having the organ join in the altar chanting was an innovation that would have a lasting impact. In 1818, Åhlström published a new edition of the liturgical music from 1799. The diluted remnants of the once so rich liturgical song survived throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century in both Hæffner’s and Åhlström’s versions, all generally performed as unison song with organ accompaniment. A new period did not break through until the 1897 music supplement to the 1894 service handbook. The priest’s chanting of the Collect, the Epistles and the Gospels seems often to have been executed with a more or less successful attempt at melodic expressiveness. Despite this, the latter half of the century saw a gradual shift towards normal reading.

A remarkable cantillation tradition, which was taken over by untrained singers from the common congregation, was to sing the passage from Isaiah “the people who walk in darkness will see a great light” in connection with the early morning Christmas Day service. To understand the powerful emotions these words evoked, it must be remembered that this particular service was the only one to be celebrated under full illumination. Otherwise candles were spared even during the dark seasons of the year, which meant, amongst other things, that the hymns chosen had to be known by heart.

In this context it should also be remembered that churches only started being fitted with heating installations during the latter half of the century. Nevertheless, services were such a popular draw that many parishes were permitted to build a new church or extend the existing one when it proved too small. But given that it was not until after the middle of the century that more than half of the nation’s churches had an organ (Erici 1965) – in some places, the church did not install an organ until into the 1900s – for the first half of the 1800s, choral singing with organ accompaniment was a comparatively rare treat.

Nor was there any standardised chorale tradition at the beginning of the century either. To be sure, Georg Joseph (Abbé) Vogler had published 90 chorales by 1799, but there were not enough of them for the then prevailing hymnal from 1695. As regards the chorale book, Envallsson writes: “Each and everyone uses his own, as it is, or as he can best lay his hands on; but an authorised Swedish and universally adopted one is still wanting” (item: “Chorale book”).

This is the point at which Hæffner steps in. His chorale book proposal had already met with the Royal Academy of Music’s approval in 1800, and an official statement from a committee on which sat both Åhlström and academy secretary Pehr Frigel talked of how the melodies had regained “their primitive simplicity”, which was meant as high praise. But alongside the restored melodies, Hæffner had included variants that were sung in such parishes “where there can be no improvement”. The chorale book was recommended “as the most useable published in Sweden to date” (Royal Academy of Music minutes, 3/5 1800). However, it only

left the printing presses, in a more or less revised form, in 1807–08. In the foreword, Hæffner describes it as a “complete Chorale book, restored to its utmost purity and simplicity, both in harmony and in melody”, but while returning the melodies to their original form he had sacrificed this principle whenever “contrary to general customary use”. Most of his corrections involved restoring the major and minor reinterpreted church mode chorales to their proper melodic and harmonic character. Hæffner was, therefore, a very early representative of the preoccupation with church music restoration that has been so prominent ever since.

But he also pushed other principles. It was important that the four-part chorales were not only playable but could also be sung by a choir, especially in schools, so all parts were therefore to be singable and syllabic, not just the melody. Some never-sung melodies were omitted but a number of rarely-sung were retained because they were worth preserving and including in a future new hymnal. For similar reasons, a score of good but previously unknown (in Sweden) German melodies were also appended, to which Hæffner hoped new hymns would be written.

It is worth noting the importance placed on multi-part choir singing in this context. In the academy’s pronouncement on the first part of the chorale book (nos. 1–125), a particular point was made that the chorale pieces “could be sung by a choir with exceedingly good effect”. The chorale book was therefore of much greater use than any of the earlier versions both for the academies and for such churches “where Choral singing and so forth are studiously practised and there is access to trained voices” (Royal Academy of Music minutes, 13/11 1807).

Hæffner’s contemporaries and posterity both rejected his ideas of four-part chorale singing as untenable romantic dreams. Yet in Danish and Icelandic churches we can easily find examples of this very form of chorale song, which has almost totally supplanted congregational singing. And as we will see, choir-sung chorales were even learnt in Swedish parishes as well.

To the hymn committee, appointed in 1811, it became a matter of urgency to write lyrics, in accordance with Hæffner’s principles, to melodies that were to be preserved or included. The secretary of the academy, the aforementioned Pehr Frigel, had been appointed the committee’s music expert; this aggrieved Hæffner, who considered himself better qualified for the position, and he launched a public attack on his peaceable rival. Frigel replied by arguing against the restoration principle, noting that many melodies had changed over time but denying that this automatically made them worse: “The refined tastes of recent times have, to a certain extent, brought about these changes and when they have not robbed the song of the dignity appropriate to the church they cannot justifiably be censured.” Frigel then addressed the regard for already well-learned melody versions that Hæffner had spoken of earlier. If the organ played the original versions of these instead, it would create “an intolerable noise”. Otherwise, Frigel questioned what were actually the original forms of certain Lutheran melodies (Frigel 1813). In the ensuing debate, Hæffner accused Frigel of making a serious mistake, namely of having enticed some psalmists to write dactylic verse. Such rhythms were, in Hæffner’s unshakable view, irreconcilable with the spirit of the chorale (Hæffner 1813).

When the hymnal reached completion, it was Hæffner, in spite of everything, who was put in charge of preparing the appurtenant chorale book. The hymnal, which is usually named after Johan Olof Wallin, was royally approved and established in 1819. In the spring of that same year the hymn committee notified all bishops and cathedrals that the chorale book compiled by Hæffner in consultation with Erik Gabriel von Rosén and Olof Åhlström and endorsed by the Royal Swedish Academy of Music was now ready for the press. Given the recommendation of this work, which contained “many of the most splendid foreign and new

Chorales” as well as “all known and usable Melodies in the Swedish church”, it could also be used for the old hymnal (appendix to Circular no. 5, 8 May 1819).

Thus, the “Svensk Choralbok Af Kongl. Psalm-Kommittén gillad och antagen År 1819 Utarbetad af Ioh. Christ. Fred. Hæffner” was published in 1820 – Hæffner being named within as the book’s sole compiler. However, any notion that he made all the decisions is soon dashed by the reverse of the title page, on which appear revised harmonies for some of the chorales and mention is made that three chorales have been added on the last page, “melodically corrected to how they are most usually sung out in the Swedish parishes”. These, it must be noted, were not alternative chorales but “corrected” ones. Hæffner claims that this addition was done without his knowledge by Åhlström (Hæffner 1821, p. 6, 23 f.). In his preface to the chorale book (dated 1 December 1819), which oddly enough is not in this first part but in the second that he published himself through another publisher (1821), Hæffner states that he was assisted in his choice of melodic material not only by von Rosén and Åhlström but also by the two clergymen J.O. Wallin and Georg Stolpe. In the provenance description of chorale no. 92 Hæffner extends his public gratitude to Åhlström, who “spared no effort and worked with tireless zeal to supply me with extremely important information for the good of the singing congregation”. Presumably it was Åhlström who made sure that the chorale book provided variants, either entire melodies or just a few measures, in a dozen or so places. Even more variants, many of which were in accordance with customary use, Hæffner provided in part 2, where he also presented several chorales that could not be sung to any of the new hymnal’s lyrics. There were also wind and timpani parts for five chorales and three chorales were arranged for men’s choir. Some of the alternatives Hæffner claims to have included because the respective meter classifications “are lacking in serviceable melodies”. In an addendum (p. 26) he discussed the issue of the ratio between melodies and hymn lyrics, maintaining that Luther et al would have wanted individual melodies for all hymns. But since the number of hymns had grown to 500 by 1819 and many of them were composed in the same meter with the same kind of content, the chorale book sometimes used the same melody for more than one hymn. “But”, he continues – and here follows the important declaration overlooked by the later debate:

“if anyone should be of the opinion that there ought to have been further restrictions to the Melodies the answer to this is: that it is better for a congregation to have access to, rather than a lack of good melodies of the same meter, since it allows them to choose between using all those specifically given or only the familiar”. (Hæffner 1821).

Consequently, a register was drawn up showing which hymns were composed to the same meter and “thus could be sung, if one so wished, to one and the same melody”. Hæffner thus adopted in many important respects a very liberal stance on his own project and even allowed himself to publically criticise “his” chorale book: chorale no. 135 had “been reduced to a modern key by decision of the Committee” and had subsequently “lost all its original character” (Hæffner 1821 a.)

After Hæffner’s review and approval, D. Winge published his “Anvisning vid begagnandet af Svenska Choralboken” (Instructions on the use of the Swedish Chorale Book) in 1822. Here, Winge had compiled different registers of both parts of the chorale book; for instance, he listed all the 86 new melodies and showed how 59 of them could be exchanged for old melodies of the same meter classification. The remaining 27, on the other hand, had no metric counterparts amongst the old melodies.

It is important to stress these registers, since it was soon a primary criticism of the 1820 chorale book – mention was seldom made of part 2 from 1821 – that it contained too many melodies. The issue came to a head after the introduction of statutory elementary schooling in

1842, in which the learning of hymns was an important matter. At the request of the clergy in the riksdag, the King tasked the Royal Academy of Music with cutting as many of the melodies in the hymnal as was possible. The result was the “minimitabellen” from 1844, in which the number of melodies had been reduced from 290 to 169. Added to the list were also three chorales by Åhlström and another three by von Rosén. The King also had to decide on a proposal that Hæffner’s chorale book should be given the same status as the hymnal (i.e. approved and adopted). The King rejected the idea and the chorale book had to retain the legally weaker status conferred by adoption by the hymn committee only.

There were already at this time other chorale books in circulation that differed somewhat from Hæffner’s. In 1830, Dean Johan Dillner, who served different Uppland parishes, published his famous *Psalmodikon*, a hymnal with his own numerical notation system designed for the psalmodicon, an instrument that had been introduced to Denmark a few years earlier but that became more widespread in Norway. Dillner’s initial intention was to teach the new melodies in Hæffner’s chorale book to parishes that lacked an organ, which, as mentioned above, were in the majority. His initiative had a huge impact on the entire country.

Soon enough, however, Dillner also started to write out all four voices in the chorales in his numerical system, and thereby obtained an effective tool in an enterprise that no one had thought possible – namely get common peasants to sing four-part chorales. Others followed his lead, including priest A.T. Paban in the parish of Denmark outside Uppsala, who in the summer of 1844 even travelled into the city to hold spiritual concerts of “four-part songs performed by common folk” with a programme that included not only chorales but other spiritual songs (*Correspondenten*, Uppsala 29/5 1844) as well.

What Dillner was hoping to achieve was not, as is sometimes claimed, multi-part congregational singing. He actually created our earliest church choirs outside the cathedral cities, and one can only imagine how it must have felt to listen to and even sing en masse in places without organs – when did anyone there even have the slightest opportunity to hear multi-part music? The foreword to the 1848 edition of *Psalmodikon* also tells us that Dillner was aware of the difference between chorales sung in a multi-part choir setting and regular unison congregational singing. Out of consideration for the latter, he recommended not having more than two choir chorales in a morning service.

We now return once again to Olof Åhlström, since he published another chorale book in 1832 under the significant title *Choral Bok i Öfverrensämmlse med Svenska Församlingens vanliga sång* (Chorale Book in accordance with the common song of the Swedish Church) – we have already met this tendency of his in the 1820 chorale book. When studying Åhlström’s book, the question that arises is what he means by “common” song. How, actually, did these chorale melodies come across when sung by common folk compared to Hæffner’s? A little more light is shed on the issue by *Folk-Melodier sammanskrifne i Choraler*, a little collection of chorales that Peter Magnus Hjertstrand, organist in Landskrona, published in 1847. Hjertstrand had been captivated by the “hymn melodies, practised from childhood but somewhat departing from the adopted Chorale book, which I venture to call Folk melodies.”

A compilation of versions of Gustaf Düben’s melody to the hymn “Jesus är min vän den baste” (Jesus is my best friend) opens, to some extent, a new perspective on the relationship between the chorale forms of the chorale books and those of the common folk. About the latter, little is known from this time since they were only first recorded at the end of the 1800s, largely in Skåne and Dalarna.

In keeping with his principles, Hæffner had a rhythmically smooth and purely syllabic variant of this melody from the 1697 chorale hymnal. Did he create this variant? Hardly – as we see from Åhlström’s omitted version, where we find that what is meant to reproduce the

singing of the common folk is almost identical to what Hæffner had produced. An incidental observation in this context is that Åhlström wrote the chorale a full tone higher than Hæffner – he who was otherwise often criticised for having chosen too high a pitch. Åhlström also differs in having the crotchet as the basic value and a 4/4 time signature.

So to Hjerstrand (example c). First of all, we can ascertain that this folkish chorale is also completely even in terms of its time values (apart from the melodic figure filling in the interval of a third in measure 2), a feature common to the three 1800s versions. It seems that people did not sing rhythmic chorales in keeping with their original form. It can also be noted that the four melodic figures after the repeat sign are nothing like the original. Here, borrowings have been made, at least in part, from other melodies. (The immediately preceding chorale, for example, is intended for hymn 2 and is identical to this apart from the fact that phrase 5–6 is missing there).

At the end of his collection, Hæffner presents the same melody (example d) “with more difficult Harmonies, passing notes and suspensions”. The differences between, for instance, c and d are to be seen as geographical variations, something that Hjerstrand addresses elsewhere. Here, it is, instead, two ways of playing the same chorale, in the latter case using ornamentation. The parishes could no doubt ornament in other ways; the main thing is that the core notes were the same.

Maybe the course of change can be described like this: First – probably as a tradition dating back to the 1600s – the chorale tempo slowed. When it reached a certain threshold, it was no longer possible to differentiate between long and short notes; in other words, there had been a rhythmic levelling. But as it was difficult to sustain long, straight tones, the easiest way out was to employ interval fillers and other embellishments. Thus was the foundation laid for the folk chorale tradition. As the years passed, there could naturally be a shift in the “core notes” and doubtlessly some ornamentation became fixed as improvisational freedom crystallised into a set melody based on the given foundation.

We have now reached the mid-1800s, which saw the gradual start of the crusade for so-called rhythmic chorales. The levelled-out chorale could be made rhythmic either by completing what Hæffner claimed to have done – effected a return to the original melodic forms of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century chorale – or by more or less arbitrarily rhythmicising it: rewriting it in triple time, introducing dotted notes etc. without consideration for the historical legitimacy or illegitimacy of such.

Endeavours to create a rhythmically lively congregational form of song received active support from the highest quarters when the future King Oscar II, as *preses* of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, raised the chorale issue to the top of the academy’s agenda for a couple of years in the mid-1860s. He even made his own rhythmic arrangement of the hymn “Allena Gud i himmelrik”, one of the most sung chorales in the entire hymnal. It served as the Gloria hymn and was thus sung during almost every morning service. The *preses* had the student choir using this chorale arrangement on the Academy’s annual ceremony in 1866, after which it was published in the Academy’s deeds from that same year (printed 1867). Oscar also made a significant contribution to the decision that the academy back a revision of Hæffner’s chorale book, a commission that was entrusted to the newly appointed teacher of composition Franz Berwald, who might well have considered the choral book to be a matter of the utmost national importance but whose interest in it, however, lay almost solely on the compositional plane. At his death, Berwald had made it to no. 59. His chorale revisions came to have only negligible impact on future developments and remained in manuscript form until the present day, when they were included in the volume of Berwald’s collected works. The revision work was taken up by Jacob Axel Josephson, who published nos. 60 to 200 in 1877. Then when Josephson died in 1880, the academy’s interest in the issue died with him. When the academy later approved the publication of Landskrona organist Bengt Wilhelm Hallberg’s

chorale book (printed 1882), it was just one among many for its members to choose from. The first edition of P. Petersson's chorale hymnal from 1858 can be said to trigger a string of chorale book publications, some of which stayed fairly true to Hæffner, while others concentrated on rhythmic chorales.

The predominant force in the efforts towards a rhythmic chorale was eventually the *Kyrkosångens vänner* society, founded in 1889 as a purely priestly association with four-part male-voice chorale song on its programme. In his capacity as teacher, cathedral organist, oratorio conductor and publisher of the collection of spiritual songs *Zion* (1867–70), J. A. Josephson was a key galvaniser for the society's group of founders. The society's chorale book was published in 1901 and again in 1903. It also published journals, including the highly influential *Kult och konst* (1905–08).

Johan Lindegren published the *Svensk koralbok* in 1905. He had already been engaged in chorale issues in a theoretical-scientific way through his *Tidning för kyrkomusik* (1881–82), but when the journal had to fold, he penned a bitter invective on the last page of the final issue: "It is thought to be more honourable for 'outstanding' persons to fabricate inferior chorale works than for neglected persons to make good ones". Nodermann and Wulff's chorale book from 1911 proved of little practical significance, but Preben Nodermann's work on the history of the melodies gave rise to a still very useful doctoral thesis.

A collection of chorale melodies published in 1890 is of particular interest since the publisher was a prominent liturgist, Bishop Uddo Lechard Ullman. In his *Evangelisk-luthersk liturgik* (1876–79) he had emphatically asserted the necessity of breathing life into congregational singing. But he also had an eye open for the importance of liturgical choir singing. It was common for chorale books to have, at the end, a small collection of choral songs, such as Gustaf Mankell's from 1865, and while there were church choirs around, they were still quite few and far between.

Around the early 1900s, although the Church of Sweden was in a greater state of crisis than it was a century previously, the situation for liturgical music was in some respects brighter. Hæffner's chorale book still exerted a dominant influence, even if it had been long subjected to heavy, though often unwarranted and misguided, flak. The chorale book issue was a tangible problem that demanded an immediate solution, and that had been invested with extra emotional charge by the clash over the use of revivalist songs in the Swedish church. There was no officially sanctioned solution until the 1930s. The next volume provides a more detailed account of the church music reform that commenced in 1897 and the concomitant emergence of the church song and organ movements.

Music in the 19<sup>th</sup> century state Lutheran church was provided by the priest, the organist, the sexton and the cantor – and, of course, the congregation. The priest's main job was to have a good command of the liturgical singing. The organist was to play the organ to the liturgy and chorale singing, and perform preludes, postludes and any other necessary music. The sexton was to lead the congregation in its singing, along with the cantor, who also led the church choir.

This is the ideal, but it in no way reflected how things actually were in the early 1800s, when the only indispensable church servant was the priest. As for the organist, cantor and sexton, each parish was entitled to decide whether to employ one and at what salary. Since only one in four churches had an organ, many parishes could make do without an organist. And since church choirs only formed in any real numbers towards the end of the century, there was hardly any call for cantors either. The sexton, on the other hand, was a useful person with multiple responsibilities, and was often better paid than the organist. As Frigel says in his Academy document from 1815:

“One would expect that the youth, with respect to future promotion to organist or cantor, might be keen to have a more thorough and mature education in the pieces that the management of such positions rightly insists upon, but this conjecture comes to nought when reflecting upon how few demands on skills are generally made and how paltry the conditions that accompany these appointments are. When a sexton, who has not had to learn more than to read out aloud, write in a tolerably legible style and do tolerable quatuor species [the four basic arithmetical functions], at one or other Parish can expect an annual income of almost 1,000 Rdr, it is often the case that the organist, who, in order to properly discharge his duties at the public Service has had to spend much money and many years on his education, has to manage on a provided annual salary of no more than 100, maybe 150 Rdr.” (After Morales & Norlind 1921, p. 78).

So why was the sexton so well-paid? The answer is that he was required to perform a number of services that were needed for a barely literate congregation and provide vaccinations (against smallpox in accordance with Jenner’s method, royal letter 1805, not rescinded until 1916).

The duties of the sexton gradually changed during the 1800s. His educational function was taken over by the schools, his medical by the district physician and his church-musical by a body of organists that grew steadily with every church that purchased an organ. Different services were also more often combined, so that the sexton could also be a school teacher, the organist, a cantor and so forth. Prior to 1820 there was no regular education of organists or cantors, but from the 1820 until the middle of the century, the Royal Swedish Academy of Music devoted its energy to this concern above all others, to the extent that it was considered almost a school for organists. The organist also received cantor training and the two degree subjects did not separate until the 1880s. From 1861 church musician appointments were also open for women. To meet the growing need of organists-cantors, education was allowed outside the academy, particularly in the cathedral cities, where the cathedral organists took on much of this responsibility.

Consequently, the sexton became much more dispensable and in three major investigations from 1908, 1919 and 1920, it was proposed to have the position abolished. According to the statistics presented, there were 2,327 sexton and church music positions in the country in 1907, of which 1,765 were connected to the post of school teacher.

Religious freedom also gradually increased over the course of the 1800s. It had been cautiously introduced by King Gustav III (the tolerance edict of 1781), enshrined in the constitution in 1809 and finally established once and for all in a series of ordinances from 1858–1870. This facilitated the emergence of the non-conformist churches as well as congregations of other faiths, primarily Catholicism and Judaism. Their musical circumstance will not be described here with the exception of one case, which proved of considerable international import.

In the 1850s, the cantor (hazzan) and choir director at the Gothenburg synagogue was Abraham Nissen (brother of singer Henriette Nissen) and its organist Joseph Czapek. In 1857 they were joined by the young Abraham Baer, who was born in Poland and educated in Amsterdam. Jewish cantors traditionally learned their repertoire by ear and most of them were unable to read notes. But Baer could and gradually notated the songs, publishing in 1877 a collection of 1,500 recitations and songs from around Europe called *Baal T’Fillah, oder “Der practische Vorbeter”*. It has since proved extraordinarily practical (the sixth edition was printed in New York in 1954).



Example 3:14  
Versions by Gustaf Düben's melody for the hymn "Jesus är min vän den baste":  
a) The 1697 chorale hymnal  
b) Hæffner 1820  
c-d) Hjertstrand 1947

The image displays a musical score for the hymn "Jesus är min vän den baste" in three systems. Each system contains four staves labeled a, b, c, and d, representing different historical versions of the music. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C).  
System 1: Staff a) shows the 1697 version with a 1/3 time signature and a 2/4 time signature. Staff b) shows the 1820 version. Staff c) and d) show the 1947 version.  
System 2: Staff a) is circled with the number 5. Staff b) is circled with the number 6. Staff c) and d) continue the accompaniment.  
System 3: Staff a) is circled with the number 7. Staff b) is circled with the number 8. Staff c) and d) continue the accompaniment.