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Johannes Kuhlo's Conception of the 'Posaunenchor' and His Kuhlohorn. An Ideal of the Sacred Sound and Its Embodiment in the German Empire

Johannes Kuhlo is widely recognised as the most influential proponent of the Posaunenchor movement. However, his vision for the Posaunenchor diverged from contemporary practice. This paper examines Kuhlo's detailed conceptualisation of the Posaunenchor within the socio-historical context of the Lutheran working-class milieu of late nineteenth-century Eastern Westphalia. A committed Bibli-cist, Kuhlo revered the words of the Lutheran Bible and aspired for the Posaunenchor to emulate the human voice preaching the Gospel. To this end, he sought to establish a distinctive, chorus-like brass ensemble, centred on the flugelhorn as the principal melodic instrument, and with a performance style deliberately distinct from both military bands and other vernacular ensembles. Kuhlo envisioned the Posaunenchor as an embodiment of Christian social conservatism – an ensemble that sonically represented the sacred ideals of the Lutheran German Empire.

The term 'Posaunenchor' is used today to denote a congregational brass ensemble in the German Protestant Church. It was registered as an example of Germany's Intangible Cultural Heritage by the German Commission for UNESCO in 2016 and has been described as a "trademark of the Protestant Church".¹ It remains indeed an indispensable part of local Protestant congregational music-making in Germany to this day. The term is often literally translated as 'trombone choir', but this does not accurately capture the essence of the congregational ensemble to which it refers. The ensemble comprises not only slide trombones but also trumpets, flugelhorns, French horns, 'Tenorhorns', 'Baritons',² tubas and others. Labrosones are chosen for their sound range and nominal pitch, and they align well with four-part choral arrangements. However, the term 'Posaunenchor' should not be considered an organological misnomer for the ensemble. Instead, it underscores the intricate challenges involved in translating and interpreting the German term 'Posaune', which are shaped by cultural conditions. Accordingly, the use of 'Posaune' as signifying only a slide trombone becomes less than self-evident, particularly in an era characterised by considerable technological changes such as the intro-

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1 UNESCO n.d.

2 The German 'Tenorhorn' is similar to the baritone found in British brass ensembles, whereas the German 'Bariton' is similar to the British euphonium. For this reason, we use the German term for both instruments.

duction of valve mechanisms. The concept of ‘Posaunenchor’ as a congregational ensemble can shed light on this issue.

Johannes Kuhlo (1856–1941), a Lutheran pastor from Eastern Westphalia, is recognised as the most significant promoter of the Posaunenchor movement. He was renowned as a conservative Lutheran patriot both during Wilhelmine Germany and after it. Kuhlo’s engagement in political activities is well-documented,³ but previous research, predominantly conducted in the fields of practical theology, church history, church music history and music history, has frequently created a dichotomy between his musical/theological practices and his political ideology, especially regarding his association with National Socialism.⁴ Musicology has predominantly framed the Posaunenchor within the confines of Christian congregational music.⁵ It is critical, however, to recognise that Kuhlo’s instrumental vision for the Posaunenchor is inextricably linked with both the Christian faith and his conservative-patriotic political ideology. To adopt a different approach, we must suspend the prevailing dichotomous framework and reassess Kuhlo’s work beyond any theological legitimisation. This approach is necessary if we are to advance research into this congregational ensemble and comprehend the cultural conditions surrounding the use of labrosones in relation to the Christian faith. It is essential for us to avoid conflating Kuhlo’s concepts and those of his devotees with contemporary practices.

In this essay, I will examine Johannes Kuhlo’s *Posaunen-Fragen*,⁶ first published in 1909, which is his most renowned work. This is an expanded version of the practical instructions for the *Posaunenbuch*, which I will discuss in a subsequent section. In *Posaunen-Fragen*, Kuhlo articulates his vision for the Posaunenchor and provides practical guidance for such ensembles, drawing on his personal experience. This text has frequently been referenced by brass players in Posaunenchöre, theologians, church musicians and musicologists, even in the late twentieth century, particularly for its ecclesiastical insights for congregational brass ensembles. My analysis will then focus on Kuhlo’s detailed description of the Posaunenchor within the sociohistorical context of the Lutheran working-class milieu in Eastern Westphalia in the late nineteenth century. This approach reveals that *Posaunen-Fragen* touches on issues that are political in intent, beyond music and theology. I will elucidate how Kuhlo conceptualised the ideal musical practice of the Posaunenchor, especially with regard to the use of the flugelhorn, commonly known as the ‘Kuhlohorn’, for this ‘sacred’ (*geistlich*) brass ensemble. I shall also demonstrate how his musical concepts were intricately entwined with his conservative, patriotic beliefs. I will commence by presenting biographical details about Kuhlo and his social background and then outline his conceptualisation of the Posaunenchor, drawing here on *Posaunen-Fragen*. Lastly, I will examine Kuhlo’s religio-political views, particularly in relation to the patriotic performances of his Posaunenchor. I thereby aim to contribute to a deeper understanding of the cultural perception of the ensemble and the concept of the ‘Posaunen’ during the long nineteenth century.

1. Johannes Kuhlo as a Lutheran pastor in Minden-Ravensberg

Although Johannes Kuhlo had a significant influence on the musical practices of the Posaunenchor, he was not a professionally trained brass player, but a Lutheran pastor in the administrative district of Minden-Ravensberg in Eastern Westphalia. His biographical details and the region-

3 See Neumann 2006; Schnabel 2011.

4 See Schnabel 1993, pp. 191–194; Schnabel 2003, pp. 79–140.

5 See Ahrens 1997; Schepping 2000, p. 657.

6 Kuhlo 1909.

al context are indispensable for understanding his conception of the Posaunenchor because the socio-cultural and religious environment of the region significantly shaped his faith and perspective. The neo-pietistic Lutheran Christian revival movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*) was a determining factor in Minden-Ravensberg society in the nineteenth century.⁷ After the Napoleonic Wars, this region experienced political confusion, economic upheavals and poverty. Confusion struck the lives of peasants and craftsmen in rural communities. In their need, they often looked to their Christian faith for comfort. Either local pietistic pastors or diaspora preachers of the Moravian Church (*Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*) in Oberlausitz in Saxony might have inspired this trend. In the first half of the nineteenth century, peasants and craftsmen began gathering in covert religious assemblies outside the institutional Church, reading the Bible, listening to pietistic sermons, exchanging their ideas about their Christian faith, and singing spiritual songs. The edifying experience gained through communal singing assumed central importance. The core elements of their movement were Biblicism, the Lutheran *sola fide*, charitable activities and emotional experience rather than any rational understanding of religion. They also tended to believe that the Enlightenment and liberalism after the French Revolution had caused their poverty, and they demanded a monarchical order like that of Protestant Prussia. From the 1840s onwards, elements of this neo-pietistic movement spread through the whole of eastern Westphalia and came to constitute a perceptible part of its socio-cultural milieu.⁸

Pastors who were opposed to Enlightenment positions played a pivotal role in disseminating and invigorating this movement. Among these leading figures, Johann Heinrich Volkening (1796–1877) fervently advocated for musical activities within the congregations. Eduard Kuhlo (1822–1891), the father of Johannes, was one of the movement's leading pastors. Beginning in the 1850s, he organised Lutheran youth clubs for boys and girls (*Jünglings- und Jungfrauenverein*),⁹ gave instruction to choruses formed in the clubs and congregations, and fostered brass ensembles that became known as Posaunen or Posaunenchor. The origin of this term, specific to Minden-Ravensberg, remains unclear. The diaspora preachers of the Moravian Church in Oberlausitz of Saxony might have spread this term, for 'Posaunenchor' is already mentioned in sources there from the middle of the eighteenth century;¹⁰ it is also possible that Biblicist pastors and brass players coined it with reference to the term 'Posaune' as used in Psalm 150 in Luther's translation of the Bible: "Lobet ihn mit Posaunen" ("praise [the Lord] with trombones").¹¹ Under the organisational leadership of Eduard Kuhlo, the Posaunen became an integral part of clubs and associations by the 1870s.¹² The popularisation of wind bands in society in general and the increasing availability of valve brass instruments in this era were undoubtedly contributory factors.

It was in this environment that Johannes Kuhlo emerged, a charismatic figure who later acquired the nickname 'Posaunengeneral' (the general of the Posaune), by which he was still known even in the late 20th century.¹³ He grew up taking part in the Posaunenchor conducted

7 Mooser et al. 1989.

8 Mooser 1989.

9 See Jüttemann 2008.

10 See, for example, Peuckner 2009.

11 Originally 'shofar', that is, a ram's horn. In most English translations of the Bible, this instrument is given as 'trumpet'.

12 On the emergence of the *Posaunenchor* movement and Eduard Kuhlo, see Gießelmann/Krull 1989; Gießelmann 2003; Schnabel 2003, pp. 11–77.

13 For more biographical information on Kuhlo, see Schnabel 1994, pp. 113–124. There is a biography by Wilhelm Ehmann (1951) that draws on information from Kuhlo's family and acquaintances and on Ehmann's own experiences with Kuhlo, but is not based on critical research.

by his father. He learned the alto trombone at the age of eight and then taught himself the flugelhorn. From childhood onwards, Johannes Kuhlo helped his father with running an instrumental ensemble for local youth clubs. When he later took his father's place, he became the most prominent leader of Posaunenchor in the Wilhelmine period. As a pastor, he was engaged in welfare and social work in 'diaconia' (Protestant welfare organisations) in the Inner Mission within the Lutheran church. Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1839–1910) employed Kuhlo as a pastor in his Bethel Institution near Bielefeld in 1892, where Kuhlo lived for much of his lifetime. It should be noted that Kuhlo's pastoral career was deeply embedded in the contemporary revival movement, which had also prompted the development of the Inner Mission and the burgeoning diaconia in eastern Westphalia. It attempted to solve the social problems that had appeared after the Industrial Revolution by restoring Christian morals through establishing welfare institutions. This shaped a specific Lutheran conservatism in eastern Westphalia, set against the growing Marxism and socialism in the region.¹⁴ Johannes Kuhlo was one of the most representative figures of this tendency. He was a devoted Biblicist, and it is said that he regarded himself as "conservative to the bone".¹⁵

His efforts to improve others through music, by playing the flugelhorn and directing the Posaunenchor, were fully integrated into his diaconal work. In this regard, he represents a quintessential figure in his regional context.

2. Kuhlo's Posaunenchor

As a conservative Lutheran pastor, Kuhlo envisioned the Posaunenchor as a 'sacred' brass ensemble dedicated to Bible-oriented, devotional musical practices and "to the glory of God, to the edification of the congregation, and the joy of the members."¹⁶ This is still the most often-cited phrase in Posaunenchor today. Kuhlo, a Biblicist, held the words written in the Lutheran Bible in high esteem and desired the Posaunenchor to emulate the sound of the human voice preaching the Gospel. To realise this vision, he wanted to establish a unique, chorus-like brass ensemble that was distinctly separate from military and vernacular bands.

A key concern of Kuhlo's was to differentiate the Posaunenchor from 'secular' music ensembles and practices.¹⁷ To achieve this, he promoted a unique repertoire and notation system. His music publications had a major impact on the conditions of performance. The first thorough, systematically arranged music anthology for the Posaunenchor was the *Posaunenbuch*¹⁸ published by Kuhlo's father Eduard in 1881. Johannes assisted in his father's work and by the 1920s had improved this anthology and expanded it into four volumes.¹⁹ Inspired by the hymnological research of Johannes Zahn (1817–1895) and his contemporaries, who dedicated themselves to the regeneration of Reformation melodies and were influenced by the concurrent revival and scholarly study of Johann Sebastian Bach's music, Kuhlo favoured having the Posaunenchor perform Protestant chorales arranged in a 'cantional' setting (i.e. in four parts with a note-against-note accompaniment to the melody) as well as chorale settings by Bach.²⁰ In addition to these chorales, it is noteworthy that the *Posaunenbuch* encompasses other religious songs and Ger-

14 On the work of diaconal institutions in eastern Westphalia, see Mooser et al. 1989, pp. 113–229.

15 "[...] nach eigenen Worten 'konservativ bis auf die Knochen'" (Schnabel 2003, p. 133).

16 "Lobet den HERRN mit Posaunen! [...] zur Ehre Gottes, zur Erbauung der Gemeinde und zur Freude seiner Mitglieder" (Kuhlo 1909, p. 1).

17 See *ibid.*, pp. 101–132.

18 Ehmann edited the facsimile of this first *Posaunenbuch* (KuhloE 1881).

19 See Schlemm 1996.

20 Kuhlo 1909, pp. 60f. and 112f.; see also Schnabel 2003, pp. 106–112.

man folk songs about nature, community and the fatherland. It includes patriotic songs such as *The Watch on the Rhein* (*Die Wacht am Rhein*) and the *Deutschlandlied*, which Kuhlo similarly arranged in cantional settings like chorales. He regarded the Protestant chorales as the highest form of folksong, evoking God's Creation and the Christian community.²¹ He employed a unique notation using a piano score in C, which he called '*Klavierschreibweise*' (piano notation), distinguishing it from the transposed notation developed for military and other bands.²² He emphasised its practicality: it saved time and paper that would otherwise be needed for transposing instruments, and it let the brass player grasp the harmonic structure of the music. However, it should also be noted that Kuhlo aimed to insulate the Posaunenchor brass players by confining them to his strict system. This restriction was designed to prevent these young male musicians from participating in other ensembles, whose notation would be unfamiliar unless they learned it separately.²³ In this manner, Kuhlo's *Posaunenbuch* functioned as a conduit for interweaving ecclesiastical elements with patriotic communalism, simultaneously serving as a means of exclusion, which in turn marginalised the Posaunenchor from other ensembles.

Kuhlo expanded the instructional section of the *Posaunenbuch*, *Anhang A* (Appendix A),²⁴ into a separate booklet entitled *Posaunen-Fragen*. Here, Kuhlo discusses the instruments that make up the ensemble, and which function as a means of manifesting his ideas.²⁵ While the term 'Posaunen' was used to describe the instrumental ensembles of youth clubs, a literal Posaunenchor, i.e. a 'chorus' comprising just slide trombones, was seldom realised in the movement. By the 1860s, it is probable that the instrumentation had emerged as a significant issue in performance practice. In 1861, an anonymous Posaunenchor conductor in Iserlohn proposed what he regarded as the ideal ensemble, arguing against trombones due to technical difficulties, and suggesting trumpets instead on account of their biblical connotations. Valve instruments were popular in military bands and were being increasingly adopted in four-voiced Posaunenchor ensembles.²⁶ In the first edition of the *Posaunenbuch*, Eduard Kuhlo's recommendations were primarily focused on the technical aspects of performance.²⁷ Johannes Kuhlo revised his father's views, placing greater emphasis on resembling a vocal choir, and underscored the use of the flugelhorn for the melody or soprano parts (see Table 1). His priority was that the soprano part that has the melody should be played on the flugelhorn, complemented by suitable alto and tenor instruments, with the indispensable bass part on slide trombone and helicon. Kuhlo did not intend entirely excluding slide trombones from the alto, tenor, or bass parts, though he did find the valve trombone less desirable. It is possible that he envisioned using the prevailing Sattler-Penzel type for its soft but majestic timbre. However, the difficulties posed by slide trombones in an ensemble led him to choose (valved) flugelhorns to achieve a round, soft, solemn timbre with a rich resonance, akin to a chorus of singers. Remarkably, Kuhlo treated the flugelhorn as more compatible with the slide trombone than trumpets or cornets, which he perceived as overly aggressive and noisy, and not suited to his timbral ideals. This contrast between flugelhorns and trumpets/cornets should not be interpreted as aligning with later classification systems in organology. Instead, it reflects a preference based on both sound character

21 Kuhlo 1926, p. II.

22 Kuhlo 1909, pp. 62–69; see also Schnabel 1993, pp. 12–19.

23 Kuhlo 1909, p. 65.

24 Kuhlo 1894.

25 Kuhlo 1909, pp. 6–26. I deal with the comprehensive issue of Posaunenchor instrumentation in another place. Please see Akiyama forthcoming.

26 Anonymous 1861; Schnabel 1993, pp. 72f.

27 KuhloE 1881, pp. 4–9.

and practicability.²⁸ The French horn (*Waldhorn*) could have been incorporated in the ensemble, but Kuhlo was concerned about its practicability. His approach can best be described as applying contemporary instrument-making technologies to produce a sound that was in his mind both historical and biblical in character.

	I. (soprano)	II. (alto)	III. (tenor)	IV. (bass)
basic quartet	1. flugelhorn	2. flugelhorn	3. Tenorhorn	4. slide trombone with thumb valve
beginning choir	5. flugelhorn			6. helicon
complete choir	9. flugelhorn	7. alto trombone in e^b	8. Tenorhorn	
powerful choir	10. flugelhorn	12. flugelhorn	13. tenor trombone	11. helicon
large choir	14. flugelhorn	16. flugelhorn	17. French horn	15. slide trombone without thumb valve

Table 1 The different possible line-ups of Kuhlo's Posaunenchor, given in increasing order of size as proposed in Kuhlo 1909, p. 17.

Johannes Kuhlo specifically referred to the oval flugelhorn,²⁹ which later became popularly known as the 'Kuhlohorn'. The guidelines in the *Posaunenbuch* suggest that young men's clubs in Minden-Ravensberg were importing this horn from Saxony or Silesia by the beginning of 1880s.³⁰ By 1882, Johannes Kuhlo appears to have established a collaboration with August Glier in Markneukirchen, which subsequently became the centre for the production and retail of the instrument sets recommended by Kuhlo. In the 1890s, Kuhlo engaged Ernst David to produce these instruments – an instrument maker who had done his apprenticeship in Markneukirchen and had been active in Bielefeld since 1895. In the second edition of the practice guide *Anhang A*, published in 1894, Kuhlo enthusiastically endorsed David's instruments in a new footnote while still recommending those of Glier. Kuhlo praised David as a "true master of brass instrument making", highlighting the excellent intonation and smooth sound quality of his flugelhorns.³¹ This information aligns with a design registry report in the 1896 edition of the *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau*, which indicates that David established his workshop in Bethel in Bielefeld by November 1895 and developed a new tuning slide.³² In line with Kuhlo's recommendations, David sold instrument sets specifically tailored for Posaunenchor use. His advertisement featured instrument sets with a B^b flugelhorn, labelled the "System Kuhlo".³³ Figure 1 shows an oval flugelhorn produced in the workshop of David, ca 1920s.

The *Posaunenbuch*, *Anhang A*, and *Posaunen-Fragen* of 1909 illustrate how Kuhlo developed his conception of instruments through practical experience. It is important to note that the major extension from *Anhang A* to *Posaunen-Fragen* was the success of his engagement in religio-political activities.

28 The understanding of the trumpets and the horns as two separate families in Posaunenchor emerged after the 1920s, being possibly influenced by the musicological discourse of the time. This is a topic I intend to discuss at another opportunity.

29 The origins and development of this type of flugelhorn cannot be traced. According to Heyde (1987, pp. 211 and 278), this type of horn was probably produced in Vogtland in the mid-nineteenth century.

30 KuhloE 1881, p. 9.

31 Kuhlo 1894, pp. 19 and 61.

32 *ZfI* 1896, p. 705.

33 Such advertisements are found in the *Posaunenbuch* (KuhloE 1881), such as on the last pages of Kuhlo 1926.



Fig. 1 Kuhlohorn produced in the workshop of Ernst David.

3. Posaunenchor and Christian Social Conservatism

What, then, were the underlying reasons for Kuhlo's dedication to the Posaunenchor in *Posaunen-Fragen* of 1909? Previous studies have stressed his model as the basic sacred brass ensemble of the Protestant Church in Germany. However, this view ignores the fact that his intention in the *Posaunen-Fragen* was not to produce a theological catechism of brass playing, but rather a personalised, religio-political manifesto. This is where his biography as a Lutheran pastor within a specific regional context is a major factor to consider.

During the Wilhelmine period, Kuhlo eagerly supported the Christian social (*christlich-sozialer*) conservatism of Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909),³⁴ who aimed to solve the social problems caused by industrialisation and to unify the German nation through the 're-Christianisation' of society and the restoration of Christian morals under the authority of a Protestant monarch. Stoecker condemned liberalism, capitalism and profane socialism, and also advocated anti-Semitism.³⁵ He established the Christian Social Party (CSP) to uphold his religio-political ideology. Stoecker's policies failed to establish themselves in either Berlin or nationally. However, Stoecker and the CSP had an active group of supporters in Minden-Ravensberg at the turn of the century³⁶ who included rural Lutheran, working-class people alongside conservative pastors such as Kuhlo and his employer Bodelschwingh. The Posaunenchöre were not separate from the political activity of Christian social conservatism; Kuhlo and his Bethel Posaunenchor even performed for the party's political campaign.³⁷ In the *Posaunen-Fragen*, it is notable that Kuhlo used the key term '*christlich-sozial*' to accuse the capitalist system of manufacturing and marketing instruments to impoverish lower-class workers. Instead, he recommended buying directly

³⁴ See footnote 3.

³⁵ See Stoecker 1913; Brakelmann et al. 1982; Jähnichen 2013. See also Mosse 1975, pp. 90–93.

³⁶ See Nipkau 1989.

³⁷ See Schnabel 2003, p. 133.

from David because of the quality of his products, his technological insights and the absence of dealers' mark-ups.³⁸ Kuhlo strove to realise his ideas both through the edification provided by music practice and through direct political and economic action. His prime objective was to embody the world order of Christian social conservatism through his Posaunenchor.

As a Christian social conservative, Kuhlo supported the monarchical order and the authority of the Protestant Hohenzollern family in the German Empire. The concluding section of his *Posaunen-Fragen* is entitled "Of the history and the blessings of the Posaunenchor" and describes with pride the success of mass performances of Kuhlo's Posaunenchor at acts of homage to the Emperor (*Kaiserhuldigung*).³⁹ He organised four such major performances around the turn of the century.⁴⁰ In 1896, Kuhlo conducted some 1,300 brass players in Posaunenchor at a patriotic ceremony celebrating the inauguration of a monument to Wilhelm I in Porta Westfalica in eastern Westphalia, with the current Emperor Wilhelm II in attendance.⁴¹ The massed Posaunenchor performed the Bach chorale *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* (Awake, the voice is calling us) and the patriotic songs *Ich hab' mich ergeben* (I surrendered) from Kuhlo's *Posaunenbuch*. In 1897, Kuhlo organised a homage to Wilhelm II with a performance at Bethel, featuring 2,000 brass players and 10,600 choral singers from the young men's and women's clubs, to which both the Emperor and Empress were invited. The massed Posaunenchor performed the Protestant chorale *Nun danket alle Gott* (Now thank we all our God) to celebrate the Prussian victory over Napoleonic France in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.⁴² This celebration was part of a regional Christian festival for the Posaunenchor and youth clubs under the motto "Let everything that has breath praise the Lord!"⁴³

4. Concluding remarks

Posaunen-Fragen and related sources⁴⁴ on the instrumentation of Kuhlo's Posaunenchor are indispensable for comprehending not only the Posaunenchor itself but also for providing insights into the history of labrosones in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, it is noteworthy that Kuhlo's instrumentation guidelines are intricately intertwined with his religio-political beliefs, particularly within the regional context of Minden-Ravensberg during the Wilhelmine period. Kuhlo's Posaunenchor was deeply rooted in the conservative, patriotic, Lutheran ideology of this region. He consequently envisaged the Posaunenchor as a brass ensemble that reflected the values and norms of Christian social conservatism and epitomised the sacred Lutheran German Empire in sound. The collapse of the German Empire at the end of World War I was seen by those same Lutheran conservatives as the demise of their religio-political vision. Kuhlo, however, resolutely continued in his role of *Posaunengeneral* during the Weimar Republic. After resigning as a pastor in 1922, he dedicated himself more intensively to Posaunenchor, touring with his *Kuhlo-Horn-Sextett* from Bethel and lecturing on the 'sacred' art of brass-playing, while also expressing more anti-Semitic views. His conservative Lutheranism and political conservatism not only drove his support for the Posaunenchor but also steered him towards National Socialism. Eventually, he saw Hitler as the 'saviour' of

38 Kuhlo 1909, pp. 20f.

39 "Von der Geschichte und dem Segen der Posaunenchor" (ibid., pp. 84–141, especially pp. 116–138).

40 See also Schnabel 2003, pp. 97–101.

41 See Gießelmann 1991; Neumann 2005.

42 *Kaiserhuldigung* 1897, p. 10. See Keil 2009.

43 *Kaiserhuldigung* 1897 and Kuhlo 1909, p. 138.

44 Kuhlo published the fourth edition of *Posaunen-Fragen* (Anhang A) in 1933, incorporating minor changes.

the fallen German Empire and became a member of the NSDAP.⁴⁵ My research aims to analyse this complex relationship between religious and political ideologies within the Posaunenchor and underscores the importance of studying brass instruments as cultural artefacts. This includes examining their cultural significance through facets such as manufacture, performance, sound conception and societal reception. Such an approach promises to deepen our understanding of brass instruments and their music in Germany's 'long nineteenth century', recognising instrumentation as a politically and confessionally charged element.

In conclusion, it is necessary to comment on the contemporary trends within the Posaunenchor tradition, based on my field research conducted primarily in Göttingen from 2014 to 2018. I observed that while modern Posaunenchöre still acknowledge Kuhlo as a pivotal historical figure, their stance is decidedly against the resurgence of far-right, populist politics today. Exploring whether and how Posaunenchöre have transcended the political dimensions of Kuhlo's original conception presents a valuable avenue for further research. In the realms of musicology and organology, I advocate against overgeneralising by assuming that Kuhlo's ideas about the Posaunenchor applied across the entire movement. Our focus should rather be on how his individual ideas, in conjunction with regional conditions, were received or rejected in other regions and by subsequent generations. Finally, I must mention Wilhelm Ehmann (1904–1989), a pupil of Kuhlo at Bethel and a musicologist associated with National Socialism. After 'Denazification', Ehmann played a significant role in shaping a narrative through his famous biography of Kuhlo⁴⁶ and his writings on ecclesiastical brass in the Federal Republic of Germany that incorporated *Kantorei* practices. Furthermore, he exercised a noteworthy influence on the historical brass performance revival at the confluence of Protestant church music and German musicology. At this juncture, a thorough critical examination of his ideological stance remains a paramount challenge, not only in Posaunenchor research but also in the broader context of musicology and organology.

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45 Kuhlo's name is still associated with Germany's Nazi past. In 2016, the name of the Lutheran community hall in Bielefeld-Jöllenbeck was changed from "Johannes-Kuhlo-Haus" to "Evangelisches Gemeindehaus" because of Kuhlo's anti-Semitism and devotion to Hitler. See Uffmann 2016.

46 See footnote 13.

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