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VARIATIONS ON AN ANGLICAN THEME: SOUND, MUSIC, AND THE MAKING OF CHRISTIAN BODIES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how church music-making shapes Christians and how Christians, in turn, shape music-making. Based on a comparative ethnography of two London-based Anglican churches, a ‘conservative’ Evangelical church and a ‘traditional’ middle-of-the-road parish church, I illustrate how the orchestration of service elements – music, liturgy, prayer, and sermon – creates different sonic environments that, in their turn, mould different modes of ‘doing church’ – the acts of integrating individual religiosities into a collective experience. Drawing on the ‘material turn’ in religious studies, phenomenology, (ethno)musicology and sound studies, I focus on music practices in rehearsals and services in order to investigate how choir members and their fellow worshippers fashion themselves as Christians through sonic relationships with each other and with God.

My main argument is that church music-making brings forth a sensorial awareness of ‘being Christian’ by inducing experiences of alterity – the self as other, the Christian-other, the non-Christian-other, and the God-other – while also providing modes of integrating the various dimensions of *otherness* into the collective body of worshippers.

Positioned within the anthropology of Christianity, this thesis indicates possibilities for studying religion beyond restricting its scope to texts and doctrines and by moving beyond a one-sided focus on Pentecostalism in the Global South to include mainline churches in a secularized ‘global city’ such as London. Thereby, the thesis sheds a fresh light on the diversity of practices and Christian subjectivities within Protestant understandings of religion.

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INTRODUCTION

We're somewhere in the countryside – my mobile signal is not really making it through. It's warm and sunny and we have just finished a Youth Weekend Away session on the sinful nature of humankind. As we sit around a table, Lauren, a young woman I had not seen in church before, asks me about the topic of my PhD. As I tell her about my surprise at the diversity of music styles and practices in the Church of England, she explains,

> Well, I go to a traditional church, not to St Mark's, but that's because it's difficult for me to get to St Mark's; it's not really "smells and bells" but, you know, old, traditional hymns, organ. When I was younger I was very judgmental, I thought British people should worship in a more restrained way… we are British and boring! I thought that these churches that used guitars and so on were just copying America… the Anglican Church is too involved in itself and, you know, we just want to worship.

She is not alone in saying this; just the other evening I listened to one young man, a student, making a similar point that, despite his love and appreciation for the organ and more 'traditional' church music, he would not leave St Mark's[1] 'just because of the music'.

That people in Britain increasingly choose forms of worship outside the 'traditional' Anglican style is apparent in the differences among church attendance patterns. While, on the whole, Church of England attendance is declining[2] (Goodhew 2017b), some Anglican churches have seen an increase in their congregations.[3]

[1] The names of churches and people in this dissertation are pseudonyms. Among those I spoke to during my fieldwork, many expressed their agreement to using their real name but there were also many who expressed their wish to remain anonymous. For the sake of consistency, I anonymized all the names.

[2] Researchers such as Daniel Muñoz tentatively suggest that "there are signs that this trend may have changed in the first decade of the twenty-first century", in some cases, such as England, reaching a plateau (2016:76).

[3] The Church of England Research and Statistics unit has noted a general trend of decline in Anglican church service attendance, with a decrease of 10 to 15 per cent between 2006 and 2016 (Research

Among these, Evangelical churches – encouraging less ritualistic services with more contemporary styles of music and emphasising personal relationship to God – have witnessed the most increases (Brierley 2017:6). A degree of 'Pentecostalisation' (Davie 2007:18; Goodhew 2017b:para.12.74) has also influenced the style of worship among Anglican churches, some of which (for instance, Holy Trinity Brompton in London which has played a key role in church planting and popularising charismatic worship within the Church of England) have embraced charismatic worship (Goodhew 2017b:para.12.78). Such variations of growth and decline, coupled with changes in demographics signal the more complex configuration of Anglicanism in Britain (ibid.:para.12.46).

St Mark's represents one such example of an Anglican Evangelical church that hosts a numerous, socio-economically, ethnically and age diverse congregation. St Mark's delivers non-liturgical services and a diversified style of music and reaches up to 850 people during Sunday services. Around a quarter of congregants are from South Korea, China, the Philippines and other parts of South East Asia, many of them being international students; there is also a significant number of congregants from European countries such as Germany, Spain, France, as well as congregants from Central and South America; a proportion of the UK-born members have African ancestry – for instance, Nigerian and Ethiopian – or Chinese and South East Asian ancestry; the congregation is fairly balanced in terms of men and women (roughly 40% men and 60% women) and is roughly skewed to the 20s and 30s, with around half of the congregation in this age group; people in their 40s and 50s make up around 30 – 35% of the congregation and those in their 60s and over represent

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and Statistics 2017, available on-line: *https://www.churchofengland.org/about-us/facts-stats/research-statistics.aspx*, accessed 10 August 2018). The report states that 'although the overall pattern is one of gradual decline' (ibid.:3), there are differences in church attendance patterns between churches. Over the past decade, Sunday service attendance has increased in 11 per cent of Church of England churches and decreased in 38 per cent of churches, while 52 per cent of churches have shown no clear trend of attendance patterns (ibid.). The British Social Attitudes Survey (2011, available online *http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/38958/bsa28_12religion.pdf*, accessed 15 August 2018) describes a similar overall trend of decline, underlining that in 1983 40 per cent of the British public self-affiliated with the Church of England, while only 20 per cent did so in 2013. Even at 20 per cent, Church of England affiliates still represent the majority of religious affiliates in the UK. David Goodhew suggests that while Church of England statistics are problematic in terms of detailed information, they do provide a useful picture of the general trends, in particular in the case of England (2017b:para.12.29)

roughly 15 – 20%[4]. Located in central London, St Mark's also welcomes a large number of visitors.

In their sermons, ministers purposefully mentioned statistics underlining the decline of UK church attendance in order to highlight the picture of St Mark's thriving congregation in contrast to such statistics. 'People think that there are three 80-year-old grannies left who are Christian and one's about to die. Media distorts the fact that many young people are interested in the church.' Tony, one of St Mark's ministers, made this point in one of his sermons and continued by emphasizing the work that St Mark's has been doing in sharing the gospel. But while media may or may not distort the picture of churchgoing, Tony's remarks, as well as those of the two participants in the Youth Weekend Away mentioned earlier, signal a tendency among both researchers and religious practitioners to overemphasise one age group over others when trying to understand religious changes in Britain. If Evangelical churches have encountered popularity with younger generations, 'traditional' Anglican churches have seen their older generation congregations dwindle. Echoing Grace Davie, 'to keep on changing things with a view to attracting newcomers (i.e. "young people") can result in a double negative: not only do you achieve little but you strain existing loyalties' (2017:23).

The trope of 'smells and bells', which refers to the incense and the bells used in ceremonial settings such as the Anglican High Church, points to the tension that emerges in churches attempting to maintain existing loyalties while welcoming new congregants. As I soon came to discover, this trope was not an always flattering euphemism for ritualistic church practices. The expression continued to come up, both in discussions with St Mark's members as well as sociological surveys of church practices in the UK. In these accounts, 'traditional' churches seemed to be almost stuck in time, using liturgy and music that did not appeal to younger generations of congregants. But who are the people in these churches? How can one understand their lived experiences in attending 'traditional' Anglican churches? And if Lauren was ready to move away from her comfortable setting of old hymns, what role does music play for those congregants of liturgical Anglican churches?

[4] These rough estimations do not include children. During the service, children usually spent their time in a separate room in the church. During my fieldwork, there were only two services where children were involved, for the duration of a song; after singing, they were led back to their separate area where they would play, read and do other activities under the supervision of several church volunteers. Since my main aim for this research was music-making in the main church services, I focused on the regular services attended by adults.

Sitting at one side of the altar in a 'traditional', 'middle-of-the-road' parish church, I am listening to Keith, now in his late 70s, recall his early days as a choirboy. The sun is bright, the church is empty; it is a weekday.

> The choirboys in those days… we sang the morning and evening services, so a 6:30 start. So when I got home, I'd sit down and have a cup of tea with my mum and my aunt, and then I'd go upstairs to bed, and I'd take with me the chant book and the psalter and I would sing through the chant book… it sounds… well, it's not daft! I loved it!

Reaching up to 200 people, Keith's church, St Anne's, has a congregation smaller than St Mark's and the majority of members are over 60 years old and white British, with women representing up to three quarters of the congregation. St. Anne's location in a North-East borough of London, far away from the bustling centre, means there is a more uniform congregation than in St Mark's and not many wandering visitors. Almost all worshippers know each other and, as I experienced myself, they are acutely aware when a new person enters the church. With a church practice 'in the middle' – that is, not too ritualistic and not too informal – St Anne's stands as an example of a 'traditional' Anglican church. As we are walking around, with Keith showing me some of the architectural features that were changed in the building after a fire in the 1970s, I notice his careful, reverent movement around the altar – the same reverence I have seen him exude in walking, kneeling and making the sign of the cross during Sunday services. 'The entrance used to be there… the altar used to be there…' he goes on, pointing to the various changes. As we sit again, we turn to talking about St Anne's music, where changes have been slower and subtler.

This thesis draws on a comparative ethnography of St Mark's, an Anglican Evangelical church, and St Anne's, an Anglican middle-of-the-road parish church, in order to explore what it means, as an Anglican churchgoer in London, to choose a particular style of service and music. More precisely, the thesis explores how church music-making shapes Christians and how Christians, in turn, shape music-making. Discourse and practices in both the Evangelical St Mark's and the traditional St Anne's highlight these two churches' efforts in creating not only Christian selves, but Christian collective bodies as well. Since 'no single case study can be representative of Protestantism as a whole, given Protestantism's protean qualities' (Hovland

2018:427), the comparative framework enables us to unravel how the same Anglican doctrinal material is moulded by each church in practices that shape how worshippers interact with each other and with new potential congregants. In turn, this points to ways in which these two approaches to making religious communities welcome or ward off potential new members.

Music sits at the core of this ethnographic comparison because it is part and parcel of Church of England practice. Choosing music, on the part of church leaders and on the part of churchgoers, implies choosing a way of being a Christian – not only because church music facilitates a particular experience in a churchgoer, but also because church music is an entire system of relationships between people, as well as between individual churches and the Church of England. Music in the Church of England is both an artefact and a medium. Music operates as an artefact in that it has a history, has particular doctrinal underpinnings and is laden with cultural values, thus modulating the possibilities of including and excluding particular individuals depending on their sharing in the respective history and values of an established congregation. As a medium, music is that which is lived in church services as a sensorial and affective experience that shapes how churchgoers understand themselves as Christians, connect to the divine, and relate to other churchgoers. At the same time, music materially affects the bodies involved in making it: pitches, tempo, and harmonies change the breathing, posture, and sensations of those who sing or play it. By comparatively exploring the overlapping of institutional, doctrinal, personal, and sensorial spheres that music practices display, this ethnography sheds light on both the affordances and limitations that music brings to practices of developing Christian selves and communities.

While Anglican churches subscribe to the same doctrinal foundation, the Church of England indications for church practice enable individual churches to enact a diverse range of practices. This circumstance arises from the Church of England drawing from both Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions (see Chapter 1), which has led theologians to refer to the Church as the *via media* – the middle way – between the ceremony of Catholic worship and the Protestant emphasis on a direct, non-ritualized relationship with God (Sachs 2002; Morris 2003; Bailey 2006). In practice, individual churches have developed different styles of worship which encapsulate variations of formality, service structure, liturgy, and especially music in orchestrating and performing church services and other activities. Each style of

worship displays a configuration of practices appropriated and performed in a manner considered most fitting in each church.

Apart from their locations in London and the makeup of their congregations, St Anne's and St Mark's styles of worship manifest the most apparent distinction with respect to church ritual and music style. St Anne's robed ministers deliver an entirely liturgical service that contains solemn, sacred music repertoire. In contrast, St Mark's ministers do not stand out through clerical vestments, but instead don business or casual attire (a suit or jacket, and trousers or skirt) and lead a service of 'relaxed formality in the context of prayer and worship' (description on St Mark's welcome brochure) with choral, orchestral and guitar-led music drawing from a wider range of musical sources, including traditional hymns (re-orchestrated) and contemporary worship songs. During St Mark's services, screens mounted on the gallery – as well as a projector screen partially hiding a painting of Jesus on the wall at the front – display announcements about church activities, events, or the lyrics to the songs being sung.

As far as music practice is concerned, St Anne's imposes a solemn tone. During the Sunday Sung Eucharist[5] service, the hymns performed belong to an established and accepted repertoire of sacred music, contained in the hymnal *Common Praise*, whose genealogy goes back to one of the earliest and most popular hymn collections – *Hymns Ancient and Modern*[6] – and denotes congregationally-recognized historical, cultural, and religious values. The organ is the sole instrument used[7], which instils a sense of encompassment within the environment of the church. Its sounds extend and enfold the entire congregation, blending in with the voices of the choir. In contrast, music at St Mark's can be found in many forms. Here, they have a guitar-led music band with several singers, rather than a single soloist, an orchestra, and a choir, while the organ is used in accompaniment with a large number of other musical instruments such as violins, cellos, clarinets, flutes, guitars, drums, and others. The music groups perform on stage in front of the congregation, and their

[5] Also known as Holy Communion, the Eucharist is the symbolic act of sharing from the same bread and wine through which worshippers remember Jesus Christ's sacrifice.

[6] This hymnal remains one of the most popular hymn collections, with the most recent edition published in 2013. While each edition removes some hymns and introduces several more, the core of the compositions has remained the same.

[7] With the exception of a piano used mostly for 'All Age Service', which, despite the name tends to be targeted at children and their families. The director of music and the choir also use the piano for rehearsing music for services.

music is amplified through sound systems. As indicated on St Mark's website, the repertoire includes 'both contemporary and traditional' musical compositions.

An increased self-awareness of the churches' position within a large, diverse city can be noticed in the media used to relate to the public. For example, St Anne's and St Mark's display rich information on their websites about their history, services and activities. Whereas in the past one would have gained such information by attending the church regularly, this information is now shaped and displayed for one who is purposely looking for a church or 'just browsing'[8]. For instance, the home pages of the websites of both churches have messages displaying a very open attitude and implying a no-strings-attached participation in church services. There is insufficient information in their websites to know whether the churches distinguish between members and converts. However, after some time spent in both churches, differences could be noticed with regard to certain expectations that existing congregants would have of newcomers, apart from attending services. In St Mark's, this would usually entail newcomers getting involved in other church activities, like Bible study groups, where one actively sought to grow in one's faith, while in St Anne's, participation in community events and festivities (bake sales; family days; local celebrations) organized by the church would mark one as a 'regular' member. It is thus vital to understand the ways in which the congregations of the two churches in this study hold together in religious practice and music, what notions of belief and belonging their members uphold and what discourses are established between clerics and congregation in relation to such notions.

In order to take the first steps into exploring St Mark's and St Anne's, this introductory chapter sets the scene of Anglican churches in London and the UK in relation to debates about unchurching and secularization. It then continues by drawing the theoretical framework underpinning this study and highlighting the insights this ethnography brings to the anthropology of religion and the anthropology of Christianity. I put forth that the nuances of lived Protestant religiosities have been obscured in studies of religion and I propose a phenomenological engagement with music and sound in order to address this imbalance. The chapter ends with my

[8] This was an expression used in conversation by many of St Mark's members when referring to how people in London choose their churches. Only a couple of St Anne's members used this formulation, usually to express their disapproval to this 'new' way of becoming a member of a church. At the same time, both churches mentioned this expression on the home page of their websites in messages that addressed potential visitors.

reflections on doing a sensory ethnography of sound and music and the ethical considerations in doing research with Christian worshippers.

(UN)CHURCHING: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN BETWEEN 'RELIGIOUS' AND 'SECULAR'

St Mark's and St Anne's do not operate within isolated environments. Their congregants are teachers, university professors, bank employees, accountants, freelancers, students, retirees, doctors, plumbers, nannies, cooks, and much more among the myriad of life configurations that exist in London. Church life and the lives of church members are interwoven in the fabric of the city of London (see Peach 1999). As an exponent of what Steven Vertovec refers to as 'super-diversity' (2007), London presents 'a level and a kind of [social, cultural, religious, economic] complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced' (ibid.:1024). At the same time, London – and the UK in general – are also the setting of 'unchurching' (Davie 1994:12), that is, the significant decline in church attendance within the Church of England as well as other denominations.

Unchurching has characterized British religious landscape since after the end of WWII (Martin 1978; Davie 1994; 2000; 2002; Brown 2000), manifested in a diminution of church attendance numbers, religious attachment and practice (Brown 2000, 2017; Brown and Woodhead 2016; Snape and Brown 2016). The Church of England, as part of the British religious and social context, has been faced with an ever-increasing change of social and economic elements such as the ordination of women; the recognition of same-sex marriage; an influx of immigrants, both Christians and from different religious backgrounds; changes in employment (such as jobs that require working on Sundays); and changes in family dynamics (Davie 1994), all of which contributed to shifting the patterns of regular church attendance towards an overall decreasing tendency. Secularization theorists (Bruce 2002; 2011) have taken these numbers to signify the decline of religion in the Western world. However, amidst dwindling numbers in church attendance, until the 2010s, censuses

nevertheless registered higher numbers of individuals self-affiliating as 'Christian' (Day 2011; Brown and Woodhead 2016).[9]

In order to explain this apparent contradiction between declining church attendance and continued self-identification as 'Christian', sociologist Grace Davie proposed the notions of 'believing without belonging' (1994) and 'vicarious religion' (2000; 2007a; 2007b). The former notion proposed that people in Britain continued to maintain a private belief in God without articulating that belief with regular church participation. As some critics have noted (e.g. Bruce and Voas 2010; Day 2016a), together with Davie herself (2000; 2015), this notion glossed over the complexities of experiences covered by the term 'belief'. In light of such complexities, the notion morphed into 'vicarious religion'. Davie (2000) argues that the 'unchurched' British population maintain a vicarious relationship to Christianity via the regular practices of a smaller number of other religious practitioners, such as church leaders. These agents perform rituals, such as for birth, marriage, death, on behalf of the 'unchurched'. Consequently, this disjunction between individual religiosities and church practices has led some researchers of religion to characterize Christianity in Britain as a religion of 'assignation, rather than participation' (Peach 1999:44).

European survey indicators of religious practice and belief illustrate that, while religious church practice is characterized by an 'undeniable degree of secularisation' (Davie 1994:22; see also Weller 2005, 2008), religious experience 'demonstrates considerable persistence' (Davie 2002:5). In a development of Davie's framework of religion and belief in Britain, Abby Day proposes an embodied and relational understanding of belief. This provides a more complex understanding of the phenomenon of unchurching that reveals Christianity as a referent of identity, drawing not only on religious belief but on people's sense of belonging to a larger group, such as an ethnic or national group (2011; 2016a:104); this new perspective transforms 'believing without belonging' in 'believing in belonging'.

[9] Based on the Office for National Statistics' data from the 2011 census, 59 per cent of the British public self-affiliated as Christians (available on-line: *https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/articles/fullstorywhatdoesthecensustellusaboutreligionin2011/2013-05-16*, accessed 15 August 2018).

Day (2011:62 – 66), Goodhew (2017a) and Voas (2017) note that the design and application of surveys do not make them fully reliable sources. However, in the particular combination of decreasing numbers of church attendants and continuing affiliation with the label 'Christian', the surveys indicate the existence of certain dynamics relevant for understanding religious change in the UK.

For many in Britain who self-affiliate as Christians, this 'believing in belonging' reflects a sense of identity based on the merger of Christianity and Englishness (Day 2011:182) reflected in a 'Christian culture' that encompasses religious, moral and social values (Brown 2000). This 'Christian culture' permeates people's everyday lives through religious festivals, calendars, seasons, rituals, ways of marking time, buildings, media (such as radio broadcasts of Choral Evensong) (Brown 2000; Davie 2015, 2017). Despite a lack of church attendance or belief, people in Britain still feel connected to a range of values that they consider to be Christian *and* English. For instance, while individuals may not attend church regularly, they would still attend Christmas carol services, with the latter gradually becoming a marker of cultural belonging rather than religious identity (see Voas 2017:para.30.21).

Emerging ethnic reconfigurations of Christianity in Britain have challenged this compound ethnic-religious identity. While only a small percentage of ethnic Christians migrating into the UK join the Church of England (Voas 2017:para.30.95), their increased presence has prompted Anglican churches to reassess how their services can accommodate these new potential members (Davie 2017; Voas 2017). For instance, Evangelical churches, such as St Mark's, de-emphasise ritual. In doing this, St Mark's not only fulfil an Evangelical doctrinal tenet, but they also make their services more accessible to Christians of different ethnicities who can join in without needing to be accustomed to the traditional liturgy and rituals.

The ethnic reconfiguration of Christianity in Britain is also shaped by a decline in the numbers of white British churchgoers. If in the 1970s 86% of Christians were white British, in the 2010s the numbers are closer to 30% (Goodhart 2014). The more recent, rapid growth of a new category of 'nones' – that is, 'no religion'[10] – in the British population, points to a weakening of the significance of 'Christian culture', as understood by Brown, as motivation for self-affiliation with Christianity (Lim et al. 2010; Engelke 2012; Lee 2014; Aston 2015; Woodhead 2015). Noting that the majority of the respondents to the 2011 UK census who self-identified as having 'no religion' were in the age brackets 20-25 and 40-44, Day

[10] According to the British Social Attitudes Survey (2011), the proportion of British people reporting 'no religion' has increased in the past 25 years as follows: 31.4 per cent 'nones' in 1983, 36.3 per cent in 1993, 43.4 per cent in 2003 and 50.6 per cent in 2013.

argues that this represents a significant generation gap which indicates that younger people are less religious *and* less nationalistic than their parents (2015:108; see also Tilley and Heath 2007). By not succeeding in keeping the children and grandchildren of the older generations, the Church of England is not producing a generational replacement for its congregations (Voas 2017:para.30.92; see also Cottrell 2000:n.p; Voas and Crockett 2005; Crockett and Voas 2006; Day 2016b).

While the secularisation thesis does not fully explain these changing configurations of Christianity in Britain, the *narrative* of secularisation changes the environments (Voas 2017:para.30.90) where the 'unchurched' as well as churchgoers practice their different relations to Christianity and the Church of England. In services and conversations, members of both St Mark's and St Anne's referred back to an overarching secular narrative which depicts a Christianity in decline (Goodhew 2017b:para.31.6; see also Taylor 2007). If in St Mark's ministers and congregants framed that narrative as a sign of current cultural trends that seek to undermine Christianity, in St Anne's members experienced this narrative in their regular churchgoing, visible in the declining number of congregants. As such, in order to begin to grasp what it means to be Christian for members of St Mark's and St Anne's, I draw on the notion of 'religiosity' as shaped in anthropological studies and ethnographies of lived religion (Ammerman 2006, 2016; McGuire 2008; Jeldtoft 2011; Luhrmann 2012), new religious movements (Martin 1999) and spirituality (Fuller 2001; Rose 2001; Heelas and Woodhead 2005; Flanagan and Jupp 2007; Huss 2014; Mercadante 2014). Pointing to religiosity as modes of experiencing religion, practices, objects and symbols that people appropriate and deem religious in their everyday life, these works demonstrate that clear-cut distinctions between 'secular' and 'religious' only obscure the intricacies of what being Christian can mean for individuals.

This comparative ethnography of London-based Anglican churches shows the malleability of labels of 'secular' and 'religious' which church leaders and congregants themselves utilize in fashioning their relationships to each other, to the Church of England, to London, and to the world at large. St Mark's members' discourse simultaneously draws from an emphasis on rationality, which thinkers such as Habermas (2008, 2010) deem a quality of the secular, and from the Evangelical tradition of the Church of England, posing 'real Christianity' in opposition to 'religion'. As one member of St Mark's put it, 'Religion can come in and push you

away from Christ'. Meanwhile, St Anne's members reflect on providing a more inclusive church life, where one 'can still belong' despite not holding the same set of beliefs as other church members, an approach which echoes Abby Day's description of 'believing in belonging' among the British public (Day 2013; see also Cotter et al. 2016). By exploring being Christian through the lens of religiosity, this ethnography of St Mark's and St Anne's reinforces the anthropology of religion and Christianity by showing the transformation, rather than the outright decline of religion (Goodhew 2017b:para.31.16; Martin 2005) and illustrating that 'if anything is agreed upon, it is that a straightforward narrative of progress from the religious to the secular is no longer acceptable' (Asad 2003:1).

If St Anne's exemplifies 'unchurching', St Mark's represents the opposite. Both St Anne's and St Mark's play with the category of 'secular', which is broadly conceptualized by members of both churches as 'not directly about God', for example, a musical piece that does not mention God or Jesus. Nevertheless, as many church members explained, the 'secular' (in the form described above) does not eliminate the possibility of invoking religious meaning. In this sense, such uses of the category contrast the secularization theories that posit a clear distinction between 'secular' and 'religious' spheres.

For St Mark's and St Anne's, the flexible usages of 'secular' enable church members to employ it as material in 'doing church' – the practice of integrating individuals into a collective church experience. This is made evident in acts of doing church that reflect deliberate acts to engage with the secular, be they non-Christians, public debates or music styles. The comparison enables us to see that these two 'empirical instantiations' (Peel 2016:114) of the Church of England reflect on their existing and potential members by appropriating 'secular' ideas and practices and mixing them with 'religious' ones.

Music practice in the two churches conveys how St Mark's and St Anne's operate with flexible notions of 'the secular'. For instance, in St Mark's, music practice departs from the canons of Anglican sacred music to incorporate what members described as 'light music' styles and instrumentation. Also known as 'mood music', this is an orchestral style that emerged in the 18th – 19th century, emphasizes melody, and was aimed toward creating a pleasant listening atmosphere in concert, radio, and television settings, thus it is a style historically associated with non-religious content. At the same time, in St Mark's, this style is balanced by a

careful scrutiny of the words of songs to ensure that their message stays faithful to the Bible. If St Mark's combine a light music style with a specifically God-orientated message, in St Anne's, the flexibility of labels such as 'secular' and 'religious' becomes apparent in how church members describe their participation in church services. Members recognize and accept that some of their fellow congregants attend primarily due to the particular repertoire of sacred music that is used in this church and whose complexity and beauty are appreciated as artistic qualities.

Furthermore, this ethnography brings to light how music practices compel worshippers to evaluate notions of 'secular' and 'religious' through training their bodies. The technical aspects of singing demand choristers' attention and at times detract from a focused worship of God. By highlighting singers' acts of negotiating these situations where bodily singing experiences take over focusing on God, choir rehearsals illustrate if and in what ways worshippers integrate these experiences in fashioning their Christian selves. As such, music practices illustrate that 'secular' and 'religious' are qualities that come into being through worshippers' practices of reflection and orientation.

The assumption of an incompatibility between religion and the city, which proponents of the secularization theory initially took for granted, has now become ground for in-depth analysis and scrutiny for scholars (Davie 2017:50; see also Garbin and Strhan 2017), as we have seen, and for members of the two churches in this ethnography, as will become apparent in subsequent chapters. Despite living in the same city, church members in St Mark's and St Anne's engage differently with it; more precisely, 'the city' is not a fixed, objective entity, but a perceptual one, shaping church members' lives and religious practices. In turn, the city is also shaped through the lens of theology, practice, and understanding of the church's role and relation to its community and surrounding space. For instance, St Mark's is presented as an international church whose congregants may travel up to 75 minutes to attend services; the geographical breadth of the church is routinely emphasized by both minsters and congregants, reinforcing the recognition that this church holds a different kind of membership, one based on following 'Bible-based teaching', rather than one based on geographical proximity. Geographical proximity and local affiliation are the usual criteria for membership for a traditional British parish church such as St Anne's. There, both ministers and congregants consider St Anne's role as

parish church to have a sense of responsibility: the church must serve the spiritual and social needs of the local area, thus tying together local and religious belonging.

That geographical proximity has different significance for members of each church speaks of the growing ethnic and generational transformation in the 'Christian culture' discussed by Brown (2000). For people coming from a similar background as Anne's members (white British, over 50-60 years old and usually middle-class), the parish church stands as symbol of an indelible connection between religious and national identity (see Day 2011, 2013; Woodhead 2013; Day and Lee 2014). As one of St Anne's members, a gentleman in his 90s, matter-of-factly described to me, going to one's local church is what one who is born in Britain was brought up with and 'what one does'. However, the dynamics of the local area have now changed, becoming 'much more ethnically mixed', St Anne's rector reflected explained, reflecting upon this aspect in discussions with me as well as in his everyday role as church leader. Many of St Anne's members' strategies – such as, for instance, celebrations of local history events – to bring in new members from these different backgrounds operate on the same underlying connection as that underpinning 'Christian culture', namely, that of a conflated religious and local/national identity. For other ethnic Christians, this is an untenable association. This is reflected in the fact that many of these worshippers attended what St Anne's members referred to as the 'happy-clappy' nearby Evangelical church.

In contrast, St Mark's facilitates the integration of other ethnic Christians by emphasising their identity as Christians, rather than as a national of a particular country, and by materialising that emphasis in non-liturgical services delivered in contemporary English. As one German young woman declared to me, 'I'm a child of God, my nationality is in Heaven'. A consequence of St Mark's approach is a weakening of the association between local/national and Christian identity, even for some of its British members who were brought up attending the local parish church. One such member described choosing St Mark's over the local church due to St Mark's 'real Bible-centred teaching' which allowed him to 'grow as a Christian', thus pointing to a perceived lack of authenticity in the case of the local church. For these worshippers, the city becomes a space one traverses in order to arrive at a place of authentic Christian teaching (see Strhan 2013).

Looking comparatively at their attitudes and practices, St Mark's and St Anne's illustrate the heterogeneity of the city. This ethnography highlights the fact

that London lends itself to worshippers who experience it as both city and village. London's 'metropolis' persona has been analyzed by Anna Strhan, in her study of conservative Evangelicals (2012, 2013, 2015), which demonstrates that these Christians' engagement with London's pluralism and overwhelming sensorial space both challenges and affirms their faith. As a secularized space, a city such as London creates a visible and tangible opposition to biblical teachings in relation to which a Christian needs to guard oneself while also finding ways to appeal to and welcome non-Christians. Additionally, London enables a space of transference of methods, such as prayers, and media, such as music with Christian content, by which Christians reposition themselves as specifically *Christian inhabitants* of the city – a Christianity that is dwelling in the city, transforming it and finding ways to maintain Christian principles amidst its noise. For instance, St Mark's members strove to enact Christian principles and maintain Christian values in their everyday life and work; importantly, they also declared recognizing their Christian presence mirrored in other people's reactions. In St Mark's members' view, the presence of a worshipper who reflects God and enacts Christian principles in everyday life brings forth more 'civilized' behaviours, such as refraining from using impolite words, on the part of non-Christians, despite the latter not knowing that 'I am a Christian'. As a Christian, one's faith becomes embodied, has an effect in the social world and is recognized as 'different' by other, non-Christian people. While non-Christians do not necessarily recognize that embodiment as Christian, the fact that the difference is perceivable encourages St Mark's members to continue to mirror Christian principles. In turn, it also gives them confidence that, in navigating the city, they are able to make an impact on other, non-Christian people.

At the same time, London's other persona – that of 'the village'– continues to derive meaning from the 'Christian culture' described earlier by Brown (2000). This arises from the role that parish churches have historically played in the lives of their parishes. The parish administrative system was operating as early as the third and fourth centuries (Pounds 2000:xiii). Covering the entirety of the country, these geographically delimited areas were focused around the parish church. For much of its history, the parish church was the centre of the local area, not only hosting religious services but also operating as the centre for public administration, thus blending religious and non-religious activities (ibid.). As leaders of the parish

church, the vicars or rectors[11] had the responsibility of caring for and guiding the spiritual lives of the members of their parish, while parishioners had the right for their baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and funerals to be officiated in the parish church. St Anne's members actively sought to maintain their church as a centre of activity for the local area. To this end, they organized events to celebrate local history and mark liturgical seasons and religious holidays. For instance, on Good Friday, the rector led a procession from the church to a local square, marking the Stations of the Cross – a succession of fourteen moments that evoke the salient moments on Jesus' crucifixion day. However, while this procession reinforced the connection between the church and the local area for St Anne's members, only very few other local residents joined in.

St Anne's members found further ways to make the church present and active in the local community. One such endeavour involved distributing cards to houses in the streets adjacent to the church to ask people if they wanted the church members to pray for them. While this was not a successful experiment, other initiatives did manage to engage with local residents. For example, a number of church members regularly volunteered as street pastors; they walked together, giving directions or advice to people and helping out if trouble arose. The church magazine would regularly report on street pastors' activities and challenges they encountered, be that a much-too-enthusiastic local pub drinker or a person unable to pay for a meal.

The comparison of activities, styles of worship, and musical practices highlight different usages of 'secular' and 'religious' labels that underpin the different modes of cohesion between members of each church and their modes of integrating new potential members. In order to further the understanding of these modes of cohesion and integration, Michael Lambek advises that we articulate the relationship between discrete ritual performances and what takes place between them (2000:314). By discrete ritual performances, Lambek refers to 'performances of a particular kind' (ibid.), that is, acts directed towards a particular aim and containing a preset sequence of elements. St Mark's and St Anne's services operate as discrete ritual performances in that they are planned configurations of liturgical elements, music, prayers, and sermons that are intended to induce experiences of worship for congregants. In their orchestration of regular Sunday services, St Mark's and St

[11] While 'vicar' and 'rector' originally referred to two distinct roles, nowadays they are generally used interchangeably.

Anne’s echo Lambek’s concerns, indicating the need for anthropologists to ‘turn their eye towards the kinds of problems Christian communities themselves seem to be preoccupied with’ (Garriott and O’Neill 2008:388).

I address these concerns by highlighting how St Mark’s and St Anne’s members themselves reflect upon the relationship between services as moments of collective worship and moments in everyday life, as well as how they adopt different strategies and approaches to communicating and inculcating these reflections among congregants. Members of St Anne’s described Sunday services as punctuations in their weekly activities, as moments where they expected a qualitatively different experience from the rest of the week. Meanwhile, in St Mark’s, church leaders and congregants alike were quick to assert that Sunday services were not a way of ‘recharging one’s batteries’, thus conveying that Sunday services and weekday activities were articulated with each other as a continuous stream with peaks and troughs. Through weekday prayer meetings, Bible studies, and rehearsals, worshippers sustained their efforts to maintain this stream. These different responses underscore different conceptualizations of ‘the secular’, ‘the city’, and what it means to be a Christian.

Church and music practices in St Mark’s and St Anne’s show that once the notion of ‘the secular’ has emerged in public discourse, church members engage *with* it, react *to* it and, in doing so, shape themselves, their understanding of the role of the church and what the practice of religion should do in relation to how they understand the idea of ‘the secular’. In other words, the notion of ‘the secular’ has been internalized in the processes of making and reflecting upon the role and practice of the church. At the church level, church leaders orchestrate services and employ music styles with a view towards engaging with non-Christians. At the same time, music practices, enacted in rehearsals and services, provide individual worshippers modes of interrogating and integrating notions of ‘the secular’.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLICITY

With its ethnographic focus on an Anglican Evangelical church and a middle-of-the-road parish church in London, this study makes a straightforward contribution to the anthropology of Christianity. At the time of the field's emergence[12] in the early years of the 2000s, Joel Robbins (2003) called for a self-conscious practice of an anthropology of Christianity that would enable comparative discussion across geographical and theoretical areas. Anthropologists were encouraged – indeed, called upon – to produce ethnographic accounts of Christianity, despite the lack of a consensus over what the object of study of this newly emergent field really was. While the apparently obvious response to that question is, well, 'Christianity', the various practices anthropologists observed under the name of Christianity pushed them to argue that there is not one, but many Christianities. Echoing the fact that its sister branch, the anthropology of Islam, also raised 'the issue of the validity of Islam as a cross-cultural category' (2003:193), Robbins pointed out that this 'theoretical factor' did not hold back the field from producing 'an efflorescence of creative work' (ibid.) and argued for a similar approach in the anthropology of Christianity.[13]

One notes, however, as Chris Hann has, that many of the ethnographies in the anthropology of Christianity present a 'regional bias [which] is still highly traditional' (2007:384), with many studies situated in Christian locales of missionary origin. Meanwhile, ethnographic engagement with Christianity in countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States focuses on charismatic and Pentecostal practices or fundamentalist Evangelicals (Opas and Haapalainen 2017:5–6). Ethnographic analysis of mainstream Christianity remains underdeveloped, with Hann arguing that 'these Christians, so it would seem, or at any rate the more common varieties, are not sufficiently exotic to warrant attention' (ibid.; see also Sheer 2014:244). I take 'the more common varieties' to include British parish churches such as St Anne's, which more often than not appear only in national

[12] This is a debated aspect of the discipline; see Hann (2007) and Robbins (2014).

[13] The call for an anthropology of Christianity witnessed a clear proliferation of ethnographies, with very important theoretical and ethnographic foundations set by Robbins (2004) Cannell (2005; 2006), Engelke (2007), Engelke and Tomlinson (2007), Hann (2007), Garriott and O'Neill (2008) and Anidjar (2009).

censuses and Church of England statistics. Quite often, these parish churches appear as the background against which other, more 'spectacular' (cf. Meyer 2009) church services and activities, seeking to increase their congregations and appeal, seem to be propped. Despite having a more numerous congregation, St Mark's can also be included among 'the more common varieties' precisely because it is an exponent of conservative, word-based, non-charismatic Evangelicalism. St Mark's prioritizes reading, studying, and preaching the message of the Bible in order to build a relationship with God, rather than relying on extraordinary instances of 'being touched by the Spirit' or sudden divine revelations and miracles. It is these superficially-termed 'more common varieties' that I find challenging and rewarding to engage with – both ethnographically and theoretically – and that, I contend, are instrumental for the scope of the anthropology of Christianity as well as for the wider comparative project of the anthropology of religion.

This thesis thus expands the ethnographic range of the anthropology of Christianity by focusing on the Protestant practices of a word-based Evangelical church and a liturgical parish church in London. As such, it contributes to the efforts to prevent the anthropology of Christianity from 'becoming in practice an anthropology of the Pentecostal and charismatic tradition' (Robbins 2003:198; see also Howell 2003). Furthermore, through its comparative approach it responds to the challenge of engaging with 'explicit comparisons' (Robbins 2003:195; see also Cannell 2006:30) in ethnographies of Christianity. Dividing my fieldwork between St Mark's and St Anne's made apparent that the use of sometimes taken-for-granted terms in studies of religion – 'church', 'congregation', 'worship' – in fact contains a nuanced range of values and associations for members of each church. Such distinctions of use, in turn, reflect members' attitudes to the Church of England, ritual, and music styles. For instance, while in St Anne's references to 'congregants' and 'members' overlapped, in St Mark's, the meaning of 'congregation' emerged as different from the 'church family'. Due to the fact that St Mark's has many visitors, 'congregation' signals here the gathering of people at any given service, while 'church family' implies the commitment and regular involvement of devoted church members. In St Anne's, the labels of 'congregant' and 'member' are interchangeable because there is a steady, regular composition of people who are committed to the church.

The question about the object of study of this new anthropological branch re-emerges, however, as I encounter the anthropology of Christianity when it is reaching its academic ‘middle-age’ (Robbins 2014:S157). Once again, Joel Robbins, not unlike a faithful guardian, takes the onus of reviewing the accomplishments, transformations, and further challenges in this branch of the anthropology of religion. ‘Middle-age’, he states, is ‘at once a satisfying and worrisome time’ (ibid.). It is worrisome, he continues, because at this point in time it is the moment to ask and reflect upon whether this intellectual movement should continue as a ‘self-conscious collective project’ (ibid.:S158) or whether it should ‘become something more diffuse’ (ibid.). In order to think of the future, one must address a shadow of the past – a theoretical shadow, to be more precise: What is the object of study of Christianity?

Fenella Cannell engages with this question by asking, ‘[W]hat difference does Christianity make?’ (2006:1) and, following from that, ‘[W]hat difference does it make to how people at different times and in different places understand themselves and the world?’ (ibid.). In this, Cannell moves away from assuming that Christianity has ‘clear inherent properties leading to repeatable effects when it is introduced into other societies around the world’ (2006:6), while not going as far as to contend that defining features of Christianity is a chimerical endeavour (ibid.). In the (rather vast) space in between these two positions, Cannell maintains that ‘it is *not* impossible to speak meaningfully about Christianity, but it *is* important to be as specific as possible about what kind of Christianity one means’ (2006:7; original emphasis). The ethnographic settings with which Cannell is concerned in her edited volume are sites where Christianity was introduced and thus worked against ‘local interpretations’ (ibid.:6).

In contrast to those settings, in bringing forth an ethnography of two London-based Anglican churches, I reconsider the relationship between ‘Christianity’ and the environment within which it operates. In this ethnography, ‘local interpretations’ of Christianity occur in a locality shaped by a Christian inheritance to be found not only in people’s theological or conceptual frameworks, but also in the built environment wherein they make, debate, and find (religious) meaning. In the quest for the difference Christianity makes, Tomlinson argues that a ‘notable limitation’ of this question is a decentralizing of Christianity; in his view, if Christianity is a difference-maker, then it cannot be the grounding context – the standpoint from which

difference is evaluated as difference (2017:743). However, church and music practices in St Mark's and St Anne's illustrate that these two Anglican churches engage in a process of reflexivity at both institutional and individual levels, which places self-defined Christian subjects in the position of evaluating Christianity as religion, spiritual practice, heritage, tradition, culture, personal memory, and local affiliation. Despite their different practices, members of both churches were particularly careful in delineating their understandings of what Christianity is and in reflecting upon their relationship to various facets of Christianity.

If the question 'What difference does Christianity make?' is productive in settings where Christianity is transplanted, the symbiotic relationship between Christianity and the wider social, cultural, and political spheres in a setting such as London requires a different approach. To this end, in this thesis I propose the notion of 'doing church' to examine how the ethnographic specificity of the two Anglican churches contributes to the theoretical debates within the anthropology of Christianity. Doing church incorporates the strategies, materials, and acts that church leaders and congregants in St Mark's and St Anne's utilize in order to integrate individual religiosities into a collective church experience. The notion builds on Naomi Haynes' concept of 'audiences' (2014) and on Jon Bialecki's argument for thinking about Christianity as virtuality (2012).

Haynes argues that in order 'to conceptualize Christianity as a multifaceted, labile, but nevertheless identifiable object' (2014:S357), one needs to engage with the claims that Christian adherence makes possible. Such claims emerge in shared and contested spaces, or what Haynes refers to as 'audiences'. Possible audiences include other Christians, who may or may not be members of one's church and may or may not share the same understanding of what constitutes Christian practice. Furthermore, the notion allows for the inclusion of society at large, together with non-Christians, as a potential audience, which makes 'audiences' a particularly useful notion for the study of Evangelical groups whose mission is to share the gospel. In such settings, sharing the 'good news' or bringing new converts to the faith are acts of engaging with different kinds of audiences. As Haynes explains, it is through relating to audiences that Evangelical groups enact Evangelical principles. Last but not least, God represents an essential member of the audience, as He is active in the lives of Christians through moral judgments and bringing about change in one's life (ibid:S357–S358). The flexibility in church practices afforded by the

Church of England compels individual churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's to actively consider potential audiences. For instance, music practices highlight that each church differently negotiates the audience constituted by congregants. While St Mark's seeks to efface the separation between clergy and choir, on the one hand, and congregation, on the other, by using only congregational songs, St Anne's maintains a distinction between choristers and congregation, marked by the use of chorister and minister vestments and of choir-sung music. In light of this, the notion of 'audiences' creates a useful comparative framework for examining these two different settings.

However, in order to understand how those audiences, and other potential ones, are integrated as a collective in St Mark's and St Anne's, one needs to understand how church leaders and congregants draw on their affiliation to their own church and to the Church of England to afford the integration of their respective audiences. The notion of doing church facilitates this because, in its focus on how individual religiosities are integrated in a collective experience, it converges historical, theological, and experiential dimensions. For St Mark's and St Anne's members, discussions about services' length, content, format, and music, or what activities and events should take place, are indeed a staple of being a church member. Each church provides different approaches to the extent to which, and manner in which, various actors – ministers, choir singers, musicians, congregants – play a role in decisions about elements of services and activities. At the same time, each church displays a different configuration of musical elements such as anthems – sacred music pieces composed for the choir to be sung during services; hymns – songs of praise to God; mass settings – musical compositions that contain all the invariable parts of the Eucharistic prayer, namely, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Credo, Sanctus and Benedictus, and Agnus Dei; worship songs – musical pieces that were composed within the wider Christian Congregational Music (CCM) or Contemporary Worship Music (CWM) musical scene, and which are usually guitar- or piano-led with musical styles ranging from folk to ballad to rock to pop and others. Each church's approach to service and music styles emerges as a variation based on Anglican theology and Church history and help illustrate the making of Christian bodies through different engagements with Anglican theological, historical, and practical elements. As Garriott and O'Neill emphasize, the extent and flexibility of these variations are 'not a strictly anthropological problem, but a potent source of debate within Christian communities' (2008:381).

Although this question about the multiplicity of Christianity poses a challenge to anthropologists, it is part and parcel of what being a Church of England church means. In their acts of doing church, St Mark's and St Anne's members reflect upon their affiliation to the Church; in their choices, performance of services, and arrangements of church life, they transform what Bialecki calls a 'virtual' Christianity into an 'actual' Christianity (2012:306–312). To this end, my focus on services reveals how particular risks, strategies, and visions about what and how a Christian church and a Christian self ought to be are weighed and experienced by church members. In this context, music occupies a special position, as it functions as a crux of theological, historical, and personal values and tastes. Through cultural associations, theological principles, and experiential dimensions, songs, hymns, and anthems become the locus for exploring how the layers of theology, cultural inheritance, local affiliation, and personal memory are configured as actualizations of Christianity in each of these churches. At the same time, songs, hymns, and anthems compel musicians and congregants to engage in sonic practices that make apparent the ways in which music both affords and exceeds Christians' strategies and expectations. By drawing a comparative phenomenological account (see Cassaniti and Luhrmann 2014) between the music practices of St Mark's and St Anne's, I illustrate that music-making is a bodily, trained activity that establishes resonances with the church buildings and with other people. By focusing on rehearsals and musicians' experiences of creating music for the church, the ethnography becomes sensitive to moments of high and low intensity; strategies of training and disciplining the body and the mind; and acts of incorporation, negotiation, and reflexivity on failure to achieve the desired spiritual, religious or musical experience. Furthermore, these moments illustrate the ways in which doctrinal, church and congregational values and principles become impactful at an individual bodily level.

In this spirit, by attending to the historical, theological, and experiential dimensions of church practices in St Mark's and St Anne's, doing church addresses the modes of actualizing Christianity. St Mark's and St Anne's represent dynamic, temporal variations to a theme that, while recognizable, cannot be contained in a fixed definition.

LIVED PROTESTANTISM

Apart from providing a mode of engaging with 'the one and the many' character of the Church of England, as well as that of Christianity as a whole, the notion of doing church nuances the distortional effect that a Protestant lens has had on studies of religious practice. Under this lens, research has been 'privileging a particular view of Protestantism as a rational, disenchanting religion that transcends the body, the senses, and outward religious forms' (Meyer 2010:743; see also Meyer and Houtman 2012:10–11). Among the implications of this bias was a distorted and distorting scholarly application of Christian-infused concepts[14] without reflection upon their specific genealogies (see Asad 1993; Meyer 2008, 2009, 2014). The most influential of these concepts included the belief-centred approach to religion and a separation that privileged mind over body. While researchers of religion have noted the distortion that this Protestant lens has caused in studies of non-Christian religions (see Meyer 2014), the effect on the Protestant sphere itself has been one of obscuring its lived specificities. Crucially, it is specifically settings such as St Mark's and St Anne's that the Protestant lens has distortedly framed in a heterogenous 'Protestant block' (Opas and Haapalainen 2017:7). Minna Opas and Anna Haapalainen argue that while researchers have begun to deconstruct concepts applied in studies of religion and trace their Judeo-Christian genealogies, these acts of deconstruction have also 'weaken[ed] the scholarly sensitivity' (ibid.) towards the (subtle) differences within Protestantism.

This comparative ethnography of an Anglican Evangelical church and an Anglican parish church draws attention to the fact that the Protestant lens limits the anthropology of religion and of Christianity by obstructing a nuanced understanding of lived Protestantism. Crucially, the notion of doing church highlights Protestant varieties by expanding on the anthropological understanding of lived religion. In her survey of studies of lived religion, Nancy Ammerman demonstrates that this is a field 'largely defined by what it excludes' (2016:83). The underlying working assumption in research on lived religion has been that 'lived religion is about

[14] 'Belief' is one such example. Jean Pouillon (1982) and Malcolm Ruel (1982) have traced the specific historical, cultural, and linguistic genealogy of this notion, thus bringing support to Talal Asad's argument against seeing religion as a trans-historical category (1993).

ordinary people, not religious professionals, and it is about everyday life, not what happens in institutionalised religious settings' (ibid.:89).

Similarly to Ammerman (ibid.:92), I argue that this stance implies an artificial barrier between the private, individual sphere and the institutional, church sphere. Music practices in St Mark's and St Anne's show that one cannot understand lived Protestantism without understanding the institutional setting as well. Choosing music for church services converges the history of the Church of England with the Anglican doctrine, while singing that music brings together the enactment of doctrine with the lives of the worshippers – their personal religiosities, their memories, their experiences. By attending to music practices in St Mark's and St Anne's services and rehearsals, this study bridges lived and institutional religion, illustrating that these do not operate as two separate spheres. In either the form of words in a song or notes in an anthem, music reverberates, not only in the church space and worshippers' bodies during the service, but – as members of both St Mark's and St Anne's pointed out – in worshippers' memories for days afterwards. It is, in fact, this very separation between the everyday and the church spheres that members of St Mark's and St Anne's efface in their practices, signalling that lived Protestantism requires we pay attention to the dynamics between laity and clergy, between belief and practices. As such, this ethnography dissolves the artificial boundary between lived religion and institutional settings by conveying churches as mixed environments where different agents – religious professionals, devoted Christians, interested visitors and curious tourists (and visiting anthropologists) – bring their individual religiosities and interact in a collective.

Sunday by Sunday, worshippers in St Mark's and St Anne's apply themselves towards a constantly unfolding relationship with God, with themselves, and with others. St Mark's and St Anne's members come together to praise God, to acknowledge His greatness, to be with each other. In carrying out this regular re-engagement, church members explained that they did not expect an extraordinary experience of the divine, but that they sought instead to elicit a meaningful corporate experience to sustain them in their lives as Christians. While the liturgy reaffirms Christian principles, and sermons explain and remind worshippers of the biblical message, it is in singing and listening with others in the space of the church that an experience of the co-presence of individuals grows into an experience of a collective

body. In order to explore how music practices facilitate this, I draw on phenomenology, affect studies, (ethno)musicology and sound studies literature.

A phenomenological lens inspired by the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002 [1962]), Thomas Csordas (1993,1995, 2004), and Harris Berger (1999) grounds this comparative ethnography because it draws attention to how individuals relate to each other and to the church environment through sonic acts of singing, uttering, and listening. Despite the differences in church practices, it is in such bodily and material interactions that worshippers in each church perceive themselves and others as Christians. By attending to the phenomenological dimensions of being Christian, this thesis illustrates that in eliciting a sense of shared experience, subtle tensions (such as focusing on singing technique or on assuring all the music sheet is available and in order) or more marked conflicts (such as visceral experiences to disliked songs) have the potential to become productive elements of corporate experience.

In developing a phenomenological conceptual framework, I draw on Thomas Csordas' discussion of religion and alterity (2004). Rather than engaging with a phenomenology of the sacred as 'majestic and wholly "Other"' (ibid.; see also Otto 2012 [1923]; Eliade 1959) in his approach to the phenomenology of religion, Csordas focuses on the phenomenology of human, embodied alterity. Csordas posits that alterity emerged from embodied practice, and that it is this kind of alterity rather than Otto's self-revealed divine alterity that constitutes the 'phenomenological kernel of religion' (2004:163). As forms of embodied practice, singing, speaking, and listening in St Mark's and St Anne's give rise to worshippers' relationship with forms of alterity. Through particular demands that the repertoire and the singing techniques make of the body, rehearsals in the two churches compel singers to work with their bodies, to breathe, stand, and move in specific ways. In this manner, the materiality of their own bodies comes to the foreground. At the same time, when singing music in church, one hears other voices and this brings into awareness other bodies. Music thus evinces alterity. By comparing St Anne's and St Mark's music practices in services and rehearsals, it becomes apparent how singing elicits different modes of relating to the individual, the collective body, and to God. The emphasis on vocal technique in St Anne's brings the individual body to the foreground, while the weight given to the overall sound in St Mark's calls attention to the bodies of others.

A phenomenological lens also evinces the relationship between bodies and the environment. Crucially, the two churches exist as 'culturally saturated' (Ram and Houston 2015:13; see also Jackson 1996; Desjarlais 2003; Desjarlais and Throop 2011) environments, since 'there is no alternative to experiencing the world, to being endlessly traversed and changed by it' (Le Breton 2017:21). Despite their different styles of music, worshippers in both churches described their worship as 'British and reserved', signalling a shared, culturally shaped mode of being-with-others. Meanwhile, as exponents of different strands of the Church of England, each church displays distinct modes of perception that emphasize different sensorialities, such as listening in St Anne's and voicing in St Mark's.

While phenomenology enables a nuanced glimpse of the sensorial modes of being together and eliciting a shared experience, by drawing on (ethno)musicological literature, such as Christopher Small (1998), Thomas Turino (2008), and David Hesmondhalgh (2013), we are able to contextualize these sensorial modes in musical practices. The two churches' careful decision-making about which repertoire to include (and at what point in the service to do so) and which to exclude demonstrates that music style and compositions carry a weight of associations that can distract from or enhance church worship. Musicologist Christopher Small argues that in order to understand how music affects people, we need to think about music not as a thing, but as an act – 'musicking' (1998). This change in perspective shows that music-making is an encounter that 'establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships' (ibid.:13) between all the participants in a musical event, not only between musicians. Thinking of music as an act of musicking is particularly relevant in a church context where individuals seek *corporate* worship. Church members described their attendance at regular Sunday services as a gathering of fellow worshippers in a structured context. In both churches, congregants explained the many ways in which they felt they actively participated in the service, be that through congregational singing, praying on behalf of the congregation or collecting donations during the offertory hymns. Applied to a church setting, Small's inclusive approach to music-making renders church services not as institutional forms, but as nodes where congregations, clergy, and musicians, history and personal memories, doctrine and practice assemble and elicit a collective experience.

While Small's notion of musicking enables a dynamic perspective on practices of church music-making and their ideals of achieving a harmonious

corporate experience, other (ethno)musicological literature sheds light on some of the intrinsic tensions in church music-making by drawing 'important correspondences between religious music and other fundamental realities in the cultural world of the performers' (Sullivan 1997:9). By illustrating worshippers not solely through the lens of their Christian beliefs, but also through the lens of their music-making, (ethno)muscicologists of Christian music show that, despite declared goals for corporate worship, church music-making and music choices elicits strong reactions on the part of participants based on theological, cultural and aesthetic values, thus modulating the possibilities for inclusion and exclusion of others (Evans 2006; Ingalls 2011, 2016, 2017; Ingalls et al.2013; Nekola 2013; Wagner 2013; Porter 2014, 2017; Foye 2015).

By framing worshippers as Christians and music-makers, I show how musical acts – such as vocal training, learning the words and tunes of new songs, or having to sing pieces one dislikes – create the circumstances for the making of Christian selves and collective bodies by constructing religious and musical meaning 'in and through performance' (Ingalls et al. 2013:4; see also Clayton et al. 2013. Importantly, sonic qualities are an intrinsic part of that unfolding performance that Ingalls et al. describe. Sound studies have brought attention to how configurations of sonic elements and qualities define an environment's 'aural architecture' (Blesser and Salter 2009:1–10; see also Sterne 2012), which shapes how people experience that environment. One of the earliest theorists of sound, R. Murray Schafer, coined the notion of 'soundscape' (1994 [1977])[15] to refer to the sonic makeup of an environment. Drawing on these notions, I follow how elements such as building acoustics, the sounds of instruments, human chatter, traffic noise, and other sonic features, emerge as distinct sonic features to which church members become accustomed.

While worshippers' experience of a service relies on elements such as building acoustics, choices of music repertoire, and acts of singing together, that experience is at the same time more than the configuration of constitutive elements. As Gernot Böhme describes, it is an atmosphere that 'emanate[s] from things, constellations of things, and persons' (2016:7) and is underpinned by particular affective resonances that shape how worshippers react to church practices and to

[15] See Hirschkind (2001; 2006) for an example of an anthropological engagement with the notion of soundscape.

others. In trying to reveal how individual Christian selves bring forth shared experiences, the notion of affect allows us to follow 'those intensities that pass body to body [...], in those resonances that circulate about, between, and sometimes stick to bodies and worlds, and in the very passages or variations between these intensities and resonances themselves' (Gregg and Seigworth 2010:1). In this sense, affect operates as a field of potentialities, within which objects and humans are immersed and where encounters between human and non-human agents can generate experiences of different intensities. By encompassing a field of intensities, the affective lens provides a more comprehensive picture of how worshippers draw significances from services as whole events, rather than from isolated extraordinary experiences. Since most church members described church services less in terms of outstanding religious experiences and more in terms of dedicated efforts to connect to others and to God, it becomes essential to understand services as affective environments[16].

Furthermore, by employing an affective perspective to church music practices, we can explore the 'gap between how bodies feel and how subjects make sense of how they feel' (White 2017:177). Church rehearsals are particularly suited for this exploration because they direct singers' attention towards their bodies (see Chapter 4) and illuminate how choristers engage with and reflect upon body materiality and the affective interactions with their own bodies as well as those of others.

By drawing on these bodies of literature and thinking about church services as encounters that merge institutional and lived religion dimensions, this thesis expands our understanding about (religious) communities. Building on Latour (2005), Birgit Meyer argues that communities are not fixed, pre-existing entities that express themselves through a range of symbols; communities are, in fact, formations that 'come into being through the circulation and use of shared cultural forms' and are never complete (2009:4). These forms display specific affordances and limitations, which shape and generate among their members particular sensibilities that 'are not something purely cognitive but are rooted in the experience of the body in its entirety, as a complex of culturally and historically honed sensory modalities' (Hirschkind 2006:101, in Meyer 2009:13). Through music practices that underpin

[16] See Gregg and Seigworth 2010, Blackman 2012, Lutz 2017.

acts of doing church, St Mark's and St Anne's simultaneously navigate the doctrinal Anglican framework and the complex of culturally and historically shaped sensory modalities of their worshippers. Before we turn to the historical background of the Church of England that gave rise to St Mark's and St Anne's as distinct church practices, in Chapter 1, I will first describe my own acts, strategies, and experiences in doing research in these two Anglican churches.

DOING RESEARCH AS DOING CHURCH

'So, are you a Christian?'

Despite having read a great deal about researchers of religion grappling with the issue of religious affiliation (Cannell 2006:44; Blanes 2006; Knibbe et al. 2011), I was still struck by this disarmingly direct question in my first few days at St Mark's. The tone and forthrightness of the question made me aware that affirming one was 'Christian' had a very precise meaning for members of St Mark's. As I fumbled to find the best words to explain my relationship to Christianity, I quickly sensed that for members of St Mark's, being a Christian did not quite include cultural ties to a tradition, as I had to the Orthodox Christianity of my home country, Romania. My hesitant response – that I was not a churchgoer and my ties to the Orthodox Church were mainly confined to appreciating Orthodox chanting and celebrating Christmas and Easter with family – did not seem to upset my interlocutors. Emphasizing that the focus of my research was a comparative study of Anglican church music helped me subtly communicate that my participation was not motivated by a search for faith. Of course, for St Mark's members, church music is a form of worship; thus, the topic of my research prompted rich exchanges between participants and me, as well as gentle nudges from them that I should give serious thought to my ties to Christianity.

After spending the first six months of my year-long fieldwork in St Mark's, I felt I was prepared to better articulate my understanding of my relationship to

Christianity in my second field site, St Anne's. With several scenarios in mind for potential discussions, I walked in on my first 'official' day at this middle-of-the-road parish church. I had previously discussed my work with Thomas, the rector, and he had kindly agreed to include a short note about my presence (including my already knowing the organist) and my project in the church's notice sheet. In contrast, in St Mark's, the notices at the end of an order of service were reserved for church events and activities; this meant that I had to reiterate the purpose of my presence with each new person I met. In St Anne's, however, some of the church members had read about my project and approached me knowingly and with interest. In both churches, my student status helped with establishing relationships with people, though on a couple of occasions, my status as a student of anthropology elicited a few tongue-in-cheek remarks from St Mark's members: 'Be careful! She's an anthropologist, she'll analyze everything!'

In St Anne's, a new face is very easily spotted, so even if some people had missed the original notice about my project, they would still come to make acquaintance. As we would go through discussing the project, many topics would arise – the fact that I was a student at SOAS, the fact that I was from Romania, that I 'speak English very well', 'How interesting to study church music, you know, I used to be a choirboy …', 'Are you a musician?', 'What kind of church music do you have in Romania?' – but the question I had most expected and prepared for – Was I a Christian? – was not one of them. St Anne's members did not seem to be quite so worried about that. Occasionally someone would ask if I used to go to church back home; more often than not, my shy but negative response would be met with, 'Well, young people don't go to church that much nowadays.' Instead, people were very curious about the current social situation in Romania, my experience of living in London and opinions about Brexit.

Nevertheless, what I called my 'cultural ties' to Orthodox Christianity deeply infused my sense of being in the church. I arrived in St Mark's in August 2015 with no previous experience of Evangelical Christianity. Swept up in worship songs with a steady drumbeat and a few violin flourishes, surprised by sermons peppered with humorous remarks by preachers in suits, my body signalled that this *felt* unlike any church I had been in. More than once, flashes of being in Orthodox churches doubled my experience of being in St Mark's: the quietness, bowed heads, and scent of myrrh in my grandmother's church stood clearly alongside the heartfelt congregational

singing, the smiling, forward-looking worshippers and the open, spacious hall of St Mark's. Despite my expectations from a more liturgical service, St Anne's atmosphere felt only slightly more familiar. Here, the after-service coffee and tea, the children running around the pews, and, in fact, the pews themselves *felt* different.

Being caught off guard by my unexpected experiential response signalled both the need for heightened reflexivity on my part and the deeply ingrained power of sensorial modes. Ethnographic work shows us that 'new habits can be acquired. These will always be superimposed on an already socialised body and will therefore be necessarily incomplete and in some tension with the anthropologist's previous history' (Ram 2015:39). At the same time, in order to understand the different sensorial modes in the world of each church meant I had to allow for 'being immersed in the world, being within, not in front of it, and allowing sensuality to inform one's writing and analysis' (Le Breton 2017:21). As such, this approach follows the trajectory of a sensory ethnography rather than a straightforward anthropological account of sensory practices. While anthropology of the senses tends to be understood as the anthropological study of sensorial engagements (see Classen 2005; Howes 2005) as shaped by particular cultural contexts, sensory ethnography places a direct focus on *sensorial methodology* (Pink 2015). More precisely, sensory ethnography highlights the sensory modalities through which the researcher engages with the field site and participants and obtains a kind of data – sensorial data – that complements the observation of discourses or the organization of particular practices.

So, between August 2015 and September 2016, together with my interlocutors, I listened, I sang, and I prayed.

LISTENING

A number of scholars have argued that an eerie tension arises when doing research with Christian participants (Harding 1991; Robbins 2003). They are at once 'too similar, by virtue of drawing on the same broad cultural tradition as anthropologists, and too meaningfully different by virtue of drawing on a part of that tradition that in many respects has arisen in critical dialogue with the modernist idea on which anthropology is founded' (Robbins 2003:192). I suggest that, in part, the

reason for this tension is seeing Christians solely through the lens of their Christianity. However, the focus on music in this study is not only ethnographically and theoretically motivated; methodologically, music and sound allow for a dual perspective on the two church settings. While St Mark's and St Anne's members are primarily worshippers gathering Sunday after Sunday, they are also music-makers who learn, rehearse, love certain pieces and thoroughly dislike others. At the same time, their encounter in the space of the church is shaped by the sonic qualities of the space, be that the amplified and multi-instrumental environment of St Mark's or the reverberating hall of St Anne's, infused with the sound of the organ.

As such, I deliberately practised my listening skills by employing this dual perspective, or what André Droogers and Anton van Harskamp have termed 'methodological ludism'[17] (2013). This practice draws on the 'capacity to deal simultaneously and subjuctively with two or more ways of classifying reality' (Droogers 1996:53). As such, when listening to choir and band rehearsals, I noted the technicalities and bodily demands that singing imposed. Listening to services, I noticed the sonic qualities and the alternation of spoken and sung words and I noted the differences that an extra rehearsal made on singing. By picking up on such differences and discussing them with congregants and musicians, I was able to explore the differences these aspects made on worshipping, as well as to understand that 'better' singing did not necessarily mean more meaningful worship.

I listened, alone and with my interlocutors, to the churches themselves and discovered the different sonic relationships that church members developed with their places of worship. A few months into my fieldwork in St Anne's, Keith, one of the long-standing church members, led me to 'the best seat for the acoustics' just before a small concert that the church organist had organized. In St Mark's, I stuck around for soundchecks before early-morning and late-evening services, noticing how much attention was given to ensure that the words of songs were clearly audible.

Despite being 'at home' in London for the past eight years, I listened to the city anew. The first six months of my fieldwork meant travelling to central London, perhaps my least favourite part of the city. St Mark's members took similar journeys – sometimes longer, sometimes crossing much of London – to assemble there. At

[17] While Droogers uses the notion of 'methodological ludism' to refer to the anthropologist having to play a role in the fieldwork and alternate between modes of classifying reality, I found the notion useful as well to alternate between the perspectives on music-making.

times, I would leave church and share part of the journey with one or two church members. While I dreaded the noise of the Tube, my companions would recount some of the words or teachings that had made an impression on them. Other times, they would tell me that the Tube allowed them to look at the people around them and pray for someone whom they felt might need a prayer. As such, these journeys home acted for people as extensions of church worship, with the teachings and orientation towards God still lingering.

In the second half of my fieldwork, on the other hand, after a Tube journey of about an hour and a half, I would see St Anne's members leisurely walking towards church. Others would come by a short car journey, but all would be on the familiar grounds of their own borough. Here, my travelling experience would differ significantly from that of my interlocutors, but we would all enjoy arriving in the church hall to the sound of church bells. The area where St Anne's stands is not some idyllic, quiet and isolated corner; before one hears the bells, one has to cross a bridge over lanes of harsh-sounding cars racing along the motorway. Nevertheless, the people living here also know the area in its quieter times. 'At times, on a Sunday morning, I can hear the bells from home', someone in St Anne's would tell me.

Reflecting on my experiences of travelling to church, as well as on these kinds of remarks on the part of church members, helped me think about churches as environments whose effects also emerge in contrast to the wider environment of the city. The sensorial transition between the two contributes to the meaning that church members draw from gathering in the space of the church, with St Anne's described as 'a refuge for reflection' by some of its members while St Mark's was appreciated for its 'animated' style of service.

Most of all, I listened to the people. I tried to be with church members as much as possible, spending my time not only in services, but also in rehearsals, church meetings and other events and celebrations. In St Mark's, I attended the three Sunday services as well as the Bible study meeting in between, where I listened to how people articulated their knowledge and their understanding of the passages we were reading at each meeting. Apart from this, I also joined in the Thursday lunchtime service and the 'traditional evening service', which allowed me to see how church leaders were designing services with different audiences in mind while maintaining the same emphasis on the biblical message. I joined church members on

weekends away, where socializing was mixed with an organized schedule of lectures, praying, and singing.

In St Anne's, I attended Sunday services, both the morning Eucharist and Evensong, thus experiencing myself the beauty but also the dwindling numbers of those who found meaning in this evening service. St Anne's also held Taizé services instead of the Evensong, once every couple of months, which I attended as well. These services were more informal, in that they did not contain liturgy, and used Taizé chants – simple melodies and words with lines being repeated several times. These meetings counted four or five more people than Evensong services.

In St Anne's, my fieldwork coincided with an annual parish meeting, which put me in earshot of the struggles, concerns, priorities, and achievements of this congregation. Quite fitting for London fieldwork, I listened to my interlocutors in the local pub after choir rehearsals, when memories of older days and discussions about future service repertoire blended together with some tongue-in-cheek remarks about liked and disliked compositions and composers.

In all, I audio-recorded over 20 semi-formal interviews in each church (46 in total). In arranging these interviews, I caught another dimension of the differences between Anglican Evangelical churches and middle-of-the-road parish churches. With the exception of four meetings in people's homes, all of my interviews with St Mark's members took place in cafes, sometimes noisy, sometimes pleasantly humming. From my interactions with people, I interpreted this to be on account of the practicalities of being a Londoner, an identity which very much revolves around the inconveniences of small and far-away accommodation. Furthermore, finding time in people's schedules could also be problematic, which made meeting in cafes doubly useful; a short meeting before or after a service would be much more suitable for my interlocutors. I tried, as much as possible, to involve as many and as diverse people as I could. I met with individuals as well as with couples, and interviewed 11 men and 16 women of diverse ethnic and professional backgrounds. Due to schedule clashes, I was not able to include all those who agreed to be recorded, but I took notes of our discussions and returned with questions when I felt it was appropriate.

Meanwhile, in St Anne's, I conducted interviews with 10 men and 12 women, and all but five interviews were recorded in people's homes. The difference between the makeup of St Anne's and St Mark's congregations is reflected in these interviews, as all but three of my interlocutors were British. Many of these interviews

became long, spontaneous conversations over tea and cake, pointing to a different relationship to time. Many interviewees were retired and spent most of their days in the local area.

By extension, I listened with my sound recorder in an experiment – this time with sounded anthropology – which complemented my incursion into sensory ethnography. One of my methodological ambitions in this study was to engage with the materiality of sound and to give it the weight of focused enquiry. In response to Samuels et al. (2010)'s call for a better integration of sound in anthropology, I took on the challenge of a sounded ethnography of church practice, grounded in my argument that sound, music, and religious experience in an Anglican context interact in ways that reflect essential particularities about each of these elements. This meant that I recorded services and used those recordings as ethnographic data and pieces of reflection. In the same way that I read through fieldnotes, I re-listened to recordings (see Feld and Brenneis 2004). My experience in sounded ethnography audibly conveyed how music and worship were interlinked. For instance, as I would set up my stand and microphones, people would come and talk to me, curious about my setup. Listening back to the recordings, there is a vivid sensation that music, chatter, silences, reverberations, and ambulance sirens from outside the church all make up the auditory fabric of the church space.

Singing

I joined my interlocutors in congregational singing during services, which allowed me to reflect on what it feels like and what it means to sing with others. I was similar to many of the congregants in that I was not a trained singer, and this made apparent the way in which styles of music and compositions influenced the way one could join in. Being among other singers, I was able to experience that sense of being part of a corporate voice; despite not drawing the same Christian significance from this as the other church worshippers, it made the tension recounted by some worshippers experientially salient to me. Particularly in St Mark's, worshippers would describe having a sense that at times they would focus 'too much' on singing, thus slipping away from focusing on the biblical message of the song.

Experiencing the force of singing together with hundreds of other voices allowed me to navigate more delicately questions about the connections between music and religious expression and to explore together with congregants what music and singing can mean for the making of Christian selves and collective bodies.

Singing in St Mark's and St Anne's was a significantly different experience, not only because of the style of music and the numbers of worshippers but also because of the different meanings that the act of voicing – of uttering words out loud – had in each of the two churches. In St Mark's, voicing emerged in my observations and discussions with worshippers as an affirmation of a specific Christian identity. For many I encountered, uttering the words of a Christian song also effected a pledge to the ideas communicated by those words; the profound experiential impression of voicing could be seen in some singers' refraining from singing words which they found contrary to biblical teaching. In view of this, I did not find it appropriate to accept St Mark's choristers' invitation to join them in singing. As such, I would observe rehearsals, take notes, and listen with them.

In contrast, in St Anne's, people's attitudes to singing displayed a more varied understanding of what singing could be. Here, choristers described singing as not only a religious act, but also as an act of developing well-being. In fact, the choirmaster often emphasized the benefits that singing brings by regulating breathing and inducing a positive experience for the singers, irrespective of the content of the piece. Further, by drawing on her own Hindu and Catholic background in her interactions with church members, she made me feel more at ease in joining choristers' rehearsals. Prior to my singing with them in rehearsals, choristers had been very welcoming and interested in speaking to me about music. With the first experience of singing together, I became aware of a more intimate dialogue stemming from that shared experience of music-making, as if I had made my first sounds in a different language. Despite my lack of technique and very limited knowledge of the repertoire, our discussion about singing seemed to be more anchored because I had experienced myself some of the bodily effects of singing; in reflecting upon music-making, I was able to share my own singing experience with choristers instead of only asking them to describe it.

I turn now to a final and more metaphorical sense of singing that speaks to the ethnographer's task of doing anthropology at home. In both churches, singing was a mode of expression. For members of St Mark's, singing was a mode of voicing

out words that aligned them with God's truths. In St Anne's, singing was instrumental to the labour of fashioning Christian selves. In this light, the work that singing does for church members is not unlike the work of the ethnographer; one seeks to find an alignment, a conduit of communication with one's interlocutors, and then labours through articulating that experience to an (academic) readership. When doing anthropology at home, that readership may well involve one's interlocutors (see Peirano 1998). In my case, members reacted differently in each church. In St Mark's, apart from a couple of people, many did not express much desire to engage with the final form of my research. Perhaps because of my resistance to becoming a regular member of St Mark's, perhaps because the thesis did not address their core concerns (such as sharing the gospel as widely as possible), perhaps because of the large turnaround of people, St Mark's worshippers did not signal their wish to read the thesis. However, as sharers of the same cultural and social environment, they can easily access my dissertation. Conversely, in St Anne's, people made a point of saying that 'after it's all done', they would like to see a copy. With a short preamble explaining that it may make for an academically-infused reading, I indicated, not without some trepidation, that I would be glad to share a copy.

Praying

Despite my unclear relationship to Christianity, I spent a good deal of the time praying. Once again, each church setting guided the extent and form of my participation. In St Mark's, for instance, I struggled with deciding whether I should attend what church members referred to as the 'core meeting of the church family' – a weekly evening meeting of prayer. While the rector was open to me participating, a number of the worshippers mentioned that this particular meeting was 'for members to pray together' and implied that participating for research purposes may not be the most appropriate thing to do. I decided against attending this meeting, not wanting to mislead or upset church members. There were, however, other instances of prayer: in services, in Bible study groups and in rehearsals. I prayed aloud with people during services, and I also prayed in groups. While the feeling of uneasiness did not dissipate, praying in services was easier. After all, these were meetings where

everyone was welcome, Christians and non-Christians alike. In small group prayer, however, my participation was more reserved; despite having developed close relationships with participants, I did not consider myself to match their understandings of what a Christian was. Nevertheless, both instances of praying enabled me to experience the sense of strength and encouragement generated when a large congregation pray together and to feel the sense of closeness when others prayed for me in small group prayer.

In St Anne's, after discussing with other members about their own very different interpretations of praying and churchgoing in general, I gradually became more comfortable with developing my own mode of taking significance from praying. For me, the set prayers of the liturgy became moments of reflection on my participation in St Anne's and enabled me to sense the cadence and rhythm that take over when following liturgy. This, in turn, allowed me to find a place for my role as researcher in the life of the church and to contribute to doing church.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

This Introduction sketched the socio-cultural context of the two churches and highlighted how this comparative ethnography addresses some of the core issues in the anthropology of Christianity. In order to contextualize how the Church of England affords the differences of church and music practice that we encounter in St Mark's and St Anne's, Chapter 1 highlights the historical episodes that led to the diversification of Anglican practices. Through a focus on church music, the chapter conveys how the composite quality of the Church of England as 'one and many' and developing tensions between clergy, choir and congregations in Anglican churches compel churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's to develop individualized modes of orchestrating services and engaging with existing and potential congregants.

Chapter 2, the first ethnographic chapter, focuses on St Mark's, an Anglican Evangelical church. I argue that in this setting, church members cultivate an intellectualist, word-based approach to church practice and Christian self-making

where music is instrumentalized to support the biblical message. This shapes St Mark’s relationship to the Church of England as well as individual and collective Christian bodies that emerge through acts of doing church.

As an ethnographic counterpart, Chapter 3 focuses on St Anne’s, a middle-of-the-road parish church, while drawing out the core differences between the two churches. The acts of doing church in St Anne’s reveal how the multi-dimensional Anglican history – as religious tradition, cultural background, and personal histories – intimately and subtly shapes the orchestration of church life. Faced with the reality of a diminishing congregation, this intertwining of dimensions is challenged. Doing church at St Anne’s means negotiating a response to this challenge; within this process of negotiation, music is a marker of both cultural and musical tradition, on the one hand, and individual selves and memories, on the other.

Chapters 4 and 5 are complementary analytical counterparts that develop the themes emerging in Chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 4, through a focus on rehearsals, I illustrate how the experience of sound and music induces an awareness in the Christian self of the materiality of the body and of the sonic relation to the body of the church building. By drawing on the phenomenology of sound, music, and the voice to examine singing practices, I show that Christian self-making emerges as a process of integrating and negotiating the sensorial experiences that sound and music demand of the body.

While Chapter 4 focuses on the individual body, Chapter 5 explores the emergence of collective bodies. I argue that services are performative chronotopes where the Christian self engages with forms of alterity: the God-other, the Christian-other, and the non-Christian-other. Within the space and time of the service, all these relations are addressed directly or indirectly and shaped through practices of preaching, prayer, and music-making. Within the context of specific practices of preaching and prayer as described in Chapters 2 and 3, I put forward that music practice is the locus where one’s relationship with the various instances of the *other* are experientially and sensorially negotiated, explored and, in certain instances, integrated. For both churches, one of the main aims of the service is to create a sense of communion and community with these manifestations of the *other.* For St Mark’s, this would be translated in terms of the body of worshippers coming together, analogous to the materialization of the body of Christ; for St Anne’s, meanwhile, strong emphasis would fall on harmony and living together as a community.

The Conclusion draws on the emerging themes of this thesis, highlighting the need in the anthropology of Christianity for understanding how individual Christian selves create collective bodies. Stemming from this comparative ethnography, the concluding chapter hones in on the notion of alterity and its relationship to sound and music for future avenues of research in the anthropology of religion and of Christianity.

CHAPTER 1
THE ONE AND THE MANY: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS NATIONAL TRADITION AND LOCAL CULTURE

There are around 16,000 Anglican churches in England and, quoting the official Church of England website, ‘Each one of our churches has its own, unique, story to tell’ (‘Churches’ – Church of England Archbishops’ Council n.d.[18]). This may seem straightforward enough since, as further described on the same website, churches are ‘more than bricks and mortar’; indeed, they are communities of people who, according to this official presentation, bring together their individual stories to ‘live in relationship with God through Jesus Christ’ (ibid.). What is more, churches are centres of social activity that ‘run food banks and night shelters, host exercise classes, organise farmers markets, and so much more’ (ibid.).

Yet these descriptions only hint at the wide range of practices and the different experiences that one might encounter when crossing the threshold of a Church of England church. A Church of England church may welcome one with the solemn and ethereal voices of a choir singing a piece whose words are elongated and moulded in the crescendos and diminuendos of the composition; as one listens, one can follow the ceremonial gestures of ministers wearing richly woven robes and handling delicate cloths and vessels in preparation for the sacrament of the Eucharist. Another Church of England church may instead open its doors to sound out the swelling chords of an acoustic guitar with the support of orchestral instruments and the regular beat of a drum kit; with a Bible guarding each seat and a crisp, just-printed order of service handed out at the entrance, one can easily grasp every word sung, read, and spoken. These short descriptions epitomize the different atmospheres

[18] Available on-line: *https://www.churchofengland.org/about/churches*, accessed 10 August 2018

in St Anne's, as a middle-of-the-road parish church, and St Mark's, as an Anglican Evangelical church, respectively. For an uninitiated visitor, it may be a striking realization that such different settings and practices are, in fact, part of the same religious affiliation.

Making historical sense of the statement that both St Mark's and St Anne's are Church of England churches is crucial to understanding how the Church accommodates such a variety of practice. This comparative ethnography expands this understanding by exploring how particular historical tensions, such as the dynamics between clergy, choir, and congregations, shaped St Mark's and St Anne's respective relationships to the Church of England. To this end, this chapter will underline some of the main historical events that led to the Church of England operating as a composite entity, as 'one and many'. In tracing how its various strands, with distinct styles of service, were formed, I highlight the role that music played in this process of differentiation. I suggest that music's role expanded throughout the Church's history: originating as a medium of communicating doctrine and supporting worship, music also became a medium through which individual churches, such as St Mark's and St Anne's, reflexively evaluate their positions in relation to the history, doctrine, and heritage of the Church of England. The first part of this chapter will highlight the historical events that contributed to this wide diversification of practices. The second part will explore how social changes in the 20th and 21st century exacerbated existing tensions in the Church of England and how these tensions challenged members and leaders of individual churches, including St Mark's and St Anne's, to reflect upon their affiliation with the Church.

THE ANGLICAN THEME: WEAVING PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC THREADS IN MAKING THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The flavour of Protestantism developed by the Church of England after the Reformation distinguished itself as a national tradition operating in between the extremes of continental Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. To this day, the

Church of England stands as both 'catholic and reformed' ('History' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d.[19]), signalling the preservation of ties to the Patristic[20] and Medieval periods of Christianity (apparent in the creeds used, the pattern of ministry, liturgy, and church buildings, and objects and vestments), as well as the integration and application of Protestant theology. This configuration – a national church developing in between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism – constitutes what I have termed in this dissertation the 'Anglican theme'.

Stemming from the musical notion of 'theme and variations', this perspective towards understanding St Mark's and St Anne's practices within the context of the Church of England, provides a working analogy that explores the ties between history, church doctrine and practice, and cultural background. In music, a theme refers to the musical idea – the configuration of notes – proposed in a composition (see Drabkin 2001:n.p.), while a variation is a modification – in melody, rhythm, harmony, orchestration, etc. – of that original idea (see Sisman 2001:n.p.). Similarly, St Mark's and St Anne's adopt and adapt the Anglican heritage of doctrine, practices, and history in orchestrating their services.

Not only do churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's have unique stories to tell, but their stories reveal particular engagements with the history of the Church of England that shape the individual and collective religiosities of church members. To quote once more from the Church of England website, 'Our churches are often the oldest building in a village or town. Each stone marks the location where history happened and tells of a significant event in our nation's story. They are steeped in history' ('Churches' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d.[21]). Being an Anglican church means making decisions, as church leaders and members, about how to relate to the Church's history, thus generating variations of practice, music, and liturgy. For instance, St Anne's members drew on the history of the Church as a national church in their narratives about what gave significance to their practices of churchgoing; people described drawing meaning from uttering the set prayers of the liturgy, which contained the same words voiced by Christians at other points in the

[19] Available on-line: *https://www.churchofengland.org/about-us/history.aspx*, accessed 25 March 2018.

[20] Dating the Patristic Age is not fixed, with some historians using a period beginning at the end of the Apostolic Age, around 100 AD, up to either 451 AD (the date of the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth ecumenical Council of the Christian Church) or 787 AD (the date of the Council of Nicaea, the seventh Council of the Church) to mark the end date (McGrath 2012:18–22).

[21] Available on-line: *https://www.churchofengland.org/about/churches*, accessed 10 August 2018.

past. Most St Mark's members, on the other hand, maintained a more detached relationship to the history and liturgy of the Church. One exception was a poorly attended 'Traditional Evening Prayer' service, usually counting around six people. Sheila, one of the ministers, described the reason for carrying on with this service as a means to accommodate people 'who are not regular churchgoers, or they are used to something more traditional'. Sheila appealed to a memory of church practice, where prayers and gestures 'feel safe' and recognized liturgical patterns give reassurance while creating an opportunity for newcomers to be introduced to St Mark's style of service.

St Mark's reservations about enacting a close relationship to the Church of England can also be read within the context of variations on the Anglican theme; each variation is not only a configuration of church and music practices, but a node of value-laden associations. While the term 'Anglican' points to the Church's English origin, the labels 'Church of England' and 'Anglican' have acquired diverging theological and value associations over time. Rosamund Rodman provides an explicit example of this distinction in her work, provocatively titled '"*We* Are Anglicans, *They* are the Church of England": Uses of Scripture in the Anglican Crisis' (2009; original emphasis). Rodman identifies in the debates over the appointment of an openly gay bishop a distinction between 'Church of England', associated with a set of values based on cultural affiliation and heritage, and 'Anglican', associated with a practice that accurately follows the biblical message and holds the Bible as ultimate authority. In describing the associations of particular positions with particular nomenclatures, Rodman illustrates that even apparently interchangeable labels such as 'Anglican' and 'Church of England' are in fact heavy with cultural and theological associations, begging a more nuanced discussion of 'what it means to be Anglican' (ibid.:101).

My comparative ethnography of St Mark's and St Anne's exposes a similar – albeit less vehement – divergence of associations with respect to labels. For instance, while at St Mark's there is recognition of the tradition of the Church of England as a formative dimension in the British context, the church leaders, as well as most of the congregants I spoke to, chose to emphasize Anglicanism as a 'Bible-believing' denomination. Meanwhile, at St Anne's, people would reference the history and musical heritage of the Church of England as a national church in contextualizing the practices in their own church. The following three sections will point to the relevant

historical events that have shaped the development of the Church in order to highlight what grounds the Church of England as well as the wide-ranging ramifications that continue to shape individual Anglican churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's.

A GENERATIVE LAG BETWEEN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

Henry VIII calling for the establishment of the Church of England because the Pope would not grant him a divorce is perhaps one of the most 'well-known facts' about the history of the Church. However, what historians emphasize in this act are the consequences for establishing a *national* church (Avis 2002; Yates 2008; Chapman 2012), rather than one based on a doctrinal impasse. This distinction fostered an enduring doctrinal vacillation in the Church of England between two poles: on the one hand, the highly ritualized and hierarchical Catholic Church, which emphasizes ceremony and priestly roles for worship, and, on the other hand, the Protestant theology of direct communion to God through faith alone and of placing the Bible as the highest authority for discovering God's teachings. In short, the Catholics took ritual and tradition to be the appropriate modes of worshipping and following God's teachings, whereas the Protestants sought to do away with ceremony and church hierarchy, considering them obstacles that kept laypeople from directly engaging with God's word.

Setting the core doctrinal framework for the newly established Church of England developed over the course of the first 20 to 30 years; nevertheless, for a long time afterwards, the doctrine and practice of the Church continued to fluctuate between Protestant and Catholic extremes due to multiple factors. For one, as Heads of the Church, the succession of kings and queens impressed different orientations throughout the Church's history, as they themselves held different attitudes to Protestant and Catholic faiths. Henry VIII, for instance, never accepted the Reformation's core doctrine of justification by faith alone and participated in Catholic masses (MacCulloch 2003:19–22). Meanwhile, Elizabeth I was more clearly orientated towards Protestantism and formulated acts to bring church practices in closer alignment with Protestant values.

At the same time, while European Protestantism had several strong leading figures such as Luther in Germany, Calvin in France or Zwingli in Switzerland, many of England's theologians were divided between a commitment to the Catholic order, an embrace of Protestantism, or an undecided stance between the two. Furthermore, since the Church of England was a national church, drafting the theological framework for this new church was a matter of both theology and politics; the framework had to carefully but firmly place England within the European religious and political scene of the time while simultaneously avoiding an internal conflict (Chidester 2001).

The acts that gave the Church of England the 'distinctive identity that it has retained to this day' ('History' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d.) were the 1559 Elizabethan Religious Settlement and the 1563 Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith. The Settlement aimed to provide unity and a distinct identity for the new English Church. As such, it reaffirmed the Church of England as separate from the Vatican and enacted lasting guidelines for doctrine and practice in the Church. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith represented the complete collection of theological and doctrinal principles of the Church of England.[22] These articles focused on aspects of belief (primarily on the nature of God and the Scripture as sole necessary means for salvation) rather than stipulating detailed descriptions of church practice. For instance, the Articles address the nature of God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, the meaning of the Resurrection and the Last Supper and other similar theological issues. There are no precise details about church practice apart from Article 34, which states that '[i]t is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like' while also affirming the authority of the national church to impose a particular church order. The lack of precision about church practice in this formative act extended the opportunities for diversification.

While the Elizabethan Settlement and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith sought to instil stability, church practices in the Church of England continued to convey a pronounced sense of in-between-ness, blending Catholic and Protestant elements and fluctuating between embracing and rejecting the past. For instance, church service liturgy did not change uniformly. New or altered liturgical elements

[22] For a complete list and content of the Articles, *see https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources/book-common-prayer/articles-religion*, accessed 12 August 2018.

and indications were introduced gradually through several iterations of the *Book of Common Prayer*[23] (MacCulloch 2003:25; Duffy 2003:44). The *Book of Common Prayer* is a ‘script’ in which ‘different speeches are assigned to different characters’ (Hefling and Shattuck 2006:2) – congregants, ministers, and other church roles – in order to carry out corporate acts of worship with a set structure and displayed in a temporal pattern of liturgical seasons: Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter (ibid.:1). It contains set liturgy, prayers, and indications for appropriate practices at different moments in the lives of a worshipper and a community. The aim of the *Book of Common Prayer* is to provide a format so that participants ‘have the same idea of what each of them is to do in relation to what others will be doing’ (ibid.:2).

Apart from the gradual introduction of these prayer books, clergy did not always carry out the new instructions for church practice in the same way. At various points in the early years after the Reformation, the official acts required Bibles to be introduced in every church, the Catholic Mass to be changed to a service of Communion, and the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments to be recited in English before accepting Communion (Cuming 1982:32). However, such directives were not followed in full by clergy members who were still leaning towards the ceremony of the Mass while their congregations were accustomed to it.

It was, in fact, this habitual familiarity with Catholic services that created ‘a lag between official and actual practised religion’ (Litzenberger 1998:140), which made it difficult to discern the limits of acceptable practice (ibid.:142). While the Protestant influence expanded gradually, top-down, from theologians and clerics of Protestant inclination, it did so against the background of various material and affective remnants of the Catholic past. The material culture of church practice sustained this lag. For example, although Henry VIII ordered the destruction of many Catholic monasteries and shrines, cathedrals were maintained. Even to this day, cathedrals in the UK remain significant religious markers, having enveloped their

[23] While several iterations were issued, one has remained the most influential until the present day: the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. This version remains a defining aspect of the Church of England, declared by the Church as ‘a permanent feature of worship and a key source for doctrine, loved for the beauty of its language’ (‘Book of Common Prayer’ – Church of England Archbishops’ Council n.d., available on-line: */prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources*, accessed 12 August 2018), despite the fact that not all the churches use it in their church practices. For instance, neither St Mark’s nor St Anne’s use this as their reference for church practice in their main services. St Mark’s uses a limited portion of the prayers in the book for a very small evening service, while St Anne’s follows the 1662 *Book of Common Praye*r practice for an 8 am Communion service. However, members of each church referred back to the book when describing the roots of Anglican church practice.

Catholic origins in their subsequent Protestant history. However, in those initial years after the Reformation, many other architectural reminders of the Catholic past remained in the fabric of church buildings, maintaining people's memory ties with Catholic practices. In this respect, historian Eamon Duffy quotes Elizabethan antiquarian John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598), highlighting that London in the 16th century '[was] saturated through and through with nostalgia for the medieval golden age which had shaped London townscape and its social and religious institutions' (2003:54). For instance, the parish church stained glass is one example of inconsistency in the process of obliteration of Catholic heritage. The English Reformation was particularly hostile to glass pictures and mandates were issued to destroy them:

> To take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables and candlesticks, trundles or rolls of ware, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of faigned [sic] miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remains no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses. (Duffy 2003:46)[24]

While many ceremonial objects were destroyed in this fashion, this 'purging of memory' (ibid.:56) was counteracted by pragmatism and the black market. The former came in the form of directives that stated that if the breaking of stained glass were to let the weather in, the windows were to be spared (ibid.). The latter illegally preserved and sold Catholic religious objects.

Music practice witnessed a similar blending of Catholic and Protestant elements due to the preservation of several Catholic musical vestiges, such as cathedrals and choral foundations. Choral music occurred only in cathedrals, which also retained their pipe organs and large staff of clergy. Historian Diarmaid MacCulloch sees in this continuation of choral practice an 'ideological subversion of the Church of England' (2003:31), which reinforced the Catholic thread in the Church of England. Moreover, this continuation of choral practice induced a clear distinction between cathedral and parish church music. While parish churches would use 'a modest and distinct song […] in all parts of the common prayers in the church

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[24] Here Duffy quotes Injunction 23 from W.H. Frere's *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of Reformation* (1910:16).

that the same may be as plainly understanded [sic] as if it were read without singing' (Cuming 1982:127), cathedral choirs would prepare a diverse repertoire of anthems and would chant their mass settings.

Despite continuous efforts to shape an Anglican liturgical form (see Dix 2015 [1945]; Thompson 1962; Etherington 1978), parish church music did not display a unitary character. Congregational singing became an intrinsic part of the churchgoing experience for people who, 'for the first time, experienced communal participation in public worship' (Temperley 1983:76). Music included mostly solemn chants characterized by 'clearly declaimed and understandable syllabic settings' (Westermeyer 1998:169). The overarching aim of music practice was to bring the best worship to God in a solemn musical expression. Consequently, music-making placed an emphasis on texts, the use of vocal music, limited emotional expression, subdued rhythmic patterns and minimal variety or novelty (see Evans 2006:26). These characteristics have led musicologists such as Quentin Faulkner to argue that these practices 'limited and severely inhibited the emotional range of music, both in the liturgy and in Christian life in general' (1996:71).

This tendency in church music-making echoed the Platonic ideas enacted in the pre-Reformation period by underlining the sense that the human soul had to be attuned to divine harmony. Harmonization could only occur through consonant (see Gozza 2000) and guided musical practice, so as to avoid music that stirred unwanted emotion (Plato 1945). In this sense, music was regarded as a dimension that could not be fully controlled, only modulated. Certain musical modes were deemed able to mould the human soul so as to be reflective, rational, and balanced in emotions (ibid.), since these qualities, as opposed to unbounded feelings, marked an elevated spirit (Sachs 1943; Faulkner 1996). Furthermore, the Platonic interpretation of the mind–body relationship was emphasized in church music, with the former responsible for controlling the impulses of the latter, just as a musician controls an instrument (Spitzer 1963:20). Similar to pre-Reformation times, the clergy was in full control of music practice: 'music was intended not as an appeal to man's subjective irrationality but as an objective reminder of laws ultimately inaccessible to the human mind' (ibid.:36). This suggests a harnessing of the musical ability to instil order, modulating the body and the mind of the worshipper in forming religious subjects.

In the blend of affect, memory, material culture, and doctrine that characterized the Church of England practice in the early years after the Reformation, one crucial Protestant element marked the distinct doctrine of the Church, namely, the symbolism of the Eucharist. In the Catholic pre-Reformation mass, the celebrant made the offer of wine and bread as a sacrifice for the living and the dead. In the reformed Church of England, the offer became a symbolic act of Christ's death and sacrifice, not a sacrifice in itself. In Protestant theology, the only valid offering could solely be made by Christ (Cuming 1982:15), a principle enacted in both St Mark's and St Anne's Communion services. Despite the different rituals, music, and liturgy surrounding the sacrament, all the church members I spoke to in both St Mark's and St Anne's declared their understanding of the act as a symbolic reminder of Jesus' sacrifice.

IN-BETWEEN-NESS AS THEOLOGY

> The outcome of Reformation in England was less tidy than in many other European countries. It ended up producing a distinctive strand of western Christianity which has never been quite sure whether to label itself Catholic or Protestant, and which in the end has decided that uncertainty is a virtue in the Christian life, not a vice.
> The name of this mood is Anglicanism. (MacCulloch 2003:18)

Faced with the difficulty of enacting a unified doctrine and practice, theologians turned the very in-between-ness of the Church of England into the Church's distinct quality, as MacCulloch suggests in the above quotation. In the background of the lag between official doctrine and actual practice, this shift in perspective contributed to further expanding the configurations of church practices.

Richard Hooker (1554–1600), the theologian who formulated this perspective on uncertainty as a virtue instead of a vice, balanced this sense of Anglican in-between-ness through a three-pronged foundation for the Anglican faith based on scripture, tradition, and reason. For Hooker, these three elements could be woven together to create the fabric of Anglicanism as a distinct faith. In his view, the scripture contained 'things necessary to all men's salvation […] they are in Scripture

plain and easy to be understood' (Hooker quoted in Lake 2003:101). At the same time, he saw tradition as 'the prior testimony of the Church' (Lake 2003:99) and, as such, a reliable source for people's understanding of Scripture. Customs and traditions of the Church, then, were not a 'mere validation' of Scripture, but a 'status of the collective reason, the time-tested wisdom of the community of Christians' (ibid.:100), thus completing the triad of the Anglican faith. To support this theological model, Hooker promoted 'a solemn and serviceable worship' comprised of prayer, sacraments and liturgy (ibid.:102). These elements aimed to inculcate mental and spiritual habits, modes of thought and feeling conducive to virtue (ibid.).

Historian Peter Lake points out that Hooker's vision created a distinct theological layer that shaped what 'the English Church and its style of piety should be like' (2003:118). With his three-pronged model, Hooker isolated Anglicanism as a distinct form of Christianity while emphasizing the Church of England as the setting where this form manifested. He re-asserted ceremony as a vital form of external worship and revived the weight of the Christian past (Litzenberger 1998:138), while at the same time celebrating scripture and the experiential dimension of the faith. In doing so, he provided 'a religiously exalted defence of the ceremonies and external observances of the national church' and 'a religiously coherent and evangelically charged rationale of that inclusive vision of the Christian community' (Lake 2003:104).

It is important to keep in mind that the Reformation and the development of the Church of England were 'not just a set of theological and jurisdictional changes but profoundly lived experiences that transformed both individuals and communities' (Croft 2003:65). Because of this, while the in-between-ness of the Anglican faith worked well within the boundaries of theological models, in practice, this in-between-ness coagulated into different strands of the Church. Despite each strand's declared affiliation to the Church of England, their practices did not materialize the triad model of scripture, tradition, and reason; instead, as we will see in the next section, each strand emphasized one dimension of the triad in their doctrine.

The many churches within the Church of England

To this day, the official position of the Church of England holds that the Church encompasses three main strands: Evangelical, Catholic, and Liberal. Each of these emphasizes one aspect of Hooker's triad model. The Evangelical strand stresses the authority of scripture, the importance of preaching and the principle of justification by faith alone. The Catholic strand highlights the significance of tradition, sacraments, and ministry hierarchy as ties to the Early Christian Church that validate the Church of England as coeval to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Finally, the Liberal strand affirms the importance of using reason to address theological matters and of integrating advances in human knowledge and social and political issues into theological explorations ('History' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d.[25]).

St Anne's and St Mark's church members contextualized the history of the Church of England in reference to the same three aspects – scripture, tradition, and reason. However, they used references that encapsulated not only a theological emphasis, but an associated style of service and church practices,[26] in the form of Evangelicals, High Church, and Low Church, respectively. For instance, members of both churches referred to 'High Church' as the epitome of a solemn, ceremonial service which, for these worshippers, implicitly contained a theological emphasis on tradition, while 'Low Church' signalled for them a non-ceremonial service. At the same time, references to 'Evangelicals' revealed that members of each church held distinct associations to this Anglican strand. While for St Mark's, 'Evangelical' stood for upholding the authority of the Bible, for St Anne's this label evoked images of

[25] The Church of England also officially notes that, since the 1960s, a fourth element – the Charismatic movement – has made an impact on the styles of service in Anglican churches, though this movement is not included together with the three main Anglican strands. The Church sees this movement as emphasizing 'the importance of the Church being open to renewal through the work of the Holy Spirit' ('History' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d., available on-line: *https://www.churchofengland.org/about-us/history.aspx*, accessed 25 March 2018).

[26] Only two people referenced 'Liberal' in our discussions about Anglican diversity. They were both theologically trained members of St Anne's – the rector and one of the lay readers (people licensed to preach and deliver some religious services but not licensed to celebrate the Eucharist). While the rector only mentioned the Liberal strand as a part of the Church, Richard, the lay reader, reflected views quite similar to those formulated officially by the Church. In his view, 'Liberalism is making theology connect with the reality of the present and accepting that what might have been fine in the first century… now we [referring to society as a whole] see the world through a different lens. In some ways we've grown up; in some ways we simply know more about ourselves. You can't ignore that.'

informal services with guitar music and what they considered exaggerated expressions of emotion. The differences in these associations did not stem from misunderstandings, but from different engagements with the history of the Church and the diversification of practices within it. In order to understand how such labels shape St Mark's and St Anne's current relationships to the Church of England, we need to briefly delve into how the High Church, Low Church, and Evangelical branches coagulated into different, yet not isolated, strands.

The first major distinction emerged within the Church of England in the 17th century between the High Church and the Low Church. While both recognized the reformed character of the Church of England, they held opposing views on the importance of writings from the early period of Christianity (also known as the Patristic Period). High Church placed an emphasis on ceremony and tradition, and found the Patristic scholarship resourceful for settling theological issues (Every 1956:2) and praised church hierarchy (Avis 2002:157). In contrast, for Low Churchmen, the Patristic writings were full of 'indefiniteness and obscurity' (Every 1956:2); they focused instead on developing a 'simpler theology, based on the plain letter of Scripture' (ibid.)[27] in non-ceremonial services.

The Evangelical strand formed at the beginning of the 18th century as a result of the work of travelling preachers who sought to share the gospel as widely as possible. In the 1730s, John Wesley, a High Church clergyman, began travelling and giving sermons outside church buildings and outside the format of a service. Wesley's sermons emphasized the primacy of belief and the democratic nature of the body of believers, each of whom he believed had direct access to God. As such, this stood in contrast to Church of England practice which, at the time, was shaped primarily by High Church ceremony, liturgy, and hierarchy. Wesley's practices and teachings about the sole sufficiency of scripture for salvation slowly began to erode the fabric of the Church of England. The movement soon gained in popularity, and Evangelical preachers' emphasis on the experiential and immediate nature of 'sudden conversion' was particularly effective in new industrial centres, whose growing population were not properly ministered to by the local churches (Avis 2002:158).

[27] The conflict between these two strands was also sustained by different political views, since the parties that formed in the 17th century were ecclesiastical parties. The operation of ecclesiastical parties later became a characteristic feature of English Anglicanism (Avis 2002:157).

The major distinctions between Evangelical and High Church practices revolved around the purported aim of the services, the emphasis given to preaching and the outward expression of emotion; this materialized in different styles of services. In High Church settings, the core of public worship was grounded in an accurate enactment of the Prayer Book liturgy. The High Church strived for 'religious excellence' (Temperley 1983:224), which could be achieved by creating a solemn, dignified atmosphere infused with high-standard choral music akin to that performed in cathedrals. In this setting, 'corporate splendour and dignity matter[ed] more than the individual worshippers' state of mind' (ibid.:226).

The High Church retained its emphasis on a specific repertoire of sacred music which had to be clearly differentiated from other kinds of music, lest 'the very image and character even of virtue and vice is perceived [and] the mind [is] delighted with their resemblances' (Richardson 1913:n.p.). To this end, the composers deemed suitable were those of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Tallis, Tye, Gibbons or Ravenscroft (Temperley 1983:247), whose works can be found in St Anne's core repertoire. A sombre, controlled mood became intrinsic to musical arrangement; the flows, rhythms, and compositions of music were ordered and focused so as to guide the 'worship of the Creator by the human soul' (Richardson 1913:n.p.). In this respect, music acted as a conduit that both guided and moulded people's affective and sensorial experiences of the sacred. The solemn atmosphere was marked spatially by the location of the choir and the clergy at the front; their vestments also marked them as distinct from the congregation, 'whose place was to listen to the singing of the services' (Cuming 1982:147; see also Addleshaw and Etchells 1948).

Meanwhile, Evangelicals focused on transforming liturgy from what they considered had become 'an empty form' into 'a living word' (Davies 1961:III–217). To this end, Evangelical preachers would use sermons in order to teach the core principles of the movement: the justification by faith, the priesthood of all believers, and the primacy of scripture. Sermons did not have a precise liturgical form, foregrounding instead intense personal experiences and the importance of conversion. In the expansion of the Evangelical movement, music played a crucial role: the new emphasis on subjectivity and emotional experience was reinforced through the use of congregational hymns (Avis 2002:162–63).

John Wesley's brother, Charles, composed a vast number of congregational hymns which, alongside sermons, contributed to stirring in people 'a sense of deep

spiritual need' (ibid.:158), leading to their conversion to 'a vital experience of salvation' (ibid.). Evangelicals adopted these hymns for their ability to inculcate meaning and express emotion among worshippers; they were 'songs of individual experience, marking the successive stages of penitence, conversion, justification, pardon, and sanctification in the life of the Christian pilgrim through this vale of sorrow to eternity' (Davies 1961:III–234–5). In many cases, they drew from popular music styles or folk tunes; the language used was personal and emotional and made use of vibrant imagery. Most importantly, hymns did not require the lead of a specialist choir. They afforded congregational participation in spontaneous worship where more complex musical forms, such as anthems, could not.

This brief historical overview shows how the historical formation of High Church, Low Church, and Evangelical strands still inform the associations held by members of St Anne's and St Mark's. 'High Church' still operates as an image of highly ritualized service – of 'smells and bells' – as we have seen in the opening vignette of this dissertation. Meanwhile, this historical illustration also explains the different connections made by St Anne's and St Mark's with respect to the Evangelical strand of the Church since, at its origins, Evangelicals affirmed the primacy of the Scripture while also encouraging intense, outward expressions of emotions and used engaging folk tunes in order to elicit such experiences. However, in order to understand how contemporary churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's came to draw from High Church, Low Church, and Evangelical strands in developing their styles of service, we need to highlight how the dynamics between clergy, choir, and congregation led to a blending of elements.

The ceremony upheld in High Church settings maintained a separation between clergy and choir, on the one hand, and congregation, on the other. Meanwhile, Evangelical and Low Church services were both congregation-focused, and each diminished, though did not eliminate, the distinction between clergy and congregants. Music practice and repertoire played an instrumental role in reshaping these dynamics, and multiple overlaps emerged between the strands of the Church of England, with individual churches blending different practices.

In the 19th century, High Church churches faced a decrease in numbers and a strong call for a style of service that involved the congregation more in acts of worship such as singing. Consequently, in the late 19th century, the Church of England introduced a new style of service – the choral service (Temperley 1983:276-

386). This service combined choral singing in the form of anthems with congregational participation in the form of hymn singing. While the congregation became more active, the solemn atmosphere of the service was maintained despite a decrease in the use of ceremony. With this style of service, the Church of England aimed to promote a uniform style of service across its different strands and to balance the dynamics between clergy, choir, and congregation (Mackerness 2013:261).

On the one hand, the choral service throws a long shadow on current styles of service in churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's for several reasons. For one, the choral service emerged in the context of a burgeoning religious infrastructure. Since the early 19th century, there was extensive investment in building new churches and restoring old ones; the New Churches Act, issued in 1818, provided government funding for new church buildings. St Mark's building, erected in the first half of the 19th century, was among these new churches. The impetus for building and restoring churches also brought with it a more dedicated focus on the sonic environment, as organs were fitted in all churches, establishing this particular sonic quality as a characteristic of the church space. These churches became settings where choral services were delivered to a population that was increasingly habituated to a combination of choral and congregational singing and to the organ as a sonic marker of church practice (Temperley 1983:310).

Second, church music repertoire expanded greatly during this period, with composers such as Stanford, Parry, and Elgar writing anthems and other choral compositions for this particular style of service. Their works are recurrent in St Anne's repertoire, but appear only occasionally in St Mark's. The hymn repertoire was also diversified, and the publication of several hymnbooks, such as *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861, aided in the proliferation of congregational participation. This diversification of music repertoire was instrumental for parish churches, contributing to the deeper cultivation of an intimate connection between music and worship for all church members (ibid.:299).

On the other hand, the choral service was not entirely successful in promoting the uniformity of church practice originally envisaged by the Church nor in balancing the dynamics between clergy, choir, and congregation. High Church churches and cathedrals continued to maintain a clear separation between clergy and choir (as those who deliver worship and music) and congregants (as those who

listen), with some clerics echoing earlier views that the role of the congregation should not exceed anything 'other than rapt attentiveness' (Thomas 2015:8). But while High Church and cathedral services challenged congregants' desire to participate actively in worship, they also became a sign of 'social advancement' in society (ibid.:17), thus ensuring their continuity. Cathedral and High Church-style services became associated with particular aesthetic and moral values which shaped both religious subjectivities and social status. The repertoire of solemn and restrained sacred music was considered to mirror not only a worshipful state, but also the refinement and moral discipline – and, implicitly, the social capital – of those who attended such services (ibid.). Social class stands as a relevant category in contemporary churches, with both members of St Mark's and St Anne's qualifying their respective churches as 'middle-class' and indicating their awareness that this may impact upon how potential new congregants view the two churches.

The dynamics between clergy, choir, and congregation continued to change all throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, bringing about tensions that further pushed individual Anglican churches to reflect upon their styles of services.

VARIATIONS ON A THEME: SELECTING ANGLICAN PRACTICES IN THE MAKING OF INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES

The changing socio-economic conditions in the first part of the 20th century, due mainly to WWI and WWII, played an important role in the diversification of styles of worship. Changes included dwindling numbers in church attendance, a shared atmosphere of uncertainty, and the alienation of the poor population from church practice (Temperley 1983:315; Mackerness 2013:260). At the same time, those remaining in congregations exerted pressure on local church leaders for more inclusive styles of service – in particular, for more open participation in the sacrament of Communion – so as to reinforce a sense of local community.

Faced with increased demand for active participation, a large number of clergy sought to amend officially the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1928, but this was

denied by Church authorities. In response, individual churches gradually started experimenting with styles of service and music in order to better relate to their congregations, and church leaders increasingly began to pay attention to how their congregations responded to their style of service (Davies 1996:V–319). In St Mark's, for example, the director of music explained that changing the interior of the church around the middle of the 20th century was one such act; moving the organ console from the back of the church, where the organist was hidden from sight, to the front of the main hall allowed for a more inclusive music experience where everyone – musicians and congregants alike – could participate together in congregational music-making. In St Anne's, some members recounted that after the fire in the 1970s destroyed the old building, the rebuilding of the church took into account church members' views on the role that church services and other church-related activities should play in their lives.

A major change in church administration occurred in the early 20th century, facilitating congregants' more active involvement in processes of decision-making regarding the church. This change came with the formation of the Parochial Church Council (PCC), an administrative body consisting of non-ordained members of the church. The PCC enabled laity to enact a formal role in the government of a church, with responsibility to collaborate with the rector (the leader of a parish church) to run the parish. The powers of the council are considerable, as its members take part in the appointment of the rector along with decision-making processes regarding finances, administration, and strategies of the church. For instance, it was the PCC that authorized a considerable expenditure for large-scale maintenance work on St Anne's organ. Similarly, it was the PCC that discussed and approved which activities in St Mark's were to receive more financial support and attention. Representatives of the PCC are elected by vote in the Annual General Meeting of the Council by members on the electoral roll – a list of those with the right to vote in Church of England elections who must either reside in the parish (as is the case for St Anne's) or attend regularly (as is the case for St Mark's).

Coupled with economic influences, congregations' new administrative power contributed to the increasing diversification of service styles. Some of the parish churches that had previously followed a High Church or cathedral style were compelled to redesign their services. First, they could no longer afford to be 'miniature cathedrals' (Temperley 1983:343) because professional organists and

choirs – as well as the maintenance of the organs themselves – imposed significant expenses on dwindling and poorer congregations. Secondly, with congregations' increasing demand for more active participation, some parish churches drew inspiration from the 'stylistic tropes of music composition of the time' (Thomas 2015:22). Others had the resources to maintain their High Church-style services and music. Others still drew inspiration from the increasingly diverse cultural, religious or ethnic backgrounds of their congregants, simplifying their liturgies, using contemporary hymns, and incorporating charismatic experiences into their services.

The Church of England finally responded to the increasing changes in practice among individual churches and issued a new form of liturgy in 2000, titled *Common Worship*, to serve as a reference rather than a strict model for services. This new edition offers more flexibility, updated language and 'draws together the best of modern liturgy and the tradition of worship stemming from *The Book of Common Prayer*', aiming to 'meet the needs of the new generation' ('Where the Liturgy Comes From' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d.[28]).

These changes at national Church level and individual church level created a gradient of practices that no longer stayed in alignment with High Church, Low Church or Evangelical models. Nevertheless, these labels continued to operate as points of reference for Anglican congregants – including, as we have seen, for members of St Mark's and St Anne's. They conveyed particular models for styles of services and accentuated the image of High Church and cathedral music repertoire and singing as the highest standard of church worship music.

As mentioned before, cathedral- and High Church-style music held an aura of excellence. The music sung in these settings was seen primarily as an offering to God and, as such, its delivery had to be of the highest standard. However, against the background of church practice diversification and more porous boundaries between what was generally perceived as 'religious' and 'secular' in the 20th and 21st centuries, this association between worship and musical quality gave rise to new questions about the meaning of church practice, music, and worship.

Since the late 19th century, the delivery of sacred music in non-liturgical contexts had become a common occurrence. The spaces used for these events were either cathedrals or concert halls, both of which could support the complexity of the

[28] Available on-line: */prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources/where-liturgy-comes*, accessed 12 August 2018.

music with the acoustic properties of their buildings. While at first these events were bookended by prayers, this practice soon began to dissolve (Thomas 2015:24–30). This enabled the participation of a more mixed audience in terms of religious affiliation and the interweaving of religious and aesthetic motivations for attending. The establishment of specialist bodies of musical training for singers and for organists, such as the Royal School of Church Music in 1927, reinforced the culture of the professional church musician. Such musicians could easily lend their talents in delivering sacred music in non-religious settings, thus generating a further sense of uncertainty about the relationship between religious and non-religious practices and spaces.

In addition, the proliferation of radio channels such as Radio 3 in the 20th century brought the sound of religious music from the church into the home, thus blurring the boundaries between the church as a strictly 'religious' sphere and the home as a strictly 'secular' one. On the one hand, broadcasts of Choral Evensong, a type of Church of England service delivered in the late afternoon or in the evening that contains evening prayers, chanted psalms, and anthems, rendered in cathedral style and recorded in Oxford or Cambridge chapels and cathedrals contributed to worshippers' practising their religion in spaces other than the church and, in this sense, sacralizing those spaces. On the other hand, the framing of such broadcasts with programmes dedicated to classical music reinforced the merging of religious expression with a particular aesthetic discourse and socio-economic status, which reflected the values of a white middle-class worshipper. Being able to appreciate sacred and classical music repertoire reflected one's education and refinement of musical taste. Together with a rekindled appreciation of the nation's cultural patrimony, a new recognition of British composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams or John Ireland (Haskell 1988:37) and the institutionalization of music education,[29] this style of music contributed to the formation of a collective auditory memory for the British public that was closely linked with a sense of national affiliation (Mackerness 2013:261).

[29] Music schools had been established since the second half of the 19th century under the efforts of W.E. Hickson, known as the 'father of English school music'. His conviction held that music should be taught from an early age due to its ability to instil values: 'music has a tendency to wean the mind from vicious and sensual indulgences; and, if properly directed, it has a tendency to incline the heart to kindly feelings, and just and generous emotions' (Hickson, quoted in Mackerness 2013:154). This perspective on music also shaped music practice in Sunday schools, which many of St Anne's members – as well as St Mark's British congregants – had attended in childhood.

The deep influence of the High Church or cathedral style lingered in the narratives of members of both St Mark's and St Anne's. In both churches, people had memories of listening to radio broadcasts of Choral Evensong or taking part in services that employed cathedral-style music. For members of both St Mark's and St Anne's, this style was clearly connected with the heritage of the Church of England. Yet while members of St Anne's drew personal meaning from this heritage, members of St Mark's found it drew a problematic boundary between those who were born and brought up with this style and those who were not. In St Mark's, people further emphasized that in the present-day UK, this style of worship either did not resonate with the increasingly larger number of worshippers from different cultural backgrounds or was 'merely inherited' without consideration, commitment or reflection upon its meaning.

The quest to sustain authentic worship (in contrast to rote participation in services) and accommodate changing congregations is not only a trait of Evangelical churches, but marks the principal point of tension throughout the various changes in the history of Protestantism (Herl 2004). At various points in time, new worship styles sought to introduce more informal and more popular elements in services in order to appeal to wider congregations, while opponents would criticise such projects as consumer preferences triumphing over invoking the transcendental, as technology replacing theology or as novelty replacing history and tradition (Martin 2016:655). The most recent reiteration of these 'worship wars' (Dawn 1995; Olson 2004; Dueck 2011) culminated in the 1990s after a few decades of experimentation with music and worship styles.

Two main events around the 1960s catalysed the changes in Christian worship on a large scale across the US and the UK: the Jesus Movement and Vatican II. The former was an Evangelical movement that arose in California and sought to integrate American cultural forms (such as music styles) in religious practice (see Evans 2006:38; Ingalls 2016:429). Vatican II was an assembly of Roman-Catholic religious leaders where, among other doctrinal issues, the leaders decided that the Church should become more sensitive to social and cultural dimensions of worship as well as become more open to charismatic worship. The effects of these two events manifested in a 'spread of Pentecostal worship and ideas to mainstream churches' (Village 2007:146) and authenticated emotional, spontaneous, ecstatic expressions of worship (such as speaking in tongues, shaking, being touched by the Holy Spirit) and

practices of experiencing the immediate presence of God (Krapohl and Lippy 1999:171). Within this context, singing became 'a way of mediating God's immanence to the believer' (Foye 2015:136) and new styles of music developed in order to enhance intense, ecstatic worshipping.

In many churches in Britain and USA, the new styles of music, guitar-led, and inspired by pop, rock or folk genres, were grouped under the name 'contemporary worship music' (CWM) or Christian congregational music (CCM)[30]. Many churches gradually began to replace traditional, organ-led hymns with the double aim of creating more 'authentic' worship and of drawing in wider congregations. If some churchgoers saw these styles as necessary to draw more (young) people into the church, others felt that contemporary worship music sounded too worldly and its texts lacked the poetic depth of traditional hymns (Reily and Dueck 2016:11). Showing that style is 'far from neutral' and carries with it associations to aesthetic and moral values (Ingalls 2017:7), Deborah Justice argues that the 'worship wars' led to a genre-ification of labels such as 'traditional' and 'contemporary' (2016:491). Whereas up until the late 20th-century these labels operated as chronological markers, with the 'worship wars' of the 1990s they became genre descriptions (Justice 2017:16) and, implicitly, markers of (religious) identity. During the peak of the 'worship wars', churchgoers 'no longer sort themselves out by denomination so much as by musical preference' (Hamilton 1999:29), showing 'just how central and intimate music is to historical identification, congregational identity and individual … experience' (Foye 2015:133; see also Hamilton 1999). Moreover, these transformations and experimentations with style had direct effects upon the relationships between congregations and clergy, upon their theological understandings of the role of music in worship and in religious identity (Ingalls 2016:425; see also Ingalls 2008; Nekola 2009; Foye 2015) and upon the relation between individual churches and the traditions to which they were affiliated.

In effect, such transformations in worship and music style compelled congregations and church leaders to reflect upon and re-evaluate the role that the heritage of their traditions should play in current forms of worship. For both St

[30] Monique Ingalls (2017) draws attention to the fact that despite these umbrella terms, Christian Worship Music and Christian Congregational Music are not stylistically homogenous repertoires (see also Ingalls 2011). Similarly, Lester Ruth argues against taking contemporary worship as a monolith, calling instead for a more precise study of the 'different places … multiple strands of development and various modes of expression' of the phenomena grouped under this term (2017:6).

Mark’s and St Anne’s, the issue of the heritage of the Church of England is particularly relevant, as they operate in a setting where, as both institutions and congregations, they act as simultaneous producers and subjects of the historical discourse that describes their affiliations.

The use of labels such as ‘Anglican Evangelical’ or ‘middle-of-the-road’ implies not only a particular historical formation; these labels involve specific acts of reflexivity upon that historical formation and processes of situating the identity of each church within a perceived social context. In saying that they are Anglican Evangelical, members of St Mark’s acknowledge their emergence from a particular strand of the Church of England. In orchestrating the particulars of their services, leaders of St Mark’s reinforce the commitment to ‘Christ above culture’ in a setting where the history of the Church is subordinated to practices of gaining biblical knowledge. Similarly, in describing their church as ‘a middle-of-the-road parish church’, members of St Anne’s also express an evaluation of the history of the Church of England, choosing to be in the middle of the High Church tradition of ceremony and the Low Church emphasis on congregational participation. But having a sense for this ‘middle’ – its services, music and liturgy – also expresses the choice to link the memory of their local church to the history of the Church of England.

By turning now to St Mark’s and St Anne’s orders of service, liturgies and music repertoire and practices, I illustrate how each church navigates the tensions of sustaining their existing members while also appealing to other potential congregants from wider audiences.

Orchestrating Services

In the diversity of practices under the umbrella of ‘Church of England’, making choices about music engenders the formation of a distinct identity as an individual church. Even in the case of churches that maintain a cathedral style of music, upholding this choice in contemporary London no longer reflects a straightforward affiliation with the Church of England. Styles of services and music have become a mode for individual churches – their leaders and congregants – to reflect upon how they maintain and express their Anglican affiliation. With

increasing forms of religious expression, churches are compelled to think about congregations as audiences to a church's own individual style of worship rather than as generic 'Anglican worshippers'. For instance, members of both churches often reflected on how to engage with potential audiences and how to strike a balance between retaining the elements they considered essential to church practice while also integrating new congregants. While St Mark's approach was to focus the services on the Bible and remove markers of Anglican ritual, St Anne's members focused on making the church useful to the local community, asking themselves and church visitors, 'What can the church do for you?'

The acts of orchestrating services, then, are acts in which an individual church's relation to history is utilized in developing a church identity. Apart from the Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith, to which all churches affiliated with the Church of England subscribe, other markers of Anglican identity, such as the Lectionary[31] and the *Book of Common Prayer* (or its modern iteration in the *Common Worship*), have become optional. Even in terms of architectural features and internal layout, the two churches convey their different approaches to church and music practice.

St Mark's opens through a circular vestibule which displays various brochures and flyers regarding the church and its activities. As one enters the main hall, one notices on the ground floor the many rows of chairs, easily removable and stackable, signalling the flexibility in the usage of space. Looking up, the galleries host more seats for St Mark's large congregation. At the front, the chancel[32] was extended so that it now operates as a large stage thus accommodating the various music groups, especially the orchestra with its many instruments. What is more, the pulpit – a raised stand from where the rector or lay-ministers lead services and preachers deliver their sermons – is mobile, easily removed when the music groups need the stage. On the right side of the stage, there is a piano, a set of drums and the organ keyboards barely visible behind the other instruments. The organ pipes are located on the second level, on the opposite side of the stage, and can only be seen by turning toward the entrance. This display conveys the diminished emphasis on the organ and its usage together with other instruments.

[31] The Lectionary is a selection of readings from the Bible designed by the Church of England which covers a three-year cycle and indicates what biblical passages should be read at every service.

[32] The chancel is a raised platform, also known as 'stage' in churches with non-ceremonial services, such as St Mark's. In traditional churches, such as St Anne's, the altar table together with the seats for the ministers delivering the service sit on this platform. In contrast, St Mark's have a mobile raised stand on the stage where the preachers deliver their sermons.

In contrast, St Anne's has a rectangular hall with pews on each side of the central aisle, forming a gentle arc in front of the chancel – the raised platform where the altar table sits together with the chairs of the ministers. A modestly adorned Communion-railing with space for kneeling surrounds the chancel. These features make the space more anchored as the pews or the chancel elements cannot readily be moved. The organ is located behind the chancel, keyboards and organist's seat hidden from sight by a wooden screen. The pipes occupy almost the entire height of the wall behind the chancel and, on the right, four pews accommodate the choir. With this layout, the musical instruments – the organ and the choir – of the church are facing the congregation, always visible during the service. The robed choir and organist, as well as the elegant appearance of the organ sustain the solemn mood of St Anne's services. However, it is by comparing St Mark's and St Anne's orders of service that makes apparent the choices that shape the format of services and, in turn, shape individual and collective religiosities.

As I entered St Mark's for the Sunday morning service, I would receive an A4 sheet, usually in pastel colours, folded in half. The first three pages were neatly formatted, with the title of the sermon printed large at the top, followed by the words to all the songs and the prayers; the last page contained information about upcoming events, notices about the church activities and reminders for church donations. As I walked in, wherever I chose to sit, I would find a New International Version Bible. St Mark's order of service would generally follow this structure:[33]

[Title of sermon series. Title of sermons][34]
[Date and time of sermon]
Welcome to St Mark's!

We hope you feel at home in our church and that you will stay on for coffee after the service. Please switch off your phone and keep your belongings with you at all times. We also ask that you do not take photographs during the service.

Welcome [name][35]
Opening Prayers [name][36]
The Lord's Prayer (said together)

[33] Some minor changes will occur when there is a baptism or a guest minister takes part in the service.
[34] I will reproduce the format used in the order of service, adding explanatory comments in footnotes and using square brackets to indicate or summarize elements of the service.
[35] This is followed by the name of the minister who will host the service for the day.
[36] The name of the person who delivers these prayers is printed as well. Usually the host says these prayers and other ministers will give the notices; at times, the prayer contains a short response from the congregation. The prayer changes from week to week and the words are printed on the sheet.

[Words to hymn/worship song]
[Words to hymn/worship song]
Prayers [name][37]
[Words to hymn/worship song]
Notices [name]
Reading [name; chapter and verse of reading; page indication in church Bible][38]

Reader: This is the Word of the Lord.
All: Thanks be to God!

[Words to hymn/worship song]

During this song our gifts for St Mark's are received.
At the presentation of the gifts:
Leader: All things come from you, O Lord.
All: And of your own have we given you.

Sermon [name; title of sermon series; title of sermon]
[Words to hymn/worship song]
Blessing[39]

St Mark's order of service contains minimal liturgy, apparent in the reader's formulation at the end of a reading and in the expressions used during the presentation of donations. The director of music explained that 'we are freer than that [referring to Church of England liturgy]; we don't sit under the authority of the Common Worship, but we still try and retain something of the dignity and the liturgy of the service.' Members also alluded to this sense of dignity in relation to the fact that St Mark's services retain a note of formality, as they are led by the host and have a clear structure. At the same time, the nuances in how the director of music described St Mark's relationship to the Church of England suggest an understanding of the Anglican tradition as providing a kind of stylistic ornamentation; in other words, St Mark's services maintain a link to a recognizable heritage of the Church without fully enacting Anglican practices. Along the same lines, Nicholas, St Mark's soft-spoken choirmaster, described the Anglican tradition as containing 'its kind of stylistic take with a subsidiary meaning [which]… does kind of convey a style of service, but that's not a kind of end in itself.' This critical and careful association with the tradition of the Church of England partially avoids the responsibility of carrying expected notions of 'appropriate' religious repertoire over time. In contrast, church leaders explore elements of this tradition for their performative effects should

[37] A member of the church says these prayers on behalf of the whole congregation.
[38] Usually, a congregant or a non-ordained member of the church team, such as a Bible-study leader, gives the reading.
[39] The rector always gives the blessing – unless he is travelling, in which case another minister will do so. The rector usually reinforces the message of the sermon at this point and encourages worshippers to live out that message during their everyday lives.

they consider these useful for conveying the message of the Bible and facilitating the gathering of worshippers. Church leaders and congregants alike often articulated that their focus on coming together as a 'body of all believers' rather than on following customs of practice was the reason why 'we don't look Anglican'.

St Mark's order of services also makes apparent the alternation of sung and spoken word, signalling the particular kind of conservative Evangelical practice that members enact.

St Mark's was among the UK churches that expanded its musical practice and repertoire by integrating contemporary worship music. Beginning in the mid-1960s – 1970s, music leaders began incorporating more and more contemporary compositions, diversifying the instrumentation and moving towards a more upbeat sound in their music repertoire. If in the 1960s – 1970s St Mark's had a robed choir singing organ-led hymns from the *Anglican Hymn Book* (a collection of Evangelical, organ-led, congregational hymns) by the 1980s they had gradually changed to a non-robed choir (who began by wearing black, followed by black and white clothes, and settled on wearing regular outfits by the 1990s) and an orchestra with players from among the congregants. Soon, the music repertoire began drawing on wider musical resources such as *Hymns for Today's Church* – an Evangelical hymn book issued in 1982 which uses only contemporary English in its compositions.

At the same time, St Mark's leadership carefully moulded this new musical practice in a way that evoked more the emotional restraint of High Churches rather than the emotional fervour of 18th-century Evangelicals. While St Mark's members felt that modern songs made the service accessible, intelligible, and fresh, they were also cautious not to exaggerate emotional responses based solely on music and were discerning of their experiences. For instance, Mervyn, a British man in his 50s, explained:

> Modern songs have freshness about them, clarity of language [...] a lot of the old ones are full of Evangelical jargon – 'washed in the blood of the lamb'. If I were coming in from the street, what would I make of this? The worship on a Sunday ought to be accessible not just to the Christian church family, but to anybody.

At a first sight, the language 'update' in modern worship music goes hand in hand with the introduction of contemporary music styles in an effort to appeal to younger

generations of worshippers. However, my discussions with some of St Mark's members point to a potential generational reappraisal of tradition when it comes to attitudes regarding the modernisation of language in church music. For instance, some members in their 70s suggested that 'sometimes they [modern songs] don't have the bite, the impact of traditional words. [...] the poetry is lost'. While this was not unexpected, what further challenged my perceptions about generational differences with respect to music was that a number of people in their early 20s and 30s expressed very similar attitudes. Referring to Robert, the director of music, Blake, one of the students who was not brought up with traditional repertoire, explained that 'Robert is a big figure in contemporising hymns, changing the "Thee"s and the "Thou"s. I, a younger person, think these are better. Without them, you lose a certain poetry of the hymns.' Such connections to poetic values in traditional hymns may point to generational reattachment to this repertoire.

While Mervyn praised the language in modern songs for its clarity, he also pointed out the vulnerability in these songs to induce experiences which, while intense and moving, may not in fact mediate a connection to God, but merely to the music. 'I understand the desire to be led by the Holy Spirit, but there are times when I would wonder whether it is the Holy Spirit who is leading.' Mervyn's emphasis on scrutinising one's experiences was echoed by most of St Mark's ministers, music leaders, as well as congregants. Their reservation towards ecstatic experiences operates as a marker of distinction between St Mark's and other Evangelical churches in London. Ministers' and congregants' attention to what music and worship elements were included in the gradual transformation of St Mark's services was framed by the wider transformation of the religious landscape in London. The reserved attitude towards charismatic worship was matched by music practices and repertoire that sought to balance out the traditional and the contemporary. Robert, St Mark's director of music, explained St Mark's decisions regarding music and worship in terms of its positionality in relation to other churches:

> We say we're not just organ and choir, which a lot of churches are, we're not just band and singing group or soloist, like a lot of contemporary churches are, Holy Trinity Brompton, Christ Church Mayfair[40], all these other ones.

[40] Holy Trinity Brompton (HTB) is an Anglican Evangelical church in London with a numerous congregation that integrates charismatic-type worship in its services and uses mostly contemporary music styles that facilitates this type of worship. HTB has expanded by planting other churches in

> We do value the historical traditions of the Church, as well as the current contemporary expression of worship, we love them both, we think they both matter. So, we bring them together.

From this perspective, St Mark's appears to establish itself as a *via media* among Evangelical churches, similarly to how the Church of England has historically sought to situate itself in between the Roman-Catholic and Orthodox Churches. St Mark's musical practices offer an illustration of Lester Ruth's argument that 'the worship wars were more earth-shattering for some than for others' (2017:5). St Mark's relied on the slow, gradual changes in its worship and music, seeking to retain a balance between traditional and contemporary repertoire, in order to navigate the tensions of introducing new elements in their services. Overall, their strategy largely overlaps with that suggested by Mark Evans as a solution to the tensions ignited by the 'worship wars', namely, to utilize modern songs, containing contemporary language and musical nuances while also maintaining traditional hymn structure (2006:81) and to use traditional hymn words rearranged into a contemporary style (ibid.:82). For instance, one service may bring together compositions by Stuart Townend, Keith and Kristyn Getty, Graham Kendrick or Chris Tomlin together with Vineyard or Hillsong songs and re-orchestrated traditional hymns by writers such as John Newton, Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley or Timothy Dudley-Smith. Such configurations illustrate within one service modern worship songs, songs arising from charismatic settings and traditional compositions from 17th to early 20th centuries, respectively.

Mark Evans notes that one prevalent attitude among non-charismatic Evangelical churchgoers during the worship wars was to reject a composition based on its origin in a charismatic setting, such as, for instance, the very popular and musically prolific Hillsong. However, Evans also remarks that Hillsong 'doctrinal particularities' are largely dissolved in their music (2006:77). As a result, this transferable quality of these compositions complements St Mark's clearly punctuated service structure. By drawing on repertoire associated with traditional, contemporary and charismatic settings, St Mark's establishes a musical syncretism that further distinguishes their services from charismatic Evangelical services. For instance,

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the UK and abroad. Its influence on the religious landscape in the UK stems from an HTB minister creating the Alpha course in 1977. This is an evangelical course that uses talk events and discussion groups to introduce the basics of Christian faith. Christ Church Mayfair is another Anglican Evangelical church in London which offers contemporary style of worship and music.

Sheila, one of St Mark's ministers, differentiated St Mark's service structure – which alternates songs, prayers and preaching – from that of a charismatic Evangelical service. 'We had a long time playing… you know, a good 20, 30 minutes, which was great […] we'd sung about Jesus but we hadn't explained the Gospel', Sheila recalled her participation in a charismatic service, underscoring how choices about the structure of the service evince the identity of a church by shaping worshippers' experience.

St Mark's music repertoire and practices help shape this identity by drawing on the Christian Congregational Music/ Christian Worship Music labels. At the same time, St Mark's process of music selection reveals the heterogeneity of these labels (Ruth 2017:4; Ingalls 2017). For instance, Blake, one of the students who attended St Mark's regularly and who was also involved in St Mark's music band, pointed out to me that, while the choice of music did incorporate a lot of the most popular contemporary worship music, it did not venture as far as including very recent songs, remarking that 'one person's "contemporary" is another person's "old-fashioned"'. In our discussion, Blake's remark did not convey a sense of dissatisfaction or desire to insist on including the newest styles. Instead, he deferred to Robert's (the director of music) theological judgement and experience in making musical choices for congregational worship, invoking that the priority is to sustain the worship of the entire Christian collective.

St Mark's use of a degree of musical syncretism to mark a distinction from other Anglican Evangelical churches illustrates that music becomes a way of defining the image of a church. At the same time as defining church identity, music also shapes worshippers' religious identity. Through particular choices in orchestration, the sound of music becomes productive of individual religiosities. For instance, Thérèse Smith argues that in the African American evangelical churches she studied, sustaining a tonal coherence (that is, using, closely related musical keys) throughout the service 'creates and reinforces identity and articulates key tenets of faith' such as the dichotomy between sinner and saint (2016:256). This generative dimension of musical sound is illustrated in St Mark's and St Anne's different orchestration of Charles Wesley's hymns.

Wesley's hymns continue to form a core part of the church music repertoire across the Church of England, including both St Mark's and St Anne's. However, while both churches feature Wesley's hymns in their repertoire, the instrumentation

they use – and, thus, the sound qualities they cultivate and orchestrate as components of their services – differs significantly. In the words of Simon, one of St Mark's members, 'Although we sing a lot of Wesley […] [the hymns] are orchestrated differently. That really measured [rhythm] where the tune has a sense of structure without really being a melody […] doesn't really come up in St Mark's.' A few moments earlier in our conversation, Simon had referred to these hymns as 'the sorts of hymns that go *pam pam pam*, breathe, *pam pam pam pam*, breathe, *pam pam* […] with just the organ and that sort of stuff […] those other kind of more traditional hymns', in order to suggest a particular sensory experience shaped by a 'traditional', organ-led orchestration.

Meanwhile, St Anne's members sang Wesley's hymns accompanied by organ only. The measured pace instilled by this instrument evoked different responses in these churchgoers, for whom the organ matched the 'deep expression of faith' contained in hymns, as Michael, one of St Anne's members, described Wesley's compositions. As we can see in these two different usages of Wesley's hymns, style instils particular sensoriums and techniques of the body, as well as interpersonal relationships (Meyer 2009:11).

While in St Mark's, musicians re-orchestrated Wesley's hymns to more contemporary-sounding tunes, in St Anne's the organ-centred sound of these hymns sustained the overarching mood of solemnity manifested in the sonic qualities of a repertoire of sacred music and entirely liturgical service.

At first glance, St Anne's order of service conveys a straightforward affiliation to the Church of England liturgical format. More precisely, services at St Anne's entirely follow the Common Worship liturgy and the Lectionary as laid out by the Church of England. As I stepped in just before the beginning of St Anne's Sunday service, I would be handed a hymnal and a white A4 sheet, folded in half, containing the scheduled hymns and anthems for the week, the words of the Bible readings and the special prayers for the day. A separate booklet, with coloured covers and a drawing of the church building, would contain the order of service, as follows:[41]

[41] The order of service printed here is abridged and presents the main elements of the service. It maintains the format displayed in St Anne's order of service; for instance, the indications in italics are printed in the order of service so as to clarify what is expected to happen at a given stage in the service. My additional explanatory comments will be inserted in footnotes.

The Gathering: *At the entry of the ministers a hymn may be sung (stand).*
The Greeting: *Words of welcome or introduction may be said.*[42]
Prayer of Preparation[43]
Prayers of Penitence[44]

Lord have mercy/***Lord have mercy***[45]

[A set prayer follows, said by the celebrant[46], and the congregation reply 'Amen.']
Gloria in Excelsis[47]
The Collect: *The celebrant introduces a period of silent prayer with the words 'Let us pray' or a more specific bidding. The Collect is said and all respond Amen.*
The Liturgy of the Word

Readings (sit): *Either one or two readings from Scripture precede the Gospel reading.*

At the end of each the reader says
This is the word of the Lord.
All*: *Thanks be to God.
A psalm or hymn may be sung between readings.

Gospel reading (stand): The Lord be with you.
All: And also with you.
Hear the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ according to N[48].
All: Glory to you, O Lord.
At the end:
This is the Gospel of the Lord.
All: Praise to you, O Christ.

Sermon (sit).

The Creed (Stand): **All: We believe in one God…**[49]

Prayers of Intercession (kneel or sit)
These responses may be used
Lord, in your mercy
All: Hear our prayer.
(or)
Lord, hear us.
All: Lord, graciously hear us.
At the end
Merciful Father,
All: Accept these prayers
For the sake of your Son

[42] The Gathering and the Greeting have set formulations, with parts said by the celebrant and responses – usually 'Amen' – said by the congregation.
[43] Set prayer, said by all.
[44] Set prayer, said by all.
[45] This section is the first part of the mass. In the order of service, bold type is used to indicate that the words should be said by all.
[46] The celebrant is the ordained minister who leads the service with the help of ordained and non-ordained assistants. The celebrant usually welcomes the congregation, performs the steps and prayers of the Eucharist, and gives the blessing at the end of the service.
[47] This is the second part of the mass with indication that it should be chanted by all.
[48] The Gospel readings will differ from week to week. 'N' is used here to give an indication of the formulation that should be said to introduce the reading.
[49] The Creed represents the third part of the mass but in St Anne's it is not sung. Instead, it is said by all present. The full text of the Creed is typed in the order of service.

Our Saviour Jesus Christ
Amen.

The Liturgy of the Sacrament

The Peace (stand): *The celebrant may introduce the Peace with a suitable sentence, and then says*

The peace of the Lord be always with you.
All: And also with you.
These words may be added
Let us offer one another a sign of peace.
All may exchange a sign of peace.[50]

Preparation of the Table

The gifts of the people are gathered and presented
A hymn is sung
The altar is prepared and bread and wine placed on it.
Yours, Lord, is the greatness, the power and the glory, the splendour, and the majesty; for everything in heaven and on earth is yours.
All: All things come from you, and of your own do we give you.

The Eucharistic Prayer[51]

[Set prayer said by celebrant]
Holy, holy, holy.[52]
[Set prayer said by celebrant]

The Lord's Prayer[53]

Breaking the Bread

We break this bread
To share in the body of Christ
All: Though we are many, we are one body, because we all share in one bread.
Agnus Dei[54]

Giving of Communion[55]

During the Communion the choir will sing the anthems. At the end of Communion we sing the next hymn on the notice sheet.

Prayer after Communion

Silence is kept
The Post Communion prayer is said followed by
All: Almighty God…[56]

The Dismissal

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[50] At this time, people shake hands with people around them and usually say, 'Peace be with you!'
[51] Each liturgical season – for instance, Easter, Christmas, Advent, etc. – has a different, set Eucharistic prayer.
[52] The fourth part of mass.
[53] This is said by all.
[54] The fifth part of mass.
[55] This act of sharing the bread and the wine begins with a set prayer said by the celebrant, to which the congregation respond with a short set formulation. Here, the order of service contains a notice that all those who receive Communion in other churches can receive it in St Anne's and that those who do not receive can come forward for a blessing.
[56] This is a set prayer giving thanks to God, said by all.

Notices, banns of marriage may be given at this point (Sit).
The celebrant gives the Blessing (Stand).
The Lord be with you.
All: And also with you.
A minister says
Go in peace and serve the Lord.
All: In the name of Christ. Amen.

The final hymn is now sung, during which the ministers depart.

St Anne's liturgical service is framed by Anglican music repertoire and material markers displayed in the church space and practice. Cloths in liturgical colours[57] adorn the Holy Table according to the Church of England liturgical year, pointing to a particular religious season or celebration; ministers' vestments' colours are also coordinated with the religious seasons, and lay readers and choristers wear red robes and surplices[58] (loose white hip-length or calf-length vestment worn over robe or cassock by choristers) while servers[59] don white cassocks (full length garments which reflect their roles as church servers).

The repertoire contains congregational hymns chosen exclusively from the *Common Praise* collection, where the majority of texts and tunes are of 16th- to 19th-century origin and draws from anthems (sung by the robed choir alone) composed no later than early 20th-century and with emphasis on 16th- and 17th-century pieces by composers such as Thomas Tallis (1505 – 1585), William Byrd (1538 – 1623), Thomas Weelkes (1576 – 1623), Orlando Gibbons (1583 – 1625), Johann Sebastian Bach (1685 – 1750), George Frideric Handel (1685 – 1759), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756 – 1791), Johannes Brahms (1833 – 1897), Charles Villiers Stanford (1852 – 1924) or Ralph Vaughn Williams (1872 – 1958). While these composers span many stylistically distinct periods, for St Anne's members they fall under the same category of fine music. Indeed, many of these compositions have transcended the sphere of 'sacred music' – as that which is played in church – and have become part of the classical music repertoire performed in

[57] On liturgical colours, see 'Rules to Order the Christian Year' Church of England website, *https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/texts/the-calendar/common-worship-rules/rulesyear.aspx*, accessed 12 August 2018.
[58] The choristers and lay readers wore red ones with white surplices on top, removing the surplices during Lent.
[59] Assistants who carry out support tasks such as carrying vessels, candles, fetching necessary objects to the ministers who deliver the service.

secular concert halls and festivals, being appreciated by audiences for their aesthetic qualities rather than their theological underpinnings.

In addition to anthems and hymns, the sonic quality of the liturgical service is maintained through fluid transitions between spoken and sung word where mass elements bridge the two instances. For St Anne's members, the set prayers punctuate the structure of the service, rendering a sense of 'beginning, middle and end', as many described it. If St Mark's order of service pointed to a church identity in the choices of service elements included and their arrangement, St Anne's choices in creating a particular church identity become apparent within the wider religious British landscape. In a context of increasingly non-liturgical churches and forms of worship, St Anne's service is not a sign of falling in line with the outline laid out by the Church of England. It is a sign, instead, of its role as a parish church that needs to find a balance between keeping its existing members and engaging with potential congregants. As Thomas, St Anne's rector, explained, 'If you change too much, you lose as many people as you gain. I don't think that's the right way to do it. I don't want to lose anyone who's been given to me. We gradually introduce some more music, which makes it easier for [new] people.' For a minority of congregants, the introduction of new music was, however, too slow. Dana, a British woman in her 40s, expressed her view that 'there is need for more diversity' and indicated the problem lay in congregants' and choristers' deep attachment to St Anne's repertoire particular aesthetic. In Dana's view, the fact that the choir 'don't want to sing certain songs' and 'the organ is too good so we put all emphasis on it' hindered the opportunity for diversifying worship and including new potential congregants.

In spite of the lack of diversity, Dana continued to attend St Anne's, her local church, regularly. She enjoyed the services and music but lived in the tension that her church was not responding to the surrounding cultural and social changes. Her example illustrates that the challenges emerging from these changes strike at the very core of worshippers' identity; while they have an intimate connection and fulfilment in worshipping in certain ways, they also stay acutely aware that the future of their churches is dependent upon diversifying worship styles.

Comparing St Mark's and St Anne's orders of service, liturgies and music styles demonstrates how each church navigates the tension between sustaining their established congregations and drawing in new members. In light of this, some of the most striking differences between the two churches become apparent: on the one

hand, the use of liturgy for the entire service, the more numerous forms of music – anthem, hymn, mass – and the presence of the Eucharistic sacrament in St Anne's; on the other hand, the simplified structure of the service and the use of more modern types of music, such as worship songs, in St Mark's. At the same time, looking at these orders of service side by side also draws out some of the common elements that signal a shared formative process. For instance, the use of the Lord's Prayer indicates a shared doctrinal stance, while some of the liturgical formulations used in both churches mark a shared history. The narrow overlap in music between St Mark's and St Anne's draws attention to how Christian selves and collective bodies are intimately shaped through different sonic arrangements of the same textual material. In the historical context of the transformations within the Church of England, St Mark's and St Anne's orders of service also convey a relational mode of reflection upon the identity of their own church that refers back to history and the various strands in the Church of England.

This illustrates that the various configurations of practices of different Anglican strands under the affiliation of the Church of England formulate increasingly distinct styles of worship and, in turn, different religious subjectivities and communities.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has traced the historical threads that have formed the Church of England as a way of contextualizing how the Church came to operate as 'one and many'. As it has become apparent throughout this chapter, this notion of 'one and many' encapsulates not only the wide variety of church and music practices that the Church of England accommodates but signals the tension that arises from seeking to hold together such diversity. In this context, coupled with the changes of the role of the Church, Christianity, and the circulation and application of notions of secularism, churches such as St Anne's and St Mark's configure selectively their affiliation to the Church and to compose their own distinct identities. As such, church leaders and

congregants need to evaluate not only doctrinal questions but also how to maintain and engage with new audiences.

In order to follow how historical threads are woven in these acts of selection and, in turn, permeate the individual and collective lives of church members, Chapters 2 and 3 will ethnographically explore the practices by which church leaders and congregants mould church life.

CHAPTER 2
ST MARK'S, AN ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH
'*IN THIS DENOMINATION BUT NOT OF IT*'

November, Friday evening. Central London.

Traffic on a busy street, a regular hum enveloping the slowly moving red and yellow car lights. Rushing to move away from the crowd, I catch fragments of laughter and chitchat from people trying to decide where to go tonight: a pub nearby or a live music bar? As I reach my own destination for the evening, I see groups of young people heading towards the same entrance as me. I step inside the hall I have become familiar with over the past couple of months. A mellow acoustic guitar tune slowly cuts me away from the sound of car engines outside. While the melody is what I have become accustomed to in St Mark's, the couches, beanbags, dim lights, small colourful tables, lit candles, bowls with nibbles and a big purple neon sign spelling *Just One,* right there on the stage where the pulpit usually sits, are not.

'I told you, we turn it into a living room!' Lenny, the lead student worker, a joyful Korean man in his late 20s, welcomes me, noticing my surprise. 'Come!' he says cheerfully yet purposefully, enacting his role as main host for the evening as he leads me to a group of students sitting comfortably and chatting around one of the colourful tables.

This is St Mark's on Friday evenings. Somewhere between 30 and 60 people gather, usually students and youth in their 20s and early 30s. They come here to meet with friends, share a meal together (usually prepared by volunteers from the student ministry), play games, sing karaoke or take part in food, dance, or music activities prepared and hosted by the student ministry under Lenny's guidance. Scattered all around on the tables, among flyers informing of future events, glasses of (usually) non-alcoholic drinks and plates of food, there are colourful A6 cards with the printed Bible passage for the evening and three questions relating to the passage. The

passage for this particular evening is from Luke 19, about Zaccheus, the tax collector. Drawing people's attention, Lenny jumps on the stage holding a microphone and begins to read the passage aloud:[60]

> Jesus entered Jericho and was passing through. A man was there by the name of Zaccheus; he was a chief tax collector and was wealthy. He wanted to see who Jesus was, but because he was short he could not see over the crowd. So he ran ahead and climbed a sycamore-fig tree to see him, since Jesus was coming that way. When Jesus reached the spot he looked up and said to him, 'Zaccheus, come down immediately. I must stay at your house today.' So he came gladly. All the people saw this and began to mutter, 'He has gone to be the guest of a sinner.' But Zaccheus stood up and said to the Lord, 'Look, Lord! Here and now I give half of my possessions to the poor, and if I have cheated anybody out of anything, I will pay back four times the amount.' Jesus said to him, 'Today salvation has come to this house, because this man, too, is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost.'

Lenny follows with a short informal talk, reasserting that Jesus saves anyone who is lost but turns to him, and then invites everyone to answer and discuss the three follow-up questions on the sheet:

- When was the last time someone came to visit you? How did you feel? What did others think? What did your Facebook friends say?
- Have you ever invited yourself to someone's house? Why or why not?
- Jesus says he came to seek and save the lost. If Jesus came to your house today, invited himself to see you, how would you feel? What would you do?

The questions spur engaged discussions around each table. Snippets of conversations all hint to the difficulty of receiving visitors in the small, 'unsuitable' accommodation that many find themselves in, the awkwardness of inviting oneself to someone's house in a city like London, the lack of close relationships that would enable a comfortable admittance into people's private spaces and homes, the negotiation of social closeness among university colleagues. All these common issues of being a 'Londoner' (as wide and controversial a term as that is) resurface in people's conversations, only to be led towards a biblical discussion in the final 'What If' question: 'If Jesus came to your house today […] how would you feel? What would you do?'

[60] Luke 19:1-9..

The question impresses a sense of the personal, the relatable, the commonplace ways in which Jesus can call on one. Crucially, it also instils a sense of choice and responsibility in assessing the ways in which one responds to his call. The picture of London as a city always busy, always noisy, seemingly ever-growing, and at risk of drawing one's mind away from God, looms large in people's descriptions of and reflections on maintaining biblical principles in one's everyday life in the city. Softening the threshold between everyday experiences – such as visiting friends – and biblical events is not a concept that is directed at the youth groups only. As will become clear in this chapter, this represents an essential element of practice in St Mark's members' understanding of what it means to be a Christian in a 'Bible-centred' church.

As the evening draws to a close, most people leave in groups, while a few stay behind helping the student ministry team to tidy up. The beanbags go back into well-hidden spaces in the gallery, while the couches are quickly pushed into cupboards I had not noticed before but that the others are clearly familiar with. Rapidly, without the need for much direction, some start clearing the floor while others begin bringing in the familiar Sunday service chairs. Prompted by the clicks of the chairs being locked in place one next to the other, I join in, swiftly falling into the rhythm of the others, lining up the seats, making sure they are in the right position, marked by dark lines on the carpet which I have only now discovered. We finish putting out the chairs and – without much talk, following the next 'natural' step in rearranging the church's interior setting – bring the Bibles, slotting them in between the chairs and making sure no chair lacks one. A few remaining empty cups, the last check-up for any rubbish left, a final look around and we head towards the door while Lenny switches off the *Just One* neon sign and takes it back to its place. The hall looks 'like a church' again, I catch myself suddenly thinking. I quickly realize, however, that this kind of event and its temporary alteration of space do not, in fact, fall outside the atmosphere that St Mark's conveys throughout its services and activities: that of a church practice that moves away from ritualism to focus on a personal God who is present in everyday life and whose message must be reflected upon in a community of worshippers. This *is* what church is for people who are part of St Mark's – better said, this is what *doing church* is.

In this chapter, I will explore doing church at St Mark's – the dynamic, flexible acts of performing and integrating individual and collective religiosities – in

order to unravel how this Anglican Evangelical setting shapes the making of Christian bodies. To understand how one does church in St Mark's, we first need to turn to the roles played by church leadership (rector, ministers and music leaders) and congregation in the making of church services. Furthermore, this ethnographic chapter will convey the careful orchestration of organizational, doctrinal, and performative elements of services.

I will begin by showing how, in the orchestration of services, St Mark's leadership navigates the tension arising from being both an Anglican and an Evangelical church and, in doing so, anticipates and responds to potential audiences in the British landscape. These acts of navigation crystallize in an intellectualist, word-based approach to religious life, which aims towards the formation of Christian selves who prioritize an engaged, reflective, and committed relationship to the text of the Bible. After examining how sermons and music, in particular, are designed to instantiate this intellectualist approach, I will turn to the narratives of congregants to shed light on how their understandings of being a Christian resonate within the framework of St Mark's. Finally, I will illustrate how doing church in St Mark's interweaves the participation of the various actors focusing their efforts towards the ultimate audience – God. I put forward that, in this setting, music plays a humbl*ed*, yet instrumental role in the fine-tuning of making Christian selves as it creates moments for incorporating individual religiosities into a collective one.

By describing the acts and strategies of orchestrating church services and, more broadly, church life, I reveal how, in St Mark's, individuals' lived religion is symbiotically conjoined with a collective lived religion in performative acts of worship. In contrast to most studies on lived religion, which prioritize the individual (see Ammerman 2016), this ethnographic case accounts for the productive ties between personal and collective experiences for the making of Christian selves in an institutionalized setting with a rich history and tradition.

BEING ANGLICAN *AND* EVANGELICAL IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

St Mark's 'looks like a building that's been around for a long time', Sheila, a friendly minister in her 30s, began her reply to my question about the practical implications for the church of being Anglican *and* Evangelical. In the British landscape of church buildings, 'a long time' may be a somewhat ambiguous way to refer to the early 19th century when St Mark's was built, but it does point to the air of heritage that attracts new visitors and tourists. 'I think you could come to the service and not know it was Anglican because it's not like we do the set liturgy […] I think you'd be more likely to know it's Evangelical because of the teaching', Sheila continued, striking at the core of how St Mark's negotiates its affiliation with the Church of England while also practising an Evangelical approach to Christianity. Here, the material markers of affiliation with a specific Anglican denomination – the building and the liturgy – are subdued in favour of a lived, processual marker: the teaching imparted in St Mark's.[61]

That St Mark's is an Anglican church was not strikingly emphasized or brought up in regular activities and services. Many in St Mark's, ministers and congregants alike, impressed on me their sense that their church had agency over service, liturgy, teaching, prayer, and music. 'We have quite a lot of freedom', the rector explained, as the Church of England 'doesn't prescribe every detail of what's got to happen.' Indeed, this could be noticed in the arrangement of services on any given Sunday: a said Holy Communion was delivered in the early morning, at 8 am, and was attended by a small number of people (up to 12 during the time of my fieldwork). Meanwhile, the main, well-attended services of the day were planned for late morning and late afternoon and revolved around sermons. It was the said Holy

[61] Fitting in with this principle, the few suggestive architectural elements outside and inside the church denote their anchorage in the Bible rather than in specific features of Anglican tradition. For instance, the church features a piece of moulding in the shape of a sunburst which 'evokes the heavenly visions in the Book of Revelation when "There will be no more light. They will not need the light of a lamp or the light of the sun for the Lord God will give them light"' (Revelation 22:5); the star of David is present as a symbol of Jesus of Nazareth; and moreover, a sea-motif engraving suggests calm and evil at the same time, as 'we are still bound to this broken world' (St Mark's historical brochure 2009:32). For people at St Mark's, these elements form a connection to what they consider to be the true and unchanging message of the Bible as opposed to the wavering features of traditions.

Communion that followed the pattern of the Common Worship and its requisite succession of prayers and readings from the Lectionary leaving the Morning and Evening services open to orchestration by the ministers. Holy Communion was celebrated by the rector and one other lay-minister on Sundays only, in a short service with simple gestures. The bread was not wafer, such as that used at St Anne's[62], but crumb.

Since being part of the Church of England does not enforce a liturgical form, this has enabled St Mark's to retain the Anglican character in soft focus while emphasizing the Evangelical approach. In the opinion of St Mark's ministers and worshippers, this has been a successful way of drawing a large and diverse number of people to the congregation. By relinquishing the ritualized components of services, they became more open and accessible to people 'who come in who've never been to church before', as Robert, St Mark's director of music, explained.

This moving away from ritualized services is a deliberate response against what Robert termed 'the Christian ghetto', referring to church settings heavy with ritualistic symbolism which would be difficult for an uninitiated person to decipher. As Robert put it, one should not have 'to do a course in becoming a cultured Christian or […] in English liturgy in order to appreciate what Magnificat is all about, or Benedictus.'[63] Echoing other congregants' comments, this notion conveys the desire to create a church setting that is easily accessible and unencumbered by ritual practices that would screen out people unfamiliar to them.

At the same time, this notion also conveys the desire to move away from a church practice based on inherited habits. Robert's statements, echoed by those of other congregants, suggest a constructed self-awareness of – and an act against – what N.J. Demerath has called 'cultural Christianity' (2000:127). This is a notion emergent in the literature on the British religious landscape (see also Brown 2006; Day 2011; Woodhead 2013; Brown and Woodhead 2016). 'Cultural Christianity' implies the inheritance and pervasiveness of a Christian 'symbol-bank' (van de Port 2005) in the lives of British people without an associated practice and belief. As Linda Woodhead describes:

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[62] Wafer is also used in Roman Catholic Holy Communion, signalling St Anne's leaning toward the 'tradition' component of the Anglican triad model.

[63] The *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* are two of the three chants (known as 'canticles') from the first chapters in the Gospel of Luke. Together with the third, the *Nunc Dimittis*, they are chanted during evening services. For instance, St Anne's chants these canticles during their Sunday evening service, the Evensong.

> For centuries, the Christian narrative had been something into which people in Britain were born. It read you just as much as you read it, for it supplied the framework into which life slotted. Religious identities were given rather than chosen. (2013:n.p.; see also Woodhead and Catto 2012)

However, as sociologists and historians have discovered about the contemporary British context (Brown 2000; Brown and Woodhead 2016), this kind of inherited affiliation brings with it a sense of ambiguity of identity or detachment from the inherited Christian tradition. For instance, while noting the rise of 'nones', namely, individuals who mark themselves as 'no religion' in the census, Woodhead (2015), however, explains that this does not reflect a necessary increase in atheism. Instead, this speaks more of an increasing sense of disjuncture between the established tradition of the Church of England and the search for spiritual meaning that people in Britain experience (Heelas and Woodhead 2005). This growing sense of disjuncture is paralleled by a rise in the number of people who do not have a background of churchgoing, as well as an intense diversification of experiences of Christianity.

While 'the Christian ghetto' crystallizes St Mark's stance against settings that, through their liturgical practices, keep out potential worshippers, 'cultural Christianity' crystallizes St Mark's stance against a given, 'born-with' religious identity. From this position, St Mark's leadership recognizes and meets Britain's emerging audiences by orchestrating services that aim both to respond to people searching for spiritual meaning and support those who are already committed Christians. To this end, St Mark's ministers emphasize a specific kind of religious identity which does not focus on affiliation stemming from inheriting the knowledge of appropriate gestures and rituals. Instead, this identity focuses on a process of making Christian selves centred on the Bible and on the person of Christ.

Acting against inherited Christian identities, the church leadership at St Mark's use their teaching to inculcate self-reflectiveness in the processes of Christian self-making. To this end, the orchestration of various service elements aim to focus worshippers on internalizing and performing the message of the gospel while acknowledging the Anglican heritage as a support for the making of the Christian

self. Echoing Jesus' instruction 'Be in this world, not of this world',[64] being part of a tradition, in this case the Anglican one, should not dictate the nature of the Christian self. The very flexibility and range of Church of England practices hence become justification for a necessary process of distinction-making. While the Church is 'fundamentally and technically a very good Bible-believing church', Nicholas, the choirmaster, argued also that 'Anglican can just mean anything'. To substantiate his statement, Nicholas reasserted the hierarchical relation of these religious identity labels, explaining that at St Mark's, 'we are first and foremost Christians and *then* Anglican' (his emphasis).

But how are we to understand this distinction? A number of researchers focusing on the lived aspects of religious practitioners have emphasized the difficulty and inaccuracy in applying generalizing labels to religious groups (Ammerman 2006; Woodhead 2013). Meredith McGuire draws attention to the multiplicity of religious lives within a congregation and confesses to the frustration of the sociologist in dealing with such variables (2008:5-6). However, she also draws attention to a process of distinction-making among the religious subjects themselves in their own usage of labels such as 'Catholic', 'Protestant', etc. She argues that researchers must stay alert to the social meanings that underpin the processes of distinction-making, as they delineate 'acceptable from unacceptable beliefs and practices, desirable from denigrated identities and statuses, and worthy from unworthy ideals and values' (2008:6). By tracing how these identities and values materialize in acts of orchestrating services, we can follow the tensions inherent in St Mark's approach to fashioning 'real' Christian selves in contrast to and moving away from the 'inherited' religious identities shaped by ritualized Church of England practice.

[64] See John 15:19, John 17:14-16.

‘Sir, we wish to know Jesus!’ – An intellectualist approach to making Christian selves

Summarized by the inscription on the pulpit – ‘Sir, we wish to know Jesus’ – at St Mark’s, Christian self-making is a word-based learning process where ritual and emotion are kept at bay as untrustworthy vehicles of knowledge. Anna Strhan’s ethnography of a conservative Evangelical church in London (2012; 2015) highlights similar aspects of practice that focus on methodical study of the Bible and deepening one’s understanding of God’s Word[65]. Strhan demonstrates that an Evangelical intellectualist approach ‘is bound up in a conviction in *both* God’s authoritative speaking in scripture *and* people’s ability to use reason as they listen to ascertain whether or not particular Christian preachers are articulating “authentic” Christian teaching’ (2012:164; original emphasis).

Church leadership and congregants of St Mark’s consequently perceive ritual as a practice of gestures and words without understanding their biblical meaning or, taking Strhan’s observations into account, without reasoning about the biblical significance of those gestures. St Mark’s members imply, in their approach to Christian self-making and relating to God, a disjuncture between the body and the mind. More precisely, a bodily ritual performance (such as kneeling or doing the sign of the cross) without a faith supported by biblical knowledge is vacuous.

As Sarah, a Chinese woman in her 30s and a regular member of the congregation, explained, ‘We are joyful people and we have been saved by the grace of God and we don’t need rituals. I know that it had a role in the past, but here we don’t need it.’ While Sarah notes the historical importance of ritual, she situates St Mark’s in a separate context, where this religious component has been superseded by practices of *understanding* the Word. In this sense, relating to the Bible does not mean searching for specific requirements as to how to behave, since ‘the Bible is not rules for the religious’, as Mike, a minister in his late 30s, reaffirmed one of St Mark’s discursive tropes in one of his sermons.

[65] I draw attention here to my usage of ‘Word’ versus ‘word’. I use the capitalized form when referring to God’s teaching as a whole. I utilize the non-capitalized form to refer to the intellectualised approach in St Mark’s that prioritizes an engagement with reading, listening, and studying the Bible as a way of building a relationship with God.

A recurrent topic in sermons at St Mark's, this exploration of the Bible's role in Christian self-making was also elaborated in daylong workshops during one of the Youth Weekends Away I attended. During one such session, Mike talked about the meaning of knowing God: 'The Bible is the Father's testimony about the Son, given through the Holy Spirit; so that, through the Spirit, I might meet Christ each day and know Him and His Father more.' 'Truly knowing' God is possible by engaging in a sustained practice of reading, listening and dwelling on the message of the Bible, thus understanding the qualities and character of God (see Strhan 2013). Through these practices, Mike explained, one's relationship with God becomes more stable. In discovering God's attributes, one can relate to Him as a *person-like* entity with whom one can have a *personal relationship*, which is a core aspect in Protestant theology: He is one's friend, and one can refer to Him as one would to another individual; He is a 'person' like any other, while at the same time being a 'person' like no other.

Developing a personal relationship with God has been described in several other ethnographies, but usually with a focus on charismatic or fundamentalist experiences (Luhrmann 2012; Harding 2001). Tanya Luhrmann, for example, describes in detail the way in which this relationship was nurtured by her interlocutors – members of a charismatic church – through cognitive techniques shaped through prayer. Her research participants often emphasized the desire to achieve an experience of the palpable or audible presence of God. To this end, some used various visualization techniques to recreate a biblical landscape, to imagine themselves walking alongside Jesus and Mary or witnessing the crucifixion; others carried out daily activities using material markers for a person-like God, such as adding an extra plate at the table (2012:72). In contrast to these practices of instantiating material markers or signs of God in building a personal relationship, at St Mark's, members direct their efforts towards reflecting on the meaning of the Word. As minister Mike further explained in his talk, 'the more you know God, the more you meditate upon His truth'. Knowing is thus a transformative, processual, long-term act. Knowing operates here both as discovery of God's character but also as understanding which changes one's subjectivity so as to see the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses'. This metaphor and its counterpart, 'Bible-coloured glasses', were mentioned often by people in St Mark's and encapsulate worshippers'

desire to develop and internalize a biblical lens through which to see and understand the world – in other words, to develop a biblical perceptual and interpretive mode.

Importantly, this biblical perceptual and interpretative mode is situated not only against ritualized practices, but also within a suspicious relation to intense experience or emotion. In the workshop mentioned above, minister Mike summarized this position by stating that 'the Bible is an occasion to meet God, not through some ecstatic experience, but through His words [...] we need to think about His words'. This opposition between experience and words speaks of how St Mark's members develop ways of recognizing God. Webb Keane proposes the notion of *semiotic ideology* (2007; 2014) to encapsulate the cultivated modalities by which certain objects, practices, sensorial experiences come to be identified as signs of the divine by religious practitioners. In St Mark's, we distinguish a semiotic ideology wherein an ecstatic event is not seen as an immediate sign of the divine. Instead, St Mark's worshippers dedicate themselves to committed and continual reading and understanding of the biblical message, whose meaning is gradually discovered.

People with whom I spoke touched upon this suspicion of emotion in several ways. Many contextualized it with reference to the British cultural sphere, where too vivid an expression of emotion would be out of place. The 'British restraint' was ironically mentioned by some of the British congregants themselves and also clearly noticed by some American and Canadian members, one of whom was Ben, a Canadian man in his late 30s and the music pastor at St Mark's. He saw this suspicion of emotion as 'partly an English Evangelical thing, partly St Mark's, you know, it's pretty middle-class, it's educated, you know...' In our interview, Ben remarked that 'when we [referring to St Mark's] use "feeling" language, we tend to be a little nervous about it', especially if one referred to charismatic-type experiences such as speaking in tongues or being touched by the Spirit. Having had experience of different cultural and worship contexts, Ben suggested that '[we are] much more comfortable to talk about intellectual things and that we *know* the presence of God is with us because we read about it in the scripture' (his emphasis). Hinting at the potential unreliability of emotion as a harbinger of a relationship with God, Ben considers reading as an intellectualist mode of knowing that can be justified and validated through appealing to the content of the scripture.

This intellectualist treatment of religious life is sustained through service elements, such as sermon, music, prayers, and readings, and their particular configurations. The guiding principles in planning services at St Mark's reveal the ministry team's careful orchestration of the various elements and their reflection upon potential audiences. Services represent the main weekly moments of gathering for worship and include committed members, less regular churchgoers, interested visitors and, at times, wandering tourists. The main goal for the ministry team is to create a coherent framework where components of the service serve to build on each other and reinforce what ministers consider to be the main element of the service – the sermon.

THE SERVICE

St Mark's ministers explained that orchestrating services had the clear aim of providing a coherent structure for worship in which the various elements of service reinforced each other and directed congregants' attention towards the message of the sermon. To this end, ministers and music leaders would meet every week to discuss future sermon series and events as well as the topics of sermons, readings, prayers and music pieces chosen for the upcoming service. Orchestrating services involved both doctrinal and practical considerations. In these weekly meetings, prayers for God's guidance for well-chosen sermon topics and for a godly perspective in preaching exist alongside carefully drawn service timetables.

I will now turn to two interlinked elements of the service, sermons and music, as they make evident the strategies church leadership employed in order to communicate doctrinal messages and the kinds of audiences to which church leadership aimed to appeal.

Teaching the Word of God

As mentioned earlier by minister Sheila when speaking about the implications of being both Anglican and Evangelical, teaching is where St Mark's Evangelical stance becomes obvious. Throughout the history of the Church of England, the sermon has been the main act of teaching the Word of God. Within the Evangelical branch of the Church, the sermon has acquired a central role, and this speaks to the formation of a particular Christian subjectivity. This subjectivity emphasizes a worshipper's interiority, their personal relationship with God developed through an intellectual engagement with the Bible, as well as cultivating biblical principles in everyday life – what members of St Mark's referred to as seeing the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses'. Sermons in St Mark's reinforced the intellectualist approach to relating to God through several tropes that shaped Christian self-making and the formation of a collective worship experience.

At St Mark's, 'our focus is on Bible teaching […] and the preaching is focused on explaining the Bible rather than giving nice talks', Sheila made the point. This point – that 'nice talks' are not what St Mark's is looking to produce – conveys what St Mark's ministers and members regard as a counter-cultural stance, namely, their commitment to the message of the Bible instead of the prevailing cultural fashions and moralities. St Mark's counter-cultural position was made apparent in various ways: it was emphasised by preachers in sermons, it was suggested on St Mark's website, and it emerged regularly in discussions with and among church members. God's Word was rendered in these sermons as stable and unwavering, no matter if 'uncomfortable, as some may find it', a member of the congregation explained to me.

Given current public discourses regarding women's roles in society, one particular aspect where I was anticipating 'God's Word' to appear particularly 'uncomfortable' was in relation to the issue of women preaching. While in St Mark's ministry, leadership, administration and activities structures, both men and women have a balanced representation (no discrepancy is higher than 60% - 40%), preaching sermons is an entirely male activity. Despite this, none of St Mark's members volunteered opinions in this regard nor did I encounter this issue as topic of ad-hoc discussions among worshippers. All the reactions I gathered came as responses to my direct questions about St Mark's decision to only allow male preachers.

St Mark’s members who reflected on this issue framed it in terms of biblical instructions; these instructions, however, were not entirely clear-cut. Hailey, a UK-born student worker brought up by missionary parents in South America, in her 30s, explained that

> Well, there's [sic] different views in the Evangelical Church about whether women should be allowed to teach mixed groups of gender. There's [sic] some Bible verses that people have, kind of, reached different conclusions about how you would interpret and apply it today. So at St Mark’s the way that they live in that tension is by … they've decided women won't preach. I think that there's … you know, both views, but you see, unity is more important than … these are not things that we divide a church about and this is the way they live in that tension, ‘cause women do teach in other parts of St Mark’s, but not on a Sunday.

Hailey was not the only one to reflect on the ambivalence in the Bible with respect to the role of women. Peter, St Mark’s rector, made the same point and, similarly to Hailey, framed the decision against women preachers as a tension – ‘it’s us trying to wrestle with the way the Bible as a whole and the New Testament tackles this issue and trying to reflect what it says’. For both, this decision, made in the face of conflicting Biblical guidance, becomes part of the intellectualist mode of engaging with the Bible and being Christian. Living with the tension becomes a practice of reflecting upon and embodying biblical principles.

At the same time, both Hailey and Peter integrated this tension in a purposeful trajectory towards the lived unity of the Christian collective body, the church family. Echoing Hailey once more, Peter reinforced the centrality of the Bible; once having ‘lived the unity’ of the church family, Peter argued, one realises that ‘actually, we are united under the Gospel of Jesus and for us that's more important than this [issue]’. All of St Mark’s members I spoke to reiterated this invocation of unity under Jesus, be they international students, young parents or the older generation who have been with St Mark’s for a long time. However, the question of women’s preaching did make the application of this principle of unity more conflicting for one of the women with whom I spoke.

As we meandered from one topic to another in my discussion with Jennifer, a British member of the choir in her 40s, the issue of women preaching became a focal point. Having obtained a PhD in Religious Studies with a focus in the Old Testament and having taught in Bible colleges and Religious Studies departments, Jennifer

bluntly declared ‘there's no way that St Mark’s would ever get me in terms of preaching … because basically gender would always trump [specialist knowledge]’. Acknowledging the same ambivalence of the biblical message as Hailey and Peter, Jennifer’s wrestling with the Bible brings out a core conflict between her Christian identity and her feminist conviction:

> I'm not entirely sure of what [apostle] Paul means and what the role of women should be and I think there's a clash with a lot of women like me, you can't be feminist from Monday to Friday and then sit in silence on Sunday!

For Jennifer, being Christian and being a feminist both demand consistency and coherence. Whereas Hailey and other women in St Mark’s described navigating the tension regarding the question of women preaching by submitting it to the principle of unity under Jesus, for Jennifer, the additional conflicting dimension came in the form of professional expertise. As a specialist in the field of Religious Studies operating outside the church setting, Jennifer did not have to yield her position as teacher of the biblical message on account of gender. In contrast, within the structure of the church, her expertise would not afford her the role of teaching the gospel in a Sunday service.

In her struggle with these contradictory convictions, Jennifer anchored her experiences in reference to the counter-cultural narrative that St Mark’s reinforces. After a long and thoughtful discussion about the issue of women’s preaching, Jennifer returned to the question of whether one follows the Gospel or the culture – ‘on the one hand I'm aware that it [the Church] is male dominated, on the other hand I think Paul does say these things and … are we just trying to explain away the past as we now live in an “emancipated” world in the West?’ Faced with this question, Jennifer resolved to acknowledge the structure that sustains the collective body, and implicitly, herself as a member of that body: ‘So I just say, they're [St Mark’s ministers] trying to interpret the Bible wisely, follow God as best as they can, listen to their heart, they're trying to do the best and I'm in submission to them, I'll do what they say.’

Framed in relation to St Mark’s counter-cultural narrative and worshippers’ orientation towards unity under the Gospel, the gendered dimension of teaching the Word of God becomes a lens that illustrates that the making of Christian selves is the practice of ‘individuals working on themselves to become willing subjects of a

particular discourse' (Mahmood 2001:210) [66]. Heeding to cultural values in this matter would turn Christian selves from God's subjects to individuals who 'become slaves to themselves'. This was the way in which Denny, a Finnish young man and one of the students in St Mark's, conveyed the dichotomy between the Bible and culture, echoing the teaching of St Mark's sermons.

'Jesus divides: you either love or hate him', Tony, one of the preachers, emphasized St Mark's counter-cultural position in a sermon. With this reminder that biblical message is an immutable truth that does not bend: sermons instilled a sense of urgency which calls for action and reinforces the idea of a personal God, a God who 'wants interaction'. A God who *wants* is a person-like God, and preachers often impressed on worshippers that 'there is personality at the centre [of Christianity] and that personality is Jesus'. As mentioned earlier, it is not through an ecstatic experience that this personality can be known, but rather through continuous work to change one's interpretive lens of the world to a biblical perspective. Preachers directly and indirectly communicated this dimension of Christian subjectivity by employing tropes of the 'everyday' or the 'relatable' in order to exemplify the application of a biblical perspective.

One such trope involved the exploration of biblical passages through examples drawn from current affairs, be they political, cultural or social. For instance, sermons may well begin with quotations from newspapers, references to current events or humorous remarks about social media statistics.[67] In one of his sermons, Peter, the rector, opened up with a mention of the Oregon shooting which had just taken place,[68] voicing general concerns regarding terrorism and resolving then to ground the rest of his sermon in John 3:16: 'God so loved the world' with all its 'ugliness'. This was a striking notion which, in its juxtaposition to deeply contrasting imagery, served to accentuate God's greatness and love, the world's misery and the deep expanse in between. Peter continued, reiterating, 'God so loves this world, but do you think He likes it?' He paused for a moment, as the silence in

[66] While Mahmood (2001) discusses the formation of Muslim subjectivity, her argument regarding the practice of aligning one's will to God's will is particularly useful in this Evangelical, word-centred setting.

[67] For instance, on one occasion, Tony began his sermon by talking about a statistic he had read that more people died from selfie sticks than from crocodile attacks.

[68] The Oregon shooting took place on 1 October 2015 and involved 10 dead and eight injured. Other similar events were mentioned in sermons throughout my fieldwork in St Mark's, and I learnt from my discussions with ministers that it is a practice in St Mark's to always mention these tragic events in prayers and sermons.

the hall became more and more palpable. He then softly broke the stillness with a call to turn to God and follow the path of knowing Him more every day. The question ‘Do you think He likes it?’ called for an exercise in shifting points of view between a worshipper’s perspective and a godly perspective over the world. By peppering their sermons with such calls for reflection, preachers challenged worshippers to practise seeing the world through ‘Bible-coloured glasses’; in turn, this reinforced the idea of having to grow in knowledge of God in order to develop a relationship with Him.

While sermons focused on an intellectual unpacking and explaining of Bible passages for the congregation, preachers nevertheless used sensory and emotional imagery in sermons to connect personal experiences to biblical images or ideas. Tony, one of the senior ministers, often used direct appeals to sensory or emotional memories – ‘Do you remember how you felt when you were a child and got separated from your parents?’– only to seamlessly wind up into a biblical picture about people yearning, like a lost child, for God’s paternal and enduring love. Tony also often appealed to the congregants’ experiences of close relationships and feelings of intimacy and warmth with examples such as a meeting between a father and a daughter at an airport, juxtaposing these scenes with biblical teaching about God’s promise of Heaven. Preachers’ aims in using sensorial imagery were not to induce an extraordinary experience of God, but to help worshippers conceptualize the personality of God and maintaining a personal relationship with Him.

Sensory imagery was also employed in metaphors relating to food and ingestion. For example, in the beginning of their sermons, preachers’ prayers emphasized the spiritual transformation enabled through reading and engaging in knowing the Bible – ‘May your Word feed us and nourish us.’ This prayer suggests that the source of spiritual sustenance comes from God’s Word; at the same time, ‘nourish’ implies the necessary and continuous act of assimilation and growing in knowledge of God. While this prayer is echoed in other Anglican churches, such as St Anne’s, preachers in St Mark’s impressed particular nuances which reinforced the intellectualist framework of this church. In the context of St Mark’s teaching, food and ingestion metaphors signalled both a move away from ritualism and a yearning for knowledge. For instance, John, one of the ministers, affirmed in his sermon that ‘the ones who go to Heaven are the thirsty, not the good’. As taught by ministers in St Mark’s, a Christian’s genuine search for the Word of God is akin to thirst, a

visceral desire which can be sated by internalizing the water of knowledge rather than embodying 'good' practices. Sermons aided worshippers in their acts of internalization not only by explaining the Word of God, but also by compelling worshippers to practise seeing the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses'.

As will become evident in the following section, which deals with music, a pragmatic approach is integral to this intellectualist framework which, for St Mark's members, reflects a sophisticated reliance on God, one that is aware of the practical world. One simple illustration of this would be a picture shared by a member of St Mark's on social media which shows a man struggling to open a pickle jar, declaring, 'I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me!' His somewhat annoyed-looking wife replies, 'It's a pickle jar, Tom… Twist the lid, not the scripture.' With its humorous and relatable scene, the picture strikes at the core of what ministers at St Mark's wish to convey Christian faith to be: not simplistic or blind, but aware of and connected to the world while discerning and deep in understanding the biblical message. It is along this kind of reasoning that music is employed in the orchestration of services at St Mark's.

Music in Service of the Word

Music takes up roughly half the time in the structure of a Sunday service. The same careful planning that ministers described for the service as a whole characterizes how music leaders choose the music. The director of music, choirmaster, and music pastor, all evoked the specific role of music in communicating biblical knowledge and, particularly in the case of the after-sermon song, in reinforcing the message of the sermon. The emphasis, once again, was placed on the word.

While Robert, the director of music, was the leader of all the music groups in St Mark's, planning the music programme was the result of a team effort: 'We meet around a table or here in the office and pray, and we choose some music that has organ and maybe is a bit older, and we deliberately have all these elements in the service, and then we put in contemporary songs.' Similarly, Ben, the music pastor, explained:

> We try and have a balance almost in every service. The service will often begin and end with a fairly traditional hymn. It's not a hard-and-fast rule, but that's generally what we do, and then in the middle there would be a couple of… we try at least a few of more contemporary songs as we're leading towards the sermon; they'll often be more hymn-structure sort of songs, but really not a traditional one.

Ministers' deliberate aim was to create a coherent service which enabled individuals to come together and be part of a collective experience of worship. To this end, the music team begin by selecting, in Robert's words, 'good quality in the choice of the songs and the hymns, so we try not to sing rubbish. By rubbish, I mean songs that don't say anything special, don't teach us or don't really speak to our heart or our minds'. It stands out clearly in Robert's words that primacy is given to the message communicated in music, rather than style or performance standards. Though these latter two criteria are not disregarded in music practice, music leaders, as well as musicians, deliberately pointed out that too much emphasis on standards of musical performance runs the risk of distracting the musicians' minds away from the biblical message; at the same time, it may also distract the congregation's attention away from the words of the songs and towards the beauty of the music.

Ministers and music leaders took efforts to avoid such distraction, especially in the case of the song or hymn following the sermon. The act of teaching in the sermon was, as mentioned before, the focal point of the service. St Mark's church leaders played on the sermon's juxtaposition with the following song in order to enhance the effect of the former through the affordances of the latter. Nicholas, the choirmaster, described this very point in our interview:

> We try hard at St Mark's to understand what is the message of the sermon, how can we reinforce that, particularly with the song after the sermon, where, you know, you need to be in the same place as the preacher because otherwise it's jarring and it does not help support the message.

To this end, the words of the song after the sermon usually picked up the topic of the sermon in a more personal manner, while the tune enabled worshippers both to utter – that is, to express – and reflect on those words. The reinforcing effect of the sermon and after-sermon song becomes particularly salient when preachers approach controversial topics such as euthanasia, gender roles or gender identity. By analysing

the treatment of one such topics in a sermon and the style of the after-sermon song, I illustrate below how music not only guides worshippers towards God's Word but reinforces the Word by instantiating a direct relationship between worshippers and God.

During a sermon on gender identity, the preacher, Tony, began by reminding congregants of the '1976 decathlon winner, Bruce Jenner', leading then into an urging remark on modern culture's emphasis on gender. Following a few more examples from media, such as 'Facebook's 58 gender categories', Tony asked of the congregation: 'How, as Christians, are we to think through these things?' His answers came quickly in the form of passages from the Bible, such as Genesis 1:22, which Tony interpreted as saying 'a fundamental truth about human identity', namely, that 'gender is given by God, it is not something we create ourselves'. After referring to this biblical teaching, Tony contrasted it to modern culture where 'there is a move nowadays to make gender what I want it to be but Genesis says that gender is given by God'. A consequence of going against God's will and of 'having broken our relationship to God' is that 'we have an identity crisis' because 'by breaking our relationship with God, we break the relationship with ourselves'.

After impressing upon the congregants the gravity of this separation between the self and God, Tony punctuated two particular emotional moments in the tone of his sermon. First, he moved to resolve the tension previously instilled by the image of separation from God by reminding congregants that 'Jesus brings salvation that includes our gender' because even 'if we have an identity crisis, Jesus knows who we really are'. The emotional assurance of these reminders was, at the same time, linked with a call to action and reflection on the part of the worshipper because 'it takes massive courage and strength to tell God "Your will be done"'. By drawing the parallel between Jesus' words on the cross and the decisions that Christians need to take in order to grow closer to God, worshippers were encouraged to reflect on the price that Jesus paid for their salvation.

This core idea was reflected in the song after the sermon – 'I will offer up my life' by Matt Redman (© 1993 Kingsway's ThankYou Music). Mark Evans' classification of songs (2006:114) is useful here to indicate how the themes of the sermon are mirrored and reinforced in the song. Evans' classification refers to 'transformation/dedication' songs as compositions that convey personal commitments to life change and dedication based on God's will. We can see this in

the first verse of the song which takes up the theme of resolving identity conflicts – one's 'broken heart' – by surrendering to God's will in an aspiration to follow Jesus' sacrifice[69].

> [Third party material – first verse of 'I will offer up my life'.
> This verse emphasises the sinful nature of the worshipper by referring to one's 'broken heart' and the need for the worshipper to surrender wholly to God's will.]

The chorus follows this dedication with a direct appellation of Jesus and an expression of the incommensurate love of God in contrast to the worshippers' broken heart.

> [Third party material – second verse of 'I will offer up my life'.
> This verse addresses Jesus directly, emphasising God's loving nature and expressing the worshipper's search for ways in which to praise God most faithfully for 'the things You have done'.]

By thinking about the *point of view* (Evans 2006:115) of this song, we can note a movement from the 'I', the worshipper committing to God in the first verse, to an 'I' – 'You' relationship between worshipper and God in the chorus, to finally setting on 'You', God, in the second verse, where the worshipper declares Jesus' immense price paid for taking 'all my shame away'.

> [Third party material – third verse of 'I will offer up my life'.
> This verse expresses the worshipper's full surrender to God who deserves 'my every breath' for Jesus's sacrifice on the cross that 'took all my shame away' and wiped away all sins.]

With this movement in the focus of the song, the relationship between worshipper and God is articulated in much the same fashion in which it was conveyed in the sermon, namely, from current debates around identity to the preacher's questions about how should one 'think through' these issues as a Christian, to finally resolving through an appeal to God's love and the necessity of submitting one's own will to God's will.

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[69] I was unable to obtain permission to reproduce the verses from the song 'I will offer up my life' by Matt Redman. For the electronic version of my thesis I will indicate in square brackets the verses I refer to, emphasising the message or relevant tropes contained in the respective verses.

Just before moving into singing this song, the preacher introduced it with the following words 'Let's respond to God's Word; it's a song of prayer'. Indeed, the prayerful mood was conveyed by the style of the song, a slow-paced piece performed by the music-band and several singers. Their voices, though amplified, were soon matched and encompassed by the voices of the congregation.

Those instances of singing following the teaching represented meaningful experiential moments that could illuminate a worshipper's entire week. For Robert, the director of music,

> I think of the most exciting point of my week is the hymn after the sermon… So if somebody preaches the sermon and then we have a good hymn that's been well chosen, and to direct that on a Sunday morning or Sunday evening when the church is full of people really meaning… singing those words, it's wonderful!

Many worshippers echoed Robert's response to the after-sermon song, even though many of them were not specifically aware of the detailed attention that music leaders had given to choosing that particular musical piece. In light of this, thinking of services as orchestrations of doctrinal and experiential elements illustrates not only church leaders' purposeful aims to create a sense of collective experience, but also the points of convergence in members' experience.

We see that music's utility is methodically employed in the service to enhance the effectiveness of the sermon's message. Church leadership demonstrates the same methodical attention to music at many other key moments in the service. The affordances of music to instil a sense of flow and direction were carefully utilized in St Mark's services to ensure a coherent, unitary experience that directed attention towards the focal point of the sermon. Thinking of it from the point of view of a performative event, a service is made up of a succession of distinct elements – songs, prayers, sermon, readings – in which a large number of different actors take part. In order to achieve a sense of consistency in this performative event, church leaders utilized music to punctuate strategically particular moments while also taking into account the input and mood of the congregation. Minister Sheila explained that generally they would have a 'fairly rousing starting hymn to [...] wake them [the congregation] all up', moving to 'slightly more contemplative ones in the middle' around the timing of the sermon and corporate prayers. The ending song or hymn

should be ‘something that sounds like sending out’ – that is, something purposeful and encouraging for a Christian who is leaving the moment of corporate worship with fellow Christians in order to be re-immersed in life’s challenges outside church.

That a sense of coherence and direction is elicited through the use of a particular song at particular moments in the service became apparent in worshippers’ observations. Minister Sheila explained that certain songs become deeply associated with a particular moment in the flow of the service. In this respect, Sheila recalled her own reactions of feeling confused and even ‘a bit frustrated’, along with those of other congregants, when songs were placed in what was felt to be the ‘wrong’ segment of the service. ‘[If] this is an ending hymn, what are they doing singing it at the [middle]?’ she remembered her reaction as being during one such moment.

So far in our interview, Sheila had referred to music providing a sense of flow as direction in a service – that is, a sense of a beginning, middle, peak, and end. In her descriptions of how the service was held together in a coherent frame, Sheila intriguingly pointed to the practical reality of orchestrating a focused service attended by a large, diverse congregation. Travelling from different corners of London, people find themselves arriving five, 10, even 20 minutes late. As Sheila confessed regarding the planning strategies of the ministry team, ‘We spend a lot of time thinking about when we can open the doors and let people in, ‘cause people arrive late, and so we don’t open the doors when people are praying, when people are reading […] so you try to have points like, say, hymns, that people can walk in.’ We see here that the choice of music and its placement at particular moments in the service is also straightforwardly practical and, in this, it points to the potential of sonic affordances to impact worshippers’ experiences in the service.

While, at first sight, allowing people to walk in while the congregation sing might suggest that worship music is not considered as important as prayers or Bible readings, in the context of St Mark’s it reveals both the enactment of a biblical principle and the sound affordance that makes it possible. First of all, by considering these potential issues – such as lateness – that emerge from the particular makeup of the congregation, ministers ensured that people had access to the service and could participate in corporate worshipping. In other musical contexts, be they a concert hall or a more traditional church employing solemn music in a quieter setting, interruptions would be difficult to overcome. However, since St Mark’s aimed to enable people to participate, church leaders sought to integrate potential

interruptions. The structure of the service was shaped accordingly, taking this aspect into consideration as well as the goal of worshipping as a church family. Sheila added, ‘If you have three hymns together and you’re likely to have the prayers, the readings and notices all in one go, then that’s a long time that you’ve got the door shut.’ The expression ‘church family’ was very often used by ministers and members to refer to the collective of committed worshippers and to reflect the sense of closeness and common purpose in worshipping God that they develop through regular and devoted church practice.

St Mark’s sought to include everyone who wished to be included without disturbing the flow of the service as a performative event. In this instance, a song would provide the sonic buffer for allowing people to walk in when they were late. Sung by a large congregation – not by the choir or music group alone – and amplified by the sound systems, the song would engulf and cover the potential disturbances of the noise made by a latecomer. Sound thus affords a consistent experience of the service while also creating a compelling atmosphere for late arrivals.

While ministers, choristers and members had all emphasised the precise role of music in providing a sense of flow and direction in the service, its counterpart – silence – seemed to raise a problematic relationship to the other elements of the service. For people involved in the orchestration of services, silence figured as a difficult element to integrate within the whole of the service. As the rector suggested, ‘it's not as easy to do the quiet reflective in the big and the bustling [church]... there's always someone moving, that comes in and probably it may not work as easily on a Sunday as it might at other times of the week.’ In this light, silence did not fit within the fabric of the large Sunday gathering of worshippers.

However, other members pointed to different qualities of silence that could potentially affect the flow and focus of the service away from the Word and the sermon. Two of St Mark’s long-standing members, Ava and her husband Simon, made more specific connections between the evangelical nature of St Mark’s and the attitude to silence in church services. In their words:

> Evangelicals tend to pack a lot of content in and they don't leave that much silence and space. I don't think there's actually an objection to that but there's a sense of packing with a lot of content and I suspect that is a function of the Evangelical church not being so comfortable with silence or meditation.

Ava and Simon referred to the Evangelical doctrinal emphasis on biblical knowledge and on the word in contrast to silence and space. For them, words fill in the space and, and the same time, they fill in the minds of the worshippers, guiding them, directing them towards God's teaching. Left without the anchorage of the sound of words, moments of silence in service would become, in Ava and Simon's view, uncomfortable. For others in St Mark's, silence would also bring about unstructured time, where the mind could wander, thus creating distraction from the flow of the service. Thus, the arrangement of musical pieces does not only guide worshippers through a coherent message and a modulation of moods (for instance, from rousing to contemplative to purposeful, as described earlier by Sheila); crucially, it guides by providing an auditory structure against silence, seeking to maintain the attention of the worshippers focused on the message.

At the same time, this attitude to silence in services also reinforces St Mark's distinction from the rituals of the Church of England. Another member and chorister of St Mark's, Penny, described:

> It definitely has an impact; it's our style as a church. It's funny; on Good Friday we have a period of silence which is really scary for St Mark's. I guess we want to identify very much as a Low Church, that's who we are, we're gospel centred and part of that is not to bring in silence, not to have contemplation, because that is very much what you do in a High Church; it's not that it's wrong or that anybody in St Mark's will say that it's wrong, it just that our tradition does not expect that.

Penny not only identifies the role that silence plays in creating this distinction from High Church services but, similar to Ava and Simon, she points to the affective role of silence. In her account, silence in services becomes 'scary'. Worshipping with others, worshipping with the church family in St Mark's is about singing, reading, praying aloud together, in other words, about sounding out together; silence, in the words of another St Mark's member 'has to be filled'.

Nevertheless, this attitude to silence is quite precisely delineated around church services. The church would organise 'quiet days, [when] people go away on trips and so on but it's a relatively low-key element of how discipleship and worship and personal discipleship goes', as Ava explained. For most, however, it was the home that figured as a space where silence and reflection were more present. All

those I spoke to described valuing 'quiet time' at home, when they would pray and sit in silence. Indeed, for some, silence marked the two spaces of church and home as spaces that *should* facilitate different types of reflection. For instance, one worshipper declared his expectation that music with words should accompany church worship and that moments of reflection in church should be guided by words. For him, 'if I wanted to do that [quiet reflection] I would put an instrumental CD at home when it's quiet and you can just reflect more'.

Some of St Anne's members held a similar association between silence and the home; these members described that while services did not provide too much space for quiet time, this was not something they were expecting. Keith, for instance, described that he enjoyed silence when he was alone at home or talking the dog for a walk; it was structure that he wanted from a service. Meanwhile, others remarked on the fact that 'there isn't much time and space for personal introspection' expressing a desire for silence to become part of the fabric of St Anne's services. While the structure of the main Sunday service remained the same during my fieldwork, St Anne's rector, director of music, several choristers and other members took other steps to incorporate more time and space for silence by organising a monthly Taizé service.

Held in St Anne's small chapel, this service contained prayers and simple songs with a repetitive musical and lyrical pattern played on a keyboard, cello, violin, and clarinet by some of St Anne's members. While only a few people (at most 10) attended these gatherings, many remarked on the meditative and quiet atmosphere of this service. In this respect, the Taizé service shared this meditative quality with a more traditional Anglican service – the Compline[70] – which, due to declining attendance in St Anne's and in Anglican churches throughout the country, is now rarely held. However, by introducing Taizé gatherings, St Anne's ministers and director of music were hoping to provide a gentle experimentation with styles of worship with a view to drawing in new people in the congregation. Silence and meditation, in this case, were a marker of a different mode of worshipping for St Anne's to take on.

[70] 'Compline' is the title for a service of night prayer, the final service (or office) in Church of England church practice. The Church of England describes this service as 'above all, a service of quietness and reflection before rest at the end of the day'. See 'Night Prayer (Compline)' – Church of England Archbishops' Council n.d. *https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources/common-worship/daily-prayer/night-prayer-compline*, accessed 12 August 2018.

Silence thus becomes a delicate, double-edged element in the orchestration of services, it may be a missing quality of services or a subtle mode of trying new worship styles, as in St Anne's, or it may induce space for distraction from the structure of the service, as in St Mark's. Yet, as Clayton et al. (2013) remind us, the significance of any element in a performance, any kind of performance, is an emergent dimension in the interaction between performers and audience. Therefore, while this section has dealt mainly with church leaders, the following section will bring some of St Mark's worshippers to the foreground.

THE CONGREGANTS OF ST MARK'S

Walking into a Sunday service at St Mark's, one finds the main hall of the church filled with people from all corners of the world: groups of Chinese, Korean, Filipino, South American, British, European students, most of them gathered in the gallery on the right, chatting away. A similarly mixed group of young professionals (some of whom I know, some of whom I identify by their suits), perhaps slightly less exuberant, on the left-hand gallery, catching up with one another or sitting quietly waiting for the service to start. In the main hall, on the ground floor, most of the chairs are quickly taken up, many people preferring their usual seats. I can see the British gentleman I met a few days ago, a medical doctor in his 60s right there in the front seat, sitting calmly and alone. Also, as always, the lady in colourful Nigerian attire and her husband, probably in their 40s, waiting at their regular row of seats for the elderly Korean lady to reach her usual place next to them. I am not yet sure where I should sit this time since, compared to nearly everyone here, I have not really settled on a particular area. I give a nod to the smiling retired police officer who just entered and is slowly walking to the front of the hall. Slightly carried away by this moment of greeting, I also nod, smiling, to a woman walking down the aisle, though we don't know each other – a short moment of embarrassment for me, but she smiles back with genuine sentiment. I look around at this sea of people with a sense of familiarity, though many I will not have a chance to get to know or even

speak with. Superimposed, a memory of a visit to a church in Bucharest clashes strikingly with the picture I see in front of me now. The memory conveys images of elderly ladies, scarves covering their heads, kneeling with difficulty and making the sign of the cross, some accompanied by their young grandchildren. A quiet congregation, heads bowed, a handful of men in their 30s and 40s, young mothers; the dim sound of rustling clothes as they try to reach the icons at the front and say a quick prayer. The waxy warmth and smell of candles. I snap out of it quickly as I hear a burst of laughter somewhere nearby. As the voices slowly simmer down, I see young and old, men and women alike, taking their seats and whispering away their chatting. Another glance around the hall and one can sense the power of this gathering simply by watching the expectant and enthused expressions on people's faces. They are looking forward to another reunion that's about to begin.

How did all these people get here and decide to make this their church? It is certainly not because they live nearby and this is merely the local church. For most of those I spoke with, the journey ranged from 40 minutes to an hour, even reaching an hour and a half for a few of them. One could argue that for a Londoner that is just routine, but the fact that congregants deliberately chose St Mark's also speaks of the different relationship to churchgoing that an Evangelical setting fosters. By comparison, for parish churches, locality is an important aspect of the practice of going to church, as congregants' experience of what it means to be a local is partly predicated on attending the religious centre of the parish. Historically, the parish church has been the focal point of parish life (Pounds 2000), hosting religious practices as well as facilitating community-making through celebration of feasts and other social events. In the increasingly complex mode of identity-making in cities such as London, Evangelical churches dispose of ritual and respond by creating particular experiences – some intellectualist, some charismatic; in turn, worshippers travel the city looking for specific experiential elements. Many of St Mark's members described 'searching for a church', spending time at various churches to see whether their values were Bible-based and whether those values were integrated in the actions of the ministry and congregation. Some also described searching for a church where 'I could grow'.

For most, being at St Mark's is the result of a meticulous process of deliberation governed by the search for 'good Bible teaching'. Being a Christian is a journey in obtaining a 'deeper understanding of who God is, what He's done for us,

what He calls us to do for Him', as Nicholas, the choirmaster, argued. To get a glimpse into why people choose St Mark's and the ways in which people make up the body of worshippers at St Mark's, one needs to look at how people become Christians and how they regard themselves as Christians.

Stories of beginning – Christians by choice

In a very noisy Caffè Nero somewhere near King's Cross, Manu, a young man in his late 20s from Spain who leads one of the Bible study groups at St Mark's, arrived to meet me for an interview. I set my recorder on the table, making the appropriate settings to try as best as possible to counteract the mix of jarring music, cacophony of voices (as the fear of a failed recording made me feel them louder than ever) and the periodic waves of bus engine sounds passing nearby, complemented, of course, by London's ever-present ambulance sirens. Manu seemed unruffled by the dense noise around us and carried on passionately, while I hung on his every word, really focusing on distinguishing his words from those of the people around us, jotting down what seemed most important and fearing that sound, that overwhelming coffee-making-and-people-talking sound, would get the better of my recorder.

Manu told me of his family: a strong Christian family on both paternal and maternal sides, though some of his cousins had strayed from the faith. As far as he was concerned, he was 'a third-generation Christian': '*despite* the fact that I've been brought up in a Christian family, I chose to be a Christian' (my emphasis). A bit surprised by his choice of words, I asked him further about this and listened to him describing a rationalized process of engaging with the question of God's existence. He recalled reaching the point when 'you start debating it… is it really true?' and moving through various philosophical arguments, biological explanations or psychological mechanisms in order to 'question whether it was all true or just man-made because we don't want to just disappear'. After a survey of all these questions and propositions, Manu explained, he reached the point where:

> To me it made sense to stick with the person of Christ because… first, logically, actually, I think it makes sense to be a Christian. It is something I cannot doubt is that I… and I exist, and I cannot see otherwise, that I have a soul, there is no other way to convince me of the opposite – I have a soul and

> in the logic that I have come across is that if I have soul, that means that could last forever, that means that might be a God that has made me this way. Because of that, if you take a look of all the gods out there, I think the God of the Bible is the one that makes sense.

Manu described his engagement with questions about God as a rational method of exploring Christian statements and reaching a decision by logical reasoning. For him, his affiliation to Christianity was articulated as a logical imperative, and this quality substantiated what Manu understood as being a Christian. *Choosing* Christianity became an act of agency based on a rationalized process of enquiry and reflection on Christian claims. By making this statement, I do not suggest that Christians such as Manu are completely independent actors. Following Gooren (2007:347) and Rambo (1993:59), I acknowledge that there is a complex configuration of factors that influence the act of conversion, which, in turn, incorporates a continuum of passive and active elements. What narratives such as Manu's make evident is that, for St Mark's worshippers, the act of choosing is a productive element in the narrative of what it means to be a Christian that denotes a rationalistic approach to religious identity.

In some cases, making this choice arose when deep-seated presumptions about Christianity formed within one's familiar background and were challenged by unexpected manifestations of Christianity. For example, Ava, a British artist and life coach in her mid-50s, described her current Christian identity against a notion of nominal affiliation: 'I was a nominal Christian by background and then just drifted away; it was a nominal faith'. Ava's notion of 'nominal' echoes Abby Day's category of 'nominalist' affiliation to Christianity. Day argues this category serves to reinforce familial and social connections for people who, despite not holding a belief in Christian doctrine, would still subscribe to the Christian identifier (Day 2011). It is this type of affiliation which leads to the creation of a cultural Christianity, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

However, Ava was challenged in her understanding of Christianity when, at university, she 'found some people… who actually *seemed quite normal and rational believers and that challenged me intellectually*' (my emphasis). Ava attributed decisive value to this rationalized approach of the believers she met, describing this as the main crack in her pre-formed picture of Christianity in which one follows without questioning. This initial challenge gave rise to a deliberate process of

exploration, as Ava 'wanted to see whether there was more in Christianity than just turning up for Christmas and Easter and going to friends' weddings'. Essential to her search was finding 'a church where I could ask questions… and nobody was going to think questions were ridiculous… [where]… they welcomed questions and welcomed people grappling with faith.' The process Ava described is one of careful judgement as to weighing information and reflecting on claims – 'I focused on the person of Jesus and identified that historically, looking at all the evidence, he was who he said he was.' In a similar vein to Manu described above, it is only as a result of examination of Christian claims that Ava concluded, 'that being the case, I had to rethink my world position and accept that my faith had to be taken more seriously. […] That's how it began.'

In her description of beginning her journey as a Christian, Ava emphasized the necessity of being able to justify her choice with what she considered solid, compelling arguments. What is more, choosing Christianity demands a reevaluation of one's position in the world within a coherent framework which validates that choice. This goes strongly in contrast to McGuire's accounts of 'talking to people about their individual religions' and 'hav[ing] the impression that only a small and unrepresentative proportion struggle to achieve tight consistency among their wide-ranging beliefs, perceptions, experiences, values, practices and actions' (McGuire 2008:16). As described in the first part of this chapter, church ministers in St Mark's deliberately placed emphasis on self-reflection and, as we can see in these examples, this emphasis was echoed by congregants. While not every person I spoke to had equally strongly articulated descriptions, all shared narratives focused on making a deliberate choice: for some, choosing meant committing to Christianity as the first experience of religious life; for others, it meant 'truly' becoming Christian – that is, changing from having a nominal faith into developing a reflective and dedicated approach to worship and understanding the Bible.

The narratives described above illustrate acts of choosing Christianity in different contexts; however, in their focus on a rationalized approach to these acts of choosing, they mirror and complement the intellectualist framework designed by St Mark's ministers and music leaders. Importantly, 'choosing Christianity' is a statement that demands action and taking responsibility to live out as a Christian. Mirroring the principles described by ministers, congregants explained to me that

living as a Christian was not about 'doing the right things', but about learning to see the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses'.

Lily, a young woman of Chinese descent who works as a GP in London, explained to me, 'If you also spend the time to look at the world through a godly perspective, then you can see Him in the world in the actions of other people – for example, if something happens in a certain way, you can realize that "Oh, God planned it this way" rather than just take it for granted.' Lily's account illustrates that being a Christian requires a recalibration of 'the broad interpretative framework in terms of which people live and organise experience' (Snow and Machalek 1983:265). In the noisy cafe where we were doing our interview, her voice ebbed and flowed with the sounds of conversations bouncing against the walls of the room. Her thoughtful, confident tone when describing the principle of seeing the world through a godly perspective turned at times into a more self-doubting one when describing how 'I'm not very good at doing that'. In Lily's description, to develop such a perspective, one needs to 'start daily devotion and just thinking about God, praying to God – not just in church but any time'.

Echoing many other St Mark's members, Lily's comments suggest that learning to see the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses' revolves around a continuous work of internalizing practices of listening to and enacting God's Word in everyday life and thus creating and maintaining a personal relationship with God.

Maintaining a personal relationship with God

In her ethnography of conservative Evangelicals in London (2012; 2015), Anna Strhan describes how worshippers form their Christian identities through acts of speaking and listening to the gospel. She demonstrates that in enacting these practices, worshippers come to internalize the image of a complete and coherent God and that this significantly contrasts with worshippers' experiences of their selves as fragmented. While members of St Mark's similarly uphold an image of God as perfect, complete, and coherent, and seek to internalize a godly perspective of the world, they focus on a continuous process of maintaining a personal relationship with God as an integral act of developing their Christian selves. It is not that St Mark's

congregants see themselves as flawless or complete, but rather that they substantiate their relationship with God through the unceasing work of developing a godly perspective.

This readjustment of one's view on the world requires the worshipper to open one's heart to God and to better understand His Word. In St Mark's, 'the heart' was a notion that referred to 'the centre of us, our will, what moves us to our very core', as minister John explained in one of his sermons. The heart thus is not in opposition to the mind; it is instead the whole interpretative lens through which a worshipper relates to God and to others. And it is by honing one's heart that a worshipper develops a personal relationship with God.

Worshippers drew on the intimacy of everyday social interactions to conceptualize their relationship with a person-like God (see Luhrmann 2012) and to practise seeing the world through a godly perspective. For instance, learning to speak to God through prayer was compared to speaking to one's father: 'It doesn't have to have [a] special formula; you don't have to have special words… how would you speak to your father? You don't go "Dear most reverent Father"', as minister Sheila explained to me in one of our discussions. What was important, in her view, was not to make speaking to God in prayer something 'mysterious' that 'you learn or has to come with time', as that would create a separation in the experience of the worshipper. While God is not 'any odd person', Sheila reiterated that 'He wants you to talk to Him and that's the beauty of the relationship.'

It is thus an intimate relationship that needs consistent and conscious dedication. One of the student workers, Hailey, described her morning routine as a deliberate act of incorporating practices of listening and speaking to God through reading the Bible and praying:

> The first thing I do when I wake up in the morning is that I make coffee and then I go back to bed and I read my Bible and I pray. So those are, like, things that set me up for the day, you know, the importance of actually reading God's Word, 'cause that tells me what God is like, but also remembering that, you know, it's God's world, and he cares deeply about all things, so I could encounter Him anywhere I go.

Enacting these practices in an intimate setting invests Hailey's relationship with God with a sense of communion by standing as deliberate reminders of God's character and by placing her in a position where she sees the world as God's world. Regular

practices such as these attune the worshipper's interpretive mode of the world with God's perspective.

In order for this attunement of perspectives to be fulfilled in one's relationship with God, the sense of intimacy needs to be sustained through consistent work, similar to one's relationship with one's spouse. This was an often-mentioned comparison, which encapsulated for St Mark's members the commitment and the steady efforts that need to be invested in order for a relationship with grow. For instance, a British couple in their 50s, both Christians for most of their adult lives, directly compared the interactions needed for a good marriage to those for maintaining a relationship with God:

> It's like [if] Steve and I [are] living in the same house and I, sort of, not talk to you, Steve, anymore – that relationship then becomes cold, and equally, if you don't read the Bible, you're not hearing Him speak to you. And that's how the Spirit works in helping us to change our lives so we become more like Him.

We see that through the use of analogies to everyday social relationships, it becomes easier for worshippers to integrate the experience of a personal relationship with God in everyday life. In turn, this makes the relationship more vivid and stable, helping worshippers to grow in their knowledge of God and develop a sense of responsibility in reflecting God's character in their everyday behaviour. For members of St Mark's, seeing the world through a godly perspective and reflecting God's character revealed what worshippers referred to as 'maturity of faith'. Understanding that 'whatever you do, people can see, so you have to really show the person of Christ in what you do, which is a big responsibility and a privilege at the same time', as Manu described it, adds to the strength of one's relationship with God. With this added strength, worshippers described being more aware of their Christian self and seeking to reflect that in their actions and relations to people by focusing awareness on all others as creations of God, rather than just random characters one comes across in daily life; for example, Penny, a data analyst in her 40s who worked at a large firm, described to me her experience of working at an American firm for a short period. There, she explained, due to strong hierarchical relations in the firm, she found that people who were her subordinates were very surprised at her friendly, unpretentious manner of engaging with them. She explained her behaviour by

framing it in a godly perspective: ‘I need to treat people realizing that they are loved by God, they are important to Him.’

While, as we have seen, consistency, regularity and commitment are considered essential for maintaining a personal relationship with God, worshippers may not always practise these qualities as well as they intended. It is in situations such as this where, once more, drawing on analogies to social relationships and their idiosyncrasies helps worshippers frame their relations to God. Recalling his experience as a married man, Peter, St Mark’s rector, described how one’s relationship with God is dynamic, with highs and lows, not unlike a marriage:

> So, I’m married, my wife and I, we see each other […] we’ll catch up on the children, this, that and the other. But there are also times when we’ll sit down and have a meal together, we’re talking together and there’s time, that’s for the two of us. Well, the same thing will be true of God. I’ll go through the day, and I do believe I go through the day, with God and, best, there’ll be moments in that when I’m calling out to God, I’m thanking God. […] There are other times when I’m going through life, and I confess [that] I’m sort of looking back and say[ing], ‘Thank you, God!’ But there will also be times when I create time [...] when I spend with God, I’ll spend it in His Word [...] letting him speak to me, and I’ll speak to him in prayer – that’s how many relationships work.

Peter described both his relationship with his wife and to God in fluctuation between the foreground and background of his attention. While there were moments when he actively made time to spend with God, there were also situations when only retrospectively did he reflect on how God may have been present. We see from Peter’s reflections that understanding and accepting these fluctuations as part of the relationship between a human being and God are part of what St Mark’s members referred to as ‘maturity of faith’, as will be discussed in the next section.

However, it is in navigating the ebb and flow of one’s relationship with God that difficulties may arise. As one of the long-standing members of St Mark’s confessed, situating oneself in this ‘biblical worldview of life as you experience it moment to moment’ does not always run smoothly, and life’s worries and uncertainty catch up with one. For instance, Lauren, a young data analyst, described ‘a struggle between my mind and the will of God… I need to shut up my mind.’ Lauren’s experience shows that listening to God’s Word can prove difficult to do, especially if done alone. Sustaining a personal relation to God, St Mark’s members

found, needs the support of fellow Christians, as Val, a woman in her 40s from South Africa, described: ‘I get my inspiration from reading my Bible every day, and usually God speaks through that. Then I actually look for the community of believers.’ What Val expressed is a need to situate everyday practices of listening and speaking the biblical messages within the gathering of the congregation by incorporating herself in it. The notion of *doing church* will help us unravel the ways in which individuals incorporate their own personal relationships to God into collective performative acts of worship.

DOING CHURCH

Growing in maturity of faith as part of maintaining a personal relationship with God substantiates people’s sense of the development of a Christian self. In her work on everyday religion and spirituality, Meredith McGuire describes a move in the Western world from institutionalized religion to what sociologist Wade Clark Roof called ‘a spiritual quest culture’ where ‘identity is less a matter of belonging to a social group than of seeking personal meaning as an individual’ (McGuire 2008:5). However, we see that for people such as Val, belonging to a community is necessary for one’s own search for personal meaning. As will be shown in this section, in a community of believers one’s own religious journey finds echoes in the journeys of fellow Christians, suggesting that one’s personal relationship with God is sustained through a collective relationship with Him. By focusing on practices of doing church, I will follow how the various actors in a church – ministers, music leaders, musicians and congregants – contribute to the integration of individual religiosities into a collective one.

FINDING A PLACE IN A BIG CHURCH

Having finally managed to arrange a meeting with Mervyn, a British member of St Mark's in his 50s, who is very much involved in many areas and activities of the church,[71] I find myself surprised by his own story of joining St Mark's, since it was not only unplanned but, for a time, it was not even desired. 'We [he and his wife] came to one service', he tells me, 'just for a change' from their small, local church, with no real consideration of joining St Mark's, which 'seemed to me to be too big and too impersonal'. However, 'the preacher on that occasion was Tony, he was preaching from Philippians and it was near the beginning of a series, and we thought, "Oh, this is really helpful, we must come back next week and listen to the next one."' And so they did, returning many times even after that sermon series, deciding eventually to become regular members. The reservations Mervyn and his wife had –that 'you must have to be here for years and years and years before they even know your name in a big church like this' – were soon dispelled after they joined a course for leading Bible study groups, one of the many activities offered at St Mark's. Despite the fact that both of them had led activities and Bible studies at their previous church, they realized that they had to get involved in small group activities so that their experience could become apparent to ministers or the established members of the church.

This, in fact, was the very kind of response and path envisaged by the rector and the ministry team for people who wished to become regular members of St Mark's. In an open evening event I attended in September 2015,[72] the rector pointed out in his presentation that at St Mark's, 'we are a big church so we're working really hard at doing small church'. The image of the 'small church' that the rector evoked is imbued with a sense of closeness, intimacy, trust, and common purpose of worshipping God, encapsulated in St Mark's members' use of the term 'church family'. Doing 'small church' means that church leaders seek to provide an infrastructure and opportunity for small groups to gather in more comfortable

[71] Mervyn regularly leads corporate prayers in Sunday service, he organizes and oversees activities in the student ministry such as weekends away and he leads a Bible study fellowship group.

[72] These kind of introductory events are usually held in September and October, which coincide with the arrival of large numbers of students in London. Similarly, a number of series of courses or meetings such as 'Christianity – Discover and Examine' or 'Christian Disciples' (both titles are pseudonyms) begin around the same time.

settings for integrating into St Mark's large congregation that gathers on Sundays. However, doing 'small church' also requires initiative on the part of the individual person who comes to St Mark's, and people attending the church are expected to find at least one area where they can join.

Becoming a member of St Mark's is not marked through any ceremony, but there are several aspects that affirm one's belonging to the church, both to oneself and to others. Mervyn's experience illustrates that one becomes a member by contributing to St Mark's activities – in other words, by investing time and experience. At the same time, once one becomes an established member, contributions also take the form of financial donations. One service element maintained from the Church of England structure is the offertory hymn or song during which a collection is gathered. As a basket is passed from one attendee to the next, people can leave donations. But on more than one occasion, ministers emphasized that, while contributions were welcomed, 'the collection is really for the church family', thus tracing a boundary of responsibility between regular church members and other participants.

Ministers also marked a distinction between regular church members and other participants during Communion, with the celebrant reassuring those present, 'Do not feel ashamed to pass on the wine and bread. If you are not a Christian now, we hope that one day you will share with us.' Such remarks demonstrated, on the one hand, St Mark's members' aims to present the church as open to all who wish to participate. On the other hand, these remarks communicated to those not taking Communion that the act of Communion needs to be supported by a belief in God. These remarks crystallize St Mark's intellectualist approach by simultaneously communicating the rejection of ritualism and invoking that being a Christian is the result of a deliberate act. Sharing in the Communion, then, becomes a declaration of being a Christian.

Referring to the categories which make up their 'public' as 'the seeker, the server, and the sleeper', the rector demonstrated St Mark's commitment to doing 'small church' by asserting that 'we are a big church, so we can take a few passengers, but after a while, we'll give you a nudge.' The rector's remarks suggest a meticulous reflection on the potential and existing audience that St Mark's reaches out to. As Naomi Haynes argues, understanding how Christians operate in relation to audiences can reveal 'lines of contestation and consensus along which Christianity is

leveraged' (2014:S358). The rector revealed that the efforts of creating a cohesive collective worship experience operates on a clear categorization of St Mark's existing and potential audience: 'the seeker' [73], as the name suggests, is the person who is not yet committed to a religious identity, but who wishes to explore and find one; 'the server' denotes the person who has accepted Christ and has taken the responsibility and commitment to actively participate in the acts of doing church and in the creation of a collective worship experience; finally, 'the sleeper', indicatively, is the person who has fallen into a routine and does not contribute to the group experience. While these categories do not specifically reflect people at the fringes of potential audiences, such as tourists, the ministers who described their strategies of planning for services always made references to wandering visitors, emphasizing that removing liturgy and ritual made services more accessible to these individuals as well.

In their attentive planning of church services and church life, in general, St Mark's leaders aimed to support worshippers' involvement in doing church by dissolving the separation between performers of the service (ministers and musicians) and audience (the congregation). In this setting, doing church is sustained through an ordered and expressive polyphony of ministers', musicians', and congregants' voices. Manifested in small group prayer, corporate prayer, and singing, what these moments of polyphony illustrate is how, on the one hand, the collective plays into sustaining one's personal relationship with God, and how, on the other, the individual worshipper's experience blends in with others into the making of a cohesive body of worshippers.

HEARING YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS PRAY FOR YOU

It is in small groups that members had opportunity to blend experiences of friendship with experiences of relating to God. In this respect, the small group prayer facilitated one in witnessing other people's faith journeys and providing and receiving encouragement in one's own journey. Small group prayers had several

[73] Interestingly, this term is usually employed by scholars of religion to refer to potential members who are assessing whether they wish to affiliate themselves with a religious group on a formal basis (Gooren 2007:350). This is reminiscent of the deliberate consideration of potential audiences by St Mark's leaders.

variations. Some took place at the end of regular, fortnightly meetings for Bible study in the church or in someone's house. In this case, the same participants gathered together, usually shared a meal and developed reliable friendships. Other group prayers occurred during the break in choir rehearsals. The choir would break up into groups of four to six people[74] and pray together. The practice usually involved each person in the group expressing what they would like the others to pray for on their own behalf. After everyone expressed their requests for prayer and after a moment of silence when people usually bowed their heads or closed their eyes, one person in the group would begin praying out loud. The manner of praying differed, but the person conducting the prayer would mention at least one of the other members in the group and recall their requests. This out-loud prayer would usually end with a formulaic expression such as 'In Jesus Christ, Amen!' and after a few seconds of silence, another person would begin praying, recalling a different member's requests.

People explained that praying in group intensifies one's relationship with God and one's relationship with other Christians because, in Manu's words, 'you are sharing the same heart' and it helped to 'see other people's interactions with God, it's beautiful as well, it's inspiring in that sense.' Through the phrase 'sharing the same heart', Manu conveys the worshippers' shared aims of learning to see the world through a godly perspective. At the same time, since each worshipper has a personal relationship with God, people can also learn from the individual relationships of fellow Christians. By combining a shared aim with the specificities of individual worshippers' faith journeys, small group prayers gather people into a collective experience.

Small group activities, such as prayer, Bible study, and meetings for different age groups, play an important role in supporting St Mark's congregation because they pre-empt some of the potential tensions that might appear in such a large congregation with a diversity of ethnic, social and economic backgrounds. This was one of the guiding principles mentioned by St Mark's rector in their dedication to 'doing small church'. 'Doing small church' through small group activities would help reinforce ties between worshippers by enabling them to spend time together and share other common interests. In turn, having established a sense of belonging

[74] In contrast to Bible study groups, where the same members gather and pray together at every meeting, different people from the choir can gather together to pray in small groups in rehearsal.

between people, congregants described the large Sunday service congregation as a celebratory gathering of the entire church family.

By vocalizing truths about God in a group of close worshippers, who share not only their faith, but interests and life stories, small group prayer creates a sense of belonging by cultivating a sense of religious intimacy. The act of voicing one's prayers is essential not only in focusing the mind, but making audible truths about God. Once made audible, these words are effective even if the person may not be praying with a 'good heart'; Manu explained that 'even if that person is not feeling it, I'm feeling it, and it doesn't really matter, if you think about it'. What collective prayer achieves for the individual is an articulation of biblical truths irrespective of the emotional condition of the person who utters the prayer. Making audible the words that express such truths is an act that produces resonances in a worshipper's experience in relation to a stable, complete, perfect God. What further nuances a worshipper's experience, making it more responsive and inclined towards development, is listening to fellow Christians pray with maturity of faith.

Small group prayer enabled other worshippers to recognize one's maturity of faith by witnessing one adopt a godly perspective when recalling other requests in prayer. Mervyn's experience of working with the youth group in St Mark's led him to suggest that developing maturity in faith was in part related to life experience: 'To some extent it is a question of time […] ideally you would grow, you would learn more as God leads you through life, as the Holy Spirit teaches you, as you read the Bible, think about it, as you talk to other Christians, as you just cope with life and so on.' Mervyn's remarks signal that life experience is necessary to develop maturity of faith, suggesting a reservation towards religious practices that take divine revelations as sole harbingers of a relationship with God. As Mervyn points out, what reveals maturity of faith is situating this life experience within a biblical perspective by listening to God's Word, speaking to Him in prayer and being with other Christians in prayer and worship.

Hearing others pray with maturity of faith is not only an example from which to draw inspiration, but it also signals the closeness between worshippers and their knowledge of each other. One long-standing member of St Mark's, an Irish lady in her 60s by the name of Rose, explained that 'it's affirming and helpful… it's very encouraging when people pray for the things you've asked them for', especially when 'the person has a lot of insight 'cause they got to know you'. Many others also

described being surprised at the insight or the clearly articulated prayers that others had prayed for them. In this way, people felt that their fellow brothers and sisters could see into their heart and were sensitive and receptive to their questions, needs or worries. Practices such as small group prayer illustrate how the sense of a church family emerges from relationships that blend personal concerns and friendships within the overarching purpose of worshipping God.

But if activities such as small group prayer bring members closer together by blending their voices in expression of biblical truths and of knowledge of each other, we need to see how this sense of closeness translates in the relationships between ministers and musicians, as performers, and congregation, as audience.

ORCHESTRATING SERVICES THROUGH CONGREGATIONAL PRAYER AND SONG

Much of the discourse at St Mark's on the part of the congregation and of church leaders accentuated the process of making of a church family. The rector's earlier remarks about the necessity of worshippers to contribute actively to doing church were mirrored in practice through the act of corporate (or congregational) prayer, which brings worshippers' voices into the orchestration of the service itself. By enabling members of the congregation to participate actively in delivering a portion of the service, the separation between church leadership and congregation is diminished. In turn, this division of responsibility of delivering the service reinforces the metaphor of church family that is emphasized in St Mark's discourse.

Corporate prayer in St Mark's is one aspect of service orchestration that falls clearly within the Church of England tradition of prayers of intercession – prayers said by one worshipper (or, at times, minister) on behalf of the congregation. These prayers have the role of leading all those gathered in church to 'join their prayers together in petition for the needs of the Church and the world, and for all who are in need'.[75] The format described by the Church of England is comprised of several sections that address the Church of Christ, creation, human society, the Sovereign and those in authority, the local community, those who suffer, and the communion of

[75] 'Leading Prayer through Intercessions', Church of England website, *https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/topical-prayers/leading-prayer-through-intercessions*, accessed 12 August 2018.

saints. This format also includes a suggestion for an invitation to prayer – 'Let us pray' – and an ending formulation with a congregational response: (leader) 'Lord, in your mercy'; (all) 'Hear our prayer!'

In St Mark's, ministers had the responsibility of choosing people to lead the congregation in corporate prayer. They carefully considered practical as well as faith-related aspects when making a recommendation, as those who are chosen to lead prayer need to do so with a godly perspective and in a coherent, well-presented manner that is sensitive to topics of general concern (social and political events, i.e. war zones, tragedies, etc). Minister Sheila explained to me that the right person should be someone who 'can string a sentence together [...] You do have to actually stay at the front, speak into a microphone and have the ability [...] to lead the church family in prayer; you're not just praying to yourself, you're praying on behalf of the [congregation]'. At the same time, she added, 'you want people who will pray wisely' – that is to say, someone who shows maturity of faith.

How a minister comes to recognize maturity of faith in a potential prayer leader was not a clear-cut process. Sheila described that in recommending someone for this role, she would need to 'know them first, 'cause you want someone you trust to be leading the church family in praying', and this trust could be built if 'I've heard them pray themselves'. Nevertheless, Sheila acknowledged that 'it's interesting 'cause it's hard to define' [referring to maturity of faith]; there is 'a *sense* of what I'm looking for' [my emphasis], 'but I'm not able to define what I'm looking for'. Therefore, playing a part in the service is a matter of integrating oneself into the church family as an *audible member* whose group prayers have been heard by ministers. While, in principle, in a 'priesthood of all believers' every worshipper takes part in the performative act of worship, in practice, St Mark's leadership employs certain strategies in order to consider which congregants' voices are actively involved in the production of the service itself. This can be noticed in the selection of people to deliver different parts of the service. For instance, while ethnic and age diversity was reflected among people chosen to do the Bible readings in the service, this was not the case among those who led intercessional prayers. As Sheila described, those who lead prayers would not only have to pray with maturity of faith, but also be able to 'string a sentence together'. Some ministers and church members involved in church activities suggested that younger people tended to lack life experience and, at times, deep reflection on biblical teaching. For instance, Mervyn

noted the problematic aspects of having so many young people in St Mark's as this resulted in ministers and more senior members 'often asking the young to lead the young and that is not such a good thing'. For Mervyn, youth-led prayers 'can be a little bit rambling, there can be aspects of them which I would say are not really biblical, they haven't been thought through.' Echoing other ministers, Mervyn argued for the need to maintain a balance between involving congregants in the church while also maintaining a structured and coherent service 'between inviting people from a range of backgrounds, a range of age backgrounds and a range of national or ethnic backgrounds and getting people who are more experienced or better at doing this.' This points to the fact that despite being a non-liturgical setting, St Mark's structured services do result in a structuring of the worshippers with certain parts of the service (such as singing and reading) involving more ethnical and age diversity than others (such as corporate prayer or preaching). In our conversations, none of the congregants I met declared openly that they wanted to lead corporate prayers. However, in many of these narratives, the role stood out as a significant marker of a congregant's part in the congregation; this role not only showed maturity of faith but that maturity of faith was being recognised and employed by ministers in the orchestration of the service.

By recognising a congregant's maturity of faith and employing it in the leading of corporate prayer, St Mark's process of selection also impacts the experience of the corporate prayer leader. This worshipper is placed in an intermediary position: one needs to think of oneself, on the one hand, as representative of the congregation while leading them in prayer, and, on the other hand, as responsible for the construction of a coherent worship framework in the service. Rose, the Irish lady whose thoughts about small group prayer I quoted earlier, had also been leading corporate prayer for several years and had developed a clear routine. In our interview, she described how, after receiving some guidelines or topics to pray for from the ministers, she would take time to go through the newspapers to look for events she thinks should be mentioned, usually involving tragic events, such as wars, shootings, natural disasters. Then, she explained, she would consider the readings, sermons and words of songs chosen for the service and deliberately try to make connections between these elements in order to create a coherent frame with elements that reinforce particular ideas:

> I'm always very happy if I find a hymn that has got several things that I can link in with, because I think that helps the worship as a whole [...] the theme of the service is carried through the hymn, the reading, the prayers, the preaching, so you get a whole rather than lots of little bits.

While only some can lead the church family in prayer, all can take part in singing. It is in sung worship where all voices, irrespective of their maturity in faith, come together. In music, the church leadership's efforts to dissolve the separation between performers and audience – 'us and them', as the director of music expressed it – were at their most effective, as it was here that all voices were brought together in musical harmony. To this end, St Mark's minimized or completely removed material markers of distinction. For example, neither ministers nor musicians wore clerical and choir vestments. What might appear as a spatial separation between the musicians and ministry on the stage and the congregation in the main body of the church was not considered divisive by the congregants I spoke to.

However, the ministry and the music leaders did take efforts in counteracting the separation of spatial arrangement. The music team gave careful consideration to the congregation, choosing, as the choirmaster described, 'a good song for congregations to sing because it's not too difficult, it has some degree of repetition, doesn't jump around too much, it doesn't use too many accidentals and confusing harmonies'. For the same reason, the musicians were very rarely overemphasised in sung worship. While they were facing the congregation, their amplified voices were matched in volume by those of the congregation, even in the case of the music band, fronted by the music pastor. Other practices, such as the director of music turning around towards the congregation and continuing to conduct both congregation and orchestra, illustrated the same aims of effacing the distinction between musicians and congregation.

In tandem with the effort to bring a simple, biblical, and integrated gospel to the people, music practice at St Mark's was also directed towards similar goals. Moving away from a 'traditional organ and choir' was enacted by inviting people from the congregation who played instruments or sang (both professionals and amateurs) to join in the music groups: choir, orchestra or band. The effects of this move were manifold: first, people in the congregation felt more involved in the *production* of the service, which gave them meaning, as they felt they were serving the larger congregation and thus doing more to truly live a Christian life; second, this

affected the repertoire and other music choices, as the mix of professional and non-professional musicians meant that there was a need to find a balance in terms of the difficulty of pieces chosen to be used in the services; third, it was another facet of theological adherence: as many members put it, the bringing together of many instruments, all praising God, was the image on earth of the heavenly choir and, in Robert's words, showed 'everybody being given a voice to sing in their own language'.

Robert's style of conducting music in services is telling of this aim to give a voice to everybody. Not only is he visibly involved in the music – singing the words, guiding the other singers and players – but he also conducts the congregation. After the first couple of beats, Robert turns around to the congregation, lifting his arms to encourage worshippers to sing with devotion, demonstrating to all present that they are all worshipping together, musicians and congregants alike, as a church family.

Concluding remarks

By focusing on the roles and relationships between St Mark's leadership and congregants, this section has provided insight into how an intellectualist approach is sustained by the infrastructure of the service and how it shapes the experience of the worshippers. Employing the lens of 'doing church' reveals how individual worshippers participate in activities that attune them not only to a shared doctrinal stance, but to other church members, thus creating a sense of 'church family' and orientating the body of worshippers towards God. Praying together and music practices are particularly effective in this sense. Praying enables worshippers to learn to better lead Christian lives by seeing fellow worshippers pray with maturity of faith. Music further deepens their sense of being members of a church family by instantiating shared experiences of worship where all voices converge, irrespective of individual worshippers' role in the church. Through its emphasis on the word and a mistrust of emotion, St Mark's intellectualist approach to doing church instils the image of an intimate God with whom worshippers can develop personal

relationships. Chapters 4 and 5 will explore how music and singing in services fine-tune the making of Christian selves and the acts of sustaining a relationship with God. Before turning to that analysis, however, Chapter 3 will introduce us to St Anne's and show a contrasting instance of doing church – one based on affective ties to locality, ritual, and memory.

CHAPTER 3
ST ANNE'S, A MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD PARISH CHURCH
'THIS IS WHAT I GREW UP WITH'

The airy space of the church hall resonates with the voices of congregants chatting away. It is a bright Sunday morning and the light bounces off the white-washed walls, borrowing deep colours from the two stained windows at the front, to the left and right sides of the organ. From the corner of my eye, I catch Valerie's flowing red robe and white surplice as she dashes to take her seat at the organ keyboard, hidden by a wooden screen just behind the chancel. A few finishing words, and we all sense the procession of ministers and choir at the doors, ready to enter. The voice of the celebrant resounds in the speakers: 'We open with hymn number 356. 3.5.6.' With the first chords of the organ, the server carrying the cross proceeds slowly, with a regular, studied pace, followed by two other servers with candles, the celebrant, another minister, and the choir, all wearing their floor-length robes.

We can recognize in this description of a middle-of-the-road Anglican parish church the very elements St Mark's members were purposefully trying to move away from. The robes, the procession, the solely organ-based repertoire – these are all aspects that people in St Mark's described as potential signs of a practice where habit takes over reflection and knowledge of God. Nevertheless, my time with St Anne's members showed that not only did they find this style of practice meaningful, but that this practice was productive in members' particular modes of understanding themselves as Christian selves. Having arrived at St Anne's after six months in an Evangelical church, the concerns raised in St Mark's regarding liturgical script – namely, of doing and saying things by rote – stayed with me and shaped some of the questions I raised with members of St Anne's. Patrick, one of the tenors in St Anne's

choir, offered me a clear analogy to illustrate his attitude to such worries about the potential risk of liturgy engendering participation based on habit and rote:

> It's sort of like saying, 'Well, I'm not going to Hamlet – it's the same text, it's always said the same way, the same thing said every week', and that's true, Hamlet is a fixed text, more or less fixed, and it is recited in the same order all the time, and that doesn't mean that it's not a powerful, emotional and personal experience to have. I think you're right, that it takes some work to keep it alive – a key issue of our liturgy is how to keep it alive. […] For me, the words that we say have a type of richness and meaning to them and I'm glad to have them repeated, because they're worth that in my view, in my experience of them.

So how does a middle-of-the-road parish church keep the liturgy alive? As a form designed by the Church of England and enacted by St Anne's, the liturgy has practical implications in the everyday life of the church, in the acts of orchestrating services and in the formation of Christian selves. Hence, here I will illustrate the particularities of doing church in this Anglican middle-of-the-road parish church in order to explore the kind of individual and collective bodies that this setting affords. To this end, this second ethnographic chapter will begin with the implications of St Anne's being a middle-of-the-road Anglican parish church and how that influences the orchestration of services. I will show that notions of 'tradition', as well as members' individual and collective memory ties to a particular style of worship, are influential in how church leadership delivers services and how congregants experience the service. In light of this, I will put forward the argument that a conflict arises between maintaining these memory ties and the church's need to grow. Finally, I will argue that practices of place-making form an instrumental mode of doing church in St Anne's, aiming to create a sense of locality for existing members and to attune new potential congregants to the particular affective resonances cultivated in services.

WHAT IS THE 'MIDDLE' IN A MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD PARISH CHURCH?

On a bright April morning, just slightly hidden from view on one side of the church, I sat on a bench listening to a detailed description of service ceremony from St Anne's rector. Thomas, a British gentleman in his mid-50s, did not wear formal priesthood vestments, keeping only his collar as a marker of his role, though his pondering, measured voice made the description of St Anne's services ceremonious in itself. With a few books at hand, including the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, Thomas seamlessly navigated the historical, theological, and 'traditional' elements of church practice, indicating that:

> The prayer books have mentioned very little about ceremonial, because at the time of the Reformation it was thought that the ceremonial gave rise to unscriptural superstition and therefore there were moves to remove as much ceremonial as possible. At one stage, even the wedding ring was considered to be unscriptural; there were no wedding rings in the Bible and there was a move to ban the wedding ring. Likewise, in the books of the Church of England, the altar is never called an altar – it's called a Holy Table – and there are no instructions for processions, no instructions about making the sign of the cross, no instructions about elevating the Host at the Eucharist.[76]

'Tradition', however, kept seeping through the practices of the reformed Church of England, Thomas continued; candles added to the Holy Table during Communion, a paced processional at the beginning of the service or the instances of sitting and standing during certain moments of the service[77] continued to form the church practice because 'people are comfortable with something they are familiar with', he emphasized.

Quoting theologian Robert Hooker, Thomas placed 'tradition' in relation to scripture and reason as authorities for church practice and theology. As discussed in Chapter 1, Hooker valued tradition as a repository of collective wisdom regarding practice and theology that endures through time. Despite some of the vagaries of

[76] The 'Host' is the name given to the consecrated bread used in the Holy Communion. During this section of the service, the celebrant can lift their hands holding the bread in a ceremonial gesture symbolizing the consecration of the bread.

[77] Indications regarding standing or sitting are only given for a few of the elements of the service.

ceremonial practice as described in the books of prayer, Chapter 1 illustrated how, through the introduction of the choral service, the 19th century in particular shaped church practice in ways that came to be recognized by a majority of British churchgoers as 'traditional'. The combination of the strands of scripture, reason, and tradition generated, in Thomas' view, the diversity of the Church of England, with Evangelical branches leaning towards scripture as prime authority (clearly exemplified by St Mark) and liberal Christians taking reason as prime authority, while High Church churches continued to maintain tradition at the centre of their practices.

In Chapter 2, I invoked works by Ammerman (2006), McGuire (2008) and Woodhead (2013) to discuss the complexity of the relationships between religious practices and their associated denominational labels. In that respect, I illustrated how St Mark's leadership and members upheld a process of distinction-making by moving away from what they considered ritualized practice that carries the risk of following rules rather than engaging in the work of understanding the biblical message. Instead of enacting Church of England ceremonial practices, at St Mark's doing church was orchestrated around an intellectualist approach to developing individual and collective Christian bodies converging on worshipping a personal God. In contrast, at St Anne's, church leadership and congregants embraced ceremonial practices. The manner of distinction-making articulated by members of St Anne's was that, as a middle-of-the-road parish church, this meant 'we don't have all that incense, and we're not *that* formal, as a High Church' (their emphasis), nor were they like the 'more Evangelical, happy-clappy churches'.[78] This emphasis on the difference of the style of worship, rather than a theological debate, was very much at the core of affiliation with St Anne's; many suggested that they did not find anything 'wrong' (read: theologically wrong) with music in 'Evangelical'[79] churches, but that it was not really their 'cup of tea'.

It is in this context that Thomas' emphasis of the importance of tradition becomes particularly revealing. As he pointed out in our discussion, much of the church practice is interwoven with the thread of tradition and, as I will illustrate, with

[78] Most of St Anne's members I spoke to associated Evangelical settings with 'happy-clappy' services, namely, non-liturgical services with guitar-led and up-beat music.
[79] I use here the term 'Evangelical' in quotation marks to reflect the overarching use of this term by members of St Anne's. I did not check whether each church referred to as Evangelical by St Anne's members was indeed Evangelical under the same terms as St Mark's identifies as Evangelical.

the threads of collective memory-work and affective ties. These kinds of ties, which infuse the practice of St Anne's, are what give the expression 'middle-of-the-road parish church' its full, experiential dimension. And it was this expression whose very weight and wealth of associations took me, a non-British person from an Orthodox background baffled by the varieties of Church of England practices, a good deal of time to grasp.[80] As I came to find out in individual discussions, the associations tied to 'middle-of-the-road' as marker of church identity were of affective and embodied nature, and the flexibility of the Church of England doctrines facilitated such associations. I will explore in the section below how, as a middle-of-the-road church, St Anne's adopted and developed its current style of worship and how, by cultivating particular affective resonances, music enabled this style to infuse the memories and expectations of worship for members in St Anne's while also delimitating this collective from other ethnic Christians.

'THIS IS WHAT I GREW UP WITH' – TRADITION AND MEMORY IN THE ORCHESTRATION OF SERVICES

The story of St Anne's begins as early as the 12th century with a stone church built on the site but the church was officially attested in the 18th century. Throughout its long history, the church faced many transformations in both materials and practices, most significant of which was an almost full rebuild in the early 1970's due to an extensive fire. All these transformations contributed to a biography not only of the church, but of the local community itself. Some of the materials and practices that stand witness of St Anne's history include erecting gravestones in the churchyard for people who played a part in supporting the church throughout its past. Memorials of 'interesting or well-known people' (St Anne's historical booklet 1994:24) from the area inscribe their lives within the history of the place (see

[80] These associations, to my initial surprise, were perfectly clear and instantaneous to a British audience during a presentation in an ethnomusicology conference, where, after a short introduction referring to St Anne's being a 'middle-of-the-road' church, I received a resoundingly knowing, 'Aaah!' from my listeners.

Rowlands and Tilley 2006), while vaults and plaques displaying names of families and individuals are reminders of their bequests that have contributed to church maintenance or renovation over time. The church building, however, was almost entirely brought down in the fire:

> The new building is completely different in the interior from the one it replaced. The entrance is now under the old east window, and hence the worshipping area, almost square and seating 500, faces west, with the altar almost in the centre. The effect is of more space and greater participation in the worship of all present. The clear glass in the windows also gives more light, while the loop sound system has vastly improved the acoustics (St Anne's historical booklet 1994:24).

Bright and spacious, the main hall of St Anne's – now very different from its appearance before the fire – nevertheless incorporates in its fabric various memorials and inscribed plaques on the whitewashed walls. These plaques display names which may not be directly remembered by congregants, but they are materializations of the church's ties with the past; in this way, they contribute to forming a sense of continuity from distant times through to the present local community and the biography of the church. As we have seen in Chapter 2 and in the discussion with rector Thomas earlier in this chapter, ties to the past in the form of tradition are productive in shaping service styles and imbuing them with (religious) meaning. For John Peel, a religious tradition is the body of norms and practices that 'provide preconditions for the beliefs and practices of their contemporary adherents' (2016:111). Together with Thomas' remarks about the persistence of 'traditional' though 'non-scriptural' practices in churches, this understanding points to the blending of tradition with the formation of individual and collective memories.

A similar recognition of the impact of tradition and memory in the shaping of church life underpins Hopewell's study of congregations, in which he reflects that a congregation is 'held together by much more than creeds, governing structures and programs. At a deeper level, it is implicated in the symbols and signals of the world, gathering and grounding them in the congregation's own idiom' (1987:5). The congregation's idiom is a confluence of values, shared memories, and recognized practices, which Hopewell refers to as an 'idiomatic code by which a congregation communicates itself, enabling it to identify and integrate itself, to express its faith and love, to govern and sometimes to change its corporate behaviour' (ibid.:7). For

St Anne's members, the familiarity with the words of the liturgy, the tunes of the hymns, anthems, and mass settings, the gestures of kneeling, crossing oneself, or simply with *being in* the church, on one's usual pew, are what create a sense of affiliation to this particular church. It is not only about sharing a doctrinal position or a creed, but sharing a way of doing things. The notion of 'communities of memory' (MacIntyre 1984; Wuthnow 2003) is useful here to focus the analytical lens in this ethnographic chapter. Drawing on philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre, Robert Wuthnow discusses the role of narratives in church settings in shaping and maintaining such communities of memory where 'old stories are retold and where the retelling is accompanied with the sights, sounds, and smells that embed them in a subterranean levels of consciousness' (2003:28). By drawing on members' memories as well as affording them experiences of worship, music consolidates St Anne's as a community of memory and shapes the emergence of individual and collective bodies through the lens of the familiar. St Anne's church music sustains the convergence of individual worshippers into a collective body by reaffirming and re-performing shared modes of expressing and engendering religious significance. While this creates a sense of belonging for those already established members, the performance of this familiar, almost taken-for-granted style of being in church – or, in other words, 'what I grew up with' – would raise barriers for outsiders (be they other ethnic Christians or non-Christians). The expression 'what I grew up with' speaks of the 'born into' mode of creating a Christian identity, characteristic of the white British generation of people in their 50s and over, whose childhood, schooling and adult life were marked by a connection to the Church that shaped the cultural and social life around them (see Woodhead 2015). It also implies a mode of relationality orientated towards those who share the same style of church practice. In consequence, at times frustrating, at times awkward, my rarely direct questions about gestures, vestments or reasons for doing things a particular way had to be pushed aside and replaced by a more comprehensive observation of, and dwelling within (see Jenkins 1994), the congregation idiom. Gradually, during my time in St Anne's I came to discover how members' expectations of familiarity shaped the orchestration of services. Let us now take some time to step over the threshold of St Anne's during a Sunday morning service in order to explore what elements come together to make this weekly event of congregational gathering.

The service

On Sundays there are usually three services: a Holy Communion in the early morning following the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, a Sung Eucharist at 10 am and Evensong in the evening. The Sung Eucharist is the main Sunday morning service with the largest gathering of people, reaching on average 100 to 120 participants during my fieldwork (and as many as 200 during celebrations such as Easter or Christmas). Joining in one such service, one cannot help but recognize the rector's description of the congregation as 'mostly elderly, mostly over the age of 50, if not 60, and they represent largely the historic population of [the area], which is white British'. In Thomas' view, the congregation 'doesn't reflect so much the current population which I observe in the local primary school, which is much more ethnically mixed'. Nonetheless, the Sunday Eucharist is attended by several young families, and one can spot the vibrant energy of a few small children closely looked after by their young parents. It is uncommon for people to arrive late at St Anne's and there have been many times when almost all the congregation was already gathered half an hour before the beginning of the service, their chatter blending in with the sound of the bells ringing out. Once the time of the service arrives, people go to their usual seats and stand awaiting the opening words.

The whole of the service is entirely liturgical, the only non-scripted passages of spoken word being the intercessory prayers the sermon and the notices. As mentioned before, the sermons and the Bible passages on which they are based follow the Church of England Lectionary, but the approaches to the sermon differ quite remarkably depending on the preacher doing the sermon. For instance, rector Thomas and Maeve, one of the lay readers[81], both of whom identified themselves as being closer to the scriptural strand in the Church of England, tended to be very detailed in their sermons, unpacking each verse of a passage. Richard, another lay reader, likened Thomas' and Maeve's approach to a literary commentary in contrast to his own 'more liberal' approach, which he considered to fall closer to the 'reason' strand of the Church of England doctrinal triad. Richard also contrasted his approach

[81] As lay readers, people such as Maeve and Richard are licensed to preach and deliver some religious services (such as Evensong, assisting the celebrant with distributing the Holy Communion, conducting funerals, publishing banns of marriage) but they are not allowed to act as celebrants in Eucharist services.

with those of two other preachers in St Anne's: Amelia, a retired minister in her late 70s who still led services from time to time, and Sophia, another lay reader in her 60s, both of whom were described by church members as leaning towards the 'tradition' strand of the Church[82]. Members of St Anne's found their sermons similar to rich journeys, drawing on philosophy, history, theology; at the same time, people also suggested that as much as these sermons were fascinating, they were also sometimes difficult to follow. Taking this into consideration, Richard focused in his sermons on getting 'something spiritual to them [the congregation] that they can use in their lives *now*, not about preparing for some hereafter …' (his emphasis). For Richard, 'the church has to give people spiritual tools that are useful for them and not just tell them, "This is the way the story was, this is what it actually means." Fine, that could be interesting but… nothing in there is going to help me live better.' The different inclinations of these preachers contributed to understanding the 'middle' in 'middle-of-the-road parish church' as a balance achieved through counterweighing the different strands of scripture, reason and tradition in delivering sermons.

While most of the spoken word is framed by the liturgy, sung word takes a variety of forms. At St Anne's, music is synonymous with the organ and the choir; very rarely, a piano is used. The choice of music is divided so that the director of music, Valerie, chooses the anthems and mass settings, while rector Thomas chooses the congregational hymns. The two discuss their choices together, but not on a regular, formal basis.

As described in the opening vignette, a Sunday-morning service begins with a very short introduction and announcement of the opening hymn; with the sound of the organ, the robed ministers, servers, and choir proceed to their assigned places on the chancel at the front and the choir pews on the right side of the chancel and organ. In trying to probe what congregants thought about this marked separation between ministers, servers, and choir as those who perform the service and the congregation, as those who take part at particular, assigned moments, I was met with the ever-present reply, 'Tradition!' None of the people I spoke to felt that material markers such as vestments and spatial division between ministers and choir, at the front, and the congregation, facing them, instilled an experience of rupture in the unity of the

[82] In St Anne's both women and men act as lay readers or ordained ministers and can preach. Both women and men can and do participate in all aspects of the church, be that preaching, serving coffee after service, bell-ringing or acting in the PCC. Church members found this aspect represented their values for an inclusive church practice.

service. For some, the vestments linked back to what they described as a brighter past of the church when the congregation and the choir were more numerous. For others, such as George, a church and choir member in his mid-30s whose ties with St Anne's go back to his days as a choirboy, these vestments were merely 'uniforms [...] to distinguish who's who in the service'. These markers have become deeply ingrained in the congregation idiom and expectations of church practice for those who have been part of St Anne's for many years; in such a setting, one of my few direct questions – asking a long-standing member of St Anne's, a lovely gentleman in his 80s, his opinion about the choir wearing robes – brought me into what I saw at the time as an impasse. 'I'm not too bothered about it... they have always worn robes', he attempted as a clarification to my question which, as I learnt later, had left him quite bamboozled and amused.

I will now turn to discussing the Eucharist and the music. I focus on the Eucharist and the music for two main reasons: first, these two elements were invoked by members of St Anne's as the moments of most significance in the service. Second, these elements provide a parallel to the discussion of the orchestration of services in St Mark's. While St Mark's ministers and music leaders used service elements to lead up to and reinforce the sermon, the liturgical script of St Anne's services creates a similar effect of a forward movement, a journey towards the moment of the Eucharist, 'where there's a sense of where you're going, with a beginning, a middle and an end', as many of St Anne's members described it. Grounded in this ethnographic exploration, Chapter 5 will build on this parallel between sermons in St Mark's and the Eucharist in St Anne's to illustrate that each focal point – and the music associated with it – creates different modes of eliciting collective bodies.

The Eucharist – Sharing in the Body and Blood of Christ

Years had passed since I had last taken communion in an Orthodox church at home, probably sometime during Easter, together with my mother. So, when I was invited by one of St Anne's sidemen[83] during my first visit to join the others in

[83] Sidemen are church assistants responsible with greeting congregants, helping with seating arrangements and with taking collection. They are appointed from among the congregants.

kneeling at the communion rail to share the bread and the wine, I was startled, not knowing whether to partake. In contrast to St Mark's, at St Anne's no one had asked me whether I was a Christian; moreover, the very invitation to Communion uttered by the celebrant expressed that anyone who 'normally receive[s] bread and wine from your church, you're welcome to receive here. If you do not, please come forward to receive a blessing.' So, following in the steps of those in front of me, I reached the communion rail, received the bread – in the form of a wafer, which made me think of Catholic services I had seen in films – drank the wine from the chalice and responded, 'Amen!' to the celebrant's offering of 'The body of Christ' and 'The blood of Christ'.

A few weeks into my fieldwork, my sense of uneasiness as to whether it was right for me to take part in Holy Communion slowly softened. This was all due to my discussions with ministers and members of St Anne's, who shared with me their very personal approaches to taking meaning from the Eucharist. The Eucharist is an entirely liturgical act, from the prayers that are voiced by the celebrant when he or she is blessing the Elements (the name for the bread and the wine used for Eucharist), to the gestures of handling the Elements, to the words of offering them to each person and the latter's response. The solemnity of this moment in the service is reinforced by the use of objects such as a specially bound Bible, a large crucifix, a cruet (small container with a flat bottom, narrow neck, and lid, used to keep the wine for the Eucharist) and chalice (a large goblet, usually made of metal, used to share the wine during the Eucharist) where the wine and bread (in the form of wafers), are kept. The Eucharist is performed by the celebrant with the help of several ministers. Their gestures – making the sign of the cross, performing the ceremonial cleansing before handling the Communion vessels, moving around the table, lifting the Bible and the Communion vessels – convey the same air of gravity.

As mentioned previously, the liturgy marks the traditional form of words proposed by the Church of England, and it only changes according to the seasons of the liturgical year. Consequently, in this focal moment of the service, this form of words is what mediates the experience of the person who takes communion, rather than the celebrant's strategy or style of delivering the Eucharist. It is this kind of depersonalization which can render the Eucharist and the service meaningful to worshippers such as Melinda, a British lady in her early 50s and one of the altos in

the choir. Coming from an 'Evangelical, more informal background',[84] Melinda settled on what she described as the 'very formal, more High Church approach' of St Anne's because

> to me, the beauty of the words of the service, the beauty of the music in the service and the liturgy meant that it was depersonalized. To me, the formality of the service is about depersonalization and concentration on worship and God, not on the people who are leading it.

Melinda found liturgy enabling her to focus on the words and on God precisely because, in its scripted nature, it effaced the personality of the celebrant. While in St Mark's, ministers sought to guide the focus towards the words and the message of the sermon, this depersonalization that Melinda identified in the liturgy could not really be performed. In St Mark's, while the biblical message stayed constant, preachers had developed personal styles in delivering their sermons, and members of St Mark's were very much aware of these different approaches.

For Melinda, the script of the liturgy aided in creating an intimate moment of connection between her and God. The structure and the repetition of the liturgy created a reliable familiarity which, in Melinda's case, stripped the moment of Communion of any distractions. However, as we have seen argued by St Mark's members, this strength of the script can also be its major weakness; this was indeed a point that did not go unnoticed, or unfelt, by members of St Anne's. Eliza, also a member of the choir, a gracious lady in her early 60s, described to me, with a kind and thoughtful smile, her own experience of the liturgy: 'With any set liturgical service, there's always this balancing between the sense of reassurance and continuity that comes from the familiarity, but there are times when one can just switch off from it because we're overfamiliar.' In Eliza's case, her own experience of the Eucharist was complemented and substantiated by the singing of the anthem that accompanied this act. The order in which the bread and the wine were shared began with the ministers, followed by the organist and choir and then by the congregation. This order allowed the choir to settle back in their pews and sing the anthem while the congregation shared in the Eucharist. In the instances when she felt confident and

[84] Her description of the Evangelical church overlapped with St Mark's description in terms of being very much centred on reading and understanding the Bible. However, the Evangelical church she attended before St Anne's did not share quite the same suspicion of emotion as St Mark's, and their services were less structured.

at ease in singing the particular anthem chosen for the service,[85] Eliza described the music as enhancing her experience of the Eucharist and creating a space for reflection or thinking about God.

But if following a liturgical script runs the risk of worshippers detaching from its meaning, a few other members of St Anne's pointed out to me that it also runs the risk of not creating an attachment in the first place. Richard, the liberal lay reader introduced in the earlier section, explained to me that 'if you're someone who wants to test the waters, you'd feel quite alienated by the Eucharistic service'. Furthermore, Richard emphasized that the meaning that he himself found in the act of the Eucharist could not be grasped if one were not able, due to not having been confirmed, to actually share the bread and wine. Whether people who have not been confirmed should be allowed to take Holy Communion was a point of some contention in St Anne's, and it remains an unresolved issue in the Church of England. Richard's point then touches on the issue of the potential audiences who could be reached by the liturgy of the Eucharist. For Richard, the very act of sharing – understood as 'using in common with others' – was essential for finding meaning in the Eucharist. I recognize in Richard's description the aspiration for a sense of unity between different individuals, of assuming the risks that sometimes arise from being a collective body.

> For me, Communion is about consolidating fellowship and community, to take the body of Christ, therefore symbolically taking the bread and the wine from a corporate… from a common chalice, you're affirming your commitment to be part of that body. It's that connectivity... which is why I actually think that aspect of Communion is more solemnly expressed when you drink from the chalice and not intinct [the wafer] with [the wine]… and I think those who are doing that are actually missing the point, but they probably never thought about it... some people do that, of course, because they're afraid of disease.

As we have seen in this section, the Eucharist, as focal point of the service, had various and deeply personal significances for different people, which ranged from religious experiences of communion with God to the experience of being incorporated in a collective body. The liturgical script of the Eucharist and the service delivers a journey that takes the members of St Anne's on familiar routes,

[85] The aspect of one's confidence and experience in singing, and how these influence the sense of a Christian self and experience, will be discussed in Chapter 4 and 5.

creating anticipation and intensity as well as detachment. The church leadership take on the responsibility of enacting this liturgy shaped by doctrine and tradition, leaving the worshipper to discipline one's mind and reflect on both moments of heightened experience and disengagement. For Keith, the witty gentleman in his late 70s whom I introduced at the very beginning of this thesis, these acts of reflection and the liturgical pattern are complementary:

> I think it's terribly important every week to focus upon the reason why you're doing what you're going to do and why you did what you did, hopefully good things. That's why I think it is important to follow a set pattern because that is all the time rebuilding the fire.

The liturgical script creates a set pattern within which individuals can fashion their own personalized modes of engaging and reflecting upon the religious material – prayers, the Eucharist, the Bible. 'Rebuilding the fire', as Keith put it, is not reliant only on the liturgy, but is significantly anchored in the particular style of music that is intertwined with the liturgical script in Sunday Eucharist services. While in St Mark's, music was deliberately employed by music leaders to reinforce the message of the sermon and, in view of this, the stylistic distinctions between songs were minimal, in St Anne's, musical forms and practice reflect the role played by collective memory and congregational expectations in the orchestration of the service.

CATHEDRAL-STYLE MUSIC IN A PARISH CHURCH

An Eucharist service displays a rich sonic texture punctuated by stylistically distinct musical forms of organ-accompanied hymns, where the congregation join in; anthems, sung by the choir only; and mass settings, sung by the choir and sometimes containing short parts for the congregation; the latter two can be either accompanied or not by the organ. What is more, the different voice registers can be clearly noticed, since the choir, made up of around 16 men and women[86] who are members of the congregation, cover the four voice registers – sopranos, altos, tenors and basses – and

[86] There are 16 regular choir members and around five others who join from time to time.

singing is not amplified through a sound system.[87] The fact that the organ is the sole instrument used in services underscores its range of nuanced sonic qualities. Furthermore, sung and spoken word are interlaced throughout the course of the service with set prayers, mass settings and hymns flowing from one into the next. The solemn, measured delivery of the liturgical script imparts a rhythmic aurality that creates a sense of fluid transitions between spoken and sung sections in the service.

St Anne's diverse musical forms display a form of distinction between congregation and choir, illustrated also by the specific vestments worn by the choristers. One can recall that in St Mark's, such markers of distinction were considered obstacles to creating a body of worshippers, so in order to grasp their significance in the context of St Anne's, one needs to unravel the kinds of affordances they create. The fact that choices about different musical forms are divided between rector Thomas and director of music Valerie further speak of the potential distinct effects and roles musical forms play in shaping services. By considering their guiding principles in choosing music, we can begin to contextualize the significance and effect of the various musical forms in the orchestration of service.

Hymns, the congregational musical forms in the service, are Thomas' responsibility. In choosing, Thomas sought to find 'hymns [...] relatively easy to sing' and further explained that 'sometimes, when there is a tune set in the [hymn] book which I think is difficult but I like the words of that hymn, then I will find another tune which I think is easier or already familiar to the congregation.' Using a familiar tune was crucial for a congregation that is not too large and that is led by a choir using no amplification system. Despite the fact that the sound of the organ[88] could potentially hide the congregation's difficulty in following a tune, Valerie and Thomas, as well as other ministers and church members, were acutely sensitive to the unsettling atmosphere that could arise when a tune was too difficult to hold. We can recognize in Thomas' strategy of choosing easy-to-sing congregational hymns one of the guiding principles that St Mark's music leaders also follow in choosing music.

[87] The choir do not make use of any electronic amplification system; it is only the celebrant and the preacher whose voices are amplified using lavalier microphones. Since the hall of the church is very spacious and open, their voices would echo too much and be unintelligible without amplification.

[88] The organ is often associated with loud, all-encompassing sounds. However, it is an instrument that can also produce very soft, nuanced, subtle notes.

Nevertheless, the emphasis in St Anne's fell on the familiarity of tunes, thus appealing to congregants' memory rather than strategically drawing on stylistic qualities that would make it easy to join in. Congregational participation was highly valued in St Anne's, with members explaining that 'if you can't be part of it [the music], then you can't make it your own'.

In the case of most hymns sung in the church, church members knew the texts and tunes by heart. As Lena, one of the altos, explained, 'Hymn-singing is such a tradition in the English Church […]. It is a very distinctive element of the English Church.' It is indeed an element that all the people I spoke to in St Anne's grew up with, shaping the basis of what made churchgoing meaningful and characteristic for them. The foundational dimension of such a tradition can be noted in the almost complete reliance[89] on the *Common Praise* hymnbook, which continues, in a new edition and under a different title, the collection of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, one of the earliest and most enduring hymnbooks in the Church of England. The use of this time- and church-vetted collection of hymns, together with its affective anchorage in the childhood memories of St Anne's members, render it as a site of safe provenance for the hymn texts. As such, Thomas sought to ensure that the hymn's subject was appropriate to the particular liturgical season or celebration, but the choosing strategy did not extend to the meticulous examination of words, as was the case in St Mark's. The book – that is, the hymnbook – affords a sense of coherence that encompasses the structure of the service, integrating it in the timeline of the liturgical year; at the same time, it maintains the coherence of the style of service since, as Patrick, one of the tenors explained, it 'has hymns in it that fit together with the music we do'. The choice of anthems will illuminate the significance of this sense of fitting together.

Valerie, despite being only in her mid-20s, has had a long professional training as an organist and soprano, having finished a music degree. As the director of music who acted as organist and choirmaster, she was in charge of choosing the anthems and mass settings. Valerie relied on her experience and knowledge of the sacred music genre and made use of the Royal School of Church Music *Sunday by*

[89] During my fieldwork, the only times when hymns from other sources were sung in St Anne's were during 'All Age' services, addressed to children, and during services with baptisms or other such celebrations when those directly involved in the celebration could request particular hymns to be sung.

Sunday magazine,[90] which contains week-by-week sacred music recommendations for the various stages of the liturgical year. Valerie's guiding principles in choosing music were to maintain a balance between pieces that 'challenge the choir', in order to develop their singing abilities and repertoire, while also providing the service with a musical dimension that the congregation could respond to. This was indeed echoed in choristers' and members' descriptions of music. For instance, Melinda, one of the choir members whom I mentioned before, described the music at St Anne's as 'something that is a very well-written piece of music, a recognized [piece], a very beautiful piece [...] that is normally often quite challenging but is something that we do to the best that we possibly can to the glory of God.' Here, the music delivered in service needs to frame worship in a style and calibre of singing that are recognized as being of a high standard. Melinda's remark further synthesized a sense of expectation of 'good quality' music and singing that I had heard members mention in our after-service chats, since 'a lot of the congregation also expect that from the nature of worship in this church.'

The basis of these expectations reveals the mutually shaping dynamics between the director of music, choir, and congregation. My attempts to understand church members' responses to the style of music chosen at St Anne's were guided by some participants towards the status of the director of music as a paid employee of the church. Lena, who had been with the church for over 30 years, explained that people in the congregation made their feelings known about music. 'That's quite right', she asserted, 'because, you know, we employ an organist to be our musical director, so it's quite right that it should reflect them [church members' music expectations]. We employ the musical director, so they have a right to say what they want.' In St Anne's, the church income (gained from endowments, a trust and regular congregational contributions) was carefully discussed and apportioned by the PCC (the Parish Church Council), with decisions discussed and agreed with the congregation in an annual meeting. While all the people I spoke to expressed their trust in Valerie's discernment in choosing music, they also expressed their ease in providing less positive feedback. Such feedback would include perceptions that a piece did not fit with the service as a whole or could have been sung better. It appears, then, that the forces that shape the choice of music, especially anthems, at St

[90] For more detail about this resource, see *https://www.rscm.com/music-and-resources/our-magazines/planning-worship/sunday-by-sunday-magazine/*, accessed 10 March 2017.

Anne’s emerge from an act of reflecting on the existing congregation’s expectations of style and standard. Members of the congregation distilled what met these expectations into one expression: cathedral-style music.

After having pestered St Anne’s members with questions about what a middle-of-the-road church was, I found myself on another task – that of unpacking the significances that church members felt gave substance to the style of music in St Anne’s. In prompting my interlocutors to describe the music in their church, in most instances the answer came simply as, ‘It’s a good attempt at cathedral-style music’. It took the ‘clueless anthropologist’ many further promptings in order to arrive at some of the aspects that play into what makes this expression illustrative of music practice in St Anne’s. For instance, Melinda explained that the most obvious aspect of what made ‘cathedral-style music’ was the repertoire, which in her view reflected at times ‘almost a musical snobbery about music post-1700. We have a strong repertoire in that because people value the complexity of that music and also find a great beauty in it.’[91] Lena considered St Anne’s ‘attempt’ at cathedral-style music in terms of singing standards:

> We have a good attempt at it [cathedral-style music] by singing the anthem, singing the services,[92] singing Compline, and that’s what most cathedrals do, and they do it very well because they’ve got professional choirs [...]. And we have a good go at being good like them – obviously we’re not as good as them, but I think a lot of people appreciate having a parish church locally that they can go to [to listen to this kind of music].

Among choristers and the rest of St Anne’s members, there is a certain sense of pride and accomplishment in delivering this kind of music. In part, this comes from a certain mark of quality associated with cathedral choirs among the white British population in Britain. From the late 19th century onwards, cathedrals developed an image of high-quality singing and repertoire that emphasized the ‘“Englishness” of English music’ (Mackerness 2013:261).

[91] This attribution of value to music from before the 1700s stems from a highly influential movement in the history of the Church of England – the Oxford Movement, also known as the Tractarians, active in the first part of the 19th century. In the background of the Romantic current in art and music, which emphasized a nostalgic embrace of antiquity, this group of clergymen emphasized that church music should be awe-inspiring. The only music deemed to possess such a quality was that of 16th- and 17th- century composers such as Tallis, Tye, Gibbons, or Ravenscroft (Temperley 1983:247; see Chapter 1). Pieces by these composers represent a significant proportion of St Anne’s repertoire.

[92] She refers to singing, rather than saying, the words of the Mass.

However, what provides depth of experience to the musical complexity of the repertoire for members of St Anne's is that they recognize and resonate with the particular affective dimensions cathedral-style music instils. In reflecting on the styles of music in other churches, most comparisons were drawn to 'happy-clappy' music – meaning, in a nutshell, more upbeat and guitar-led – which people in St Anne's associated with Evangelical[93] services. What emerged from these comparisons were not so much views that such music would be wrong for religious practice but that, for members of St Anne's, it did not provide the affective environment they resonated with. For instance, Patrick explained to me candidly that:

> I think it's a perfectly valid way to have music in the church [referring to 'happy-clappy' music]. Those people who benefit from it, I think that's what they should do, but I don't benefit from it – I've never moved in circles where I listened to popular music, I have a long history of singing in choirs and we always did classical, art music of the kind... something like what we do in St Anne's.

For Patrick, this particular kind of music, his lifelong practice of singing and listening to this music style, and his religious identity and experience are intertwined. As we can see, the particular cultural context in which Patrick has been active has shaped the potential affective resonances that he displays in connection to particular styles of music. Echoing Bourdieu's description of the habitus (1977), Patrick's sense of religious experience has developed intrinsically connected with the taste for a particular kind of music, so much so that 'if we did [contemporary 'happy-clappy' music] all the time, then I would be looking for another church – I wouldn't stay.'

What is evident in Patrick's remarks, and what emerged in discussions with many of St Anne's members, is a sense of self-awareness and understanding that their experiences of services and music are contingent on the particular tradition and collective memory within which they operate. In this respect, the organ stands as an illustrative example of how members of St Anne's navigate issues regarding how to offer a satisfactory environment for the existing congregation while also appealing to potential new congregants. Once again, Patrick's insightful reflections suggest the emerging difficulties in a setting of established affective resonances:

[93] For most members of St Anne's, 'Evangelical' conveys a picture of more informal, less liturgical services, with pop-song-sounding music and people who follow the Bible teaching to the letter, especially on issues of gender, homosexuality, and other social issues.

> I think you can have a wonderful tradition, a religious tradition without all the organ, but it is a part of the tradition within which we operate. I think St Anne's organ is a particularly fine instrument, I could hear that early on, in the precision, clarity and richness of sounds it can produce, but all that stuff... again, it draws upon a culture where I grew up with these instruments and I've got an understanding of the potential. Bring someone outside that tradition, they could see it's a complicated thing, and they could see it's a beautiful piece of furniture and they could hear the sounds are interesting, but they just don't have the background and experience to connect to it more than that.

Patrick unambiguously pinpoints that what stands between a new congregant and a member who was brought up with this style of music is an experiential dimension shaped through affective ties and memory-work developed by regular attendance and participation in church services and activities.

'Performing' music, 'performing' worship

Members of St Anne's expressed an awareness that because of the memory-based nature of such affective resonances, the image their church conveyed to new congregants could make it seem as though emphasis was placed on music rather than on worship. 'People think we worship the organ', Judith, another long-standing member of St Anne's, told me half-jokingly, half-worriedly, a day or two after the parochial meeting. Her remark was made even more poignant because one of the items on the meeting's agenda was the significant cost spent on refurbishing the organ. The organ is the first thing one sees as one enters the church, its shiny pipes spread across the central section of the wall opposite the entrance, almost looming over the modest chancel with its table and seats in lightly coloured, simply cut lines. Its sight and sound are materials in the fabric of the experience of churchgoing, an aspect that Patrick repeatedly emphasized in our discussions. His reflections, together with Judith's remark – perhaps motivated by my standing in front of the organ, looking up at the pipes in a way that must have clearly expressed my fascination with this instrument – once again suggested to me an underlying tension.

The question of worship versus music that the discussion about the organ introduced was, in fact, one aspect of a more complex underlying issue regarding the

risk of performance in worship and music. The issue of performance emerged in many of my discussions with members of St Anne's, but it was particularly prevalent among choristers. As mentioned earlier, part of Valerie's rationale in choosing music was to productively challenge the singers with pieces that were more technically demanding. At the same time, singers expressed their openness and wishes to be challenged in such a manner. In this context, 'performance' denoted for singers a too-noticeable change in focus from worship to technical prowess in music. Keith, who not only had a keen musical ear but had also been a member of St Anne's for over 50 years, pointed out that the technical complexity of the repertoire could make the service vulnerable to being turned into a 'performance'. He emphasised his concern by stating that the service 'is not a concert'. After expressing that he sometimes felt that the director of music was 'pushing them [the choristers] just for the sake of pushing them', Keith also anticipated, with nuanced insight, Valerie's probable reaction to his remark: 'I'm sure she would defend herself and say no because the sentiments are always driven on the sacred.'

However, Keith distinguished between the declared intentions of practice being driven by 'the sacred' (however that may be conceived) and the actual delivery of music. In his view, 'I do feel there are times when it sounds more like a concert performance... or what is being prepared sounds like a concert's performance.' Despite not articulating with precision what made the music sound more like a concert performance, Keith did imply a particular affective dimension which, in his view, pertained more to a concert setting rather than a church service. Importantly, he singled out the acts of preparation in music practice which seemed to confer the musical act a 'performance-like' quality. The subtle ways in which choristers and musicians in each church navigate these worship and performance dimensions will form part of the explorations of sound, space, and bodies in Chapters 4 and 5. It is nevertheless essential to register here the issue of the risk of performance, as it is an integral part of music practice in St Anne's. What is more, it speaks of the intricate and delicate ways in which musical and worship experience can converge and diverge in the same setting. Further, it points to an underlying tension of music practice in a church where tradition and memory are strands that interweave in the orchestration of services and church life.

If choristers underlined similar aspects regarding the 'risk' of performance, their narratives about the significance of worship through music were more divergent

and personalized. In fact, as we have seen throughout the sections on the Eucharist and music in St Anne's, these narratives revealed a sense of agency in engaging with and ascribing significance to religious material (be that the Eucharist, music or worship). In contrast to St Mark's, the manner of engaging with religious material in St Anne's is more diffuse, as is the relation to Christianity itself. Chapter 2 illustrated how in St Mark's there are deliberate efforts to direct the worshipper's attention towards a particular kind of relationship to a specific image of God, namely, a personal relationship with a God whose character was considered to be accurately described in the Bible. In this context, members of St Mark's described 'Christianity' as the only path to the God conveyed in the Bible; they aimed to dissociate such 'Christianity' from ritualism, which they felt drew a worshipper's attention away from the biblical message. In contrast, in St Anne's, there were fewer strategic efforts to direct members' attention towards a specific image of God or towards a particular mode of maintaining a relationship with God. In sermons, 'Christianity' was described as a 'tradition' which had to be engaged in with wisdom, awareness and reflexivity. In one of the sermons, Sophia, the well-travelled and well-read lay reader in her 60s, expressed that 'the Church [of England] does have a long tradition of wisdom', but also that there is 'a lot of sifting to do in a 2,000-year-old tradition.'

The sense that Christianity was but one way to God was also echoed in one of the house groups I attended. While St Anne's did not, at the time of my fieldwork, have a large number of prayer or Bible study groups, several members mentioned a couple of (usually) monthly house groups where prayers, discussions and friendship blended together. On one such occasion, one of the participants started the meeting with a prayer affirming that 'we know that this [Christianity] is just one way to get to you [God]'. The fact that people were comfortable with this positionality in relation to God re-emerged in several of my individual recorded discussions with church members. For Doris, for instance:

> Having been to this house group [...] I come to the conclusion that all of us in the church probably have our own views on belief, which will not be the same as the person we're sitting next to. And yet we all generally subscribe to a loving God and trying to live out the message in the world and trying to do things as best as we can for ourselves and for other people. I don't think one can ask more than that, really.

For these members of St Anne's, *the message* is distilled into the image of a loving God; on that basis, to various degrees, people develop their individual modes of fashioning their religious selves. Let us now turn to the congregants of this middle-of-the-road parish church in order to illuminate some of their modes of engaging with and understanding Christianity and worship. We saw that the deliberate focus on the primacy of biblical knowledge by St Mark's church leadership was echoed in congregants' narratives of choosing to be Christians; in turn, this shaped their practices of doing church. Similarly, in order to understand practices of doing church in this middle-of-the-road parish church, we need first to consider how members of St Anne's fashion and reflect upon their religious selves.

THE CONGREGANTS OF ST ANNE'S

'That's far!' – followed by a look of surprise and almost incredulity – was people's usual response in St Anne's when I would tell them where I lived and that it took me around an hour and a half to get to the church. All members of St Anne's lived in the local area, no further than a 15-minute drive away. Those with cars would stop by to pick up their neighbours and friends and travel together to the church, while others would take a leisurely walk to arrive at St Anne's. Many Sunday mornings, on walking up the slope to the church door, I would see car after car pulling up in front of the church, letting the chatty passengers get out, with the driver quickly finding a more suitable parking spot and following them into the church. Many times, I wished I had lived on someone's way to church and had a chatty journey to St Anne's as opposed to turbulent tube travel.[94]

From my early weeks of fieldwork, it was apparent that locality and proximity to the church played an important part in people's attending St Anne's. Many of St Anne's members recalled their stepping across the threshold of St Anne's as a result of having moved to the area and taking the 'natural' step towards finding the 'closest local church'. Some – like Keith, among others – were married here (by

[94] By the end of my fieldwork, my wish partly came true, as I was warmly integrated into this practice by being offered rides to the tube station after the evening services.

virtue of them living in the parish, in which St Anne's served as parish church) and felt that this step in their adult life called for a more substantial involvement in the local community and that regular churchgoing was an instrumental part of that. For others, such as Doris, 'I knew I needed to get involved in the community and also to have something to take [her young daughter] to.' Attending St Anne's had 'a major impact' on Doris' life, as it allowed her to become integrated into a group of young mothers, thus providing her with a group that shared her life experience and anxieties of raising a small child. For others still – such as Sara, who noted, 'I just liked the building, I liked the atmosphere, I liked Amelia [one of the ministers]' – we note the importance of the affective resonances that the space of St Anne's creates. Even in the case of Sara, who did not specifically mention community, her response to the atmosphere in the church is also a response to the people involved in creating such an atmosphere, an aspect which emerged throughout my discussion with her.

These snippets of conversations about settling in St Anne's hint at the diversity in people's reasons about joining St Anne's while pointing to an underlying association between being a part of the community, maintaining a family life and churchgoing. Once one becomes a regular member, one notes that St Anne's orchestration of services does not propose a clearly defined approach to what a Christian life should be; one discovers instead that, to reiterate Sophia's earlier point, there is 'a lot of sifting to do' in the Christian tradition. While St Mark's proposes an intellectualist approach to a Christian life, in St Anne's, people encounter a more diffuse enforcement of doctrinal framework within which to navigate their own individual religious identities. As we will see in the following section, this approach fosters the emergence of personal religiosities based on diverse engagements with, and interpretations of, Anglican theology.

Worshipping and the making of personal religiosities

> The way I feel about worship is that I need to be respectful toward God. He is the most important – or She, or... I really don't like to bother too much about 'He' or 'She', but we are there to connect to God in some way […]. 'Worship Him' means adulation, that is, He the most wonderful supreme being and how lucky we are that He is there for us, to acknowledge that and say thank you, to also listen... worship is a way of being with God, aware of God in so

> many different ways... I love being outside to have the fresh air, to look at the leaves, to listen to the birds – that's being aware of God as well. So I think that's part of worship, too.

'How fitting!' I thought of the calming but strong rain that struck the green trees in the garden as Sara, a chorister in her mid-50s, thoughtfully articulated her sense of worship. Her reflections reminded me of other similar discussions with members of St Anne's that emphasized a sense of awareness and being in nature in relationship to their sense of God. The smell of rain burst through the partly open windows and, together with its sonorous ripples, engulfed the dusty scents and packing sounds that go together with moving house, a task which Sara had gracefully paused in order to sit and speak with me. This word, 'worship', permeated the narratives of people in both churches I had spent time in, but – as I was sensing it then with Sara as well as with many of her fellow church members – the significances attributed to this act and experience signalled different ways of conceiving of and relating to God. While St Mark's members emphasized deepening one's biblical knowledge in order to build a personal relationship with a God who 'wants interaction', in St Anne's, people reflected on their religious identities in reference to a more porous understanding of God and modes of relating to the divine often framed within the sphere of 'spirituality'. Sometimes directly referring to this term, other times describing their practices in terms of 'meditation', 'awareness', 'being in nature' or 'unity', people in St Anne's conveyed a sense of their religious identity which incorporated a range of such references.

A word that is none too easy to define (see Rose 2001), 'spirituality' has established usages in both Christianity and new religious movements. As sociologists Linda Woodhead and Giselle Vincett point out, the term was originally used to refer to the mystical strands of mainline religious traditions such as Eastern Orthodox Christianity or Catholicism (2016:320). However, beginning in the 19th century, 'spirituality' began to denote alternatives to mainline religions and introduced a contrast between 'religion' – understood as doctrinal authority that overtakes individual experience – and 'spirituality' – in reference to practices and understandings of that which is 'most sacred or of ultimate concern' (ibid). In studies on new religious movements or, indeed, lived religion, the 'spiritual'–'religious' binary is built mostly on the opposition between the non-institutional and the institutional spheres of practice (see Heelas and Woodhead 2005; Aupers and

Houtman 2006, 2007; Lynch 2007; Van der Veer 2008). However, sociologist Nancy Ammerman argues that, at least in the case of the United States, the evidence of such a binary is 'ambiguous at best' (2013:258), explaining that spirituality is 'neither an individualised phenomenon nor a single cultural alternative to "religion"' (ibid.). While Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead argued in 2005 (see also Heelas 2007) that in the case of the United Kingdom, 'very little overlap proves to exist between the congregational domain and the spiritual milieu', discussions with members of St Anne's echo Ammerman's illustrations of the interweaving workings of notions of 'religion' and 'spirituality'.

My discussion with Sara complemented my time spent with her and her fellow church members in that it illuminated the way in which she integrated church practice within the Anglican framework – attending services, taking communion, taking part in building community around the parish church – with what she described as more spiritual practices. As a Benedictine oblate (a lay member of this Anglican religious order),[95] she explained that following the prayers and meditation practices set out by the order provided her with a daily rhythm and a more focused experience of prayer. At the same time, Sara also described her practice of mindfulness, yoga, and 'ordinary' activities such as walking as kinds of meditation. Between all such practices, Sara positioned Christianity as but one of the paths towards a relation to the divine:

> I would like to think of all the faiths that basically have the same underlying ethics of Christianity as being different ways of just getting to the same place. I would choose a philosophy that said that different cultures have developed different faiths to get to the same point. Jesus said, 'I am the Way, the Truth and the Life', I'm not disputing that, but I would like to broaden and learn from other faiths because they may have an aspect in their faith that could complement mine.

Sara situated notions such as 'ethics', 'philosophy', 'faith' and 'path' in the same context with Christianity, showing a comprehensive relation to engaging with or seeking the divine. While her focus was Jesus, we cannot overlook Sara's wish to expand the ways in which she can broaden her faith and orient herself towards the divine. In an enactment of what Ammerman calls 'theistic spirituality' (2013:266–

[95] An order consists of a community of people who vow to live under a common rule of life. Each order defines its own rules, which can be more or less flexible.

68), Sara conveys an expansive range of aspects – the song of the birds and the path to the Truth alike – that she then refers back to God. However, Ammerman describes a personal God as a dimension of theistic spirituality; in Sara's case, we see that despite the fact that she names Jesus and God, she encompasses her spiritual experiences in terms of 'awareness' and 'faith' that get you 'to the same place' or 'the same point', rather than to a personal God as described in Ammerman's study.

Indeed, Sara's views were echoed by many other of St Anne's members. While being very open in her discussion with me about her views about different faiths being different paths towards the same destination, Sara confessed that 'I don't know whether I would dare say that to the clergy in St Anne's'. As agents of the authorised doctrinal stance of the Church of England, through their very presence, the ministers are perceived as manifestations of doctrine. Nevertheless, Sara emphasized that, for her, St Anne's services felt like 'a complete whole. There is a beginning, there is the Liturgy of the Word, the Consecration, the Eucharist...' she continued, punctuating the journey the service created for her as worshipper. For Sara, the style of service and the practice provide a structured and meaningful framework that is sufficiently flexible so as to enable her to combine various spiritual practices and still feel integrated among other worshippers.

The invocation of spirituality as the texture of religious identity was not always anchored in references to God or Jesus. For Eliza, one of the sopranos in the choir, churchgoing is a regular practice and 'a consistent part of my life. I miss the odd Sunday, but it is something important to me and is part of the fabric and rhythm of my life, really.' Having been brought up in 'a Christian family', Eliza described Christianity as always having been 'somehow part of my life'. While she did not undertake specific practices outside of the church to develop her sense of spirituality, she expressed the way in which church worship afforded her the time, space and affective dimensions to relate to what she considered to be the divine. For Eliza, acts of worship were emotional and provided her with a sense of connection and realization that 'there is actually a loving presence kind of underpinning our lives'. Apart from her direct references to the emotional dimension that worship affords her, Eliza also conveyed her experience in relation to 'a loving presence' invoking intimate affective and sensorial imagery: 'Even when life is very painful and difficult and messy […] there is something in worship and music and prayer that just gives me a sort of being sustained, being held'. This evocative point of reference suggests

her understanding of the divine as a permeable mesh, rather than a specific personal God. Despite the apparent ineffable quality of this presence, Eliza reasserted in our discussion that:

> There have been some real losses and sadnesses and disappointments and real challenges, but I've had a growing sense that underneath all of this […] my faith has deepened rather than weakened. I sometimes think to myself, 'Well, ultimately, I don't know whether this is true or not' – if we're all honest, none of us ultimately know with certainty – but what I do know is that my involvement with Christian spirituality and music at church and listening to sermons and being part of this faith community, I just know that for me... it feels emotionally nourishing, spiritually nourishing. If, at the end of the day, it all turns out to be nothing, well, it doesn't really matter, because it will have enriched me, and it's the way that's helped me to navigate some very choppy waters.

If 'Christian spirituality' is used by Sara and Eliza (as well as by other members with whom I discussed in St Anne's) as a flexible frame within which to integrate and develop their own personal spiritualities, others in St Anne's described how specifically non-Christian contexts facilitated finding moments of meaning. Such is the case of Lena, a retired music teacher and alto in the choir. In our interview, she described how she liked trying different spiritual or religious settings. She admitted that the distinction she traced between the two terms was somewhat vague for her, and she referred to the example she gave of attending Quaker meetings as both spiritual and religious. During the choir's summer break, when there were no rehearsals or choir-led services, Lena took the time to go to Quaker meetings, which she found provided a welcome change as she felt the silence provided more times for meditation or prayer. Lena's descriptions of spiritual experiences as opposed to religious ones invoked in her a sentiment of unity, of communion with the world around her:

> Last year we did a whole summer concert on trees 'cause it was right by the forest – it was perfect and although it was secular, it [was] actually sort of getting [to] be near the border of sacred, 'cause it was all about the value of trees and the love of trees, and it really was like a love-of-nature thing, a sort of pantheistic thing… It was rather special; I liked it. It was sort of spiritual without being based around Jesus Christ and all that sort of stuff, and the traditional service; it was quite [a] spiritual thing.

We see here that despite making the distinction between a 'secular' and a 'sacred' event, its importance to her spiritual experience is not robbed of richness despite not being 'based around Jesus Christ and all that sort of stuff'. In her description, Lena echoed what Taylor (2007) referred to as 'fullness' – a sense of wholeness, richness, and meaning – and what Ammerman detailed as moments 'where ordinary life is touched by an affectively charged perception that things have meaning' (2013:269). Later in our discussion, Lena reinforced this idea by stating that 'the whole religious thing – I'm a little sceptical, and I think you get spirituality from many things and music is one of them, and it doesn't have to be about Jesus Christ and so on and all that'. For Lena and Sara, spirituality seems to act as a supplement, a practice of awareness and connection to something bigger than themselves. Spiritual experiences are not delegated to a single sphere, either privately or in church, but seem to imbue practices in both; further, spiritual experiences may or may not relate back to the Christian framework.

Belonging without (necessarily) believing

On a not-so-sunny British summer day, William, one of St Anne's veteran members, generously welcomed me into his home for an interview. With a cup of tea in my hand – the 'milk and sugar, please' formula – I listened to this 90-something-year-old, very frank, and thoughtful gentleman:

> You see, I don't think I've had a [faith] journey, really. I was brought up in a village in the North of England, and I was brought right from an early age within the church. My parents sang in the service in the choir, and my father was churchwarden[96] for many years, so they were fully committed. […] I don't know really how to describe faith, particularly in the last 10 years; I'm not even sure what it is. You quickly get into the realm of exactly what the Bible is saying, and I have no faith at all, for instance, in miracles; I don't believe in them for a minute. Nor do I believe in the Virgin Birth and things like that – they're not part of my so-called faith. I suppose I've never moved out of my early life experience in the church, and I've just continued with it.

[96] A churchwarden is a lay official of the parish who represents the congregation and has the duty, among administrative responsibilities, to support good social relations between congregants.

William's narrative speaks of the 'cultural Christianity' that St Mark's members seek to move away from; being brought up in a Christian context without a wilful and committed dedication to God was not considered by St Mark's worshippers as a 'true' Christian identity. However, as Webb Keane cautions us, for the label of 'religion' to be ethnographically faithful, this analytical category 'must be capable of including not just the ardently faithful but the bored schoolboy who has memorised a credo which he recites by rote. To say that the latter is not really "religious" is to make the definition of religion, as a matter of genuine, wholehearted faith, self-confirming' (2008:S116). William's account attests to this by conveying a religiosity that draws on the affective resonances cultivated in church without subscribing to the theological content.

As a reversal of Grace Davie's notion of 'believing without belonging' (1994), William's experience as a church member highlights the productive dimension of 'cultural Christianity' in the making of Christian collective bodies. William's committed participation in church activities – as church treasurer for a number of years, as leader of intercessory prayers, as constant supporter of church activities – is a contribution to the making of St Anne's particular church experience:

> What do I get out of it [going to church]? It's a perfectly sound question to ask. I think being part of the local community; and the church community is part of the local community, so I rejoice at that and enjoy that. Of course, I take part in other aspects of the local community as well, and the church is one of those. That's how I would put it.

Irrespective of their personal engagements with Anglican theology, for St Anne's members, individual and institutional religiosities are interwoven. In light of this, the stories of people such as William are relevant to understanding lived religion because they are constitutive of the collective bodies within which individual worshippers express their religiosity. In her work on lived religion, Meredith McGuire (2008) sheds light on the practices by which religious meaning is created in everyday life, as opposed to institutional discourses and theological reflections on the significance of in-church rituals. Individual stories discussed by McGuire show that lived religion is not necessarily 'fixed, unitary, or even particularly coherent' (2008:185) and that a 'practical coherence' (ibid.:15) takes the place of a cognitive search for consistency of beliefs. That is to say, religion 'needs to make sense in

one's everyday life and it needs to be effective, to "work" in the sense of accomplishing some desired end' (ibid.).

On this idea, McGuire reflects on whether the researchers' expectancy for 'cognitive consistency between individuals' religion, as institutional frames, and a person's *actual* religion, as lived' (ibid., my emphasis) is misguided. Stories of people in St Anne's show, however, that their *actual* religion is not strictly separated between private and church settings, but that the church/institutional setting provides affordances that enable people to productively use this setting to shape their own individual religiosities, personal theologies, interpretations and narratives of what the divine and religious experience are to them. Their narratives suggest that elements from the church sphere, such as following the official liturgical structure, figure significantly in people's religious or spiritual meaning-making processes. They highlight different modes in which private and church spheres infuse each other in shaping religious experiential dimensions; echoing Orsi's notion of 'theologies of the street' – how people think, talk, and wonder about God, saints, and human lives and how that shapes their everyday acts (2010:219) – these are 'not grand coherent theories of life, but small stories that weave together pieces of a life and connect them to something bigger' (Ammerman 2016:12).

But how do these processes of weaving pieces of life into something bigger fit or integrate with collective church experiences? Further into my discussion with Lena, she asserted the convergence of individual and collective experiential meaning within the Christian framework of church services:

> I mean, yes, we sing about it [God and Jesus] every week in church, but... I think there's more to church than just worshipping God and Jesus Christ and so on... much more about community and reaching out to people, and our daily life is relevant... just going and saying a few prayers like that, it's not what it's all about.

The distinction Lena introduces is one where church life is geared towards community-making rather than intrinsically being defined by worshipping God. If, for St Mark's, doing church was aimed at gathering together the body of worshippers unified in their purpose of praising God, for St Anne's doing church emerges as practices of being together. In a similar sentiment to Lena's, Keith expressed that 'I believe in the human contact, and there needs to be togetherness; if we haven't got

togetherness, we haven't got a church.' In the final section of this chapter, the notion of doing church will help unravel the affordances and limitations of the acts of creating togetherness in St Anne's.

DOING CHURCH

'What brings you back?' was the question(ing) title of a short article in St Anne's parish magazine. After writing about the importance of the Eucharist and hearing the Bible, the author concluded that '[t]he reason for belonging to a church is also different for all of us. We have unique requirements which go beyond the act of worship; a sense of belonging, love of music, sharing a meal with company, to name a few.'

In St Anne's, elements such as a sense of belonging, sharing a meal, or even maintaining a weekly habit to punctuate the rhythm of everyday life become essential aspects of doing church. Theologian Bruce Reed frames these elements as the task of the local church to support and integrate 'anxieties associated with the profane world'(1978:148), i.e. activities not purposefully focused on worshipping God, such as socializing or enjoying artistic expression, that can nonetheless be carried out in a church setting. These acts of integration, Reed argues, enable 'individuals and institutions [...] to carry out the tasks on which the survival and well-being of their social group depends' (ibid.). It became apparent during my fieldwork in St Anne's that such acts were constitutive of members' reflection on their identities as Christians. In this light, doing church extends to what I will term 'para-religious practices' – that is, acts and gestures that are not liturgical or clearly religious, such as the sign of the cross, for example. These are acts that are nonetheless materialized within the space of the church and are significant to constituting people's sense of membership to the church; for instance, donating for flower arrangements to decorate the interior of the church in memory of someone.

Lena's and Keith's remarks about the importance of togetherness beyond worship in making a church provide clues as to the relevance of these para-religious

acts for understanding doing church in St Anne's. Yet in order to situate those clues, it is important to bring to the fore a particular condition of St Anne's, namely, the decline in number of congregants and, following from that, the role of the church in the local area. This is an issue described and experienced as pressing and urgent by many of the members of St Anne's, many of whom lived through this significant drop in numbers. Stories of full pews, as well as pictures of much larger choirs (both an adult and junior choirs in earlier days) and of a more numerous congregation punctuated most of my ad hoc and scheduled conversations with members of St Anne's. It was, however, in the Annual Parochial Meeting[97] where this issue surfaced most emphatically.

'Do we have a role in responding to the needs of the community? Worship is important, but community needs are also important.' This was Doris' straightforward question during the annual parochial meeting, which contains within it the tension inherent to maintaining a balancing act between the dimensions of familiarity and tradition as enacted through the particular service and music styles, and the challenges of changing lifestyles, expectations about spiritual and religious practices and attitudes to community-making. Doris' question exposes the complex nature of the meaning of community and worship in the context of this middle-of-the-road parish church. This issue was indeed strongly emphasized from the very start of the annual parochial meeting by rector Thomas. With his usual steady and slow-paced tone, carefully enunciating each word, Thomas opened the discussion, in which around 40 members of the congregation took part, by stating, 'We need to invite more people in.' He continued by pointing out the decline in numbers of the congregation and quoting a Church of England report showing that the memberships of two-thirds of churches in the UK were in decline. 'The church as we know it will be considerably different', he went on, trying to hint towards the necessity of being flexible in orchestrating and delivering a style of service more sensitive to the ethnic and socio-economic reconfiguration of the local area. Trying to engage the congregants in active strategies, he then directly addressed them: 'the church as we know it will be considerably different. What do we need to do to make our congregation and service more acceptable?'

[97] This is a regular meeting where church members and clergy discuss, propose, and decide upon administrative and practical aspects of church life, such as finances, maintenance works that need doing, proposals for church activities, etc.

‘An unsettling question’, I thought to myself as I remembered a discussion with Thomas in which he expressed a concern that some in the congregation were ‘perhaps more loyal to the church than to Jesus’. Aware of the growth of other churches in London, Thomas explained in one of our conversations that ‘many of the growing churches in East London are growing because they’ve had this influx of people who’ve come to this country’, echoing the findings of sociological studies on the growth and decline of Anglicanism in the UK (Goodhew 2017b). With hope, but also with awareness of the difficult path ahead, Thomas suggested that the solution lay in cultivating openness to other ethnic Christians: ‘If our church were to open the doors a bit more widely, a bit more welcoming to people of other ethnic groups, maybe we would see more of that’.

Many of those present in the meeting shared Thomas’ and Doris’ sense of urgency for change. Standing to contribute to the discussion, George gave a vehement expression of his perception of the future of the church: ‘If we continue [without making any changes], this church is going to die.’ In George’s view, much of the decline in church attendance has to do with the changes in the social setting, and he had vivid memories of how,

> when I was growing up [...] congregation had a lot more young families and I think that it illustrates perhaps what’s going on in the country today in terms of less people being inclined to attend church. Unfortunately, secularism has a louder voice in society in this country than it did previously. Sundays were a kind of family day when people went to church; now people work on Sundays, and it’s turned into just another day – which I think is a travesty, really, both for families and relationships.

While only in his mid-30s, George’s remarks illustrate an attachment to the cultural values and rhythms cultivated through the ‘Christian culture’ described by Brown (2000) and shared by the older generation in St Anne’s. Valeria, a woman in her 60s, similarly referred to the economic and professional challenges, such as limited income, increasing London living expenses or individuals working long-hours, unfulfilling jobs, which drive families further away from London. Such changes in economic and social class backgrounds bring different affordances of time and finances from those cultivated by the ‘Christian culture’ which George and Valeria took as reference points. Setting the Sunday apart as a ‘family day’ requires a certain social and economic stability which for certain minority ethnic Christians may be

difficult to ensure. In this light, by maintaining as referent British Christian patterns of practice which draw on the values and rhythms of a white, middle-class background, George and Valeria's narratives undermine their advocacy for urgent changes.

The change wrought upon community rhythms and patterns, such as Sundays as recognized family days of going to church, was extensively discussed in the parochial meeting and illustrated members' attempts to understand and respond to the changing dimensions of life in the local area. Their discussions further revealed an attempt to connect with the population of the area by establishing the church as a centre of sociality rather than through particular doctrinal principles. In other words, the discussions manifested an attempt to create a communal life, a sense of community. This echoes Woodhead et al.'s sociological observations that, historically, British churches have tended to display 'communal' rather than 'associational' characteristics (2004). More precisely, 'the congregation is not a self-contained unit concerned with those who have "converted" into its membership, but a wider unit whose life is identified with that of the society around it, the locality which it serves' (ibid.:xiii). In this light, the acts of doing church at St Anne's comprise efforts of creating togetherness within the local community and establishing the church as a relevant contribution to the local area.

Other members remarked on the failure of St Anne's and the Church of England to 'bring children in and retain them'. Echoing once again sociological studies (Voas 2017; see also Cottrell 2000:n.p; Day 2016b), St Anne's members are fully aware of the importance of drawing in the younger generations. For instance, Matthew, a man in his 40s and father of two teenage boys, recounted to me that his sons are interested in the church, but not in St Anne's. While I had seen them in service a few times, Matthew explained that they prefer to go to an Evangelical church in the area. Indeed, he said, it was more 'happy clappy', but his sons felt more involved and drawn to the music and worship style there. His older son loved playing the guitar and he felt that that church, in contrast to St Anne's, gave him the opportunity to express his musical and religious identity.

St Anne's members are caught in the arduous work of preserving tradition versus pushing forward (Foye 2015:134) and, in this, they are challenged to face the generational, ethnic and social changes in their local area and in the country as a whole. While many of them feel the urgency of a change, their indelible connection

between a form of worship and a sense of fulfilling experience, makes enacting that change a conflicting process because it forces worshippers to take on a different aesthetic of Christian worship (ibid.:138); instead of drawing on the intertwining of memory and religious practice to create and reinforce their Christian identity, St Anne's members find themselves compelled to reflect on the limitations of this mode of making Christian collectives with regard to including other ethnic Christians who seek 'to establish culturally relevant worship' (Goodhew 2017b:para.27.9).

Chapter 2 illustrates the contrasting approach that St Mark's employs to engage with ethnic Christians. I show how, in St Mark's, togetherness took the form of a body of worshippers whose coming together gained purpose when worshipping God through practices (signing songs in contemporary English, displaying the words on screen, using relatively simple rhythmic and melodic structures) accessible to a wide and diverse audience. Further, intercessory prayers and the music in St Mark's facilitated a polyphony of voices that afforded an integration of individual experiences into collective ones during services. St Anne's services also contain intercessory prayers and music, yet their anchorage in the liturgical script, as well as the different styles and forms of music, all affect the conditions and ways in which a collective experience can form. As we have seen in the first section of this chapter, the orchestration of services in St Anne's is shaped by a particular strand of Anglican tradition, as well as by memory-based expectations of the members of St Anne's. They resonate with the liturgical script and have affective ties to it, which gives substance to members' experiences of church services.

If the script enables togetherness between people who recognize its nuances, the question that emerges, then, is: how does one create togetherness when the format of services draws on deeply entrenched memory and affective resonances? As we have already seen, St Anne's members recognize that the liturgical script has a limited effect in creating togetherness for people who do not share their ties of memory and affect to this format. Consequently, church leadership and members direct their efforts towards practices of doing church that navigate the tension that arises from the need to address two different audiences: on the one hand, the established audience of church members who resonate with the service and music styles and, on the other, a potential audience that is necessary in order to maintain or grow the congregation. In this context, doing church materializes in practices of

place-making that both invoke memory-work on the part of the existing congregation and create memory for potential new congregants.

Becoming a member of St Anne's means becoming attuned to the established congregational idiom and involved in acts of memory-work. In St Mark's, we noted that financial contributions can act as a means of marking membership; similarly, in St Anne's, in addition to the cash donations that any participant can leave in the offertory basket, there is a 'regular donation' scheme in which established members take part. There is no formal admission to this scheme; a newcomer would need to spend time at St Anne's to notice the small envelopes that some people place in the basket and then ask for more information. Yet becoming a member is a process of spending time with the established members of St Anne's, listening to life stories, gradually getting to know some of the 'inside jokes', hearing about one's week during after-service coffee or keeping in touch when someone has taken ill. While such acts were present in St Mark's, a sense of membership drew more strongly from its orientation towards God and serving the church.

For the existing congregation in St Anne's, para-religious acts form part of what Hopewell termed the 'congregation idiom', shaping 'the tone, timing, and identity of life together' (1987:7). Abby Day's work (2017) provides an illustration of the effect of such para-religious acts in substantiating a sense of place. She explores the sensuous and material practices – such as polishing the pews, looking after Communion vessels or serving coffee – through which Anglican lay-women make the church feel intimate and their own. Her study, along with others in anthropological and philosophical explorations of space and place (see Carter et al. 1993; Malpas 2008; Ingold 2011), highlights how relations and experiences of intimacy, familiarity and belonging are created through the materiality of practices and objects that leave traces in space. By marking space, these traces alter its quality, transforming it from homogenous space into heterogenous place (see Tilley 1994). The topography of a heterogenous place contains points of sensorial and mnemonic configurations of various intensities, and it is such a topography that engenders senses of familiarity and attachment. In St Anne's, decorating the church with flower arrangements demonstrates such a practice of place-making, which facilitates a sense of togetherness and community through both memory-work and sensorial modes.

During my first few weeks in St Anne's, I did not pay careful attention to the flower arrangements adorning the window ledges. They were there, in the light

filtered through the glass panes; my gaze would fleetingly brush over them during the service, or sometimes, during the set prayers, I would dwell on them for longer, trying to bring to mind the names of flowers or simply taking in their colours and shapes. It was the day of Easter when, upon entering the lobby of the church, the sweet, almost tangible fragrance of lilies compelled me to take note of them, and I paused next to the large arrangement right next to the inner doors leading to the main hall. As I breathed in the perfume of the luscious white flowers, one of the ladies handing out the hymnbooks and orders of service to arriving congregants remarked on the beauty of the flowers and their significance for Easter. Noticing my enquiring expression, she explained that those particular lilies were known as Easter lilies, symbols of love and hope used every year to decorate the church. Importantly, this lady dispelled my assumption that the church leadership allocated a sum for flower arrangements when she pointed out that the donations for the 'Flower Fund' had been generous that year. With this unexpected piece of information, the sensorial dimension of memory-work and place-making unfolded in my understanding of doing church in St Anne's.

Church members make donations to the 'Flower Fund', writing their names as well as the name of 'someone special you would like to remember, or a special occasion' in a 'Flower diary' displayed on one of the tables in the lobby. Flower arrangements are used to mark wedding or confirmation anniversaries, and they mark, as already described, religious days such as Easter. Importantly, flowers most often are 'in loving memory of' departed loved ones. On these occasions, beautiful flower bouquets are displayed on the internal ledges of the church windows and a larger, more elaborate floral arrangement is placed on a high stand on one side of the chancel. When used as a way of commemorating members of the congregation who have passed, a floral arrangement is donated and displayed on the stand next to the chancel, visible to all in the congregation. The names of the person who is to be remembered and the name(s) of the person(s) who donated the flowers are noted on the service sheet and mentioned during the time in the service allocated for notices. Donating for flower arrangements illustrates a practice of memory-work in which loved ones or special events, personal or collective, are remembered through flower arrangements as material artefacts. In doing memory-work, these artefacts shape the sensorial environment, establishing affective associations between practices of remembering and the experience of the church, in turn transforming space into place.

What is especially revealing about donating for the 'Flower Fund' in relation to understanding the particularities of doing church in St Anne's is the mediatory aspect of the practice. More precisely, in making monetary donations towards the purchasing of flowers, individuals' personal acts of remembrance are incorporated into a collective act through the coordinated material form of flower arrangements. People do not bring their own bouquets, but identical or matching arrangements are purchased, displayed in the church and recognized by members as signs of remembrance. Moreover, in the case of decorating the church for Christian feasts, the practice makes visible the communal nature of the congregation expressed in the shared, voluntary contribution; the act of decorating the space of the church with flowers is an act of being-together which both represents and constructs the congregation as a cohesive group in celebration. In this light, the practice evokes Seremetakis' reflection that 'artefacts are in themselves histories of prior commensal [read: communal] events and emotional sensory exchanges, and it is these very histories that are exchanged at commensal events and that qualify the object as commensal in the first place' (1996:12).

However, as we have seen earlier, members of St Anne's strive to draw in new potential congregants through practices of doing church. They endeavour, then, to expand the work of place-making to a wider audience through events such as bake sales, summer festivals or celebrations of the church's heritage. These events aim to involve the existing members and, importantly, establish connections between potential new congregants and the church's congregation, building and history. Advertised on the notice board outside the church, on St Anne's website and Facebook page as well as in the local newspapers, the events usually address young families with children.

During such celebratory events, the church building becomes a site of discovery of the history of the local area. The church tower and bells are open for the public to visit, providing opportunities to refresh affective associations for existing members or to establish such connections for new visitors. During one event, I found myself carefully climbing up the very narrow and dark staircase leading up to the top of the tower, passing the belfry and lingering on with curiosity to look at the bells. Once reaching the top, outside, the tower offered the vista of tree-lined streets hosting the homes of many of those attending St Anne's. As I was taking in this view, a young father and his toddler joined me. I recognized them, since they were

part of the few young families in St Anne's and had joined the church only recently, but gave them space to explore the tower and the view. Holding his son, the father showed him the open space which hosted their community, pointing to the direction of their home and other familiar places.

The tower is an architectural materialization of the Church of England's history which afforded the creation of memory, tying together the personal experience of a father showing his son the locality of their home together with the celebration of local community in the parish church. In that instant, the church tower stood as a node of time and space, doing the ineffable work of creating a specific kind of memory and affective work: the kind that creates a habitus of doing things, including what an individual perceives or categorizes as religious things. More precisely, relating to one's local area becomes tied to the existence of the church; the significance and expectation of church-related activities become associated with a sense of local affiliation.

Through these acts of place-making, the church's leadership and members both aim to fulfil 'a role in the needs of the community', as Doris argued in the parochial meeting. By facilitating the creation of a sense of locality and community for potential congregants, members of St Anne's feel they are fulfilling a role in the local community and, in turn, deepen their own sense of locality. Furthermore, by establishing a common ground through a sense of shared locality or being-of-one-place, members expressed the view that this will introduce and attune potential congregants to the particular affective resonances of church services. In Keith's words:

> People won't respond to being told, 'The love of God exists here, come and have some love of God!' They're not gonna [sic] respond to that at all, it's a nonsense [...]. I think that we've got to create an environment [...] that is inviting, is welcoming, is encouraging. People have got to feel, 'I like the look of that.'

In this light, creating an environment that is inviting and welcoming for both established members and potential congregants requires a resonant affective setting rather than a shared doctrinal perspective. Individuals with different religiosities come together to partake in a sense of togetherness, of a collective body, in spite of distinct doctrinal or experiential understandings of God, Christianity or religion.

Some will worship, some will find pleasure or fulfilment in the music, and some will dwell on memories from their childhood.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has illustrated some of the salient aspects of church life in a middle-of-the-road parish church. St Anne's established congregation are a manifestation of a community of memory and, in doing church, they attempt to incorporate themselves and new potential congregants within the chain of memory that sustains such a community. Practices of place-making are essential in this respect; they are productive not only by creating ties to the church community, but by tying the church community within a sense of locality. Between St Anne's and St Mark's, music practices operate differently in practices of doing church and thus create different dynamics between Christian selves and the collective body of worshippers. Chapter 4 will comparatively analyze how these differences shape the making of Christian selves so as to further unravel the making of Christian collective bodies in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4
VOICE, SPACE, AND THE CHRISTIAN SELF

Why do Christians worship through song? As I discovered during my fieldwork, this is hardly solely a research question.

Among the worshippers I met in St Mark's, the answer revolved around music being a gift and a directive from God – 'Sing joyfully to the Lord, praise the Lord with harp, make music to Him on the ten-stringed lyre.' More than once, this line from Psalm 33[98] was quoted back to me by musicians and members of the church.

Meanwhile, in St Anne's, people told me about their love of music, described the awe-inspiring pieces that made them feel close to God, recounted their memories of learning anthems during their childhood. What emerged in both churches was the sense that singing imparted a distinct experiential dimension to worship. If practices and attitudes differed in many ways between St Mark's and St Anne's, the fact that music enriches worship was not one of them – 'I think worship would be far the poorer without music', worshippers of St Mark's would tell me, only for me to hear echoes of these thoughts in St Anne's: 'Worship without music is a very bland experience. I want music in my worship!'

Why Christians sing worship is not only a personal matter – it is a doctrinal one as well. Theologians have wrestled with the issue of music – and of singing, in particular – all throughout the course of Christianity. Two of the most influential theologians in Protestant Christianity, Martin Luther and John Calvin, espoused two different attitudes to music and further informed the distinctiveness of the various Anglican strands. Calvin, among the most ardent Protestant theologians to indicate the force with which music can move the heart, also held that precisely because of that force, music must be tempered by biblically sound words (see Begbie 2015:18-

[98] Psalm 33 calls for praising God by singing and playing a 'new song' and reaffirms God's greatness made evident in His character and in His creation.

20, 2017). In other words, for him, the only appropriate music for church was sung music, particularly in unison, where the text was audible, intelligible, and in vernacular language so that the mind could comprehend the Word of God (Garside 1979). Calvin saw a danger in music, too: humans could be stirred up and distracted from worship by particular kinds of music. But where Calvin emphasized the risk of music, Luther found a mode of understanding the universe, and thus God, through music. For Luther, the precision and harmony of music mirrored the precision and harmony of the universe, as ordered by God (Begbie 2015:38, 2017). As such, by engaging in acts of music-making, the worshipper would engage in an act of deepening and expanding one's knowledge of God.[99]

In the thoughts of these two theologians, we can distinguish the orientations of St Mark's and St Anne's in relation to music. While in St Mark's the message of a musical piece must guide and ground the worshipper, thus shielding one from potential distraction, in St Anne's members draw on the affective resonances cultivated through the style of music and service to engage in a reflective and exploratory relationship to music and to religion. Following Christopher Small (1998), I suggest that it is the act of making music – or *musicking*, to use Small's term – that reveals how members of the two churches make (religious) meaning and practise an understanding of themselves as Christians. In this spirit, in this chapter, I focus on choir rehearsals as condensed settings focused on singing. In contrast to instrumental practice, choir rehearsals evince the affordances and limitations of the voice, which represents a very specific kind of instrument in Protestant traditions (see Engelke 2007; Keane 2007). As Webb Keane suggests, in the Protestant semiotic ideology the worshipper is a bounded agent whose interior state is externalized through sincere acts of speech and who regards 'speech itself [as] immaterial' (2007:186). Nevertheless, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists such as Weidman (2006; 2014), Engelke (2007) and Ingalls et al. (2013) have underlined the problematic nature of considering voice as 'an unmediated form of being' (Ingalls et al. 2013:3). Singing and voice are integral to the orchestration of services

[99] Luther's idea of the nature of music is echoed to various degrees and in various shapes in later theological discussions on music; for example, Begbie (2000, 2015; Begbie and Guthrie 2011) and Boyce-Tillman (2001, 2006, 2016) (see also Wren 2000; Ward 2005; Bradley 2012; Percy 2013). For instance, Begbie's remarks in his keynote presentation during the 2017 Christian Congregational Music Conference round off by raising the question of whether 'there might be a coherence to the world at large that underwrite[s] *both* music and language'. We can note here an implication of music as not only shaping religious meaning, but also as an instrument of the understanding of a higher order.

in the two churches. Attending to the practices of voice and its multiple registers (Weidman 2014:37) within the settings of St Mark's and St Anne's then allows us to shed light on the convergence of ideas about voice that worshippers hold and practices of voice that materialize or challenge those ideas.

I put forth that singing – and, particularly, the practice of singing in rehearsals – reveals worshippers' engagement with the materiality of voice. In turn, their strategies of using the voice as a modality of making Christian selves make apparent relationships to the materiality of space that contribute to their understanding of themselves as Christians. Of course, choristers are not the only Christians in the church, as it is the congregation who constitute the main part of the body of worshippers. While congregants do not undergo rehearsals, I will illustrate throughout the chapter that choristers' engagement with the materiality of voice informs the congregants' relationship to singing and, thus, their sense of how the voice makes Christian selves.

Through its focus on the materiality of voice, this chapter is in dialogue with Chapter 5, together exploring the question of how sound and music contribute to integrating individual religiosities into emergent collective bodies. Chapters 2 and 3 described how practices of doing church instantiate particular modes of shaping Christian selves. In each church, the relationships between worshipper and God evolve within relationships between word and music, between individual and collective, between knowledge and tradition. Birgit Meyer argues that, in religious settings, 'the media that are involved in invoking and getting in touch with the transcendental and in binding and bonding believers are usually rendered invisible through established and authorised structures' (2009:12). Music and singing practices in the two churches signalled musicians' and congregants' awareness of the risk of music to distract the worshipper (in St Mark's) or the risk of making a 'performance' out of sacred music (in St Anne's). As such, the ethnographies of St Mark's and St Anne's demand an exploration of the ways in which – and the extent to which – music and the voice, as media, become concealed, through what strategies and with what consequence.

In order to achieve this exploration of binding and bonding worshippers, this chapter will provide a perspective on the individual Christian self, while Chapter 5 will counterweigh this with an analysis of the collective body, drawing on the kinds of resonances that emerge within and between worshippers. Within this analytical

pair, Chapter 4 draws a more pronounced emphasis on St Anne's, while Chapter 5 draws more markedly on St Mark's. This distinction reflects the different orientation of each church in relation to singing practices in rehearsals and to collective singing and listening in services.

ONE AND-A TWO: REHEARSING CHURCH MUSIC

First, the choristers need to pick up their music from the choir vestry. Each receives a bundle with the pieces for the next service. Then, once they are gathered together, they begin by stretching. 'Lean forward, let your head drop, no tension, breathe.' A giggle, maybe. A few sighs of satisfied stretching arms and legs. 'Now, slooowly, slowly lift your body, breathe. Good. Backs straight. Let's begin with *ma*.' A quick shuffle of bodies. Then all voices sound out, 'Ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma maaaaa', warming up with the first arpeggio. A couple more, then they begin an interval higher. 'Good, now fa.' Another sequence of notes. A few more repetitions and variations of arpeggios until the choirmaster says, 'Let's begin with...'

This description is a composite of my observations and experiences during rehearsals in each church. Warming up the body and the voice with vocal and stretching exercises marks the transition into practising the musical pieces for the service. As in any singing practice, the choirmasters and the choristers in the two churches make sure their voices and their bodies are relaxed and settled in order to begin learning or practising. 'We need to bash the notes before we get to the *sacred*', Melinda, an alto in St Anne's, told me (her emphasis). Similarly, Nicholas, St Mark's choirmaster, acknowledged that, especially with new songs, rehearsals are about 'note-bashing, where you'll play the soprano line and they'll sing it, and then the altos, and then tenors and the basses. I'm not saying you ignore what the words are about but, you know, we have a job to do in order to get to the point where we're singing it well.' As such, rehearsal time is 'both sacred, set apart from the outside world by prayer, location, and leadership, and profane, with its emphasis on aspects

of music, technical concerns, and the back-and-forth of free conversation. It enacts songs of worship and yet doesn't enter fully into this act' (Porter 2017:17).

Note-bashing entails getting the bodies and the voices of the singers to produce the correct notes, to maintain timing, and to come in at the appropriate moment in the piece. To this end, choirmasters' indications are precise about various dimensions of singing such as pronunciation, counting beats and listening to each other. In this light, the rehearsals in St Mark's and St Anne's show a number of similarities. Attention is given to aspects that create coherence and clarity of sound. Single vowels and consonants become essential: 'Can we have a "t" on "Christ", please?' Nicholas advises the choristers; 'It's a "z", not an "s"!', Valerie, St Anne's choirmaster, cautions the singers. Counting beats is equally crucial: Nicholas stops a piece mid-flow to indicate that 'I think the altos missed a beat there!'; meanwhile, Valerie claps her hands to provide an auditory scaffold for the choristers counting beats. All throughout, both choirmasters remind their respective choirs to 'listen to each other and blend in' or 'listen to each other, tune in to each other'.[100]

We see in these practices and indications that singing, particularly when learning a new piece and when beginning a rehearsal, 'make[s] demands of bodies' (Clayton et al. 2013:12). In rehearsals, choristers have to bring awareness to their voice and, in following the choirmaster's instructions and the music on the sheet, they also have to find ways of tuning in with the others. It is at this point of acting with this awareness of voice and body where the differences between St Anne's and St Mark's become apparent. The short composite description at the beginning of this section illustrates one of the main elements of rehearsals in St Anne's. However, it hides the variety, nuance, and emphasis placed on singing techniques, all of which signal that the voice and the body bear a prominent role in music practice in this church.

Professionally trained as a singer and organist, St Anne's choirmaster, Valerie, comes with a drive to work assiduously on technique and to obtain the best possible musical rendition out of a piece. Her input of warm-up and vocal exercises are routines that she herself has been taught by her singing teacher. As such, Valerie takes up to 20 minutes with these exercises. Apart from stretches, Valerie gets the

[100] 'Blending in', also known as 'choral blend', is one of the main principles of choral music practice (see Collins 1999; Jordan 2007; Killian and Basinger 2007; Slimings 2016; Abrahams and Head 2017).

choristers, most of whom are over the age of 50, to do 'hula hoops' (rotating the hips), 'drop the belly' exercises (inhaling deeply and expanding the stomach and belly), and to shake and stretch almost every inch of their bodies.

Shortly after, the exercises become more localized on the mouth and on breathing, incorporating techniques used by professional classical singers in their training. Valerie reminds the choristers to breathe deeply because breathing is the main source of energy and support for the voice. She then brings their awareness to 'pockets' in their torsos where they can store air – 'in your belly-button area, that is your powerhouse', or even 'under the ribs at the back'. Once breathing becomes deeper and more controlled, the mouth and the tongue are warmed up. Inflating and stretching the cheeks, sticking out the tongue while pronouncing vowels, visualizing where the air goes or comes from in the body or where a note forms – all these exercises take place before beginning to actually sing a note from the music sheet.

Convincing the choir to pay close attention to their bodies did take effort, Valerie assured me. 'It wasn't just not being comfortable with looking silly doing stretches', she told me, 'but simply that they did not see the purpose of doing these exercises.' As far as the choristers were concerned, Valerie noted, singing was more a matter of mental concentration on the words and notes, with the voice being more felt rather than fully consciously utilized. If choristers initially felt this sense of a voice as unmediated, they gradually discovered the ways in which their bodies influenced their singing and began discovering their voice was a bodily practice. For instance, Eliza, one of the sopranos, described noticing differences in how her body felt when her breathing worked 'properly' and an increased ability to reach notes that she had not previously been able to reach. Others also remarked on becoming more aware of how the voice was being influenced by the whole body. The vocal exercises brought the physicality of voice to the forefront of choristers' awareness. Not being able to see their instrument, singers needed to consciously focus on areas of their vocal apparatus inside their bodies; moreover, they needed to develop their awareness of how certain shapes of their throat or mouth, certain sensations in their thoracic area, in their muscles, in their bellies and knees, produced different qualities of sound.

'Are your knees loose? Is your neck loose? Are you smiling?' comes the reminder before finally reaching the moment of rehearsing the first piece. Smiling here is not (only) about the mood. What smiling achieves for singing is a sense of

openness and removes tension in the facial muscles, Valerie explained. Sure enough, the choristers are smiling and sounding relaxed when voicing their first notes. ‘Remember to listen and cross paths!’ is another guiding remark while the choristers are singing. But in order to cross paths, one not only needs to listen, one needs to be in control of one’s voice and produce the notes that serve to complement those produced by another segment of the choir. To this end, singers once again are called upon to use their bodies in order to support their voice. For instance, Valerie advised that making a pushing motion with one’s hand can help produce short notes in an easier and more controlled manner. A ‘tummy kick’ on certain notes enabled singers to deliver a difficult passage. Similarly, one of the sopranos described the growing sense of confidence she experienced by incorporating these techniques: ‘She [Valerie] does this thing where to sing a high note, she gets me to stamp my feet. [...] A lot of them are very useful; the more you can do that, the better.’

Instead of experiencing their voice as a vague entity that feels pleasant or unpleasant when singing, choristers are now compelled to examine it in its many variations, shapes, sensations. As we have seen, the very act of breathing, with all its everyday ‘naturalness’, is also scrutinized in rehearsals. Under Valerie’s constant reminder that ‘your instrument is inside you’, choristers relate to their voices as a musical instrument – one most personal and intimate, but an instrument nonetheless.

Some choristers, however, remain ambivalent towards these techniques. One of the tenors, Andrew, explained that he was not entirely sure he was doing the exercises ‘properly’ and, as such, he was not sure whether his voice had changed much. Nevertheless, he was willing to continue and understood ‘intellectually’ what the exercises were supposed to achieve. In his account, he also underlined the contrasting attitude of some of his fellow choristers to these exercises:

> One time Valerie was telling us how to breathe and sing, and she said that all opera singers sing like that, and Margot said, ‘We’re not opera singers!’ But it’s the same if you want to make a good sound on an instrument. I think it’s because people don’t want to say they are professional singers,

Andrew concluded as an explanation for Margot’s reaction. In doing so, he pointed to one recurrent expression of unease that the materiality of voice provoked for singers.

Professional singing and the issue of 'performance' had emerged in informal discussions and in interviews as a point of concern among St Anne's choristers. As we have seen in Chapter 3, such concerns were echoed by some of St Anne's members, such as Keith, who pointed out that at times the music seemed to take centre stage over worship. The voice- and body-focused practice in St Anne's made choristers sensitive to, and aware of, this issue. Some described how anthems felt most 'like a performance' when the choir sang without the congregation; others felt the anthems, in particular, were the moments with most potential for an intense experience of singing and worshipping. All mentioned that whilst they strove for a high standard of singing, producing church music was, for them, not about 'professional' singing. The focus and awareness of the physicality of voice then maintained a sense of ambiguity: Was the voice, housed in the body as in a resonant box, a musical or a spiritual instrument?

Even in St Mark's, where rehearsals placed less of an emphasis on vocal techniques than in St Anne's, the risk of performance figured often in choristers' narratives. Seen as a change of focus towards music as an end goal, 'performance' appeared as a constant potentiality of music practice, ready to burst into worship. 'In the psalms it says, "Play skilfully", and I think that is important. We are called to do our best and give of our skills as best as we can and not just think, "Oh, that's alright..."', Victoria, one of St Mark's sopranos, reflected in a discussion. However, it was then, in giving one's skills as best as one could, where things got 'quite tricky', she continued. Particularly in rehearsals, singing 'brings the voice energetically to the forefront' (Dolar 2006:30), and singers in St Mark's made deliberate efforts to balance vocal training and worship in their practice. As Ben, the music pastor, explained:

> I always pray, 'Let this too be worship!' because we don't want this to just be functional. […] As we're practising, let this be worship as well. It doesn't always feel like worship and it feels like work, it feels like rehearsal and, you know, getting things together […] keep up the beat, you know, all of that sort of stuff. But we try – we certainly try to make that worship as well.

We see, then, that in both churches, rehearsals bring to the fore an increased awareness of the body and with it point to the self as a form of alterity. Richard Zaner's phenomenology of the self illustrates the inescapability of our bodies as

material, thus limited, things which are susceptible "to what can happen to material things in general" (1981:54). In an inextricable experiential tension, our bodies are intimately ours and compellingly foreign:

> My body is at once familiar and strange, intimate and alien: '*mine*' *most of all yet 'other' most of all*, the ground for both subjective inwardness and objective outwardness. Whatever I want, wish, or plan for, I irrevocably 'grow older', 'become tired', 'feel ill', 'am energetic'. … The basis for *the otherness* (and thereby the otherness of everything else) *of the embodying organism is its having a life of its own*, even when the person is most 'at home' or 'at one' with it. … The otherness of my own body thus suffuses its sense of intimacy (1981:54-55; original emphasis).

Training the voice and singing evince this otherness of one's own body and with this awareness comes also the tension of 'performance'. Rehearsals in the two churches illustrate that 'singing takes the distraction of voice seriously' (Dolar 2006:30), in that the sonic form and the materiality of voice claim their presence in the experience of producing church music. Turning now to how each choir manages and integrates this presence will bring us closer to understanding how voice and singing play into the making of the Christian self.

CHORDS AND PRAYERS: FRAMING SINGING EXPERIENCES

Sitting at a table in a pub near St Anne's with some of the choristers after one of the choir rehearsals, we are sipping our pints and nibbling, quite fittingly for a British pub, on salt-and-vinegar crisps. The discussion meanders between church-related events, some catching up between people, and music. While at first fearing that my presence may have prompted the topic of music, as I listen to the choristers' back-and-forth, I cannot help but sense that this kind of discussion is a familiar exchange between them – what compositions they find moving, what passages give them trouble, what pieces they do not like singing. While choristers are satisfied with the repertoire they prepare for services, each has personal favourites among those pieces, as well as compositions they do not enjoy singing. Talk of chords, harmonies

or melodic lines is seamlessly woven with descriptions of experiences deemed meaningful.

'I find Messiaen[101] just unbearably depressing. I stand there thinking, "I don't want to sing this!"' Doris matter-of-factly adds to a discussion about recent rehearsals. Recounting her exchange with Doris on this issue, Valerie explains, 'I think the reason is that the alto has no resolve.' Indeed, musical theorists explain that musical resolution fulfils the sense of unconscious anticipation that builds while listening to music (Levitin 2007:110). In this sense, an unresolved alto line remains suspended. As Doris ascertained the lack of resolution as an explanation, what became apparent was the attention given to musical explanation of experiential responses.

In fact, rehearsals included many such instances. Valerie would encourage choristers to 'treasure that chord' or explained how particular harmonies bore specific meaning in a composition. After having gone several times over a section of a piece during which the choristers found it difficult to count the beats, Valerie paused on the precise syllable that seemed to cause the trouble. The second syllable in 'Fa-ther' had a weak beat, which was unexpected in the flow of the piece. Nevertheless, instead of asking the choristers to try it again and again, Valerie paused to explain that the technical artifice of the weak beat was a deliberate act of the composer to create a particular emotional nuance. 'Fa' was a strong beat, while 'ther' was weak, aiming to create the 'feel' of a petition to God. In effect, by breaking down the musical elements of the piece – in this case, the beat and the syllable – Valerie fused musicological and experiential meaning. For a choir consisting of mostly musically trained singers, such explanations would resonate. Doris, for instance, explained, 'I like to put some depth into the song, a harmony', using 'depth' to refer not only to musical texture, but to what she found to be a more involved and meaningful experience of singing.

Blending musicological and experiential explanations worked in the opposite direction as well. In another rehearsal, the choir spent a significant amount of time focusing on the dynamic quality – the intensity of sound – of the various vocal parts that had to come in and out at particular moments in the piece. Many of the choristers expressed personal attachment to this composition; rehearsing it for Good Friday[102]

[101] Olivier Messiaen is a 20th-century French composer of sacred music.
[102] Good Friday is the Friday before Easter Sunday and commemorates Jesus Christ's crucifixion.

made the atmosphere in rehearsal even more dedicated to conveying all the subtleties of the composition. Guiding the sopranos, altos, tenors and basses into bringing each of their vocal contributions to the texture of the piece, many of Valerie's indications focused on the emotional dimension of the text. 'Softer on the entry – you're not going to be very bold asking God to forgive you when you know you probably don't deserve it', she would urge the choristers. The qualities of the voice, its softness or loudness, its strength or subtlety, thus become tied in with the emotional and religious dimensions of the piece. Modulating the voice in these ways elicits the Christian self as a singing-self, but the ability to produce these nuances of voice requires the chorister to skilfully engage with the materiality of one's voice framed by musicological explanations of the singing practice.

For Eliza, one of St Anne's sopranos, these explanations complement what she implies to be a musico-spiritual journey. We met Eliza when, in Chapter 3, she described her sense of God as that of a 'loving presence'. For her, the work of singing – the breathing, voicing, counting, entering, pronouncing – blends in with her sense of being with this benevolent presence. She recounted to me the arduous path to learning a piece by composer Orlando Gibbons:

> When Valerie gave us that eight-part Gibbons,[103] it was really difficult that night at choir practice. Then we sang it at the Ascension Day service – it absolutely fell apart, we were very under-rehearsed, all of us. I think we all were struggling with it, but I was really out of my depths, but we all... we all fell apart, we just couldn't... we couldn't pick it up. But then Valerie practised it again on Friday, saying we're going to try and do this again on Sunday. Friday night it was a bit better and then I did quite a lot here at home on Saturday. Then, for the first time yesterday morning, when we were rehearsing, I just had that moment of feeling I'm getting it. [...] That's been my experience... that it's often the music that's the most challenging, that we have to work hardest at, that actually delivers the most kind of profound rewards, really. It's often the most beautiful music once you can get past that stage of labouring to make sense of it.

[103] The piece Kathy refers to is *O clap your hands* by Orlando Gibbons. In the booklet accompanying the CD with a recording of this work from Collegium Records, a specialized record label, it is presented as 'one of the largest and most festive of Gibbons' anthems, making vivid use of its eight-voice double choir layout. It was first performed in 1622 at a ceremony in Oxford when Gibbons and his friend William Heyther received the degree of Doctor of Music; one source states that Gibbons wrote the piece as a qualifying exercise for the degree. The music certainly offers convincing evidence of Gibbons' impressive compositional skill, and it contains examples of such "learned devices" as canon which would no doubt have gratified the examiners' (Collegium Records website, available on: *https://www.collegium.co.uk/product-detail/Albums/Collegium/The+Cambridge+Singers+John+Rutter+conductor/Faire+is+the+Heaven/cd/2* accessed 26 July 2017).

Learning something, anything, inscribes the skill in the memory and the body of the learner. The sense of flow, of 'getting it', of 'being in the moment' in the process of learning comes from the balance between ease and difficulty in performing a task: too easy, and the task will become boring; too difficult, and it will become frustrating (Hesmondhalgh 2013:42). But to say that the 'profound rewards' are only the result of a sense of accomplishment at having learnt a difficult piece would be to insulate that very blending of experiences that many in St Anne's have described. For Eliza, the choir 'is where I want to be, and this is where my music and my singing is somehow where God wants me to be as well. The two things have come together.' By learning how and when to breathe, how particular notes and chords play into the making and message of a composition, the voice becomes an instrument that weaves together musical and spiritual meaning for choristers such as Eliza.

One morning, just before the service, Eliza stopped me for a brief moment in the lobby. 'I was thinking recently', she told me, 'I've just become conscious about how often, after singing at church, this music seems to go on reverberating inside my head for days afterwards.' She paused for a moment. 'Particularly in pieces where I've worked hard on it.' As such, the voice and music, as media that generate experience of the divine, do not become concealed in the experience of the worshipper. We see Eliza reflecting upon and engaging with the materiality of voice and music, thus eliciting resonances between her musical and her spiritual experiences.

In this light, choristers' accounts of welcoming the challenges of complex and difficult repertoires point towards a new perspective: the work of singing becomes the work of Christian self-making. 'If we [the choir] don't do the more difficult stuff [...] we could get complacent and a bit stagnant', Eliza explained. 'We need that pushing us out of our comfort zone.' The constant work of developing nuances of voice and of conveying the emotional dimension of sacred pieces upholds the work of fashioning oneself as a Christian self.

In contrast, in St Mark's, the challenge of music, in the sense described above, is reorientated by the choirmaster towards pieces that, by virtue of being known by the choristers, maintain the focus on the words rather than the technicalities of singing. 'I know the choir well', Nicholas, the choirmaster, explained, 'and I know what their limits are, and I would generally try to do

something that they can sing really well and isn't so difficult [rather] than something that's difficult which they wouldn't sing as well.' Knowing the song well means the singer has already internalized the technical elements of the piece – the timing, the melodic line, the points of entry of the various parts into the piece. With a growing sense of confidence about delivering the sound of the music, the choristers can focus on the words in the music and reflect on their meaning. Singing then comes 'to support and enable the word to dwell… in Colossians' sense, to dwell richly in people', Nicholas further explained. He refers here to Colossians 3:16, which reads, 'Let the message of Christ dwell among you richly as you teach and admonish one another with all wisdom through psalms, hymns, and songs from the Spirit, singing to God with gratitude in your heart'. Because singing makes demands of bodies, by rehearsing pieces whose sonic form is familiar, the voice no longer distracts from the words, thus allowing the message to dwell richly in worshippers' minds.

That church music is about the Word is, as we have seen, at the core of practice in St Mark's. What St Mark's rehearsals show is that singing and voice training in this church are about the Word too – if in St Anne's Valerie uses musical explanations to ground choristers' singing experiences, in St Mark's the framing of the singing experience is group prayer. While in St Anne's rehearsals, the sonic material of the voice is integrated in the making of the Christian self, in St Mark's the singing voice is anchored by the spoken word of the group prayer. Often, St Mark's choristers referred to the choir as 'a musical fellowship group' because not only did they share music together but, by integrating group prayer as part of the rehearsal, music-making was orientated towards God and towards fellow worshippers.

Rehearsals in St Mark's always include at least 15 minutes of group prayer or, from time to time, Bible study. After a short break for tea and biscuits, choristers gather in groups of about six to eight people. In the usual manner of any group prayer, they go round and share one thing they would like the group to pray for. Once the round is complete, some bow their heads, others close their eyes; they take a brief moment of silence and someone in the group begins, 'Dear God, our Lord, thank you…'. Many give thanks first and then move onto specific prayers: 'We pray for…'. As one person ends a prayer, another follows, making sure that all prayer requests are mentioned out loud.

If for St Mark's members music carries the risk of distracting the mind away from the message, then rehearsals counteract that risk by anchoring the singing voice with speaking voice practices. Although it is a setting dedicated to learning and practising vocal pieces, rehearsals show that in St Mark's the singing voice does not operate on its own, but instead is always framed by the speaking voice. This complementarity of singing and speaking voices echoes Dolar's argument that 'singing is bad communication' (2006:30) because it prevents a clear understanding of the text by drawing attention to the sound of the voice. He further states that this awareness of sound that singing entails makes the sonic form of the voice appear as 'surplus meaning' because it bears that which 'cannot be expressed in words' (ibid.). It is this excess that the speaking voice of group prayer addresses in St Mark's, whilst this same excess is what St Anne's choristers draw from as they develop their musico-spiritual singing experience.

At the same time, in St Mark's, the singing voice is not about the individual, but about the collective. The choirmaster's instruction while singing for choristers to 'listen to each other and blend in' is paralleled by the focused act of listening to one's fellow worshippers in the group prayer. We have seen in Chapter 2 that, as part of doing 'small church', small group prayer enables worshippers to develop a sense of togetherness orientated towards God. In hearing one's prayers voiced by a fellow worshipper, the individual can feel encouraged by the insight one's brothers and sisters have about oneself. But when group prayer counterbalances singing practice, as is the case in rehearsals, it is the sonic dimension of the speaking voice that plays into the work of Christian self-making. In group prayer, one's internal thoughts for prayer gain outward sonic form not in one's own voice, but in the voice of a fellow worshipper. For the Christian self, this renders the voice as being both a separate expression, as the sonic form of a fellow worshipper's voice, *and* a shared expression, in the superimposition of one's individual prayer with the words of prayer uttered by another worshipper. As prayers are orientated towards God, this experience of the speaking voice is deepened by the constant reminders of God's greatness, grace, and truth.

The contrast between speaking voice and singing voice instantiated in St Mark's rehearsals reinforces the idea that voicing is an act of *ex*pressing, in the sense of bringing out, the Christian self (see Keane 2007). As such, the work of the worshipper is to speak biblical truth when vocalizing words about God or about

one's fellow worshippers. This connection between truth and expressing words was rendered by one of the sopranos in St Mark's, Victoria, when reflecting on her experience in the choir: 'It's interesting at St Mark's because people say it might not be the best-quality choir in the world, but it's evident that you believe what you are singing, and that makes the difference.' In other words, the difference arises because the choir are able to bring the singing voice close enough to the speaking voice so that biblical truth comes forth.

That vocalizing is a practice of externalizing the Christian self became apparent when Victoria described her experience of making music in a secular setting. As a professional musician and instrumentalist, a large proportion of her music-making takes place outside church service settings. But while she sings as part of the church choir – that is, while she is a voicing agent in a church setting – her participation in secular music settings is mediated by her musical instrument: the bassoon. As she put it, 'Some musicals and operas I played in are not so Christian in their content, and certain Christian musicians wouldn't do it… but I feel that because I'm not actually saying the words… I'm just usually playing the bass line…'. Victoria did not finish this sentence in our interview, but the weight she gave to 'actually saying the words' came up throughout our subsequent discussion. Vocalizing, as a *true* and *sincere* expression of the self, forms part of the semiotic ideology operating in St Mark's whereby the relationship between a Christian self and God grows if the worshipper reflects on and allows the Word of God to dwell in one's mind. Implicitly, this notion of vocalizing also renders voice as an *unmediated* 'singing [of] the self' (Foye 2015:132). However, as Ingalls et al. (2013) and Weidman (2014) cautioned us at the beginning of this chapter, considering voice an unmediated form of being obscures the practices of constructing the voice. It is indeed what a focus on rehearsals has illustrated.

Rehearsals bring the body to the fore; the work of framing singing with prayer in St Mark's is a work to subdue the materiality of the body that shapes and, as such, mediates the voice. More precisely, the nuances of the voice are not deliberately cultivated as elements in expressing the Christian self, as suggested in the following reflections from one of St Mark's sopranos, Yvonne, a young black woman in her early 30s who was a member of a gospel choir for a number of years:

> Sometimes I do miss a proper gospel choir […] ‘cause gospel music is very chest-based songs, so you’re very much in here [pointing to her chest] and […] there’s a power you have in singing. […] Sometimes I thought, ‘Should I join a gospel choir and stay with this choir as well?’ But then I thought, ‘What am I trying to gain out of it? Am I just trying to get that singing?’

While vocal qualities and experiences such as those described by Yvonne are integrated and developed in St Anne’s music practices, in St Mark’s we see Yvonne reflectively ordering singing experiences. By subordinating the bodily experience of gospel-style singing to worship singing, Yvonne’s decision shows St Mark’s rehearsals as settings where the body and the physicality of voice are subdued and reoriented through the framing of group prayer.

While Yvonne had committed to St Mark’s music style, she also found ways of blending in gospel music as an offering to her fellow chorister and her congregation:

> Since coming here I've given them more gospel music [...] I think it enabled the choir to see that they can do something different, more contemporary ... ‘cause other people kept coming up to me saying we want more gospel music, we want more gospel music.

Yvonne’s experience suggests that choristers and congregants were open to trying different music styles. However, during my fieldwork I only noted one service when a gospel song was sung. The congregation responded enthusiastically, yet the expression of their worship as well as the delivery of the song stayed well within the stylistic form I had grown accustomed to, with an interpretation closer to the songs regularly sung in St Mark’s. This points to the fact that in a church like St Mark’s, where church repertoire is carefully balanced in contrast to more charismatic settings, introducing a style such as gospel music is not only gradual but also carefully aligned with the existing church musical framework, thus limiting the potential for worshipping for congregants who engage with and respond to this style of worship.

While St Mark’s singers framed their singing experiences with moments of prayer, St Anne’s choristers did so with elements of musical composition. This allows them to incorporate the materiality of voice in practices of learning new, challenging pieces, which contribute to their sense of making a Christian self. As Maeve, one of the choristers, emphasized, ‘Challenging pieces give life, because to

grow, we need stress.' Overcoming the technical challenges of singing imposed by the materiality of voice parallels acts of growing as a Christian.

Framing, however, does not merely occur in the form of practices. The human body acts as a resonator for the voice but, as the voice unfolds within a sonic environment, church space becomes a second resonant dimension framing choristers' singing experiences. As such, the bodily materiality of the voice is counterbalanced by the spatial materiality in which that voice resonates.

SOUNDING SPACE INTO PLACE

Sound has a trick up its sleeve in making us believe in its intangibility (see Samuels et al. 2010:338–39). Sound not only touches us – both physically and emotionally – but as vibration (see Goodman 2012) shaped by the environment, it carries with it the shapes and textures of the space into which it comes into being. In turn, singing voice – as a form of sound – has the potential to bring the qualities of space into the awareness of singers as well as that of listeners. Rehearsals in the two churches show that the choirs maintain different relationships to space either by actively integrating its acoustics into singing practices, as in St Anne's, or by submerging its acoustics among other musical elements, as in St Mark's. I argue that these sonic relationships become relevant in understanding Christian self-making because they emphasize the sensorial qualities that turn *space* into *place* (Tilley 1994). Chris Tilley marks the distinction between *space* and *place* along several qualities which convey *space* as a homogenous, objective dimension; in contrast, *place* is a heterogenous, subjective dimension, containing foci of intensity and attachment. Starting from the sensorial dimensions invoked by singers and congregants, rather than from the physical description of the church, I will illustrate how worshippers' place-making acts are formative in Christian self-making.

In St Anne's, rehearsals take place in the same space as services. The choristers pick up their music – the hymnbooks, the sheet music of various anthems, copies of the mass settings – and make their way to their usual pews on the right side

of the chancel and the organ. After the warm-up exercises, they begin practising the music pieces, going over problematic passages, rehearsing their counting and listening to the succession of pitches that Valerie demonstrates either by singing them herself or by playing them on the piano. Gradually, as choristers become more confident with a piece, Valerie begins to integrate the acoustics of the church building into the practice of the musical pieces. 'For this acoustic, we may have to make this section a bit longer', she cautions the sopranos in a piece, then urges all the choristers to 'make sure you can hear the pause not just here [in the choir pews], but in the building.'

Sound takes time to travel between the walls of the church. The choristers need to shape the indications of duration on the music sheet in order to fit sound to the church space and avoid an overlap of notes for listeners sitting in other parts of the hall. This musical act makes apparent the choristers' immersion in the church space as an environment. In Ingold's words, '[T]he body *is* the human organism, as the process of embodiment is one and the same as the development of that organism in its environment' (1998:28; original emphasis). Singers develop in the environment of the church because singing here is a practice of resonating with the church; as singers learn a new piece, as they practise voicing the required notes, they do so in awareness of the acoustics of the church.

Through its acoustics, space also becomes a constitutive part of conveying emotion. For instance, choristers integrated the reverberating qualities of the church hall in order to communicate particular affective nuances in their singing. After rehearsing a section of a piece about the relationship between God and His followers, Valerie encouraged the choristers to 'Let the church sing the second part!' – that is, the second syllable of the word 'people'. With a sustained but not forceful delivery of the first half, 'peo-', choristers left the second part, '-ple', to be brought to completion in the reverberation of the church hall. Not much was discussed between the choristers after the practice of this piece, but the effect of the joining of their voices with the acoustics of the space was noticeable; usually in rehearsals choristers produce fragmented renditions of pieces, stopping often to go over the same section to adjust pitches, counting, points of entry, but on this occasion, they continued singing uninterrupted for half of the piece, listening to each other and listening to the building.

In Chapter 3, St Anne's members conveyed impressions of the church as a space that cultivates affective resonances and memory-work. The practices of integrating acoustics in singing further qualify the church as an affective environment, or what Ingold has termed 'a zone of entanglement' (2008:1797). This zone of entanglement is fabricated through the attribution of significance, memory, and emotion that make places 'occur' (ibid.:1808) and through singing acts that bring individual bodies and the church body into resonance.

The acoustic quality of St Anne's building is not only noticeable to the trained ears of the choristers who deliberately integrate it into their practice; indeed, the congregation is very much aware that there is 'something special' about the sound that takes form in this church. Greta, a quiet lady who ended up being my pew neighbour during my fieldwork, confided that before coming to St Anne's, she did not really like the organ as an instrument. Anticipating that Valerie's skill was what had changed her mind, I was intrigued to hear the reason was a more particular one: 'The organ sounds beautiful in this church.' Greta explained that 'the acoustic' was what she felt was different in St Anne's and while she still did not 'love' the organ, she liked it in that space.

We see that for Greta, the space of the church makes the organ sound better. The acoustics of a room do change the sound of an instrument, as the ever-developing art of designing concert halls shows us (Small 1998:30–38). But an organ is *part* of the building, and in St Anne's this relationship was carefully calibrated after the 1970s fire which required a full rebuild. As Valerie and a few other members explained to me, after the new church hall was completed, the space was inspected by the organ makers, who designed the new organ in accordance with the dimensions, shape, and materials of the hall. We can see, then, that members' defence against the occasional outsider's remark that in St Anne's they 'worship the organ' (see Chapter 3), comes also from this turning point in the history of the church. The organ and its sound thus ground space, turning it into place and creating a node of significance for members of St Anne's.

The other aspect which emphasizes the relationship between the organ and the space of the church is the fact that music-making in St Anne's relies on the sound of the organ and the sound of voices alone. No other instruments or forms of audio amplification are involved in the delivery of anthems and hymns here. A short note in my fieldnotes after one of the first few services I attended reads, 'It's like oil and

water'. It was the closest expression of how the church hall sounded to me during services. The organ swelled and waned, the voices of the choir and the congregants rose and fell with the rhythm of the hymns while the voice of the celebrant punctuated the liturgy in the service. All the while, all these sounds remained discrete, with a layer of quiet beneath them all.

In his examination of soundscapes (1994 [1977]), R. Murray Schafer makes a distinction between *hi-fi* and *lo-fi* soundscapes. A hi-fi soundscape is one in which discrete sounds can be heard clearly because there is low ambient sound; in such a setting, sounds seldom overlap, and there is what Schafer calls *perspective* – that is, a noticeable distinction between foreground and background, between close and distant sounds. Conversely, in a lo-fi soundscape, individual sounds are 'obscured in an overdense population of sounds' (1994 [1977]:43); here, perspective is narrowed because sounds overlap, creating a 'broad-band' sonic dimension (ibid.). Schafer uses this distinction to contrast the hi-fi rural and lo-fi urban soundscapes in rather idealizing terms, opposing the image of a peaceful village to that of a menacing city. Without carrying over such connotations, the hi-fi and lo-fi poles are useful in comparing how singing practices in each church sustain different relationships to acoustics and, in turn, cultivate different understandings of what turns space into meaningful place.

In St Anne's, the acoustics of the building are integral to choristers' singing practices and to congregants' experience in the church. The main sonic elements here – the voice, the organ, the bells – emerge, with few exceptions, as discrete, non-overlapping sounds, thus creating what Schafer would consider a hi-fi setting. In contrast, in St Mark's, the acoustics of the building are not actively integrated into music or singing practices. The choir practises in a basement room whose ceiling, lower than that of the main hall, compresses the reverberations of choristers' voices. This sonic difference was not considered relevant, since singers' and instrumentalists' contributions would be amplified through an audio system during the service. Spread out in a network of speakers throughout the main hall, this audio system narrows what Schafer calls the perspective of an environment; being at the back of the congregation and being at the front is not a significantly different sonic experience. Meanwhile, in St Anne's, Keith would recount to me that the reason he sat in a particular pew was that it was 'the best seat to listen to the music'. In St Mark's, not only does the audio system make it difficult for singers to listen to the

acoustics of the building, but in amplification their voices merge with and match those of the large congregation when singing. The audio system then facilitates a more homogenous and thick sonic environment, which reflects St Mark's drive to include everyone in the production of the music. As many worshippers remarked, the sounds in St Mark's are engulfing; the voices of choristers and congregation are 'all out', contributing to this thick texture that 'does not leave that much silence and space', as two members, Ava and her husband, Simon, put it.

This thick sonic texture also materializes from the joining together of a wide range of musical instruments during service music-making. As mentioned before, apart from the choir, St Mark's has an orchestra and a band. When asked about the reason for including so many diverse instruments and what congregants' reactions were to that, Robert, St Mark's director of music, once more quoted Psalm 33 – '"Sing joyfully to the Lord, praise the Lord with harp, Make music to Him on the ten-stringed lyre"… so any instruments you've got lying about, just pick them up!' he concluded. After invoking this biblical instruction, Robert explained his own thinking about the role of including diverse instruments and musical pieces: 'If you polarize church music, you talk about either the organ or the drum kit – they're the two extremes, if you like. We, of course, bring them together.' This 'bringing together' operates at a symbolic level, showing that everyone can be involved in creating music for worship; the joining of drums and organ also displays a clear message that St Mark's, as a church, does not follow what they consider to be the 'ritualism' preserved in the traditional Anglican Church. I suggest that the power of this symbolic action is supported by a new aurality that St Mark's works to instil. By bringing all instruments together and by not placing more emphasis on any particular sonic quality, they create a sonic environment where the sound of the drum kit and the sound of the organ are not *perceived* as clashing. Such practices draw attention to the fact that, in order to understand musical choices in contemporary churches, we need to attend to parameters such as 'melodic, harmonic, timbral and textural entities' in music and not only to the 'more accessible … "beat"' (Evans 2006:9). In effect, through their musical arrangements, St Mark's music leaders seek to fuse 'musical and linguistic sense' (Smith 2016:256) through a sonic texture that conveys sensorially the same message as the sermon, namely, that of individuals eliciting collective worship.

However, as Suzel Reily argues, the ‘sense of oneness with one’s fellow worshippers’ and the ‘enthusiasm with communal singing’ are reliant on ‘a sufficient continuity of communal engagement’ and a familiarity with the repertoire (2016:336). Instilling a new aurality involves negotiating the tensions arising from destabilising such familiarity, as well as the established connections between music repertoire and style, religious identity and community belonging (see Chapter 1).

Each music style prompts a particular sensorial and rhythmic experience. While, on the whole, St Mark’s members praised the church music style for its wide accessibility, a few drew distinctions between the ‘old hymns’ and the ‘more modern songs’. In particular, a married couple in St Mark’s, Miriam and Daniel, both white British, in their late 70s, articulated in detail their tensed relation to portions of the repertoire and music style in St Mark’s. Miriam and Daniel had been with St Mark’s for over 25 years and had sung in the choir for 14 years. When discussing the music choices in St Mark’s, Daniel described their shared opinion that:

> a lot of the modern music is not suitable for congregational singing. Because of the rhythm, the metres, all sorts of ... Hymns were fairly rhythmical and words to the lines but sometimes some of these new songs are tricky, they are. I love hymns, I love the old hymns but I'm quite open to new music, I'm not a dinosaur!

We see that despite a desire to remain ‘open’ to new music, it is the embodied aspects of music, such as rhythm and melody, which make new styles potentially difficult to integrate for some members of the congregation.

Crucially, even in this word-based church, it is the felt, sensorial dimension of music which invokes a sense of worship and, for some members such as Miriam and Daniel, some instruments do it better than others. For instance, Miriam explained that ‘We don't like guitar-led worship in church because I don't think one can lead worship of 800 people with a guitar. It's inappropriate, it can't be done, I just don't like it.’ The swift movement from a commentary on appropriateness, to a guitar’s assumed lack of sonic quality to lead worship, to a declaration of outright distaste for this particular instrument shows that sonic and affective dimensions of church music intimately infuse each other. The guitar ‘doesn’t lift like an organ’, Daniel further stated, but underlying this comment there sits more than a mere evaluation of the sonic qualities of the guitar. Instead, there lies an association between particular

sonic forms and particular social and cultural values. Music style does more than invoke particular sensoriums and it does not operate as ‘a blank slate for injecting propositional content through sung lyrics’ (Ingalls 2017:8). Instead, it communicates ‘a specific set of ideas and values to enculturated listeners’ (ibid.).

For Miriam and Daniel, these associations connect to a form of expression of emotionality in music which they consider inappropriate and superficial and which they tracked back to the ‘Toronto Blessing’ – a series of religious events, preachings, charismatic practices and ecstatic worship that took place in 1995 at the Toronto Vineyard Church as a result of ‘an outpouring of the Holy Spirit which resulted in congregational members laughing uncontrollably in services’ (Evans 2006:130). Referring to it as the ‘Toronto curse’, Miriam and Daniel associated the type of ecstatic worship cultivated by the Vineyard Church with the ‘very touchy-feely’, ‘modern guitar-led songs’. As Daniel emphasised, ‘it's all about personal emotion and how we feel. I know emotion comes into it but it's just not ... I don't think it's right.’ In this light, despite St Mark’s music leaders’ efforts to instil a new aurality, the sound of music can foster subtle tensions among congregants. For instance, Thérèse Smith (2016) shows that even in ‘fundamentalist’ and ‘evangelical’ settings that centre on the biblical message and emphasise biblical prohibitions, music creates affordances for ambiguity or reorientation away from prohibitions and towards the joy of worshipping God, thus, in a sense, undermining the centrality of biblical teaching. By comparison, in St Mark’s, by evoking associations ‘linked to other popular subcultures’ (Busman 2015:220 in Ingalls 2017:8), the ambiguity that guitar-led music conjures for Miriam and Daniel is one that affects their sense of sharing in corporate worship, thus undercutting the efforts of the music leaders to establish a new syncretic aurality to represent the diversity of the congregation.

While Miriam and Daniel expressed their dislike of ‘modern’ songs, they also expressed their appreciation for ‘some wonderful new hymns, modern hymns, the Gettys and Stuart Townend and there's fabulous stuff that they write and Graham Kendrick over the years has written some really good songs and hymns’. These are composers who made their mark in the early 1990s and early 2000s (with the exception of Graham Kendrick whose career started earlier, in the 1960s). These songwriters managed to bring together the old and the new. Mark Evans (2006:82) shows that songwriters such as Stuart Townend, Keith and Kristyn Getty or Graham Kendrick, create modern compositions using contemporary language and ‘musical

nuances' on a rhythmic scaffold not unlike the traditional hymns in collections such as the *Anglican Hymn Book*. By appealing to these musical mergers between the old and the new, St Mark's seeks to navigate the tensions arising from enacting their liturgical and musical choices.

A careful navigation of these tensions is particularly crucial in view of how St Mark's operates as an organisation. In Chapter 2, I illustrated that regular financial contribution operates as a marker of membership, with the church family being the core contributors. At the same time, this also highlights how the shifting economic and social class configuration of the congregation may impact on liturgical and musical choices in services. Miriam and Daniel remarked that 'we have a wonderful lot of students, but the students have no money. And if you watch the offertory basket coming round … and not everybody is giving by direct debit.'

My conversation with Miriam and Daniel took place soon after St Mark's rector had emphasised in at least two services that 'finances have been difficult' and encouraged members to contribute further. Such remarks suggest that, as an organisation, St Mark's relies financially on the contribution of that part of the congregation of a stable economic and social circumstance, such as my two interlocutors. At the same time, the less financially strong youth component of St Mark's congregation sustains the image of St Mark's as a church that is sensitive to the issues of the contemporary world and that helps people become better Christians in their everyday lives. In this light, the merger of old and new music epitomised by the songs of Stuart Townend, the Gettys or Graham Kendrick, may act as a bridge between sections of the congregation of different economic and social classes, who reinforce different dimensions of St Mark's as a church.

In order to sustain this effort of bridging the different sections of the congregation, St Mark's ministers and music leaders attempt to produce what Deborah Justice has referred to as a 'smoothing around the edges' of various types of tradition so as 'to reveal similar cores' (2017:21). In contrast, during the worship wars (see page 69 – 70), some churches navigated those tensions arising from the introduction of new music styles in services by delivering different styles of worship at different times; however, this act soon came to symbolise an inner division within churches, some churchgoers and church leaders fearing that 'single churches were now actually supporting subcongregations' (Justice 2017:18). Instead, St Mark's morning and evening services do not employ vastly distinct styles of worship. Justice

suggests that by deemphasising the strong contrasts between styles of worship, churches can facilitate contexts wherein

> congregations *can* emphasise the mid-level differences of traditional and contemporary styles. Congregations then experience themselves as supporting diverse types of worship, which in turn gives them a sense of supporting tolerance, diversity, and engagement with different ideas and ways of being in the world (2017:21; original emphasis).

By mid-level differences, Justice refers to the theological values that congregations embody, such as, for instance, God's love for all His worshippers or the need to share the gospel widely (especially in Evangelical churches). As a form of participatory performance, music in St Mark's enables participants to express their religious truths while at the same time 're-create social ideals embodied in their religious tenets' (Reily 2002:3). It is in this articulation of religious truths and social ideals where St Mark's variety of music configurations (choir, orchestra and music band) created tensions for Miriam and Daniel. For them, the guitar-led music band represented a musical form which they felt was a distraction from worship and followed wider cultural trends a little too closely, as a sign of 'the world entering the church' (Foye 2015:138). As Daniel put it:

> The church generally tends to want to follow the patterns that they see on the television, modern culture, The Voice, Big Brother. We never had singing on mics before, that's a modern phenomenon[104]. But why do we need it? We don't know why that's needed. It's modern culture, it's the modern style, put someone on a mic. Perhaps the visitors coming into the church they want to see someone singing on the mic because this is what they get at the night club. We try to be modern without being over the top. I've always said I think that detracted from worship and I don't see why we need a worship leader, Jesus is our leader for worship.

What Daniel points to in his remarks is what Ingalls (2017:8) refers to as a sonic hierarchy that certain music styles can favour through amplification of a central vocalist. In this case certain voices become included at the expense of excluding others. However, during my own time attending St Mark's services, I could not notice a difference in the amplification of the music band in contrast to the choir or the orchestra. Furthermore, the voices of the numerous congregants would usually

[104] St Mark's introduced microphones in the late 1970s.

balance the amplification so much so that at various moments, I could not easily distinguish the voices of the choristers or singers from those of the congregants. I refer to this recollection of my own not to contradict Miriam and Daniel's but to reveal those value-laden associations that music style carries, and that St Mark's music leaders take into consideration when orchestrating their services. It is through these negotiations between 'traditional' and 'contemporary', 'modern culture' and 'the church', intellectual or emotive engagement (Foye 2015:141), that St Mark's members 'shape and reshape' those aspects of church life which are most important for their 'sense of identity and belonging' (ibid.).

St Mark's continued practice of utilizing three musical configurations – a choir, an orchestra and a music band – is part of a careful balancing act where the emerging tensions in relation to the music style are counterweighed by the alternation of musical configurations and the deliberate pointing towards the sermon as the focal core of the service. It is indeed such careful balancing that contributes to Miriam and Daniel's sustained membership in St Mark's. For instance, they described that ministers in St Mark's 'were very careful in the way they addressed the problem of the Toronto [Blessing]. They were never outspokenly critical, but you knew exactly what they thought. They were very circumspect, very careful.' Such attitudes maintain the trust that members such as Miriam and Daniel place in St Mark's identity as a 'Bible-centred' church. Rounding off our discussions, Miriam added that 'the choir used to sing every single Sunday, well, we don't do that anymore', only to quickly reinforce her remark by reasserting her love and commitment to the church and the choir:

> We're a family. I love it because it's such a mixture of ages and cultures and backgrounds. Just look at the nationalities we've got in choir alone. [...] They're very varied and that helps, but we're all in Christ Jesus. And that is the most important thing, that is at the forefront and sums up the St Mark's choir, we are there to serve the church, to serve the congregation, the fellowship and as offering of worship to the Lord.

Miriam and Daniel's reflections echo Hilary Foye's illustration that dilemmas about music performance, significance and efficacy are, in effect, mediums for redefining the 'beliefs, meanings and values of the group about the collective relationship with the divine and one another' (2015:126) – 'we are there to serve the church … as

offering of worship to the Lord' – while also reinforcing 'distinctive aspects of Evangelical identity' (ibid.) – 'we're all in Christ Jesus'.

Navigating the dilemmas emerging from sensorial and emotional experiences of the aurality shaped by St Mark's music and liturgical choices has implications for the enacting of Evangelical identity. Being 'all in Christ Jesus' also entails that a church is 'wherever two Christians meet', as many of St Mark's members declared, quoting biblical teaching[105]. Apart from its theological significance, for members of St Mark's, this has implications for their relationship to the space of their church.

Qualifying St Mark's as a lo-fi environment underlines that the amplified, overlapping vocal and instrumental sonic setting enables worshippers to entertain a loose relationship to the church building. Similarly, Ingie Hovland argues that Evangelical place-making illustrates acts of deterritorialization that are different from a sense of placelessness (2016:333). I suggest that the comparison of St Anne's and St Mark's as, respectively, hi-fi and lo-fi settings shows that sonic relationships elicit and maintain such a sense of place. The following accounts of two worshippers, one from St Mark's and one from St Anne's, illustrate how the sense of place emerging from sonic relationships reaffirms worshippers' sense of Christian self.

Manu, one of St Mark's worshippers whose story was recorded in Chapter 2, recounted his visit to the site where Jesus was crucified as an anti-climactic experience: 'I went to Israel, and I wanted to be in the place in Jerusalem where everything happened, where Jesus was crucified.' His desire to be in *the* place, the very site where Jesus sacrificed himself for the salvation of humankind, was stifled by the numerous people queuing and a sense of uncertainty. 'The stone was quite accessible, but… he was laid there? He was crucified there? So I found myself to have an anticlimax with the whole situation.' Manu recalled his subsequent actions in following the same impulse to be in those places where Jesus was:

> I told myself to enjoy these key places, to have quiet time, and I went to the Garden of Olives. It was here where Jesus was troubled and where He said to God, 'If it is Your will', so it's an important place. And I went there and… *nothing*… I didn't feel anything, and I went to a shrine […] and… *nothing*. […] And I sat down, I sat down on the stairs… and I said, 'Sorry, I don't feel anything in here, I don't know what's going on.' And all of a sudden, a group of Christian tourists went to a side of the place and started singing and the

[105] Matthew 18:20 – 'For where two or three gather in my name, there am I with them.'

> minute I heard them, I started crying… The minute I heard them! I was like… my reaction, it was an involuntary thing, it was like to add a little bit of Fairy [washing-up liquid] to a greasy thing and all the grease goes out, it was that, I couldn't even help that, it was so high! […] I understood that […] that's just a place, and you can touch the stone, but the stone is not going to be more than atoms there, it's a physical thing. And what that song did to me, what these people singing with that heart… it was more powerful than the place itself, and that's something to think about, how […] when everyone together does something in His name […].

The loose relationships to the church building in St Mark's, discussed earlier, paralleled what Manu found lacking in his anticipated experience at the very site where Jesus walked and was crucified. In phenomenological terms, Manu acknowledged those sites as the ultimate instantiation of *place* – that is, sites of concentrated significance. Yet his experience did not mirror that sense of significance, instead eliciting those sites as *space*. The shift occurred through a sonic event: the song of the Christian tourists. This emergence of *place* evokes Eliade's notion of hierophany (1959), namely, the intrusion of the sacred into the profane. In Manu's account, the sacred does not concentrate in a particular physical centre, but breaks through in the fabric of ordinary experience through an act of singing which carves a place in the profane space. Cultivated in St Mark's services through a thick, overlapping sonic environment, a sense of place emerges from joining in singing rather than from a close relationship to the building. This mode of establishing place experienced by Manu in Jerusalem reinforces his understanding as a Christian self by reminding him that Christians come together in God's name. His experience stems from 'portable practices and discourses' (Ingalls 2011:259), such as congregational singing, that create place wherever 'two Christians meet', as many of St Mark's members described.

While St Mark's mode of engagement with sound enables worshippers to instantiate a sense of place unbound by a physical location, St Anne's hi-fi sonic environment links a sense of place to the church building. As elements of this setting, church bells act not only as discrete sonic elements, but sustain particular memory and experiential ties that reinforce St Anne's members' practices of Christian self-making.

There are two kinds of bells that ring in St Anne's: the Sanctus bell, which rings during the Eucharistic Prayer, and the tower bells, which ring before the Sunday service starts. None of the people I spoke to declared any close or

particularly meaningful personal association with these sounds, yet what St Anne's members referred to in describing their sense of connection to the church was this perceived unassuming quality of the bells. For instance, Paula, one of St Anne's altos, explained that the sound of the bell was intrinsically connected with her memories of growing up and attending church services. While not declaring any further meaning apart from that, Paula promptly described that in the few instances when the Sanctus bell is not rung, 'I ring it in my head'. For Paula, the sound of the bell facilitates a sense of completeness in the course of the service. Cultivating memory ties, this sound moors her experience in the church, rendering the building as a different place from the outside world.

This different quality of the church environment is reinforced by the tower bells, which sonically mark the presence of the church in the local area (see Corbin 1999). Andrew, one of St Anne's tenors, found bells to be

> an aural reminder that the church is here and there's something different going on. They're cutting through all the cacophonies and crap… because it's just noise, a lot of existence nowadays is just noise, noise without it ceasing, a way of stopping people from thinking, keeping people occupied, keeping them worried.

The aural contrast between the unending cacophony of the outside and the discrete sonic setting of the inside replicates the distinction between the turbulence of life and the refuge offered by the church building. In sustaining memory ties and oppositions between outside and inside, St Anne's members such as Paula and Andrew reinforce the link between their sense of place and the church building. The church is rendered as a distinct, sheltering sphere where the Christian self is able to reflect and be refreshed before walking out into the world again.

The comparison of St Anne's and St Mark's as sonic environments shows that in evincing the materiality of voice, singing and music also shape Christian self-making by instantiating specific acts of place-making (see Collins 2013; Hovland 2016). Whereas in St Anne's, discrete sounds of the organ, the bells and the voice make *place* grounded in the physical building, in St Mark's, the thick aurality effaces the physicality of the building, and *place*-making becomes an act of worshippers sounding out together, orientated towards God.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Focusing on rehearsals has shown how singing practice brings the materiality of voice into the awareness of St Mark's and St Anne's choristers. In turn, singers in both churches engage with this materiality through different modes of framing their singing experiences, and this helps them fashion a sense of worship and a sense of Christian self. On the one hand, in St Anne's, the body and the church building act as resonant chambers through which – and within which – worshippers work through blending vocal training, music, and memory ties in the making of their Christian selves. On the other hand, in St Mark's, voicing becomes an act of a sincere externalization of the Christian self and one of instantiating a sense of place. While the body does not act here as a resonant dimension deliberately employed in Christian self-making, its presence rises to the surface of awareness in practices of voice training. While music generates experiences of the divine and sustains relationships to God, music also claims its presence in those experiences. Rather than operating as media that dissolves in the 'genesis of presence' (Meyer 2014), the sonic relationships that the voice sustains with the individual body and the church building make that media discernible. Worshippers fashion themselves as Christian selves by interacting with the materiality of voice, sound, and music. As we will see in Chapter 5, the experience of such interactions in the process of Christian self-making is further shaped by the dynamics between choristers as 'performers' and the congregation as 'audience'.

Chapters 2 and 3 showed that individual worshippers draw from their relationships with other worshippers, with God, and with non-Christians in order to reflect and develop their sense of Christian self. If resonances with the individual body and the body of the church shape the individual work of self-making, we must turn now to the kinds of resonances that allow the Christian self to engage with others and to elicit a collective body.

CHAPTER 5
MUSIC, ALTERITY, AND THE COLLECTIVE BODY

Ben, St Mark's music pastor, has a measured voice. Against the echoey sounds of the espresso machine in the cafe where we met, his Canadian accent gives an almost tactile texture to his pensive remarks. He ordered hot chocolate and he sips at it from time to time, bringing short pauses in the flow of his reflections:

> So… you see that in some churches where everyone comes together and then the music starts, everybody's eyes are closed and, you know, hands in the air... that can be problematic in that it's just about you and God, whereas the Christian life is always about *us* and God. Yes, I have a relationship with God, and God does know me and loves me, but – particularly on a Sunday as we're gathered together – it's very much *us*. Which raises other issues about language: 'Amazing grace, how sweet the sound, that saved a wretch like *me*'. I've heard some people actually going, 'No, there should never be a personal pronoun in church!' I think sometimes changing those things wrecks all the poetry. And yes, I always go back to Scripture and, you know, 'the Lord is *my* shepherd', 'even though *I* walk', you know, all that sort of stuff. But when you sing it in a room with 700 people, you realize that when I talk about *me*, the person next to me also talks about *me*, and it soon becomes *us* very quickly... ideally, should become *us* if we're paying attention [his emphases].

So *how* does 'me' become 'us'? Ben's remarks signal that the meaning of one's connection to God does not reside solely in one's individual relationship with Him, but in how the worshipper merges that relationship into a collective expression of praise. Despite their different doctrinal approaches – Evangelical and traditional, respectively – both St Mark's and St Anne's follow the biblical call for corporate worship and deliberately use music to elicit the sense of a collective body. Even in the word-focused setting of St Mark's, Ben points to a kind of work that music does beyond words. If St Mark's singing practices (described in Chapter 4) showed reluctance to employ the sensorial materiality of voice, when it comes to the collective body, Ben implies a particular experiential dimension that singing together

brings about; something about singing together, something other than the words, converges individuals' personal experiences into a shared one.

Ben's observation – that in singing, 'I' becomes 'we' – echoes what phenomenologists of music and (ethno)musicologists have described as the power of music to engender a collective experience. For instance, philosopher and phenomenologist Alfred Schütz (1977) emphasizes that a temporal dimension underpins the feeling of unity that music generates. Schütz argues that a 'tuning-in relationship' allows for the 'I' and the 'other' to be experienced as 'we' (ibid.:108). This relationship arises due to music being, in Schütz's view, both a structure of linear time – that is, a succession of notes of various lengths, as indicated by the composer – and an arrangement of tones in 'inner time'. Schütz's notion of 'inner time' borrows from Henri Bergson's notion of *durée*, which is an organization of conscious states into a whole, where the states 'permeate one another, [and] gradually gain richer content' (1996 [1889]:122). Despite the fact that the 'direction of inner time' is irreversible (Schütz 1977:113) – namely, it follows linear time from the first bar to the last – the flux of notes is not irretrievable for the listener. Music allows the listener 'to refer what he actually hears to what he anticipates will follow and also to what he has heard ever since the piece of music began' (ibid.:114). By converging linear and inner time in this manner – in other words, by *being-in-time*, Schütz argues – music brings forth a sense of communion. More recent studies on entrainment – the body of theory that seeks to explain how autonomous rhythmic processes interact – show that, at the minuscule scale of a few seconds, musicians who fall in temporal unison report a more intense sense of communion with their musical partners (Clayton 2013).

Others, such as (ethno)musicologists Tia DeNora (2000), Simon Frith (2002), and Peter Martin (2006) have underlined how music facilitates the integration of the self into a group experience by linking individual consciousness and collective membership (Martin 2006:221, in Hesmondhalgh 2013:117), while Christopher Small (1998), Thomas Turino (2008) and David Hesmondhalgh (2013) have demonstrated how music creates a sense of bonding, solidarity and shared experience between individuals. Small (1998) argues that music stimulates musicians and listeners to come together in harmony, thus manifesting that group's ideals of sociality. Building on Small, Turino puts forward that music generates a state where 'the multiple differences among us are forgotten and we are fully focused on an

activity that emphasises *sameness* – of time sense, of musical sensibility, of musical habits and knowledge of patterns of thought and action, of spirit, of common goals' (2008:18; original emphasis). Phenomenologist David Le Breton goes further to argue that sound itself, not only music as a particular form of sound, elicits a sense of shared experience. For him, 'as a shared expression, [sound] provides a strong feeling of belonging, that of speaking with a single voice' (2017:211).

Nevertheless, members of both churches indicated their reluctance to – or outright rejection of – music for music's sake, foregrounding that music is *for* worship. For instance, we hear Ben ending his reflections on a suspended note: 'Ideally, [singing] should become *us* if we're paying attention.' This indicates, on the one hand, the potential, rather than the guarantee, for music to elicit a sense of the Christian collective body. On the other hand, it signals that there is something more, or something different, that takes place during corporate singing and music-making that summons forth the sense of a collective experience for church members.

While the abovementioned works of Schütz (1977), Small (1998), DeNora (2000), Frith (2002) and Turino (2008) signal important ways in which music can generate a sense of communion, the ethnographies of the two churches complicate these accounts. Church members and musicians in St Mark's and St Anne's indicated the work that music does to enhance worship and to engender a collective experience, yet they were also keenly aware of music's risk of rousing emotions and distracting the worshipper's mind, or its failure to induce a desired experience of worship. David Hesmondhalgh (2013:87–91) argues that by assuming music has an intrinsic quality to generate communion, one may gloss over the nuances and tensions, such as those arising in St Anne's and St Mark's, which music can also instantiate.[106] In light of this, in this chapter, by considering worshippers' relationships with various forms of alterity – the non-Christian-other, the Christian-other, and the God-other, I interrogate the affordances and limitations of music in eliciting communion in order to detail the nuances of forming a collective body. In doing this, I continue the exploration of the question of concealment of media in religious settings (Meyer 2009:12) set out in Chapter 4 and extend it to the process of 'binding and bonding' (ibid.) between worshippers. To this end, I consider musical

[106] Specifically, Hesmondhalgh notes that many researchers, such as Small (1998) and Turino (2008), posit an underlying assumption which implies that 'something in music and dance particularly encourages, or manifests, a yearning for ideal relationships' (2013:90) and, following Durkheim, focus primarily on the heightened experience of collective effervescence that music can elicit.

acts as ‘an encounter between human beings that takes place through the medium of sounds organised in specific ways’ (Small 1998:10) and provide a phenomenological analysis of music-making in the act of church worship.

Thomas Csordas’ phenomenological distinction between two states of the self provides a useful lens in exploring the process of binding and boding between individual Christian selves to elicit a collective body. Taking lead from Richard Zaner's phenomenology of the self, Csordas differentiates between two foundational aspects the self: self-presence and presence to the other (2004:170); the former is a ‘situated self-reflexivity’ and the latter is an ’urgency … to reveal itself to other inwardly realized selves’ (Zaner 1981:153). If Chapter 4 explored the state of ‘situated self-reflexivity’ – that is the awareness of the self as other – that emerged from bodily singing practices, this chapter expands that analysis by illustrating how forms of alterity compel Christian selves to reveal themselves to others, thus contributing to the emergence of a collective body.

Following Arthur Kleinman, Csordas argues that the sense of alterity stems from the embodied nature of human beings for whom ‘experience is both within and without the boundary of the body-self, crossing back and forth as if that body was permeable’ (Kleinman 1997:326 in Csordas 2004:166). As such, alterity refers to the gap within ourselves and between us and other people. As Csordas argues, alterity encapsulates the problem of both subjectivity and intersubjectivity because ‘we are never completely ourselves […] and we are never completely in accord with others’ (2004:163). Importantly, he takes this gap as the productive starting point for understanding relationships to the divine. Instead of taking the divine to be the ‘wholly Other’ (as in Otto’s phenomenology) – that is, a sui generis external object of power and awe – Csordas points us in the direction of embodied practices that evince a sense of alterity and offer modalities of closing the gap of alterity. In Csordas’ analysis, alterity takes on a dimension of intimacy and the relationship to the divine is emergent from this experience of intimate alterity. With this reconceptualization of alterity, Csordas seeks to counteract what he sees as the error in previous phenomenologists of religion (such as Otto) of ‘reifying alterity – reifying otherness as an object, rendering it “out there” in such a way that we can be “in its presence”’ (2004:167).

By drawing attention to alterity as embodiment, Csordas’ analysis is useful in shedding light on those interstitial spaces between individuals to better understand

how those intersections between the individual and the collective contribute to the conceptualization and practice of relationships to the divine.

Chapters 2 and 3 showed St Mark's and St Anne's efforts of doing church – that is, of integrating individual religiosities into a collective experience. In this sense, what practices of doing church in effect accomplish is to provide opportunities and tools towards incorporating the sense of *otherness* – either of the human or the divine – that comes forth through embodied practices of singing, praying, listening together. Importantly, the notion of otherness does not refer only to individuals who are not members of each respective church; doing church is about evoking a collective body that, ideally, incorporates all those taking part, with different levels of 'maturity of faith'. In both churches, Sunday services are the primary settings where various forms of alterity interact: non-Christian-others, Christian-others and the God-other. For instance, as an Evangelical church, St Mark's mission is to share the gospel widely and to introduce as many new people to the Bible as possible. Meanwhile, St Anne's is driven to draw in more people by the need to counteract the dwindling number of its congregants. Both churches then find themselves having to negotiate the encounter with non-Christian-others and finding ways of integrating them among the members of the congregation.

At the same time, the sense of collective experience with Christian-others is vulnerable to various hindrances. In St Mark's, having a shared experience with Christian-others relies upon effacing the distinction between performers and audience – that is, between 'us' (the ministers and musicians who orchestrate the services) and 'them' (the congregation). Furthermore, in this church, worshippers seek to integrate their personal relationships with God in the collective in order to grow in maturity of faith. In contrast, in St Anne's, the Christian-other who contributes to a sense of shared experience needs to share the affective resonances with the memory, locality, and tradition of the church. If members of St Mark's regard these aspects as part of the 'Christian ghetto' that hinders the incorporation of Christian believers from other cultural backgrounds, for members of St Anne's, these affective resonances enable the development of their own personal religiosities. While the content of these religiosities might differ from person to person, they remain grounded in the shared practices of doing church at St Anne's. Last but not least, the form of alterity that most worshippers hope to encounter is God. In each church, the figure of the God-other displays different degrees of specificity: if in St

Mark’s God ‘wants’ a personal interaction with each individual worshipper, for many in St Anne’s God is a more diffuse entity, a ‘loving presence’.

Chapters 2 and 3 also showed that music in both churches acts as a medium to communicate doctrinal principles about these forms of alterity. As a counterpart to Chapter 4, which focused on the Christian self, this chapter provides an outward perspective from the self (‘I’) to the collective (‘we’) and illustrates music as the medium through which such forms of otherness are experientially and sensorially encountered and potentially integrated. Building on Merleau-Ponty, ethnomusicologist Harris Berger highlights the profoundly social dimension of the ‘I’–‘we’ relationship. In his words:

> In one’s first reflexive experience, one discovers that the counterpart to oneself as an experiencing subject is oneself as a body in the world. Encountering another body, one does not merely constitute him or her as physical object; one experiences him or her as an *other subject*, because one knows that the counterpart of oneself-as-object is oneself as subject. Finally, the diverse acts by which the subject constitutes experience are radically social: informed by situated event and broader social contexts, actively deployed to achieve social ends, and potentially consequential for others and society as a whole. (1999:20–21)

In engaging with alterity, Berger argues, one experiences the *other* as a subject. While this chapter does not oppose that proposition, what the analysis of music in the making of collective Christian bodies brings forth is that the experience of the *other* as subject is profoundly sensorial. Similar to how the act of rehearsing singing brings the physicality of the voice into the awareness of the Christian self, collective singing brings into the awareness of the worshipper various forms of alterity – the non-Christian-other, the Christian-other, and the God-other as sensorial dimensions which contribute to the making of a collective body. However, while singing practice underlines spatial resonances for the Christian self within the individual body and within the church body, corporate singing brings about temporal resonances within the individual body and within the church body among the various forms of alterity.

The non-Christian other

In the current British context of an increasing number of 'nones' (Woodhead 2015, 2016), Church of England church leaders – and, to various extents, their congregations – ask themselves how to make their services more open and welcoming to those without a Christian background. St Anne's and St Mark's members actively reflected upon non-Christian others who might enter their doors. In St Mark's, a number of activities – introductory courses to Christianity, short weekday lunch services, open evenings – provided opportunities for any interested person to come and discover the church. However, Sunday services remained the main times when non-Christians were likely to join the congregation – sometimes in the form of a member's invited guest, other times in the form of a wandering tourist drawn by the building and the musical sounds coming from within.

As minister Sheila mentioned in Chapter 2, St Mark's building has the appearance of a church with a long history. In the context of heritage tourism in London and the UK, churches with extensive histories go together with an expectation of 'church-like' atmosphere, namely, a solemn air in all practices – gestures, vestments and especially music. Catching a tune spilling out of St Mark's imposing building may surprise the wandering tourist. However, by not employing the expected sacred music style, St Mark's appeals instead to a sense of familiarity through a more generic style of music.

Characterized by one of St Mark's members as 'Radio 2' (easy-listening music, pop, soft rock, mostly ballads) or 'light orchestral and guitar-led', the style – what music sounds like – breaks the barrier, the first sensorial, auditory barrier between the inside and the outside of the church. Some worshippers remembered their first contact with the church, at a time when they were not Christians, as being one of ease and reassurance, since the music was not the 'traditional Anglican chant', but a more familiar, relatable sound. In St Mark's, the traditional musical forms (such as anthems and organ-led hymns) and 'old-fashioned' words (such as 'Thee' and 'Thou') have been abandoned in favour of more relatable forms. Here, church musicians and members consider that traditional musical forms could alienate non-

Christians or Christians from different cultural backgrounds[107] because of the implied connotations of ritualism described earlier – solemn music goes with solemn behaviour. As such, St Mark's style revolves around what members consider to be more neutral musical forms in order to dispel the expectation of rigid propriety and, thus, to create a welcoming and easily accessible environment.

The music style of St Mark's could not really be identified as distinct by an uninitiated non-Christian visitor in the same way one could identify gospel, the Anglican chant or even Hillsong style[108] (Wagner 2013). This attitude to music style is consistent with St Mark's reservation towards traditional Anglican church practice. St Mark's environment, then, does not require visitors, tourists or guests of church members to make a sudden experiential jump because the style of music offers a recognizable, reliably safe auditory background. The sound, beat, and instruments create a musical atmosphere that *feels* familiar.

By creating a familiar, generic sound, St Mark's musical style offers the non-Christian a buffer into the space and practices of the church. Meanwhile, St Anne's musical style conveys specificity. 'If someone wants to listen to a band, a church band', James, one of St Anne's tenors, argued, 'there are other churches that do that. [Traditional Anglican music] might distinguish us from others.' In this sense, traditional Anglican music could be seen as a niche style which could draw in new people by virtue of its distinct sound. The sounds of the organ and the choir create a sonic environment that evokes what still permeates public discourse as the 'portrait' of an Anglican church (Brown 2000), despite the increasing diversity of practices in church services. St Anne's location in a more distant, north-eastern part of London does not draw tourists. The visitors I encountered during my fieldwork were people who had recently moved to the area. Some had not been brought up Christian; some had given up going to church long ago, but considered returning; some came in with curiosity to attend 'a traditional service'; most indicated that the solemn style of music evoked what the atmosphere in a church 'should be like' and placed weight on the ritual of the service as a marker of Christianity. In contrast to St Mark's, St

[107] St Mark's has a considerable proportion of congregants from South Korea, China and the Philippines. While I did not obtain official numbers from St Mark's ministers, based on my participation in services, I would estimate that they represent at least a quarter of the congregation, with most being international students. St Mark's has numerous activities geared towards students; many student members explained that they had discovered St Mark's through fellow students at their universities. This international orientation is not reflected in the church leadership.

[108] In his ethnography of the Hillsong Church in London, Tom Wagner describes the Hillsong style as pop/rock and 'often compared to the music of U2' (2013:96).

Anne's church music created for these visitors a more clearly defined threshold between the outside and the church environment, prompting them to find ways of attuning to the style and practices of the church.

In each church, musicians and members are keenly aware of the fact that music style can act either as a conduit or a barrier for non-Christian-others who might enter the church. Music style, however, not only shapes the experience of the non-Christian-other; it also sustains a particular kind of encounter between worshippers and this form of alterity, thus shaping the conditions for the emergence of a collective body.

St Anne's style of music maintains the affective resonances of its members, converging personal memory with the history of the church and thus generating a sense of belonging (see Chapter 3). As such, for established members, music during Sunday services does not directly instantiate a relationship with the non-Christian-other. By comparison, the more generic music style in St Mark's highlights that in this church, relating to the non-Christian-other is an integral act of eliciting a sense of a collective body.

If in St Mark's, the form of music – the style – is more generic, the message in the music is precise, asserting God's greatness and Jesus Christ' sacrifice for humankind. The words in the music are there to act as reminders of God's truth and character, and worshippers described how they deliberately used singing as a practice of word-based reflection. Anna Strhan has noted that, in the academic turn towards lived religion (Ammerman 2007; Munson 2007; McGuire 2008; Vasquez 2011), 'little attention has been paid to the material practices of those who embody a self-consciously rational, cognitive, word-based lifeworld' (2013:226). In St Mark's, relating to non-Christian-others through the medium of music demonstrates just such a practice of cognitive self-reflection when considering how St Mark's members deal with instances of music non-conducive to their own worshipful state. Choristers and members of St Anne's also described situations where singing certain pieces did not contribute to – or maybe even hindered – one's experience of worship. Similarly to members of St Mark's, they saw this as an implicit condition of corporate worship. However, the comparative lens of this ethnography made apparent St Mark's worshippers' deliberate integration of this experience of music in a process of reflection and growing in maturity of faith.

While all those I spoke to in St Mark's upheld the view that 'all life should be worship', their narratives pointed to certain experiences that they felt were different. Feeling 'uplifted', 'letting go', experiencing a sense of communion with God – all these descriptions conveyed distinct and intense manifestations of 'truly worshipping' and 'losing myself in the words and the music'. Nevertheless, despite all efforts on the part of musicians and members, music could not always guarantee such a state. At times, a member would dislike a song or hymn or would find it difficult to join in the singing. Both choristers and congregants explained that sometimes, 'I've sung songs that I just can't stand', but 'you just put up with it!, as Yvonne, one of the sopranos, admitted. 'Truly worshipping' appeared as a fragile potentiality that was part and parcel of taking part in the service. Gordon Adnams (2013) similarly discusses experiences of singing Christian church music and highlights the heightened experience of worship that his participants report. Yet while he describes an opposition between 'truly worshipping' and 'just singing', St Mark's members' modes of engaging with music demonstrate a productive continuum between these two poles.

We can note in Yvonne's remarks that the sensorial experience of singing a disliked song can be quite visceral. As Mark Porter (2017) has also found in his study of Evangelical music, personal taste plays an important role in creating an experience conducive to worship. However, in a setting where a generic style is employed as a means of opening up the service to non-Christian others, members engage in reflexive acts of integrating their sensorial experience of music into a meaningful one. Yvonne explained that, despite her own subjective experience of the music, 'if somebody out there takes the song and it does something for them and it brings something, then, yes, that's what we'll do!' While the song hindered Yvonne's own state of worship, she deliberately transformed that experience by directing it towards the *other* – in other words, by putting on 'Christ-coloured glasses' (see Chapter 2) and seeing the world through a godly perspective: 'If that song can glorify somebody else, then that's what I'll do […] because we are all different; I think that's why the Lord made us all different.' This encounter with alterity enabled Yvonne to enact biblical principles and thus contributed to her growth in maturity of faith.

This act of orientating one's own unconducive music experience towards the *other* is a gradual process that unfolds as one contributes as an active member of the

church family and grows in maturity of faith. Sitting with Ava and her husband Simon, they described their individual faith journeys alongside their growing understanding of how to contribute to making a collective body. ‘You learn over the years that each thing will help somebody else’, Ava said, even ‘a children’s song which completely drives me mad but… if it helps somebody…’. In an active way, Ava and Simon sought to put their own experience of music to work towards integrating non-Christian others in corporate singing. ‘Very often’, they explained, ‘we’re standing in the back row – very often there are others in front of us. I’m very conscious, actually, of being a reasonably loud voice at the back, helping the ones in front of me feel confident.’ Making the *other* feel confident allows them to take part in the corporate act of singing, thus evoking the sense of a collective body. Meanwhile, the worshipper who may not enjoy a particular song senses the *other* by reorientating one’s experience through the lens of ‘Bible-coloured glasses’, thus contributing to growing in maturity of faith.

By making the non-Christian-other apparent in the sensorial experience of music, singing facilitates acts of reflection that contribute to the emergence of a shared experience. However, the largest number of *others* a worshipper engages with in a service are one’s fellow Christian-others. While the temporal quality of music enables worshippers to fall into a shared sense of rhythm in singing, singing *worship* music evinces a different dimension of making a collective body.

THE CHRISTIAN-OTHER

Among the legacies that the Reformation bestowed upon Anglicanism is the Protestant emphasis on a direct and personal connection to God (see Robbins 2014; Meyer 2014). This aspect did not go unscrutinized by members of each church. For Andrew, one of St Anne’s tenors, ‘Reformation theology is you and the Book [the Bible], and then you can go into the church and be taught and learn with other people, but really, it’s all about you learning from the Book.’ This focus on the individual lacks the communal dimension which, in Andrew’s view, is essential for

an experience of worship. Similarly, even in a setting that encourages a personal relationship with God, such as St Mark's, church leaders and members asserted that joining in a corporate body was necessary in order to enrich and encourage one's own personal faith journey. In the encounter that music afforded, worshippers in both churches sought to integrate their own personal relationships to God or personal religiosities into shared experiences with Christian-others.

Following in the phenomenological strand of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Harris Berger puts forward that 'although experience [...] potentially can be shared across individuals and groups, experience is always someone's experience and sharing is always partial' (1999:19). I argue that it is in this partial sharing that alterity, in the form of the Christian-other, becomes productive in eliciting a collective body. In his exploration of emergent experiences of communion with human and non-human others, Merleau-Ponty argues that perception itself establishes an indelible connection between a perceiver and a thing perceived because the thing perceived stands 'at the terminus of a sensory exploration' (2002 [1962]:320). Through specific practices of singing and listening together, church music-making affords worshippers such sensory explorations of the Christian-other and shapes different sonic modes of togetherness in the two churches. In order to understand how the Christian-other as a form of alterity contributes to collective experience, we first need to understand how the relationship between musicians and congregants shapes the emergent modes of sonic togetherness.

CHRISTIAN-OTHERS AS PERFORMERS AND AUDIENCES

While both churches had groups dedicated to music-making, the relationships between musicians and congregations were different in each. Musicians in both churches articulated their role as 'leading the congregation in worship' – in other words, leading Christian-others in a corporate act of praise. Yet practices of music-making highlighted that this role of leading in worship instantiated specific dynamics between musicians as performers and congregants as audience. In turn, these dynamics framed the modes of sonic togetherness that sustained the collective body of worshippers.

Thomas Turino plots performer–audience dynamics along the axes of participatory and presentational performance. Participatory performance denotes a setting where there are no artist–audience distinctions, 'only participants and potential participants performing different roles' (2008:26); here, the main aim is to involve as many participants as possible. This echoes the aims espoused by ministers and music leaders in St Mark's, where a preponderance of congregational songs creates the time for all present to sing together. In St Anne's as well, music practice aims to involve those present, but the diversity of musical forms – congregational hymns, mass settings, and anthems – create a layered texture where the focus alternates between congregational and choir singing.

The other axis in Turino's (2008:26) description of participation is presentational performance: a setting where a group of people prepare and provide music for another group, who do not participate in the making of the performance. We have seen that, despite the fact that the congregations of both churches are involved to different extents in music-making, the acts of preparation and provision of music are led entirely by particular actors – the director of music, the choirmaster, the music pastor. As Turino points out, in practice, the two modes of performance overlap in different combinations; seeing how they arise in the two churches will help illustrate how the musical contribution of the Christian-other is framed in the making of a collective body.

One straightforward mode that illustrated the dynamics between musicians and congregation was the mode of admission into the music group. In each church, the music group drew voluntary members from the church congregation. Worshippers would come forward to join the choir or music group or be recommended by friends to join. In both churches, admission was straightforward and open to people of all skills, and a member would usually start to attend shortly after expressing interest. One main distinction in the call for participants in each church was the emphasis placed on being a Christian: while in St Mark's the call asked for 'committed Christians', in St Anne's the advertisement was more general, indicating the 'beautiful repertoire' and the social and psychological benefits of singing. If music groups in both churches were open to any member of any skill to join, the practices of music-making signalled that in each church, congregants emerged as Christian-others in relation to musicians in different manners.

For instance, music leaders in St Mark's orientated music practice so as to integrate all musicians in an overall sound rather than highlight individual musical skill. St Mark's choirmaster, Nicholas, explained that what he sought in a new choir member was not someone 'who is going to make a fabulous contribution'; rather, he said, 'I am very strongly looking for someone who is not going to detract.' The aim was thus for one's individual musical contribution to blend seamlessly into a unified collective sound. For Nicholas,

> If there's someone really keen, enthusiastic, but they're not a great singer, but they sing in tune and they don't have the loudest voice in the world, that's probably OK […] Being able to listen and hold a tune, that's probably the single most important thing, and if someone can do that and they're a Christian, that's kind of most of the way there.

This approach lessens the emphasis on individual vocal skill and brings to the fore the intersubjective acts and experience of music-making. In this light, the choir does not stand out as a specialist group that performs music *for* the congregation, thus balancing the relationship between congregants and musicians and, in turn, making music a more participatory act.

In contrast, in St Anne's, despite a welcoming attitude on the part of the choristers and the choirmaster, the choir's numbers seemed to be stagnating.[109] While this could be traced back in part to the dwindling numbers of the congregation as a whole, a couple of choir members indicated a different aspect. Melinda, one of the altos, explained that 'there are people who have a good voice in the congregation who wouldn't consider joining the choir because the music we sing is challenging to a normal musician.' In this sense, she felt St Anne's was 'not a particularly inclusive choir'.[110] The repertoire conveys the 'great beauty' and 'complexity of music' for which choristers and congregants expressed their admiration. Since being in the choir was a voluntary contribution of time and preparation, Melinda pointed out that 'we [the choir] like to enjoy the music we're singing, and we like to enjoy each other's

[109] This refers to the adult choir. During the time of my fieldwork, Valerie, the choirmaster, succeeded in gathering together junior choristers from the children of the few young families in St Anne's congregation. Nevertheless, the call for adult singers did not attract new people during my fieldwork.

[110] Choristers in St Anne's were all extremely welcoming to me and helped me in all aspects when I (temporarily) joined them in singing. While I was a complete beginner in singing, my ethnographic motivation to take part was, of course, different from the motivation of a member of the church. The very point that Melinda is making is that, despite a warm welcome, the technical impositions of the musical pieces may be what keeps some people from joining the choir.

company'; in this respect, 'we've never actually watered it down because the core people in the choir don't want to water it down; they have also the passion for singing this quality of music, but I do think it makes us a bit exclusive.', Melinda explained, indicating that taste becomes a compelling dimension underlying worship. Here, the dynamics between musicians and congregants fall closer to the presentational mode of performance that Turino discusses, with the choir standing out as a specialized mode of music-making. That the choir performs an additional music-making role is apparent in the singing of choral anthems and mass settings. The congregation emerges, then, as an audience who participates only at particular moments in music-making, namely congregational hymns.[111]

Valerie, St Anne's director of music, described some of her subtle ways of seeking to involve the congregation more in the service. For instance, she explained that her precursor used to often change the mass settings. In her view, this made it more difficult for worshippers to join in. In response, she decided to maintain the same mass setting with the hope that congregants would participate in these sung portions of the service. While some congregants joined in, they did so quietly, suggesting an ingrained sense of when one should participate in the service.

The multiple musical forms present in St Anne's find a parallel in the multiple configurations of musicians in St Mark's. In the former, the various musical forms alternate between congregational and choral singing, whereas in the latter the diverse configurations allow for more varied kinds of musical participation from the congregants. Similar to the choir, the orchestra and band in St Mark's welcomed musicians of all skills. This enabled more church members to contribute to church music-making, be that by playing the trombone as an amateur or the piano as a professional. By allowing for more musical configurations, this further balanced the dynamics between musicians and congregants in St Mark's.

Framing the musician–congregation dynamics alongside Turino's performers–audience axis illustrates that the music-making in St Mark's veers towards a participatory mode of performance in contrast to a presentational one in St Anne's. St Mark's sought to efface the distinction between those Christians who participated in planning and rehearsing the music and those Christians who followed

[111] In the order of service, the instructions suggest that the congregation can take part in singing the mass settings as well. During my fieldwork, I rarely heard the congregants joining in during the mass parts and, in the few instances when they did, they would sing very quietly, almost as if singing to themselves.

the music indicated on the order of service. Meanwhile, in St Anne's, members appeared to draw meaningful experiences from musical settings where the Christian-other emerged closer to the 'audience' pole of the musician–congregation dynamics. By establishing these relationships between musicians and congregants, each church engenders different modes of sonic togetherness that integrate the Christian-other in a collective body.

Hearing and listening as sonic modes of togetherness with the Christian-other

'We treat the congregation as if they matter and as if they have a voice', Robert, St Mark's director of music, reaffirmed the work of bridging the gap between musicians and congregants in church music-making. In giving them a voice, congregants move out of the domain of listening agents and into that of vocalizing – that is, *ex*pressing Christian selves (see Chapter 4). By utilizing congregational pieces throughout the service, St Mark's setting enables individuals to sound out their voices together with other congregants. Following Schütz (1977), singing together brings individuals in time with each other and, by virtue of this temporal synchronization, it engenders a sense of communion. However, singing worship music together in St Mark's requires one to be aware of the Christian-other, as one worshipper's reflections demonstrate:

> I am prone to closing my eyes when I sing, but then I sometimes tell myself, 'No, open your eyes, because actually it's not just about me and God, it's about me and a community of people doing it with each other', and hearing my brothers and sisters sing God's praise reminds me I'm not alone, and I hear them singing things that I believe.

Echoing Ben's remarks that in singing, 'I' should become 'we', Sheila, quoted above, further indicates that the sensoriality of singing is what affords blending one's personal relationship with God into the collective experience. Instead of insulating one sense (vision) in favour of another (sound), Sheila deliberately draws on multiple sensorial modalities in her experience of singing. Seeing reinforces hearing; by opening her eyes, Sheila perceives the *others* at the terminus of her visual exploration, as Merleau-Ponty would have it (2002 [1962]:320). Since

the voice is an externalization of the Christian self (see Chapter 4), hearing these *others* singing things that she herself believes is what further shapes them as subjects, as Christian-others. Congregational singing enables Christian-others to sing together in a setting where the performer–audience distinction is effaced. The sonic mode of togetherness that emerges in this encounter revolves around the simultaneous voicing of biblical truths and hearing Christian-others utter the same. Thus, the Christian-other becomes apparent as a sensorial form of alterity that voices shared beliefs.

While paying heed to the sensoriality of music, ministers, musicians and congregants alike cultivated a practice of examining their experiences of music in St Mark's. Not long after describing her experience of singing, Sheila also pointed out:

> This is the danger of music… that it will whip up in you an emotion that, if it's not based on truth, can lead to people feeling emotion that is not based on truth, but it's based on music. […] I have been in a different church where […] the music had got you to an emotional high, and at this point no one had preached God's word or talked about God's word or talked about Jesus.

Almost everyone I spoke to in St Mark's brought up the fact that emotions and their sensorial effects can be misleading, sharing Sheila's recognition that music has the power to create a space of vulnerability if not appropriately guided by biblical teaching. In view of this, congregants described anchoring their experiences of singing in relation to sermons, prayers and readings. For them, music became an instance for examining one's own experiential responses in order to learn to discern the kindling of their experiences. As Ben, the music pastor, put it, 'It might not be the Holy Spirit – it might just be a good key change that kind of just lifts your whole mood.'

With emotion considered such a slippery experiential dimension of music, congregants sought to 'protect' the collective body from expressions of worship that would destabilize it. For instance, a few people told me that some congregants had 'spiritual gifts', such as speaking in tongues or intense, outward manifestations of experiencing a communion with God. Nevertheless, no such manifestations were ever present in church; those congregants who possessed such spiritual gifts, it was explained to me, chose to 'keep' them for private settings. Reminding me of the 'us-and-them' distinction musicians sought to dissolve, the director of music pointed out

that one's heightened experience of a spiritual gift would emphasize another's lack of such an experience. In light of this, the Christian-other would become an unproductive form of alterity that would detract from the emergence of a collective body. In the same way in which the choirmaster sought voices in new choir members that would not detract, worshippers seek not to disturb the overall affective expression of the collective body. Their experiences of singing worship music fall under a levelled affective expression shared with the Christian-others.

While many in St Mark's echoed the theological motivation for a suspicion of emotion, the self-ironic mention of 'British restraint' points to worshippers' recognition of the influence of cultural values associated with a British, middle-class audience with respect to expression of worship. In practice, within St Mark's more ethnically diverse congregation, many people felt comfortable lifting their arms during service suggesting that this expression became 'a socially acceptable way' of worshipping (Krapohl and Lippy 1999:172). However, one woman I met, Sandy, British and in her 30s, experienced the lack of more intense outwardly manifestation of worship as a significant absence. While she reasserted her commitment to St Mark's and the biblical teaching imparted there, she also explained that 'about once a month' she would go to a more charismatic church, like Holy Trinity Brompton. This allowed her to maintain her search for true biblical teaching, while also fulfilling her need for worship sustained by longer periods of music when she could 'lose' herself in singing and being with God. Sandy's example, together with Ben's earlier remarks about spiritual gifts, suggests an underlying separation between private and church spheres based on forms of expressions of religiosity, which limits the possibilities of inclusion and sharing in corporate worship for people such as Sandy.

In St Mark's services, expressions of worship are shaped by hearing as a sonic mode of togetherness. Hearing the Christian-other as a separate voice that utters the same words renders this form of alterity as a sensorial dimension in corporate singing. In contrast, congregational hymns are but one form of music in St Anne's. St Anne's members similarly described how hymns contribute to a sense of 'being together' with the other worshippers. However, this form of music-making is framed by choral anthems and mass settings that illuminate listening as a sonic mode of togetherness in St Anne's.

Echoing Christopher Small's understanding that music draws people in communion because it is orientated towards a set of shared ideas and ideals (1998:8),

members of St Anne's expressed views that religious music was not 'made just to exist as music on its own', as Andrew, one of the tenors, put it:

> The people who wrote this music intended it to function within a church. […] There has to be something more to it than just music to understand why Thomas Tallis or William Byrd[112] wrote this piece of music and what was it born out of. It's very much more like they were creating something which was meant to be alive, rather than creating something which was a template which could be repeated again and again and again.

The significance of music emerges from the confluence of multiple dimensions such as the gathering of congregants, the manifestation of music in church as a dedicated worship space, and the creative intention woven into the music by the composer. In contrast, in St Mark's, the meaning of music resides in the words, since the words reflect biblical truth. Here, the worshipper grows in maturity of faith by reflecting upon the words and allowing them to 'dwell in one's heart and mind'. As such, singing enables a connection to the meaning of music as an immediate experience because biblical truth is unwavering. Hearing as a mode of togetherness reinforces this sense of immediacy by making the Christian-other apparent in the emergent moment of experience. In contrast, in St Anne's, music draws meaning from multiple sources, thus compelling worshippers to take time for reflection and evoking musical experience as an unfolding in time. To this end, Andrew remarked that 'it doesn't prove that something spiritual is going on just because the congregation is singing loud. It's more to do with the apprehension of the music rather than the singing of it.'

We can note another indication of St Anne's orientation towards a presentational mode of performance, which I previously pointed to in analyzing the musician–congregation dynamics. Andrew's remark distinguishes here what this mode of performance affords worshippers – namely, a sense of contemplation. Because of the very 'slow unfolding of emotion over time' that a presentational mode of performance affords (Hesmondhalgh 2013:91), listening becomes a practice of communal contemplation in St Anne's. In contrast to St Mark's, where the Christian-other is a voicing form of alterity, this sense of contemplation conveys the Christian-other as a form of alterity conducive to a collective body by virtue of the

[112] Thomas Tallis (1505–1585) and William Byrd (1538–1623) are English composers whose compositions form the core of sacred music repertoire in the UK.

act of listening – that is, taking in and working through the threads of meaning in church music.

Whereas in St Mark's, the Bible-based words help the worshipper monitor one's emotional responses, in St Anne's, worshippers welcome the emotional sensations as an enrichment of their experience. 'I would worship through my senses!' one of the members declared, somewhat amused by my question about the 'risks' of emotion, and explained that 'to me, worship without music is a very *bland* experience – I want music in my worship!' (my emphasis). The sensoriality of music is instrumental to a worshipper's own experience and, in turn, to his or her encountering Christian-others in a collective body. In St Anne's, the manifestations of these experiences remained within the scope of 'British restraint', as members jokingly referred to their solemn, reserved behaviour in service; in this sense, this was not unlike St Mark's levelled affective expression of the collective body. Nevertheless, while St Mark's members would remain wary of their experiential responses, St Anne's worshippers would use listening together as a communal practice of reflection in order to approach that which music affords and which 'language can't get at', in Andrew's words: 'When language falls short, you need other areas to approach it. [...] Music can express an idea which possibly language can't', he continued.

In view of this, I suggest that, within St Anne's setting of shared affective resonances, music affords Christian-others the act of listening as an aesthetic practice – in Aristotelian terms. Birgit Meyer argues for a return to the Aristotelian notion of *aisthesis* as 'our corporeal capability on the basis of a power given in our psyche to perceive objects in the world via our five different sensorial modes [...], and at the same time a specific constellation of sensations as a whole' (Meyer and Verrips 2008:21; Meyer 2009:6). In this light, listening, as a sensorial mode, becomes a way of engaging the Christian-other, even when the Christian-other may not voice or even find the same precise meaning in music. For example, while for Andrew the 'sacred' in 'sacred music' is intrinsic, for one of his fellow congregants, William, this style of music conveys the beauty and complexity that he appreciates:

> If you're going to ask me if the music increases the faith and the religious experience of people, I wouldn't know how to answer that, I think. It doesn't for me, really – it's aesthetics, as far as I'm concerned – but for other people

> it may be different. […] As far as I'm concerned, the music is an aesthetic experience, not a religious experience.

William here uses 'aesthetics' in closer resemblance to the Kantian notion, which re-positions *aisthesis* as the 'domain of the beautiful rendered in the sphere of the arts to a disinterested beholder' (Meyer 2009:6). His subsequent comments in my interview with him suggest, however, that even in his case, where music does not invoke a religious experience, it is the sensorial relationship to fellow worshippers and to the church that integrates him as a Christian-other in the collective body:

> *Alina*: One counterargument, and I'm just playing the devil's advocate here, is that by having too much aesthetic enjoyment, one doesn't focus on God anymore.
> *William*: That doesn't worry me in the least! [Laughs with satisfaction] Which takes me back, you see, to belonging to the church, because of the way I was brought up and because I want to be part of a section of the community – it fits in with that, I think.

Through practices of listening as a mode of communal contemplation, both Andrew and William contribute to eliciting a sense of collective experience. Perceiving the *other*, Merleau-Ponty (2002 [1962]) argues, elicits communion. Listening as contemplation illustrates a more nuanced version of this proposition, namely, that 'experiencing the world is to perceive it in a personal manner within the frame of a cultural experience' (Le Breton 2017:29). It is the communal aspect of music in the particular affective setting of the church that both Andrew and William build on and act in as Christian-others, formative of a collective body.

The various modes of engaging with Christian- and non-Christian-others have shown that these forms of alterity are more than cultural and discursive constructs; they are also immediate and, at times, intimately sensorial. By including both members and non-members of each respective church, the notion of otherness in these two churches renders church services as 'affective encounter[s] of a body with other bodies' (Biddle and Thompson 2013:8). Eliciting a collective body is reliant on the individual body as a 'dynamic ensemble of relations that is defined by its affective capacity' (ibid.:9). But if music affords being-in-time and makes Christian- and non-Christian others apparent as sensorial forms of alterity, the purpose of the collective body resides in its orientation towards an atemporal, impalpable form of alterity – the God-other.

THE GOD-OTHER

In Chapter 2, I illustrated how preachers in St Mark's employ sensorial imagery through metaphors of food and ingestion in order to convey the spiritual sustenance provided by growing in knowledge of God. Following Simon Coleman (2000) and Anna Strhan (2013), I suggest that the prevalence of metaphors of ingestion in St Mark's sermons render the act of teaching God's word comparable to the sacrament of the Eucharist in St Anne's. Whereas in St Anne's the celebrant places the wafer in the worshipper's mouth and shares the wine, thus, an actual act of ingestion being performed, in St Mark's, music leaders parallel this through a symbolical act by which 'We put words in people's mouths.' Within St Mark's intellectualist approach to being Christian that emphasizes understanding the Word of God through a word-based practice of reading and studying the Bible, this act thus takes on added significance.

Here, I further this comparison by examining St Mark's sermon and after-sermon song, on the one hand, and St Anne's Eucharist and anthem, on the other, as composite acts. In both churches, people signalled the link between the focal points of the service and the musical pieces following them. In St Mark's, the after-sermon song took the most effort in planning, with music leaders meticulously reflecting on what song was most appropriate to reinforce the message of the sermon. Worshippers, similarly, recalled looking forward to the after-sermon song and finding that the song complemented their understanding of the sermon. Meanwhile, St Anne's members described the Eucharist as the pinnacle of the journey that the service represented for them, with the complexity and beauty of the anthem appropriately mirroring the sharing of the bread and the wine. The sermon and the Eucharist as focal points of service convey the Anglican strand that each church adopts. By treating these focal points and the music that follows them as compounds of spoken and sung word, I show how they not only illustrate a doctrinal position, but convey worshippers' modes of integrating the God-other in the collective body.

RESPONDING TO A PERSONAL, PERFECT GOD

Taking fieldnotes during St Mark's services did not feel inappropriate or awkward to me. In part, this was because of the large congregation, which gave me the sense that I could be less noticeable in a row at the back. Primarily, however, it was because I was not the only one taking notes. A couple of weeks into my fieldwork, I noticed a number of students taking out notepads and pens as the preacher came up to deliver the sermon. Some would seemingly write down every word, while others would record a few sentences or expressions that, I assumed, they found meaningful. Those taking notes were mostly youth and by no means a majority. Nevertheless, this diligent manner of taking in the word of God as expounded in the sermon conveyed the importance of the spoken word for a worshipper's individual faith journey.

Apart from reinforcing the perceived reliability of the word (in contrast to the risk of music to arouse emotion), sermons endow spoken word with a pedagogical role with reference to God as well as to humans. They expound upon God's word, remind worshippers of His everlasting, perfect character and illustrate God's perspective on the world. Before starting, the preacher calls for God's guidance, reminding all present that the sermon is how God speaks to His worshippers. At the same time, sermons convey the biblical perspective on human nature – what preachers referred to as 'biblical anthropology'. In sermons, preachers used this notion to encapsulate the intrinsically sinful character of human beings and to guide worshippers towards understanding Jesus Christ's atonement as the only possible salvation.

This opposition of qualities, between God's perfect character and worshippers' intrinsic sinfulness, forms the core of Anna Strhan's (2013; 2015) ethnography of a London Evangelical church with a word-based approach, similar to St Mark's. Strhan demonstrates that, by learning to see God as coherent and perfect, worshippers also become aware of their own moral fragmentation. As such, the sermon effectively draws out the relationship between God and humans as the distance between perfect character and sin. In this context, worshippers seek to 'summon each other, the text of the Bible and the characters in it' (2013:251) and develop an intersubjective collective identity as 'the body of Christ' (2013:250).

While Strhan's account closely resonates with St Mark's setting and practice of worship, I suggest that in St Mark's, the counterweight of the after-sermon song is what reveals the affective and sensorial dimension of the God-other in the making of the collective body.

The pedagogical role of the sermon extends to the words of the after-sermon song; in this way, the music mirrors the message of the sermon, reaffirming for worshippers that, in the relationship between a perfect God and a sinful individual, God is the focus. Dwelling on the example of problematic wording in a hymn, choirmaster Nicholas illustrated the way in which these two antithetic poles play off one another:

> So there's a particular example that comes up of a song called *Above All Powers* by Michael W. Smith. And it has as its last line… it has the phrase 'You took the fall' – as in, You went to the cross – 'and thought of me above all.' Now, Jesus on the cross was not thinking primarily about us; he was doing it for God's glory. God's plan is all about Him and, you know, He's at the centre; we are not at the centre. There can be quite significant errors in the truth. We strive very hard that we don't put words into people's mouth that are not demonstrably true based on a biblical understanding.

We note in Nicholas' remarks that, while the God-other is at the centre, He remains the personal God who 'wants interaction' (see Chapter 2). As such, words in the after-sermon song are instrumental not only to expressing biblical truth, but to externalizing Christian selves through acts of voicing (see Chapter 4). As Nicholas suggests, if God speaks to worshippers through the sermon, then the words worshippers use to respond to Him in song need to mirror the same truth. What the after-sermon song enables, then, is an experiential shift from listening to God speaking to worshippers through the sermon to worshippers voicing their response to His Word. Thus, the effect of the music is not only to reinforce the sermon as the focal point of the service, but to enable worshippers to express their Christian selves as an address to God, thereby building simultaneously an individual and a collective relationship with God. Ben, the music pastor, underlined the significance of this act of responding to God in singing:

> We're putting words in people's mouths that they're using to express themselves to God. I take that very seriously; we all take that very seriously. So we want to be careful about what it is that we get people to say. […] So

> it's not just like we sing because we like to sing – no, this is… again, as I said before, it's shaping how we communicate about God, to God, what it is that we're thinking about God, what do we have to say to God, what does He have to say to us, because there are some of the hymns we sing that are specifically the words of God to us, often rewritten through Scripture.

The words of each song shape how worshippers in St Mark's people externalize their Christian selves in singing. As an act of singing together, the after-sermon song enables worshippers to converge their individual voices. In addition, as the counterpart to the sermon, this song creates a dialogic setting in real time where worshippers listen to God's Word and respond at once. Viewed thus, the sermon and after-sermon song instantiate a call-and-response dynamic between the God-other and the body of worshippers. In music, a call-and-response is a style of singing in which a lead singer sings a phrase or melody and another singer or a group echo that same phrase or melody. This analogy helps illustrate how the sermon and after-sermon song compound create an affective and intersubjective setting not only among worshippers, but in relation to the God-other as well. This setting reinforces the message that God remains at the centre but, through the response part of the song, it integrates worshippers as productive agents in the manifestation of that message. The Christian-other becomes a medium of touching the transcendental through its aural presence as a form of alterity. It is in the feeling of 'I'm not alone' and the fact that many Christian-others voice out the same words that the worshipper experiences a sense of engaging in a call-and-response with the God-other. Mark Evans describes singing congregational songs along two axes: a horizontal one – singing to one's fellow worshippers – and a vertical one – singing to God (2006:19). Through the arrangement of the sermon and after-sermon song, in St Mark's, the two axes of worship converge, thus strengthening the sense that worshipping God is intimately articulated with worshipping as a collective body.

LISTENING IN THE SOUNDS OF THE HOLY

In St Mark's, the sermon and after-sermon song instantiate an act of call-and-response between the collective body of worshippers and God; the worshippers come together in song, voicing the same words in order to respond to a God who wants

them to interact with Him. In St Anne's, the Eucharist and the anthem, as a composite act, establish different dynamics between spoken and sung word and, in turn, a different relationship with the God-other.

The Eucharist – the sharing of bread and wine in remembrance of Jesus' sacrifice – is framed by prayers, parts of the mass, the anthem and, sometimes, a hymn. In St Anne's, a hymn was sung if Communion took longer than the duration of the anthem; however, while people referred to the anthem as part and parcel of the Eucharist, the hymn was not considered along the same lines. The set prayers of the Eucharist are uttered by the celebrant. They bring attention to God's acts and attributes while also reminding worshippers of Jesus' sacrifice and the acts in the Last Supper, as we can see in this excerpt from St Anne's order of service:

> *Father, we give you thanks and praise*
> *through your beloved Son Jesus Christ, your living Word,*
> *through whom you have created all things;*
> *who was sent by you in your great goodness to be our Saviour*

[A verse reaffirming that Jesus is God's son, born of a virgin, who brought salvation to humankind through his sacrifice on the cross]

> *Therefore with angels and archangels,*
> *and with all the company of heaven*
> *we proclaim your great and glorious name,*
> *forever praising you and saying:*
>
> ***Holy, holy, holy Lord,***
> ***God of power and might,***
> ***heaven and earth are full of your glory.***
> ***Hosanna in the highest.***
> ***Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.***
> ***Hosanna in the highest.***[113]
>
> *Lord, you are holy indeed, the source of all holiness;*

[This next section describes the acts of the Last Supper, in which Jesus took bread, broke it and gave it to his disciples saying, 'Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me.' He then took the cup and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Drink this, all of you; this is my blood of

[113] This is a part of the mass that is chanted by the choir. It is marked in bold on the order of service to indicate that the congregation can join in, but rarely did congregants audibly do so.

the new covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.']

[Another section reaffirming God's greatness, followed by the Lord's Prayer, which once more asserts God's holiness, asks for His forgiveness and deliverance from evil and ends with 'For the kingdom, the power and the glory are yours, now and forever. Amen.']

As the celebrant breaks the wafers, the congregation declare together, 'Though we are many, we are one body, because we all share in one bread.' This is followed by another part of the mass, *Agnus Dei* ('Lamb of God'), sung by the choir, which reminds worshippers, 'Lamb of God, you take away the sin of the world, have mercy on us.' After the utterance of this part of the set liturgy, worshippers walk to the chancel to receive the bread and the wine, continuing to speak the set words of the liturgy. As they receive communion, they respond with a single 'Amen' and then return to their pews. As they walk back slowly and quietly, the anthem, sung by the choir, fills the space of the church.

As we can see, these set prayers and parts of mass convey an absolute image of God as holy and all-powerful. The worshipper's presence in these lines is to proclaim God's 'great and glorious name'. A sense of God's perfection emerges in these prayers and parts of mass, similarly to St Mark's sermons. However, whereas in St Mark's this image of perfection was counterpointed by the emphasis on sinful human nature, in St Anne's the human presence is subdued in the liturgy. The worshipper is there to bring praise and to receive the bread and the wine. The Eucharistic Prayer affords a response from the worshipper, but it is always a scripted, set one, either in reaffirming that worshippers become one body by sharing in one bread or by acknowledging God's greatness with an 'Amen'.

In St Mark's, the after-sermon song offers an instance for worshippers to voice a response actively to God as a collective body, whereas in St Anne's, the anthem further draws on listening as a mode of engagement with alterity – in this case, the God-other. As worshippers return to their seats, 'you could see people listening to it [the anthem], or they're very deep in thought – it's very important', as some members described the atmosphere. The anthem is there to support the mood of devotion through its complexity and solemn affect. 'For example', one chorister

explained, 'when we want to sing the [Handel's] *Hallelujah Chorus*, we wait until Communion is over, and then we sing it because it would be distracting to the communion to have [it].' St Anne's worshippers described the *Hallelujah Chorus* as a rousing and joyful piece and, as such, strikingly different from the expected and desired mood of the Eucharist. Having received the bread and the wine, the worshippers take the time to contemplate the divine, themselves and their relationship with God and other worshippers. The script of spoken words offers a 'structured process' when 'we're tempted [...] to get in touch with God to make sure we're not going completely off the rails without realizing it', as Michael, one of St Anne's members, explained. By uttering the scripted words, people enter a space of reflection.

In Chapter 3, one of St Anne's members, Patrick, mentioned *Hamlet* to suggest that uttering scripted spoken words does not mean having a routinized experience; instead, for him it meant doing the relentless work of finding new ways of drawing meaning from the script. In a similar fashion, the spoken words that worshippers utter as they take the bread and the wine act as a portal which opens them up to reflecting upon God, as well as upon themselves in relation to God and to their fellow worshippers. The anthem posits worshippers as listeners. As a medium that can get to meaning that language cannot reach – as we have seen earlier with the anthem – listening becomes a productive act of reflection and of exploring the divine. In contrast to St Mark's members' descriptions of a personal God whose character can be discovered in the Bible, in St Anne's, God emerges as an entity with whom worshippers connect by finding new ways of contemplating divine perfection and holiness.

In relating to the God-other, the call-and-response act facilitated by the sermon and after-sermon song in St Mark's creates an immediate temporal resonance. That is to say, singing together allows worshippers to sync their subjective experience, what Schütz called 'inner time', with that of Christian-others in a direct response to God's word. Meanwhile, in St Anne's, listening allows the worshipper to draw on one's inner time in an act of contemplating the divine and supporting one's own personal spirituality in relation to that of others. We see then that church music-making shapes individual and collective Christian bodies through cultivating both spatial and temporal resonances between worshippers.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By focusing on singing, I have illustrated how sound and music engender relations to forms of alterity that elicit a collective body. This collective body is not a homogenous unity, but one in which the non-Christian-other, the Christian-other and the God-other emerge as sensorial dimensions. In St Mark's, singing instantiates a mode of sonic togetherness based on hearing and creates immediate temporal resonances between the bodies of the non-Christian-other and Christian-other. In turn, this transforms these forms of alterity into media through which worshippers can encounter God. It is in the presence, rather than concealment, of this media that this encounter becomes more potent. Meanwhile, in St Anne's, forms of alterity are productive in creating a collective body based on listening as a mode of togetherness; here, temporal resonances between worshippers draw on their acts of reflection in inner time.

Taken together, Chapters 4 and 5 have highlighted how music and sound reveal the work that worshippers do in order to engage with the materiality of their bodies and the materiality of their fellow worshippers. Looking at services as affective and sonic encounters between bodies brings to light the ordinary experiences during a service, how worshippers engage in regular weekly encounters, how they make meaning from this routine and how this meaning is instrumental to their sense of being Christian (irrespective of how they define 'Christian'). Using music as a lens to look at church practice reveals that worshipping is a practice that not only implies a worshipper's relationship with God but draws on a whole configuration of relationships and temporal and affective resonances to other worshippers, as well as to the space of the church.

CONCLUSION

As we are finishing off our talk about music, I ask Margot, one of St Anne's sopranos, if there's anything else she thinks we should have discussed. After a short pause, she adds:

> We could close on a chap who worships here, who's older than me. And I said to him not long ago, 'Do you think there's going to be a Church of England in 50 years' time?' and he said, 'Oh, good heavens, no!' He said, 'Of course not!' [Laughing a bit, with a hesitant sigh at the end] … So, who knows … But I must say, I feel like that sometimes.

Although religion is indeed not disappearing – but transforming – in the world, unchurching remains a reality in the British religious landscape. This comparative ethnography of St Mark's and St Anne's has shown two Church of England churches whose worshippers actively seek to sustain and provide a future for the collective bodies to which they belong. In this endeavour, each church has developed a different approach that shapes the formation of Christian selves and elicits collective bodies through particular modes of togetherness. In order to understand how these gatherings sit within Christian lives and experiences, I have explored the music practices of St Mark's and St Anne's through a comparative framework and a phenomenological lens that showed that individual and collective Christian bodies emerge from different ways of incorporating alterity. In this concluding chapter, I will punctuate the insights that this thesis has brought forth while also offering my reflections regarding the notion of alterity for the exploration of religious practice and the future of the anthropological study of religion.

In contrast to the tendency in the anthropology of religion to study the transformation of religion in contemporary times by focusing on new religious movements, with this thesis I have shown the need for researchers of religion to explore ethnographically those traditions that appear to be in decline. As

representatives of a religion faced with diminishing numbers in the UK, St Mark's and St Anne's illustrate different approaches to addressing this issue. In turn, these approaches also reveal how strategies of dealing with the history of the Church of England are employed in modes of engaging with new potential congregants and shaping the future of each individual church. The comparative framework has made apparent that in employing such strategies, St Mark's and St Anne's need to converge two types of affiliation.

The first type of affiliation that St Mark's and St Anne's uphold is an institutional one, namely, as Anglican churches that are part of the Church of England. As Anglican churches, St Mark's and St Anne's lean against the history of the Church of England. Through acts of doing church, they develop individual modes of relating to this history, emphasizing certain aspects (such as liturgy, in the case of St Anne's, or Bible teaching, in the case of St Mark's) and softening others (for example, ceremony in St Mark's, or worshippers' relationship to the text of the Bible in St Anne's). For St Mark's and St Anne's, upholding an institutional affiliation to the Church of England means sustaining an evaluative process of selecting and configuring church practices by reflecting upon the role of Christianity, the Church of England, and the individual church for the congregation and for the world at large. As such, individual churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's are compelled to enter discussions (with their congregations and with other faiths) about secularism, the value of religious practice and the purpose of churches in today's world. While informed and guided by the institutional authority of the Church of England, individual churches are the settings where the social, political, and economic changes of the 'global city' are materialized in the lives of worshippers and potential congregants, thus demanding attention and debate.

The second type of affiliation that the notion of doing church has illustrated refers to the cultivation of Christian selves and the modes of forming collective bodies. In this context, practices of doing church have highlighted how experiential dimensions and strategies of enacting church membership enable church members to fashion Christian selves and to become involved in a collective body. In St Mark's, one's affiliation to the church is interconnected with a process of Christian self-making that emphasizes choosing Christianity as a deliberate, rational action. As such, the church becomes an environment where this self-making can be developed through acts of studying the Bible and through Bible-focused worship. In contrast,

the affiliation of St Anne's members relies on cultivated affective resonances that draw on individual memories, a sense of local community and a sense of social responsibility to this local community.

In highlighting these two types of affiliation, the thesis contributes to the anthropological study of religion, and of Christianity in particular, by emphasizing the role of churches as intermediaries between a world religion and individual worshippers' religiosities. As Schielke and Debevec argue, in the case of 'world religions with long-lasting textual and institutional traditions' (2012:2), there is still a perceived separation on the part of scholars between doctrine and practice. However, in conveying St Mark's and St Anne's as individual churches with agency not only in relation to worshippers, but also to the Church of England, my ethnography compels us to reconsider the role of churches in addressing the 'gap that is located exactly in that moment where daily practice and grand schemes come together' (Schielke and Debevec 2012:2). With its focus on services and music practices, the ethnography has shown how through practices of doing church – the acts and modes of integrating individual religiosities into a collective experience – worshippers' lived religiosities shape the embodiment of doctrine and the significance of that enactment.

Furthermore, by exploring the kinds of affiliation that St Mark's and St Anne's enact through practices of doing church, this thesis has addressed the scholarly separation in the anthropology of religion between institutional and lived religion. Members of St Mark's and St Anne's direct their efforts towards shaping and sustaining collective bodies that worship together and make communities together. In doing so, they engender modes of togetherness that create ties between the members of a collective. For instance, in St Mark's, by gathering in a collective body of worshippers, members aim to efface national, cultural and personality differences and emerge as Christian selves orientated collectively towards God. In contrast, in St Anne's, the collective body incorporates differences of personal religiosities as long as worshippers share in a framework of recognized affective resonances. By drawing on the anthropology of affect in this ethnography, I have conveyed how music-making interweaves personal memories and experiences with elements of church practice – such as vestments, making the sign of the cross or singing mass settings – thus rendering the church as an affective environment.

If, as I noted in the beginning of this dissertation, 'a straightforward narrative of progress from the religious to the secular is no longer acceptable' (Asad 2003:1),

then this thesis has demonstrated how 'religious' and 'secular' act as flexible labels that church leaders and congregants employ in the making of Christian selves and collective bodies. By showing that services are chronotopes where institutional and lived religion infuse one another, my thesis has illustrated that, even in church settings, a clear separation between 'religious' and 'secular' spheres is untenable. As we have seen, musicians in both St Mark's and St Anne's described efforts to tackle the practical aspects of music-making that distract worshippers from focusing on the divine. Be that a new song or a difficult composition, such aspects shape how worshippers experience the service as a composite of intensities of worship.

Emerging as worshippers *and* music-makers, St Mark's and St Anne's members' navigation of the tension between 'worship' and 'performance' reinforces recent claims by researchers of religion (Meyer 2014; see also Engelke 2014) that a separation between 'religious' and 'secular' spheres is not productive for understanding Christian selves and collective bodies in a 'global city' (Sassen 2013[1991]), such as London. As sociologist Saskia Sassen argues, London is an example of a new *kind* of city that emerged due to 'massive and parallel changes in [its] economic base, spatial organization, and social structure' (ibid.:3). As a global city, London faces a social and economic polarization and a fragmentation of its urban space (ibid.:339) that directly influence how people sustain their religiosities in relation to their local communities, their workplaces, and their lifestyles.

Instead, this ethnography points us towards 'post-secularism' as a lens through which to explore contemporary religious phenomena. Proposed by Jürgen Habermas (2008), this notion indicates that religion continues to play an important role in public life (see Casanova 1994, 2001). Habermas has argued that we now live in a society that 'has to adjust itself to the continued existence of religious communities in an increasingly secularised environment' (2008:19). Unlike the secularization theory, this perspective no longer assumes the decline of religion due to technological and industrial advancement as an inherent condition for modernity. Through their acts of integrating individual religiosities into collective bodies, churches such as St Mark's and St Anne's show how they mould, incorporate, and utilize labels of 'secular' and 'religious' in order to establish themselves as individual churches rather than as exemplars of the Church of England. More precisely, these acts of negotiating and reflecting upon the boundaries of 'secular' become an integral part of the continuous process of forming Christian selves and

collective bodies in St Mark's and St Anne's. In this light, the notion of post-secularism leads us to pay closer attention to the ways in which worshippers integrate what they may perceive as 'secular' into their Christian identities, such as singing without worshipping, for instance.

By comparing an Anglican Evangelical church and an Anglican middle-of-the-road parish church, the thesis has illustrated Protestantism as a spectrum of diverse practices and subjectivities. As such, it contributes to the anthropology of Christianity by bringing more nuance to the understanding of Protestantism – generally considered in terms of a binary that values belief over practice, content over form (see Opas and Haapalainen 2017:6–8) – and by counterbalancing the emphasis given to Pentecostal and Charismatic practices. As Birgit Meyer (2014:216) argues, the scholarly view of Protestantism was shaped by a Weberian perspective that de-emphasized outward forms of expressions, such as rituals, in favour of an internal, belief-centred religiosity. St Mark's and St Anne's show, however, that lived Protestantism draws on a number of individual and collective practices that range in formality, ceremony, liturgy, music style and modes of relating to the Bible and that conjoin form and content. For instance, being Christian in St Mark's is a matter of growing in maturity of faith by learning to see the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses', that is, by changing one's interpretative lens of the world. In turn, the way in which worshippers are able to exercise this change is through acts of singing together with other worshippers and by affecting and being affected by their sensorial presence. In St Anne's, being Christian is about creating a community within which different personal religiosities can co-exist; for instance, while the liturgical format in St Anne's is fixed, each worshippers' conceptualization of the divine, religion or spirituality can significantly vary.

Through illustrating how these different configurations of lived Protestantism shape the making of Christian selves and collective bodies, St Mark's and St Anne's have emerged as religious communities that aim to establish and maintain relationships with human and divine forms of alterity. Through the orchestration of services, each church cultivates a mode of sonic togetherness that shapes how the collective body contribute in articulating worshippers' relationship to God. Crystallized in the sermon and after-sermon song, St Mark's worshippers' relationship to God develops through a call-and-response sonic interaction between God's Word, expounded upon in the sermon, and the collective body that emerges in

singing the after-sermon song. This dynamic reaffirms the image of a personal God, who wants a direct relationship with individual worshippers, while simultaneously cultivating the sensorial experience of relating to God by being together with others in a corporate expression of biblical truth. In contrast, in St Anne's, worshippers' relationship to God is punctuated through a liturgical Eucharist followed by a choir-sung anthem, drawing on listening as a mode of sonic togetherness. By listening together, worshippers experience their relationship to God as an act of corporate contemplation within which individual worshippers practise personal modes of finding meaning in the music and liturgy.

Having highlighted how this comparative ethnography of church music-making has added to the anthropology of religion and of Christianity, I will present my concluding reflections by expanding on the relationship between sound, music and alterity.

ENCOUNTERS WITH ALTERITY

In this thesis, I have sought to illustrate the generative effect of alterity in exploring Christian religious practice. Through a phenomenological lens focused on the musical practices of St Mark's and St Anne's, this ethnography showed the two churches operating as sonic, sensorial environments that cultivate different modes of togetherness between worshippers. While St Mark's emphasizes a mode of togetherness based on singing together, St Anne's counterbalances that with a cultivation of listening as a mode of corporate contemplation. By drawing on (ethno)musicology, I illustrated that services in both churches operate as (musical) encounters with forms of alterity: the self as other, the Christian-other, the non-Christian-other, and the God-other.

In the anthropology of religion and of Christianity, *otherness* is grounded in works that emphasize how this notion has operated as a tool of oppression in colonial Christian encounters. Following Said (1978), David Chidester notes 'how European subjectivity was sustained and reinforced at the expense of conquering, dominating,

and objectifying a world of colonized "Others"' (1996:2). In order to address the imbalance brought upon by *otherness* in studies of religion, Chidester proposes looking at 'frontier zones', that is, 'a zone of contact […] between two or more previously distinct societies' (1996:20). This approach has indeed been very fruitful in the anthropology of religion and of Christianity, demonstrating the complexity of religious practice in setting where Christianity was introduced (see Meyer 2014:219).

However, in contrast to the tendency in studies of religion to focus on such 'frontier zones', this thesis has highlighted, through a phenomenological exploration of alterity, that *otherness* does not come only in the form of religious difference. Instead, by building on the work of Thomas Csordas (2004), this comparative ethnography of St Mark's and St Anne's has made apparent the kind of alterity that emerges as a sensorial dimension evinced through musical practices and sonic relationships. By showing the importance of this kind of sensorial alterity for cultivating ways of being Christian and for sustaining Christian collective bodies, the practices of St Mark's and St Anne's signal the need to expand our conceptual perspective on alterity.

To this end, in this thesis, I have explored alterity as that which binds and bonds individual worshippers into a collective body. In considering how individual Christian selves elicit the formation of a Christian collective body, I have sought to challenge sensory studies of religious experiences that focus primarily on the disciplining and the training of the individual body. Rehearsals in St Mark's and St Anne's show that singing makes demands on the bodies of the singers. Faced with this awareness of the materiality of their bodies, worshippers develop different responses, shaped within the environment of the church. In St Anne's, singers act on the basis of their experience of the self as other to fashion their Christian selves. As singers learn 'challenging pieces', vocal training urges them to bring the body into awareness; to control breathing, posture, the shape of the mouth; to picture how the vocal cords vibrate; where the air is stored in their bodies and how the sound moves in their bodies. As such, the body emerges as both self and other (see Zaner 1981:54–55; Csordas 2004), that is, the body as instrument. While vocal training evinces the self as other, through the gradual attunement of their bodies to the music, choristers reintegrate the voice within an experience of worship. Music-making in St Anne's then is a practice of eliciting the alterity of the self, followed by its reintegration

towards an experience of congregational worship. As such, the alterity of the self becomes an integral part of Christian self-making.

Meanwhile, in St Mark's rehearsals, singers direct their attention away from the materiality of their voices and bodies. By primarily singing songs that they 'know well', the choristers orientate their attention away from their individual bodies to those of their fellow worshippers by framing singing practices with group prayers. In this setting, spoken word becomes an anchor for the practice of singing by recentring the attention towards God. The emphasis on the word cultivated in St Mark's aids in this redirection of focus, rendering the Christian self as one voice among others, uttering biblical truth.

St Mark's and St Anne's worshippers' acts of Christian self-making do not constitute a process of gradually increasing piety (see Mahmood 2005). As spiritual and musical instruments, worshippers' voices and bodies are constantly tuned through the regularity of services. However, as worshippers in both churches often described, services operate as a realm of potentialities, rather than guarantees of intense, life-changing experiences. More precisely, church members explained that it was the very regularity and order of services that they found necessary for fashioning their Christian selves, as that was what structured and grounded their lives. Despite differences in how worshippers conceived of services – as celebration of God, in St Mark's, or as time and space set aside for reflecting upon the self, the community and the divine, in St Anne's – these weekly gatherings punctuated and imprinted rhythm upon their lives. As such, the work of making Christian selves is the assiduous, dedicated work of orientating towards the divine, be that by learning to see the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses', in St Mark's, or taking time for reflection, in St Anne's.

Church services provide instances of ordered time and space within which worshippers practise the act of orientating themselves towards the divine. Apart from bringing about a focus on the self, services also enable worshippers to practise being with others in a corporate experience. In other words, worshippers practise bodily, sensorial modes of attuning themselves with others.

As David Morgan argues, that the body sits at the centre of Christian experience is not only a matter of doctrine, but a lived, sensorial dimension of being a Christian. Importantly, his remarks point to the bodily practice that this

comparative ethnography has sought to evince, namely, the integration of the personal or individual into the collective, a membership in the body of Christ:

> Christianity tells its adherents that they are mortal flesh bound to die, then offers them the means to surpass that end – membership in the body of Christ and expectation of the resurrection of the body at the end of time. […] Christianity accomplished both moves in the medium of the body: enlisting the flesh in an openly paradoxical way to evoke the sensation of redemption that will culminate in the resurrected and glorified body that will no longer know death. The body is both the limiting condition and the means for envisioning what lies beyond it. (2017:xiii)

However, while Morgan speaks of the individual body as both the limiting condition and the means of envisaging the beyond, this study has drawn attention to the importance of the collective body for 'envisioning what lies beyond'. In St Mark's and St Anne's, individual and collective bodies are linked in a co-constitutive formative process that shapes worshippers' relationship with the divine. One's subjective, personal relationship to the divine grows and moulds in articulation with one's relationships to Christian- and non-Christian-others. In particular, this co-constitutive process unfolds within the church as a resonant body.

By drawing inspiration from sound studies (see Blesser and Salter 2009) and pointing towards the sonic relationships that develop between worshippers and the spaces in which they worship, my thesis has added to the anthropological study of Protestant relationships to space and practices of place-making (see Coleman and Collins 2006; Bergmann 2007; Knott 2008; Hovland 2016). By exploring music-making through the lens of spatial and temporal resonances (see Chapters 4 and 5), it has emerged that the different modes of sonic togetherness that develop in each church sustain – and are in turn sustained – by different relationships to the church space. In St Anne's, the space of the church becomes an integral acoustic dimension of the fashioning of Christian selves. In St Mark's, meanwhile, the sonic relationship to the building of the church is literally and symbolically dampened. First, the sound amplification creates a thick sonic texture of overlapping sounds. Second, on a symbolic level, this dampening communicates St Mark's emphasis on the word, rather than ritual, by effacing the sonic particularities of the building in the experience of singing. Instead, as we have seen in Manu's experience in Jerusalem (see Chapter 4), in St Mark's, the notion of church as resonator encapsulates the

resonances between worshippers, who orientate themselves towards God, speak the same biblical truth and thus create a church.

Within the anthropology of Christianity, Minna Opas and Anna Haapalainen have also challenged the view of Christian experiences of God's presence as solely a matter of an individual's subjective and intimate relationship with the divine by asking, '[H]ow individual, after all, is the person–God relationship?' (2016:180). Instead, they argue that a personal relationship with the divine is 'very much made possible, guided, and conceptualized through corporeal relationships with social others' (ibid.). Through moral evaluations and comparisons to fellow believers' experiences, the *others* 'affect the perceptions of the truthfulness and legitimacy of one's experiences and how they are conceptualised' (ibid.: 183).

Notably, Opas and Haapalainen also accord importance to the capacity of bodies to affect and be affected by others, placing this 'multidirectional affectivity' (2016:180) at the centre of Christian experiences of God. While our studies overlap in this respect, my comparative ethnography sits at the very interstice that they identify between 'crowd' and 'group efforts', on the one hand, and 'the very intimate "small scale" sociality' (ibid.:181), on the other. Opas and Haapalainen offer the example of Pentecostal and Charismatic Catholic 'mass gatherings', where 'bodies are rehearsed into experiencing through careful choreographies and planned environments' (ibid.) in contrast to 'the more intimate social relationships amidst which Christians live their daily lives' (ibid.). In doing this, Opas and Haapalainen appear to maintain a dichotomy between collective gatherings and instances of intimate relationships to others. In contrast, by exploring two non-Charismatic settings such as St Mark's and St Anne's, my ethnography has shown that collective gatherings in these two Anglican churches not only host, but deliberately seek to create intimate relationships with God, Christian- and non-Christian others within a shared experience of worship. By addressing the practices by which church members sought to create those relationships, this thesis has focused on 'what matters to the communities we study [and] what moves them through the day' (Lutz 2017:189).

Contextualizing encounters between bodies in terms of their discourses and their affective resonances, this study points to the need to explore Christian experiences not only in terms of 'making God present' (see also Luhrmann 2012) as an extraordinary event, but in terms of the regular acts of coming together and working towards eliciting a sense of corporate worship. In between 'everyday' life

(in the workplace; with family and friends) and instances of 'genesis of divine presence' (Meyer 2014:228), worshippers in St Mark's and St Anne's are committed to the weekly patterns of assembling. Even when they might feel, 'Oh, I don't really want to go back to the evening service – I'd rather get on with what I'm doing here', as one of St Anne's worshippers explained to me, or even when admitting, as one of St Mark's members did, that 'sometimes we don't feel like being there – we don't feel like worshipping, which is human experience', worshippers return to their churches because of the ties with their fellow worshippers as well as their ties to God.

By describing the strategies and tensions of sustaining these ties between worshippers – and between worshippers and God – through practices of doing church in St Mark's and St Anne's, this ethnography has shown that religious communities are not isolated, fixed entities (see also Chidester 1996:261, 2018:10; Meyer 2009:4). They are instead dynamic formations that emerge from the convergence of 'intrareligious and interreligious networks of cultural relations' (Chidester 1996:261) and are sustained through the cultivation of shared aesthetics – sensory modalities of apprehending the world (Meyer 2009; van de Port and Meyer 2018:22). This perspective fruitfully helps us expand the anthropology of religion by moving 'beyond any restriction of the scope of religion to the authority of texts and the interiority of beliefs' (Chidester 2018:2), grounding research in the materials, objects, practices and senses through which religious subjectivities are cultivated. By interweaving phenomenology, (ethno)musicology, sound studies within the wider framework of material religion, I have illustrated the potency of the notion of alterity as a sensory dimension for the understanding how religious subjectivities are cultivated at 'the intersections between human subjectivity and the social collectivity' (Chidester 2018:180).

Trying to illuminate a different facet of the notion of *otherness*, away from the weight of *otherness* as the alien, colonized subject that Chidester (1996) discusses, I have exposed the alterity that emerges in the simple interactions between church members. Be that in the alterity of the self that emerges in learning a new, challenging composition, or in the alterity of the Christian- and non-Christian-other that comes forth when having to sing a song one thoroughly dislikes or when dealing with a Christian-other who is more or less 'mature in faith' than oneself, these instances are small incongruities (see Chidester 2018:5) within the fabric of a

religious community. It is in this light that I argue alterity can provide a constructive lens for exploration even outside of 'frontier zones'. While religious communities cultivate sensory modalities that both authorize and authenticate religious experiences (Meyer 2009:12–15), this ethnography of church music-making has illustrated that those sensory modalities do not only develop in the realm between an individual worshipper and a particular religious object or ritual. Singing, listening and praying together shape body sensoriums in relation to the particular music style and content, but they also shape how individual worshippers sense, experience and reflect upon the bodily presence of fellow worshippers and other church visitors.

As Terry Eagleton argues, we relate to others at the immediate level of the senses – 'as though our very flesh and feelings become a subtle medium of communication' (2009:10). In this comparative ethnography, I have shown that music shapes the sensorial modalities by which worshippers negotiate encounters with forms of alterity, giving rise to different forms of communication between bodies and to different modes of being together in a collective body. In St Mark's, Christian- and non-Christian-others become media through which Christian selves grow in maturity of faith. By orientating themselves towards Christian- and non-Christian-others, worshippers grow in maturity of faith because they practise seeing the world through 'Christ-coloured glasses'. At the same time, such reorientation is made possible through anchoring this engagement with human alterity in a relationship with the God-other. In the case of St Mark's, the God-other emerges as a specific entity revealed in the text of the Bible. At the same time, singing is seen as a sincere expression of the Christian self. Taken together, these two aspects reveal that music in St Mark's creates the collective body by sustaining both otherness and sameness – otherness as sonic, sensorial dimension, and sameness in the orientation towards the same God-other. This simultaneous, co-constitutive relationship between otherness and sameness is integral to the working of the collective body specifically as a church family, where the different worshipping members are led by God as the head.

In contrast, in St Anne's, listening together is the sonic mode that underpins the emergence of the collective body. As a mode of corporate reflection, listening enables the formation of a collective as a spiritual kinship (see Thomas et al. 2017) – that is, an orientation towards the divine as a dimension of reality rather than a specific conceptualization of the divine. In this sense, music once again enables

otherness and sameness, but places them in a different dynamic. Here, sonic sameness – encapsulated in the shape of the liturgy, anthems and hymns – contains the otherness of fellow worshippers, allowing each individual to develop his or her own personal religiosities. As Sara, one of St Anne's worshippers described, one's personal religiosity might entail incorporating practices, such as meditation, from other traditions; for others, such as Richard, one of St Anne's lay readers, it might mean seeking to learn what biblical teachings might still be applicable today.

By illustrating these two Anglican churches side by side, my thesis highlights the subtle ways in which different modes of relating to alterity shape how collective bodies are sustained, as well as pointing to how the churches maintain and negotiate their boundaries as institutions and as communities. These aspects, as we have seen, are not only the concern of researchers of religion, but of religious practitioners themselves. Faced with diminishing congregations, in the case of St Anne's, or endeavouring to maintain what they consider a 'counter-cultural' position – that is, following the teaching of the Bible rather than cultural ideas and values – in the case of St Mark's, church leaders and members have to find ways of integrating various forms of *otherness* in order to ensure the future of their churches. While St Mark's hosts open-night events and courses about Christianity, Jesus Christ, and God based on the text of the Bible in order to introduce new people to the faith, St Anne's focuses on creating community-centred activities such as festivals, celebrations, and bake sales. Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted how church members maintain a sense of togetherness as well as discussing aspects that might induce a sense of separation; furthermore, St Mark's and St Anne's acts of doing church have directed attention towards what keeps their communities going, what draws newcomers into these communities or what might keep others out.

With this thesis, I make the case that, in order for the anthropology of religion and Christianity to be able to explore the many facets of the transformation of religion in the modern world, we need to attend to how religious practitioners sustain relationships with other (non) Christians. I suggest that this focus on alterity as a sensorial, immediate dimension of religious practice can push the anthropology of religion and the anthropology of Christianity forward by enabling us to explore how worshippers integrate *others* – as sensorial, ethical, religious, cultural dimensions – in the processes of fashioning themselves as Christian selves. Understanding how music affords particular sensorial relationships between worshippers, and between

worshippers and God, becomes even more pressing with the reconfiguration of global and British Anglicanism in terms of ethnic diversity.

Globally, the ‘centre of gravity’ of Anglicanism has changed towards the Global South (Goodhew 2017c). It is in the Global South where the most significant growth of Anglican worshippers is taking place[114] leading some to assert that ‘the next Christendom’ will be based almost entirely in the non-western world (Jenkins 2007). This reconfiguration challenges the ‘English hegemony’ at the heart of Anglicanism, raising questions of who defines who and what is Anglican (Muñoz 2016:73). Such questions become particularly impactful when we consider music and worship styles and their significance and efficacy in sustaining Christian collective bodies and in shaping individual selves.

In his analysis of contemporary worship music, Mark Evans describes that the proliferation of Christian music originating from the UK and US distracts researchers' attention from the '"local" within congregational song' (2006:161). As James Rosenthal argues, global Anglicanism is not a mere translocation of fixed doctrines and worship styles, but its ‘English characteristics’ are always intertwined with ‘local customs’ (1998:136). By evincing sensorial modalities of being with others, music and the choices about styles of worship that come with it, can help us foray into the transformation of religion by questioning the strict delimitations between ‘local’ and ‘world’ religions (Janson 2016).

By loosening the conceptual boundaries between ‘local’ and ‘world’ religions, we can more readily attend to how Christian mission music is integrated in processes of indigenous cultural transmission (Magowan 2016), how, by redirecting music towards God, Christian mission and conversion alters the cultural imaginary of a people (Byl 2016) or how indigenous populations use musical traditions to ‘ignore or at best tolerate the changes encouraged by missions’ (Taylor 2016:78; see also Anderson 2016).

By moving away from the assumed link of identity between Christianity/Anglicanism and ‘the West’, we can better understand how Christians in the Global South reshape Christianity. Worshippers in these settings challenge the boundaries between Christianity and other religions by borrowing worship elements, transforming and adapting music and worship styles. For instance, Jesse Zink

[114] For studies of Anglicanism in Africa see Burgess 2017, Galgalo 2017; for Asia, see Kim 2017, Wee 2017; for South America, see Sinclair and Corrie 2017.

describes the merger between Anglican liturgy and Pentecostal worship elements in Nigeria giving rise to 'Anglocostalism' (2012). By following how the different religious styles provide distinct responses to the changing Nigerian socio-economical context, Zink's study illustrates the limitations of approaching traditions as bounded. Instead, his study demonstrates the need to explore the overlaps, adoptions and repurposing of religious elements. I add to this that tracing the change in sensorial modes of being with others can shed light on the significance and efficacy of those acts of blending elements of religious practice for the making of Christian selves and collectives. Studying acts of blending elements of religious practice is not only suitable for settings in the Global South. Significant changes in the ethnic configuration of Christian congregations are at the heart of the British religious landscape and the Church of England is developing strategies to respond to these changes.

In 2018, the Church of England has announced a growth programme aiming to establish 100 new churches (primarily in 'coastal areas, market towns and outer urban housing estates') in order 'to revive Christian faith' (Anglican News 2018) [115]. The Church has directed funding in the sum of £27 million for 'church planting and evangelising initiatives'. Such initiatives are strongly driven by 'Evangelical mission thinking' (Zink 2017:144) which emphasise the connection between sharing the gospel and a sense of social responsibility sensitive to ethnic, social and economic dimensions and open to 'cross-cultural mutual discernment about what it means to be God's people in the world' (ibid.:166). Driven by these principles for engaging wider audiences, the mission strategies offer a rich ground for studying creative ways in which other ethnic Christians can reformulate Anglican worship and music styles within the UK, and with that, the making of Christian selves and collective bodies. At the same time, by attending to the music and liturgical choices within these mission strategies, we can more precisely explore what processes fuel the changing religious landscape in the UK, be that conversion to Christianity from a 'no religion' background or from a different religious tradition, or a further blurring of boundaries between 'secular' and 'religious' spheres.

Such directions of exploration can help us address and amend anthropology's long struggle with representing and integrating *otherness* within existing

[115] Anglican *News https://www.anglicannews.org/news/2018/07/church-of-england-announces-100-new-churches-in-27-million-pound-growth-programme.aspx*, accessed 12 February 2019.

frameworks. I have argued in this study that the notion of alterity can be fruitful for unravelling new directions in the anthropology of religion and of Christianity by reframing it within a sensory perspective on religion and addressing our being-in-the-world as ‘not only beings with experience but as beings in relation to others’ (Csordas 2004:163). Through this reframing, we can refine our points of inquiry into how individual and collective religiosities are sustained over time and the ways and extent to which they are flexible in accommodating change. Furthermore, in reconsidering alterity as a sensorial dimension of being in the world, the anthropological analytical lens can more precisely mould on the dynamic, fluctuating configurations of sameness and otherness between practitioners. In this way, we will develop an ‘approach that is sensitive to the phenomenological unity of being and acting in the world in its complex ways’ (Schielke and Debevec 2012:8).

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