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Johann Walter- Pioneer Church Musician

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JOHANN WALTER: PIONEER CHURCH MUSICIAN

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CHAPTER ONE

THE REFORMATION ERA

The intent of this paper is to show how the practical aspects of church music in the Reformation Era and in succeeding generations proclaimed the Word of God. During these early years of Lutheran music development, the music demonstrates how it was being shaped and formed by Lutheran thought. The music of Johann Walter is a prime example. As a composer who served the Reformation, he had a profound influence on the generations that followed. To understand the context of his music, we first look at the history of this era as well as the style of music being composed outside of Lutheran circles. We will then look briefly at the common worship practices of congregations during this era.

The History of the Era

In the year 1500 Europeans generally still spoke of Christendom rather than Europe when describing the greater entity to which they belonged. This distinction is significant because the term "Europe" was a secular concept that came into vogue only in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while Christendom was a spiritual concept. It bore witness to the unity of Western men under the Church of Rome. The church was seen as holding the keys to salvation, and the pope was recognized as the final authority on matters of church government, faith and morals.[1] In 1302 Boniface VIII (1294-1303) had issued the bull *Unam Sanctum,* which declared

[1] Jerome Blum, Rondo Cameron, and Thomas G. Barnes, *The European World: A History,* 2nd ed. (Boston: Little Brown, 1970), 118.

that no human beings, including kings, could be saved unless they were subject to the pope.[2] As we shall soon see, however, the authority of the pope began to erode in succeeding centuries.

The Roman Church of this era was indeed a monolith, its unity and hierarchic structure capped by papal authority. But there were local variations in the details of liturgical practice, significant differences in ecclesiastical organization, and restrictions on papal authority over clergy and laity of varying force from one region to another. Areas farthest from Rome were least susceptible to continuous papal influence.[3] This was also the case with the music of the time. The musical practices at Rome did not necessarily dominate the rest of the empire. Local traditions for church music and individual aristocrats, who had court chapels, could employ musicians and styles that would best serve them.

The ecclesiastical abuses were many and some were major. Three of them constituted corruption even by existing church law: simony, the sale of church offices; pluralism, the holding of several major church offices; and nepotism, awarding relatives of princes, popes, and bishops lucrative and influential offices in the Church.[4] Immorality was also rampant. Innocent VIII (1484-1492) was the father of sixteen children whose weddings he celebrated in the Vatican.[5]

The monastic clergy were at the end of a long road of decline from the spiritual vitality of the monasteries earlier in the Middle Ages. Monasteries were less mills of spiritual exercise than retirement homes for wealthy and noble old folk served by the poorer lay brothers. Their educational role had long since been taken away by schools and universities. Their charitable work was less pronounced in 1500 than in any other time. The number of monks and nuns in Europe was declining. The friars, however, contributed a large number of professors to the

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[2] Harold J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era 1500-1650,* 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 30.

[3] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 118-119.

[4] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 119-120.

faculties of the universities. The Augustinian friar Martin Luther proved to be the most influential of all the friar critics of the church.[6]

The popes who ruled after the Babylonian Captivity in Avignon and the Great Schism (1378-1417) were far more interested in establishing the papacy as an Italian political power, patronizing the arts and learning, living in splendor and enriching their relatives and favorites, than they were in fulfilling their apostolic duty.[7]

The ever-increasing press of the popes for money, their worldliness, and their immorality had their counterparts down the ladder of the church hierarchy. Bishops were heavily involved in the affairs of the secular state and were subsidized by the faithful to do the work of princes. May laymen were jealous of the lucrative offices monopolized by clerics. A wider resentment grew in reaction to the arrogance of the high clergy, their ostentatious wealth and power, their large jurisdiction in moral matters, and their apparent greed. Anti-clericalism was rife.[8]

A widespread religious revival that began in the fifteenth century was one manifestation of discontent with the church. Pious clergy and laity organized movements such as the Brethren of the Common Life in the Rhineland and the Low Countries to revitalize popular interest in faith and salvation. The new printing presses turned out devotional books written for popular consumption as guides to pious living. There was a new interest in mysticism—the belief that by giving up all earthly desires and yielding completely to God man could commune directly with the Creator. While those who were caught up in the wave of popular pietism remained devout

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[5] Grimm, 37.

[6] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 120.

[7] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 121.

[8] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 121.

communicants of the church, they disapproved of the worldliness of the church, and they felt that they knew better than prelates how to lead Christian lives and attain eternal salvation.[9]

This presumption was close to heresy in the eyes of the religious authorities. From it emerged a way of spiritual life that was increasingly independent of the organized church and prepared many for the Protestant Reformers' message, especially in Germany, England, the Low Countries and France.[10]

While the Pietists expressed the discontent of the devout, a number of the Christian humanists enunciated the discontent of the intelligentsia. The more outspoken of them, epitomized by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536), attacked nearly every aspect of the contemporary church. In addition, the Christian humanists sought to purify Christian doctrine of the errors developed through centuries of theological activity by directing theological scholarship to the original Greek and Hebrew texts. They believed that Christianity would be revived by finding its roots in the church of the Apostles and the early church fathers. In their writings, they contrasted the corruption, materialism and abuse of the current church with the supposedly pure-primitive church.[11]

The secular rulers of the sixteenth century grasped the opportunity to press the church in the interests of their own power. The abler monarchs sought to extend their dominion over all institutions within their realms, including the church. The attacks of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, King Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England weakened the church.[12] In Germany, the territorial principalities strove to develop sovereignty similar to the kingdoms of Western Europe. The princes of these lands began to obtain control over religious affairs within their

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[9] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 122.

[10] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 122.

[11] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 122-123

principalities long before the Reformation.[13] In addition, the Christian humanists undermined the easy acceptance of the traditional authority of the ecclesiastical establishment while the growing dominance of secular rulers within their national boundaries raised the prospect of an alternative to the pope as the supreme authority over the church. Altogether, popular piety, humanistic scholarship and monarchical ambition cut deeply into the medieval church, setting the stage for a German friar to debate the abuses of the church.[14]

Germany, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was in many respects the most churchly of the European lands. Heretical outbreaks that occurred in the later Middle Ages had been successfully contained. Monastic orders were the objects of widespread criticism, but anticlericalism was little in evidence in Germany. Papal authority remained greater there than in any other country in Europe apart from Italy. Pilgrimages and masses for the dead were more popular than ever. The veneration of the saints, especially of the Virgin Mary and St. Anne, her mother, had increased dramatically. Collections of relics abounded, and the sale of indulgences multiplied. Special preacher-ships, to ensure regular preaching, were endowed by pious laypeople in the larger towns and cities. But beneath the surface, there were strong currents of discontent, and the bane of the church was its living beyond its means. To meet expenses the Curia devised new and more oppressive taxes, fees, and fines. The local clergy were minimally educated, poor, and frequently living with concubines. Morale was low.[15]

The Reformation began on the eve of All Saints Day, October 31, 1517. On that day Martin Luther (1483-1546), professor of biblical studies at the newly founded University of

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[12] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 123.

[13] Grimm, 25.

[14] Blum, Cameron, and Barnes, 123.

[15] Williston Walker, *et al. A History of the Christian Church,* 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 419-420.

Wittenberg in Germany, announced a disputation on indulgences. He stated his argument in *95 Theses.* Though they were very academic, news of them spread like wildfire throughout Europe. Everyone marveled that an obscure monk from an unknown university had stirred up the whole of Europe.[16]

The *95 Theses* were not meant as a call to wholesale reformation of the church. They were simply the proposal of a university professor to discuss the theology of indulgences in light of the errors and abuses that had grown up over the centuries. The selling of indulgences had grown into a scandal. A jubilee indulgence had been inaugurated by Pope Julius II (1503-1513) to obtain funds for rebuilding St. Peter's basilica in Rome and was renewed by Leo X (1513-1521). Some of the money raised in Germany also went to defray the expenses of Albert, who became the Archbishop of Mainz. Luther opposed these perversions of indulgences that were harmful to human salvation and that infected the everyday practice of the church.[17]

Medieval people had a very real dread of the period of punishment in purgatory which was portrayed in detail by the church. They had no great fear of hell, because they believed that if they died forgiven and blessed by a priest, they were guaranteed access to heaven. But they feared purgatory's pains, for the church taught that before they reached heaven they had to be cleansed of every sin committed in mortal life. Once penance was made a sacrament, the ordinary person believed that an indulgence assured the shortening of the punishment to be endured after death in purgatory.[18]

Luther saw that the trade of indulgences was wholly unwarranted by Scripture. It encouraged people in their sin and tended to turn their minds away from Christ and God's

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[16] Tim Dowley, ed. *Introduction to the History of Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 366.

[17] Grimm, 366.

[18] Dowley, 366.

forgiveness. It was at this point that Luther's theology contrasted sharply with that of the church. The pope claimed the authority to shut the gates of hell and open the door of heaven. An obscure monk had challenged that authority.[19]

Ordered to recant in 1520, Luther was eventually excommunicated on January 3, 1521. He was outlawed by the Emperor Charles V at Worms in 1521. He had already had disputations with his own Augustinian order in Heidelberg in 1518, and with papal authorities in Augsburg in 1518 and in Leipzig in 1519. Luther published book after book over the next twenty-five years. He also translated the Bible into German, which enabled those who were literate to see for themselves the truth of his arguments.[20]

Luther was not a liturgical scholar, but rather a biblical scholar. His liturgical reforms reflected changes made on biblical and pastoral grounds. His reforms were conservative compared to other Reformers, as we shall see. He removed elements of the Medieval Mass that did not preach Christ.[21] He made worship consonant with Holy Scripture and emphasized the Means of Grace—Word and Sacrament.[22] The changes brought about a need to remove liturgical texts that worked against these biblical teachings, and, in time, to introduce music with texts that would help express the biblical doctrines in the language of the people.

In 1529 at the Diet of Spyer, when the Emperor Charles V attempted to curb Luther's movement by force, some of the princes of the German states stood up in protest. From this time forward, the movement intended to reform Catholicism from within became known as the Reformation. In 1530, Luther rediscovered the gospel of God's saving work in Christ.

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[19] Dowley, 366-367.

[20] Dowley, 367.

[21] Arthur A. Just, Jr., *Heaven on Earth: The Gifts of Christ in the Divine Service* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2008), 249.

[22] Timothy Maschke, *Gathered Guests—A Guide to Worship in the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2003), 41.

Humanity, sinful and distant from God, was saved by grace through faith in Christ. Grace available to the penitent believer by the power of the Holy Spirit through the preaching of the Word of God, did away with the need for the Virgin as mediator and the saints as intercessors.[23]

The Protestant princes, realizing at Augsburg that the Emperor intended to make war on Protestantism, formed the Smalkald League as a defensive alliance. After several conferences designed to find some form of compromise between Catholics and Protestants, the tragic Smalkald War broke out in 1547, shortly after Luther's death in 1546. The Emperor defeated the Protestant forces and imprisoned their leaders. But the Protestant Moritz of Saxony fought back successfully, and with the Treaty of Passau in 1552, Protestantism was legally recognized. The settlement was confirmed in the Interim of 1555.[24]

The Music of the Era

Carl Schalk, renowned musicologist of the Lutheran church—Missouri Synod and professor at Concordia University Chicago has written that "the music of the early Lutheran Reformation was the music of the Renaissance."[25] The music of the Renaissance was deeply affected by humanism, a movement that revived ancient learning, particularly grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and moral philosophy.

The great renewal of European interest in ancient Greek and Roman culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries altered the way that people thought about music. While they could not experience ancient music as completely as they could architecture, sculpture and poetry, they

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[23] Dowley, 367-370.

[24] Dowley, 376.

[25] Carl Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism: Shaping the Tradition (1524-1672)* (St. Louis: Concordia Academic, 2001), 20.

could read the writings of music theorists that were being translated. They read about the power of music to move the listener, and they wanted their music to have the same effect.[26]

The ancient philosophers held that composers could tap the listener's emotions by their choice of mode. Both Plato and Aristotle insisted that the various modes had different effects, although it was not clear what they meant by the term mode. Theorists and composers assumed that these Greek modes were identical to the similarly named church modes and that the emotional powers of the former could be attributed to the latter.[27]

Humanism succeeded in bringing music into closer alliance with the literary arts. The image of the ancient poet and musician united in a single person inspired both poets and composers to seek a common expressive goal. Authors became more concerned with the sound of their verses and composers with imitating that sound. That punctuation and syntax of a text guided the composer in shaping the structure of the musical setting and in marking pauses in the text with cadences of different degrees of finality. The poet's message and images inspired the composer's melodies, rhythms, and textures, as well as the mixture of consonances and dissonances. Composers sought new ways to dramatize the content of the text. It became the rule to follow the rhythm of speech and not to violate the natural accentuation of syllables.[28] This ability of the music to deliver the text was ready to be a tool of the Reformers.

Once the seat of the church returned from Avignon to Rome in 1377, popes and cardinals were as committed as the secular princes to a high standard of cultural activity and patronage. Some of the best artists, musicians and scholars of the Renaissance were sponsored by cardinals in Italy. The ruling princes in Italy were generous sponsors of music. While Italian musicians

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[26] Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music,* 5th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 152.

[27] Grout and Palisca, 155.

[28] Grout and Palisca, 158.

worked in princely courts, until around 1550, northerners dominated. They brought their music, their methods of singing and composition, and their vernacular songs with them. At the same time they absorbed the less complicated, chordal, treble-dominated, often danceable manner of the improvised and popular music they encountered in Italy. This combination of northern and Italian elements accounted for many characteristics of the international style in the sixteenth century.[29]

All this activity created a demand for music to play and sing. Manuscripts to suit the local repertory were compiled in each city. This process, although slow and expensive, did not always transmit the composer's music accurately, and the musical resources of a church or chapel often necessitated some adjusting of the performing forces, especially with regard to instruments. With the growth of printing, much wider dissemination of written music became possible.[30]

Printing from movable type was perfected in Europe around 1450 by Johann Gutenberg.[31] It came to be used for liturgical books with plainchant notation around 1473. Most ensemble music published in the sixteenth century was printed in the form of oblong part-books, and new ones were still being hand-copied in the sixteenth century even as printed versions began appearing.[32]

The application of movable type to the printing of music had far-reaching consequences. Instead of a few precious manuscripts laboriously copied by hand and liable to all kinds of errors and variants, a plentiful supply of new music in copies of uniform accuracy was now available—not exactly at a low price, but still less costly than equivalent manuscripts. Moreover, the

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[29] Grout and Palisca, 159-160.

[30] Grout and Palisca, 160.

[31] William Dallmann, *Martin Luther: His Life and His Labor for the Plain People* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1917), 184.

[32] Grout and Palisca, 160-161.

existence of printed copies meant that many more works would be preserved for performance and study by later generations.[33]

Josquin Desprez (1441-1521) and Heinrich Isaac (ca. 1450-1517) were great composers of this era. They dominated the music of the early sixteenth century. They were part of a general development which has been called the "Flemish" or "Netherlands" school, so named because of the association of many of the important composers of the time with the Netherlands. Both Josquin and Isaac were inheritors of the great tradition of the intricate polyphony and technical ingenuity of earlier Netherlands masters, Ockeghem (ca. 1420-1496) and Obrecht (1450/1-1505).[34]

The Flemish school was the most influential movement in the music of the Renaissance, its influence covering approximately 1450 to 1600, after which time new stylistic developments would turn the history of music in new directions. Among the chief characteristics of this group of composers was the use of polyphony in which all the parts were generally of equal importance and in which imitation, the repetition of brief melodic material in the various voices, was the chief means to establish that equality. The style was characterized by a clear texture, smooth-sounding polyphony and homophony, controlled expressiveness, and well-organized principles of composition, including a controlled use of dissonance and consonance.[35]

It was the Flemish school that Luther knew well. His various comments about music, whether in his "table talk" or in the more formal prefaces to the various publications for which

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[33] Grout and Palisca, 162.

[34] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 20.

[35] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 20.

he provided introductions, must always be interpreted in the light of the prevailing musical style of his time, that of Flemish polyphony.[36]

Friedrich Blume speculates that as a pupil in the Magdeburg Cathedral school (1497) Luther probably sang in the cathedral worship services as a member of the school choir, and that as a student in Mansfeld and Eisenach he became acquainted with music theory and sang along with others in the streets for food. While studying in Erfurt he would have received basic university curriculum. Luther is known to have played the lute. In his relations with Johann Walter and Georg Rhau (the first music publisher of the Reformation), Luther would have broadened his musical abilities.[37]

We can say that in general there was little or no distinction between vocal and instrumental styles of writing in the sixteenth century. Music could be performed by voices or instruments or by a combination of the two. Instruments in common use included recorders, shawms, crumhorns, cornets, trumpets, trombones, viols, and lutes in a variety of sizes and pitch levels. In addition there was a gradual tendency to move from mixed consorts of instruments to the use of sets of families of similar instruments that provided a uniform timbre throughout the entire range. Vocal polyphonic music of the Renaissance was sometimes accompanied either by the organ or other instruments with the instruments simply doubling the voice parts. Vocal music of the time was often transcribed for keyboard and other instruments, and ornamentation or elaboration of various kinds was sometimes written out and sometimes improvised by the performers.[38]

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[36] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 20-21.

[37] Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 6.

[38] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 21.

For the most part, Lutheran choirs participated within the structure of the liturgy. Polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Mass and certain of the proper texts continued to be written throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Antiphons, psalms, hymns, and other portions of Matins and Vespers continued to be set to music, and older settings by Roman Catholic composers continued to be used in Lutheran services. Settings for the liturgy continued to be written in both Latin and German throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[39]

The Worship Practices of the Era

Martin Luther regarded congregational singing as useful and desirable. He encouraged it at Wittenberg, but not at the expense of the choral liturgy. In Luther's theology, there is no conflict between a choral liturgy and his desire for the people to sing. The *German Mass* of 1526 (which will be discussed in chapter 2) introduced vernacular hymns and a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer after the sermon. It included the German *Sanctus* and the *Agnus Dei.*[40] The Gradual was given to the people in the form of a congregational hymn.[41] Used in the hymnals of today as a congregational setting, the *German Mass* was, at the time of its publication, mostly a choral mass. It was not well received, and the congregation in Wittenberg sang poorly for years. The congregation was always led by voices of a choir, school boys if necessary. The choral mass in Latin remained the principal service in Wittenberg throughout Luther's lifetime.[42]

Even though the people of Wittenberg sang very little in church, this was not necessarily true for other places in Germany. Even though there is no evidence that any parts of the Mass had been sung in German in Wittenberg before 1525, the practice is documented for other places.

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[39] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 22.

[40] James F. White, *Introduction to Christian Worship,* rev. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1980), 150 and 235.

[41] Edward Klammer, "The Hymn of the Day" in *Lutheran Worship: History and Practice,* ed. Fred L. Precht (St. Louis: Concordia, 1993), 560.

[42] Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict*

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While singing German hymns in church was not an innovation of Luther, it is important to note that he encouraged people to sing in church and wrote hymns that could be sung by the congregation. Luther's interest in hymns for the liturgy did much to popularize the singing of German hymns in church services. The success of congregational singing in Lutheran churches succeeded in a few places immediately, while in others, it took a long time to become common.[43]

There existed a complex tapestry of liturgical life among early Lutherans that included the Daily Office, the Mass, and catechism instruction, all interwoven into the fabric of the church year. But this does not necessarily indicate that the society as a whole was particularly devout. Attendance at services was a problem in some places, and many people came late to services and/or left early. The typical service in many cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a fine show presented by the clergy and the musicians, but often it was understood only by the church professionals and a few others. The rest of the people either read out of boredom or avoided as much of the service as they could manage without being called to task.[44]

Martin Luther purified the church calendar of saints' days by seeking to celebrate Sundays and festivals of the Lord, such as the Purification and Epiphany. Luther also proposed a return to two daily services from the seven or eight defined by Benedict and used by the monasteries. He continued to use Matins and Vespers.[45]

Joseph Herl has reviewed the church orders appearing between 1523 and 1600. Only about one third indicate whether the mode of performance was choral or congregational. It is apparent from looking at the church orders that the mode of performance depended greatly on the part of

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(New York: Oxford University, 2004), 22.

[43] Herl, 34-35.

[44] Herl, 53.

[45] White, 69, 127-128, and 132.

the liturgy. Of the traditional parts of the liturgy, only the Creed was sung more frequently by the entire congregation than by the choir.[46]

In the *Latin Mass* Luther had already suggested replacing the Introit, which used a single psalm verse sandwiched between an antiphon and its repetition, with an entire psalm. He put the idea into practice in the *German Mass,* which used a full prose psalm in place of the Introit. The language of the Introit was about equally divided between Latin and German in these orders. In all parts of Germany, congregational singing was more frequently specified in connection with services in villages, where there was not likely to be a choir.[47]

Only six orders specified even optional singing of the *Kyrie* by the people. The *Gloria* and *Et in terra* were sung in German much more often than the *Kyrie*, but performance by the choir was still the rule. Seventy-nine orders directed that a German psalm be sung for the Alleluia or Gradual, either in place of the Latin chants, in addition to them, or optionally in addition to them. When the church orders explicitly stated who was to perform the Creed, it was the congregation over 75 percent of the time. It makes sense that fewer orders would specify a hymn before the sermon since the congregation had just finished singing the Creed. Instead, a hymn after the sermon was used, as it allowed those intending to commune to assemble in the chancel. In the sixteenth century, except on festivals, the hymns surrounding the sermon did not relate to the theme of the day or the sermon.[48]

The Preface and *Sanctus* were frequently omitted from Lutheran orders or sung only on festivals. The overwhelming choice for the *Sanctus* in German was Luther's *Jesaia dem Propheten, das geschah,* which first appeared in his *German Mass*. The *Agnus Dei* did not have

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[46] Herl, 54-56.

[47] Herl, 56.

[48] Herl, 57-60.

a fixed place in the Lutheran orders, and it could be sung before or after the communion. The singing of hymns during the distribution continued only until the distribution was complete. A hymn after the Benediction was rare in the first half of the sixteenth century.[49]

Lutheran Vespers looked much like its medieval forerunner, the principal difference being the reduction in the number of psalms. On Saturdays a sermon was added to the normal weekday Vespers and perhaps a German hymn was sung before or after the sermon. After Saturday Vespers, confession was held for those intending to commune the following day.[50] Sunday Vespers was more festive in character, and in the cities the Vesper canticle came to be sung in polyphony. A hymn based on the chief part of Luther's catechism for that day was sung.[51]

In Lutheran churches, Matins was held only where there were schoolboys capable of singing in Latin. The office was simplified by reducing the number of psalms and lessons, and very few Lutheran orders contained an office hymn.[52]

Herl also studied the minutes of the visitations made to the Lutheran churches. Reports from the birthplace of the Reformation, the area around Wittenberg, show that from the 1520's there was a concern for teaching the people to sing the German hymns. Those from after 1570 showed that the authorities expected the people to be able to sing. Yet, nearly two thirds of the reports showed that the people did not sing or sang poorly.[53] The Reformation did not automatically bring with it congregational singing. At this time there was not yet any conception among Lutherans that the liturgy properly belonged to the people.

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[49] Herl, 60-62.

[50] Herl, 62-63.

[51] Herl, 64.

[52] Herl, 65.

[53] Herl, 75.

The conflict between choral and congregational singing was to become more heated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Between 1524 and 1570 approximately 288 German-language hymnals with music were published. This number excludes broadsheets and pamphlets, hymn collections published in part-books for choir, and agendas containing scattered hymns. Of these 288 hymnals, 209 were intended for Lutherans, 24 for the Bohemian Brethren, 13 for the Reformed, 7 for Roman Catholics, and 37 for other Protestants that do not fit neatly into one of the other categories.[54]

Of the 209 Lutheran hymnals, 82 are either bibliographic variants or reprints with exactly the same tune content as earlier editions. Approximately 48 are later editions of earlier books, and 11 are no longer extant. This leaves 68 books, many of which drew heavily upon the contents of the last hymnal for which Martin Luther provided a preface, *Geystliche Lieder mit einer newen vorrhede,* published in Leipzig in 1545.[55]

The earliest printed hymn collection for Lutherans appeared in Nuremberg early in 1524. It is generally known today as the *Achtliederbuch* because of its eight hymns. In 1525 Nuremberg printer Hans Hergott published an edition of the *Enchiridion.* The following year Hergott issued another print of the book attached to the *Form und Ordung des ampts des Meß Teütsch.* This same year Jobst Gutknecht issued his *Form un (sic.) Ornung geystlicher gesenge und Psalmen, welche in der versamlung zu Nürnberg im Newen Spital gesungen warden.* Since the choir sang regularly for the church services, the possibility exists that the hymns were sung by the students at the school attached to the hospital.[56]

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[54] Herl, 88.

[55] Herl, 88.

[56] Herl, 92-93.

Other hymnals were published in Nuremberg and in nearby cities in the years immediately following, but there was no organized use by congregations there, and it is uncertain whether individuals carried them to church for use there. We simply cannot be sure how much opportunity people had to sing in church. It is best for us to understand the publication of hymnals in the sixteenth century as a commercial venture. The books were without official status and were compiled by printers to make a profit. If they were used by the singing congregations, so much the better, for that would increase sales. But except in Strasburg, Rostock and Riga, there does not seem to have been any real effort on the part of church leaders to establish hymnal use by congregations. In these three places hymnal use by congregations established itself, especially in Strasburg. But in the rest of Germany this was evidently not the case. Hymnals were introduced gradually during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, first in the cities and then in rural areas. They were not supplied by churches, but rather people purchased their own and brought them to church services.[57]

Already in the 1520's, some reformers objected to the use of polyphonic music in church. In March, 1522 Luther, who had been hiding from the emperor at the Wartburg Castle since the previous year, returned unexpectedly to Wittenberg to deal with the disruption in church life caused by those who tried to push reforms too quickly. The chief offender was Carlstadt (1477-1541), who had assumed leadership of the Wittenberg reformation in Luther's absence. Luther changed the orders upon his return and Carlstadt left Electoral Saxony. Carlstadt had called for an end to chant performed by trained singers as well as the use of instruments. Luther, in the preface to Johann Walter's choir hymnal of 1524 wrote against these fanatics.[58] Writing for the *Spiritual Hymn Booklet,* Luther said, "These songs are arranged in four parts to give the young

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[57] Herl, 106.

[58] James M. Kittelson, *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career* (Minneapolis: Fortress,
(continued next page)

something to pull them away from love ballads." Luther further wrote: "I would see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of Him who gave and made them."[59]

Polyphonic choral music, which might otherwise have played a lesser role, was emphasized by Lutherans once Reformed theologians had declared it unacceptable. Choral polyphony was heard in only a few German churches before 1550, but in the second half of the century polyphony was heard in an increasing number of German churches. As long as choirs sang choraliter—that is, monophonically—congregations could easily join the singing of the German hymns if they were so inclined. But once the figural performances became the rule, this was impossible. In some congregations, monophonic and polyphonic singing alternated within the same hymn. This alternation between choir and the entire congregation was practiced in some places even when the choir itself sang in unison. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century the laity had become accustomed to singing in church and began to oppose the encroachment of choral music on their territory.[60]

The style of music appropriate for the church service was a topic of debate during the Reformation Era and the period following it. The sixteenth century saw Lutherans pitted against followers of the Swiss Reformation. Later in the century an increase in polyphonic choral music competed with congregational singing for supremacy. Attempts were made to use both by alternating services at which they were used, alternating stanzas within hymns, or having the people sing the hymn melody while the choir sang in parts (called cantional style).[61]

1986), 179-183.

[59] Martin Luther, "Preface to the Wittenberg Hymnal" in *Luther's Works* ed.Ulrich S. Leupold trans. Paul Zeller Strodach (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 53:316.

[60] Herl, 112-117.

[61] Herl, 129.

As proof of the controversy, one need look no further than the visitation reports of the era. This excerpt from the Torgau Visitation report of 1580 states that:

> In some years on Good Friday, the German Passion was sung, at which the chorus would respond in harmony. That has, unwisely, been discontinued. The Council, which enjoys music, also complains that the parson lets many unison songs be sung since in their churches, from time immemorial up to the present, they have sung figuraliter every Sunday, which also annoys the singers.[62]

In the seventeenth century the new Italian style was imported into Germany and caused considerable controversy, which continued into the eighteenth century. This new style was coupled with a change in the understanding of the choir from a group whose rule was to sing the liturgy to one whose purpose was to awaken devotion in the people by performing sacred music. Opposition to the new style which has sometimes been linked with Pietism, was actually found among both Pietistic and Orthodox writers. Pietism did, however, provide a new emphasis on congregational singing. The result was that by 1750 the liturgy was truly congregational in nearly all of Germany.[63]

The Reformation came in response to many abuses in the church. It intended to remove them and to find in the Scriptures true doctrines of God that the church should hold. The Holy Roman Empire, previously united under the people, became divided along territorial lines following different positions of church confessions. The choral music of the era that served the churches and the court chapels was a style that fit singing well; and the new technology of printed music made dissemination of new compositions possible across Europe, of both hymns for congregations to sing as well as hymns for Christians to sing at home. Over time, ways were found to bring choral music and congregational singing into the same service especially in cities where the Latin mass could be used. We shall see in our continued discussion of this musical

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[62] Karl Pallas, ed. *Die Refistraturen der Kirchenvisitationen im ehemals sachischen Kurkreise* pt. 2, vol. 4 (Halle: Otto Hendel, 1906-1918), 49.

material that Johann Walter was a pioneer Lutheran musician who helped put all of this into place.

[63] Herl, 129.

CHAPTER TWO

THEOLOGICAL EMPHASES OF THE REFORMATION

Discussion and clarification of doctrine was the first step in the Reformation. The reform of worship was reached only as the movement worked out from its center and as its leaders became convinced of its necessity. This chapter will look at the theology of Martin Luther and the Reformation Era, especially as it applies to Christian worship, and then at the changes in worship proposed by Luther—changes which were reflected in Germany and eventually in other parts of Europe following the Reformation. This discussion will give further background to the church music of Johann Walther, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

The Development of Martin Luther's Theology

After his preparatory schooling at Magdeburg and Eisenach, Martin Luther enrolled at the University of Erfurt in the year 1501. He studied with the arts faculty and passed his master's examination on January 7, 1505. At Erfurt he learned Aristotelian philosophy according to the *via moderna*, which is to say, in the nominalist tradition. This school of thought dominated several German universities of the time and stood in opposition to the *via antiqua*, or Thomism, and claimed to understand Aristotle in a more correct way.[1]

After his master's examination, Luther began to study law and at the same time lecture in the arts faculty. But after he was caught in a thunderstorm at Stotternheim on July 2, 1505, he decided to enter the cloister of the Augustinian eremites in Erfurt. He was ordained as a priest in 1507, and he studied theology according to the program of the cloister. During this time he

[1] Bengt Hagglund, *History of Theology* trans. Gene J. Lund (St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), 212.

became acquainted with the dogmatic position of the Occamists. He studied Biel's *Collectorium* and Peter d'Ailly's and Occam's sentence commentaries. In 1509, after lecturing for a year at Wittenberg on Aristotelian ethics, Luther himself became a *sententiarius,* which allowed him to lecture on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. He also began to study Hebrew, which was quite unusual at this time.[2]

Luther was forced to leave Erfurt and go to Wittenberg, where Elector Frederick the Wise had organized a small university. Luther continued his studies there, and in 1512 he became a doctor of theology and took a professorship lecturing on the bible at the university. At this time Luther became beset by anxiety which could not be conquered even by an exaggerated use of the sacrament of penance. The Occamist doctrine of grace did not satisfy him. The doctrine stated that if a person did all he could using his own power God would also give him grace. But Luther could not be sure that he had fulfilled all the preliminaries and wondered whether or not he was one of God's elect.[3]

From 1513 to 1517 Luther continued his work of teaching, preaching, and disputing. He lectured on the Psalms, Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. Luther expressed the opinion that one could understand the Bible only from the vantage point of faith. He depended on Augustine's teaching of sin and grace, which was in opposition to the scholastic teaching of justification.[4]

Luther also broke with Occamist theology. In fact, his polemical thrusts were directed early and often at the Occamist position. Occamism's Pelagian doctrine of grace and its blending of theology and philosophy were sharply attacked in a disputation against scholastic

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[2] Hagglund, 212.

[3] Hagglund, 212-213.

[4] Hagglund, 213-214.

theology in 1517.[5] Luther held that it was unreasonable to assert that man could of his own natural powers love God above all things and thereby prepare for the reception of grace. Rather, it is a natural characteristic of man to love himself and the world and be opposed to God. For Luther, grace preceded a good will.[6]

In October of 1517 Luther posted his *Ninety-Five Theses*, and he began to attract attention. At a disputation in Heidelberg in 1518, Luther explained and defended his theology before the German congregation of his Augustinian order. This debate not only touched on the question of indulgences, but also concerned the problems of sin and grace, of man's inability to do good, and of free will and faith. Luther appealed strictly to the authority of St. Paul as interpreted by St. Augustine.[7]

Luther's discovery that the "righteousness of God" as referred to in Romans is not a righteousness that judges or demands, but rather the righteousness that God gives in grace, was a decisive event in Luther's life. He mentioned this discovery in the foreword to his collected works in 1545, and he associated it with his preparation of his second commentary on the Psalms written in 1518-19. In interpreting the passage in Psalm 30, which reads (in the Vulgate version) *in tua justitia libera me*, Luther went to the words of Romans 1:17, "For in the Gospel a righteousness from God is revealed, a righteousness that is by faith, from first to last, just as it is written: 'The righteous will live by faith.'" (NIV) This discovery provided Luther with a key to the understanding of similar passages in the Bible. The insight became central in Reformation theology.[8]

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[5] Kittelson, 110.

[6] Hagglund, 214.

[7] Gerhard O. Forde, *On Being a Theologian of the Cross: Reflections on Luther's Heidelberg Disputation, 1518* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 21.

[8] Hagglund, 215.

In Luther's theology, justifying faith is accepting the merits of Christ, trusting in God's mercy for the sake of Christ. Righteousness comes only as a gift by faith in Jesus Christ; it is not an inherent quality in man. Rather, man is declared righteous through God's decree, not on the basis of any quality or merit in man himself, but on the merits of Christ.[9]

Luther on Worship

Luther could not avoid coming to grips with the Mass. His discovery of the Gospel led him to look at liturgical forms. But, since Luther often linked Christian worship and the Christian faith, his teachings on worship cannot be gathered solely from his liturgical writings. Even though we will examine these writings carefully later in this chapter, let us first look at a broader view of his theology.[10]

Luther sees God as one who acts for us. He acted for us by sending Christ into the world, where he died and rose for us. He still acts for us in Baptism and in the Lord's Supper. In fact, Christian faith cannot continue to exist unless Christ continues to come to us. For Luther, worship is fellowship with God by faith.[11]

Christ lives in the believer and acts through him. Faith encompasses the whole of man's life. Luther includes daily work under the term "worship." Luther considered loving the neighbor, and by so doing, obeying the Lord, to be worship.[12]

God's activity in the world becomes evident to man through God's Word. For Luther, the sermon was more than talking about the acts of God. He considered it to be God's revelatory activity. For this reason, Luther's great concern in the reform of worship was the restoration of

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[9] Hagglund, 226-228.

[10] Friedrich Kalb, *Theology of Worship in 17th-Century Lutheranism* trans. Henry P. A. Hamann (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965), ix.

[11] Vilmos Vajta, *Luther on Worship* trans. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1958), 3-10.

[12] Vijta, 14.

the Word to its rightful place.[13] The Word must always be understood Christocentrically. The Word and its proclamation are the weapons by which God subdues his enemies and frees mankind from bondage. The cosmic warfare began with the Incarnation and continues after Christ's death and resurrection. The Word written and preached is the sword with which Christ pursues his struggle to the Last Day.[14]

The Word of God reveals the works of God. When we hear the Gospel, we believe by the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus, preaching is more than just a report or comment on events of the past. The Holy Spirit works through the proclamation of God's Word so that it is effective in producing faith. Preaching makes Christ our contemporary so that his death and resurrection become our own.[15]

Law and Gospel are the two-fold message of the preacher. The Law reveals our sin and crushes us because we realize that there is no way we can live up to the commands of God. We would be left in despair were it not for the sweet words of comfort brought to us by the Gospel that Jesus Christ died for our sins. Christ is not a model to be imitated. He is not truly known until he is accepted by faith as the Savior. According to Luther, every sermon must present Jesus as God's gift to us.[16]

Luther saw worship as God's work of love by which he imparts the fruits of redemption in Jesus Christ, not only through the Word, but also through the Sacraments. The Word must be preached, *and* the Sacraments must be administered. Luther understood the Word of Institution

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[13] Vitja, 67.

[14] Vijta, 69.

[15] Vijta, 70-73.

[16] Vajta, 74-79; and Herman Sasse, "The Lutheran Doctrine of the Office of the Ministry" in *The Lonely Way: Selected Essays and Letters* trans. Matthew C. Harrison (St. Louis: Concordia, 2002), 2:125.

as the pledge by which Christ has promised to be present whenever bread and wine are administered in his name.[17]

In the Roman church, apostolic succession was needed in order to guarantee the legitimacy of the ministry and the Means of Grace. Luther espoused two kingdoms. There is a temporal kingdom made up of God's earthly gifts, and a spiritual kingdom which includes eternal life. God acts through the offices of secular authority and the family, and also through the Holy Ministry. The ministry possesses a kind of authority that is different. This authority is delegated by God. The ministry is Christ's continued activity on earth.[18]

The congregation alone can issue a valid call, for all Christians are priests. It is only for the sake of love and order that an individual is singled out to exercise the functions of the ministry. Luther saw ordination as nothing but public certification of the call.[19]

The preaching of the Word is the dominant function of the ministry, the task to which Christ and the Apostles attended. Along with the call to preach goes the call to everything that pertains to it, such as the administration of the Sacraments and pastoral care. The ministry rests on the proclamation of the Gospel.[20]

Christian faith depends on Word and Sacrament because faith exists only in receiving. Luther saw faith as an open hand receiving daily the grace of God in Word and Sacrament. God's work is the cause of faith. Passivity is the mark of the righteousness of faith. Luther even

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[17] Herman Sasse, "The Formula of Concord's Decision about the Lord's Supper" in *The Lonely Way: Selected Essays and Letters* trans. Matthew C. Harrison (St. Louis: Concordia, 2002), 2:39.

[18] Vijta, 110-112; and Martin Luther, "Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed" in *Luther's Works* ed. Walther I. Brandt trans. J. J. Schindel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1962), 45: 117.

[19] Vijta, 115-118.

[20] Vijta, 121.

spoke of Christian holiness as something passive, for it is the reception of the holiness of God in Christ.[21]

The task of the Levitical priesthood in the Old Testament was to prefigure Christ. With the coming of Christ, the priesthood was transformed, for Christ himself has become both priest and sacrifice. The priesthood of the New Testament has a single priest who mediates between God and man. In the fullness of time, Christ came and rendered a unique sacrifice. He gave himself and suffered death upon the cross. The sacrifice was not for himself, for he was without sin, but for those whose condemnation by the Law he suffered, whose sin he bore, whose guilt he cancelled, and for whom he opened a way to God. The vicarious character of his work implies that all those for whom he suffered are included in his priesthood. He is the foundation of the priesthood of all believers.[22]

Luther based the priesthood of all believers on 1 Peter 2:9 and Revelation 1:6, 5:10, and 20:6. For Luther, being a priest is the same as believing in Christ. The new birth which comes from Baptism and faith consecrates believers as priests in the kingdom of God.[23]

The priestly sacrifice of the believer is primarily one of praise and thanksgiving. This Luther often called true worship, for thanksgiving is man's only response to the mercy of God. Within the church service it is conditioned by God's prior coming in Word and Sacrament. The rhythm of worship leads from the reception of the Means of Grace to thanksgiving and to prayer, and from the gift of God to the faith of the recipient.[24]

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[21] Vajta, 127-129.

[22] Herman Sasse, "Office of the Ministry", 130-135.

[23] Vajta, 150.

[24] Vajta, 154-155.

The Theology of Worship after Luther

The period of Lutheran orthodoxy followed the death of Luther. We can think of this period as a time of faithful conservation and brilliant elaboration of the Lutheran heritage in spite of its gradual surrender of religion as revelation to a growing religion of reason.[25]

Classic Lutheran theology began to use the term *cultus* to refer to worship and the Means of Grace administered in an external service. The term included the whole Christian faith as well as all the action in the liturgy with the exclusion of human additions. *Cultus* was seen as the central subject of theology. The right way to honor God was derived only from the Word of God.[26]

The Lutheran theologians of this era did not separate liturgics from dogmatics. Liturgical subjects emerge at many points in their dogmatic systems. This period of Lutheran Orthodoxy brings home to us the point that one cannot speak comprehensively about the Christian faith without drawing a picture of Christian worship. In the same way, Christian worship in all its aspects must have reference to the total contents of the Gospel.[27]

The liturgical acts of the Christian service are receptive acts. The role of the believer is passivity—hearing the Word, receiving the Sacraments. The Christian, according to Luther, is both saint and sinner at the same time. As a sinner, the Christian can only receive. As a justified person, however, he can give back. Classic Lutheran theology stresses both the passivity of the Christian, who receives everything as a gift, and also his activity manifesting itself in the performance of good works.[28]

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[25] Kalb, x.

[26] Kalb, 8-11.

[27] Kalb, 18.

[28] Kalb, 28-32.

In the 17th century, Lutheran dogmaticians insisted that fundamental questions affecting the worship of God were discussed in the teaching of God and in Christology. Where the Triune God is, there Christians owe divine service. The right way of honoring God does not lie in the scrupulously exact execution of some forms of worship prescribed by God. Instead, all service of God must correspond to the saving counsel of God extended to us in Jesus Christ.[29]

It is the duty of the ministry of the Church to discharge the particular functions of the church service. This office is the earthly organ of the office of reconciliation through the Word and the Sacraments. It is regulated by a standing office deriving its authority from God. The office is a ministry of service, and its main duties are the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments.[30]

Lutheran service music, like all other art, was seen as *adiaphora* (indifferent matters). Lutheranism is not driven to search for biblical commands or prohibitions. Instead, music serves by its beauty, edification and comfort to the sorrowing. As regards purely vocal music, provided the text is either directly biblical or poetry bearing the character of the biblical Word, Lutheran Orthodoxy unhesitatingly took up a positive attitude. The retreat from polyphony, the growing importance of concert music, and the progressive development of independent instrumental music compelled a reexamination of such music in the service of worship.[31]

Luther on the Mass

Martin Luther sought to reform rather than to replace the Mass. The reforms he advocated were meant to bring the Mass into conformity with its original institution. Luther objected to the corruption of the Mass by man-made ceremonies. He, however, highly valued the chants which

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[29] Kalb, 50.

[30] Kalb, 82-83.

[31] Kalb, 141-150.

the early church added. He approved of all the parts of the ordinary and incorporated them into his Latin Mass. He discarded the Canon, however, because it stamped the Mass as a sacrifice rendered to God, which was against the Gospel.[32]

Luther's cardinal objection against the traditional doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass was that it was a work. Works referred to the attempt by men to find favor and acceptance with God by what they do rather than by what God has already done for them in Christ. This is a sin against the First Commandment. Instead of being used as a means of strengthening faith and consoling consciences, the Mass was being used as a means of exerting our influence over God.[33]

Luther also pointed out a second offense: the Mass was offered as a sacrifice. Luther charged that the Roman church imagined that it was offering Christ himself to God the Father as an all-sufficient sacrifice.[34] The point at issue was that the papists believed that the Mass offered to God what God wants to give to his people: the forgiveness of sins, life and salvation which Christ won on Calvary and which are mediated to the faithful through the Body and Blood of Christ.[35]

Luther called the Mass a benefit not received but given. God wants nothing but thanks for his gifts, for by giving thanks mankind confesses God as the merciful giver of every gift. Luther saw the Mass as *testimentum*—God's gift to mankind. The term "testament" is drawn from the Words of Institution. The testament must have a testator who sets up his will, then the testament proper which contains the will, the seal by which the testator confirms the validity of his will, the inheritance assigned in the testament, and finally those to whom the estate is bequeathed. The

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[32] Vajta, 28-31.

[33] Frank Senn, *Liturgia Svecanae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Reformation during the Swedish Reformation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1979), 301-303.

[34] Senn, *Liturgia Svecanae,* 303.

[35] Senn, *Liturgia Svecanae,* 309.

testator is Christ. The will is the Words of Institution. The seal is the Body and Blood of Christ. The inheritance is the forgiveness of sins. The heirs are people of every age. [36]

Humankind cannot do anything to qualify for the inheritance. We are recipients and need no merits of our own to receive the bequest. In his 1535 lectures on Galatians, Luther says, "That promise . . . is not obtained by any merit, Law, or work; but it is given."[37] As an expression of the idea of testament, Luther was willing to tolerate the priest's elevating the elements in order to show the people the pledge of God's covenant.[38]

The Roman church of the time saw the Mass as taking effect through the mere performance of the act (*ex opera operato*). As a work of merit the Mass earned the grace of God. Luther saw no benefit in the Mass unless it was performed with the personal participation of the one who uses the Mass (*opus operantis*). The works of God benefit us as long as they are used in faith. It is only by faith that God's work as a gift of grace enters a person. Grace is a fellowship by which God enters the life of the person and turns unbelief into faith.[39]

Luther wanted the congregation to hear the Words of Institution in the vernacular so that they might be understood. He also called for the distribution of both bread and wine to the people.[40]

We shall now turn to the two orders which Luther published in the course of his liturgical reforms. They were made for the actual local congregation in Wittenberg. They were not meant

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[36] Vajta, 33-40.

[37] Martin Luther, "Lectures on Galatians, 1535" in *Luther's Works* ed. Jaroslav Pelikan trans. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia, 1963), 26: 334.

[38] Vajta, 45.

[39] Vajta, 45-49.

[40] Vajta, 52.

to establish an ideal pattern for every Lutheran church to follow. His liturgies were designed with due regard for local customs and needs.[41]

Luther's Two Masses

As Luther looked at the medieval Mass, he removed everything that did not preach Christ. His standard for inclusion and exclusion was the doctrine of justification by grace through faith.[42] He restored the liturgy to the people so that they could worship as the Church once had: hearing the Word of God, singing the ordinaries, and receiving both the Body and Blood of Christ. He made the liturgy simpler and more accessible by allowing Christ to speak clearly and plainly through his Word. His greatest contribution to liturgical reform was the revival of preaching.[43]

Luther's reforms, however, did not lead to an immediate translation of the liturgy from Latin to German. In fact, Luther insisted that in the cities the liturgy be sung in Latin, for every educated person knew this language, whether they were Italian, German, French, or Spanish. The Latin liturgy was part of caring for people from other countries who would know Latin. The only place Luther called for the use of German in the liturgy was in the rural areas where there were very few people who knew Latin or were from other cultures.[44]

As early as 1516 Luther, while preaching on the Third Commandment, stressed the necessity of hearing the Word of God. In 1520 he advocated communion in both kinds. He also objected to the *Verba* being spoken silently. He indicated that there should be a distinction between the sacramental and sacrificial elements in the service. A few months later, in his

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[41] Vajta, 182.

[42] James L. Brauer, ed. *Worship Gottesdienst Culutus Dei* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2005), 29.

[43] Just, 249-250.

[44] Just, 251-252.

Babylonian Captivity of the Church, he vigorously attacked the withholding of the cup, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the conception of the Mass as a good work and a sacrifice.[45]

Luther protested against un-evangelical features, but never sought to abolish the historic order of the Mass. He was convinced that purification and not destruction was needed. He insisted that Lutheran ministers omit the parts of the Mass which referred to the Sacrament as a propitiatory sacrifice.[46]

During early 1523 Luther published a pamphlet called *Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeinde.* In this pamphlet he emphasized the importance of the sermon as a particular form of the Word of God.[47]

Luther issued the *Formula Missae et Communio* in December of 1523. As part of this order, Luther commented on the church calendar. He did not object to festivals based on Scripture, but proposed that festivals of the saints be abolished. The service was kept in Latin except for the sermon and few hymns, largely because Luther appreciated much of the liturgical material in its Latin form and wanted to retain the music traditionally associated with it.[48]

In the Latin service Luther retained the distinction between parts with unchanging texts (the Ordinary—*Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* with *Hosanna* and *Benedictus,* and *Agnus Dei*) and parts with texts that change according to the liturgical year (the Propers—Introit, Gradual with Alleluia or Tract, Offertory, Communion).[49]

The Introit was generally a Psalm verse followed by a doxology after which the verse was repeated. The choir performed this Latin text as a polyphonic composition only at High Mass in

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[45] Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1947), 69.

[46] Reed, 69-70.

[47] Reed, 70.

[48] Reed, 72-74.

the Roman church, but probably always in the Lutheran churches. During the singing of the Introit the priest stepped up to the altar and prepared himself by silently confessing his sin. Then followed the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria.* They were normally presented by the choir in polyphonic settings.[50]

This section of preparation was followed by a spoken Salutation, a Collect (for which Luther had developed new formulas), and the reading of the Epistle in a simple recitation tone. Then followed the Gradual, again one or more Psalm verses in a polyphonic setting, and the Alleluia with verse, followed by the repetition of the Alleluia, also polyphonic. At this point the Roman church included a sequence hymn which was rejected by Lutherans except during the Christmas season. This was followed again by a Salutation and the announcement and reading of the Gospel in a simple recitation tone. The *Credo* followed, at first generally sung polyphonically by the choir.[51]

The sermon followed in German. After the sermon the real Communion ceremony began. It included the Offertory, the Preface and the *Sanctus* with *Hosanna* and *Benedictus* sung by the choir. During the latter the much disputed elevation of the bread and cup took place. More prayers followed, then the declaration of peace and forgiveness, then the distribution of the elements in both kinds while the choir sang the *Agnus Dei.* The conclusion included prayers, a Salutation and a Blessing.[52]

Luther wanted the congregation to sing German *Lieder* after the Gradual, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei.* Few were available, and new ones had to be written.[53]

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[49] Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 52.

[50] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 57.

[51] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 57.

[52] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 58.

[53] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 58.

Before Luther published his *German Mass* in 1526, vernacular forms had already appeared in twenty or more widely scattered districts. Many of these simply omitted the Canon and kept the greater part of the service in Latin. The sermon, the Words of Institution, and occasionally the lessons were the only parts of the service in German.[54]

Luther had help from both Bugenhagen and Jonas in the preparation of the German order of service. It was introduced in the parish church in Wittenberg on October 29, 1525. Beginning with Christmas, it was used in the parish church on Sunday mornings, while Luther's Latin service was used on weekdays.[55] For his German service, Luther spent weeks with the aid of musicians Johann Walter and Conrad Rupff in arranging musical settings for the German text.[56]

The German service was largely for the uneducated laity, a simplification of the historic order adapted to the needs and abilities of a part of the people. It sought to promote congregational participation where no capable choir was available.[57]

The order of the Collects, of the prayers, Prefaces, Salutations, Words of Institution and Distribution remained principally the same as in the Latin Mass, except that all parts were presented in German and sung to correspondingly modified recitation tones. In the vocal pieces that could be performed by the choir, however, much was changed. A Psalm verse in prose remained for the Introit. The *Kyrie* was reduced to a three-fold (instead of a nine-fold as in the Latin Mass) execution. The *Gloria* was completely omitted. The German *Lied Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* or another *Lied* was to be sung after the Epistle. After the Gospel the entire congregation sang the German affirmation of faith: *Wir glauben all an einen Gott.* The sermon was followed by the exhortation to Communion, the Words of Institution and Luther's German

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[54] Reed, 74.

[55] Reed, 77.

[56] Reed, 84.

Sanctus. During the Distribution, further *Lieder* could be sung. After the Distribution there followed a German *Agnus Dei* or another *Lied*.[58]

New forms of recitation tones were developed for the German Introit, stylistically dependent upon the Gregorian tradition but regulated by the rules of the German language. Three or four *Kyrie* melodies of the older liturgy were preserved with few alterations; the substitution of the *Credo* and *Sanctus* by German *Lieder* had been somewhat anticipated by the new song-like Latin compositions in the German-speaking areas. For the Collect, Epistle and Gospel, the traditional recitation tones were again reorganized.[59]

Luther's other liturgical reforms included an order of Baptism, an order of marriage, an order for ordination, the Litany in both Latin and German, numerous collects, 38 hymns and various hymnbook prefaces.[60]

The German Mass from Luther to Bach

Luther was more concerned that the Gospel principles enunciated in his *German Mass* should be expressed in Lutheran worship than he was about a slavish adherence to its content and detail. In numerous church orders of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, Lutherans retained many features of the *German Mass* while allowing differences in specific content and detail. In these later Lutheran church orders, particularly those for use in larger towns and cities, both Latin and German forms existed side-by-side. [61]

Luther meant worship to be a musical experience. It is from this conviction of Luther that the distinctive Lutheran musical tradition developed under the leadership of its Kantors of church

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[57] Reed, 78.

[58] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 60-61.

[59] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 61.

[60] Reed, 79.

[61] Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), 293-294.

and school, beginning with Luther's colleague Johann Walter and culminating in Johann Sebastian Bach.[62]

Music was such a fundamental component of Luther's liturgical reforms that his agenda for reform was rooted in the schools. Instead of abolishing Latin schools, Luther gave them a key role in the reforming movement. Music was retained as an essential element of the curriculum in these schools. The children in the schools were taught the new music first so that the school choirs could lead their congregations in the new hymnody by singing the melodies in unison with the congregation, and also by singing polyphonic settings of these melodies in alternation with the congregational unison. We shall see that Johann Walter's *Choralgesangbuch* of 1524 was specifically compiled to meet these educational and liturgical needs.[63]

Luther's respect for liturgical form and content meant that later regional church orders in Germany maintained continuity with the liturgical traditions of Western Christendom. This continuity was finally dismantled by the influences of the Enlightenment and Pietism. While this process had begun during Bach's lifetime, much of Bach's music was still written to be heard within a liturgical framework and context that owed much to Luther's *German Mass.*[64]

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[62] Leaver, 294-295.

[63] Leaver, 295.

[64] Leaver, 304.

CHAPTER THREE

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHANN WALTER

Johann Walter is frequently referred to as the father of music in the Lutheran Church. It is this author's thesis that he laid the foundation upon which later Lutheran composers, Praetorius, Schein, Schuetz, and Bach, prepared their compositions. The thesis applies to the style as well as the liturgical use of the music. This music was written to be used as part of the liturgy rather than for aesthetic reasons.

Walter was the first Lutheran *Kantor* and the first German to write a Passion, an important precedent in that Schuetz and Bach put their best efforts into their Passions. In his own day Walter was regarded as a distinguished musician, and, as previously discussed, Walter was in contact with Martin Luther and the Reformation movement in Germany.[1]

During the years prior to the Reformation Era, church music suffered under a handicap. The nobility paid good salaries and weaned many of the most able musicians away from the church. Some members of the nobility, as well as some of the wealthy, encouraged musicians to write secular music in addition to religious music. In support of the latter, Frederick the Wise organized a *Hofkapelle* (chapel choir) around the year 1490.[2]

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[1] Walter E. Buszin, *Johann Walther: The Father of Lutheran Church Music* (New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1936), 1.

[2] Buszin, *Johann Walther*, 3.

In 1517, the same year in which Heinrich Isaac died, and in which Martin Luther nailed his *95 Theses* to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, a twenty-one year old man named Johann Walter joined the *Hofkapelle* of Frederick the Wise.[3]

Walter was born in the year 1496 in Kahla, a village near Jena, Germany. According to a document dated February 12, 1599, which supplements his will of April 1, 1562, his surname was originally Blanckenmueller. He was adopted by a citizen whose name was Johann Walter, a prosperous peasant farmer.[4] Young Johann attended the school in Kahla, but we know little else about his early life. None of the claims about his early musical education can be substantiated, but we can safely assume that he served as a choirboy while attending school.[5]

Between 1521 and 1525, Walter was a bass in the *Hofkapelle,* which was usually centered in Altenburg, Torgau and Weimar. After the death of Elector Friedrich II on May 5, 1525, he was threatened with dismissal. In 1525 he spent three weeks in Wittenberg with Luther, who, with Melanchthon, was in favor of continuing the late Elector's choir and of Walter's receiving adequate financial support for it. Walter had been in contact with Duke Albrecht of Prussia in Koenigsberg from February 6, 1526, but he was not given a position there. Since the post in Torgau offered him job security, he settled there and married in June of 1526. In 1527 he completed his studies at the university in Leipzig.[6]

Walter as *Kantor* in Torgau

Walter's transition from the court to service in the town and church seems to have been gradual. He still called himself "choirmaster to the Elector of Saxony" in editions of his

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[3] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 5.

[4] Werner Braun, "Johann Walter" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2nd ed. Ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2002), 27:55.

[5] Walter Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer, Pioneer and Luther's Musical Consultant", *The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church,* ed. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (Valparaiso, IN: Valparaiso University, 1954), 3:79.

Geystliches gesangk Buehleun. This collection, written with the encouragement of Martin Luther, contained 43 pieces for three, four, and five voices arranged according to the church year. Most of the pieces were in German; five were in Latin. The collection was intended for church choirs composed mostly of boys and older students in the schools.[7] The purpose of these polyphonic settings was to introduce the hymns to the wider congregation.[8] It is interesting that this collection appeared in 1524, the same year that Luther wrote his famous appeal "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools."[9]

The music of this edition will be described more fully in the next chapter, but for our purposes here, it is important to note Walter's close contact and developing friendship with Martin Luther. Luther provided the preface for this edition and in it commended the works to the use of the young people, stating, "I would like to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of him who gave and made them. I therefore pray that every pious Christian would be pleased with this. . ."[10]

The priestly sacrifice of the believer is primarily one of praise and thanksgiving. This Luther often called true worship, for thanksgiving is man's only response to the mercy of God. Within the church service it is conditioned by God's prior coming in Word and Sacrament. The rhythm of worship leads from the reception of the Means of Grace to thanksgiving and to prayer, and from the gift of God to the faith of the recipient.

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[6] Braun, 55.

[7] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 31.

[8] Leaver, 19.

[9] Martin Luther, "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools" in *Luther's Works* ed. Walther I. Brandt trans. Walther I. Brandt (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1962), 45:339-378.

[10] Luther, 53:316.

Walter desired to participate in the movement by helping the choir and the congregation speak the Gospel to one another in song so that they could receive the Word and give thanks for what it had brought them.

The same year in which Walter published the first of several editions of his *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn,* he also became the *Kappelmeister* in Torgau, the city in which he was to work for more than thirty years.[11] Following the death of Elector Frederick the Wise in 1525 and the succession of John the Steadfast as Elector and Regent, the *Hofkapelle* in Torgau fell on hard times. Already in the last years of Frederick the Wise there seemed to have been a declining interest in the *Hofkapelle*, a decline attributed to the influence of the Enthusiast, Carlstadt.[12]

With the accession of John the Steadfast, the new Elector disbanded the *Hofkapelle.* Melanchthon and Luther objected to putting Walter out of work, especially in light of his approaching marriage in June, 1526, to Anna Hesse in Torgau. The couple had one son, Johann (1526-1578). The Elector refused to change his mind, but granted Walter an annual allowance for the rest of his life.[13]

During this period Walter served, with Conrad Rupsch, as musical advisor to Marin Luther in the preparation of Luther's *German Mass* of 1526. In the years following the publication of his *Formula Missae* (1523), Luther devoted considerable attention to the preparation of a Mass in the vernacular. He wanted to be sure that the texts, melodies and accents grew out of the German language. So, in 1525, Luther asked for the assistance of Walter and Rupsch to help prepare the music of his *German Mass.* Luther himself wrote the music for the lessons and the Words of Institution, sang them to Walter, and asked for his opinion. Walter remained with

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[11] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 35-36.

[12] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 37.

[13] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 38.

Luther for three weeks as he wrote down the notes to the chants of the Gospels and Epistles. Walter attended the first German Mass in Wittenberg and took a copy with him to Torgau.[14]

Following the disbanding of the *Hofkapelle*, Walter, in 1526, became the Kantor at the Municipal Latin School in Torgau. At that time, more than 170 boys attended the school. He also assumed the directorship of the *Stadtkantorei,* a group of musical amateurs who met together to study music. From 1534 on, Walter was responsible for teaching Latin and religion at the Torgau School. While he was in Torgau, Martin Luther's son John and Michael Praetorius' father sang in Walter's choir.[15]

The school became a very famous institution primarily through the influence of M. Petrus Plateanus of Zwickau, who revolutionized the entire school system of Saxony during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Plataenus was well acquainted with the system of schools in the Netherlands at that time, and he used the same policies and practices in the German schools. The school at Zwickau shared the fame of the Torgau School, and both institutions emphasized the study of the humanities from a Lutheran perspective.[16]

The school grew rapidly, and in 1545 it became necessary to restrict the size of the student body to four hundred. The standards in music advanced considerably under Walter. It was Walter's duty to supply music for three churches, the castle church, and two other churches in Torgau proper.[17]

Walter's duties with the *Standtkantorei* brought together people from many walks of life, including clergymen, teachers, merchants, artists, and artisans. When members of the *Kantorei*

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[14] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 36.

[15] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 38.

[16] Buszin, *Johann Walther*, 11.

[17] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 11.

were in need, they were given aid. When they entered the state of holy matrimony or died, appropriate music for the occasion was furnished.[18]

On October 5, 1554, the new chapel of the castle Hartenfels in Torgau was dedicated. It was the first church building to be erected by the followers of Luther. Luther himself preached the sermon that day, and Walter composed and directed a seven part motet of homage dedicated to Luther, Melanchthon and Elector John Frederick, the Magnanimous of Saxony. Georg Rhau of Wittenberg published Walter's music.[19]

Eventually difficulties set in that made Walter's work more difficult. First of all, Martin Luther died in 1546. Secondly, an element within the Lutheran church called the Philippists, under the leadership of Melanchthon, gained control of the University of Wittenberg and the University of Leipzig. They were energetically opposed by the Gnesio-Lutherans centered in Magdeburg and the new university at Jena. In the bitter dispute that followed, Walter sided with the Gnesio-Lutherans.[20] Thirdly, the Council of Trent, which assembled in 1545, declared the traditions of the Roman Catholic Church had equal authority with the Bible and that good works were as necessary as faith in obtaining eternal salvation. This made reconciliation with Lutherans and Protestants impossible.[21]

Fourthly, political conditions developed that proved harmful to the Protestants. Charles V had defeated the Turks and had made peace with his rival Francis I of France. Spain was in complete subjection, and Italy was under his influence. At last in 1527 he was able to carry out the wishes of the pope and put down the Lutheran heretics in Germany. Wars broke out between the Catholics and the Lutherans who were united in the Schmalkald League. Political events that

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[18] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 12.

[19] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 13.

[20] Leaver, 203.

had granted Lutherans respite from the enforcement of the Edict of Worms by an imperial army no longer offered them shelter. Personal quarrels between members of the Schmalkald League weakened this organization, although it still raised an army of 40,000. Electors John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse refused to allow the army to advance against Charles V while his army was still weak. For months they compelled their army to wait while Charles V's army received reinforcements from the pope. Then, when they were forced to act, Moritz, Albertine Duke of Saxony, suddenly betrayed the Protestants and declared himself for Charles V. He took possession of Electoral Saxony, which belonged to his cousin, John Fredrick. The latter hastened home with his portion of the army and defeated and expelled Moritz. This gave the field to the emperor. In the spring of 1547, Charles V marched into northern Germany, surprised and defeated John Frederick, and took him prisoner. He then appointed the Duke of Alba president of a court which tried John Frederick and sentenced him to death. The other princes protested to such an extent that the punishment was never carried out. John Frederick, however, had to give up the title of elector and all his electoral territory to Moritz. John Frederick remained true to Lutheranism during the five years of imprisonment which followed.[22]

Finally, a highly talented musician by the name of Adrian Petit Coclicus, a former pupil of Josquin Desprez, sought to become professor of music at the University of Wittenberg. His occupancy of this position would have robbed Walter of much of his prestige in Saxony. Coclicus wrote a Song of Homage to Moritz, hoping to gain his good will. The Elector, however, did not grant Coclicus his wish. Michael Vogt, a pupil of Coclicus, became Walther's

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[21] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 14.

[22] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 14-15.

successor in Torgau. He introduced Dutch composers to Saxony, and their compositions became the foundation for the music of Praetorius, Hassler, Bach and others.[23]

Walter at Dresden

In 1548, at the invitation of Moritz, the new Elector of Saxony, Walter moved to Dresden. This city was the residence of the new Elector. Walter was to direct the *Hofkapelle* for the court chapel. He had been recommended for the position by Melanchthon. The choir was composed of nineteen singers, ten of which were adults. Nine were boys who sang soprano and descant. One of the adults was the preceptor for the boys so that their education would not be neglected.[24]

Rehearsals lasting an hour were held each day, and Walter was granted the privilege of having as many special rehearsals as he felt were needed. The choir members were vested in black garments and received a new garment each year. The *Kapellmeister* and the organist received two new garments a year. The boys lived in the home of the *Kapellmeister* who was responsible for their welfare, fed them, and among other things, gave each boy a container filled with beer each night to assist him in falling asleep.[25]

In all, Walter spent six unhappy years in Dresden serving a court which he felt had been religiously compromised by the Leipzig Interim agreement of 1548. He was hesitant to change his strongly held religious, musical, or liturgical convictions, and in 1554, at the age of 58, Walter retired from his service at Dresden to return to his hometown of Torgau, where his son sill resided.[26]

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[23] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 15.

[24] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 16.

[25] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 16.

[26] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 44.

Walter's replacement at Dresden was Matthaeus Le Maistre, a famous and very capable Dutch musician. Although Le Maistre attempted to perpetuate the ideals Walter had sought to establish, music of the Netherlands was the fad of the day, and it was not long before this type of music was used at Dresden. Not only was "foreign" music used at Dresden, but Elector August, Moritz's brother and successor, imported musicians from the Netherlands and Italy.[27]

Walter Returns to Torgau

In 1554 Walter returned to Torgau, where he still owned a home. He hoped to live the rest of his life in peace there, but conditions had changed while he was in Dresden. After John Frederick had lost Saxony and was imprisoned, most of the people who had been at his court left Torgau, and took up residence at Weimar. Walter had the friendship and respect of many of these people who left.[28]

The Augsburg Interim and its successor, the Leipzig Interim, had made life difficult for Lutheran clergy in Saxony. Michael Shulteis, the father of Michael Praetorius, had been removed from office. Some people called themselves "exiles of Christ" and remained true to their religious convictions; Walter associated with them after his return, but he still felt forsaken. When asked to write an epitaphical Mass in honor of Moritz, he shirked the responsibility, and asked Antonio Scandello to write the Mass instead. Walter did, however, write an epitaph in honor of John Frederick, which he turned over to the sons of the born prince together with a collection of *Magnificats,* one for each of the eight psalm tones. This collection was published in 1557.[29]

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[27] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 17.

[28] Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer", 96.

[29] Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer", 96.

Although Walter was not a theologian, he openly fought against liberal Lutheranism and crypto-Calvinism. The city council of Torgau eventually thought that Walter carried matters too far and forbade him to attempt to reform the church or exert any influence over its pastors. There was also a movement against figurate music at the time. Some people thought four and five part music to be too Roman Catholic and that only unison music was characteristically Lutheran. Walter fought this movement, openly quoting Luther as much as possible in the process.[30]

In 1556 Walter published his last collection of music containing eighteen German and two Latin compositions called *Dr. Martin Luther's Christian Hymn for Children, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," Augmented by Several Beautiful Christian Texts, Latin, and German Songs.* It was dedicated to Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxony.[31]

Because of his advancing age and his opinions, Walter's activities were restricted to the presentation of music in the chapel of the castle at Torgau. The elector took a kindly attitude toward Walter because he had contributed so much toward the cause of music in Saxony. The exact date of Walter's death is not known, but it is believed that he died in Torgau on March 25, 1570. He was buried in the Church of the Holy Cross. His grave has not been preserved, but his gravestone has been found. It simply reports his birth in 1496 and his death in 1570. Walter's wife died a year later on May 23, 1571.[32]

We may safely say that Walter wrote the following hymn texts: *Allein auf Gottes Wort will ich; Holdseliger, mein Herzens Trost; Herzlich tut mich erfreuen* (a long poem of 33 stanzas);

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[30] Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer", 76-77.

[31] Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer", 77.

[32] Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer", 97.

and *Wach auf, wach auf, du deutsches Land* (a hymn of 26 stanzas for which Walter wrote both text and music).[33]

Stanzas excerpted from several of these poems appear in some hymnals as separate hymns; for instance, see "The Bridegroom Soon Will Call Us" in *Lutheran Service Book,* hymn 415. In addition to these, Walter also wrote a number of short verses, mottos, and humanistic glosses; two larger poems in praise of music; two epitaphs on the death of Luther (1546) and John the Magnanimous (1556); three didactic and polemic poems in defense of Luther and refuting the doctrine of free will; and a table grace.[34]

Walter was among the first to use Luther's translation of the Bible into the vernacular in his music. His approach was liturgical, and the chorale was at the center of many of his works. His work was clearly related to the theology of Martin Luther—that the role of music in church is to proclaim the Word of God. His work was also in keeping with Luther's emphasis on the use of the arts. Luther asserts in an introduction to the hymnbook of Johann Walter in 1525: "I would gladly see all the arts, especially music, in the service of Him who has given and created them."[35]

In Walter's work we can see the development of the polyphonic motet style, as well as the simultaneous development of the simpler homophonic cantional style.[36] He was able to create choral works with biblical texts and with text and tune from the Reformation hymns and thus provided significant models for those who followed. As we now turn to a study of Walter's work and then to a study of how his work guided the composers who followed him, we shall see how these two styles were retained and used in innovative ways by these later composers.

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[33] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 45.

[34] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 45.

[35] Ewald M. Plass, *What Luther Says: A Practical In-Home Anthology for the Active Christian* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), 981.

[36] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 45-56.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MUSIC OF JOHANN WALTER

Johann Walter's music is published in a six volume work, *Saemtliche Werke.* Each of his works will be discussed in chronological order. Volumes 1 through 3 contain the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn.* The first edition (1524) contains 43 settings, 38 of which are in German, and five in Latin. Later editions expanded the number of pieces, particularly those in Latin. Volume 1 contains the German songs, while volume 2 contains the Latin songs. Volume 3 contains those songs found in the earlier editions but omitted in the final edition, as well as single compositions that appear in various manuscripts and collections.

Volume 4 contains four works: the *Deutsche Passionen nach Mattaeus & Johannes* (15-25-30), the *Magnificat octo tonorum* (1540), and *Fugen auf die acht tonos zwei- und drei-Stimmig sonderlich auf Zinken* (1542).

Volume 5 contains two works: *Cantiones septum vocum* (1544/45) and *Magnificat octo tonorum* (1557). Volume 6 contains one work: *Das christlich Kinderlied D. Martini Lutheri Erhalt uns Herr.* Included in this edition are also poems without music.

As previously noted, the priestly sacrifice of the believer is primarily one of praise and thanksgiving. This Luther often called true worship, for thanksgiving is man's only response to the mercy of God. The rhythm of worship leads from the reception of the Means of Grace to thanksgiving and to prayer, and from the gift of God to the faith of the recipient.

Walter wanted to create resources for this kind of worship that would help the choir and congregation speak the Gospel to one another in song so that they could receive the Word and give thanks for what it brings. We shall see this in evidence as we now consider his musical compositions.

Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn

The compositions in this work were written at the insistence of Martin Luther.[37] It was among the first hymnals published for polyphonic choirs, and it was mainly for pedagogical purposes. Luther had maintained consistently that the Latin settings were needed to create and sustain the interest of the students in mastering the Latin language.[38] Walter gladly eschewed secular music in order that he might concentrate all his efforts of composition on pieces that would be useful in Lutheran churches.[39] For Walter, the melody of the songs was the bearer of the Word of God. He saw his task as embellishing those melodies with the richest devices of his craftsmanship.[40]

This work was the first systematically planned collection of its kind, and the introduction was written by Martin Luther. It contained thirty-eight German and five Latin compositions from three to five voices. Walter used thirty German *Lieder,* but a few had multiple settings. Twenty-three of the *Lieder* were by Martin Luther.[41]

Walter was twenty-eight years old when he penned the collection. He did not create a new form, but he changed the character of a traditional one, making it essentially simpler. He consistently changed, improved and expanded this songbook in every one of its six editions. In the last edition, he smoothed out the movement of the voices and the sonority in an effort to bring the pieces more in line with the contemporary style.[42]

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[37] Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter Verlag, and St Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973), 3: ix.

[38] Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter Verlag, and St Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973), 6:292-293.

[39] Walter, 3: ix.

[40] Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 150.

[41] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 45-46.

[42] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 74.

Most recent scholarship suggests this chronology of publication: the first edition was printed in 1524, and a reprinting of the first edition occurred in 1525. A second edition, which is no longer extant, was published in 1528. The second edition was reprinted in 1534 and 1537. The final edition was published in 1551.[43]

Beginning with the 1537 edition, Walter's work was corrected, improved and augmented. From the 1537 edition, sixteen of the thirty-eight German songs of the first two editions were deleted. In the fifth edition of 1551, a composition incorporated into the fourth edition of 1544 was deleted. The fifth and final edition contained 121 compositions. These pieces make up volumes one and two of Walter's collected works.[44]

Volume 3 of Walter's works contains sixteen compositions deleted in the edition of 1537 and one composition of the fourth edition dropped in 1551. Volume 3 also includes German and Latin works by Walter either in manuscript or published singly.[45] Throughout the three volumes of his collected works, only the first stanza is adapted to the notes. Modern clefts and measures are used throughout the six volumes.

As stated previously, the first edition of 1524 contained thirty-eight German *Lieder* and five Latin Motets. Thirty-six of the *Lieder* had the *cantus firmus* in the tenor, while only two had the melody in the upper voice. By the last edition, there were seventy-eight German L*ieder* and forty-seven Latin motets. Among the seventy-eight, fifteen had the melody in the upper voice.[46]

Walter Buszin notes that Walter made his music so objective that the text could speak for itself without receiving any interpretive value from the music.[47] He adopted the custom of

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[43] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 48.

[44] Walter, 3:xii.

[45] Walter, 3:xii.

[46] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 74.

[47] Buszin, *Johann Walther*, 21.

making the *cantus firmus* the pivot of his compositions. While Gregorian music was used as the *cantus firmus* in Roman Catholic compositions, the Chorale was used as the *cantus firmus* in Lutheran church music. As we have seen, Walter adopted the prevailing custom of the day in assigning the *cantus firmus* primarily to the tenors.[48]

Walter's compositions may be divided into two distinct groups. The first group uses imitation frequently only at the beginning of a composition. The outer voices are free and do not support the *cantus firmus.* Walter's use of imitation is similar to that of the Netherland school. There is a constant rhythmic flow to the music.[49] The second group is similar to the music of Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450-1517). In this group, the *cantus firmus* is plain with no melismas or ornaments. The tenors carry the *cantus firmus.* The pieces are homophonic and homo-rhythmical.[50]

This interest in the new chordal style, pointing to the element of harmony, was significant in this period. Generally speaking, complete triads were the norm with two roots frequently present. Although modal cadences persisted, the new V-i (major dominant chord to minor tonic chord) cadence became evident. Textures varied from block chords to florid counterpoint.[51] While polyphonic music had a continual rhythmic flow and overlapping phrases, in the new style each voice moved essentially in the same rhythm. Phrases often began with long note values followed by shorter values, then repose. Usually a phrase had a high point.[52]

Walter's two basic types are rarely encountered in pure form. Blume comments that in the first type we see the *Lied* in a polyphonic *cantus firmus* setting typical of the age. This type

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[48] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 74.

[49] Buszin, *Protestant Church Music,* 23.

[50] Buszin, *Protestant Church Music,* 23.

[51] Paul Cooper, *Perspectives in Music Theory: An Historical-Analytical Approach* 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1981), 146-148.

reflects the hierarchical organization of the departing Middle Ages. In the second type, he posits that we see Walter's increasing preference for striving to create an adequate form for the Protestant *Lied.* It has simplicity and audibility of construction, clear textual representation, and conciseness.[53]

An example of the first type is the 1524 setting of *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland.* (See Appendix One) The setting is written in five voices with every initial voice-entry based on the *incipit* of the chorale melody. It has what amounts to a double-*cantus firmus* as the *altus* is in canon with the tenor at the fifth. Three of the voice parts (*discantus, vagans,* bass) clearly begin with the opening melodic phrase of the chorale melody. The other two *(altus* and tenor) have a variant form of the melody. The piece reiterates the chorale melody to assist the congregation in learning it. We shall see how this repetition of melodic fragments will be adopted and developed by composers of later generations.[54]

Aus Tiefer Not is an example of the second type.[55] (See Appendix Two) Voices are added to the *cantus firmus* in a concise treatment with melismas and no imitation. Each line is sharply concluded with a rest in all voices. Full triads are scarcely distorted by suspensions or passing tones. The emphasis is on sonority. It gives the impression of homophony since the *cantus firmus* can be heard as the melody. Note that in the second style there is a close coordination of voices in a vertical rather than a horizontal arrangement.[56]

In modern hymnals, the number of stanzas of a hymn is restricted. In Walter's day, all stanzas were sung. Therefore, variety in presentation was desired. While the performance was

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[52] Cooper, 152.

[53] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 79-80.

[54] Leaver, 206-210.

[55] For a modern score see Johann Walter, *From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee* ed. Arnold von Bruck (St. Louis, Concordia, 2009).

basically vocal, instruments could have been added to strengthen all voices, only the *cantus firmus*, or only the non-*cantus firmus* parts. A vocal piece could have been transcribed for organ, or it could have been accompanied by the lute.[57] If singers in sufficient number were available for the performance of all parts of the music, however, instruments could be dispensed with. In the manuscript books, several stanzas were entered under the parts relatively often. This shows that the associative parts were not for instruments only.[58]

Lutheran churches of this era still used Latin motets in which Gregorian melodies were used as *cantus firmi.* In Walter's 1524 and 1525 editions, there were five Latin motets. The 1537 edition contained thirteen, the 1544 edition contained thirty-seven, and the final edition of 1551 contained forty-seven.[59]

The number of relevant texts to be used in Latin motets was reduced by Luther's abolition of the festivals of Mary and of the saints and martyrs, and by his restriction of the Mass to services on Sunday and holy days. In Lutheran churches of the era, motets came to be used almost only for Matins, Vespers, and the eves of high festivals. Consequently, those used were mostly antiphons, psalms, responsories, hymns and *Magnificats* in eight modes. In preparing his motets, Walter harkened back to his early choral training, during which he would have been acquainted with examples by Isaac and Josquin.[60]

Several of the Latin motets are of interest. *O lux baeta Trinitas* (XXIX) breaks with tradition in that it has the *cantus firmus* in the descant. *In ascensione Domini* (XXII) has the

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[56] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 77-78.

[57] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 78.

[58] Walter, 6:293.

[59] Walter, 6:205.

[60] Walter, 6:205.

cantus firmus shared by several voices. *Verbum Domini manet in aeterum* (XI) makes use of a canon in which the tenor I starts in bar ten and the *altus* I is in canon at the fifth. The third section of *Cum rex gloriae* (XXI) also has canons. *Deus qui sedes* (I) makes use of an imitative technique. (See Appendix Three) *Deus qui sedes* is begun by the *altus* and echoed in bar three by the descant at the octave while in the tenor and bass the order is reversed.[61]

The Passions of St. Matthew and St. John

In the Roman Catholic Church it became customary to present the Passion story according to all four Gospel accounts.[62] During Holy Week Matthew's Passion was read on Palm Sunday, Mark's Passion was read on Holy Tuesday, Luke's Passion was read on Holy Wednesday, and John's Passion was read on Good Friday.[63]

These Gospel accounts appeared within the framework of the Mass in place of the normal Gospel reading. Originally the complete presentation of the Passion was the task of a single deacon who distinguished between narrative, words of Christ and other utterances by the pitch and inflection of his voice.[64] By the eighth century, the story was recited in a speaking voice, while the words of Christ came to be sung in plainsong. By the twelfth or thirteenth century, more elaborate settings with three distinct roles emerged for the Evangelist, Christ, and the crowd/minor characters.[65]

Three clergymen sang the solo parts of the Passion. The deep voice sang Christ, the middle voice was the Evangelist, and the high voice sang the words of the disciples, the Jews, the High

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[61] Walter, 6:206.

[62] Buszin, *Johann Walter,* 27.

[63] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 178.

[64] Basil Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and His Predecessors* 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1970), 22.

[65] Carl Schalk, "Passion" in *Key Words in Church Music* Carl Schalk, ed. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1978), 300-304.

Priest and the soldiers. The roles were set to a Passion tone with formulas for beginning and ending sentences, commas, colons, and question marks.[66] In the fifteenth century, composers began to write polyphonic segments of the *turba* portions in motet style, contrasting with the plainsong solo parts.[67] The term *turba* refers to the words spoken by the crowds.[68]

Matthew and John's Passions became more important because of the significance of the days on which they were sung. Martin Luther reduced the number of Gospels read during Holy Week to two.[69] The Torgau-Walter manuscripts contain two Passions, and they are the earliest known sources. Only after the middle of the century is there documentation of Passion music with alternating monophonic and polyphonic sections from other parts of Germany. The earliest form of German Passion comprised a series of separate but related chants on the Passion tone with *turba* sections in *falsobordone* style, but without a known *cantus firmus*[70]. *Falsobordone* refers to a four part, homophonic, vocal harmonization of a liturgical chant placed in the tenor or the upper-most part.[71]

When composing the music for the Passion accounts, Walter retained the exact words from Scripture according to Martin Luther's translation. The text began with Matthew 26:1 and terminated with Matthew 27:66.[72] In Walter's Passion the *turba* choruses are set in simple four-part homophonic style, while the narrative is chanted centering on f for Christ, c for the Evangelist, and f1 for the other characters. Its simplicity reflects Walter's attitude that the words

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[66] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 178.

[67] Grout and Palisca, 355.

[68] Don Randel, ed. *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1986), 885.

[69] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 179.

[70] Walter, vol. 4, xv.

[71] Randel, 298.

[72] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 27.

of the text receive primary attention without musical interpretation by the composer. Walter also adopted the custom from the ancient plainsong Passions in which, after the death of Jesus, a pause is indicated for silent meditation by the worshipers. In St. John's Passion a pause is indicated for silent prayer (The Lord's Prayer), allowing for the growing importance of greater participation by the congregation.[73]

Walter's St. Matthew Passion contains parts for the Evangelist, Christ, Judas, an Apostle, Peter, Caiaphas, the people talking to Peter in the courtyard, Pilate and Pilate's wife, in addition to the four part chorus of *discantus,* alto, tenor and bass. In addition to the four-part chorus, St. John's Passion has parts for the Evangelist, Christ, Pilate, the people talking to Peter, Peter, and the servant of the High Priest.[74]

Heinrich Schuetz (1585-1672) composed a work on the seven last words of Jesus on the cross and also wrote four individual Passions. Other Lutheran composers also prepared works based on the Passion narratives, some of which were closer to the original words of the Scriptural accounts and some of which made use of other texts.[75]

The custom of performing oratorio-like Passion music first came into use in Leipzig in 1721. Prior to this (but also after), the responsorial Passions following Johann Walter were used.[76] When J. S. Bach arrived there in 1723, Johann Walter's traditional plainsong Passion was still in use.[77]

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[73] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 42.

[74] Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter Verlag and St. Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973), 4:3-22.

[75] Schalk, *Key Words in Church Music,* 300-304.

[76] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 303.

[77] Hans Ludwig Holborn, *Bach and Pietism: The Relationship of the Church Music of Johann Sebastian Bach to Eighteenth Century Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism with Special Reference to the St. Matthew Passion* (Claremont, CA: School of Theology at Claremont, 1976), 100.

Christoph Wolff reports that on April 7, 1724, the morning service on Good Friday at the main churches followed the long-standing tradition of singing the St. John's Passion in the four-part polyphonic setting of Johann Walter as reprinted in the 1682 choir songbook by Gottfried Vopelius. It stood in place of the Gospel Lesson.[78] As we shall see, many other Lutheran composers including Heinrich Schuetz and J. S. Bach followed Walter's example of composing Passion Music.

Magnificat octo tonorum

The remaining compositions in volume 4 of Walter's collected works are brought together because they share one important aspect: they are arranged according to the eight church modes.[79] These modes were a system of classifying Gregorian chant that was formulated through the years, reaching their final form around the year 1000. Each of the eight modes was defined according to the pitch on which melodies in that mode ended. They are also differentiated according to the position of the whole tones and semitones in the diatonic octave built on the final tone.[80]

The *Magnificat anima mea Dominum* (My soul doth magnify the Lord), sung as a canticle at Vespers, is based on Luke 1:46-53.[81]

In the early sixth century, Benedict set up a Western pattern of dividing the day at monasteries. Vespers was sung at the end of the working day.[82] In his *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, Martin Luther stated that the *Magnificat* with antiphon should be sung (in Latin) at Vespers.[83]

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[78] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 290 and 495.

[79] Walter, 4:xix.

[80] Grout and Palisca, 55; and Randel, 499.

[81] Grout and Palisca, 34.

[82] White, 127-128.

[83] Martin Luther,"The German Mass" in *Luther's Works* ed. Ulrich S. Leupold trans. Augustus Steimle
(continued next page)

However, a German *Magnificat, Meine Seele erhebt den Herren,* was also available and was sung in some churches.[84]

In Germany after the Reformation, Vespers began with an antiphon and a Psalm with the repetition of the antiphon. The Gospel of the next Sunday or feast was sung, to which a short Responsory was added. Then followed one or more hymns in German or Latin. Then came the antiphon, *Magnificat*, and antiphon, followed by prayers and the *Benedicamus.* Vespers was sung by the choir boys.[85]

Walter's *Magnificat octo tonorum* of 1540 consists of eight settings for four voices (one for five voices) of the even numbered verses of the canticle in a homophonic *fauxbourdon* style.[86] *Fauxbourdon* became popular after 1420 with continental composers, who used it in almost every genre of composition. It consisted of a chant accompanied by a lower voice in parallel sixths, each phrase ending with an octave. Against these written parts, the third voice improvised a fourth below the treble. The principal melody was in the treble. The *fauxbourdon* style came to be used chiefly for settings of hymns, antiphons, psalms, *Magnificats* and *Te Deums* sung at the Offices. The melody in the upper voice steered composers to write homophonic or homo-rhythmic textures and led to the acceptance of the third and sixth sonorities in the harmonic vocabulary.[87]

Walter's *Magnificat* begins with a composition on the First tone, *Et exsultavit spiritus meus,* followed by the Second Tone and the rest of the eight tones in order. After the Fourth Tone Walter places an Antiphon (*Qui seminant in lacrimis, in axsultatione metent*).

(Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 53:69.

[84] Leaver, 196.

[85] Blume *Protestant Church Music,* 62.

[86] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 48.

[87] Grout and Palisca, 132-133.

Many other Lutheran composers wrote settings of the *Magnificat*, including J. S. Bach, who wrote his *Magnificat* for five-part chorus and orchestra in 1723.

Other Pieces by Walter

Volume 4 also contains eight Latin Psalms written in simple *fauxbourdon* style.

Table 1. Psalms and Their Modes

Psalm Number	Ancient Church Mode
109	First
128	Second
134	Third
110	Fourth
138	Fifth
143	Sixth
122	Seventh
144	Eighth

Source: Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u, Basel: Baerenreiter Verlag, and St. Louis: Concordia, (1953-1973), vo. 4.

Fugen auf die acht tonos zwei- und drei- Stimming sonderlich auf Zinken are twenty-six two-and-three-part canons for equal instruments. They may be played on any instruments of equal range and were intended for young people because they were easy to perform. They also could have been sung to solmisation syllables (ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la). They were Walter's only text-less compositions, and they were most likely intended for instructional purposes.[88] The eight modes are not always equally apportioned to the pieces. The third mode appears twice. The seventh and eighth modes each occur twice in their pure form and once mixed. There are five or six fugues in the fifth mode.[89]

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[88] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 42.

[89] Walter, 4:xx-xxi.

Cantiones septum vocum can be found in volume 5 of Walter's collected works. The composition consists of two seven-voice psalms (119 and 120). The first psalm setting was written for the dedication of the chapel at Castle Hartenfels, the first building constructed by Lutherans after the Reformation. Martin Luther preached for the occasion. His sermon was based on Luke 14. Both Melanchthon and Elector John the Magnanimous were present. For this occasion Walter composed an homage-motet in five sections for seven voices based on Psalm 119. Its uniqueness lies in that, while the psalm text is set for four tenor voices in canon at the unison (the descant providing the counterpoint), a single repeated note in a low part proclaims throughout the entire piece: "*Vivat, vivat Ioannes Friderich, vivat Elector et Dux Saxonum; vivat defensor veri dogmatis . . .*". This was to honor the Elector. The bass part, a trupet-like figure of five notes, presents the words: "*Vivat Lutheri, vive Malanthon* [sic.], *vive nostrae Lumina terrae, Charaque Christo Pecatora.*" Both of these lines occur throughout the work.[90]

Volume 5 includes the 1557 *Magnaficat octo tonorum*, featuring polyphonic settings of the even-numbered verses in Latin. Compositions in the fifth, seventh, and eighth modes contain complete settings of the *Gloria Patri.*[91] The fifty-two movements of the *Magnificat* include two which are two-voiced, twenty-five that are four-voiced, twelve that are five-voiced, and thirteen that are six-voiced.[92]

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[90] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 42-43.

[91] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 49.

[92] Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter Verlag and St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1953-1973), 5:viii.

Das Christlich Kinderlied D. Martini Lutheri Erhalt uns Herr mit entlichen lateinischen and deutschen Gesaengen vermehrt

This work was published at Michaelmas in 1566.[93] Walter himself designated this undertaking as a theological battle-action on behalf of unadulterated Lutheranism.[94] The last large scale work before his death, it was a collection of polyphonic music for four to six voices, at the center of which was Walter's setting of what he thought was Martin Luther's last hymn. In actuality, Luther's last hymn was most probably the German version of "*O lux beata trinitas*" which had probably not come to Walter's attention.[95]

Luther considered *Erhalt uns Herr* a children's hymn. It was not only a worship song, but it was also a theological song. It declared the substance of the faith and was to be sung with catechetical intentions.[96]

In the 1543 edition of the Wittenberg hymnal, the hymn was placed after the catechism hymns. Robin Leaver posits that is first and third stanzas form a "fairly close paraphrase" of Luther's explanation of the Third Petition of the Lord's Prayer in the Small Catechism.[97] The hymn's catechetical connections were made explicit when it was appended to the 1549 Leipzig edition of the Small Catechism and headed "A Children's Catechism Hymn."[98]

The hymn was written at a time (1542) when the Turkish threat was intensified. Ferdinand of Austria had been defeated at Budapest and most of Hungary became an Ottoman province in 1541. Luther was also concerned that the Lutheran churches faced the possibility of extinction should the Roman Catholic princes of the Holy Roman Empire mount military actions against

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[93] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 50.

[94] Walter, 6:xix.

[95] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 44-45.

[96] Leaver, 107-108.

[97] Leaver, 113.

[98] Leaver, 114.

the areas ruled by Lutheran princes in an attempt to restore the unity of European Catholicism. Hence, Luther included the threat of Turk and pope in the hymn.[99] Bach's Cantata 126 still retains the words, but gradually editors removed those terms, and we do not see them in the hymnals of today.

Walter arranged Luther's hymn in six parts. The melody of the hymn appears at the beginning of many of the choral lines and then disappears in the polyphony. The text of the fifth setting is a doxology. The sixth setting has an obviously different melody. The settings are followed by four settings of another Luther hymn: *Gib unserm Fuersten und aller Obrigkeit.* In addition to Luther's hymns, the collection also includes other polyphonic pieces in German and Latin.[100]

This collection takes up a large part of the sixth volume of Walter's works. Also included in volume 6 are nineteen anonymous pieces in Latin from the Torgau-Walter Manuscripts.[101] It is conjectured that these compositions were left anonymous because the singers knew their origin. They are stylistically similar to Walter's work. At the end of the volume there are poems without music.

Religious music was obviously important to Walter because of the message it proclaimed. In the preface to his Poem of Praise, he remarked:

> Music, because of its character, and because of its own rich inheritance, belongs to sacred theology; yes, it is so entwined and so sealed up with theology that anyone who desires, studies, and learns theology, must also take up music with it, though he may not see, feel or understand it. For that reason, music is not an art, as some believe, which may be used only to entice carnal desires, pleasures and frivolity, just as some people use all fits of God for carnal and foolish purposes, but it is grace and

[99] Leaver, 202.

[100] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 49.

[101] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 49.

> mercy, that through man's lazy and indolent flesh may be made happy and alert, ready and willing to praise God.[102]

Walter's music allowed the choir to sing the Gospel to the congregation on Sundays and festivals as well as at weekday services.[103] Some of these texts were directly from the Bible (especially the psalm settings, the Passion, and the *Magnificat*). Others were didactic in that they taught the congregation doctrine. Some led the congregation in a response of thanksgiving for the good news of the Gospel. And yet others led the congregation in a response of prayer.

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[102] Buszin, *Johann Walther,* 29.

[103] For a listing of Walter's choral arrangements of hymns included in *Lutheran Service Book*, see Appendix 4.

CHAPTER FIVE

WALTER'S INFLUENCE ON GERMAN LUTHERAN COMPOSERS

Martin Luther promulgated that the priestly sacrifice of the believer is primarily one of praise and thanksgiving. This Luther often called true worship in that it is dependent on faith's receiving God's love and mercy through Word and Sacrament. This rhythm and movement is the major theological point of the Reformation.

This chapter will examine biographical material and the music of several German Lutheran composers who followed Johann Walter. Brief sketches of Hans Leo Hassler, Michael Praetorius, Johann Hermann Schein, Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Schuetz, and Johann Sebastian Bach are included. We shall see that each of these composers carried forward from Walter and from Martin Luther the desire to have the choir and congregation speak the Gospel to one another in song so that they could receive the Word and give thanks for what it brings.

Hans Leo Hassler

Hassler's Life

We do not know the date of Hans Leo's birth, but he was baptized on October 26, 1564, the son of Isaak Hassler, an organist and musician in Nuremberg.[1] He was born at a time when the preeminent musical style was that of Flemish polyphony. Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594) went to the Bavarian court in Munich, where he influenced Leonhard Lechner. Lechner came to the St.

[1] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 74.

Lorenz School in Nuremberg and held the title of *archmusicus* from 1575 to 1585. He in turn influenced Hans Leo.[2]

In 1584 Hans Leo went to Venice, where he studied with Andrea Gabrieli (ca. 1520-1586) at St. Mark's Cathedral. While with Gabrieli, Hans Leo studied *cori spezzati*, the use of a variety of contrasting choirs of voices and instruments, echo effects, and a more progressive use of instruments. During his eighteen months there he also learned about secular madrigals, the *villanelle*, the *balletto,* and other similar musical forms.[3]

Hans Leo appears to have left Venice for good in the latter part of 1585, likely following the death of Andrea Gabrieli.[4] He went to Augsburg, where he took up the position as organist to Octavian (II) Fugger of the great Augsburg banking family.[5] Maximilian I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was frequently present. Although Hans Leo was a Lutheran serving in a Roman Catholic court, his years in Augsburg were his most productive, and, in 1595, the Emperor knighted him.[6] It was around the turn of the century that his vocal compositions began to appear in important anthologies that were widely circulated and still in use at the time that Bach was working in Leipzig.[7]

In 1600 Octavian (II) died and Hans Leo accepted an offer to become the chief *Kapellmeister* at Nuremberg. He took up his new post in 1602.[8] In 1604, he left for Ulm, where he married Cordula Claus in 1605. They had no children. In 1607, Hans Leo became a citizen

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[2] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 74; also Goeffrey Noris and Klaus-Peter Koch, "Hans Leo Hassler" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2002), 11:120.

[3] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 75-76.

[4] Noris and Koch, 120.

[5] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, Inc., 1954), 687.

[6] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 83.

[7] Noris and Koch, 120.

[8] Reese, 687.

of Ulm,[9] where he prepared his only two collections specifically designed for use in Lutheran services.[10]

In late summer or early fall of 1608, Hans Leo made the final move of his career, to the Dresden court of the Elector Christian II, Elector of Saxony. Initially he was the electoral chamber organist, and eventually he assumed the duties of *Kapellmeister.*[11] It was in Dresden that he contracted tuberculosis, which proved incurable. He died on June 8, 1612, at the age of 47.[12]

Hassler's Music

Hans Leo was among the few German composers to write secular music on Italian texts. He also wrote Masses and independent wind music.[13] Ten intradas in his *Lustgarten* (1601) served as a harbinger of the great upsurge of instrumental ensemble music in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[14] His early works show the influence of Lasso, and his later works reveal the deep impression made upon him by his studies in Italy.[15] Lasso's influence can be seen in his numerous Latin motets appropriate for both Roman Catholic and Lutheran use. Many of these works are predominantly homophonic. Concerted performances of these motets would be consistent with the conventions of the time.[16]

In the last third of the 1500's, chorales were published more and more in *cantional* style; that is, in plain chordal settings with the tune in the highest voice. After 1600, it became

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[9] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism, 83.*

[10] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism, 83.*

[11] Noris and Koch, 121.

[12] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 86.

[13] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 79-80.

[14] Reese, 672.

[15] Reese, 687; also Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 151.

[16] Noris and Koch, 121.

customary to have all the parts played on the organ while the congregation sang the tune. We shall see that Hans Leo composed such settings. Led by the example of Lutheran Lasso, Lutheran composers also created polyphonic compositions around traditional melodies. These settings were called choral motets. Hans Leo was also a leading composer of such motets.[17]

An important class of chorales was called *contrafacta.* In this style of chorale, a melody received a new, spiritualized text.[18] Among Hans Leo's five-part pieces can be found *Mein gmuet ist mir verwirret* to which was supplied the religious text *Herzlich tut mich verlangen.* J. S. Bach used this tune with Paul Gerhard's words, *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,* in his St. Matthew's Passion.[19] This hymn has been translated into English as *O Sacred Head Now Wounded*, and, along with Bach's chorale setting, is found in many modern hymnals.[20]

Hans Leo wrote two works specifically designed for Lutheran use. *Psalmen und christlich Gesänge* was published in 1607, and *Psalmen simpliciter* was published in 1608.[21] The 1607 edition contained fifty-two settings of thirty chorale melodies in chorale-motet style for four voices. The 1608 edition contained seventy-one settings of chorale melodies in simple *cantonial* style. Sixty-seven settings are for four voices, four settings are for eight voices in two choirs.[22] Of special interest is *Vater unser in Himmelreich* in the 1607 edition. Hans Leo composed a different setting for each of the ten verses.[23]

In Hans Leo's two collections we can see two ways in which the Lutheran chorale melodies would develop in coming decades: (1) the polyphonic motet style and (2) the simple

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[17] Grout and Palisca,151.

[18] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 241.

[19] Reese, 711.

[20] For a setting in a modern hymnal see *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2006), 449.

[21] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 158.

[22] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 90-91.

[23] Hans Leo Hassler, *Saemtliche Werke* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1965), 7:1-18.

cantonial style. The later style was seen in embryonic fashion in the chorale settings of Johann Walter. As we shall see, it will be developed further in the works of Praetorius, Schein, Scheidt and Schuetz.[24]

Many of Hans Leo's works were written in the context of liturgical worship of God's people. Many of his works proclaimed God's Word. The chorale texts were often didactic in that they taught the beliefs of the Lutheran Church. The congregation could hear, and in some cases, sing these texts. Both the choir and the congregation were able to use Hans Leo's music to respond to God's gifts with thanksgiving and praise.

Michael Praetorius

Praetorius' Life

Michael Praetorius was born in the city of Creuzburg in Thuringia (near Eisenach) on February 15, 1571. His father was a pastor. Shortly after Michael's birth, the family moved to Torgau. In 1583 Michael moved to Frankfurt an der Oder, where his brother Andreas was pastor and theology professor at the university. Michael studied philosophy and theology in the university there, matriculating in 1582.[25] Following his brother's death in 1587, Michael took up the organ duties at St. Mary's to support himself.[26]

Michael left Frankfurt in 1589 to become a musician and then organist in Groenigen. In the early 1590's he also served Wolfenbüttel. On December 7, 1604, the Duke named him *Kapellmeister.*[27]

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[24] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 85.

[25] Eric Gilder, *A Dictionary of Composers and Their Music: A Listener's Companion* (1985; repr., New York: Wing Books, 1993), 273.

[26] James L. Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music at Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: A Study of Changing Tastes in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: City University of New York, 1983), 78-79.

[27] Brauer, 80.

In 1613, the Saxon Elector Johann Georg brought Michael to Dresden, a court very receptive to the Italian style. He received an honorarium from Dresden for the rest of his life,[28] although he also organized musical events in a number of other cities (Halle, Kassel, Magdeburg, Leipzig and Nuremberg.) In 1620, he returned to Wolfenbüttel, where he died on February 4, 1621.[29]

Praetorius' Music

Michael's early training was strongly influenced by devoted followers of the Lutheran tradition who valued the chorale and participation of the congregation in worship. These composers clothed melodies in the contrapuntal art of the Netherlands. Within this tradition Michael became acquainted with a rich array of musical styles, including traditional *cantus firmus* technique, the polyphonic motet, concerto methods and the new monody.[30]

In Wolfenbüttel, Michael's predecessor (under Duke Heinrich Julius) imparted a tradition that blended instrumentalists with singers in the court music according to the north German pattern. In Prague Michael became acquainted with the south German pattern. Like other composers of his time, he also became interested in the new techniques emanating from northern Italy.[31]

In his early works Michael used one instrument that could cover the vocal range of a given part as a substitute for a voice. In the last decade of his life his use of instruments had expanded and their application was considerably more sophisticated. The "fundamental" instruments could perform individual parts of full harmony according to the practice of *basso continuo.* The

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[28] Gilder, 273.

[29] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 82-83.

[30] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 83-84.

[31] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 84-85.

primary instrument in this group was the organ since it could sustain pitches with ease, furnish a variety of timbres (many in direct imitation of Renaissance instruments) and be a replacement for an entire instrumental choir when necessary. The use of "ornamental instruments" in alternation was a practice he inherited and which produced a frequent change of timbre within long works. These instruments were chosen to fit vocal ranges and grouped in choirs first with at least one singer to bear the text.[32]

In later works the concerted style brought instrumental sound as an element of construction in a work. Some parts in the works were also notated with idiomatic melody lines, formerly a matter of improvisation by the players.[33]

There were three phases in Michael's use of instruments: (1) instruments simply replace voices; (2) instruments are used for their special timbres; and (3) instruments are used idiomatically, with parts designed to feature the special character of the instruments.[34]

Michael's earliest organ works have likely not been preserved. Beginning with his *Musae Sioniae* (1605-1607), there is a departure from organ-like works. The works of this developmental period frequently have six voices and general suggestions for the use of instruments. While there is instrumental participation, voices are used to provide the text. In general, Michael uses three instruments of the same type, employing brasses more often than strings. The organ is used, and one or two voices are always on the *cantus firmus.*[35]

Directions for instrumentation are expanded in Michael's *Missodia Sionia, Eulogodia Sionia, Hymnodia Siona,* and *Megalynoda Sionia.* It becomes clear in this developmental phase that the proper distribution of instrumental color is important in his polyphonic works. The

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[32] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 136-137.

[33] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 137.

[34] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 137.

various choirs are not spatially distinctive, but contrasting in timbres, including instruments that perform in a single pitch at a time and those which are able to play more than one part or to provide a bass line and chords. Michael takes pains to describe how to achieve this effect.[36]

No new ideas on the use of instruments are expressed in Michael's *Lieturgodia Sionia Latina* and the first volume of *Syntagma Musicum.* However, later compositions show a preference for techniques exhibited in the works of Italian composers of the time like G. Gabrieli (1613-1621). In this final phase Michael considers placement of choirs at separate locations in the church, an imitation of Italian practice. The first choir is instrumental with the uppermost part sung. Either the organ plays the lower parts or they are performed by the strings. The first choir requires a minimum of two performers. All other forces are assigned to the second choir. When possible, brass instruments double the parts of this larger group.[37]

The corpus of organ music by Michael includes the nine organ hymns, the solitary set of variations, and the *bicinia* and *tricinia.* The *bicinia* and *tricinia* are short pieces in two or three parts based on German chorale melodies and are very much like the chorale prelude in technique of composition. *Bicinia* are two-voiced, to be sung by two boy sopranos or to be played on the organ on two manuals. The *tricinia* are to be performed by the organist playing the middle part, and the outer parts being sung by individual singers, creating an interesting and unique sort of sacred chamber music.[38]

The organ hymns or "psalms" as Michael called them, are extended pieces based on either a Latin plainsong melody or a German chorale. In the six Latin organ hymns, the plainsong

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[35] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 137.

[36] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 99-105.

[37] Brauer, *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music,* 105-111.

[38] Lincoln B. Spiess, "Michael Praetorius Creuburgenis: Church Musician and Scholar" in *Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (Valparaiso, IN: Valparaiso University, 1963), 5:68-78.

melody is treated as a *cantus firmus*, whereas the three based on German chorales present the chorale melody with imagination and are musically more interesting than the plainsong-based pieces. The most important of the three German organ hymns is the one based on *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God.* The imitative motet principle is the dominant structural technique in this work and other German organ hymns, with each successive phrase of the original chorale melody becoming the subject of a point of imitation.[39]

The set of variations on *Now Praise the Lord, O My Soul* is much less imaginative than the organ hymns. It is characterized by a great deal of mechanical passage work that shows a rather obvious influence of Sweelinck or of the English virginalists.[40] All of Michael's organ works are contained in *Saemtliche Orgelwerke,*edited by Karl Mattaei and published by Kallmeyer-Moseler Verlag in Wolfenbüttel in 1930. A more modern edition is available from Breitkopf.[41]

Between 1605 and 1611 Michael published 1,244 German chorale settings for two to twelve voices, providing a virtual encyclopedia of motet-like chorale settings. Eventually these motets were replaced by church concertos based on chorales and would come to be called cantatas.[42]

The first four volumes of the *Muses of Zion* (1605-1607, volumes 1 through 4 of the complete edition) contain motets in a typical sixteenth century style, unaccompanied, in modal counterpoint, with the imitative principle dominant. The texts are in German. The influence is primarily that of Orlando di Lasso.[43]

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[39] Spiess, 68-78.

[40] Spiess, 68-78.

[41] Corliss R. Arnold, *Organ Literature: A Comprehensive Survey* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1937), 507.

[42] Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 518-519.

[43] Michael points this out as well as the influence of Victoria and Marenzio. See Friedrich Blume, ed. *Gesamtausgabe der Musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius* (Wolfenbüttel-Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1928), 9: ix.

In Part Five of *Muses of Zion* (1607, volume 5) we already begin to see hints of a new influence, which crystallizes in parts 6 through 8 (1609-1610). This is the influence of the German chorale and possibly specifically of Johann Walter. Practically all the pieces in parts 6 through 8 are set in chorale-like style, a remarkable change from the contrapuntal idiom of Michael's earlier work.[44]

Part 9 (1610, volume 9) contains the *bicinia* and *tricinia* previously discussed. As a change is taking place in the composer's thinking, one can notice the chorale becoming more and more significant. Blume contends that concerted elements begin to appear in these two and three voice settings. The chorale is treated less as a *cantus firmus* and more as a group of motifs to be used in a concerted play of voices. Blume sees this as a deliberate innovation because Michael states that he permitted the chorale to run through the whole passage in one voice as the *cantus firmus,* with the other two voices treating a single line (and always the same one) of the chorale in counterpoint. This technique anticipated a technique of chorale treatment used by organists and later on by all masters of the seventeenth century.[45]

The tenth through thirteenth volumes are thought to be out of chronological sequence. These works were written much earlier than the actual dates of publication. Volume 10 contains motets and Latin psalms with a publication date of 1607, and the style of music is of the di Lasso character. Volumes 11 through 13 contain various Latin works in a similar style. Volume 14 contains Latin works also, but with certain features which point to their dating from the earlier part of the transition period. This volume is a collection of Latin *Magnificats*, but with interpolated passages in German. Volume 15 contains a collection of dances.

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[44] Speiss, 68-78.

[45] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 200.

Michael gives instructions for unifying choral and congregational singing in several volumes of music. The preface to his *Urina* (1613, volume 16) is unusually detailed. It gives a list of suggestions for performing the German *Gloria, allein Gott in der Hoh sei Her.* (1) After an organ introduction, stanzas 1 and 3 may be sung in union with the people; stanzas 2 and 4 are sung figurally by the choir in simple counterpoint with the people singing along. Stanza 5 is sung figuraliter and choraliter at the same time. Or, a more complex style of counterpoint may be used in the figural stanzas. (2) All stanzas are to be sung figurally with the people singing along. (3) The fist stanza may be sung choraliter and the rest figuraliter. (4) The first phrase may be sung in unison with the people and the remainder of the first stanza figuraliter. Subsequent stanzas may be sung the same way, only figuraliter, or alternating figuraliter and choraliter stanza by stanza. (5) The first phrase of stanza 1 may be sung by a tenor soloist, the second phrase by the full choir with instruments, and so on until the end of the hymn. Because the hymn has an odd number of phrases, the last phrase of each stanza is divided so that the soloist sings the first half phrase and the chorus the remainder. This method is appropriate for small rooms only, and will not work in large churches. (6) Instead of a tenor soloist, a quartet of singers may be used to sing phrases alternating with a full chorus of instruments and singers. (7) After an organ introduction, the first stanza may be sung in complex counterpoint of two or more voices, the second stanza in unison with the people, the third in counterpoint and so on. (8) The hymn may be performed by multiple choirs, alternating either full stanzas or phrases.[46]

With two choirs (vocal and organ), Michael suggested performing one stanza polyphonically with four or more singers, another with the organ and one or two trebles or a tenor singing, the whole congregation joining in. With three choirs, another vocal or instrumental group was added, and with four choirs, he suggested a vocal choir and separate

[46] Herl, 115.

ensembles of brass instruments, stringed instruments, and flutes (the organ could replace an ensemble if necessary). Finally, he advised that the choir might alternate every phrase, or two phrases, instead of every stanza.[47]

Michael noted that the first four methods were already used in many places. The large number of chorales published suggested that this style was commonly practiced.[48]

Urania marked the beginning of the later period. The contents of *Urania* consist of polychoral settings of German chorales of two, three or four choruses. The settings are essentially homophonic but seem to be allied to the massive choral effects of Venetian polyphony as much as to the influence of the chorale. There are aspects of the music itself which point to the Venetian influence, such as the sense for color in the alternating of the choruses and their subsequent joining in *tutti* passages. If additional evidence was needed, there is concrete and specific evidence of this Venetian influence in Michael's own introduction to the volume where he mentions the practice in Italy of using a *basso continuo* to keep the choirs together and goes on to say that this practice is to be seen in the concerti and motets of Giovanni Gabrieli.[49]

With *Polyhymnia* of 1619 (volume 17), the Baroque style emerges even more fully. Here can be found instrumental accompaniments and the use of figured bass throughout. Besides instrumental innovations, the contrapuntal lines now become more typically Baroque than Renaissance, with the more obviously instrumental lines characteristic of the later period. All of the works in this volume, moreover, are extended cantata-like compositions.[50]

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[47] Herl, 115.

[48] Herl, 115.

[49] Spiess, 68-78.

[50] Spiess, 68-78.

Blume contends that Michael's last two printed works (*Polyhymnia exercitatrix* of 1619 and *Puericinium* of 1621) were written for school choirs and are textbooks dealing with Italian vocal virtuosity as adapted to Lutheran chorale settings.[51]

Much of Michael's music was used in a liturgical worship context. The choir and the congregation would proclaim to each other the Word of God through the chorales. This was especially true when the choir and congregation would sing in alternation. Even the organ and instrumental versions of chorales would call to mind the words of the chorale as the choir and congregation listened. In their singing the choir and congregation also had opportunity to praise God for the gifts that he had bestowed on them.

Johann Hermann Schein

Schein's Life

Johann Hermann Schein was born on January 20, 1586, in Gruenhaim (near Annaberg) in Saxony and was the fifth child of Hieronymus and Judith Schein. His father was a Lutheran pastor who adhered devoutly to the Lutheran confessions. After the death of Hieronymus in 1593, the family moved to Dresden. In 1599, thirteen-year-old Johann became a soprano choirboy at the court chapel, where he came under the tutelage of Rogier Michael, the director of chapel music.[52]

Johann attended the University of Leipzig and then was admitted to the electoral school at Schulpforta on May 18, 1603. This school specialized in music and the humanities. After studying at Pforta until 1607, Johann went to the University of Leipzig early in 1608. He studied

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[51] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 201.

[52] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 116.

law there until 1612. While he was in Leipzig, the cantor at the Thomaskirche was Seth Calvisius.[53]

In 1613, at the instigation of Gottfried von Wolffersdorf, a fellow pupil with Johann at the school at Pforta, the twenty-seven-year-old Johann became teacher and *Hausmusik Director* at Wolffersdorf's household at Weissenfels. Two years later, on May 21, 1615, Johann became the *Hofkapellmeister* for Duke Johann Ernst in Weimar, having been recommended for this position by his friend Wolffersdorf. [54]

On August 19, 1616, Johann auditioned for the position of *Kantor* at St. Thomas, Leipzig—a position that had been vacant since the death of Seth Calvisius the preceding November. Johann began his work there in late September or early October and became the predecessor of Johann Kuhnau and eventually of Johann Sebastian Bach. Johann Schein retained this position until his death in 1630.[55]

As was the custom for many in similar positions, Johann, in addition to his musical responsibilities at the Thomaskirche and the Nicolaikirche, was required to teach fourteen hours a week in the school—ten hours of Latin and four hours of singing. He complained about this because he wished to devote more time to musical composition.[56]

The close connection between Johann and the people of Leipzig whom he served can be seen in the numerous wedding and funeral pieces which he wrote during the course of his career there. Among Johann's intimate friends were Samuel Scheidt and Heinrich Schuetz, of whom we shall learn later in this chapter.[57]

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[53] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 116.

[54] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 117.

[55] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 117.

[56] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 118.

[57] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 119.

Johann married Sidonia Hoesel on February 12, 1616, and they had three daughters and two sons. The daughters all died in infancy. After only eight years of marriage, Johann's wife died of complications in childbirth on June 30, 1624. Her funeral was on July 2.[58] The following year he married Elisabeth von der Perre, a union which resulted in five children, four of whom also died in early childhood.[59]

In addition to the devastation of his family life caused in part by the deprivations and diseases of the Thirty Years War, Johann himself suffered from poor health through much of later life. He was afflicted with tuberculosis, gout, scurvy and kidney stones.[60] Illness forced him to cancel the performance of a large work composed for the Reformation Jubilee of 1617 and postponed the publication of the first part of his *Opella Nova.* It also appears to have sapped his creative energy from about 1626. Two visits to the springs at Carlsbad were of no avail. He died in Leipzig on November 19, 1630, at the age of 44.[61]

Heinrich Schuetz, who visited Johann on his deathbed, followed Johann's dying wish that he write a six-part motet based on 1 Timothy 1:15-17. It appeared in Dresden in 1631.[62]

Schein's Music

Johann's first publication, *Venus Kraentzlein*, appeared in 1609. *Banchetto musicale* appeared in 1617. In the latter he announced his intention to publish music both for worship and social gatherings in regular alternation. He maintained this practice throughout his productive years that followed, although this thesis will review only his sacred music.[63]

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[58] Kerala J. Snyder and Gregory S. Johnston, "Johann Hermann Schein" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2002), 22:462.

[59] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 118.

[60] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 119.

[61] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 117; also Blume, *Protestant Church Music,*194.

[62] Snyder and Johnston, 461-462.

[63] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 119.

Johann's first collection of sacred works appeared in 1615. *Cymbalum Sionium* was a collection of their quasi-Vinetian motets on German and Latin texts—responses, prose, psalms and Gospels—for five to twelve voices. This collection belongs to the *prima prattica* in which Johann takes as his model such composers as Calvisius, Hassler, and Praetorius in the polyphonic motet style of Orlando di Lasso.[64]

Johann's collection *Cantional* superseded the *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum* brought out by Calvisius. It was the largest collection to date and included most of the hymns in use in Leipzig at the time, arranged according to liturgical usage or occasion. Johann was the first to introduce continuo figures into the bass part for the use of organists, instrumentalists and lutenists. For most of the hymns he wrote a new harmonization, sometimes making minor changes in the melody, sometimes replacing an existing melody with his own. In addition there are forty-one hymns with the text, melody, and setting all by Johann. Tobias Michael, his successor as *Thomaskantor*, prepared a second edition of this publication, adding twenty-two more pieces by Johann was well as four of his own.[65] In all, in the second edition, there were 313 hymns in 235 settings. No fewer than sixty-two in text, melody and setting were by Johann himself as were twenty-one melodies and two texts.[66]

The appearance of figures with the bass vocal parts of the *Cantional* indicates the beginning of a new development in the history of the *cantionals*. The *Cantional* also reflects the newer emphasis on somewhat more personal and subjective hymns.[67] The figures were also a

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[64] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 117; also Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 194.

[65] Snyder and Johnston, 462.

[66] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 148.

[67] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 127.

handy device for the accompanist, who was spared reading a score containing numerous parts written in several different clefs.[68]

Johann published an important collection of concerti for a few voices in 1618 and 1626 called *Opella nova* (The New Little Works), which was subtitled "Sacred Concerti in the Nowadays Customary Italian Manner." In many respects the pieces were the Lutheran counterparts of some of Monteverdi's concerto madrigals.[69] This collection clearly reflects two paths that lay before Lutheran composers as they attempted to assimilate the new affective approach. Part 1 is considered a milestone in the development of the chorale concerto. It uses texts and tunes of the traditional chorales. Not content, however, with the simple presentation of the chorale as in Praetorius, Johann attempts a highly subjective interpretation of the chorale. He sometimes distorts the tunes, breaking them up into fragments, vivifies the rhythms, and infuses them with extraneous chromaticism.[70] They, however, were still undoubtedly intended to be performed at the chief or morning service after the Gospel or sermon and at Vespers.[71]

The one exception to settings based on chorales is *O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn,* which foreshadows the general practice of part 2 of the collection.[72] In part 2 only a third of the pieces are based on chorales, in settings generally similar to those in part 1. The majority are biblical texts set in a variety of ways, including solo voice with obbligato instruments and solo-*tutti* contrasts. Freed from his reliance on chorale melodies, Johann's concerti are longer, more richly scored, and much more expressive of the text.[73]

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[68] Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music,* 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1981), 21.

[69] Grout and Palisca, 4.

[70] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 122-124.

[71] Palisca, 100.

[72] Johann Hermann Schein, *Saemtliche Werke,* ed. Arthur Pruefer (Leipzig: Druck and Verlag von Breitkopf & Haertel, 1914), 4:25-27.

[73] Snyder and Johnston, 462.

"Affected" monody in the style of Monteverdi is found in full expression in part 2. It is a duet style with concerting instruments. While the contrasting motives and the interplay of instruments and vocal parts are obviously due to the Italian influence, the fast pace of the changing harmony and the affective *cantus firmus* treatment are German characteristics.[74]

The *Fontana d'Israel* of 1623 (or *Israelsbruennlein*) reflects the blending of the madrigal style with that of the motet, in which the influence of Monteverdi's madrigal settings is evident. This collection has twenty-six five-part madrigals with continuo. Twenty-four texts are taken from the Old Testament (23) and Revelation (1), and two are free texts possibly written by Johann himself.[75]

The last of Johann's collections of sacred music was his *Cantonial oder Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession* of 1627. An enlarged edition appeared in 1645, some fifteen years after Johann's death in 1630. The collection contained 286 hymns. Most were in simple four-part cantional style. The second edition was enlarged by twenty-seven additional settings.[76]

In summary, the significance of the earlier tradition for Johann's music reflects itself most clearly in his *Cymbalum Sionium* (1615) and in the *Cantional*, where the use of figured bass reflects the direction such collections would take in the years ahead. But especially in *Opella nova* (1618/26) and *Fontana d'Israel* (1623) do we see sacred works in which the Italian madrigal and the growing importance of monody for German music make their greatest contribution. With Johann Schein the expressive devices of the Italian Baroque are absorbed into German music in a way not seen or heard before.[77]

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[74] Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era: From Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1947), 86.

[75] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 125.

[76] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 126.

[77] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 128.

Johann's contribution was both musical and literary, his literary skills reflected in the large number of his texts which he set to music. His original text, *Mach's mit mir, Gott*, set to his original tune is still found in current German Lutheran hymnals. His tune, first published in broadsheet in 1628 and later included in his *Cantional* of 1645, is based on a melody by Bartholomaeus Gesius of 1605.[78]

The reader should keep in mind, however, that all artistic music of the Lutheran church in the era had to cope with a lack of comprehension among the parishioners, a lack that raises the question of the extent to which sacred concerti were understandable to the average person attending church. The price of fashioning Lutheran church music to the prevailing taste, and for accepting inevitable trends in church music, was, to some extent, the understanding of the congregation. The volumes of hymns written by theologians and set to music were addressed to the educated. Thus, the rift between the uneducated church goers and the music imposed on them became wider.[79]

With this in mind, however, Johann's music could still be considered to be in keeping with the ideal of Martin Luther and Johann Walter in that the choir and the congregation proclaimed the good news of the Gospel to each other, leading to responses of praise and thanksgiving. Much of his sacred music was based on Scripture (the Old Testament, the Psalms, the book of Revelation) and was intended for use in the worship services. His hymn arrangements were certainly used as part of the liturgy.

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[78] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 115. See *Lutheran Service Book,* 688.

[79] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 257.

Samuel Scheidt

Scheidt's Life

Samuel Scheidt was the eldest surviving son of Konrad Scheidt, municipal beer and wine steward and later superintendent of water for the city of Halle, and his wife Anna, who was the daughter of a baker.[80] Samuel was born in early November of 1587 and was baptized on November 4.[81] He attended the local Gymnasium. By December of 1604 (perhaps as early as 1603), he had become organist at the Moritzkirche, one of the three city churches in Halle. His tenure is documented up to April of 1607 but may have extended into 1608.[82]

In 1607 or 1608 Samuel left Halle for two years to go to Amsterdam, where he studied with Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck (1562-1621). Sweelinck had adopted much of the style of contemporary English keyboard composers.[83] Samuel returned to Halle by the summer of 1609, where he became court organist to the new administrator, Margrave Christian Wilhelm of Brandenberg. His duties included playing the organ for services at the castle chapel.[84] He served in that role until about 1619 or 1620.[85]

Sometime in the early 1610's, Samuel became acquainted with Michael Praetorius, who had been appointed as Halle's *Kapellmeister von Haus aus,* a position of honor requiring only infrequent appearances by Michael at the court. In 1618, Samuel, Michael, and Heinrich Schuetz were involved in concerts together at Magdeburg.[86]

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[80] Kerala J. Snyder and Douglas Bush, "Samuel Scheidt" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2002), 22: 451.

[81] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 133.

[82] Snyder and Bush, 451.

[83] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 134.

[84] Snyder and Bush, 451.

[85] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 135.

[86] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 136.

Samuel was appointed court *Kapellmeister* in late 1619 or early 1620. He retained his post as organist. He built up a court musical establishment so that in 1621 it numbered ten instrumentalists and five vocal soloists. He published *Cantiones sacrae* in 1620, *Ludi musici* in 1621, 1622, and 1624, *Concertus sacri* in 1622, and *Tabulatura nova* in 1624.[87]

Halle was subjected to the terror of the Thirty Years War after 1624. In 1625 Wallenstein entered the city. In that same year Margrave Christian Wilhelm was obliged to leave Halle, since he had entered the service of Christian IV of Denmark, who had sought to come to the rescue of the Lutherans. The *Hofkapelle* was disbanded at that time.[88]

At the age of 40, Samuel married Helene Margaretha Keller on April 16, 1627.[89] It is thought that Samuel received remuneration for teaching at the time. In 1628, the city created a new post for him with responsibility for the music in the most important church, the Marktkirche. This period came to an end because of a dispute between Samuel and the *Rektor* of the Gymnasium. Both claimed to have jurisdiction over the choir boys. The situation came to an impasse on Easter Sunday in 1630 when there was no vocal music at the church. Samuel was forced to give up his position.[90]

In the fall of 1631, Gustavus Adolphus took over the city of Halle. Samuel returned to the preparation of additional *concerti sacri.* Since he could find no publisher, he decided to simplify the music, reduce the number of voices, and drop the instruments of the accompaniment, retaining only the figured bass part of the continuo. These *Newe geistliche Concerten* for two

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[87] Snyder and Bush, 451.

[88] Walter Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt" *Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church,* 1944-1963, 5:43-67.

[89] Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt", 43-67.

[90] Snyder and Bush, 451.

and three voices included twenty compositions, of which not a few were based on Lutheran chorales.[91]

For a time Gustavus Adolphus lost possession of the city, and though he regained it later, the harm done to the city was so great that it did not recover for a long time. It was not until 1634 that Samuel continued to extend his series of *Geistliche Conzerten,* and in 1635 two additional parts of these were published. The music was for eight and twelve voices for two, three and four choruses. The second volume contained thirty compositions, and the third, which ws related to the church year, contained thirty-four.[92]

In 1635 Samuel published his *Liebliche Kraft-Bluemlein Aus des heyligen Geistes Lustgarten abgebrochen und sum Vorshcuck Vorschmuck des ewigen Lebens im zweystimmichten Him mels-Chor versetzet.* The music, in two parts with continuo accompaniment, includes twelve compositions.[93]

In 1636, the Plague hit Halle, talking all four of Samuel's surviving children within a month. Between 1631 and 1640, he published four volumes of *Geistliche concerte,* in which he probably reduced larger works he had composed earlier.[94]

In 1638 Halle experienced relief from pestilence and plundering. Peace returned to Halle when the new administrator, Duke August of Saxony, was able to move there. Samuel was once again able to enjoy his position as court *Kapellmeister.* He composed a polychoral *Te Deum* for the Duke's arrival. He and his wife began a new family, and he began to compose again. The Peace of Westphalia was signed on October 14, 1648, and Samuel wrote his final publication, the *Goerlitzer Tabulatur-Buch* of 1650, a collection of one hundred chorales for organ, harmonized

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[91] Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt", 43-67.

[92] Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt",43-67.

[93] Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Schiedt", 43-67.

in four parts. It contained harmonizations of the hymns Samuel thought were the most widely used.[95]

Samuel's wife died on May 5, 1652. A second edition of *Goerlitzer Tabulatur-Buch* planned for 1653 did not appear. Samuel died on Good Friday, March 24, 1654.[96]

Scheidt's Music

The new Italian concerted style entered Lutheran church music without directing the musical expression to new ends or altering the functionality of the music. These changes were first felt in the music of Samuel Scheidt. Samuel began a devout adherence to the practice of di Lasso. His first printed work, *Cymbalom Sionium* (1615) for five to twelve voices, contains fifteen German and fifteen Latin texts using Lasso as a model. His *Opella nova* (part 1 in 1618 in three to five voices; part 2 in 1626 for solo voices up to large ensembles) was his first concerted work. Even in volume 1, his use of the Italian style went far beyond that of Michael Praetorius. The volume contains only choral settings for smaller ensembles of one or two voices and one or two obbligato instruments with thoroughbass. We shall see how through gradual compromise Samuel solved the problem of combining chorale and concerto.[97]

Cantiones sacrae (1620) contained thirty-nine *a capella* choral pieces, each written for eight voices. Fourteen were settings of chorales and Latin hymns. Every hymn verse was given a different setting so as to set up a chain of contrapuntal variations. Here we see the root of the chorale cantata.[98]

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[94] Snyder and Bush, 451.

[95] Snyder and Bush, 451.

[96] Snyder and Bush, 452.

[97] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 202.

[98] Bukofzer, 84-58.

His *Concertisacri* (1622) displays the influence of the new Venetian style. It contains colorful settings for solo ensemble, echo chorus and instrumental sinfonias. Of the twelve compositions, four are psalms, three are *Magnificats*, one is a Mass, and four are based on other liturgical texts. None is based on a Lutheran chorale. Only one composition has a German text.[99]

In 1624, at the age of 37, Samuel began to publish *Tabulatura nova* as a thanksgiving offering for the first Lutheran hymnal in 1524.[100]

This work is divided into three volumes. The first two parts contain a mixture of secular and sacred repertory, partly in fantasy style, and partly in dance style for organ and clavier. Part 3 is a collection of organ arrangements of the Latin liturgy, e.g., versicles for Masses and *Magnificats,* as well as hymn settings. All are composed based on a *cantus firmus.*[101]

It is believed that the *Kirchenordnung* of Halle was prepared by Luther's coworker Justus Jonas, the first Lutheran superintendent of Halle. Much Latin was sung until after the Thirty Years War, when German began to gain ascendancy. This explains why Samuel made much use of Latin texts.[102]

In this work Samuel did not use the traditional organ tabulature. Instead, he used the Italian keyboard *partitura*, which allowed a separate five-lined staff for each verse.[103]

Samuel inherited Sweelinck's fondness for variations and became a master at the use of this form. From his teacher he also inherited the use of sequences, chromatics, and modulation,

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[99] An example of this is *Kom heiliger* Geist. See Samuel Scheidt, *Werke* ed. Gottlieb Harms and Christhard Mahrenholz (Hamurg: Ugrino Verlag, 1923-), 4:195. See also Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 137.

[100] Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt", 43-67. For the piece *Herr unser Herrscher*, see Scheidt, 15:63.

[101] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 248.

[102] Buszin, 43-67.

[103] Buszin, 43-67.

echo effects, and antiphonal style. The *cantus firmus* is set apart in one voice and is usually unornamented. Samuel specified that on an organ with two manuals and pedal this voice should be played on the *Rueckpositiv* with a piercing sound so that the chorale could be heard distinctively. If the chorale is the alto, a four foot stop in the pedal could be used.[104]

Lutheran Mass versicles appear in part 3. These are parts of the Ordinary and Propers replaced by organ music or alternation during the Mass as well as at Matins and Vespers. On minor festivals there was no choral music, and the organist replaced music performed by the choir. Since the organ remained silent on Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday, Samuel composed no organ music for those festivals.[105]

Lieblische Kraftbluemlein of 1635 contained twelve pieces in concerto style for two voices and general bass. *Newe geistliche Conzerten* (1631/34/35/40) contained settings of hymns, psalms, *Magnificats*, and other biblical texts set for two to six voices with *basso continuo.* These pieces were originally for large-scale forces that were reduced by the composer. *70 Symphonien auf Concerten manir* (1644) contained seventy symphonies for two trebles and one bass and *basso continuo.*

The *Tabulaturbuch, 100 geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (1650) is called the *Goerlitzer Tabulaturbuch* because it was dedicated to the town of Goerlitz. The town council had agreed to subsidize the publication, which contained one hundred four-part chorales, with the *cantus firmus* in the upper voice, to be used in alternation with the congregation.[106]

Samuel's sacred music was in keeping with Martin Luther and Johann Walters' emphasis on proclamation of the Word in that his pieces were based on biblical texts and the Lutheran

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[104] Snyder and Bush, 451.

[105] Buszin, "The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt", 43-67.

[106] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 141-143.

chorales that explicated the Gospel. His arrangements for choir, and for choir and congregation, allowed the two groups to proclaim the good news to one another and to rejoice over the gifts that they received from God. His sacred literature was intended for use during the services of the church and many were parts of the liturgy itself.

Heinrich Schuetz

Early Years

Heinrich Schuetz was born in the little town of Koestritz, about three miles from Gera in what is now Saxony. He was baptized on October 9, 1585, the second child and oldest son in the family of Christoph Schuetz, innkeeper of *Zum goldenen Kranich* in Koestritz, and Euphonsina Brieger, the daughter of the mayor of Gera. She was Christoph's second wife.[107]

In the late summer of 1590, when Heinrich was not quite five years old, the family moved to Weissenfels, where Heinrich heard the local church choir sing hymns arranged for two choirs. He later sang in the church choir.[108]

Landgrave Moritz von Hessen Cassel was on a journey when he stopped at Christoph Schuetz's inn for the night. He heard Heinrich sing and suggested that the boy accompany him to court.[109] At the age of fourteen Heinrich became a choir boy in the court chapel at Cassel and a pupil at the *Collegium Mauritiarum.* Interestingly, the conductor at the court chapel had studied at the Torgau Latin School under none other than Johann Walter.[110]

Heinrich entered the University of Marburg in 1609 to study law. On a visit to Marburg in 1609, Moritz suggested that Heinrich study in Venice with Giovanni Gabrieli, and provided

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[107] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 151.

[108] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 152.

[109] Willem Mudde, "Heinrich Schuetz: Composer of the Bible" in *Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church* ed. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1963), 5:70-91.

[110] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 152-153.

funds for him to do so. Heinrich remained in Venice an additional year at his father's expense until Gabrieli's death in 1612. He then returned to service at Moritz's court in 1613.[111]

Upon Heinrich's return to Germany, Landgrave Moritz created the post of second organist at the court chapel for him. On a visit to Dresden in 1613 in the company of Moritz, he came to the attention of the Elector of Saxony and directed one of the choirs in a poly-choral work under Michael Praetorius. Eventually Heinrich left Cassel for Dresden in 1615 for an appointment that would keep him in Dresden until 1627. As *Kapellmeister,* he directed the organization begun by Johann Walter in 1548.[112] While Michael Praetorius was a visiting director, Michael's primary responsibilities were in Wolfenbüttel. The final unqualified acceptance of Heinrich as *Hofkapellmeister* coincided with Praetorius' death in 1621.[113]

Mature Years and Music

Early in his tenure at Dresden, Heinrich published his *Psalmen Davids* (1619), a collection of twenty-six large polychoral works using Martin Luther's translation of the Bible. These works reflected Gabrieli's Italian influence.[114] The *Psalmen Davids* were scored to fill with maximum sonority the resonant expanses of Dresden's electoral chapel. Of the twenty-six works in the collection, twenty are based on complete short psalms, three are on selected verses from the book of Psalms, one each on passages from Jeremiah and Isaiah, and one on chorale stanzas that paraphrase Psalm 103:1-6.[115]

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[111] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 153-154.

[112] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 155.

[113] Joshua Rifkin, *et al.*, "Heinrich Schuetz" in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 2002), 22:827-828.

[114] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 155.

[115] Basil Smallman, *Schuetz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 35-37.

On June 1, 1619, Heinrich married the eighteen-year-old daughter of a court accountant, Magdalena Wildeck, a marriage which produced two daughters. Magdalena died in 1625 at the age of twenty-four. Heinrich never remarried.[116]

Heinrich's *Resurrection History* (1623) was written during his married years. A miniature Easter oratorio of sorts for solo voices, choir, instruments and *basso continuo*, it was written according to Italian form. The text was from a Gospel harmony of Luke, Mark, and John. Heinrich preferred that only the Evangelist be seen while all the other performers were behind a curtain.[117]

Also from Heinrich's married years, *Cantiones sacrae* (1625) comprises forty Latin motets in four parts with *basso continuo*, written mostly in older polyphonic style.[118]

During the early 1620's Heinrich began to write a Psalter for the choirboys in his charge at Dresden. This Psalter was rapidly expanded from 1625 following the death of his wife. It contained 103 melodies, ninety-two of which were new, and eleven old. With revisions in 1640 and 1661, the total number was brought to 159.[119]

The Psalter, based on the work of Cornelius Becker, a university professor in Leipzig,[120] comprises four-part settings that can be sung by small vocal ensembles of solo voices with *basso continuo.* Heinrich retained the modal character and rhythmic irregularity characteristic of the early Lutheran chorales at a time when the development of the hymn tune in Lutheranism was beginning to tend toward the isorhythmic form.[121]

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[116] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 157.

[117] Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schuetz: His Life and Work,* Carl F. Phatteicher, trans. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), 366-368.

[118] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 157.

[119] Smallman, *Schuetz,* 61.

[120] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 143.

[121] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 158-159.

Further Study and a Change in Style

Following the publication of the *Becker Psalter*, Heinrich made repeated requests of the Elector to again study in Venice. In 1628, he was granted permission to return to Venice, where Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) was the leading musical figure. The music being used was more intense and dramatic operatic monody. Heinrich's music began to reflect this more intensely personal style.[122]

By the time Heinrich returned to Dresden at the end of 1629, and in the years following, Heinrich found that the Elector had become increasingly involved in the Thirty Years War. Funds were not always available, and from 1633 to 1639, the Dresden Court Orchestra was dissolved. During this time he made several trips to Denmark (1630-1642) where he served King Christian IV. Heinrich continued to return to Dresden to serve the court until the death of the Elector and his own semi-retirement in 1656.[123]

Heinrich's music from the time of his second trip to Venice to the close of the Thirty Years War (1629-1648) reflects the post-Gabrieli period in Italy and the drastically reduced musical forces caused by the war. From this period issued the *Symphoniae sacrae I* (1629), published during his last weeks in Venice. It was a collection of twenty pieces from one to three voices with several instruments and *basso continuo* using Latin texts. Eighteen years later part II appeared (1647), a similar set of German concerti.[124]

Musikalische Exequien (1636), a burial service written for the internment of Heinrich's friend Prince Heinrich Posthumus of Reuss, is a work in three sections: (1) a *Missa Brevis* of only a substitute *Kyrie* and *Gloria*; (2) a motet for two choirs; and (3) a setting of the *Nunc*

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[122] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 161.

[123] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 163.

[124] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 163.

Dimittis is five parts. In the latter two angel voices (sopranos) and a baritone simultaneously sing "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."[125]

The *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (1636-1639) were composed for very modest forces as strict monodies or small solo ensembles. They call for a continuo but not for other instruments. Some of the pieces were based on the words of chorales or Latin hymns, but Heinrich retained the traditional tunes only occasionally.[126]

The final work of the war-time period appeared the same year as the Treaty of Westphalia. *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648) is a collection of twenty-nine motets for five to seven voices in a more objective style than the very personal solo works.[127]

After the war the Dresden court remained heavily in debt, and musicians were not paid. Ceremonies commemorating the end of the war did not occur until July 22, 1650, when the occupying Swedish army departed. At the death of Johann Georg I, the new Elector, Johann Georg II, combined his own *Kapelle* with that of his father. Heinrich received the title of *Chief Kapellmeister* and was freed from daily responsibilities.[128]

After 1656, Heinrich lived mostly in Weissenfels with his sister where he found more time to compose. He was required in Dresden only for certain formal occasions.

The *Seven Last Words at the Cross* and the *Christmas Oratorio* are complex works of this period involving many instruments and vocal ensembles. Both compositions are framed by powerful instrumental and choral movements between which the story unfolds in the form of recitatives and ensembles.[129] The text of the *Seven Last Words at the Cross* was derived from

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[125] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 165.

[126] Bukofzer, 93.

[127] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 167.

[128] Rifkin, 832-835.

[129] Bukofzer, 95.

two sources: (1) a condensed account of the crucifixion of Christ and his final words from the cross from the renowned Gospel harmony published in 1526 by Johann Bugenhagen, and (2) the first and last verses of the ancient Passion chorale, *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund.*[130]

The Passions of Luke, John and Matthew (1665-66) make use of exclusively biblical texts without insertions of hymns or sacred lyrics. However, Heinrich abandoned the recitation tone in recitative passages for soloists and the Evangelist in favor of a rather monadic style. Instruments and thorough bass are missing.[131]

Heinrich died on November 6, 1672, and his funeral was held on November 17. He was the first German composer to gain international stature. His music was for use in the court chapel, and he put the message of the church into his music. He had high praise for the chorales and used some in his *Becker Psalter.*[132] He composed music that was based on biblical texts from the book of Psalms and the Gospels. Some of his works were intended to be used as part of the liturgical service. Hs music continued the ideal of Luther and Walter that the good news of the Gospel be proclaimed which leads to a response of praise and thanksgiving.

Johann Sebastian Bach

Bach's Life

Johann Sebastian Bach was born on Saturday, March 21, 1685, to Ambrosius and Maria Elisabeth Bach. He was baptized at St. George, the main church in Eisenach.[133] Johann's education was irregular, although he studied music, organ and violin. In 1700 he was appointed a boy soprano in Lueneberg, from where he walked thirty miles to Hamburg to hear Reinken play the organ. At this time, his first compositions were produced. In 1703 he became a

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[130] Smallman, *Background of Passion Music,* 109.

[131] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 218.

[132] Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism,* 169-172.

violinist in the court orchestra at Weimar, but only weeks later he was appointed the organist at the New Church in Arnstadt. In October, 1705, he obtained a month's leave to again take a long walk, this to Luebeck to hear Buxtehude, who had enormous influence on him.[134]

On returning to Arnstadt after four months, he found that his job was gone. In 1707 at the age of twenty-two, he became the organist at Muhlhausen, where he married his cousin, Maria Barbara. Disputes in the Lutheran church there interfered with his composing, and in 1708 he returned to Weimar as court organist, remaining there for nine years and becoming the conductor of the court orchestra. In 1716 he applied for the vacant position of *Kapellmeister* but was refused. A similar position at Prince Leopold's court in Coethen was offered to him, but his Weimar employer refused to release him and had him arrested and confined for some weeks. On his release he joined Leopold's court, becoming very friendly with his master.[135]

In 1720, his wife died, and eighteen months later he married again. Anna Magdalena, the daughter of a musician, was twenty. Johann had seven children with Maria Barbara, one of which died at birth. He had 13 children with his wife, Anna Magdalena. Several of his children died in childhood.[136]

Johann, a staunch Lutheran, was unhappy about the Calvinist schools for his children in Coethen, and the Prince's new wife was opposed to the arts. And so, in 1722, Johann became the *Kantor* of the Thomasschule in Leipzig, in which town he remained for the rest of his life.[137]

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[133] Wolff, 14.

[134] Eric Gilder, *The Dictionary of Composers and Their Music* (New York: Wing Books, 1985), 21.

[135] Gilder, 21.

[136] Wolff, 39-398.

[137] Gilder, 22.

In 1749 his sight began to fail and he was soon totally blind. After having a stroke, he received his last communion at home on July 22, 1750. He died on July 28, a little after 8:15 PM at the age of 65, and was buried at St. John's Cemetery on July 31.[138]

Bach's Music

Johann Sebastian Bach composed a great deal of music readily available in modern scores. This author will limit his discussion to music that is directly applicable to his thesis. Early in his musical career Johann composed three chorale partitas, the only contribution Johann made to this form. In them, he treats the chorale in strictly patterned figuration with independent counter-motives.[139] These compositions transferred to the chorale the style of the secular song variations. (The reader will note that Samuel Scheidt treated secular music with these techniques.) Johann's compositions, however, presupposed performance on two manuals.[140]

During the period immediately preceding Johann, the motet was not highly valued as a musical style. However, at least a few of the motets Johann composed have survived. Most often composed for funerals, Johann's motets employ a Scripture text and a chorale. In *Jesu, meine Freude,* for example, the six stanzas of the funeral chorale alternate with Romans 8:1, 2, 10 and 11. There are also examples of motet settings within Johann's cantatas.[141]

The production of various kinds of church cantatas was common from the 1660s well into the eighteenth century. Many composers produced cantata cycles for several church years, often with as many as sixty to seventy pieces annually. Johann's predecessor at the Thomaskirche,

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[138] Wolff, 534.

[139] Bukofzer, 272.

[140] Hermann Keller, *The Organ Works of Bach: A Contribution to Their History, Form, Interpretation and Performance* trans. Helen Hewitt (New York: C. F. Peters, 1967), 176-177.

[141] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 269.

Johann Kuhnau, wrote many cantatas.[142] Johann Sebastian Bach's early cantatas reflect the state of the church cantata around 1700. They preserve the traits of the chorale *concertato* and contain vocal and instrumental ensembles, but contain no *recitatives.* Even at an early age Johann proved his unique ability to seize upon the fundamental idea of the cantata text and realize it symbolically in music.[143]

Johann reached his early maturity in cantata composition while at Weimar. He expanded the traditional forms of the church *concertato* by using the innovations of the Italian cantata and opera, which displayed a mystical and subjective tone in both the words and the music.[144] Because he favored secular forms best suited to this individualistic expression, the chorale figures less prominently in the cantatas of this period.[145]

The first most prominent set of compositions from Johann's time in Coethen is the *Orgelbuechlein.* Johann had already begun this set of compositions at Weimar. It contained forty-five chorale preludes for organ arranged in the order of the liturgical year. Each composition is based on a chorale and has the melody almost always in the soprano, usually with a three-voice obbligato accompaniment.[146]

At Leipzig, his official duties called for a cantata for every Sunday and feast day of the liturgical year. Johann wrote five complete cycles of cantatas, amounting to approximately three hundred pieces, of which two hundred have been preserved. Mature integration of various musical forms available to him at the time characterize the cantatas of these years.[147] The more

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[142] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 272-275.

[143] Bukofzer, 273-274.

[144] Bukofzer, 279.

[145] Bukofzer, 281.

[146] Bukofzer, 282-283.

[147] Bukofzer, 292.

Johann progressed in years, the more he tried to make his music subservient to the liturgy. He effected this goal by basing the entire cantata text on the words of the chorale. Having no model for a chorale cantata, Johann developed his own musical idiom.[148]

Johann's choral compositions reach their peak in the *Passion of St. John*, the *Passion of St. Matthew,* the *Magnificat*, and the *Mass in b-minor.* In both Passions the same chorales are used more than once, each time harmonized differently according to the text.[149]

The *Mass in b-minor* is a Latin composition. Considered a parody, it seems certain that Johann originally composed the first two movements as a *Missa Brevis.* The *Sanctus* was written much earlier as an independent composition. It was not until the end of his life that he completed the Mass. At that time he composed the *Credo,* added the already existing *Sanctus*, and reworked the remaining movements. Some of the choruses and solos of the *Credo* stem from earlier models, and at least three movements of the *Gloria* are adaptations or parodies of existing pieces. Apparently, only the *Kyrie* was newly composed specifically for this Mass. Johann may have added to the existing material of the *Gloria* and the *Credo.* The Mass was not performed in its entirety until the nineteenth century.[150]

Johann's *Christmas Oratorio* is a large-scale work that consists of a cycle of independent cantatas for six successive feast days.[151]

The chorale preludes of the late period comprise the six *Schuebler Chorales,* the eighteen "great" chorale preludes, and the third part of the *Clavieruebung.* The *Schuebler Chorales* are

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[148] Bukofzer, 293.

[149] Bukofzer, 294-295.

[150] Blume, *Protestant Church Music,* 311-312.

[151] Bukofzer, 296.

literal transcriptions of cantata movements. The third part of the *Clavieruebung* contains pieces based on parts of the liturgy.[152]

Johann's music made use of Scripture, as well as of the Lutheran chorales based on Scripture and which also proclaimed the good news of the Gospel. Many of his pieces fit into the liturgical year and were based on texts appropriate to the season. His music also carried on the ideal of Martin Luther and Johann Walter that the priestly sacrifice of the believer is primarily one of praise and thanksgiving. Within the church service, for which much of Bach's music was written, this praise and thanksgiving is in response to God's coming in Word and Sacrament. The Word of God was delivered not only in spoken form, but also was sung by the choir and congregation. The rhythm of worship leads from the reception of the Means of Grace to thanksgiving. In Johann's music the choir and congregation certainly proclaimed the Word of God to one another.

Summary and Conclusions

The first two centuries of the Lutheran Reformation from the period between Martin Luther and Johann Sebastian Bach produced a body of music written specifically for use during the Divine Service in Lutheran churches. The music that was developed was a clear result of Lutheranism's theology of worship and the importance it gave to music.

Luther saw the music of both hymnody and liturgy as a vehicle for the proclamation of the Gospel and for the response of thanksgiving and praise of God's people. God gives his people gifts through the Means of Grace at the Divine Service. For Luther, music and the use of the arts was one way that the Word of God was delivered, one way to proclaim the good news. Proclaiming the good news led to thanksgiving, praise and prayer. Music was an appropriate

[152] Bukofzer, 299.

way to respond to God for the giving of his gifts. Luther's hymns and those of his immediate followers emphasized this proclamation of the Gospel.[153]

Johann Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* was the first hymnal for polyphonic choirs. He also composed settings of psalms and the *Magnificat.* Hans Leo Hassler composed cantional style chorales, chordal settings of the chorales with the tune in the highest voice in addition to polyphonic motets. Michael Praetorius composed organ music for use in the church as well as arrangements of chorales.

Johann Schein wrote *cantionals* based on the hymns sung in Leipzig at the time. He arranged them according to their liturgical or occasional use. Even his *Opella Nova* was intended for performance in worship settings. Samuel Scheidt's *Goerlitzer Tabulatur-Buch* contained arrangements of chorales for the organ in four parts. He also wrote other organ music for services. Heinrich Schuetz did not write music for worship services at the local parishes, but he did write for the court chapel, putting the message of the church into his music and proclaiming the good news of the Gospel.

Johann Sebastian Bach wrote organ music for use at worship services that was based to a large extent on chorales. He also used chorales in his motets, many of his cantatas, and even in his Passions.

All of these composers who have been studied in this paper found liturgy and the worship life of God's people to be the appropriate context for much of their musical output. Whether one looks at the *cantional* collections, the chorale-based compositions, the Scripture-based motets, or the concerted works, the music was devoted to the proclamation of the Word of God. It amounted to a great legacy which built upon the tradition begun by Luther and Walter that rightly used God's gift of music in Christian worship.

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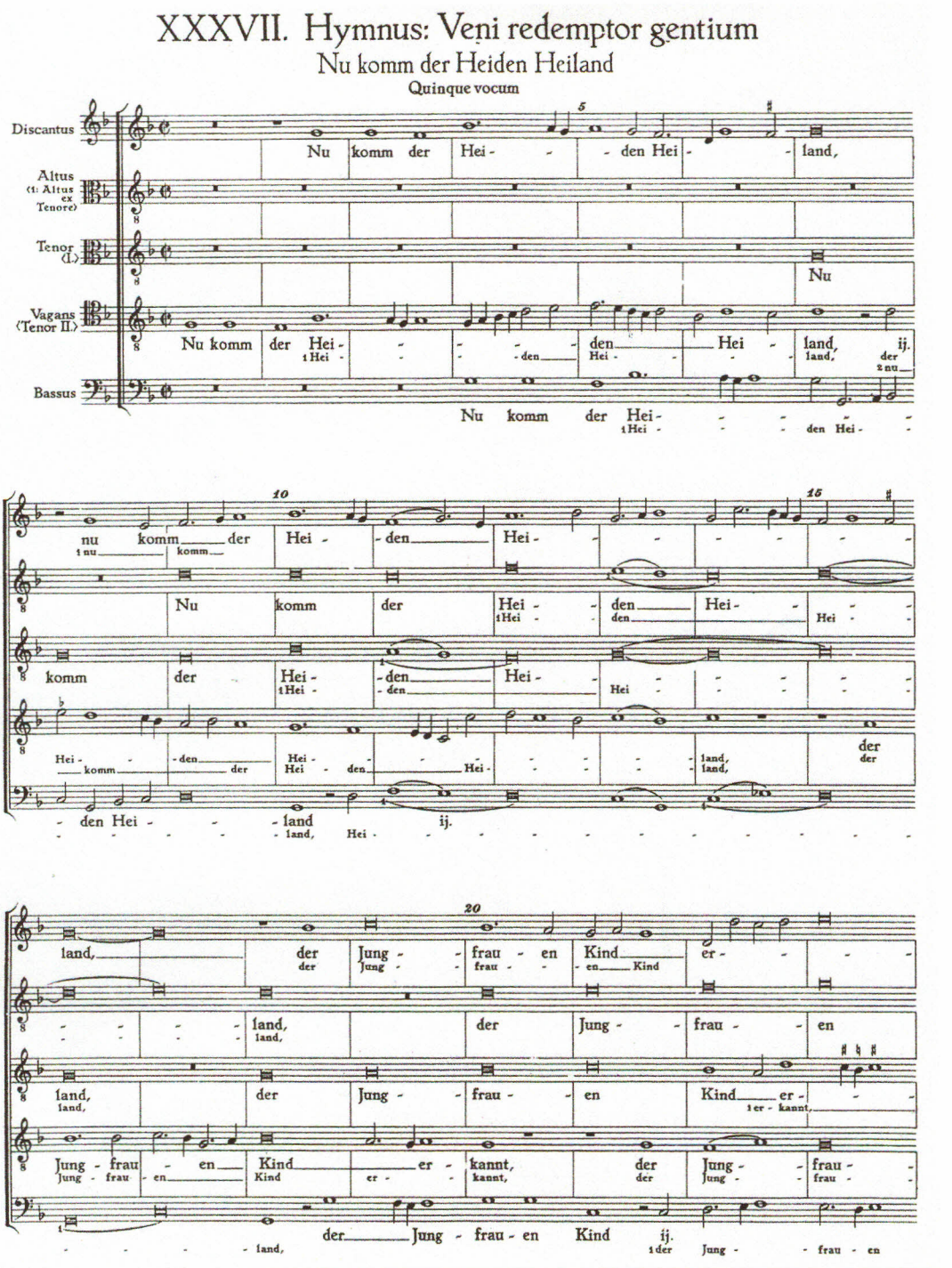
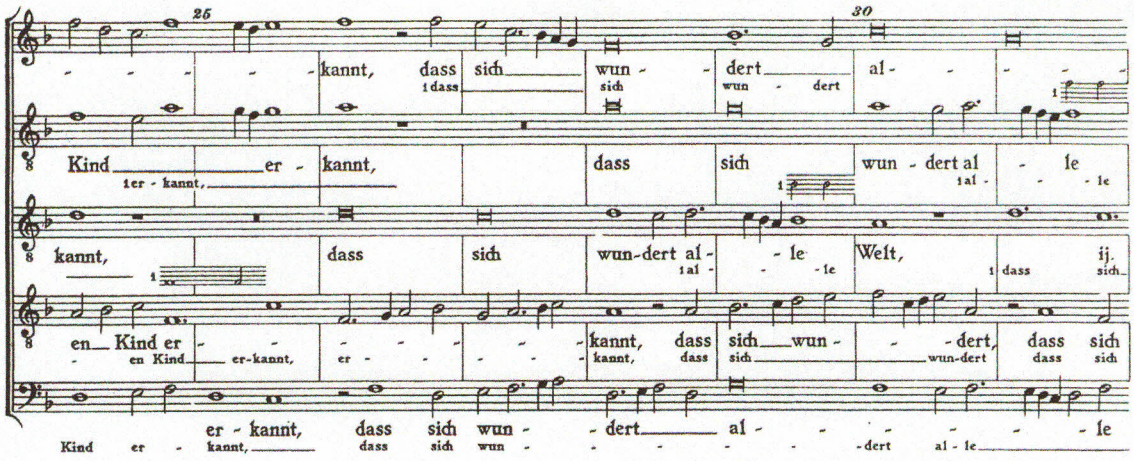
[153] Carl Schalk, "In Many and Various Ways, God Speaks," *Cross Accent* 15, no.1 (2007): 15.

APPENDIX ONE

NUN KOMM DER HEIDEN HEILAND

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Kind er kannt, dass sich wun - dert al - le
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en Kind er kannt, dass sich wun - dert, dass sich
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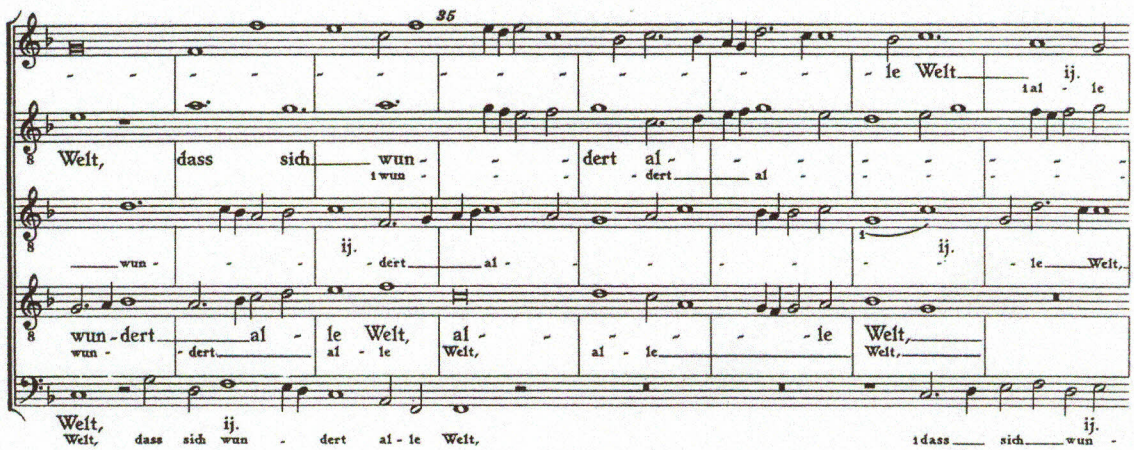
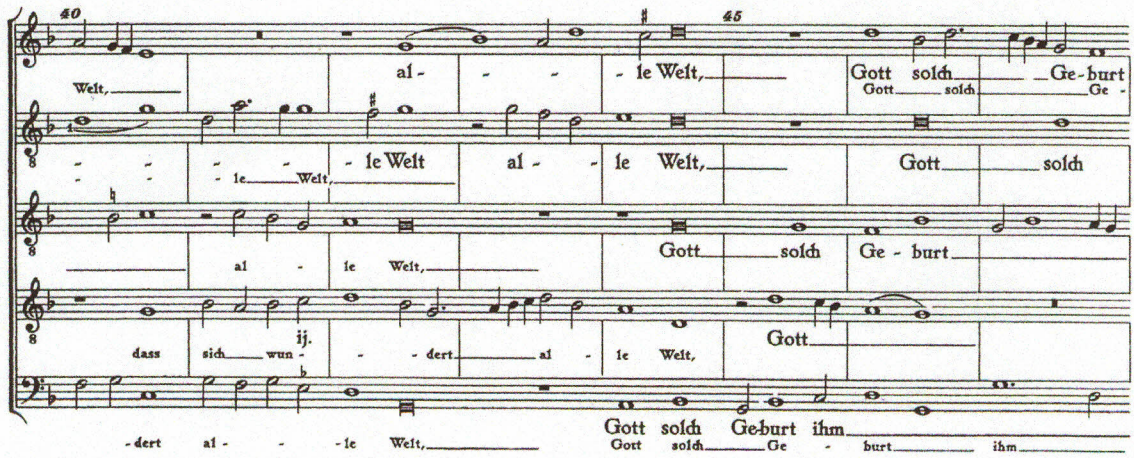

35
le Welt ij.
Welt, dass sich wun - dert al -
wun - ij. ij.
wun-dert al - le Welt, al - le Welt,
Welt, dass sich wun - dert al - le Welt, ij.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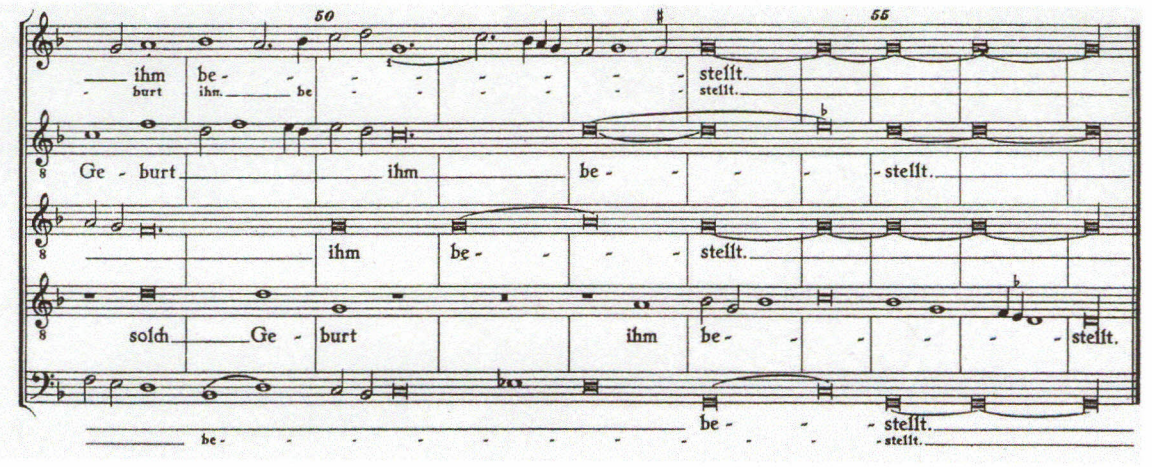
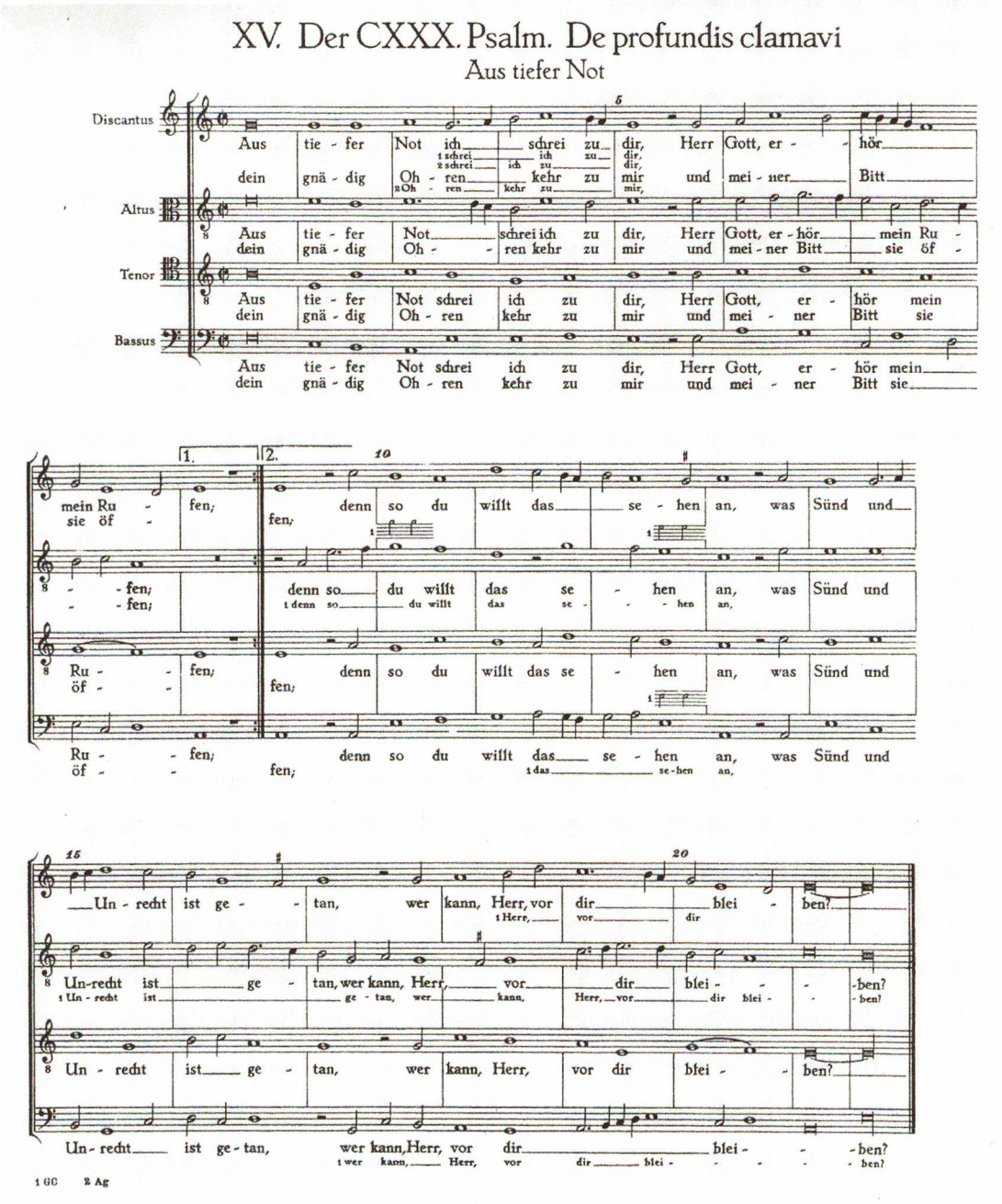
Welt, al - le Welt, Gott solch Ge-burt
le Welt al - le Welt, Gott solch
al - le Welt, Gott solch Ge - burt
dass sich wun - dert al - le Welt, Gott
dert al - le Welt, Gott solch Geburt ihm



Source: Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter Verlag and St Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973), 1:52-54.

APPENDIX TWO

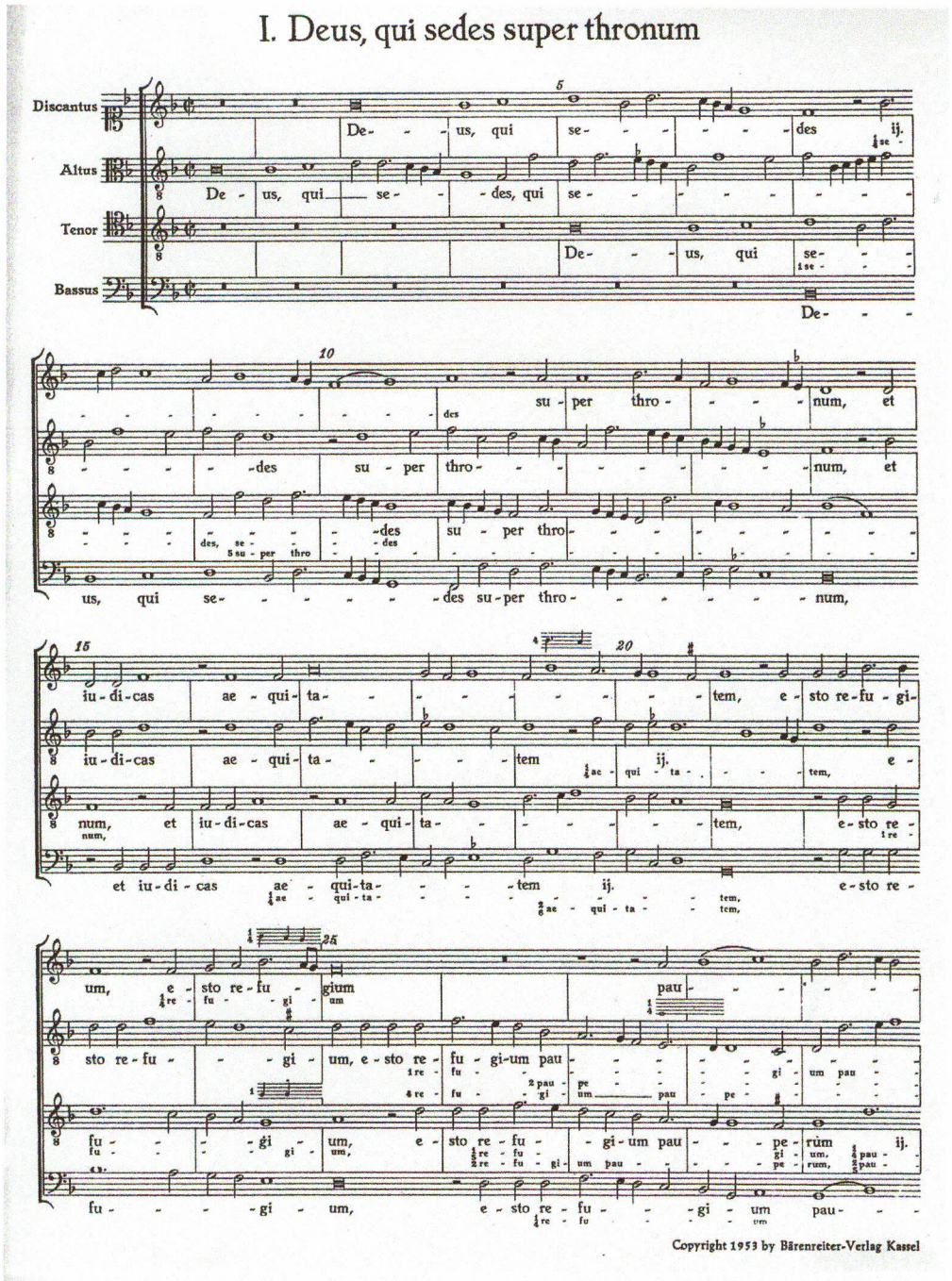
AUS TIEFER NOT



Source: Johann Walter, *Saemtliche* Werke ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter and St. Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973),1:20-21.

APPENDIX THREE

DEUS, QUI SEDES (Excerpt)



Source: Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter and St Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973), 2:3.

APPENDIX FOUR

CHORALES WALTER ARRANGED FOUND IN *LUTHERAN SERVICE BOOK*

SW Volume	Number	Title	*LSB* Number
1	I	Komm, heiliger Geist	49
1	II	Komm, Gott Schoepfer	498
1	III	Gott sei gelobet und geben deiet	617
1	VII	Christ lag in Todesbanden	458
1	VIV	Es wollt uns Gott genaedig sein	823
1	IX	Es wollt uns Gott genaedig sein	823
1	XI	Nun freut euch, lieben Christen	556
1	XIII	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ	382
1	XIV	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ	382
1	XV	Aus tiefer not	607
1	XIX	Herr Christ, derr einig Gottes Sohn	402
1	XX	Es ist das Heil uns kommen her	555
1	XXI	Ein feste Burg	656
1	XXIII	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	954
1	XXIV	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	954
1	XXV	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	954
1	XXVI	Christ ist erstanden	459
1	XXIX	Vater unser	766
1	XXXIII	Nu bitten wir den heilgen Geist	768

Chorales Walter arranged found in Lutheran Service Book, contd.

SW Volume	Number	Title	*LSB* Number
1	XXXV	Dies sind die heilgen zehen Gebot	581
1	XXXVI	Dies sind die heilgen zehen Gebot	581
1	XXXVII	Nun komm der Heiden Heiland	332
1	XXXIX	Jesus Christe, unser Heiland	627
1	XLIV	Mit Fried und Freud	938
1	XLV	Mitten wir im Leben sind	755
1	XLVI	Mitten wir im Leben sind	755
1	XLVII	Nun last unds den Leib begraben	759
1	XLVIII	Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	505
1	XLIX	Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	505
1	LII	Jesaia, dem Propheten	960
1	LIV	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	954
1	LV	Christ ist erstanden	459
1	LVI	Christ ist erstanden	459
1	LXII	*Contains* Erhalt uns Herr	655
1	LXVI	In Gottes namen scheiden wir	581 (tune only)
1	LXVII	In Gottes namen fahren wir	581
3	III	Mitten wir im leben sind	755
3	IX	Christ lag in Todesbanden	458
3	XI	Christ lag in Todesbanden	458

Chorales Walter arranged found in Lutheran Service Book, contd.

SW Volume	Number	Title	*LSB* Number
3	XV	Nun freut euch	556
3	XXVII	Mit Fried und Freud	937
3	XXXVI	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	954
3	Not numbered	Christ ist erstanden	459
3	Not numbered	In dulci jubilo	386
3	Not numbered	Ein feste Burg	656

Source: Johann Walter, *Saemtliche Werke* ed. O. Schroeder and M. Schneider (Kassel u. Basel: Baerenreiter and St. Louis: Concordia, 1953-1973), vo. 1 & 3.

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