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LUTHER'S HYMNS IN THE SPREAD
OF THE REFORMATION

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By
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INTRODUCTION

The title, "Luther's Hymns in the Spread of the Reformation," requires some elaboration on two points. The first enlargement revolves around the word "hymns." This dissertation is an examination of Martin Luther's hymns with the hope of adding another dimension to the historical question, "Through what means did the teachings of the Reformation become transmitted at large in the society of the sixteenth century and enter into its thinking and understanding?" A venerable tradition of Lutheran hymnology has been that the hymnody greatly advanced the Protestant cause. However, musicological and music-historical investigators heretofore have not dealt much with this question, but have properly and happily devoted themselves to problems of identifying, dating, and authenticating the hymns for their origin and later manifestations. It is intended in this writing, using the materials developed by the musicologists and hymnologists, to pursue the historical question posed above.

The central theme of the initial chapters is the probe for answers shaped in terms of potentials: The capacities of Luther's hymns to transmit the teachings they contained. It is developed from several directions. Initially,
Luther's musical environment and education are discussed in order to evaluate his capacity as a composer and to estimate elements in his background which strengthened the potential of his hymns. There follows an analysis of his attitude toward the hymn, the origins of his hymns, and some of the techniques he employed in writing them. His most intensive period of composing is next examined for motivating forces, for his responses in the form of hymns, and for his sponsorship of hymnwriting and publication. The theme of potentiality closes with an outline of the early Lutheran hymnody beyond Luther personally.

The second point to be amplified revolves around the word "spread." In the remaining three chapters, the central theme is the search for conversion of potentiality into reality. It attempts to accomplish this by looking for change and development in institutions of the sixteenth century which can be attributed to the influence of the hymn. In a total sense, this ambition would be limitless since it would touch upon virtually every institution. Consequently, the scope has been limited to three areas. Initially, Reformation liturgies are examined for the hymn's influence in changing the orders of worship. This is done in terms of the hymn's twofold presence in worship, as bearer of an intimate role in conveying the Word, and as a dimension of the music of the church. Then the impact of Luther's hymns as an element of the sixteenth-century
printing trade is treated. In this regard, interpretations from descriptive and statistical evidence of hymnal printing are developed to portray the effectiveness of Luther's hymns in disseminating his teachings. Finally, there is an examination of the influence of the Lutheran hymnody in the schools of the Reformation period.

The goals of this study, therefore, are to demonstrate for Luther's hymns a potential capacity for spreading the Reformation and to illuminate its actual manifestation in changes upon the institutional structure of Germany in the Reformation period. The doctrinal content of the hymns is assumed, for the interest here is not the existence of Luther's teachings in the hymns but their spread by means of them.

Because this investigation is highly interpretive in nature, it relies heavily upon the works of others to supply primary material. It would be particularly remiss to close without an admiring mention of the more important of these. In first place are the editors of Volume 35 of the Weimar edition of Luther's works, under the general direction of Dr. Karl Drescher. Their work stands as a monument to musicological and music-historical research and criticism. The most outstanding contemporary Lutheran musicologist is Friedrich Blume, who continues the splendid traditions of scholarship initiated by Eduard Emil Koch, Philipp Wackernagel, Rochus Freiherr von
Liliencron, Friedrich Zelle, Carl von Winterfeld, and others of the nineteenth century. Their research and judgement was the starting point of this dissertation.
It is usual enough to begin a discussion of Martin Luther's hymns with a description of his background in music. Many references have been directed to the thick vein of folkmusic in his culture. The citations of his youthful singing experiences are many. The well-known Luther sayings about music are oft-repeated. His keen understanding of the artistic music of the Renaissance is widely admired. But only implied is the realization that Martin Luther was an able and responsive musician in an age when music was a major contributor to the make up of the culture.

Luther was essentially a product of his musical environment. He was thoroughly grounded in the leading style of his period, especially as it related to the music of the Church. His exposure to humanist studies included the musical investigations of the humanists. His childhood and youth were enriched by the folkmusic of his native region, where flowed at least three wellsprings of song, the farms, the mines, and the cities. He spent his life in a municipal environment amid courtly, civic, and municipal support and patronage of music.
Subsequently, when he created music himself, Luther brought to a focus his wide-range musical background. He worked with one of its prime components, a tried and sound song form, the hymn. His selection was dictated largely by metaphysical convictions. But it was shaped also by the elements in him from his musical environment.

In Luther's rich and varied musical world, the predominating school of artistic composition and performance was known as Netherlands choral polyphony. The techniques and characteristics of this style placed a distinctive stamp on all areas of music, but the particular domain of choral polyphony was the music of the Church. Its origins trace back through the growth during the preceding five centuries of medieval choral song to its greatest heights in the sixteenth century.

This development was prompted largely by the demand for a musical vehicle more expansive than the plainsong. Unsatisfactory early efforts included organum (diaphony), rejected because it merely duplicated the first note series with a second, separated by fixed intervals. A more promising development, coming about 1100, was discant, which involved a freer-flowing, more imaginative second line of notes—and even third and fourth—reflecting but not necessarily duplicating the first. The problem presented by discant was to develop mechanics of horizontal, linear composition which would allow freedom and flexibility to each line
but would at any given moment produce a beautiful sound. A successful solution, known as counterpoint, was obtained first in Paris and spread from there into the Low Countries.¹

The Netherlands were well disposed to receive the musical advances out of Paris. The highly cultured, sophisticated Burgundian rulers sustained a patronage of the arts rivaled by few princes. Wealthy middle-class towns- men directed their profits from commerce and manufacturing toward enhancing personal and municipal prestige through culture. From the beginning of the fifteenth century until after the middle of the sixteenth century— or from about the birth of Guillaume Dufay through the career of Orlando di Lasso— musicians and composers from Northern France and Flanders brought to full fruition the techniques of choral polyphony and, by their numbers and their mastery, endowed the period with the title, the "Netherlands School."

The typical style of composition in the Netherlands discipline was unaccompanied, polyphonic, choral song. The greatest accomplishments along these lines were attained in writing for the musical portions of the Mass of the Church (i.e., the five parts of the Ordinary). As a foundation for the arrangement, a melody line usually was placed in

the tenor voice, which became known as the fixed voice, or cantus firmus. Around it moved the remaining voices in separate but related elaborations and developments. The Burgundian composers further developed the technique of employing the same cantus firmus in each of the five parts of the Mass, greatly increasing unity and coherence in larger forms. Additional homogeneity was attained by standardizing the other voices into the bassus and altus for harmonic foundation in the lower ranges, and the freer-moving discantus in the upper range. The cantus firmus was frequently a melody borrowed from some other source, the two richest storehouses being the plainsong chant of the Church liturgy and the popular melodies of the secular world.

The overall effect, culminating centuries of steady development, was choral music with quiet logic in deep inner complexities. Cast in the harmonies of the modal system, where tone derives from an interval pattern relating to a basic starting tone, with each line carrying its own rhythm, music emerges which is at once baffling and compelling but always beautiful and admirable. An outstanding master of

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3 Ibid.

4 Dickinson, chap. v.
Netherlands polyphony was Johann Ockeghem (1430? - 1495), who spent most of his career in the service of the kings of France. His touch was perfect with the intricacies of counterpoint. His ability to develop long melodies and extend the harmonic interplay through periods of great length resulted in choral polyphony which, in its quietness and fluidity, conveys exaltation often identified with those contemporary mystical movements of the Rhine-land and Low Countries which influenced Luther.  

In addition to mysticism, other intellectual forces influenced the evolution of choral polyphony. Paramount among these is humanism. Luther concisely displayed the humanists' concern with music by citing a line from Virgil:  

Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus.  

Their interest was in the relationship between text and music. Their purpose was to enhance the clarity and intensify the meaning of the words through the music. One medium used by German and Netherlands composers was tone painting, dubbed mysteriously musica reservata. It was an attempt to illustrate emotional content of words through

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5 Grout, chap. iv.

6 "You sing the words while I provide the music."  
devices of rhythm, chromatics, harmony, and figuration.\(^7\) Musica reservata had a wide influence in Italy upon secular music forms such as the laude (a ballad-hymn form) and the frottola (light lovesong form). Its theoretical foundations are attributed to a German, Adrian Petit Coclicus. An unfortunate consequence of this line of development, however, was a staggering and bewildering complexity of elaboration, adornment and improvisation.\(^8\)

The Italian humanists initiated another line of investigation which led happily in the direction of simplicity. Convinced that the ideal classical musical idiom had been the solo voice in the rhythms of the classical meters, humanist musicians began composing settings for classical odes in their conception of such a medium. This new style rapidly became popular with German composers.

A book of thirty-one song settings by Ludwig Senfl, court musician of the Duke of Bavaria, appeared in 1534 from the Nürnberg printshop of Hieronymus Forms Schneider. Nineteen of the four-part arrangements were for odes of Horace. The remainder included the opening stanzas of Virgil's Aeneid, an elegy by Ovid, a selection from

\(^7\)Grout, chap. iv.

\(^8\)Otto Ursprung, "Vom Geist des Humanismus in der Musik," Historisches Jahrbuch, LI (1931), 92.
Martial, and two odes by Catullus. Senfl was widely praised for his success in this effort to convey the Word, meter, measure, and meaning of the texts through his music.  

The humanists understood genius of Senfl's nature by appealing to a union between the poet and the composer. Simon Minervius, publisher of the 1534 songbook, declared in the preface his conviction that there is a union among the free arts, a unity which conjoins them in a common association. But existing before that practical reality "there is a relationship between poetic and musical composition. . . . I have no doubt that the influence of the same star is at work in poet and composer, so close do they stand together in spiritual and natural gifts, so much—if indeed not everything—do they have in common. Each of them is . . . the darling of the Muses and Apollo. . . . "

Minervius dedicated his words, and the publication itself, to an individual he felt shared his views and interests, the wealthy townsman and Burgermeister of Munich, Bartolomäus Schrenck.

Luther quite clearly understood such a union among

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10Ibid., pp. 169-170.
artists and the arts: "Music is one of the best of the arts," he declared. "The notes give life to the music." The bonds joining the company of musicians were, in his mind, strong enough to withstand doctrinal tensions. His correspondence with Ludwig Senfl, who remained in the Roman Church but sympathised with the Reformation, was an open secret.

The climax in their relations came in autumn of 1530, as Luther was overseeing the conversations at Augsburg from the Coburg. It was a period of considerable despondency and despair for Luther, during which he believed that his death was imminent. In this mood he wrote a long letter on October 4 to Senfl in Augsburg. His paragraphs ranged over many aspects of music, beginning with devotion to their common God who had so greatly blessed Senfl, and including admiration for the extensive music patronage at the Bavarian and Imperial courts. The main point was reached only late in the letter, when Luther requested the composer to write a motet on a song of consolation he knew from childhood, "Ich liege und schlafe ganz in Frieden." The text is from the Psalms (Ps. 4:9), in pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam. Senfl accepted the commission, but set a completely different text expressing confidence: "Ich werde nicht

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sterben, sondern leben, und des Herrn Werk verkündigen."
This is also a Psalm text (Ps. 118:17), *Non moriar, sed vivam, et narrabo opera Domini.*

A tangential effect of humanism upon music arose out of the humanist passion for collecting. It became fashionable for each home to have a music room, or music corner, replete with music, theory and practice books, manuscripts, and especially collections of instruments. Emerging instrument-making centers in Germany, such as Augsburg, Nürnberg, and later Wittenberg, enjoyed additional stimulus from this activity of the humanists.

During the course of the Netherlands period, the motet form came increasingly into favor. From a long evolution out of the liturgy into secular music and back again into church music, the motet by the sixteenth century had become a polyphonic, unaccompanied choral form in which, characteristically, a different melodic motif was utilized to set each line or verse. It was music with great variety and a close relationship between text and music. Josquin des Prés (1440? - 1521) was one of the most masterful exponents of this form.

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Josquin's motets reveal in many respects a keen consciousness of making the music emphasize the texts. His melodies move repetitively by imitation through the several voices to a cadence point which usually corresponds to the end of a verse or stanza. Overlapping of the voices led him to use structural techniques emphasizing the cadence. His is the famous "drive to the cadence," or gathering and holding each incoming voice through intricate and rapid melismatic work. The outcome is a heightening climax, followed by a massed resolution in all voices, then immediate departure on a new melodic line.\textsuperscript{14} Josquin was held in highest regard by Luther, who lamented his death (1521) and its close conjunction with that of Heinrich Finck (ca. 1519) and Pierre de la Rue (1518).\textsuperscript{15} Josquin was the master of the notes, he remarked, and they must answer the bidding of his genius.

Luther was expressing himself within a conception of genius similar to that of the humanists, involving an understanding of \textit{ars} and \textit{ingenium}. A delineation of the two is found in the writings and studies of Henricus Glareanus by 1510 and was published by him in the \textit{Dodekachordon} (1547). Glareanus explained that \textit{ars} encompasses the rules, formulas and laws of music, while \textit{ingenium} is the original and

\textsuperscript{14}Grout, chap. iv.

\textsuperscript{15}WA-TR, II, No. 3516, 371.
creative impulse residing purely as a gift from God within the composer. *Ars* alone will produce music, to be sure, but only *ingenium* will produce great and worthy music. Nonetheless, *ingenium* must accept the discipline of *ars*, for it provides the criteria to evaluate as well as regulate the creative process. Luther praised Josquin because he possessed above all others a masterful combination of *ars* and *ingenium*.16

These humanist-rooted activities and ideas are examples of a highly significant development in music during the sixteenth century. From the classical roots of Western music had come the legacy of a distinct dichotomy between the music of the community and the music of a higher, sacrosanct ethic. In the medieval Christian setting the result was a differentiation between secular and sacred music. Then in the high Middle Ages choral polyphony worked through several media to synthesize these disparate streams. The Netherlands style was used in the forms of both realms. Its essence was the harmonization of several voices. Humanists of the Renaissance dictated a return to the supposed classical idiom of metrical monody. A unique example of the reconciliation is found in the parody style of composition, wherein a melody from one idiom

is parodied as the melody for a composition in the other. Through singing, Martin Luther subsequently reunited the priestly and lay members of the worshipping body.

The musical world around Martin Luther was immensely richer than the single element of Netherlands choral polyphony. Another dimension is found in the humanist concern for the classical rhythms. This paralleled the fact that late medieval German folksong was still rooted in rhythms derived from text and syllable. Although the trend was toward mensurated rhythms, folksong influences contributed ultimately to mensurated, monophonic, chordal arrangements in the music of both the church and the world. Furthermore, the connections between Luther's musical world and the indigenous music of the German people in the late medieval period were not limited to folksong. The Meistersänger of Luther's day illustrate the complex interconnections of German music with various elements in Luther's environment. From the earlier Minesänger the Meistersänger took the

17 Hermann Abert, Gesammelte Schriften und Vorträge, ed. Friedrich Blume (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1929), pp. 95-98.


origins of their poetic forms. Their organizational structure mirrored the medieval guild and from the Church came much of their music and their subject material.  

The distinguishing factors about the Meistersänger are their locale and their personnel. They arose in the towns and drew their numbers from craftsmen, merchants, and civil servants. Of the twelve legendary masters among the Minnesänger, four are supposed to have become townsmen and emerged ultimately as the "crowned masters" of the Meistergesang. Their names (Frauenlob, Regenbogen, Mügling, Marner), along with the names of many compatriots, reveal a steady mutation from noble to middle-class version.

The busy townsmen had little time or use for the role of professional poet-musician. Their music broadened from being the practice of a cultured person to become the practice of culture itself. An art form was converted into a pedagogic device as schools for the teaching of poetry-writing appeared. Composition became something in the nature of a handwork, ammenable to guild-like regulation.

The Meistersänger in Nürnberg appeared first about 1450

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21 Ibid., 153.

22 Ibid.
in the persons of the twelve traditional masters. From inception, their activities reveal a clear preoccupation with rendering the texts. They wrote and were judged according to complex and firm rules which dealt mainly with verse composition. Their music was universally monodic, utilizing a select body of traditional—even sacred—melodies (Tone) put to metrical rather than mensural rhythms until well into the sixteenth century. Their melodic efforts tended to be plain, though elaboration and embellishment did develop very late.

Beginning about 1470, the Meistersänger were involved in a protracted revolt, lasting until approximately 1560, which constitutes an epoch or phase of the Meistergesang. Demands arose for experimentation with new ideas, subject materials, compositional techniques and metrical schemes; i.e., for a move away from the rigidity of the old masters and their rules. The newer generation of Meistersänger

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25 Ibid., p. 73.

26 Ibid., pp. 74-76.
sought to be preachers and teachers rather than learned and eclectic amateurs engaged in a self-satisfying recreation. Themes for the Meistergesang of Luther's day were largely paraphrases on Biblical texts. His Bible translation served to stabilize their texts and enhance their passion for clarity and correctness of expression.

The Meistersänger eventually declared for Luther almost to a man. Hans Sachs did so after long and careful deliberation. In 1519 he was writing "Mary" lyrics. But in 1522 he collected, bound, and studied Luther's writings. In 1523 he demonstrated his conviction by composing the "Wittenbergisch Nachtigall" upon the appearance of Luther's first hymn. It is a lengthy allegory involving a flock being protected by the shepherd against the wolf, with a bright, new, and wondrous song declared at the end of night by the nightingale. The lyrics climax in the declaration that, "wer das glaubt, der hab genug."

Sachs followed with a fund of Reformation lyrics, "Mary" songs reworked into "Christ" songs, and dialogues upholding the gospel. His last known work is dated 1588,

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28 Nagel, pp. 70, 86.

and appears in a manuscript volume in the library of the Kirche zum Heiligen Geist in Nürnberg. His signed inscription declares him to be 78 years old. The song is a praise of the Augsburg Confession, noting its remarkable spread through the years.30

Actual attacks by the Meistersänger upon the Church were rare and the few examples have been given exaggerated credit. A distinct parallel exists, however, between their critiques of the Church and the general dissatisfaction of the later medieval period. Hans Sachs's Disputation zwischen einem Chorherrn und Schuhmacher in-weighs against obsolete scholasticism, authoritarian education, sterile dogmatic, and formalism.31 But his objections in Luther's era were preceded by a century of protests from the town artisans. Ulrich Weist wrote in 1449:

Sie hand gemachet ein Singschul'
und setzen oben auf den Stuhl,
wer übel redt von Pfaffen.32

Meistergesang influenced the Lutheran hymnody most strongly in the psalms. Direct contributions include, in

30Hampe, Monatsheft der Comenius-Gesellschaft, VII (1898), 164-166.

31Ibid., 159.

32Ibid., 161.
addition to the verses of Sachs and others, a strong tradition of monodic song, and the use of interval patterns to which church music heretofore was unaccustomed. Very few of their Tons were taken over as hymn tunes, largely because they were archaic and usually not attractive.\textsuperscript{33}

Not a major tributary to the mainstream of the Lutheran hymn, \textit{Meistergesang} flows in the mainstream of medieval German folk music. It was an intimate form of popular thought and expression throughout its history. Earliest \textit{Meistergesänge} were derived from dance forms. Later they included poetry amusing to the common man—riddles and puzzles. Songs of a practical nature, fitted to a commonplace social occasion, subsequently appeared—songs to sing at the supper table, at the bath, in the company of friends. Overall, it was pre-eminently a music of the towns and the townspeople.\textsuperscript{34} It was a distinct entity intimately related to the \textit{Volkslieder}.

The enormous topic of the German \textit{Volkslied} defies inclusive comprehension. It is necessary instead to focus upon portions of the whole through selected lenses. One major focal point is the deep religious foundation underlying much of the \textit{Volkslied}.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Nagel}, p. 79.

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 67-70, 77.
Folksongs in the nature of a hymn had a broad spectrum of origins. Some were Latin hymns translated and moved outside the worship service, or German hymns set to popular tunes. Others were original texts set to Latin tunes. Religious parodies upon another folksong were common. Secular poets often turned to the folkhymn form, as did Walther von der Vogelweide in "Der Leich von der heiligen Trinitaet," or the morning prayer:

Mit foelden müze ich hiute üt stön,  
got hërre, in diner hüte gën  
und riten, swar ich in dem lande käre.  
Klist hërre, lâz an mir werden schin  
die grözen kraft der güste dir  
unt pflic mir wol dur diner müter ère.

Through the years came instructional and confessional songs out of the monasteries, ranging from the works of Otfried in the late ninth century to those of Heinrich von Lousenberg in the early fifteenth century, or Johannes Tauler, who wrote compelling mystical lyrics such as, "Von inwendige blossheit, und gelassenheit uns selbst und aller dinge"; "Von ein bloss entsincken inn der gotheit"; "Noch von ein

35 Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis auf Nicolaus Herman und Ambrosius Blaurer* (Stuttgart: S.G. Liesching, 1841), No. 94. Henceforth cited: Wackernagel (1841), No./p.


ledig entsincken inn der gotheit." Many more folkhymns arose out of extra-liturgical worship situations, such as pilgrimages and consecrations.

Songs of religious expression shared in a remarkable blossoming of the Volkslied during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the favored medium of the German people to express their thoughts and convey their feelings. In one manifestation, the Volkslied became the Historisches Volkslied, a medium for recording and reporting the events of the day. Historische Volkslieder are invaluable sources for ascertaining popular opinion and reaction to fixed historical points. They even came to be exploited as a means of generating, rather than recording, popular reaction. Such propagandistic folksongs often originated anonymously as the satires, proverbs, and prayers expressing commonly held desires. Other examples publicized a distinct platform and originated in a specific group or social division. Many more, however, having an intimate,

39 Ibid., No. 728.
40 Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.
42 Ibid., 42.
first-person tone and quality, usually were signed and identified with a particular person.\textsuperscript{43} Martin Luther wrote one hymn which may be viewed as a propagandistic Historisches Volkslied, "Ein neues Lied wir heben an."

It was composed upon the death at the stake of two converted Augustinian monks in Brussels on June 1, 1523.

Historische Volkslieder -- and Volkslieder in general -- were performed foremost among the people at large and may have worked their way into some of the many performances of municipal music groups. It is unlikely that they appeared in original garb in any church service or -- officially -- in the schools. Most certainly they were excluded from the music known in the Hofkantoreien of the noble and princely courts.

The Hofkantorei, a court-supported group of singers, was another of the developments of the Italian Renaissance which set down deep roots in Germany. Its instrumental counterpart, the Hofkappel, was likewise an indispensable institution of every significant court.\textsuperscript{44} (The two expressions are essentially interchangeable, and either might


encompass the function of the other as well.) One noteworthy example was the musical establishment during the sixteenth century at the court of the Dukes of Württemberg. During the reign of Duke Ulrich (1498 - 1550), the highpoint was reached with the services of Sigmund Hemmel as Kappelmeister. 45 Konrad Rupff was Hofkapellmeister at the court of Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony in Torgau and Dresden, from 1506 until 1529, when he requested and was granted a release by Elector John the Constant, who subsequently dissolved the Hofkantorei in an austerity measure.

The Hofkantorei was a select, highly trained, professional choir to provide music at court functions. Its musical director, the Kantor, came from the ranks of the finest musicians of the day and usually was trained in the Netherlandish tradition. Consequently, his organization was fully competent to perform the difficult Netherlands choral polyphony which made up the vast majority of its repertoire. 46


Kantorei is a generic expression covering many types of trained choirs singing the complicated music of the day. It includes the Schulkantorei, which as a part of regular school activities provided the highly trained and disciplined vehicle for many of the choral music performances in the church worship services. Music education was entrusted to the schools; students were choir members and received during the week the intense training displayed on Sunday. The choir's skill was in part a stimulation for complex composition. A sizeable, specified element of every school curriculum, music was taught as a major subject, comparable to Latin, Greek, or mathematics. The Kantor was the music teacher. His qualifications were of the very highest, equal to those of any Hofkantor. His stature in the school usually was second only to the Rektor.\textsuperscript{47} In Luther's mind, musical ability was a requirement also of the regular teachers. "A schoolmaster must be able to sing," he declared; "otherwise I do not even consider him."\textsuperscript{48}

The schoolboy music organizations bore other titles, such as Schulchor, chorus musicus, chorus symphoniacus, or Figuralchor. Often the boys also formed Kurrende, choirs

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., 130-131.

\textsuperscript{48}Jehle, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXVIII, No. 12 (December, 1917), 878.
which sang in the streets and at weddings or other private celebrations. These *Parteken*, as they were also known (from their student knapsacks, *Partekengehengste*), seem to have originated among poor students singing for food and alms. But by Luther's day their activities were fairly well controlled and they appeared for the most part under contract. The *Kantor* and *Rektor* acted as agents.

Formal musical activities in the schools were paralleled in the society at large by civic choral and singing societies, one of the most characteristic and common aspects of city life and customs. These groups drew their amateur membership from middle-class townsmen, but were highly proficient in the performance of complicated music. Frequently the groups would obligate themselves to perform the music at a number of religious services during the week.50

Although amateur, these singing groups reflect the degree to which music was a public institution in the German towns. The municipal governments supported sizeable musical establishments for their cities. In large measure, the later history of the *Meistersänger* reveals both cause and effect of this movement. Their extensive activities and

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great prestige brought considerable fame to the centers of Meistergesang, such as Nürnberg. In time that city and others were led to sponsor a number of musical activities to enhance the town's image and dramatize civic functions. Meistersänger, in the end, often left the amateur ranks and became professional musicians in municipal employ.⁵¹

Erfurt had a guild of professional musicians as early as the fifteenth century, but was only typical of the towns of Saxony. (After 1653 there was a regional guild organization, the Instrumental-Musikalisches Collegium in dem Ober- und Niedersächsichen Kreis.) The guild at Erfurt was highly stratified, the basic division being between music creator and music performer. The former was immeasurably more distinguished because genius was involved. At the top of the higher order stood the Hofkantor or Hofkappelmeister, a distinguished official of the court. Immediately behind him came the Kantor in the school and church. University trained, he ranked equally in municipal society with the teacher and priest. A master in the musicians' guild was licensed by the city to the title of Spielmannsberuf. Only he could accept apprentices. After a term of fifteen years, the apprentice was free to present his papers to a master to serve with him as an associate for three to five years. At

⁵¹Nagel, p. 77.
the conclusion of the second period he could apply for examination by a board of three masters and one associate. If accepted, he would be licensed as a master.

Erfurt appointed from among the masters a Burger-Musikant, and paid him a stipend which was part of his income. He had the right to wear the city insignia on a uniform and enjoyed the exclusive privilege of presenting music at civic affairs such as council meetings, festivals, banquets, and weddings or funerals of civic dignitaries. He and his apprentices and associates were charged with policing and regulating itinerant begging music bands in marketplace and fair. They were to sound the hour twice daily and to proclaim the city's welcome to entering visitors with music from the towers and walls.

In the last capacity, the Burger-Musikant directed the numerous Stadtpfeiffer, or Türmer, instrumentalists who played in the tower groups. The Stadtpfeiffer also worked some of the services in the church, especially after the Reformation had removed the stigma from instrumental music in the worship service. The prestige of a Stadtpfeiffer increased with the number of instruments he played.

On the whole, an instrumentalist was not highly regarded. His was the lower of the two guild castes, for he was merely a dexterous mechanic. But even among the instrumentalists there was stratification, as those who played wind or stringed instruments were more highly regarded
because their work required greater ability and coordination than those who played keyed instruments. At the bottom of the lot was the organist.\footnote{Willibald Gurlitt, Johann Sebastian Bach: The Master and his Work, trans. Oliver C. Rupprecht (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), chap. i.}

Organisten--schlecte Christen went the old rhyme. The organist was held in low repute generally, even though the organ was among the most popular and common instruments. From small, portable versions popular for personal and family use in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance,\footnote{On the career of Francesco Landini, the lion of the Paradiso degli Alberti in Florence, see O'Brien, Pt. I, chap. ii.} it had increased in complexity and moved into churches and palace chapels. By the fifteenth century every church had an organ and by the sixteenth century the large churches had two. Such proliferation was resolved eventually by the use of multiple keyboards and numerous stops corresponding to complete sets of pipes with distinct characteristics.\footnote{Ursprung, Historisches Jahrbuch, LI (1931), 95.}

It would be a mistake, nonetheless, despite the extensive number of organs in churches, to ascribe to the organ any independent role in the church service.

The organ was used in Luther's time at certain stages of the worship, but in a markedly secondary capacity.
Generally recognized practices included a brief introduction to the entire service and to internal musical portions. (This might range from a praemulum of a few notes to an extended praeludium which in later ages came to have a magnificent independent role in the service.) A few choral pieces sung by the choir utilized the organ for accompaniment. On occasion, the organ alternated sections, or portions of a lengthy section, with the choir. One organ practice which came to have great significance in the congregational singing of the Lutheran Reformation was to double the melody line on the organ in a monodic accompaniment.

A fundamental reason for the neglect of the organ lay in the nature of the dominant music of the day. Netherlands choral polyphony had no need of further, external, accompanying elaboration. Its harmonies, furthermore, were constructed horizontally and were not suited to massive instrumental underpinning. In late Netherlands music, the cantus firmus melody became so distorted through compression, extension, elaboration and rhythmics that no sensible organ accompaniment would have been possible.

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56Liliencron, 111, 112.

57Ibid., 85.
Few churches before the sixteenth century utilized an organist regularly. One would be called in from among the town's musicians for holy days and special events. Wittenberg did not have a regular organist until about 1502. The hiring of an organist, when it did occur, reveals another close connection between the municipal government and the churches of the town. In Nürnberg, the protocol of the city council for March 3, 1507, reveals that Peter Rauscher was hired to perform the duties which are usual for organists. His salary was to be six gulden per year, augmented by a place at the hospital director's table and a room in the hospital for practicing. If his work was satisfactory, the position might become permanent in three or four years' time. In Constance, as in other towns, the organist, along with the Kantor, received a salary from the city. Even the schoolboys in the choir were paid.

Constance at the close of the fifteenth century experienced a remarkable surge of activity surrounding the cathedral organ and choir. A period of growth beginning in the last decade was succeeded by a high period between 1506 and 1521; a decline followed in turn. Bishop Otto

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58 Rudolf Wagner, "Organisten der Stadt Nürnberg im Sechszehnten Jahrhundert," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XII (1930), 460. Peter Rauscher subsequently adhered to the Reformation and became a pastor and preacher.
initiated the expansion phase in 1489 by engaging ad decorum domus dei atque divini cultus augmentum the services of five vocal apprentices, or succentories. Two more were added in December of the same year and by 1506 their number had been increased to thirteen, plus eight choirboys. Their stipend since 1483 had been one shilling for every four masses. In 1490 repairs to the organ were made and a second register was added to the positive. Also in 1490 a second organ was built in the cathedral, at a cost of 50 gulden and one-half fuder of wine, by Martin of Memmingen. This individual, Martin Vogelmaier, stayed on at Constance as the second organist, with a wage from the council of 45 gulden annually. He died in 1505 while on vacation at Baden in the Argau. 59

Late medieval piety inspiring the early period joined with Christian humanist motivations in the second period. Bishop Hugo von Hohenlandenberg was humanistically educated and inclined, as was his chaplain (Domherr) Johann von Botzheim. Under their administration came hundreds of musical productions in the cathedral and continuous alterations and improvements to the organ, the choir, and the repertoire. A long list of composers wrote for the choir at Constance.

In 1508, Heinrich Isaac published his greatest volume of sacred choral music, Choralis Constantinni, commissioned by and dedicated to the city. Others, notably Sixt Dietrich, came to serve as Kantor. There was an intimate musical intercourse between Constance and the court of Maximilian I. So well known was the Constance Kantorei that it appeared in a 1513 pictorial chronicle of German cities cut by Diebold Schilling of Lucerne.

Martin Vogelmaier's successor as organist, Hans Buchner, seems to have been remarkably skillful at ingratiating himself with the council, for the records reveal numerous special awards and commissions coming his way, each with a generous stipend. His appointment in 1506 was converted to life tenure in 1511. He remained at Constance until his death in 1520. During his service, major modifications were made upon the organ by Hans Schentzer of Stuttgart and Strassburg, in 1507. Schentzer subsequently returned, 1517 - 1520, to build the famous Great Organ, the cabinets of which still stand in Constance. After the death of Buchner, music in the cathedral at Constance plummeted to a nadir. The organ fell into disuse and the Kantorei was split into two smaller choirs.

Martin Luther grew up embued with a deep appreciation for the multiplicity of elements in his musical environment.

60 Ibid., 453-456.
"Were King David to arise now from the dead," he once remarked, "he would be amazed at how advanced the people have become in music. It has never known greater heights than at this moment..." His native region had a rich heritage of folk music and musical customs, coupled with high traditions of musical patronage, of mastering the artistic techniques, and of strong municipal participation and support. At every stage of his education Luther encountered a deeper phase of a sound musical training.

It began in the Trivialschule of the Domschule in Magdeburg. In this type of school, where the traditional Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, logic) was taught, music was detached from the Quadrivium and included in the curriculum as "Religious Instruction." Students in the Trivialschule were divided into three levels. Tutored by the Kantor in the first level, Luther learned the do system of phonetic singing, the basic chords, intervals and intonation, and rhythm. In the second he was introduced into the complexities of the music of the liturgy, learning parts of the Mass, hymns, verses and responses.

The demands of music for the worship services often took precedence over other matters. This is reflected in faculty membership and duties. The church Kantor was a member of the school staff. In the Georgenschule in

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"61 WA-TR, V, No. 5603, 274."
Eisenach, the stipulated duties of the Rektor included personally assuring that the students were proficient in the liturgy.  

While in Mansfeld, Luther became accomplished enough as a singer to be admitted to the Kurrende. Thus he was able partially to defray the costs of his education. But being a Kurrender at Mansfeld also involved singing for the Matins services at 3:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m. He related in later life an incident as a Kurrender which illustrates that the custom still involved informal alms-seeking. One evening the group came to a villager's house near the edge of town, at the end of the street. The farmer suddenly emerged demanding to know what the noise was about. The boys were startled and scattered. But when their assailant brought out sausages for them, they overcame their fright and returned to claim their Parteken. Luther could ascribe their flight only to the sternness of the schoolteacher, who so terrorized them that they jumped at the slightest start.

The University of Erfurt, at the time he entered, was

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63 Leupold, Lutheran Church Quarterly, XII, 423.

64 Karl Anton, Luther und die Musik (3d. ed; Zwickau: Johannes Herrmann, 1928), pp. 13-14.
undergoing the impact of humanism. Monthly lectures were held on the music theory books of Johannes de Muris, which Luther attended. He became attracted to the lyrics of Virgil and Horace and learned to play the lute, which became his favored instrument. Music was an integral part of the Artes Liberales. In these formal studies he learned, as a minimum, the acoustic and aesthetic foundations of the church music and the rudiments of composing. Subsequently, he learned the Gregorian plainsong in the monastery at Erfurt, which had a high reputation for music despite ignorant general abuse of the chant in the monasteries. In summation, Luther's musical training was excellent and thorough. One modern scholar has evaluated it as equal to or better than that possessed by the average present-day holder of the master's degree in music.

Luther always chose to minimize his abilities and training. "I would not be able to compose such a motet as Ludwig Senfl," he remarked at one time, "just as he would not be able to preach as I can." But he maximized

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65Jehle, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXVII, No. 12 (December, 1917), 882.

66Leupold, Lutheran Church Quarterly, XII (1939), 426-427.

67Hoelty-Nickel, Luther and Culture, p. 146.

at every opportunity the value, worth, and importance of music. Impromptu home and family musicales were a regular part of his life. 69 Annually he observed a competition of the arts among the students in Melanchthon's school in Wittenberg. The day's events included poetic recitation, performance of plays, and singing. The honor accorded the winner was to sit at the head of the table during the "Feast of Kings," as the event was known. 70

Luther sang frequently, in a voice which contemporaries described as clear and pure, not large, and perhaps a little soft. 71 His repertoire was rooted in the folksongs of his region, and the ancient hymns of the Church, such as Veni creator spiritus, and A solis ortus cardine. 72 In his later life he alluded to a considerable therapeutic effect singing had upon him, as he measured his recovery from respiratory ailments by his ability to sing. To be

69 WA-TR, I, No. 968, 490.
70 WA-Br, III, No. 833, 446-447.
71 Jehle, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXVIII, No. 12 (December, 1917), 873-874.
able to produce only a few notes meant a great deal.\(^73\)

In ascribing a curative force to music, Luther was expressing the commonly held conviction that music, as a creation of God, has the power to influence—for good or bad—the body and mind. "Singing is a fine, noble art and exercise," he believed, because it was free of the world and its contentions. A person with troubles should sing to help him clear them away.\(^74\) As one of the loveliest and most splendid gifts of God, it was anathema to Satan, since it could drive out disputes and angry thoughts.\(^75\)

The essential thing was whether man used music wisely or evilly, for it was sufficient, next only to the gospel, to control the feelings of the human heart and to gain mastery over it.\(^76\) The concept that music, especially singing, was a heavenly blessing intended to work for good in the heart of each man lay at the bottom of Luther's concept of the hymn. He never betrayed or renounced his

\(^{73}\) D. Steinlein, "Über Luthers Stimme und sein Verständnis für Stimme," Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXIX, No. 11 (November, 1918), 590-596 passim.

\(^{74}\) WA-TR, II, No. 1300, 33.

\(^{75}\) Jehle, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXVIII, No. 12 (December, 1917), 878.

\(^{76}\) WA, L, No. 364, 368-374 passim.
vast musical heritage. Indeed he admired and utilized the music of the worship service in every form. He neglected the organ, to be sure, but he did so sharing a common disregard. Above all, it was the hymn especially he seized upon because that medium happily conjoined three components essential to proper worship, the gospel, the individual believer, and the proper use of a wondrous gift of God.
CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF LUTHER'S HYMNS

Luther's hymns became powerful instruments for disseminating the Reformation. In large measure, their role in the transmission of his doctrines can be explained in terms of their origins. Taproots of the hymns sink deep into the many strata of German music and German literature. Luther as a writer of hymns called upon a variety of familiar musical and literary sources and utilized a fund of musical and literary techniques. The result was that the teachings of his hymns appeared in familiar vehicles and moved abroad more quickly and readily because of their built-in familiarity. And at the same time, the appeal of singing familiar songs was intensified by their now being infused with the new meaning and purpose of the gospel.

Martin Luther joined the hymn with the gospel in a relationship which was both metaphysical and analogical. On the one hand, the hymn as a function of music is, in his understanding, a gift of God second in significance only to the gospel.¹ On the other hand, its closeness to

¹WA-TR, I, No. 3815, 636.
the gospel is understandable because it, like the gospel, is a helpmeet of man. Thus double-linked the two share a common role of influencing and directing the spirit of man. "Music makes no sound," Luther declared; "when music causes a man to laugh, it brings happiness to the things of the spirit but the mouth gains no pleasure. When a man sings heartily, the spirit is within the body, playing and enjoying it greatly." The analogical relationship runs much deeper, for both the gospel and music operate upon the spirit through rules and laws deriving from their inner nature.

The capstone to the interrelation between hymn and gospel is their common inspiration in Scripture. Statistically, thirty-two of thirty-six hymns Luther wrote are derived from Scriptural material. A few Biblical sources are Psalms 12, 14, 67, 124, 128, and 130; the Ten Commandments; Isaiah's call; the Christmas story; the story of Simeon; the baptism of Christ; and the Lord's Prayer. But numbers alone do not reveal what is much deeper. Luther found in Scripture a unity which binds Old and New Testament into a coherent whole. That was Christ, the central theme throughout

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the Bible. Repeatedly he insisted that singing in the Church, when true and sacred hymns were sung, was the Word, or Christ.⁵

The centrality of Christ in the Bible is revealed strongly in one of Luther's first hymns, "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu Dir." Luther's subject was Psalm 130, where he found expression of the old life and the burden of fear imposed upon mankind by the law of the old Testament. But he also found announced there a great hope for man in the gospel of the New Testament--hope for a new life through Christ. Thus Christ is the lesson of the psalms, of the Old Testament, of the New Testament--of the entire Bible.⁶ A few of the lines of this hymn can illustrate Luther's conception. Man bound and helpless within the law is shown in the opening stanzas:

Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir,
Herr Gott, erhör mein Rufen.
Dein gnädig Ohren kehr zu mir
Und meiner Bitt sie öffen.

Bei dir gilt nichts denn Gnad und Gonst,
Die Sünden zu vergeben.
Es ist doch unser Tun umsonst


Auch in dem besten Leben.
Vor dir niemand sich rühmen kann,
Des muss dich fürchten jedermann
Und deiner Gnade leben.

But the law is loosed by God, Luther held, through the figure of Christ:

Darum auf Gott will hoffen ich,
Auf mein Verdienst nich bauen;
Auf ihn mein Herz soll lassen sich
Und seiner Güte trauen,

... ......................................

Ob bei uns ist der Sünden viel,
Bei Gott is viel mehr Gnaden;
Sein Hand zu helfen hat kein Ziel,
Wie gross auch sei der Schaden.
Er is allein der gute Hirt,
Der Israel erlösen wird
Aus seinen Sünden allen.7

The clear expression of Christ throughout the Psalms distinguishes Luther's understanding of Scripture and most influenced his hymns. Other hymns inspired by the Psalms include "Es spricht der Unweisen Mund" (Ps. 14), "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" (Ps. 67), and "Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchte steht" (Ps. 128).8

Luther did not, of course, limit himself to the great beauty of the psalms and use only them for hymns. He drew upon many other areas of Scripture as well, such as the Ten Commandments. In 1524 he composed two catechism hymns on

7 WA, XXXV, 419-20. Modern German translation in Luther, Geistliche Lieder, p. 141.
8 Hoelty-Nickel, Luther and Culture, p. 166.
that subject. The first appeared in a single sheet edition, "Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot"; the second, "Mensch, willst du leben seliglich," appeared first in the Wittenbergisches Chorgesangbüchlein of 1524. Other scriptural sources include the Lord's Prayer ("Vater unser im Himmelreich," composed 1539); the baptism of Christ ("Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam," composed 1541); and "Te Deum" ("Herr Gott dich loben wir," composed 1529).

In addition to the psalms and other Scripture, Luther drew extensively upon the religious folk music of the German people. To these he added his own considerable creative genius and poetic sense for sound, rhythm, and rhyme. But still his hymns are distinguished by revealing consistently the pivotal figure of Christ. "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," is derived from an old hymn, "Grates nunc omnes reddamus." Whereas the earlier

9 WA, XXXV, 141.

10 Ibid., p. 271. The "Vater unser" was an especially popular hymn theme; as early as 1527, in the first Zwickauer Gesangbüchlin, appeared "Eyn Lobgesang vom Vater unser."

11 Ibid., p. 281.

12 Ibid., pp. 253-254.

version is a confession, Luther's lyrics call for joy and thanks to God for his love.

While turning directly to the Bible for theme and inspiration of much of his hymn writing, Luther at the same time had no apprehensions about the existing body of hymns in the Roman church. In his admonition to the assemblage at Augsburg he listed as one point of agreement with Rome the many fine Latin hymns which he treasured. For Maundy Thursday of 1532 (March 28), he recommended two ancient hymns: "Rex Criste, factor omnium," attributed to Gregory the Great; and "Inventor rutili," by Prudentius.

But he did more than merely accept the ancient Latin hymns. He took many of them over and converted them into vehicles for his own teachings, a technique he called *christliches corregieren*. One of his loveliest and most popular works is also one of the best examples. "Mitten wir im Leben sind" takes its origins from an ancient antiphon of the ninth century known throughout the Church, "Media vita in morte sumus." It is attributed legendarily to the monastery at St. Gall. At the time Luther wrote the

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15 Hans Preuss, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1931), p. 90.

16 WA-TR, II, No. 1403, 88.
hymn (1524), at least three metered German translations were circulating, the latest coming from Basel in 1514.

Luther’s stanzas clearly display his doctrinal corrections. He swung the emphases away from death of the body and imprisonment in purgatory, away from judgment and the fear of hell and toward the mercy of God and Christ’s defeat of sin, toward the consolation of faith.

Mitten wir im Leben sind
Mit dem Tod umfangen.
Wen suchen wir, der Hilfe tu,
Dass wir Gnad erlangen?
Das bist du, Herr, alleine.

Mitten im dem Tod ansicht
Uns der Höllen Rachen.
Wer will uns aus solcher Not
Frei und ledig machen?
Das tust du, Herr, alleine.
Es jammert dein Barmherzigkeit
Unser Klag und grosses Leid.

Zu dir, Herr Christ, alleine.
Vergossen is dein teures Blut,
Das gnug für die Sünde tut.17

Also christlich corrigiert by Luther was one of the oldest Latin hymns for the Christmas season, "Veni redemptor gentium," attributed to Ambrose. Recast as "Nun komm der heiden Heiland," it is one of three Christmas hymns written late in 1523.18 The versified treatment of

17 WA, XXXV, 126-129. Luther, Geistliche Lieder, pp. 20-21.
18 WA, XXXV, 149-150.
the song of Simeon (Luke: 30-32) appeared as "Nunc dimittis" in the proper of the Mass for celebrating the purification of Mary. Luther in 1524 created out of that source the hymn, "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin."\(^{19}\)

In addition to the Latin hymns, Luther drew upon the German hymns as sources for his writings. Such cleavage between origins is somewhat arbitrary, however, for it is difficult to distinguish clearly a dividing line between Latin hymns and early German hymns. Any one of them often had a version in each language. Some pre-Reformation hymns appeared even in line-by-line alternation of the two languages:

\begin{verbatim}
In dulci jubilo
singet und sit froh!
Unseres Herzens Wonne
leit in praesepio
und leuchtet als die Sonne
matris in germio
Alpha est et et.
\end{verbatim}

Whether in Latin or German, the hymn before the Reformation was characterized by one factor clearly. It played a restricted role in the worship. It was not a regular part of an ordinary service. Excluded from the recurring ceremony, the hymns came to be clustered about the irregular observances of the Church, where the singularity of the moment

\(^{19}\)Ibid., pp. 152-154.

allowed for a less strict format. Among the richest of such stimuli were the special seasons such as Pentecost and special events such as pilgrimages. Christmas has already been mentioned as a source of hymns. Another season is illustrated by "Christ lag in Todesbanden," written by Luther in 1524. This work originally was one of the most popular of German hymns, "Christ ist erstanden." From its origin in the twelfth century, this hymn had an almost universal place in the Catholic liturgy for Easter. 21 "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heilger Geist" appeared in the fourteenth century as "Veni creator spiritus," a hymn sung at Pentecost. 22

Supplementing the rich fund outside the strict confines of the liturgy were two points within from which developments in singing led to the hymn. The first grew out of an extended note line, the jubilus, sometimes appearing on the last syllable of "Allelujah" in certain plainsong sequences. The addition of words to these melismas ultimately led to new independent compositions. Whole verses, stanzas, and melodies emerged. As a liturgical innovation, these "sequence-songs" never were approved by the Church. Only partly approved was the second phenomenon, the so-called Leison-songs. Certain


22 Hoelty-Nickel, Luther and Culture, p. 165.
liturgical singing concluded each verse with a congregational response on "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison." Beginning about the eleventh century, the "eleison" responses began evolving toward independent Leison songs. The trend spread rapidly and came to be most closely associated with certain of the holy seasons. One example is the Easter-leison, "Kyrie ist erstanden." Appearing later as "Christ ist erstanden," it was the source for Luther's "Christ lag in Todesbanden."\(^2^3\)

While being intimately associated at one end with the Latin hymn, the German hymn before the Reformation shades off at the other end into the German folksong. Precise distinction is virtually impossible since religious topics were prominent in Volkslieder. "Christ ist estranden," the source of Luther's Easter hymn, has been categorized as a Volkslied. The same is true for "Media vita in morte sumus" ("Mitten wir im Leben sind"), because of its existence in the fifteenth century in the form of a verse, "In mittel unsers lebens zeit im tod sein wir umfangen..."\(^2^4\)

The variety of sources utilized by Luther for his own hymns is as vast and complex as German popular song itself.


\(^{24}\) Liliencron (ed.), Deutsches Leben im Volkslied, p. 428.
A case has been made even for the origins of some hymns in the *Meistergesang*, as three hymns by Paulus Speratus in 1524 are said to be in that form. Whether a particular song was a hymn or a folksong—or in reality a *Meistergesang*—was less important to Luther than whether it was sung by the people in their normal activities and circumstances. Luther chose his sources because they were being sung. He proceeded to alter their content and wholly revise their meaning, without detracting from their familiarity and popularity.

The literary techniques he used can be categorized, but once again clear distinction among the categories is difficult. Many of his hymns could be understood as essentially original even though they are cousins of others from the same source. His use of the psalms in particular is a case in point. Even though they are startlingly original, in the technical sense they exemplify one or more particular devices.

Luther's *christliches corrigieren* could involve extensive reworking of a verse, or it could mean no more than changing a few words. In either event the intent was the same, that is, to alter the meaning into a clear expression of his doctrines. Results of this kind frequently look like parodies of a religious nature.

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A classic example is the hymn written about 1555 by Johannes Hesse, "O Welt, wir müssen dich lassen," which is a clear parody of the well-known song of Heinrich Isaac, "Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen." But there is a technical expression for alterations of this type: Kontrafraktura. It refers in the case of Luther's hymns to secular lyrics of the day which have been altered to acquire Reformation meaning. Luther employed the techniques of christliches corrigieren, Kontrafraktura, and parody freely. His purposes were deliberate: to alter familiar structures just enough that they could contain his ideas, that is, to stimulate the spread of his doctrinal teachings.

Some of the hymns Luther wrote subsequently reappeared in the Roman body of song. This might have come about because the great strength of the original song made it universally Christian. The later, Catholic, version of "Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfangen" appeared as:

Mitten in dem byttern todt
schrecket uns dein urtheyll:
wer will uns aus solcher nidt
helffen zu der selen heyly?
O Herr, du bists alleyne,
der auss grosser gütlickeyt
uns beystandt thut all zeyt

Kyrieleyson.

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Or reassimilation into the Catholic music might have come about because the Lutheran alterations were not too great a deviation from the original; such is the case with "Nun Komm der Heiden Heiland," which eventually came to appear in Catholic hymnals.27

The willingness of Luther freely to assimilate existing works comes to light just as readily in the music of his hymns as it does in the verses. Likewise, an analysis of these amalgamations presents a complexity of origins and techniques analogous to that found in the lyrics. He frequently adopted for a hymn of his own the same tune identified with the original. In addition, he quite freely used tunes from other sources, or his hymns were set in arrangements by other persons. Many of the melodies used by him have passed into oblivion, but a few truly great ones have endured to the present in increasingly widespread use.

Luther's role as composer of melodies is significant

26 Gabriel, pp. 24-25.

27 WA, XXXV, 150.
but not large, and has generated much controversy. Present scholarship credits him positively with three original hymn tunes, "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," "Jesaia dem Propheten das Geschah," and of course, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." The last named, his most famous melody, has been the most challenged, especially in the nineteenth century. One researcher detected melodic phrases of a Gregorian chant known to Luther. Another declared that it can be assigned only to Johann Walther, claiming that the melody appeared in a bass passage from his motet, "Deus miseratur," published in 1524. Meistersänger claims upon Luther's musical originality have been pressed from an alleged similarity between the melody in "Ein feste Burg" and the "Silberweise" of Hans Sachs (1513).

A high degree of probability exists that Luther originally wrote the melodies for three more of his hymns, "Ein neues Lied wir heben an," "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin," "Mensch, willst du leben seliglich." And his hand can be identified in reworking pre-existing melodies into settings for "Christ lag in Todesbanden," "Erhalt uns, Herr,

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 80.}\]

\[\text{29 O. Schröder, "Luther und Johann Walther als Begründer des evangelischen Gemeindegesangs," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXII (1917), 72.}\]

\[\text{30 Taylor, Meistersang, p. 78.}\]
bei deinem Wort," and "Verleih uns Frieden genädiglich."

The varieties of musical garb which clothed Luther's hymns even during the short space of his lifetime are immense. To compile them is to create something so vast it is virtually meaningless except as a collection of melody lines. But it is possible to develop categories of the numerous tunes, reflecting what their origins were, when they became associated with the hymn, geographical limitations of the associations, and how long they lasted. Doing so also illustrates that the music was a means to the end that the hymns be sung.

At the head of the list stand those hymns which utilized the same tune as did the origin which inspired Luther. Numbered among these, of course, are his original songs. Others are "Der Du bist drei in Einigkeit" and "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist." The former is a German versification of the ancient hymn "O lux beata Trinitas, et singularis unitas"; the music, unchanged, is the original. The latter work derived verse and music from an old hymn of the same name. "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," retained with very minor changes through 1545 the splendid Latin hymn tune of the source, "Veni sancte spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium. . . ." This hymn had appeared as

\[31\text{WA, XXXV, 80.}\]
late as 1514 in a South German hymnal, the Baseler Plenarius.\textsuperscript{32}

Adherence to the old melody was not a requirement, however. As is illustrated by "Christum wir sollen loben schon," numerous musical changes could occur to the original, in this case, "A solis ortus cardine." The melody to "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland" ("Veni redemptor gentium") was greatly distorted through ornamentation and involvement in a five-part polyphonic setting in its first appearance in 1525. But the tune was retained thereafter. The first melody of "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist" ("Veni creator spiritus") subsequently was replaced by two others. The later versions, however, clearly were derived from the ancient original.\textsuperscript{33}

Such illustrations as these lie at the far end of the first category and shade off into the second. Here are those hymns not taking their melodies from their sources, but drawing nonetheless from the storehouse of music in the Roman Church. One example is the Luther hymn, "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ." It originated in the "Kyrie Eleison" from a Christmas sequence of Gregory and was known

\textsuperscript{32}Carl von Winterfeld (ed.), Dr. Martin Luthers deutsche geistliche Lieder nebst den während seines Lebens dazu gebräuchlichen Singweisen und einigen mehrstimmigen Tonsätzen über dieselben (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1840), pp. 42, 91, 40.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., pp. 24, 22, 38.
since the fifteenth century as a Leison-song. "Gott sei
gelobet und gebenedeiet" was set to the melody of an early
sixteenth-century song of praise about the Holy Sacra-
ment.34

Another categorization includes certain of Luther's
hymns which at one time were grouped together to share a
single melody. In time each usually became associated with
a characteristic and identifying song. But for a brief
period, a single tune might have been called upon to trans-
mit a variety of versified doctrinal expressions.

A late-appearing hymn, "Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes,
sehr," (1543), harked back for its melody to one of the
earliest, "A solis ortus cardine," and the association
persevered. "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" and "Christ,
unser Herr, zum Jordan kam" both were assigned the tune of
the former, an association appearing first in 1525. A
pamphlet of about 1530 presented the latter hymn alone with
the melody; then the former acquired its own in 1538.35

The melody of a hymn by Paulus Speratus, "Es ist das
Heil uns kommen her," in an appearance in 1524 was given
to three hymns of Luther: "Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh
darein," "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir," and "Es

34 Ibid., pp. 26, 84; Hoelty-Nickel, Luther and
Culture, p. 165.

35 Winterfeld, Luthers deutsche geistliche Lieder,
pp. 30, 67, 54.
spricht der unweissen Mund." The first acquired its own melody the next year and in 1543 was set to another which has proven the most popular. Meanwhile, a third tune originated in South Germany in 1537 and is still sung there. The second hymn gained one melody in 1525, while another, more widely used, came from a Strassburg hymnal of 1544, arranged three ways by three composers in Georg Rhaw's songbook of 1544. This latter tune itself adds to the complexity, for it came from a hymnbook published in 1537 by Michel Vey, Gesangbuch Geistlicher Lieder, where it was associated with an "Our Father" entitled "Unser zuflucht, O Gott du bist." 36

Underlying these arbitrary pigeonholings of Luther's hymns is a common, unifying factor. In each case, a hymn tended to acquire a distinct melody with which it was identified (with allowances for regional preferences) and in association with which it became popular. Sometimes a number of melodies were put forward, though no one of them in particular caught on, for example, "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand." It first appeared in 1525 in two settings. A third melody came out in a songbook of 1543, and a fourth last appeared the following year. The tune most commonly used for "Whol dem, der in Gottes Furchte

36 Ibid., pp. 60, 73, 63.
"Steht," first appeared in 1537, associated at that time with other verses. A transitory setting was given the hymn in the same hymnal and still another unsuccessful song dated from 1525. A fourth disappeared after 1544.37

Any number of categories might be found, such as tunes and hymns taken from other reformers. "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes Zorn wandt," is generally referred to as John Hus's hymn. The Moravian sectarian, Michel Weisse, also contributed hymns. To continue the listings, there are a number of Luther's hymns--and a vast flood of those by others--which took their origins as well as their tunes from secular songs. Thus "Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar" used the secular song, "Aus fremden Landen komm ich her." A song of folksong origin, "Ach lieb', mit Leid," was taken over for one of Luther's last hymns, "Sie ist mir lieb, die werte Magd."38

Whatever the origins of the verses, and whatever the musical medium which carried them, the inspiration of Luther's hymns remained constant. It was Scripture, and, within the Bible, the centrality of the figure of Christ. Poetry and music often shared the same origin, rooted deep in the familiar traditions of the Roman Church. But such a

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37 Ibid., pp. 37, 71
38 Ibid., pp. 29, 82.
generalization is demonstrable by its exceptions. Numerous hymns arose out of the Volkslieder and the current popular hits. At the same time, certain music from the Church could be employed to carry wholly new lyrics. Thus, in the preface to a book of funeral and graveside hymns Luther edited in 1542, he remarked that he had included a number of splendid vigils and processionals which ought to be fitted with suitable verses. 39

In any event, the motivation was the same. To circulate his inspiration widely and on every level, Luther was eager to utilize any poetic and musical device or combination. Their vast multiplicity illustrates his musical and lyric genius and inventiveness, to be sure, but it demonstrates even more how he diverted these talents toward the dissemination of his teachings.

When one of Luther's hymns entered the worship service, it did so largely within the framework of current music and singing practices in the Church. To some extent, this encompassed points at which the congregation worshiped through singing. In the order of worship for Wittenberg, 1533, it is specified that after the vesper sermon on the eve of holy days, the minister should stand "in the middle of the church and sing the 'Magnificat' in German with the people, as is

customary, plus a versicle in German, the 'Collect,' and the 'Benediction.'”  

The next paragraph refers to the pre-eminent style of music in the church, **figuraliter**. This rich, artistic, polyphonic singing by a professional choir was limited fairly well to the **Kantorei** of the courts and the cathedrals. It was to be preferred, nonetheless, in this vespers service for everything before the sermon, plus the "Magnificat." **Figuraliter** placed great demands on the musical ability of the minister as well, since it involved elaborate exchanges and responses with the choir.  

The music of the church included a counterpart to figural music, **choraliter**. This was monodic singing, derived obviously from the Gregorian chant. Actually, if done in Latin, it usually was the plainsong. If in German, it was done to an appropriate melody fitting the German text. It was governed by an elaborate system of rules for rhythm and tone pattern. Difficult to learn, its performance also was the province of the **Kantorei**.  

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41 Ibid.  

vesper service of 1533 called for a complicated psalm-chant and antiphone in *choraliter* early in the service, followed by the Old Testament lesson chanted by boys from the choir to a specified series of tones.\(^{43}\)

The plainsong chant of the ancient church had evolved in the fourteenth century the technique of *falsobordone* which in the course of the sixteenth century worked some change upon the traditional tenor *cantus firmus* of the figural style. Originally a technique of underpinning the chant with a sustaining harmony in lower voices, it developed into a tendency to transpose the melodic line into the soprano and to arrange its harmonies vertically rather than horizontally. Collaterally, the humanist contribution of monodic song likewise put the melody in the soprano, supported eventually by chorded harmonies.\(^{44}\)

Humanist monody and the *falsobordone* point up the fact that figural music underwent considerable change in the course of the sixteenth century. Out of the discipline of Netherlands polyphony arose a number of developments tending toward simplification. These included reducing the complexities of counterpoint, moving the melody out of the inner voice and up to the top voice, and trends toward using the

\(^{43}\) Sehling, I, 703.

musical setting to emphasize the text with a single voice.

Polyphonic choral song still dominated the scene. The songbook edited by Johann Walther in 1524 contained forty-three song settings, five in Latin and thirty-eight in German. Two of the former and eleven of the latter were arranged for five voices, two of the latter were for four voices, the remainder were for three voices. But even in the same publication there was a marked inclination for the hymn settings to employ relatively simple counterpoint. In addition, the soprano began to emerge as the melody voice. "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" was so arranged that the melody alternates between tenor and soprano, though in a rudimentary manner which makes it hard to recognize the tune in either voice.

Changes developed steadily through the arrangements of later years. Georg Rhaw created a setting for "Ein feste Burg" in his songbook of 1544, in which the melody, though out of the tenor, was placed in the bass—an effect rather than a trend, but suggesting a real trend: The accompanying

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45 Winterfeld, Der evangelische Kirchengesang; Erster Teil, p. 127.

46 Liliencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte, p. 90.

47 Winterfeld, Luthers deutsche geistliche Lieder, p. 97.
voices were simple, deriving from the melody rather than elaborating or enriching it.\textsuperscript{48} Another setting of the same Luther hymn in the same hymnal illustrates a trend toward focusing musical attention upon a single voice carrying the melody. Stephen Mahu in this case employed the technique of echo, wherein a free and moving accompaniment takes its ideas directly from the melody, and in fact anticipates the melody's tone pattern.\textsuperscript{49}

Yet a third version of the same general trend is found in Georg Rhaw's 1544 publication, and in another arrangement of "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," by the distinguished German master of Netherlands music, Benedict Ducis. He used the "foresinger" mode of arrangement, employing a single voice to sing the words and melody, repeated responsively by the choir in four voices. The response utilized the thematic idea but not directly the tune.\textsuperscript{50}

Finally, this hymnal of 1544 contained an arrangement embodying a full-fledged soprano lead, even to the point that the accompanying lines did not use melodic motifs but instead were subordinated into a more harmonic and

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 99.

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 97.
homophonic role. The hymn is "Vater unser im Himmelreich," arranged for four voices by Johann Weinmann. 51

Experiments with emphasizing a single line within the multi-voiced setting pointed toward a new concept. Simplified rhythms, simplified counterpoint, the effects of falsobordone, note-for-note declamation by humanist musicians—all these reinforced the trend. Finally, in 1586, appeared the Fünftzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen . . . das ein gantze Christliche Gemein duraus singen kann, edited by Lucas Osiander, preacher at the Württemberg court. Through the route of the trained Kantorei and its music, a style of singing emerged wherein the simple melody was placed in the position most easily recognized and followed—the soprano—which a whole Christian congregation can also sing throughout. 52

Emerging trends such as these, emphasizing a single melodic line within the polyphonic framework, did not bespeak, in the sixteenth century, the full-blown, multipart homophony characteristic of the hymn today. What it did bespeak was a musical supplement to a pronounced liturgical development of the sixteenth century toward increased congregational participation in the worship service. Heretofore, because of the difficulty of the

51 Ibid., p. 98.
52 Liliencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte, p. 93.
polyphony and the intricacy of the choral chant, a worshiper could only listen.

Increasingly during Luther's lifetime, and within a lifetime after his, his hymns became an instrument to bind in common song the worshiping congregations and the choir. Inspiration came from the Bible, was shared in his verses, and became the province of a much larger singing group which, from its past experiences, was intimately familiar with the literary and musical origins of what was being sung.
CHAPTER III

THE CREATIVE OUTPOURING OF 1524

Martin Luther first began to create hymns in 1523. During the next year he experienced the most concentrated creative period of his life with regard to the hymn. In the brief space of about twelve months he composed fully half of all the hymns he ever wrote. Although he had creative periods at later times, as in 1528 and in 1534, his creative outpouring of 1524 remained unmatched in his life.

To unravel the hymns of the period and arrange them according to their chronology and intrinsic sense was itself a formidable task for musicologists. Consider that Luther made virtually no specific references to his compositions in his conversations and writings. Add the fact that only one manuscript hymn-draft in Luther's hand is preserved--of a hymn composed long after 1524. Note that, for the most part, the only early sources extant are hymn-books preserved in the rare collections of scattered libraries.

These holdings have been thoroughly examined and described. The musicological debates over dating and meaning
have been settled to a large extent. The actual number of authentic Luther hymns is generally agreed upon. Even so, the product of such labor is essentially a chronological listing of descriptive analyses.

Such an arrangement of the hymns by date and subject is not truly the central consideration because it does not deal with the fundamental factor of 1524. What must be sought instead is an understanding of the forces within and outside Martin Luther, each reinforcing the other, which brought him to his great artistic and creative heights during the period. This is the central consideration: What stimulated Martin Luther and what were the consequences?

Some of the factors of 1524 were indwelling and ongoing. They are reflected in Luther's writings and observations on the hymn. His words reveal that he held it to be of utmost significance in his scheme of the gospel and of worship.

Other elements at work in 1524 entered from the outside. Luther was not the first reformer to take up the hymn and incorporate it into his reform program. Many such efforts of others he approved. But he came to oppose the doctrines of some on grounds they corrupted the gospel; likewise he opposed their hymns as incorrect expressions of it.

Just as Luther was not the first reformer to write hymns, so he was not the first to publish his own hymns in collected book form. Some of his works had an earlier,
momentary existence in the form of sheet music, or more aptly stated for the printing modes of the day, in pamphlet form—musical pamphlets. But pamphlet-hymns were not new with Luther. Publication of his hymns introduced a new factor in the overall story of hymnprinting, however, as the initial productions of 1524 opened the gates on a subsequent flood of Luther hymnbooks.

Luther's creative outpouring of 1524 was not, strictly speaking, accomplished without assistance from others. The inspiration, leadership, and minute supervision came from him; likewise, the majority of the hymn lyrics emanating from Wittenberg that year were composed by Luther. Nevertheless, credit for the music of 1524 must be directed to others, particularly to Johann Walther. An intimate relationship between these two musicians began with their musical collaboration in 1524 and lasted throughout their lives. Their friendship was enhanced by mutual regard for each other's musicianship and by the composer's keen comprehension of the reformer's doctrines.

To begin an examination of the accomplishments of 1524, it is natural and logical to turn to the reformer himself. Fortunately, Luther's writings and recorded words of the period are unmistakably clear. They greatly help to fix him and his actions in a complex, interacting situation. They show him recoiling from some hymns out of deep offense to his highly developed musicianship. They
show him rejecting the hymns and music of certain others as false doctrine. They show him fearing for the future of the true reformation and finding hope and confidence through the medium of the hymn. Overall, they show him fully aware of the potentialities within a hymn for education and dissemination.

Martin Luther recognized as a practical fact a variety of modes of worship. He upheld the value of lay religious practices and popular worship. His imagination was colorful and excluded one-sidedness and rigidity. His hymns illustrate his flexibility. On the one hand, they are intensely personal and confessional. "Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar" at one point has even the angels of heaven pronouncing the doctrine of justification by faith. On the other hand, this same hymn has been adopted widely because its wider Christian statement is essentially universal.

A duality seemingly suggested by this, however, is only apparent. Martin Luther understood a gospel which was singular, a unity around the figure of Christ. The hymn was in fact an aspect of his fundamental unity, for Luther so closely identified the hymn with the church that the two, in his mind, were almost identical. As he often repeated, music is second only to the gospel in the order of gifts from God.

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1 Smend, Das evangelische Lied von 1524, p. 3.

The effect of singing the hymns, thus, is to place man in immediate confrontation before Christ. So intensely did Luther feel the role of Christ that he concluded even a hymn based on the Decalogue with the following words:

Die Gebot all uns geben sind,
Dass du dien. Sünd, O Menschenkind,
Erkennen sollst und lernen wohl,
Wie man vor Gott leben soll.
   Kyrioleis.

Das helf uns der Herr Jesu Christ,
Der unser Mittler worden ist.
Es is mit unserm Tun verlorn,
Verdienen doch eitel Zorn.
   Kyrioleis.

Luther's differences with other reformers revolved around proper understanding and use of the gospel of Christ. Hymns by them which he rejected were those revealing a conception of the relation between Christ and man which he rejected. A case in point arose during the 1524 period. The radical reformer Thomas Müntzer introduced a new order of worship in Alstedt on Easter of 1524, the Deutsches Kirchenamt, which contained ten hymns. Luther already had prepared his Latin liturgy, Formula missae, the previous year and ultimately, in 1525, he composed his all-German Deutsche Messe. The Kirchenamt distressed him, however, because of mistaken doctrines he saw embodied within Müntzer's hymns and he moved to counteract their effect.5

3 Burba, p. 35.
4 Luther, Geistliche Lieder, p. 23.
5 Burba, p. 9.
Luther disliked Müntzer's hymns artistically because of their patent inferiority. They were merely crude translations of Latin hymns, as in the one for Advent, "O Herr, Erlöser alles Volks," or for Christmas, "Lasst uns von Herzen singen all." He responded with hymns from the same sources. For the first this was the Latin of St. Ambrose, "Veni redemptor gentium." Luther's "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland" was not such a great deviation from the original that it could not later be transferred back into the Roman songbooks. It became a Christmas hymn, as was the second, "Christum wir sollen loben schon," based on "A solis ortus cardine," by Bishop Cajus Caelius Sedulius of Achaea.

Beyond the artistic offenses committed by Müntzer lay a much deeper and far-reaching antagonism between the reformers which the hymns brought to a focus. Luther conceived the hymn as placing man in direct relationship with Christ. To Müntzer, however, the miserable, coarse Christian could not perceive Christ imminently, for he was incapable of such a keen grasp of the gospel. Some prior preparation was necessary, just as a farmer plows the field before sowing.

The hymns were to perform the plowing mission, which

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6 Ibid., pp. 21-22

7 WA, XXXV, 149.

8 Ibid., p. 150.
Münzer dubbed *Entgrobung*, an essential preliminary in his doctrine of justification. It is the preparation, necessary for faith, which drives out the naturally evil tendencies of man to satisfy his passion and desire. Only after their expulsion through the path of sorrow and repentance will there come certain recognition of the Holy Spirit. The function of the hymns is to release the Christian from incarceration in his own hypocrisy.  

For Luther such denigration was impossible. The hymn linked man and Christ directly. For him the necessary understanding was "... that Christ should be our praise and our song, and we should know of nothing to sing or to say except Jesus Christ, our Saviour."  

Luther's reaction to the hymns of Thomas Münzer had still a third side, concern for the appeal and effectiveness of his opponent's hymns as persuaders. He wrote hymns partly to counteract Münzer's influence. Apprehension with respect to Münzer was part of his general apprehension with respect to the future of his reformation movement. Tragic incidents befalling his adherents, reported in Wittenberg, seemed to show growing strength and added determination. 

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among his enemies, who were ranged against him on all sides. It seemed to him a time of troubles and trial.

The Spanish Inquisition, established in the Netherlands on May 23, 1523, committed its first victims to the secular arm for burning on July 1, in Brussels. Heinrich Vos and Johann van den Esschen were Augustinian monks who had adhered to Luther. He reacted to their martyrdom with a hymn written under the inspiration of the tragedy. 11 "Ein neues Lied wir heben an" was as much a propagandistic Historisches Volkslied as it is a hymn:

Ein neues Lied wir heben an,
Des walt Gott, unser Herre,
Zu singen, was Gott hat getan
Zu seinem Lob und Ehre.

Zu Brüssel in dem Niederland
Wohl durch zween junge Knaben
Hat er sein Wundermacht bekannt,
Die er mit seinen Gaben
So reichlich hat gezieret.

Der Erst recht wohl Johannes heisst,
So reich an Gottes Hulden,
Sein Bruder Heinrich nach dem Geist,
Ein rechter Christ ohn Schulden.

Subsequent verses describe the trial of the two and their Christian composure before their tormentors. The hymn closes with the promise:

Die Aschen will nicht lassen ab,
Sie stäubt in allen Landen.
Sie hilft kein Bach, Loch, Grub noch Grab,
Sie macht den Feind zuschanden.

11 WA, XXXV, 92.
The hymn concludes on a note of confidence and hope—even promise—that the forces of the foe would fail. Yet the apprehensions Luther felt continued during the period. The spiritualists, splintering away on the radical fringes of the movement, shared in common a rejection of music in the church. Luther singled out this facet, declaring, "He who despises music, as do all the fanatics, does not please me. For music is a gift and largess of God, not a gift of men. . . . We note that David and all the saints used verse, rhymes, and songs to express their godly thoughts; quia pacis tempore regnat musica—for music reigns in days of peace." At the end of June, 1524, he wrote to Frederick the Wise on the rebellious spiritualists, saying their uproar was the work of Satan.

The martyrdom of the two Augustinians in Brussels might have been the signal for a united campaign against the Reformation to destroy it in its infancy. In another tragedy a year later (July 5, 1525), the brilliant young humanist Welhelm Nesen was drowned in a boating accident on the Elbe.

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12 Luther, Geistliche Lieder, pp. 9-11.

Melanchthon, an intimate friend of the victim, was deeply grieved. He and Luther both saw that Catholics might interpret the incident against them as symbolic proof of God's wrath upon heretics. Confident nonetheless that the gospel was true and its strength was sufficient, Luther turned to the hymn to communicate reassurance. Selecting the ancient "Media in vita morte sumus," he penned the verses of "Mitten wir im Leben sind," telling that even though man be driven by evil forces halfway into hell, Christ will preserve him.\textsuperscript{14}

Use of the hymn as a means to communicate the gospel was a phenomenon of the Reformation from its inception under Luther. When he rejected the distorted gospel and menial role of the hymn at the hands of Thomas Müntzer, he was attacking abuse of a common medium. Ulrich Zwingli had written in 1519 the "Christenlich Gsang . . . als er mit pestilentz angegriffen wart."\textsuperscript{15} In three stanzas of two verses each, it describes the onslaught, the climax, and the waning of the disease:

\begin{quote}
(Im anfang der Kranckheit.)
Hilff, Her Gott, hilff
in diser not!
ich meind der tod
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14}WA, XXXV, 131.

\textsuperscript{15}Friedrich Spitta, "Die Lieder Luthers," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXII (1917), 119.
Zwingli's hymns were advancing his reformation movement in Southern Germany. They were meeting there the creations of "Bruder Michael Styfel Augustiner von Esszling . . . ," who published in 1522 "von der Christförmigen, recht gegründten leer Doctoris Martini Luthers,

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17 Spitta, Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXII (1917), 119.
ein Überuss schön kunstlich Lyed..." It consists of some thirty-two verses divided into three parts. The first reviews the life of the reformer and the evolution of his doctrines. The second is "Das Ander teyl von den Zehen gebotten gottes," and the third treats other writings and teachings of Luther. This lengthy memorial went rapidly through three editions, emerging in the third with two more parts explicating the transformation of the old law by the new and warning against the Antichrist in Rome.

Among reformers intimately associated with Luther, Paulus Speratus stands out as an early hymn writer. Four of his hymns were incorporated into the first hymn book associated with Wittenberg, 1524. Dated 1523, his "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" became a favorite during the Reformation. Described as "ein lied vom gesetz und glauben," it poses the supremacy of faith over the law:

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18 Philipp Wackernagel, Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961 /"Unveränderter photomechanischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Frankfurt am Main 1852"/), No. CXIII, p. 42. Henceforth cited Wackernagel, Bibliographie, No., p.

19 Wackernagel, III, No. 107, 74-77.

20 Wackernagel, Bibliographie, Nos. CXIII, CXIV, CXVI, pp. 42-43.

21 Wackernagel, III, No. 107, 77-79.
Noch must das gesetz erfullet seynn, 
sonst weren wir all verdorben. 
Darumb schicket Gott seyn Son hereyn, 
der selber mensch yst worde:

Das gantze gesetz hat er erfullt, 
damit seyns vaters tzorn gestylt 
der uber uns gieng alle.

Darumb schicket Gott seyn Son hereyn, 
der selber mensch yst worde:
Das gantze gesetz hat er erfullt, 
damit seyns vaters tzorn gestylt 
der uber uns gieng alle.

Daran ich keynë zweyffel trag, 
dein wort kâ nicht betriegen.
Nun sagstu, dz dein mensch vertzag, 
was wirstu nymmer liegen:

"Wer gliewbt yn mich unnd wirt getaufft, 
dem selben yst der hymmel erkaufft, 
das er nicht wurd verloren."22

Inasmuch as the popular hymn was a sturdy tradition in German folk music, it is not surprising that Luther's hymns were preceded by the religious songs of many others. The few mentioned above are examples of how they were remarkably direct and unsophisticated and pre-eminently were occupied with the fundamental problem of salvation. "Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott," by Erhart Hegenwald, is illustrative, along with "Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ," by the politically Catholic and poetically Lutheran Albrecht the Elder of Brandenburg.23 The topic appeared among a host of anonymous hymns: "Ach Gott, lass dich erbarmen," "Nun merkt, ihr Christenleute," "O Herre Gott, ich ruf dich an," "Lug, Herr, wie schwach ist mein Gmiit."24

22Ibid., No. 55, 232.

23Spitta, Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXII (1917), 121.

24Wackernagel, III, Nos. 452, 453, 476, 545; 377, 378, 408, 494, respectively.
Equally direct and unsophisticated as their treatment of salvation was their satire. "Ir herren, Hört ain new gedicht" employed the forms of the Meistersänger by putting "in des Schillers thon" a work described as "Ain neü Maysterlied von dem bapst gegê den hoch gelerten Doctor Martin Luther." The poem, written by a "Doctor Sewkopff," consists of a catalogue of the blunders committed up to the Diet of Worms by the pope, the emperor, and the princes trying to stamp out Luther's work.25

Many more satirical hymns appeared before and after 1524, supplementing still other types, such as hymns designed to stir the singer out of apathy or make him angry. They were all tributaries to the large stream of hymnwriting at the time, of which currents illuminate facets of Luther's hymnwriting of 1524. One current included hymns musically inferior. Another encompassed hymns which accurately adumbrated his centrality of Christ. Another comprised those hymns doctrinally intolerable. Altogether, they made up the complex of external factors underlying Luther's creative outpouring in 1524.

Lying behind Luther's hymnwriting is yet another factor, one which was internal, within him. It is the master key to unlock his reasons for writing, but it is disarmingly simple. It is his clear perception of how vital the hymn could be in

25Ibid., No, 454, 379-380.
disseminating his teachings among common worshipers.

Thomas Müntzer had followed his church articles with a German mass. By 1524 his hymns were appearing in hymnbooks frequently. Immediately as the effectiveness of the objectionable hymns became apparent, Luther put Wittenberg on emergency footing to get songs into the hands of the worshipers. In 1523, he had expressed in the preface to his *Formula Missae et Communionis* the wish to have them sing: "I desire also that we have more songs which might be sung in the vernacular of the people, and which the people might sing during the celebration of the Mass..." He went on to point out ways in which congregational singing might be expanded in the language native to the congregations and concluded with the promise, "Finally the entire Mass will then be sung in the vernacular of the people." 

A German Mass was still two years in the offing in 1524. First the songs themselves had to be prepared and put into the hands of the congregation members. Then their effectiveness as teaching instruments could be further enhanced by setting them within the formal worship. Müntzer had already accomplished both projects, and with foreboding success.

Luther summed up his underlying purpose with the hymn at the moment when the external pressures on him were greatest.

26 WA, XXXV, 76.
27 Ibid., XII, 218.
In the last days of December, 1523 he wrote to Georg Spalatin:

I have made up my mind to get German psalms for the people, following the example of the Prophets and the Fathers of the Church. By that I mean sacred hymns by which the Word of God will be present with the people through song as well. This means that we are looking for poets. Since you have been given a full measure of skill and taste for expression in idiomatic German, I implore you to join us, turn your hand to the task, and attempt putting one or another of the psalms into hymn form. . . . However, I want all those new or elegant words to be avoided. The words of these hymns are intended for the people, and are to be the simplest and most common. At the same time, they are to be directly and plainly spoken with clear meaning faithful to the psalm. In such a situation, once you have grasped the meaning, you are to have the freedom to leave the exact wording behind and to employ fitting idiomatic expressions.28

The goal, the objective, was to bring the Word of God to the people by letting them sing it. To achieve it, certain fundamentals were to be observed. The hymns were to be rooted in the Word as found in Scripture. Especially the psalms were to be used because they are themselves the ancient songs of worship. The verses were to be the finest possible, but were to be simple and direct. Only the familiar words and the common idioms were to be used. In sum, nothing was to be permitted which would impede a simple and faithful rendering of the meaning, but nothing was to be excluded which would increase the popular understanding of the message.

28Luther (Wittenberg) to Spalatin, end of 1523. WA-Br, III, No. 698, 220.
Luther's next sentence in the letter to Spalatin disclaimed his own abilities to meet the prerequisites he had established. Yet he realized in his hymns the most complete exposition of his fundamentals, whether or not he fulfilled them with the artistry of Spalatin. From the psalms came imaginative and original renderings of scriptural inspirations. From the Ten Commandments came models of simple and direct expression. His reworkings of older hymns illustrated his willingness to accept any effective source. The variety of uses his hymns encountered testified to how widely they spread as German songs among the people.

During the course of his activity in 1524, Luther composed twenty-four hymns. Seventeen of them dealt with subjects directly from the Bible. Another three dealt with the Trinity. The most important Scriptural source was, of course, the psalms, which accounted for six. Two hymns were written on the Ten Commandments, one a long exposition and the other an abbreviated, capsule version. Three hymns each were devoted to the seasons of Christmas and Pentecost, while Easter was the subject of two more. The one remaining was the song of Simeon (Luke 2: 30-32), "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin."

Among the most lovely and enduring of Luther's hymns is one he wrote late in 1523, "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir,"
based on Psalm 130. A universal statement of man's helplessness and God's promise through faith, it never became limited to any singular use. It was sung in the processional to the grave for Frederick the Wise, May 7, 1525. But it was employed with the Lord's Supper just as readily as it was turned into a funeral hymn. 29

By contrast, "Ach Gott im Himmel sieh darein" (Ps. 12) was composed with a definite use in mind. Luther dedicated this hymn against the radical spiritualists, especially Müntzer. The verses re-emphasize that eventual victory will come to God's Word. But the only force permissible is the force of the gospel. God eventually will vindicate his faithful. 30 "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" (Ps. 67) acquired a characteristic usage at the hands of Paulus Speratus, who placed it as the closing hymn in his translation of the Formula Missae, Eine Weise Christliche Mess zu halten," 1524. This Mass gave to the hymn a precise date of composition and a first publication. The hymn ends as no other psalm-hymn does, with an "Amen," lending weight to the supposition it was composed as a closing song. Yet it appeared in other orders of worship variously placed through the service. 31

30 Ibid., p. 119.
31 Ibid., pp. 123-124.
Three of the six psalm-hymns were weak. Crippled by their artistic shortcomings, they never became popular, although they continued to appear in hymnbooks throughout their composer's lifetime. "Es spricht der unweisen Mund" (Ps. 14) was displaced by a hymn of Wolfgang Dachstein appearing in 1525. Although superior to the predecessor, Dachstein's lyrics obviously were based on Luther's verses.32 An ironical incident surrounds the hymn by Justus Jonas which grew greater in popularity than Luther's "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit" (Ps. 124). Entitled "Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält," it was sent by Luther to Spalatin in a follow-up letter of January 14, 1524, as an illustration of what could be done with the Psalms. Luther's version was composed around Pentecost 1524, at the same time as "Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht" (Ps. 128).33

The hymns of Luther deriving from the psalms are among the loveliest lyrics conveying the message of Scripture. The most straightforward and powerful expressions are found in the hymns on the Ten Commandments. They accept the Decalogue as the law of God and uphold the necessity of obeying its injunctions. But they go beyond merely counseling man to obey the law. They minimize the simple recog-

32Ibid., p. 121.
33WA-Br, III, No. 705, 234-235.
nition of sin's dangers and give thanks that, through Christ, obedience is accomplished within a framework of love rather than fear. This message is cast plainly and openly, in striding four-line verses:

Ich bin allein dein Gott, der Herr,
Kein Götter sollst du haben mehr,
Du sollst mir ganz vertrauen dich,
Von Herzens grund lieben mich.

Kyrieleis.

Du sollst nicht führen zu Unehr
Den Namen Gottes, deines Herrn,
Du sollst nicht preisen recht noch gut,
Ohn was Gott selbst redt und tut.

Kyrieleis.

Die Gebot all uns geben sind,
Das du dein Sünd, o Menschenkind,
Erkennen sollst und lernen wohl,
Wie man vor Gott leben soll.

Kyrieleis.

Das half uns der Herr Jesu Christ,
Der unser Mittler worden ist.
Es is mit unserm Tun verlorn,
Verdienen doch eitel Zorn.

Kyrieleis.34

Luther focused the direct and simple approach upon the individual Christian in writing "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein." It is seen as a personal statement of his spiritual journey from the monastery to Worms along the pathway of justification by faith. This meaning of the hymn generally has been agreed upon but has contributed to considerable dispute as to when it was written.

The burden of evidence points only to an approximate

34WA, XXXV, 135-141, passim. Luther, Geistliche Lieder, pp. 21-22, 23.
date of late 1523 or early 1524. Within the framework of explicating the doctrine of justification by faith, the hymn seems to suggest the reconciliation between man and God to be imminent:

Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein,
Und lasst uns frölich springen,
Dass wir getrost und all in ein
Mit Lust und Liebe singen,
  Was Gott an uns gewendet hat
Und seine süsse Wundertat,
Gar teur hat ers erworben.

This has led some to identify it with the martyrs of Brussels, a position distinctly challenged by Friedrich Spitta, who sought to demonstrate that it was written much earlier, during the actual years Luther was formulating his doctrine.36 Withall, the hymn is a recollection and that fact gives it universality. Through the medium of an individual, it describes the experiences of every Christian.37

A hymn expressing even more universally Christian teachings is found among the three Christmas hymns Luther

36WA, XXXV, 133.
37Burba, p. 19.
wrote during the Christmas season of 1523. Attention has been called already to two of them as specific reactions to hymns by Müntzer. The third, "Gelobet seist du Jesus Christ," subsequently came to be incorporated into Catholic hymnals. At bottom, the explanation probably lies in two factors. First is the simple and attractive grace of Luther's verses. Second is his source, a long-established German hymn of the Christmas season, which itself arose out of the sequence, "Grates nunc omnes reddamus." Luther's words most closely reflected a version in Low German, emanating about 1370 from Copenhagen:

Louet sistu ihü crist,
dat du hute gheboren bist
van eyner maqhet. Dat is war.
Des vrow sik alde hemmelsche schar.38

Luther's opening verse was:

Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ,
Dass du Mensch geboren bist
Von einer Jungfrau, das ist wahr.
Des freuet sich der Engel Schar.39

Those following described the humbleness of the Christmas scene, the love of God, and the wonder of Jesus the man. The closing was on Christ's mission as Saviour.

Christ remained the central figure in the hymns for the season of Easter, of course; likewise, his mission on earth remained the main topic. "Christ lag in Todesbanden"

38WA, XXXV, 147.
39Luther, Geistliche Lieder, p. 25.
and "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod "überwand" essentially complement each other in conveying Luther's ideas on the resurrection. The first uses seven stanzas of two verses each (four-line/three-line) to portray the hopelessness of man in his sin, to hail the marvelous victory over sin through the sacrifice of Christ, and to rejoice over the love of God. 40

By contrast, the second hymn, a scant three verses long, is startlingly brief and direct:

Tod, Sünd, Leben und auch Gnad,
Alls in Händen er hat,
Er kann erretten
Alle, die zu ihm treten.
Kriemeison. 41

As Pentecost approached in 1524 (May 15), the pressures and dangers felt by Martin Luther were still as vexatious as they had been a year earlier. The increasing restiveness of the peasants complicated existing dangers from the spiritualists. Jacob Strauss in Eisenach, whom Luther personally denounced, was pushing for sweeping social reforms. Thomas Müntzer, the "Satan from Alstedt," was just then entering upon his greatest radicalism. 42 Such a setting endowed Luther's three hymns written during Pentecost 1524 with

40 Ibid., p. 30.
41 Ibid., p. 31.
42 WA, XXXV, 169.
added significance. They call in common upon the Holy Spirit and strive to counteract the false teachers. Surely the errors and disastrous schemes of others would collapse before the true Spirit. One of the three ("Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist") was written in direct rebuttal to a song by Münzer.\(^4^3\) The Pentecost, like all seasons, reinforced the central position of Christ in Luther's doctrines.\(^4^4\) "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herr Gott" reasserts midway in the hymn:

\[
\begin{align*}
0 \text{ Herr, behüt vor fremder Lehr,} \\
Dass wir nicht Meister suchen mehr \\
Denn Jesum mit rechtem Glauben \\
Und ihm aus ganzer Macht vertrauen.\(^4^5\)
\end{align*}
\]

The immediate stimulation for this statement probably was the canonization in 1524 of Bishop Benno of Meissen.

In a year of hymnwriting, Luther came full circle around a fixed center point, his concept of Christ in Scripture. As points on the circle, his hymns encompassed a variety of topics. He had been moved by a complex of forces and fears. A vigorous and generally healthy climate of hymnwriting surrounded him, but included what he considered to be the unhealthy and tasteless hymns of his enemies. He had symbolized portents out of personal

\(^4^3\) Ibid., p. 162.
\(^4^4\) Ibid., pp. 171-172.
\(^4^5\) Luther, Geistliche Lieder, p. 33.
tragedies and symbolically described the religious problem of all Christians in terms of his own trials. He had used the hymn because he knew the value of that medium in putting out his teachings.

The writing of a hymn is the starting point in the sequence leading to the goal of the hymn being sung by the people at large. But the hymn is dependent upon two other steps as well. First, there must be a musical vehicle to carry the writer's message. Second, these two in conjunction must receive physical reproduction and dissemination, accomplished in the case of Luther's hymns through the printing press.

The first of Luther's hymns was also the first to appear in print. Immediately after writing it, Luther placed "Ein neues Lied wir heben an" in the hands of a printer who ran it off as a single number. In that version, its format most closely resembled a pamphlet. As one of the multitude of "fliegende Blätter" of the Reformation, it became widely and rapidly distributed throughout Germany in 1523.46

This first effort initiated a short-lived practice by Luther of giving a hymn its first printed appearance in the form of a pamphlet. Of the succeeding early hymns, three others are known to have been printed originally as single

46 Nelle, p. 50.
sheets: "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir," "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein," and "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein." It is probable that the three Easter hymns also came out initially as pamphlets: "Christ lag in Todesbanden," "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod Überwand," and "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes Zorn wandt." A speculative possibility rests with "Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot," the long version of the Decalogue. In addition to Luther's hymns, those of Paulus Speratus and Erhart Hegenwald were printed as pamphlets.47

Four pamphlet-hymns by Speratus were joined to one by Luther and supplemented by three more Luther hymns in the first published hymnbook or collection containing hymns by the reformer. This was the Achtliederbuch of 1524, a compilation of eight hymns printed in Nürnberg by Jobst Gutknecht. A declaration on the title page that it was printed in Wittenberg was an attempt to gain acceptance by association. Acceptance did come, so much so that Gutknecht did not stop to correct a typographical error on the title page before printing a second edition. He did, however, correct an error on an inner page, and removed the first imperfection in a third edition the same year. Meanwhile, an Augsburg printer, Melchoir Kamminger, reacted to

47 WA, XXXV, 11-12.
the demand and ran off a facsimile duplicate of Gutknecht's
songbook.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 336-337. Title page reads: "Etlich Crist-
llich lider/ Lobgesang, uñ Psalm, dem rai-/ nent wort Gottes
gemes, aus der/ heylige schrifft, durch mancher-/ ley
hochgelerter gemacht, in der/ Kirchen zu singen, wie es
dann/ zum tayl berayt zu Wittenberg/ in Übung ist./ witten-
berg./ M.D. Xiiij./" Identical for all three Gutknecht
editions except date corrected to "M. D. XXiiij" in third.
Title page identical for Kamminger edition except cast in
different dialect. (Ex: "heylige schrifft"="hailigen gsch-
rifft."') Luther's hymns are: Nu freut euch, lieben
Christen gmein," "Ach Gott, vom Himmel x sieh darein,""Es spricht der Unweisen Mund," "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich
zu dir."}

Although this artist's name never appeared on any book,
Cranach sustained a mild interest in printing.\footnote{Friedrich Zelle, ed., Das älteste lutherische Haus-
Gesangbuch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1903),
p. 13.}

Immediately on the heels of the success of the
Achtliederbuch, preparation was begun in Wittenberg in
1524 for a fully authorized, directly commissioned edition
of Luther's hymns. Beginning before Pentecost of that year,
manuscripts and printed pamphlets of various hymns were
assembled and the work of editing and type setting was be-
gun in the shop of Joseph Klug. It was released in late
summer, perhaps mid-August.\footnote{WA, XXXV, 25.}

This first Wittenberg hymnal is popularly called the
Walthersches Gesangbüchlein of 1524, referring to the fact that the forty-three musical arrangements, and to some extent the selection and order of songs included, were the work of Johann Walther. In content, however, it was overwhelmingly Luther's work, containing all twenty-four of his hymns written up to the middle of 1524.51

In addition to the hymns, Luther contributed a preface to this hymnal. Perhaps the best known of Luther's statements on singing, it contains in three paragraphs a complete summary of the reformer's conception of the hymn. In the first paragraph he traced the tradition of singing psalms and hymns from the kings of Israel down through St. Paul and the primitive Christians. In the second paragraph he enunciated the hymn's role in evangelical worship:

I, together with several others, have collected a number of spiritual songs in order that a beginning might be made to prepare and gather such material and also that others, whose ability is greater than ours, be induced to do such work. This should be done that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which through God's grace is now again being proclaimed, might be set going and spread among men. Thus shall we, as did Moses in his famous Song (Exod. 15), derive satisfaction from the fact that Christ is the theme of our songs of praise, and thus shall we indicate that we desire to sing and to tell that Christ alone is our Saviour, as St. Paul says 1. Cor. 2.

In the concluding paragraph, Luther delivered an admonition on rearing and educating the young people, enjoining the use

51 Ibid., pp. 5, 18-20.
of proper thoughts. Overall, it was an exposition on the fact that the songbook was in four separate parts each corresponding to a voice of a Schulkantorei, and thus was intended for choir use only. Reinforcing this is the fact that the part books were printed in the broad-octavo format customary for choirbooks.

A second edition of Walther's hymnal came from the press of Peter Schöffer in Worms, one of the foremost German printers. It also was printed in four separate part books. Not until 1526, in the third edition, did an "en chiridion" version of this hymnal appear. The en chiridion was distinguished by containing only a single line melody along with the complete verses. Such hymnals obviously were intended for any and all popular singing outside the formal worship led by the choir.

But long before 1526, in fact in the crucial year of 1524, two en chiridien appeared. Bearing the common name, Erfurter Enchoridion, they were prepared and printed simultaneously in two Erfurt printshops. The first, owned by Mathäus Maler, was located "zum Schwartzen Horn, bei der Kremerbrücke" (presently Michaelstr. 48); the second belonged to Ludwig Trutebul and was found "in der Fermenter


\[53\] WA, XXXV, 316.
Gasse, zum Färbefass." Both editions were under the common editorial supervision of Eberlin von Günzberg, who also contributed the preface. It happened that Eberlin was in Erfurt at the moment and without regular employment. Inasmuch as his relations with the Lutheran movement were good, he was commissioned by Justus Jonas to edit the hymnals.

The Erfurter Enchiridien of 1524 germinated an entire family of subsequent editions directly or partly based on them. The immediate members number thirteen editions after the two originals. Both the "Schwartze Horn" and the "Färbefass" shops issued second editions in 1524. Two more editions from other Erfurt printers appeared the next year. In that year also, editions appeared in Nürnberg (2), Breslau (2), and Strassburg (1). Again two editions were printed in Erfurt in 1527, and one in 1528.

For Luther, the ultimate goal with the hymn was to get it out among the people, as he said in his preface to the Waltersches Gesangbüchlein. The first step in the process of dissemination was accomplished by the early appearance of the enchiridion-style hymnal. But Luther's first hymnal was designed to work within the existing framework of worship

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54 Zelle, p. 4.

55 WA, XXXV, 17-18.

56 Ibid., pp. 338-345 passim.
music, which involved the Kantorei. As he further declared in his preface, the hymns contained in that book were directed especially to the schoolboys for their improvement, for use in music training in the schools, and for subsequent performance in the churches by the schoolboy Kantorei. As a result, the settings of the hymns are in four and five voices.

Luther called upon Elector Frederick the Wise for assistance in getting these arrangements of the hymn melodies. Specifically, he asked for and received the collaboration of Johann Walther, an outstanding young master of the Netherlands style serving at the time as one of the musicians in the electoral court.57

The musical collaboration between Martin Luther and Johann Walther lasted through their lives. It was inaugurated in 1524 with a three-week residence in Wittenberg by the musician, to make the settings for the forthcoming hymnal. Most of the melodies he used were already associated with the hymns or were settled upon by Luther, although he is credited with the tunes for five of the hymns.58


The majority, however, came from other sources. There were thirty-five hymns in forty-three settings. To use as an example only a part, ten hymns in eleven settings reflected the seasons of the church year and nine more were psalms. All of these nineteen melodies were derived from earlier Latin or German hymns. 59

Walther's original contribution lay not in the melodies but in the arrangements he made for existing melodies. His efforts were successful enough that a second edition, somewhat corrected, appeared from Worms and the press of Peter Schöffer the Younger, in 1525; third, fourth, and fifth editions, each enlarged and improved, rounded out the series of the Waltersches Gesangbüchlein. 60

Walther succeeded to the office of Kantor at the electoral court in 1526, but the days of its musical establishment were numbered. Luther became involved in the dissolution of the Kantorei at Torgau, entering the affair on behalf of his musician friend. He wrote the Elector about June 20 of that year specifically enjoining his prince to continue the choir, "... especially because its present members have worked there a long time, and because it is


valuable for lords and princes to support culture. . . . It would be acceptable to God if the goods of the monasteries were used for the support of such persons and activities. Malanchton also wrote in the same vein on June 20. Pressure on the Elector continued through the succeeding months, as Luther wrote to his friend in September telling him how he had been appealing in Walther's name for continuation of the court music. Spalatin's pen also had been recruited. When the end finally came in 1530, Luther reacted with a cutting remark to his associates:

Several members of the nobility and certain bigwigs are of the opinion that they have saved my most gracious Lord the annual sum of 3000 gulden by inducing him to do away with his musical organizations; at the same time, however, they squander 30,000 gulden on unworthy purposes.

Luther was concerned about much more than the career of a musician friend. The question for him was the larger one of music itself. He saw in the Hofkantorei an essential part of his musical environment and his conception of music. Thus his remarks continued, "It is indeed fitting and proper

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61 Luther (Wittenberg) to Elector John (Torgau), June 20?, 1526; WA-Br, IV, No. 1020, 90.
62 Ibid., pp. 91 n. 14.
63 Luther (Wittenberg) to Walther (Torgau), September 21, 1526; Ibid., No. 1041, pp. 121-122.
that potentates and regents regulate the use and propaga-
gation of the fine arts." Towns and private citizens do
a good job, but they haven't the resources needed. Fi-
ally, he called up for comparison the patronage of the
Elector's late and contemporary peers--Duke George of
Hesse, Frederick the Wise, the Duke of Bavaria, and the
Emperor Charles.65

In addition to the performances of music for entertain-
ment and to the support of professional musicians, the Kan-
toreien of the courts were important for the musical and
general education of talented young people. Part of Luther's
concern in 1526 was for a young protégé, Jacob Holtzwar,
whom Luther had placed in the Torgau establishment.66

Luther's actions and attitudes in the incident of the
Kantorei's closing were in keeping with his overall outlook
upon music. Concerned about the education and future of a
musically talented young man, he wanted a valuable means to
those ends to be maintained. At the same time, he felt that
a prince's duties included the support of music. Two years
previously, the patronage of his prince had been responsible
for the musical settings in his hymnbook. Presumably that
hymnbook was used in the training of young Jacob Holtzwar.
The opening passage in his remarks on the 1530 action com-
pleted the relationship of this incident to music as a whole.

65Ibid.; trans. ibid., p. 92.
66WA-Br, IV, no. 1020, 89 n. 1.
He again declared it to be one of the great gifts of God, second only to the gospel.\(^{67}\)

Having put music so close to the gospel, Luther went on to link them through the medium of the hymn. The hymn had an especially significant unifying role because the true hymn embodied the gospel in a musical setting. To sing the hymns was to proclaim the gospel. From mid-1523 through late 1524, Martin Luther was deeply involved with the question of proclaiming the gospel through the hymn.

It was a period of remarkable creativity during which twenty-four hymns came from his pen. It was equally a period of remarkable practicality, during which a tradition of excellent musical assistance was begun and the fundations of a vast hymn-publication effort were laid.

Luther's hymn-accomplishments of 1524 were shaped in their genesis and during their subsequent development by manifold forces and pressures. Around him was a rich and multiplying body of hymn efforts by others. Some of these he embraced as excellent and true. Others he rejected and rebutted as inferior and erroneous. In those days of trials on all hands and enemies in every direction, he turned characteristically to the hymn to convey consolation, strength and reaffirmation of the gospel. In the final analysis, Luther's

creative outpouring of 1524 rested upon his fundamental, bedrock conviction that the hymn is a profoundly significant device to spread the Gospel among the people.
AFTER 1524: BEGINNINGS OF THE LUTHERAN HYMNODY BEYOND LUTHER

During the twelve months between the summer of 1523 and the summer of 1524, Luther concentrated personally upon creating and publicizing hymns to a degree unmatched in any subsequent or previous period in his life. Well over half of all hymns and songs ever to come from his pen were produced at that time. The headwaters of a subsequent river of hymnbooks sprang from his guidance. Criterion for incorporating the hymn into his concept of worship emerged in his prefaces, letters, and remarks during this period bracketed by his two major liturgical writings.

The year 1524 did not remain frozen into an isolated event. Its effect was like that of a stone tossed into a pond. The impression of the impact was great. But immediately the initial impetus was translated into ever-widening rings bearing a portion of the initial impulse to more and more distant reaches of the pond. In a moment, motion was general everywhere in the water, related to the first, germinal instant and triggered by it.

The first ring of movement beyond 1524 was still intimately related to Luther. The reformer continued to write
hymns beyond 1524, eleven more appearing in subsequent years. "Ein feste Burg," the hymn which has come to be revered as his greatest—"the Reformation hymn"—was among several written in the period 1528 - 1529. None of his later hymns are the equal of this one, and few of them matched even those from the earlier period in quality or longevity.

The hymn received enthusiastic attention from persons around Luther in Wittenberg. He actively sought out contributions from his circle and encouraged others to write whose literary capacities he respected. This second ring of movement beyond 1524 clearly took force from Luther at the center but also was enriched and multiplied through interaction with other currents and motions.

Luther's direct interest and enthusiasm carried even into the third ring, where it stirred up a vast number of hymnists who adhered to leadership from Wittenberg but were not intimate members of Luther's circle. The widest ranging ring carried the least impact from 1524 but carried it the farthest and merged it at widest range with other hymnwriting movements.

The rapid, concentrated concurrence of events in the period of 1523 - 1524 provided many mileposts which greatly facilitate the task of arranging and cataloguing Luther's hymns. But his later works are less easy to pin down very
precisely. To some extent similar mileposts are present after 1524. The reformer's later hymns tended as before to group themselves somewhat around the publication date of an authorized, edited hymnbook. In the case of "Jesaiah dem Propheten das geschah," the incident was publication of the Deutsche Messe. But the intense activity marking earlier days—the exchanges of letters, the appearance of many hymn-pamphlets, the collaboration of composers—is missing from later days. Therefore missing also is the profusion of incident and detail which adds clarity to the picture of Luther's hymns.

The outcome has been a prolonged and intense musicological controversy scarcely matched in Western music, a debate which has ranged to such extreme horizons that a documented mid-ground position appears to be timid. In at least one instance a substantial musicological career has been launched by a brilliant though fragile interpretation of the composition date of "Ein feste Burg."

The problem of dating "Ein feste Burg" is greater than with any other hymn because of its almost limitless prestige and influence. Because it is "the Reformation hymn," it is at once the cornerstone of the whole edifice of Lutheran hymnody. The hymn's greatness and fame confound one further

\[1\text{WA, XXXV, 26.}\]
because they point out glaringly the difficulties one has in devising a method to date hymns.

One method involves a subjective attempt at measuring the changing tempers of the writer's several periods. These are revealed in his expressions and speech modes. Then junctions are made to the varying tempers of the hymns. Such a system is at best only analogously successful. It is suggestive but not precise. It could be used quite sensibly to fit "Ein feste Burg" into the militantly evangelical temper of 1524. But it was not composed at that time.

Another method, dating objectively from historical material, offers the considerable attraction of being sure and secure but it is plagued by frequent acute shortages of fact. Such is especially the case with "Ein feste Burg." It is not mentioned in writings of the reformer. Nor do the words of others supply a date. The earliest publication no longer even exists in which it is known—"or—strongly surmised—to have appeared.

In determining the date of a hymn, some middle ground must be chosen between subjective and objective methods, as a matter of practical necessity. The character of the intervening terrain depends largely on the judgment of the writer. Varieties in judgment have led to a profusion of dates being assigned to "Ein feste Burg."

A great deal of suggestive evidence can be assembled to show that the climate of expression around 1523 commonly in-
cluded the image of a militant, evangelical Christianity ranged in battle against the enemies of the gospel led by Satan. Commonly involved was an image of God as an im-pregnable fortress serving as both a haven of refuge and a reserve of great strength.\(^2\) A number of battle hymns emerged during these days, many of which hailed Luther as captain of the true Christian forces:

\[
\text{Es ist ain freyher helde} \\
gar neulich gestanden auff, \\
der streytin in gottes felde \\
wol für der christen hauff}, \(^3\)
\]

The same image of battle and fortress around the gospel is found in a pamphlet of the period. Portending the Peasants' Revolt, its lengthy title denounced those who adopted the gospel yet were still against it. The book styled itself a weapon which, "with powerful volleys from the breastwork of God's work, high in God's castle, will smash the false gospel's tumultuous mob and will destroy the walls of the devil's castle."\(^4\)

But neither singly nor as a whole does this evidence prove anything more than that many images evoked by "Ein feste Burg" were common coin around 1524. Still lacking

\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 193, 195.  
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 195.  
\(^4\)Ibid., p. 196.
is proof for the date when the hymn really was written. Another researcher has amassed an impressive array of facts associating the hymn with a dramatic historical event, the liberation of Vienna from Turkish siege in 1529. He carefully established Luther's chronology in that year and demonstrated the reformer's overwhelming preoccupation with the Turkish menace during those days. Then, proceeding to the step of supposition, he connected the images and expressions of the hymn to his framework. But again the effort limps because, even though the times were copiously documented, the connection is only analogous.

The widest ranging, most radical, and oftentimes most appealing of the subjective interpretations was offered by Friedrich Spitta. The thrust of his argument was an attempt to distinguish between Luther the poet and Luther the hymn-writer. By doing this he was able to remove from himself the requirement to find external evidence of hymn-writing. The creativity of the poet is free of such need. Publication, mention in letters and conversations, records of printers, and other such documentary evidences are the miscellany of the hymnwriter. They are not considered when investigating the poet. "Ein feste Burg" must be

recognized for the great poetry that it is and be dated by subjective methods. Evidence emerges from the inner meaning of the undated verses which connects with similar evidence from other creations of known date. The task really was to date and document the periods of Luther the poet rather than Luther the hymnsmith. His writings gave Spitta clear inner proof that "Ein feste Burg" was a prod-uct of the period of greatest drama and courage in Luther's life, the days of the Diet of Worms.6

Spitta arrived at the same goal achieved by several other researchers7 using more conventional means, and he likewise appeared in critiques by those who prized other dates. They have levied special criticism on Spitta's advanced position through attacks concentrated on the assumption behind his method. It seemed unthinkable to them that Luther should hold in his bosom such a powerful piece of literature during a period when his movement stood so manifestly in need of a great buttress, when he


7. Achealis, Dietrich, Grüssler.
wrote so many other hymns, and when he so actively encouraged hymnwriting.

The most authoritative and satisfactory attempt to date Luther's "Ein feste Burg" is at once the most unassuming and the one which most closely adheres to sound historical principles. The editors of the Weimar edition proceeded on the most reliable grounds, evidence of publication. The only assumption was that "Ein feste Burg" appeared in print very shortly after it was composed. Such was the case for all Luther's previous and subsequent hymns. Its first preserved appearance was in the Blumsche Enchiridion of 1531. This hymnbook is known to be derived from the Weiss'sche Gesangbüchlein of 1528, which exists today only in descriptions. Thus, the hymn was written not later than 1528. The predecessor to the Weiss'sche was the Luttsche Enchiridion of 1526. "Ein feste Burg" did not appear in it. Thus, the hymn was composed not earlier than 1526. Inasmuch as the time lag between composition and printing had in the past been very short, it was dated in the spring of 1528.9

Between the works of 1524 and "Ein feste Burg" in 1528, Luther had composed the hymn, "Jesaiah dem Propheten das


9 WA, XXXV, 229.
"Ill geshah." He intended it to be used in his Deutsche Messe which he wrote late in 1525 and published in 1526. It is his German versification of the Agnus Dei, but was handled by him quite differently from the Catholic service. He placed it as a part of the institution of the elements. Its position in the Mass was by no means fixed by Luther's placement. Subsequently, Nicholas Medler's Naumberger Kirchenordnung withheld it until after the distribution of the elements. An arrangement at Riga was to sing it at the close of the Mass. The hymn quickly came to be popular apart from its continued utilization in the formal service. The minister at Schlettau, Johannes Caper, remarked in a letter of June, 1528, to Stephan Roth, a prominent Nürnberg printer and publisher, that a sheet music copy of the hymn had appeared in his town.

The Turkish menace in after 1529 was not the inspiration for "Ein feste Burg" but it apparently was associated with the composition of two other hymns by Luther which appeared in 1529 and 1541. In the case of the former, "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich," the danger from the East was added to the already ominous straits in which the Refor-

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10}}\text{Ibid., p. 230.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\text{Ibid., p. 231.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{Ibid.}\]
mation found itself early in 1529. Despite concessions and compromises, the Emperor Charles emerged from the Diet at Speyer in January, 1529, in his strongest position to date. Luther feared that an all-out effort against the movement was impending. He found a plea for peace from God in an ancient antiphone dating from the sixth or seventh century:

Da pacem domine
in diebus nostris,
quia non est alius
qui pugnet pro nobis
nisi tu, deus noster.

Luther's verse inspired by these lines reemphasized the thought borne out by On the War Against the Turks, that not only must the Emperor fight that enemy with soldiers, but every Christian must assist with prayers and trust in the eventual victory over the Turk and his Allah.\(^{13}\) He rested his confidence in God's strength:

Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich,
Herr Gott, zu unsern Zeiten.
Es is doch ja kein Andrer nicht,
Der für uns könnte streiten,
Denn du unser Gott alleine.\(^{14}\)

The date of 1529 was developed for "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich" in a fashion similar to that which was used to date "Ein feste Burg." It was printed in two hymnbooks of

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 234.

1531, the *Rauschersche Gesangbuch* in High German and the Low German edition by Joachim Slüter, published by Ludwig Dietz in Rostock. Both these hymnbooks were derived from a 1529 publication by Joseph Klug which no longer exists.\(^{15}\)

In "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort," the Turk as an enemy was joined by Luther's long-standing and traditional foe, the pope. This hymn, written in late 1541 or early 1542, also grew out of circumstances surrounding the period which give special significance to these dangers to the Reformation.\(^{16}\) It customarily appeared with a superscription describing it as a children's hymn envisioning the defeat by God of the two arch-enemies:

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\text{Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort} \\
\text{Und steur' des Papsts und Türken Mord,} \\
\text{Die Jesum Christum, deinen Sohn,} \\
\text{Wollen stürzen von deinem Thron.}\]

Luther's tendency to group his hymnwriting around authorized hymnbook publications is born out by "Herr Gott, dich loben wir." It, like "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich," first appeared in the *Klagsche Gesangbuch* of 1529 and is extant today only from 1531. It probably came out initially as a hymn pamphlet.\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\) *WA*, XXXV, 232.


\(^{18}\) *WA*, XXXV, 249.
The superscription over "Herr Gott, dich loben wir" in the Rauschersche Gesangbuch of 1531 indicated that Luther had taken his theme from the "Te deum laudamus" of the Roman service. This part of the Mass appeared in prose form in Lutheran hymnbooks from quite early. Enchiridii from Wittenberg in 1524, Erfurt in 1526 and 1527, and Zwickau in 1528, among others, included, "O Gott, wir loben dich, wir beckennen dich einen Herren. . ." Luther's versified version of 1529 was accompanied by a melody line which had a legendary identification reaching back to the fourth-century fathers. According to the story, the tune came from an exchange Ambrose improvised with Augustine as he baptized him on Easter night in 387.

"Sie ist mir lieb, die werte Magd" was composed in 1535 just before it appeared in a hymnal of that year. It is the plainest and weakest of Luther's hymns and survived in the hymnbooks scarcely twenty years. In addition to its artistic shortcomings, it was open to objections that it was closer to being a secular song than a hymn, and that it seemed to offer concessions to the Roman Catholic Church.

Luther wrote two Christmas hymns later in his lifetime.

19 Ibid., pp. 249-250.
20 Ibid., p. 250.
21 Ibid., pp. 257, 254.
which bring out interesting and significant aspects of the dissemination of the Reformation through the hymn. The first was "Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her," which was written between 1533 and 1535. Its superscription in the *Klugsche Gesangbuch* of 1535 reveals that it was "Ein kinderlied auff die Weinacht Christi..."²² That is, it was in line with the centuries' old custom of setting the nativity story into a children's song. In another sense, it is the script for a simple dramatization of the nativity, in the tradition of the medieval religious dramas familiar to Luther and every German.²³ The second Christmas hymn, "Vom Himmel dam der Engel Schar," was written just before the Christmas season of 1543 and was first printed as a pamphlet. Its special significance is that it is the only hymn of which there exists a manuscript in Luther's handwriting. At the end of the preserved copy appear experimentations to fit the meter of the verse to the ancient tune of "A solis ortus cardine."²⁴ From marks on the sheet, it appears to have been used by the printer setting up the type. It shows firsthand how editorial adjustments in the texts often were made by an editor or printer.²⁵

²²Ibid., p. 259.
²³Ibid., pp. 259, 260.
²⁴Ibid., unnumbered pp. following 634.
²⁵Ibid., p. 266.
Luther's later hymns include one of the most positively dated of any. "Was fürchtst du, Feind Herodes, sehr," may be put down precisely for December 12, 1541. This date stems out of the account of Johann Gottlob Walther of the last days and acts of Luther. The source he cited was an eighteenth-century work by Johann Mylius describing the library at Jena. At the point Walther cited, Mylius was discussing a particular possession, a copy of the 1540 edition of the New Testament which Luther and Rörrer corrected and Hans Lufft printed in quarto. In it is a notation referring to the hymn and specifying that it was composed on December 12, 1541.  

Luther used as his source for this hymn the ancient "Hymnus acrostichis, totam vitam Christi continens" by Sedulius. He chose verses 8, 9, 11, and 13 of the old work. Another part of it had inspired the earlier Christmas hymn, "Christum wir sollen loben schon." It also had been seized upon in 1524 by Thomas Müntzer in developing hymns for his Deutsches Kirchenamt. His version began, "Herodes, o du bösewicht."  

Luther's hymnwriting career was rounded out with

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26 Ibid., p. 268. The quotation reads, "confecit die XII. Dec. 1541." No calendar correction made. Ibid.

27 Ibid., p. 267.
three additional hymns. Two of them are catechism hymns, "Vater unser im Himmelreich," and "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam." The last of his hymns was one on the Trinity, "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit," which derived from the Catholic hymn of the fifth century, "O lux beata trinitas." From the fact that its position was next to last in the final section of Klug's hymnbook of 1543, it is surmised that it was composed quickly and came to press late in the setting-up of this publication.

The impact of Luther himself in the early stages of Lutheran hymnody fell most strongly upon those who enjoyed most closely a relationship with the reformer. Many of them were leading characters of the Reformation in their own right. Some are identified most closely with Wittenberg, while others worked in other centers. In some cases these hymnwriters around Luther came to Wittenberg from far afield.

Among the most important figures in the story of Lutheran hymnody is Johann Walther. He is in a special category since his contributions were not so much hymns but arrangements for hymn tunes. Known chiefly as a

\[28\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 270-281.}\]

\[29\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 281-285.}\]

\[30\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 285-286.}\]
composer, several hymns have been ascribed to him, including "Herzlich tut mich erfreuen die liebe Sommerzeit." \(^{31}\)

Many of the reformers closely associated with Luther turned, like him, to the writing of hymns from time to time. Their efforts have met with varying degrees of preservation. A hymn by Justus Jonas, which may be used to exemplify those which have continued to be popular, is his translation of Psalm 124, "Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält." Luther forwarded it to Georg Spalatin in January, 1524, hoping to elicit hymns from him. It appeared first in the *Erfurter Enchiridion* of 1524 set to a tune in the Dorian mode. It is still found in about one-third of modern hymnals, joined usually to the tune for "Es ist das Heil," by Paulus Speratus. \(^{32}\)

Speratus had achieved some note as a hymnwriter before Luther began. Previous to 1524, three of his hymns had appeared in pamphlet form: "Es ist das Heil," "In Gottglaub' ich," and "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not." They were among the eight hymns in the *Achtliederbuch* of 1524. \(^{33}\)

Johannes Agricola based his mymn, "Fröhlich wollen wir Alleluia singen," on Psalm 117. \(^{34}\) Others by him include

\(^{31}\)Nelle, p. 60; Wackernagel (1841), pp. 187-206.
\(^{32}\)Smend, p. 72.
\(^{33}\)WA-Br, III, No. 698, 221 n. 3.
\(^{34}\)Smend, p. 73.
"Ach, Herr Gott, wie haben sich," "Gottes Recht und Wunder-tat," and "Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ." In contrast to the robust and bold verses of Agricola are the gentler and more sensitive hymns by Paul Eber, a close friend of Melanchthon. His titles reveal their character: "Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott, der du littst Marter, Angst und Spott;" and "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein."

Elizabeth Creuziger, wife of a Wittenberg professor, wrote a hymn which achieved considerable popularity, "Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn." At least two Low German versions followed its appearance in the Erfurter En-chiridion of 1524, and it was reworked and improved in 1535 by Johann Lauterbach. Today it is still a popular Lutheran hymn. The tune to which it was set was the secular song, "Ich hör' ein Fräulein klagen." Bach used the theme in Cantatas No. 22 and 164, while No. 96 bears the title of the hymn.

The beginnings of the Lutheran hymnody outside of

35 Wackernagel (1841), pp. 52-54.
36 Nelle, p. 59.
37 Ibid., p. 60.
38 Wackernagel (1841), pp. 46-47.
39 Smend, p. 72.
Wittenberg were written in large measure by the many leaders who emanated from Luther's city. Paulus Speratus was a Swabian who came to Wittenberg by way of Vienna and Olmutz, where he was when he wrote "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her." In 1523 he was in Wittenberg and the next year he went to Königsberg as court preacher. His death in the office of Bishop of Pomerania brought to a close twenty-seven years of work in Prussia. His other hymns include "Hilf Gott wie ist der Menschen not" and "In Gott gelaub ich dass er hat." These latter hymns have been criticized as descriptions of an observing and praying, but not a singing, congregation. The first was popular up to the pietistic movement. With its tune from an old Easter hymn, it was frequently reappropriated for use in Catholic hymnals. The melody was incorporated by Bach into organ manuals and nine cantatas, one of which (No. 9) bears the hymn's title.

The efforts of Speratus in Königsberg were joined by those of Johann Cramann, a counsellor and friend of Duke Albrecht of Prussia, who was a hymnist in his own right.

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40 Nelle, p. 58.
41 Wackernagel (1841), pp. 36, 33.
42 Smend, 70.
Cramann had been a secretary to John Eck at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519 and had been converted there by Luther's arguments. 44

About twenty-two hymns have been credited to Johann Spangenberg, 45 who spent the majority of his career as preacher in Nordhausen, but finished it at Eisleben, where he died in 1550. He was also active as an editor of German and Latin hymns for publication. 46 His son, Cyriakus, lived in Luther's home while a student at Wittenberg. 47

Joachimsthal, southeast of Wittenberg on the Bohemian border, was an important and wealthy mining town in the sixteenth century. It became a strong enclave adhering to Luther through the work of Johann Mathesius and Nicholaus Hermann. Mathesius is credited with having written "O Jesu, liebes Herrlein mein, hilf mir wiegen mein Kinndelein." He parodied it from the well-known "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein . . .," an old German hymn, and set it to an equally

44 Nelle, p. 59.

45 Cf. Wackernagel (1841), pp. 924-933.


47 Ibid., 403.
well-known tune. Hermann's hymns, numbering nearly ninety, are noted for their suitability to home use. Many are designed for morning and evening worship.

Nürnberg was the scene of numerous reformers, such as Lazarus Spengler, who were also hymnwriters. At least two hymns are his, "Vergebens ist all Müh und Kost" and "Durch Adam's Fall ist ganz verderbt." The latter's dogmatic overtones do not outshine its hearty folksong character. It was set to three tunes, with one of which the hymn is still popular. Bach used the last phrase of the melody in Cantata No. 18.51

Nürnberg was also the home of Hans Sachs. The Meistersinger contributed a large number of hymns to the Reformation movement.52 By far the largest number of them stemmed from two sources. Some were parodies (christliches corrigieren) of existing popular songs or hymns, often dealing with Mary or a saint. Many others were from the psalms.

Sachs engaged actively in the publication of his hymns.

48Nelle, p. 76.
49Gabriel, p. 37; c.f. Wackernagel (1841), pp. 1299-1300.
50Wackernagel (1841), pp. 49, 48.
51Smend, 72.
52Wackernagel (1841) lists twenty-eight.
Many of them appeared initially in pamphlet form. At least three hymnbooks were published containing only his works: *Etliche geystliche, in der schrifft gegrünte, lieder für die laven zu singen*, . . . , containing eight hymns (1525); *Dreytzehen Psalmen zusingen, in den vier hernach genotirten Thönen* . . . (1526); and *Gar schoner und Christlicher Lieder fünffe* . . . (Nürnberg: Georg Wachter, 1542 (?)). However, none of Sach's hymns enjoyed any lengthy popularity beyond these publications and several other early hymnbooks, notably *enchiridien*, emanating from Nürnberg.

The Lutheran hymnody, even in its earliest days was enriched through interchange with other movements and the currents of their hymnwriting. No precise formula is possible to explain these cross-fertilizations. In large measure they depended upon the nature of the individual hymnwriter. They were governed somewhat by the character of the Reformation group with which the hymns were identified. Luther's rejection of the hymns of Thomas Müntzer, apart from what he considered to be their poetic and musical inadequacies, illustrates the confessional limitations on the intermixture of hymnodies. On the other

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53 Cf. Ibid., annotations to Nos. 80, 81, 83, 101, 104, 105; pp. 55-74 passim.

54 Ibid., pp. 56, 62, 69, respectively.
hand, there are significant instances of fruitful exchange between the Lutheran and other movements.

Transferences were generally effected by individuals, as is illustrated by the person and work of Michael Weisse, at one time a leading musician among the Bohemian Brethren. Emigrating from Bohemia, he was attracted to Wittenberg. In his hymns, over 150 in number, he brought to Wittenberg a rich fund of songs dealing with a wide range of daily activities and various church functions. He wrote songs for home devotionals, for graveside services, for the Passion, and for many other subjects.

Weisse collected and edited the contents of the first Bohemian Brethren hymnal, Ein New Geseng buchlen. Gedruckt zum Jungen Buntzel inn Behemen durch Georgen Wylmswerer Imm Jar M. CCCC xxxi. It consisted exclusively of all his 162 hymns. They were mostly translations out of the body of Czech Church hymns, whence he got most of his melodies as well. By 1534 Weisse had adhered to Lutheran

\[55\] Weisse was born in Silesia. "Von der Neisse" is a title sometimes appended to his name. He is supposed to have left a monastery in Breslau to join the Bohemian Brethren. He founded communities of the sect in Fulneck and Landskron. He died either in 1534 at Landskron or in 1542 at Leutomischl. Zahn, V, 339.

\[56\] Gabriel, p. 45.

\[57\] Wackernagel (1841), p. 245.

\[58\] Zahn, V, 399.
doctrine and edited a hymnal oriented toward his new confession.

The continuing influence and spread of the Bohemian Brethren into Germany can be depicted by their hymnal publications. Originally Weisse had leaned toward Zwinglian doctrine, and large numbers of his brethren emigrated to Strassburg. His own tendency toward hymns for practical occasions has been identified as an element in a similar trend in the hymnals of South Germany. His first hymnal of 1531 was republished after his death by Johann Vanier in Ulm in 1538 and 1539. Finally, with minor corrections and editorial changes by Johann Horn, a close compatriot of Weisse, it was printed in Nürnberg by Johann Günther in 1543. His hymns have remained in general use among the modern-day descendents of the Bohemian Brethren. Many were

59Gabriel, p. 45. Strassburg was a particularly productive center of hymnwriting and hymnbook publication. The everyday characteristics of the songs from this area are striking. Katherina Zell, in her preface to a 1534 edition of hymns, declared that the hymn is the medium of constant worship for the laborer at his tools, the servant at her cleaning, the peasant in his fields, and the mother rocking her crying child. This form of worship, moreover, was the most highly prized by God. Other Strassburg hymnists were Konrad Hubert, whose verses captured the totality of the Christian life and experience ("Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ, mein Hoffnung steht auf Erden"); Wolfgang Meuslin ("Mein Hirt ist Gott der Herre mein"); Wolfgang Capito ("Die Nacht ist hin, der Tag bricht an"); Heinrich Vogtherr ("Lob sei dir Jesu Christe"); and Johann Englisch. Nelle, pp. 61-63.

60Wackernagel (1841), p. 245.
taken into the Herrnhut movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A few passed into Lutheran hymnody and remained there. His graveside hymn, "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben," was generally ascribed to Luther. The error persisted in Lutheran hymnals until the Babstscbe Gesangbuch of 1545, the last edited by Luther. In his preface he specifically denied authorship and named Weisse.

Another storehouse of Lutheran hymnody came from the pens of many of his followers who wrote lyrics in Low German. Nickolaus Decius (Tech, Techius) stemmed from Bavarian nobility. After 1524 he was preacher in Stettin, where he died in 1529. His most famous hymn, still popular, is "Allein Gott in Der Höh sei Ehr;" its Low German equivalent is "Allene God in der höge si eer." Other Low German hymnists were Hermann Bonus and Johann Freder. The leading editor of Low German hymnals was Joachim Slüter.

To consider the period immediately after 1524 through the simile of stone and pond is potentially misleading because of the images it can stimulate. A reminder to be held constantly is that the pond was not still. It was fed

61 WA, XXXV, 477.

62 Nelle, p. 68; Wackernagel (1841), pp. 565-566, lists his name as Nicolaus Hovesch.

63 Nelle, pp. 69-71.
by some streams and drained by others. Beneath its surface ran numerous currents at various depths. Likewise, the impetus coming in 1524 represented neither the first nor the last such stones tossed into the pond. But viewed from the crest of Luther's impact outward, beginnings can be seen of the movement which subsequently grew into the Lutheran hymnody.
"Music is a beautiful and lovely gift of God which has often moved and inspired me to preach with joy."¹ These words of Martin Luther serve well to introduce his conception of the relationship between the hymn and the act of worship as a whole. There were numerous connections binding them together in his understanding. One bond, as the words above indicate, connected the hymn with the sermon in a strongly motivational relationship.

These two elements shared in structuring the Mass. In Luther's thinking, moreover, they shared more importantly in what he held to be the fundamental element of worship. They both were aspects of the Word. The hymn and the sermon alike were vehicles for transmitting the Word of the gospel. They both were versions of his outcry that he must preach.²

To Luther, the hymn, in the first place, was a proclamation of the universal priesthood of all believers. To win

¹WA-TR, IV, No. 4441, 313. Trans. Walter Buszin, 
Musical Quarterly, XXXII (1946), 89.

²Hoelty-Nickel, Luther and Culture, p. 178.

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all the people for Christ, he made his hymns all things to all people. He developed new meanings for the familiar hymns. He sent new concepts out in familiar musical clothing. He wrote for every season. For children he wrote simple Christmas hymns. To the troubled he confessed his own trials. For the mature he wrote great expressions of faith. His music and hymns were German, for Germans. In the second place, the hymn constituted an act of proclamation by the universal priesthood. Greater in significance than solely a medium for teaching or self-expression, it was proclamation of the entire gospel, of the Word.

The Word to Martin Luther was the nucleus of the worship. It was the theme, the central element around which the various parts and components rotated and revolved. In his writings as early as 1520 he had recognized the Word as the center of the liturgy. The emphasis he placed on the hymn indicates its significance as a medium for expressing the Word. Hymns occupied increasingly larger positions in his liturgical formulae, Von der Ordnung der Gottesdienst in der Gemeinde (1523), Formula Missae (1524), and Deutsche Messe (1526).

Luther's changes in the liturgy of the Mass appear on

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3Ibid., p. 179.

the whole not to have been too great. Their very selectivity was determined by his principle of the Word and by his conception of the congregation. He treated the congregation as the people assembled to worship, to give real and common sense expression to the members' faith directly without intervening mediums. As a consequence, his innovations were twofold in nature.

On the one hand, they were geared toward enhancing his conception of the congregation and its role in worship, but not at the expense of worthwhile parts. He treated the hymn in its setting in the Mass much the same as he treated the hymn itself. That is, he began with an existing structure and eliminated those elements which inhibited the proclamation of the Word by the congregation. On the other hand, he tended to enlarge the quantity of congregational singing during the service. His purpose in so doing was always to proclaim the Word through the hymn. Subsequent to Luther's actions, the trends he initiated continued toward purification and increased singing.

The statement by Luther quoted above is part of a declaration upholding pleasure gained from music. "St. Augustine," he continued, "was afflicted with scruples of conscience whenever he discovered that he had derived pleasure from music. . . . He was of the opinion that such

5Smend, p. 4.
joy is unrighteous and sinful. . . . However, if he were living today, he would hold with us. . . ." Nevertheless, Luther in part would hold with St. Augustine. Despite his great love for music, he insisted that it be subordinate to the Word. Music was an element of worship and especially an element of the hymn. In both respects it was to obey the discipline imposed on all aspects of the worship. It must enhance and contribute to clear expression of the Word. This approach guided the alterations Luther made or countenanced in the musical structure of the worship service. 7

A special aspect of music in the worship involves the organ. Some ambivalence arises when Luther's love and appreciation of music in general is compared with his attitude toward the organ. He did not appreciably enhance its role in the service and even inhibited it in certain respects. This stemmed from the fact that he recognized in the organ only limited usefulness in serving the Word. On the other hand, he was implacable in opposing those who denied its worth in the music of worship.

Luther insisted that the various mass forms all bring


out the Word. Whether it was an order of worship for Wittenberg, or Lübeck, or Magdeburg, it must uphold this first principle. Beyond that, however, Luther envisioned great freedom in the actual structure of the worship service. If the essential unity around the Word was maintained, considerable latitude was possible in arranging the outward functions and ceremony. If the organization scheme shared his center, it would be motivated by Christian love and would realize all needful uniformity. In point of fact, the visitation system was more effective but even so, the uniformity was in essentials, the Word, and still countenanced flexibility in the components.

The Word was at the center of the Mass, subordinating some elements and elevating the hymn. The Word took precedence over the organ as well as the music the organ might produce. To this list Luther added another prerequisite of the Word. It must be expressed in understandable language and music. Many times in many instances he attacked and rejected combinations of word and music which were not equally German to his satisfaction.

This side of Luther and the hymn is complex. In part it touched on his Thuringian heritage and German nationality. It reflected the humanists' preoccupation with clear and

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8 Krueger, Lutheran Church Quarterly, IV (1931), 296, 292-296 passim.
effective expression. Whatever prompted his insistence on German words, his deep musicianship prompted his realization that only German music could provide the melody and meter to convey a German text authentically. Contrariwise, Luther was not overly adamant. He admired, respected, and maintained the Latin service, all in Latin, with Latin music, used by a learned congregation able to comprehend and participate in its meaning. He accepted some German translations of Latin hymns by colleagues as an interim measure. In all respects, the first principle was to convey the Word effectively.

To Luther, the Word meant the Holy Spirit revealed through Scripture, the gospel, God's own voice. He also meant by "the Word" the role of language in transmitting and understanding ideas. He recognized how important the latter connotation would be to accomplish his goals with the former connotation.

He was familiar with the concern of the Meistersängertime and the humanists for the Word in the context of language and understanding. The elaborate compositional rules of the townsmen musician-guilds were concerned pre-eminently with the text of the Meistergesänge. The humanists influenced Luther in his pursuit of the Word in at least three ways, through their concern for vernacular languages, through their emphasis upon rhetoric, and through their antiquarian proclivities leading them into speculations
and experimentations on the nature of classical music.

Ludwig Senfl, court musician to the Duke of Bavaria, and correspondent of Luther, was a lineal descendent of humanist concern for the antique musical forms which seemed to elevate and enhance the text. The starting point in this genealogy is the appearance in the early sixteenth century of a book of songs, Melopöieen, oder vierstimmige Harmonieen über die 22 Geschlechter heroischer, elegieischer, lyrischer Masse, so wie die der kirchlichen Hymnen. The book was printed in Augsburg by Gerhard Oglin; the precise year is not known. It contained, in addition to the nineteen Odes of Horace, a description of the metrical combinations in hymns.9

The arrangements were the work primarily of the humanist and musician Peter Tritonius, who had studied at Ingolstadt under the humanist-poet Conrad Celtes. As Senfl testified in the preface to a songbook of his own in 1534,10 Celtes inspired Tritonius to do the settings of the odes. Tritonius subsequently was close to Heinrich Isaac.11 Senfl's musical training was perfected in the court of Maximilian I

9Winterfeld, Der evangelische Kirchengesang; Erster-Teil, p. 169.

10Cf. supra, p.

11Winterfeld, p. 170.
at Innsbruck, where he was tutored by the Kappelmeister, Heinrich Isaac. He later moved into the service of Dukes Wilhelm IV and Albert V of Bavaria.  

Luther's literary friendship and exchange with Senfl were keen musical pleasures, but his contact with humanism was much more complex. He felt a kinship with the humanists which he expressed quite clearly shortly before the period when he began writing hymns. In a letter to Eobanus Hessus he sought to allay his claim that the Reformation would wreck the humanist movement because it denied man's intellectual capacities and upheld his faith alone. There need be no fear, Luther replied, for there is no such opposition. Quite to the contrary, true theology cannot proceed without languages since its teachings are founded upon the Word. Rhetoric and expression are essential to preparing youth for theology.

The topics handled at the end of the fifteenth century by the Meistersänger within their elaborate regulations showed in many respects an analogous affinity to problems dealt with by Luther. As a general rule they delved into theological questions. In both form and content they approached his conception of the Word. One message running through their compositions is that the strength of

12 Ibid., p. 168.

13 WA-Br, III, No. 596, 48-51.
believing—of faith and trust—can provide security in a bitter and hard life. Certain of their songs sought to accomplish a direct communication between man and God. These lines of investigation led to the lay piety and religiosity of the late Middle Ages which influenced the reformer.

Meistersänger and humanist relationships to Luther's concept of the Word are at best elements in his background. They are present as factors to help in understanding his actions toward the Mass and the role in it which the hymn came to play. His most significant step was to transform completely the meaning of the Mass. Yet he did so with a minimum of outward change in the form.

Luther's first effort at actually revising the Catholic Mass was made in 1523, the Latin Formula Missae et Communionis. This sufficed for two more years, until 1525, when he brought out a worship service in German, Deutsche Messe und Gottesdienst. In both cases the nature of the change comes to light immediately, a transformation of the meaning internally without wholesale revisions of the external structure.

The major alteration centered around the congregation. In the Catholic service, the people were cast in the role

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14 Hampe, Monatsheft der Comenius-Gesellschaft, VII (1898), 156.

15 Ibid., 156, 158.
of observers, with no direct involvement. The celebrant of
the Mass was the leading figure and the choir represented
the people. Luther's accomplishment was to end the sepa-
ration of the worshipers from the worship. In keeping with
his doctrine of the universal priesthood, he sought in the
worship service to unite all believers—minister, choir,
and people. One means employed substantially was to in-
crease the congregation's level of participation in the
liturgy. In large measure, he accomplished this by having
the congregation sing hymns. 16

In response finally to many months of steady pressure
from Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor of the Marienkirche in
Zwickau, Luther prepared a Mass of his own, in December,
1523. 17 Up to that time he had resisted the efforts of
those who insisted he revamp the Catholic service. His re-
action had been twofold in the past. He had countenanced
the continued use of the old service, in which he found lit-
tle fault structurally, as long as ancient, primitive com-
ponents were emphasized and the special, elevated status of
the priest was eliminated. And he had counseled and advised
other congregations which sought to develop a worship scheme
of their own.

16Liliencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte,
p. 22.
17WA, XII, 197.
Formula Missae et Communionis is subitled pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensii, indicating that Luther intended it for use by his own congregation. He was willing, however, that it be used as a guideline for other reforming congregations. He sent it immediately to Hausmann, who had been so anxious to receive it, and shortly thereafter it was used by the pastor at Schönau near Zwickau. Hausmann also had insisted that the new service be translated, which was done at year's end by Paulus Speratus. It appeared in the first weeks of 1524 at Wittenberg as Ein weyse Christlich Mess zu halten und zum tisch Gottes zu gehen. The first edition is known to have been printed by Lucas Cranach. Another edition came from the same shop that year, joining four other Wittenberg editions in 1524 alone. Four more editions of a different translation appeared coincidently outside Wittenberg, all claiming to have been printed in Wittenberg. Two have been shown to come from Nürnberg.

Two major changes and a number of lesser ones were instituted by Luther in the Formula Missae. He included a sermon in the vernacular immediately preceding the offertery,
about midway in the service. As an option, he suggested the
sermon could come before the introit, meaning it would pre-
cede the entire service. The offertory and the canon of the
Mass underwent the most radical change. Luther stripped
away the elaborations and adornments around the offering of
the elements and turned the meaning of the communion back
toward the simple statements in the New Testament.22

The desire to return to pristine purity influenced most
of the minor changes. Luther did not simplify merely for
simplicity's sake, but in order to return the emphasis of
the Mass to those elements which were instituted by Christ
and are rooted in Scripture. He retained the various in-
troits as they appeared for the many special days since their
origin was scriptural. He suggested, however, that the en-
tire psalm be sung. Those observations in the church year
which did not touch directly upon Christ he recommended be
dropped, or, as in the case of festivals of Mary, be con-
verted into festivals of Christ. The Kyrie with its many
popular melodies and the Gloria were retained along with
the gradual and the halleluia. The latter two were greatly
simplified and returned to a subordinate role setting off

22 Donald Lenhard McFarland, "A Study of Music Prac-
tices in the Early Lutheran Church as They May Be Applied
Toward the Improvement of Lutheran Church Music Today"
(unpublished Master's thesis, The Ohio State University,
the more important scriptural lessons.23

The end result was a Mass expressing what Luther saw in the worship service. Paul Zeller-Strodach assessed Luther's effort in these words:

His Formula is the Roman Ordo simplified, purified, reformed,— and he felt he had every right to do just this, for it was the Church’s expression that he was seeking, not the Roman Church’s. And his confessed, purposeful trend backward to the purity of ancient uses is the triumphant forward going of the living Gospel into the lives of men, carrying the guarantees of faith’s union with the ever-present living Christ. . . . Luther held himself strictly to this,— to glorify Christ and make him the triumphant All-in-all and to bring man the blessed privilege of joyful communion with Him in His instituted action for this end.24

A second section of the Formula Missae dealt with technical matters relating to having the congregation celebrate the Mass. In this context the question of a Mass in the vernacular arose. Luther envisioned the day when the entire Mass would be in the language of the people. In the meantime, he hoped that the hymns provided for in the 1523 service would be sung in German. They appeared immediately after the gradual, the Sanctus, and the Agnus Dei. But inasmuch as some of the older, more conservative worshipers might

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24Ibid., p. 76.
still be attached to the Latin, and since the store of German hymns was not yet large, Latin hymns might be continued or alternated day by day at the discretion of the bishop.²⁵

After the communion, Luther specified that the ancient hymn, "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet," be sung. A substitute might be "Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist," or "Ein Kindelein so lobelich."²⁶

Luther remained as conservative after writing the Latin service as before regarding revisions of the Mass. "Let these things said concerning the mass and communion suffice for the time being," he wrote in the Formula Missae. "Other matters, use and the thing itself will teach; only let the Word of God be announced in the church actively and faithfully."²⁷ Two years elapsed before he prepared a worship service in the vernacular.

A number of contradictory forces in Luther's thinking are reflected in his writing of a German Mass. A steady movement toward vernacular services had been evident to him for some time. As early as 1524, Thomas Müntzer had issued

²⁵Ibid., p. 98.

²⁶Ibid. The first and second hymns were reworked by Luther the following year. The third, of unknown origin, was popular at the time of the Reformation as a Christmas hymn. Ibid., pp. 114-115, nn. 139, 141, 142.

²⁷Ibid., p. 98.
his Kirchenamt. But Müntzer's work was characteristic of the whole radical movement which Luther totally rejected. At one point in Against the Heavenly Prophets (1524) he accused Karlstadt of trying to make his own German Mass the law. In part he equated vernacular services with the radicals. At the same time, he hesitated to compose a German Mass for the same reason he had hesitated to compose one in Latin: fear that it might lead to unthinking uniformity which would blot out faith. Furthermore, elevation of the vernacular by the humanists was stimulating production of German services. But as much as his humanist background impelled him, it likewise restrained him through the realization that a German text could be truly effective only in conjunction with authentic German music.

In the final analysis, Luther hesitated because he genuinely felt time was needed to arrive at the true formula for a true worship of God. As he declared to his congregation:

One should not fall into the idea that if he does not begin a thing himself, nothing will come of it. Therefore I have also so long restrained myself with reference to the German Masses. Now, however, since so many from all countries beseech me with letters and writings . . . we can no longer excuse ourselves and protest, but must believe that it

28Ibid., p. 167.
29Ibid., p. 154.
is God's wish. If we produce something of our own, it shall perish and smell. . . . If, however, it be something of God's, it must succeed. . . . \[30\]

The outstanding features of the *Deutsche Messe* are the use of the German language throughout and the emphasis upon the German hymns. Only the Kyrie remained in another tongue, Greek. Certain elements formerly sung in Latin by the choir were converted into congregational hymns.

To begin the service, a German hymn or psalm was ordered. Luther suggested Psalm 34: "Ich will den Herrn loben alle Zeit." Initiated by congregational singing, the entire remaining service was sung or chanted. "Nutitten wir den heiligen Geist" was prescribed to follow the epistle. Later on, after the appropriate gospel had been sung, the creed was sung by the whole congregation: "Wir glauben all an einen Gott." After the sermon came the "Vater unser." The Sanctus in Luther's German version appeared during the distribution of the elements, "Jesiaiah dem Propheten das geschah."\[31\]

The text of the *Deutsche Messe* was exclusively Luther's. He declined to take upon himself, however, the task of setting the German words to proper German music. For assistance he turned once again to the electoral court,


now ruled by John the Constant. Johann Walther returned to Wittenberg on a new musical mission, accompanied by his mentor, Konrad Rupff. For three weeks the three labored over the music of the new Mass.

Many years later, Walther wrote a deposition verifying that he and Rupff had collaborated with Luther. This document reveals Luther's high musicianship and suggests how deeply he felt the need of accurately conveying the Word in the Mass. According to Walther, he had already set the epistle and the gospel to music. For the former he chose the eighth mode because St. Paul was a serious man whose words were better fitted in the solemn eighth mode. Christ, on the other hand, was a friendly man and spoke better through the warmer sixth mode.32

Walther marveled at Luther's musical ability and asked where he had acquired his knowledge and talents. For his reply the reformer took a cue from Virgil. Knowing the Latin poet had claimed the help of Carmina in writing the Histories, he declared his music was written by "Musica."33

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32 WA, XXXV, 82. Walther's declaration appears from internal dating to have been written about 1565. It was first printed in Michael Praetorius, Syntagmatis Musici Tomus Primus (Wittenberg, 1615).

33 Ibid., p. 83; Jehle, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXVII (1918), 886.
The *Deutsche Messe* was introduced to the Wittenberg congregation on Sunday, October 29, 1525, and became permanently instituted for the Sunday morning service beginning Christmas Day. In printed form it first appeared from the shop of Michael Lotther in Wittenberg, in 1526. He subsequently published two more editions the same year. Meanwhile, three separate printers in Zwickau released editions, as did two in Erfurt and one each in Nürnberg and Augsburg.

At the core of all Luther's liturgical alterations was his ever-present concern for the Word as the gospel of Christ. His greatest changes were to transform the Mass into a direct demonstration by the worshiper of faith in the meaning of Christ's action. His revisions point to that theme. He purified the service of those elements which detracted from the centrality of Christ and he enlarged aspects which centered the congregation's attention upon Christ.

Another area which underwent changes stemming from Luther's changes was the music of the Mass. The idiom of church music continued to be *figuraliter* for the elaborate choral portions, and *choraliter* for Masses without the use

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34 *Works* (Philadelphia), VI, 155, 156.
35 *WA*, XXXV, 83.
of a choir and Mass parts not suitable for figuraliter.

The figural motet continued to dominate the five unchanging musical parts of the Ordinary: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. Georg Rhaw published in 1541 a book of ten motet Masses in figuraliter.37 Consequently, further increase of congregational participation through singing took place largely in the Proper.

As always, there appeared simplification and emphasis upon Christ. The number of holy days declined, and even in greatly reduced number they appeared more as appendages to the Proper than as distinct elements identifying a particular holy day.38 The nucleus of the transformed Proper came to be the New Testament lesson, the gospel, around which other elements of the Proper revolved.39

From the earliest Reformation Masses, the elements of the Proper underwent a steady diminution and excision. This was most noticeable in the smaller churches where elaborate musical productions were not possible, but the trend was evident in the larger churches as well, as the Deutsche Messe illustrates. A specific example is the psalm verses and associated liturgical portions sung as

37 Liliencron, p. 27.
38 Ibid., pp. 38-39.
39 Ibid.
the offertory, previously figural motets. They steadily disappeared, supplanted by the sermon hymn in German. The commune, psalm verses sung after the distribution of the elements, was cut in favor of the communion hymn. Specific graduals for each day likewise were removed and not replaced. The introit sometimes was supplanted by a hymn based on a psalm. At the very least, the vast number of introits for special observances was greatly contracted. 40

An interesting blend of the old, the new, and the experimental with regard to congregational singing and the music of the Mass is to be found in the Wittenberg Kirchenordnung of 1533. A short-lived innovation came at the very beginning of the Mass, as the blessing of Zacharias (Luke 1:68) and a short antiphone, both in German, were ordered to call attention to the fact that the service was beginning. The introit followed on Sundays and holy days; otherwise, a German hymn replaced it. The gradual was sung by the choir, in Latin, but it was followed immediately by a German hymn. If a shorter Mass was desired, only the hymn would be done. The hymns took on the character somewhat of the Proper in that certain ones were specified for certain seasons.

Finally, the prescribed performance method compromised on retention of the Latin. As the congregation sang

40 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
"Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," the choir alternated with verses from the Latin source, "Grates nunc omnes." The creed was in Latin but was counterbalanced immediately by "Wir glauben all an einen Gott." In the case of a shortened service, the German again prevailed. After the sermon came the hymn, "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich." During distribution of the elements, the choir sang "Sanctus" and "Agnus Dei," while the congregation sang a hymn. At the conclusion of the communion, the German Agnus Dei was sung, "Christe, du Lamm Gottes."\(^4\)

The relative role of the congregational participation through singing in the Mass varied widely among the various church ordinances throughout the Reformation. A considerable factor working against uniformity was the differences in size and stature among the various congregations. The large monasteries and cathedrals had trained choirs and tended to retain an elaborate Latin service sung by the choir. On the other hand, the smaller city congregations and the country parishes more readily adopted greatly simplified services. Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, although written for the Stadt-kirche in Wittenberg, is highly pedagogical in character and was aimed at the young, the unlearned, and the slower worshipers, to give them what they needed to know.\(^4\)


\(^4\) *Works* (Philadelphia), VI, 156.
Correspondingly, the larger churches had a lesser influx of hymns while congregational singing in the smaller churches came early and in considerable degree.\footnote{Liliencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte, p. 9.}

Singing by the worshipers as fastened upon by reformers in the sixteenth century was a greatly modified form of a practice tracing back to the very earliest days of the Christian church. The hymn, while serving to fix attention upon Christ by conveying the Word, was at the same time an element in Luther's efforts to purify the Mass and to restore its pristine character. From legendary psalm-singing by the disciples in Gethsemane, congregational song grew to become formalized in the service by Ambrose about two hundred years before the Gregorian reforms largely removed music from the congregation and invested it in the choir, which henceforth stood as representative of the people.\footnote{Karl Anton, Luther und die Musik (3rd ed., Zwickau: Johannes Herrmann, 1928), p. 16.}

Separation of the people from the worship was quite complete by the time of the Reformation. There were no internal or external connections between the music of the choir and whatever music of the congregation still was practiced.\footnote{Jehle, Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, XXVII (1918), 889.} Actually; a considerable amount of lay singing
took place in the church—hymns at certain seasons, some responses, repeating the Kyrie—but these moments were considered to be ancillary to the activities going on at the altar. The congregation was not conceived to be participating in the actual worship.\textsuperscript{46} Such moments were greatly treasured, nonetheless. At least 1400 German hymns are known to have been in existence about 1517.\textsuperscript{47}

Polyphony by the choir and congregational song by the worshipers were the most significant forms of music in the worship of the Reformation. But they did not encompass the field. In addition there was the music of the minister at the altar and solo music by the Kantor. Variations on these basic forms enriched the nature of church worship music in the Reformation. The congregation singing the melody line of a hymn might be buttressed by the Kantor and choir. The choir itself might sing the single line for the purpose of teaching the hymn to the congregation. Some church articles specified that members of the Kantorei be stationed in the congregation to lead out in the singing. Others counseled the Kantorei to sing slowly and clearly. The Wittenberg Kirchenordnung of 1530 is not unusual in providing for both Latin and German songs. Such alternation was frequently found, the choir singing the former

\textsuperscript{46} Nelle, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 29.
version in a polyphonic setting, the congregation and choir then doing the latter version in monodic dress.  

Numerous moments declaring the Word arise in the Mass which do not lend themselves to the form of the hymn. Luther's settings for the Old and New Testament lessons in the Deutsche Messe already have been mentioned. He set the epistle in the eighth mode and the gospel in the sixth. Actually, the setting Luther gave to the gospel was not original but was out of the Catholic liturgy for the Passion of Christ. In that version, it had been a three-part creation, including Christ sung by the Priest, Peter and other characters such as the High Priests sung by the Deacon, and the people sung by the Subdeacon. Luther dispensed with the additional characters and condensed the music into a single voice. The result was to concentrate attention upon one voice conveying the scriptural words through the medium of a familiar chant.

Luther did not account for the organ in his conception of the worship. It played virtually no part in his liturgical considerations. His neglect of the organ reflects standard music practices of his day, which accorded it only

48 Lilencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte, p. 86.

49 Kempff, pp. 13-15. The sixth mode is most nearly a diatonic scale in the modern tonal system. It sounds roughly like a C major scale, except that it starts on F and includes B flat.
a subordinate role in the church service. The actual quantity of organ music in a service could be considerable, however.

Luther as a musician did not confuse the organ with the impurities of the church which needed cleansing. His attitude was entirely different from that of the radical reformers and spiritualists. Karlstadt, for example, denounced the organ as an empty voice, like the drum and flute, all of which belonged in the theater or the prince's court but had no place in the worship of God.\textsuperscript{50} Luther, while not considering the organ to be a positively bad destroyer of worship, still did not conceive it as a positively good contributor to worship. He expressed his attitude this way: "Without any doubt, I certainly will not have some organ made with fourteen stops and ten banks of pipes. . . . There is no good or useful or helpful thing in it, so that a person can apply to it the saying, 'It's no good.'"\textsuperscript{51} He used the organ to symbolize those elements of the Catholic church which served no useful function:

There can easily be more of it \textsuperscript{\textit{faith}} in a miller's apprentice than in all the popes; and it can accomplish more than all the priests and monks with their organs and juggelry, even if


\textsuperscript{51}WA, X, Part 1, 2nd Half, 40-41.
they had more organs than they now have organ pipes.\textsuperscript{52}

Luther's own liturgical writings clearly illustrate his inattention to the organ. Beginning with his treatise, \textit{Von der Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde}, written in 1523, through the \textit{Formula Missae} and the \textit{Deutsche Messe}, neither use nor duties of the organ are mentioned. The order of worship for the Castle Church in Wittenberg, instituted in 1525 by John Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas with Luther's counsel, spoke of "permitting" the organ to play at certain points in the service while excluding it from the parts chanted by congregation and choir. It sometimes would appear in a Mass for special occasions.\textsuperscript{53}

Neglect of the organ, however, was more apparent than real. The silence of the liturgical formulae indicates only the obvious fact that the organ was not directly an element of the worship. It performed a secondary role of introducing, mood setting, and bridging. Music practices of the day did not construe the organ as a medium to convey any liturgical section, or, for the most part, even to accompany one. Its primary role was to introduce portions of the Mass, such as the introit, Kyrie, and Agnus Dei. This function grew in scope to include introductions to the

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., p. 41.

\textsuperscript{53}Rietschel, p. 19.
entire service. Since the service usually opened with a psalm, such preludes were often derived from the melody of the one selected. Musical evolution in this direction eventually arrived at the magnificent choral preludes of Johann Sebastian Bach.

But in Luther's worship services, the preludes were considerably less grand. The organ was an art form in the church, not an integral part of the service. In certain congregations it was called upon to accompany the creed or the hymns. Line-by-line or verse-by-verse alternation with choir and congregation commonly appeared, an assignment which the Reformation tended to enlarge. The goal in this case was to assist and encourage the congregation in singing the hymns and other parts of the service.

Nonetheless, the distinguishing mark of the church service in the Reformation remained unaccompanied congregational singing. The choir took the role of songleader and teacher to the congregation, or the two groups would sing the hymns together under instructions from a songleader.

54 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
55 Ibid., p. 23.
57 Kempff, p. 65.
Neglect of the organ is partially explainable in terms of apprehension toward a musical instrument for which there was no scriptural precedent and which was played by a person of universally low repute. The Braunschweig Kirchenordnung of 1528 approached the problem of the organist in this manner:

Inasmuch as organ music as it appears in the psalter is not un-Christian, each church ought to prescribe a specific salary for their organist, if no lewd ditties but only psalms and spiritual songs are played.

In Bremen in 1534, a way was found to enhance Scripture through organ playing, even though the organ had no liturgical foundation. The real danger was failing to understand and abusing the true nature of the gospel:

The organ and music, which are free--neither sought nor forbidden--may be used, but not with the idea of performing a good work for God with it, nor of strengthening any other anti-Christian action, nor of hindering the true worship of God. But they may be used like a trumpet to sound a call which will move the people and overcome their inherent hesitation to pray and studiously attend the Word of God.

The organ in the Catholic Mass entered the Reformation period with a fairly substantial role and it generally kept and enhanced that position. By contrast, the Reformation worked generally to the disadvantage of the organ. It was

58 Rietschel, p. 25.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.
one of the first elements of the Catholic worship which was cut. Excisions ranged in degree from outright radical iconoclasm, through simple neglect, to attempts to incorporate the advantages of the organ. It lost out to the choir combined with the congregation to sing the musical parts of the service. Even its participation in the figural music of the more elaborate Masses was reduced. Its contribution was limited largely to short inventions upon preceding or impending musical parts. Overall the organ suffered as congregational participation in the music of the worship was enhanced. A constant injunction was to detract neither time nor attention from the hymns.61 Instrumental music in the worship was upheld by the Lutheran Reformation, in keeping with Luther's words and the tradition of the Kings of Israel. But the station of the organ was a permitted one. It was not necessary. It was allowed to enhance, assist, and intensify the congregations's participation in the worship through music.62

The organ did not proclaim the Word directly. Whereas it might assist, it might equally detract. The test of everything in the worship service as Luther conceived it was the degree to which the Word was assisted or hindered. Included among items subjected to this test appears to have

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61 Ibid., pp. 27-33, passim.
62 Ibid., p. 41.
been the Latin language. A constant reiteration by Luther was that the Word must be set at large among the German people in their own language. He insisted also that the Word could be effective only if allied with compatible German music.

At the same time, however, Luther's position with regard to Latin in the service was more complex and several-sided. In many circumstances he was ready to accept continued use of the Latin service. The best examples of this are found in his own liturgical writings for Wittenberg. He was considerably more opposed to using German texts with existing Latin music, and even more adamant against simple translation of the Latin texts. Yet he was willing, in the acute shortage of German music, to accept compromises.

Nicolaus Hausmann at Zwickau had remained loyal to Luther during all the radical turbulences which his town underwent. Through them all he had consistently implored Luther to prepare a reformed worship service, or at least to lay out guidelines. Luther was not able to solve the problems of a new service until 1523, in the Formula Missae. Although it was dedicated to Hausmann, it did not answer his plea for a service in the vernacular. Early in 1525 he sent down to Wittenberg his own version of such a service. Luther returned it with the observation that it was generally acceptable, except for the music. "I am willing that it should be sung as you have indicated," he
wrote, "but it does not altogether please me that Latin music has been kept for German words." Other writings reveal that his objections were mainly on musical grounds. In his pamphlet, Against the Heavenly Prophets, he wrote:

To translate the Latin text and retain the Latin tone or notes has my sanction, though it doesn't sound polished or well done. Both the texts and notes, accent, melody, and manner of rendering ought to grow out of the true mother tongue and its inflection, otherwise all of it becomes an imitation, in the manner of the apes.64

Luther's concern was that the texts appear in settings which would most successfully enhance and transmit them. When he and Johann Walther were working out the Deutsche Messe in 1525, he insisted that they turn their attention also to the Vespers. It was the custom in many places for the young people and the school choir to sing at these functions, and Luther desired some short, pure choral settings for their use. Likewise, he sought a few settings for the Kurrende, who still were singing Latin hymns, antiphones, and responses.65

63Luther (Wittenberg) to Hausmann (Zwickau), March 26, 1523; Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs, ed. and trans., Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters (2 vols.; Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1918), I, No. 666, 298.


65WA, XXXV, 82.
Luther was determined to evoke the wellsprings of the German people as a medium for conveying his interpretation of the role of the congregation in the Mass. Thus he insisted on true and pure German melodies for true and pure German lyrics. Since comprehension and understanding of the Word were his real goals, he was willing to compromise where necessary and accept substitutes, provided that the Word would not be obscured.

This explains why there actually was considerable retention of Latin in Luther's liturgy. To begin with, he thoroughly understood and admired the Latin services. He accepted their retention for the use of those who likewise understood them, the educated and the students. He recognized that unbridled revision or abandonment of the ancient services could destroy the Word, and his own changes were long in coming. Not until late in 1525 (Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, October 29) was his all-German Deutsche Messe inaugurated in the Stadtkirche in Wittenberg. Since 1523 the Formula Missae in Latin, with German sermon and hymns, had served his congregation, except for holy days and special observances, when a full Latin version was used. Johann Walther, writing of his collaboration with

66 Liliencron, p. 45.
67 WA, XXXV, 82.
68 Ibid., p. 73.
Luther, revealed a keen understanding of the reformer's complex attitude toward the Latin music:

But they are not to be praised who cast all the Latin Christian hymns out of the church, for they are doing the wrong thing. They let themselves think it is not evangelical or Lutheran if they should sing or hear a Latin choral song in the church. ... It is also wrong not to sing the Latin works for the worshipers, thinking they will not profit from it. For even though the pure, old, Christian, German, and Lutheran hymns and psalms are the most useful for the common people, the Latin works are good for exercising the students and the educated. 69

In the preface to the Deutsche Messe, Luther outlined a system of three distinct levels of the Mass. The first was the Latin service, which was to be practiced especially by students in the schools as a part of their education. The second level might be termed the "public" Mass. It was the service performed regularly in the world at large by Christians among varieties of non-Christians. The third level he admitted was not yet appropriate nor had he yet prepared it. It would be practiced exclusively by the community of true Christians, privately, in their houses of worship. 70 The unifying concept underlying these three again was the Word. The first level was appropriate to the understanding of those who practiced it. The second

69 Ibid., p. 82.

70 Works (Philadelphia), VI, 171-173; Cf. Köstlin, p. 299.
provided for wide comprehension among the common worshipers. After all people had become Christians, the third would be written.

The essential criterion in all cases was understanding. Liturgical changes from the Latin were desirable insofar as the understanding of the people called for them. The Hamburg *Kirchenordnung* of 1529 expressed the rule in these words:

> Such an order of worship according to the accustomed manner we will gladly retain; that is, we make no unnecessary changes. However, we, as Germans, certainly intend to sing and read in German. If we must hear the Mass, then we must have a Mass we can understand.\(^7^1\)

That is, the Latin Mass, or portions of it, would stand alongside the German whenever maximum comprehension of the Word allowed it.

Several portions of the Mass did tend to retain their Latin forms. The introit, for example, generally was retained through the sixteenth century, although in increasingly shortened form and limited to Sundays and the holy days.\(^7^2\) It was one of a few sections of the Proper which in some degree retained the Latin. In addition to them, the five musical parts of the Ordinary tended to remain

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\(^7^1\) Liliencron, p. 22.

in Latin.\footnote{Ibid., p. 21.} Once again, the test of comprehension applied. The recurring elements of the Ordinary were understood by most worshipers because they were familiar and popular.

Luther laid down the guideline he followed and recommended to others in his earliest liturgical writing. The preface of \textit{Von der Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde} contains the following statement:

> The most important thing is that everything which takes place have as its purpose to give expression to the Word, and let there be neither sound nor music to the contrary, as was the practice before. Better everything be done away with than the Word; nothing is better to be advanced than the Word. The whole Scripture shows that the Word should be in motion among Christians. Even Christ says so. . . .\footnote{Martin Luther, \textit{Liturgische Schriften}, ed. Otto Dietz (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1950), pp. 9-10.}

The purpose of all techniques of worship was to get the Word in motion among the people. This central idea can be seen behind all Luther's attitudes and actions with regard to the worship service. As long as the congregation would understand the presentation, either Latin or German was acceptable. But the texts must be clear and well fitted to appropriate music. Within the order of worship itself, changes were made to eliminate only those things which clouded the Word and obscured its foundation, Christ. The Word was to be proclaimed by the worshipers through the
hymns and other congregational singing. A variety of techniques evolved to increase the congregation's facility with the hymns and its comprehension of their meaning. Such measures even included lay choirs composed of members of the congregation meeting regularly—often instructed by the Kantor—to practice their music.\textsuperscript{75} Alone among the elements of music in the worship, the organ suffered during the Reformation. The reason is clear. It did not meet the test. It did not convey the Word. Therefore it could not, like the hymns and other congregational singing, become a component of Luther's concept of worship.

\textsuperscript{75}Riedel, \textit{The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church}, V (1959), 132-133.
CHAPTER VI

THE PRINTED HYMNAL AND THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION

A requirement in judging the spread of Luther's hymns among the people at large is to do so in terms of the hymns in printed form. An enormous task, it is made easier by the labors of great hymnologists, such as Philipp Wackernagel, who devoted a lifetime to examining and cataloguing the texts and printed manifestations of the Lutheran hymnody. His labors were matched by others, notably Wilhelm Bäumker, the great student of the German Catholic hymnody, and Eduard Emil Koch, whose work was definitive on German religious song up to the Reformation. The accomplishments of these nineteenth-century musicologists were monumental on the level of primary research. They have never been duplicated because it is not needed.

Nonetheless, the printed version of the hymn offers no intrinsic demonstration that it was an effective instrument in disseminating Reformation doctrines. To show the printing of Luther's hymns is not to show whether the sheet, pamphlet, or hymnal was purchased and used for singing and teaching. Documents to do that do not exist today and probably never did, except, perhaps, in the ledgers of an
in frequent parish where full records were kept. Those painstaking researches in rare-book collections throughout Europe are extremely valuable, however, because through them was amassed a treasury of supporting descriptive data for several conclusions as to the spread of Luther's hymns, thus illuminating the concomitant spread of his teachings.

The first stems from the sheer quantity and variety of hymn publication. It is the simple observation that there must have been a considerable demand to attract such an extensive printing effort.

The format and content of Lutheran Hymnbooks supports another conclusion. Orders of appearance and sequence reveal that Luther's compositions enjoyed primacy in the hierarchy of hymns. A clear pattern emphasizing his works existed in the organizational structure of publications in which they appeared.

A third conclusion is that those hymnbooks which received Luther's personal sanction, attention, and participation germinated entire families of editions. In later generations, the lines may well have become clouded through inclusion of more hymns or an order of worship. But the ancestor can still be recognized in the selection and sequence of the hymns.

The vital statistics of hymnbook publication point finally to a fourth conclusion that the spread of Luther's
hymns was geographically congruous with the Lutheran Reformation.

To measure the volume of hymnal printing during the sixteenth century is virtually impossible at the distance of four hundred years and through the medium of extant documents. It is doubtful whether a precise statement about the number of volumes, editions, or copies of hymnals being printed could even have been made at the time. Nevertheless, the evidence available today suggests strongly that the printed songbook was very much in demand and that it occupied many printers, large and small.

The most directly apparent evidence is sheer volume. Volume in terms of individual copies must largely be speculated from analogous information. Louise Holborn, in her enlightening introduction into early Reformation printing, reveals that, although there was no uniform standard determining the number of copies per edition, the figure of 1000 was commonly used. This number stemmed from an agreement among printers in Lübeck in 1498 to make it the standard size of a normal edition.\(^1\)

It is only an assumption that the rule of 1000 governed hymnal editions as well, but the assumption seems

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\(^1\)Louise Holborn, "Printing and the Growth of a Protestant Movement in Germany from 1517 to 1524," *Church History*, XI (1942), 129.
a fairly safe one: It did apply to the other productions of the printshop—books, pamphlets, and broadsides—and there is no evidence to suggest that music printing was anything other than a specialized aspect of the overall printing trade. However, the matter of repeated impressions of the same edition is less clear. Wackernagel, Bäumker, and the editors of the Weimar edition of Luther's writings treat each printing as a separate edition, presumably of 1000 copies each.

Thus the assumption is reached that each recognizably distinct hymnal represents a separate edition, numbering 1000 copies. This figure multiplied by the number of known, identified, distinct hymnals, extant and extinct, calls up a broad stream of hymn publication. Wackernagel, in his *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert*,

\[2\]
catalogued well over five hundred individual articles of sheet music, pamphlets of one or more hymns, and full-scale hymnals. Editions that have been lost entirely to present knowledge constitute an additional, speculative tributary.

A convenient and meaningful representative of the whole is shaped by hymnals whose contents centered around the hymns of Luther. This group includes in the

first instance hymnals which Luther himself sanctioned and helped edit. Beyond these--there were four of them, each running to many subsequent editions--are a group of hymnals which were published without Luther's direct involvement, but which belong in the representative group because of the stature they achieved as major editions of hymns by Luther and the Wittenberg reformers. In all instances, the time span is Luther's composing lifetime, i.e., 1524 to 1545. The number of editions in High German falling in such a criterion is fifty by one actual count.\(^3\) That is, during the twenty-two years of Luther's life covering his participation in hymn writing and publishing, his hymns were central to fifty editions totaling about 50,000 copies. Such a supply--well over 2000 copies average per year--calculated for a limited representation of the whole hymn-publishing effort can lead only to the conclusion that the hymn was widely used and in great demand as a medium of worship and expression of Reformation doctrines.

This representative selection can be examined in another light to reveal that Luther's hymns held a paramount position among the others in a hymnal. Whereas it may be said this finding is to be expected from the nature of the sample, such a criticism fails to take into account three

\(^3\) WA, XXXV, Chap. iii, "Bibliographie."
important considerations. In the first place, it does not consider Luther's attitude toward the hymn. It short-changes his concept of his hymns as worship and overlooks their manifold potentialities for reaching the common worshiper. The issue is not whether Luther's hymns appeared in Lutheran hymnals but whether their immense capacities as teaching and dissemination devices were realized in publication. The degree of prominence they were accorded would be a measure of judgment on the issue.

In the second place, Luther himself was personally involved in only four original hymnbook editions, those of 1524, 1529, 1534, and 1543. These naturally emphasized the reformer's works. However, each of these editions ran to a long line of subsequent editions with no direct influence from Luther. His models continued to be accepted as valid.

Thirdly, the sample includes a number of great hymnals edited originally and subsequently without Luther's participation and usually without his prior knowledge. The fact that these editions gave pre-eminent importance to his hymns is testimony to their influence and use in spreading the gospel at large.

The first hymnbook on which Luther worked was that which stemmed from his collaboration with Johann Walther in 1524, commonly called the Waltersches Gesangbuch of 1524. The 37 hymns of its first edition inaugurated a pattern which was to become characteristic. At the
beginning were six of Luther's most recent hymns, believed to have been inserted at a late stage in the preparation. The seventh through 32d hymn included the remaining twelve of Luther's hymns of 1524, plus others selected by Luther and arranged by Walther. The remaining five were Latin hymns. This grouping began a pattern which others followed: first, Luther's compositions; second, hymns identified with Wittenberg; third, other materials. Selection and sequence prevailed through the next edition of the Walthersches Gesangbuch, in 1525, but in the third edition appeared an innovation characteristic many times of later editions. This was the addition of new items to the original stock. In the third edition, a German vespers, "Magnificat," "Te Deum laudamus," "Song of Zacharias," and "Our Father," were included. The tendency grew, as the title of the fourth edition reveals: Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge und psalmen für die leien, mit viel andern, den zuvor gebessert. Sampt der Vesper, Mette, Complet und Messe. The fifth edition, appearing in 1528, included vespers for the whole week.

4Ibid., pp. 315-316.
5Ibid., pp. 316-317.
6Ibid., p. 318.
7Ibid., p. 319.
8Ibid.
The internal structure which became fairly standard in Lutheran hymnals evolved through the Waltersches Gesangbuch. Luther's works led off and eventually were sorted three ways. His hymns of holy days and the church year from Advent through Trinity were first, followed by his psalms, with his remaining hymns fitting neither category last. The rest of the hymnal continued the basic pattern: writings of other reformers in the Wittenberg movement (the "Wittenberg hymns") second, then a third, German hymnody, miscellaneous items, and various orders of worship.9

Joseph Klug of Wittenberg is known to have printed a new edition of hymns under Luther's supervision in 1529. No copy of it exists today, but its structure and contents are well known from the later editions it generated. Its organizational scheme matches the procedure of placing Luther's hymns first, although they were not topically arranged.10 After his hymns, which began with "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland," came his psalms, beginning with "Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein." "Ein feste Burg" was second among the psalms.

The remainder of the hymnal comprised two sections.

9Lilencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte, p. 47.
10WA, XXXV, 320.
A short introduction, presumably written by Luther, explained that the first group, "... transcribed from the old hymns, has also been included in order that one might see that there have been people at all times who have rightly recognized God. . . ."\textsuperscript{11} Another note introduced the final selections as only a few from outside the Wittenberg group: "Because these are vast in number and for the most part not very good, I have not wished for them all to be printed in our songbook, but have chosen instead the best from them and present them here. . . ."\textsuperscript{12} These passages show the influence of Luther's concepts of the hymn as music, worship, and potentials for instruction and dissemination. His principles were criteria which helped determine all selections in this hymnal, one of the most significant of his lifetime, running to four editions through 1539.\textsuperscript{13}

Another sequence of editions, deriving from one published under Luther's supervision by Joseph Klug in 1543, continued the pre-eminence of Luther's hymns and their gradual emergence under an organizational format. The original edition again placed them first and gave them a rudimentary arrangement: hymns preceded psalms and those

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 321.
\item \textsuperscript{12}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{13}Ibid., pp. 321-323.
\end{itemize}
hymns came first which emphasized Christ and His mission, for example, "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland," "Christum wir sollen loben schon," "Gelobet seist du Jesus Christ." The last edition in this family appeared in 1546. Its stock was supplemented by Luther's hymns since 1543 and all were put into order. His compositions according to the church year came first, followed by his baptismal, catechetical and other special-purpose works. In third position were his psalms.

The most significant hymnals outside Luther's control provide some of the clearest evidence of a preference for his hymns. These comprised the editions deriving from the two original versions of the first edition of the Erfurter Enchiridion of 1524. Luther's hymns held by far the most prominent position, outnumbering those of any other composer and making up the largest individual share in the total collection. Twelve editions followed the original two and kinship is highly probable for three others. In all instances, Luther's hymns continued to predominate.

Luther endowed his hymns with special significance when published under his supervision. To do so was in

14 Ibid., p. 332.
15 Ibid., p. 334.
16 Ibid., pp. 338-348 passim.
keeping with the emphasis he placed on them as expressions of the Word and media of worship, and it reflected the care and design with which he composed them. It is testimony to their effectiveness in getting the Word out among the people that they should continue to be accorded prime emphasis. That they tended to fall under organizational concepts like the church year probably arose from the growth of liturgies after Luther's designs, wherein hymns were specified for a day or season. The trend was reinforced in later editions when liturgical formulae were added to the printed hymnal, thus making hymns or hymn categories called for in the services readily available in the same book. In any event, Luther's hymns formed the core of hymnals again and again. There is more to this than simple veneration. The same is not true for hymns written by other leaders of reformation movements, such as Zwingli. The reason for it lies in recognizing that Luther's hymns in printed form fully realized their potentials. They were widely honored because they so successfully accomplished their purpose.

Statistics and descriptions of early Lutheran hymn-books yield up a third indication that the reformer's hymns were widely employed devices effectively accomplishing the goal he envisioned, to get the gospel in motion among the people. The fifty individual editions in the representative sample actually form larger groupings, or families, with a common relationship to one of seven original editions.
Five of these were overseen by Luther, the sixth is the Achtliederbuch of 1525, and the seventh is the Erfurter Enchiridion of 1524.

This phenomenon is significant in several respects. First, it shows that Luther's hymns themselves became widely spread, as their initial appearance in a new edition was continued in repeated editions for years thereafter. Thus his teachings in them were disseminated. Second, it complements the two generalizations reached earlier. A flood of hymnals approximating 50,000 divides internally into smaller and more directly motivated groups; also, Luther's hymns often were the inspiration as well as the core of a hymnal. Third, it tells something of Luther's continuing concern for the hymn. His most creative period of hymn writing was only a year long in 1523 - 1524 and he wrote only one really great hymn after 1524. But he returned to the hymnal time after time up to the last years of his life, re-editing, composing some new hymns, always striving to realize further the potential in print. An indirect demonstration of the degree his hymns were spreading the Reformation appeared in his authoritative hymnal of 1543. The title page of the edition, by Joseph Klug, bore an item common to all later editions, the "Warnung D. Mart. Luther":

Viel falscher Meister itzt tichten
Sihe dich für und lern sie recht richten
Wo Gott hin bawet sein Kirch und sein wort
Da wil der Teufel sein mit trug und mord.17

The first hymnal directly involving Luther, as we have
seen, grew out of his collaboration with Johann Walther in
1524. Its distinctive characteristics have gained for it
a variety of titles. One honors its musical contributor:
Walthersches Gesangbuch; another derives from the title
page of the original edition: Gevstliche gesangk Buch-
leyn; the third, which will be used below, is descriptive:
Wittenbergisches ChorgesangbÜchlein. The printer of the
first edition is not identified but is known to have been
Joseph Klug of Wittenberg, who came to be one of Luther's
most important music printers.18 The distinguished Worms
printer, Peter Schöffier the Younger, produced the second
edition of the hymnal in 1525. It provides an insight
into the nature of choir performance and printing for
choirs. It was printed in four volumes, each providing

17Ibid., 331. Tracing the roots of one hymnal in the
structure of another, to arrive at family groupings, is
done by careful comparison of the hymnals according to
five tests: (1) The number of hymns which are the same;
(2) the degree to which the order of the hymns is the
same; (3) the degree of similarity in notation and melo-
dies; (4) the correspondence of prayers, introductions,
comments, etc., and the order in which they appear; (5)
the correspondence and identity of liturgical sections
and services. Ibid., p. 314.

18Ibid., pp. 315-316.
the music for one voice of a Kantorei—Tenor, Alto, Bass, and Vagans (obligato). The Vagans part contained music for only sixteen of the 37 hymns. The remainder were reciprocally cross-referenced with the Alto part, leading to the supposition that the Vagans doubled the Alto part when not provided with its own.19

The third edition of the Wittenbergisches Chorgesangbüchlein, appearing from the press of Hans Lufft in Wittenberg in 1526, exhibited two significant changes. For one, the concept of the choirbook was dispensed with and the hymns were printed in the enchiridion fashion, with a single-line melody.20 For the other, the shape of the hymnal was changed from the broad-octavo, which gave a short and wide page suitable for a choir, to the upright octavo, which gave a small, handy, compact book of about pocket size.21

There is evidence to suggest an edition of the Wittenbergisches Chorgesangbüchlein appearing from the press of Hans in Wittenberg late 1528 or early 1529. It is mentioned in Georg Rhaw's letter to Stephan Roth on February 10, 1529.22 No copies exist today, but it was a

19 Ibid., pp. 316-317.
20 Ibid., p. 28.
21 Ibid., p. 316.
22 Ibid., p. 27; cf. infra, p. 231.
significant member of this family because it probably first contained Luther's second hymnal preface and because it probably initiated an organizational format quite common in later editions.  

Michael Blum, printer in Leipzig, building upon the 1524 and the hypothesized Weiss edition, added more hymns and a number of liturgical pieces ("Nunc dimittis," "Salve regina," "Da pacem Domine," "Te Deum laudamus"), plus several orders of worship (vespers, matins, complin, Mass), and published the whole in 1529. The popularity and prestige it gained has often led to disregard of the fact that it is essentially the fourth (or fifth) member of the family of Wittenberg hymnals and has endowed it with a separate title, the Blumsche Gesangbuch of 1529. Blum's hymnal was one of the earlier sophistications of the tripartite scheme. The first section, entitled "Die Wittenbergische lieder und geseng," consisted solely of Luther's hymns; the second was introduced as "Die anderen, die nun auch gemein sind"; then came various liturgical parts and services.  

Blum's edition of 1529 and the fifth (sixth) edition,

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23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., pp. 318-319

25 Ibid., p. 28.
by Hans Schönspurger in Zwickau, appear to have been more similar to some common ancestor than to each other. In that respect, they strengthen the case for Weiss's 1528/29 publication. But the issue is little clarified by the date printed on Schönspurger's work, 1528. In any event, this Zwickau edition is the last known generation in the family begun by Luther and Walther in 1524.

The series was significant in several pioneering aspects for the spread of Luther's doctrines by means of the hymn. It was the reformer's first effort to give direction to the hymn publishing movement. Its original format changed within three editions to the style of the enchiridion, which had a much greater potential for reaching the common worshiper. Luther's hymns assumed and retained a position of prominence in all the various editions. The first fathered at least five and probably six later editions without additional stimulation. All in all, the Wittenbergische Chorgesangbüchlein of 1524 amply demonstrated the effectiveness of Luther's hymns at spreading abroad the doctrines they contained when in print.

Meanwhile, in 1529, Luther was working with Joseph Klug on a new edition of hymns. First printed shortly after April 1529, it became the genesis of another family of Luther hymnals. All copies of Klug's printing have been

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Ibid., p. 319.
lost, but it nonetheless has given the group its generic title, *Klugsches Gesangbuch* of 1529. The original was copied immediately at least twice, once in a High German version and once in Low German.\(^{27}\)

The format and contents can be derived from descriptions, copies, and later editions. It opened with Luther's second and first prefaces\(^{28}\) followed by fifty hymns, including 28 by Luther, mostly in the enchorial style with only a one-line melody. Their sequence reinforced the practice of spotlighting and categorizing Luther's work. At the same time, the makeup of the book indicates some affinity with the 1524 edition, suggesting that Luther viewed the hymn effort as a cumulative, ongoing movement. The first section consisted of "Wittenberg hymns, meaning those that had appeared in 1524. Next came a section of "... etlich Psalm, durch D. Martinum Luther zu geistlichen liedern gemacht" concluding with the statement, "Hie endet sich das Wittenberghische gesangbümchlein." It was followed by "... andere, der unsern lieder," or seventeen newer hymns. The hymnal closed with "... heiligen Lieder aus der heiligen Schrift, so die lieben Patriarchen und Propheten vor Zeiten gemacht und

\(^{27}\)Ibid., p. 27.

\(^{28}\)Ibid., p. 320.
gesungen haben," a selection of songs of praise from the Old Testament in four-voice settings. Klug's edition probably bore the title which, with minor variation, served later editions in the family, Gesitliche lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemberg D. Mar. Luth. It appeared thus in the second edition, printed by Andreas Rauscher in Erfurt, 1531. His was followed by another version from Wittenberg in 1533, presumably from Klug's press, of which the only current knowledge is a reprint from 1739. Its format closely paralleled Rauscher's, which is thought to have mirrored Klug's original.

The editor of the 1533 hymnal—who may have been but probably was not Luther—recognized and dealt with the problem that, for the gospel to move among the common people, it is not enough simply that the hymns be valid. The manner and locale of singing also enter in:

\[\text{Zelle (ed.), Das Älteste lutherische Haus-Gesangbuch} \ (\text{Götztingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1903), p. 46.}\]

\[\text{Ibid., p. 49.}\]

\[\text{WA, XXXV, 320.}\]

\[\text{Ibid., p. 321.}\]
Aller meist aber darumb, das wir solche Lieder oder Psalmen gerne wolten, mit ernst und andacht, mit hertz und verstand, gesungen haben, grossem misserbrauch und Abgötterey, noch heutiges tages plöcket und heulet, Da man nichts draus versteht, noch zu verstehen willen oder vleis hat, schweige denn, mit andacht und mit frucht, singen solt, Darum auch Gott mehr erzörnet denn versünet wird.33

Klug printed the fourth of the series, in 1533,34 and the last known was printed in Erfurt, probably in 1539.35

Thus about half of this family was printed by Joseph Klug in Wittenberg. He continued to enjoy high favor as music printer until well into the last edition the reformer ever saw. If his colophon is an indication, he apparently considered himself very intimate with the Reformation movement. It was made up of Luther's coat of arms in the top of an appletree.36

In the case of a group of hymnals published between 1539 and 1543, it becomes more difficult to determine a family-like grouping according to collateral similarities. They are all related to each other but have at the same time a close kinship with the hymnal in the Klugsches

33Ibid., p. 322.
34Ibid.
35Ibid., p. 323.
36Ibid., p. 322.
Gesangbuch series which Klug published in 1535. Resem­
blance extends beyond hymn selection and sequence to in­
clude the Biblical excerpts set to music. These numbered
sixteen and—like the introductory passages—had texts de­
rived linguistically from the 1535 work. For example,
the first of this series, "gedruckt zu Leyptzick durch
Valten Schuman. M. D. XXXIX," contained Luther's prefaces
of 1524 and 1529 and the same hymn list as in 1535, ex­
cepting a "Te Deum" in prose German and an added "Vater
unser." It was titled, Geistliche Lieder, auffs new gebes­
ersert und gemehrt zu Wittenberg. D. Marti. Luther. Viel
Geistliche gesenge, vô andern fromen Christen gemacht. Itô
Die ordnûg der deutsche Mess. It and subsequent hymnals
included mainly songs and excluded liturgical parts and
services except for the Mass. All were in the enchiridion
style and most first verses were interlineated between the
staffs.

These characteristics suggest circumstantially that
the entire series represents a printers' response to a
strong demand for hymnals identified with Wittenberg and
Luther. Six editions rapidly followed each other during

37 Ibid., p. 324.
38 Ibid., p. 325.
39 Ibid., pp. 325-330 passim.
1539 (one), 1540 (three), 1542 or 1543 (one), and 1543 (one). Two printers, Valentin Schumann and Magdeburg's Michael Lotther, split most of the trade. The last was done in Leipzig by Joachim Schumann, probably a relative of Valentin in a separate shop.40

Ein Schon geistlich Lied zu singen, zum begrebnis der verstorben, edited and with a preface by Luther, printed in Wittenberg in 1541 by Nicholas Schirleinz, was the first in a short series of related funeral hymnals. The first edition contained only three hymns, without notes: "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben," by Michael Weisse; "Mitten wir im Leben sind" and "Mit Fried und Freud uch fahr dahin," by Luther.41 Whereas the original ran only to eight pages octavo,42 an edition by Klug the next year totaled 31 pages octavo through addition of many more hymns, including two more by Luther. Klug issued the funeral hymnbook twice more, in 1542 and 1543.43 The last in the family is only distantly related and seems to have been an attempt from Nürnberg to enter a new market for that kind of hymnal. It consisted of seven unsignatured sheets octavo bearing a suitable selection

40Ibid.
41Ibid., p. 334.
42Ibid.
43Ibid., pp. 335-336.
from Luther's hymns "... zum begrebnis der verstorben." \(^{44}\)

The last hymnal on which Luther himself worked came once more from the press of Joseph Klug. This Klugsches Gesangbuch of 1543 likewise became the starting point for a series of hymnals printed during the next three years. After the first edition, entitled Geistliche Lieder Zu Wittenberg, Klug's shop produced five succeeding versions between 1543 and 1545 which are virtually identical except for year of printing. \(^{45}\) But Klug seems to have fallen from favor with Luther, who apparently became dissatisfied with the quality of the printer's work, which was not high in the 1543 series. The hymn-book was moved to Valentin Bapst in Leipzig, who prepared a beautiful new edition in 1545. \(^{46}\) Michael Lotther in Magdeburg printed the last of the series in 1546. \(^{47}\)

From the multitude of hymnals published without Luther's participation or guidance, two families stand out in uniqueness and significance for the spread of Luther's

\(^{44}\) Ibid., p. 336.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., pp. 331-332

\(^{46}\) Hoelty-Nichel, Luther and Culture, p. 169. WA,XXV, 333. But see Ibid., p. 304, where external reasons for the Bapst edition are discounted.

\(^{47}\) Ibid., pp. 333-334.
hymns through printing. These are the Achtliederbuch of 1524 and the Erfurter Enchiridion of 1524. The former in-augurated collections of the reformer's hymns and the latter initiated easy-to-carry editions with easily-sung melodies. At the time these two were being assembled and printed, however, their long range importance could not be known. Thus descriptions and statistics of these two seminal editions are especially germane to the role of the hymn in the Reformation.

The Achtliederbuch's first printer has been identified as Jobst Gutknecht of Nürnberg. In the atmosphere of 1524, overheated with controversy, overcast with impending storms of revolt, and over-filled with polemical pamphlet literature, he as a printer immediately recognized the possibilities of hymn-broadside. He undertook to publish what really was an enlarged pamphlet, a new and unique installment in the printed warfare of 1524.

The meaning of the full title and contents is lost when the Achtliederbuch is lifted out of context and entered in a catalogue of hymnals. Gutknecht cut the page to read:
Whether out of conviction or clear-sighted market analysis, he had ranged his publication on the side of those who were writing "true Christian hymns . . . based on Holy Scripture and in keeping with the pure Word of God . . . for use in church as is somewhat the practice in Wittenberg." On twelve unnumbered quarto sides he printed eight hymns including four by Luther, "Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein," "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein," "Es spricht der unweisen Mund," "Aus tiefer Not."49

The career of the Achtliederbuch was brief and vigorous. In the same year, Gutknecht turned out two more editions virtually identical except for minute typographical corrections and alterations in the border decoration of the title page.50 The fourth and last edition by Melchior Kammerer in Augsburg,51 also appeared in 1524 bearing a

48 Ibid., p. 336.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., p. 337.
51 Ibid.
slightly modified title page but identical contents and sequence.

The Achtliederbuch is to be interpreted as an aspect of the polemical literature of 1524. As such, it speaks strongly for the capacity of the hymn to teach and disseminate Reformation doctrines. Such a capability had been demonstrated in the success of earlier hymn-broadsides and Müntzer's effective hymns; now it was vindicated in the little volume's immediate popularity, as at least 4000 copies were printed. The rationale of controversy lasted only a single year, but as it was ending, the hymn was maturing beyond its initial framework into a permanent teaching medium through which it continued to disseminate Luther's ideas.

The Erfurter Enchiridion brings out certain aspects of that wider capability. Printed in convenient octavo size, it was touted as being handy and available at all times. It was intended to be used as an instructional manual. To this end, a melody, often familiar, was provided. Especially it was commended to young people for their proper upbringing. All these intentions were discussed in the title:
The thinking of the title-page was echoed and amplified in the preface:

In order that, on the one hand, the common Christian congregation might in timely fashion learn what there is for them to know in singing and preaching, and, on the other hand, that an end might be brought to that buzzing beeswarm in the temple, in this little book there are true and well-founded congregational hymns inspired by Holy Scripture. A true Christian can easily keep these hymns with him and ought to carry them and constantly practice them, and especially use them at all times to instruct and raise up the young people. . . .53

Subsequent editions often emphasized a selected aspect of the hymn as a disseminator, as is shown by their varying titles: Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein . . . ,

52 Ibid., p. 338. From the "Schwartzeng Horn" edition. The "Fährbefass" is identical in text but differs slightly in spelling and layout.

53 Zelle, p. 79; Zelle attributed the preface to Justus Jonas, but more recent scholarship in the Weimar edition has named Johann Eberlin von Günzberg as its probable author. WA, XXV, 17-18.
Enchiridion Gevstlicher Gesenge. So man ytzt (Got zu lob) in der kyrchen singt. . . .  

But from the first edition to the last, they all claimed to be necessary for instruction, especially of young people.

The Erfurter Enchiridion ran through 1527 to fourteen editions deriving out of the two originals printed simultaneously in Erfurt in 1524. One later edition incorporated Luther's hymns since 1524 and one in 1526 or 1527 was printed with a matins service. But for the most part the family maintained coherence as to selection and sequence. This may have been due to the hymnal's immediate popularity. Fourteen editions in less than four years would leave little time or necessity for revisions. In addition to the direct descendants, three additional hymals are known to have mutated from the Erfurter Enchiridion. They agree roughly as to hymn content and sequence, but contain at the front an order of worship patterned after that of the Neues Spital in Nürnberg. Several hymns were relocated into the liturgical formula.

Four times under Luther's eyes, a fifth time by deri-

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54 Ibid., pp. 339 (1524), and 340 (1525), respectively.
55 Ibid., p. 345.
56 Ibid., pp. 344-345.
57 Ibid., pp. 346-348.
vation, and twice outside his range, his hymns were published with others identified with the Wittenberg Reformation in a hymnbook edition. The hymns printed in them—hymns Luther wrote and hymns he selected or accepted—were held by him to be expressions of the gospel. Beyond that, they were presented in ways making them readily accepted, understood, learned, repeated, and taught. A sizeable number of editions followed each original, indicating that response from the public was favorable and demand for hymnals was high. These family groupings of Luther-hymnals—an aspect of the printed hymnal as a whole—are significant demonstrations of the spread of the Reformation by the hymn.

A fourth way of considering printed hymnals as a medium of dissemination centers upon the localities where they were printed. On the whole, such an examination reveals that the major centers for the printing of hymnals were also the major centers of the Lutheran Reformation.

Of the fifty editions selected, sixteen, or nearly one-third (32%), were printed in Wittenberg. Eleven (22%) were printed in Erfurt, and the third largest number, eight (16%) came from Nürnberg. These three towns together accounted for 35 of the fifty editions, or seventy percent. No other town had more than half the smallest number of the three.58

58 Cf. Table 2, p. 219.
Certain limitations must be put on such statistics. The character of the selection would tend to weight it toward Wittenberg publications, due in some measure to the favored position enjoyed by Joseph Klug. The sampling is far from complete, and at best could reflect only those publications which have survived since the sixteenth century.

Nonetheless, it seems justifiable to conclude that hymn printing centered in the major towns of the Reformation and to assert that this has meaning for the hymn as an instrument spreading the Reformation. The crucial factors in the assertion are that demand was high and that the printing was done where it could best be done.

The Reformation made many printers, but printers did not make the Reformation. Their publications did. Printed materials were easily transported and relatively inexpensive, whereas printshops were much the opposite on both counts. Major Reformation printers like Joseph Klug, Jobst Gutknecht, and Johann Loersfeldt, worked in the greater convenience and security of major towns.

The volume of output in the three centers would seem to indicate that demand came from a considerably wider range than the immediate locality. But the demand seems to have been met substantially from within the geographical boundaries of the Reformation. Supply from outside was minimal. Of the four towns in which only a single
edition was printed, three were far removed from Luther's movement at the time of publication: Worms (1525), Strassburg (1525), and Augsburg (1524); the fourth was only geographically inside, Zwickau (1528). Undoubtedly, distribution was easier from Wittenberg, Erfurt, and Nürnberg than from lesser towns in the reformed areas or from any town outside.

Evidence could be presented to sustain a number of lesser viewpoints filling in between the major conclusions discussed above. For one, hymnals attracted the labors of many printers. Not every sixteenth-century printer handled music and not all of those who did were music printers of major significance. But a great number of small printers did work with music and found a good business in supplying the demand for hymnals.

Another lesser viewpoint is the fact that Luther's hymnals were not a singular or isolated phenomenon. Each sect had its own body of hymnals which to some degree would support the generalizations above. Apart from sectarian distinctions, certain geographic localities each seem to have embued the hymnals published there with a characteristic stamp. It is especially identifiable in the South German hymnals, while in the North there were the Low German hymnals. Usually the latter were not original editions but were translations of established editions. Whatever the locale, the hymnal tended to appear in print in a way
which met the needs of the area.

Still another manner of examining the spread of Luther's hymns—one which would be intensely dramatic—would be to pursue each hymn and the evidences which appear to tell how far abroad from Wittenberg it traveled and how effective it was. Unfortunately such a project is rendered almost impossible by two considerations. For one, the search for evidence would be endless. For the other, most of the evidence when gathered would be legendary in nature and difficult to evaluate. Such is the case for most of the "knowledge" already current about individual hymns. They are isolated scraps removed from the context and pattern of everyday life. Thus, the evidence that a wandering peddler once sang Luther's hymns in the market place, sold pamphlets of the hymns, and was imprisoned for his troubles, tells us nothing of the frequency and location of such an event, nor whether the police actions against it were characteristic of unreformed areas.

Nonetheless, such "legends" are vital for an insight into the atmosphere of the Reformation and for grasping hold of the excitement and promise it stimulated. The hymn held high potential as a means of expressing, conveying, and extending that excitement and promise, and the printing press was the enabling device which converted that potential into a mobile, physical reality.
CHAPTER VII

THE HYMN AND THE SCHOOLS

Understanding the hymn as a device for teaching and disseminating the ideas of the Reformation, in relation to the schools of the Reformation period in Germany, turns largely upon an examination of the school system with reference to its points of contact with music, with singing, and with the hymn in particular. Or, to put it in the form of a question, "What was the role of music in the schools of the Reformation period?" An answer for the Lateinschule derives for the most part from an understanding of the evolution and role of the Schulkantorei.

Certain other pertinent questions follow. The first to arise might well be, "What conception did Luther hold with respect to education and the schools, and what role did he see for music and the hymns in the schools?" After that it might be asked, "What attention in the formal curriculum was given to music, and, in particular, what effect was worked by the Reformation with respect to the hymn?" Since the formal curriculum seldom reflects the total educational experience in any school, a further question might be, "What extra-curricular, or formal but non-
curricular, music was there, and what can be said for it regarding the hymn?" A final question, which really pervades every other, could be phrased, "What were the pedagogical goals expected of music, and thus of the hymn?" By indicating through answers to these questions the impact of the hymn upon this institution of sixteenth-century society, it is hoped light will be shed on its role in spreading the Reformation.

During the sixteenth century as perhaps during no period before or since, the relationship was the closest and the identity the nearest between the schools and the music of the society in general.¹ This situation stemmed from the influence on the educational system of a fundamental epistemological concept and from the working out in practical terms of a problem of the music of the church.

The governing belief with regard to music and training the young was a conviction in the power of music over the minds of students. Believed to be a major influence determining character, music was championed as the grace or despaired as the curse of young people.² Coupled to this


conviction was the real need on the part of the community for some organized provisioning of music for the services of the church.  

During the High Middle Ages, developments in church music had led to a demand for competent choirs. This in turn had led to a necessity for music instruction, which had spurred the emergence of choir schools as adjuncts to monasteries, courts, and cathedrals. This music-instructional function in time merged with the collateral development of schools with full curricula in the same institutions. The outcome by the sixteenth century was the Schulkantorei as a function of the Latin Schools. A far-reaching significance of this development was that, by the late fifteenth century and through the sixteenth, the Latin Schools of the monasteries, cathedrals, and other endowments were indivisibly identified with the preservation of the musical life of the community.

Luther was a product of this educational system. His own musical training and experience were gained from it and statements revealing his attitude toward music as a function of education bear out his background as well as the changes he worked upon it. Education was for practical

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4Epstein, pp. 6-7.
5Ibid., p. 8.
purposes, but within the Christian framework. As a function of Christian love, education was to prepare the Christian for service to his neighbors. He regarded music and grammar as preserving forces in the world and, through his influence, a major consequence of the Reformation on the schools was a significant enlargement of their stabilizing function through their expansion in the curricula. Thus for music the question was to maintain rather than to introduce, and with Luther there was no doubt about its being continued. He would have made it even more general than it was by requiring every schoolteacher, not only the Kantor, to know music.

Luther's views were reflected and greatly amplified by Melanchthon, who likewise held music instruction to be indispensable. His belief was generally shared among educators. Bugenhagen included music as a part of the

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6 Harold J. Grimm, "Luther and Education," Luther and Culture ("Luther Lectures," IV; Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1960), pp. 73-83 passim.


8 Grimm, Luther and Culture, p. 85.

9 WA-TR, I, No. 968, 490; cf., Ibid., V, No. 6248, 557.

10 Ibid., I, No. 968, 490.

11 Epstein, p. 35.

12 Ibid.
curriculum necessary, he declared in the Braunschweig Kirchenordnung of 1528, to train properly and guide the young and to instill in them the fear and love of God. In the absence of such training they were turning to sin, cheating, shame, and lying.13

An intimate connection existed between the community and the work of the schools, as is revealed in the declaration of the Braunschweig Kirchenordnung that it was the result of close cooperation among the council, the leading citizens, and the ministers.14 Such a relationship occurred widely, buttressed by such factors as choirs of numerous lay orders. Probably the most significant singing groups came from the Kalands and the Johanni, but the list was much longer.15

The purpose of all the attention given to music in the schools was and remained practical in nature, whether expressed as a general maxim for proper guidance in godly


14 Ibid., p. 281

15 Epstein, p. 8. Others included the orders of Saints Anthony, Severus, Nicholas, Jacob, Fabian, Sebastian, and Anne; plus the orders of Rosenkranz, Marienkron, Maria and Corpus Christi.
ways, or whether it was derived from the need for music in the worship. In either event, the test of music was good singing. Primary emphasis was laid upon performance and the attainment of perfection therein. Consequently, the makers of curricula exhibited keen attention to music. Only an examination of the full-day's program adequately reveals the measure of music in the activities of the schools.  

The overall effect of the Reformation upon the formal curricula of the schools of the sixteenth century was to reinforce and amplify in some respects the attention already given to music, but not to modify the existing practices to any great degree, excepting the fundamental transformation of music education—as all education—into a function of Christian love. This change was consistent with Luther's attitude toward music in the church in general, where he likewise reinforced and simplified what he found while fundamentally transforming its meaning.

Thus, in the portion of the Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony, 1528, Luther's remarks on music in the curriculum were consistent with the existing general practices. Music instruction was to be carried out in each of the three divisions he set up among the student body, progressing from the rudiments of singing.

and theory in the first division through mastery of modal theory, sightsinging, chant, and polyphonic singing in the upper divisions. An hour per day, the first after noon, was specified for practice.\textsuperscript{17}

The basic concepts in education set out by Luther were amplified in detail by Melanchthon and given substance by protégés such as Johannes Bugenhagen. The Kirchenordnung written for Braunschweig under the latter's supervision in 1528 was patterned directly after the Instructions and the ideas of Melanchthon.\textsuperscript{18} Each faculty was to include a Kantor, with duties to instruct all students in music as a part of their education, worship, and community service. He was to raise up and train a Kantorei from among the student body, supplemented if need be by voices from outside the school,\textsuperscript{19} which would perform in the church of which the school was an adjunct, "... so die Prediger \textit{sic} und das Volk in derselben es wollten gerne haben."\textsuperscript{20} Instruction was to be given to all students in choral music and the chant, plus the theories of both metrical and mensural music.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{17}American Edition, XL, 316-319 passim; Grimm, Luther and Culture, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{18}Vagt., p. 287.
\textsuperscript{19}Epstein, p. 40
\textsuperscript{20}Vagt., p. 288.
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.
The curriculum devised for Nordhausen in 1583 handled music in the following manner: The fourth (lowest) class was concerned with learning to read and copy music. The middle class learned the Latin chant and elementary theory, and the upper levels mastered the elaborate polyphonic music of the Kantorei, plus advanced theory.²²

Music instruction, however, was rarely the only duty assigned the Kantor in the school. According to the curriculum at Hof in 1585, the Kantor spent 28 hours per week in the classroom, but only three were in music instruction. Besides his teaching load, he was responsible for the music of the services during the week, for the attendance and discipline of the singers, and for the music library.²³ By the end of the sixteenth century, formal music instruction in these schools had been reduced to two hours weekly, Wednesday and Friday from 12 noon to 1:00 p. m.²⁴

The general tendency earlier in the century, however,

²²Epstein, p. 19.


²⁴Ibid., p. 86.
appears to have been to increase music in the schools. This was brought about generally in two ways, by adding a Kantor to the faculty where there was none before, and by increasing instruction in music where the Kantor was established. During the Reformation, music instruction averaged one hour each of the six school days, plus rehearsals. The Kirchenordnungen for Eisleben, Magdeburg, Nürnberg, and Strassburg growing out of the Reformation all specified the addition of a Kantor to the faculty at schools where appropriate. The ordinances for Naumburg, drawn up under Luther's approval about 1537/38, specified that, "das Lehrampt aber ferner . . . ist zue diesem mal mit dreien Personen, als einem Schulmeister, Baccalaureo and Cantore bestellt."27

As the quotation suggests, the Kantor was ranked second or third in the faculty, behind the Rektor and sometimes the Konrektor. His salary usually was substantially less than that of the Rektor, but was supplemented by free housing. Furthermore, it was expected

25Epstein, p. 16.
26Ibid.
27WA, XXXV, 65.
28Annual salaries in Hof about 1500: Rektor, 61 gulden; Konrektor, 48 gulden; Kantor, 24 gulden. Annual salaries in Hof by the end of the sixteenth century:
he would be able to add to his income by entertaining at banquets and weddings.\textsuperscript{29}

The instructional method most generally reflected in the school music texts of the period was question and recitation, proceeding from theory to example to reinforcement.\textsuperscript{30} Kantors very frequently developed their own texts for local use,\textsuperscript{31} and a few teachers attained considerable prominence through their writings, among them Heinrich Faber, who was Rektor of Martinsschule in Braunschweig, and Lampadius, of the Latin Schools of Wernigerode and Halberstadt.\textsuperscript{32} Lampadius' text, \textit{Compendium Musices} . . . , among the most widely printed and used, illustrates the nature of music pedagogy:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{29}Kätzel, p. 96.
\textsuperscript{30}Epstein, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{31}Johann Spangenberg, \textit{Quaestiones musicæ} (1536), for Nordhausen; Gallus Dresler, \textit{Elementa} (after 1550), for Magdeburg; Beurhusius, \textit{Erotematum musicae}, for Dortmund; \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 16. Faber wrote \textit{Compendiolum musicæ pro incipientibus} (1548); also popular was Nicolaus Listenius, \textit{Musica} (1537); Sternfeld, \textit{Musica Disciplina}, II (1948), 113.
\end{quote}

(#28 cont'd.)

Rektor, 120 gulden; Konrektor, 80 gulden; Kantor, 70 gulden plus one scheffel of corn. Kätzel, p. 96. But cf. Braunschweig in 1528: at Martinsschule, Rektor (Magister artium), 50 gulden; Kantor, 30 gulden; assistant, 20 gulden; at Katherineschule, Rektor, 30 gulden, Kantor, 30 gulden, assistant, 20 gulden. All salaries plus housing. Vagt, pp. 286-287.

These textbooks helped correlate the music in the schools with the music of the community at large through the worship service. They were in Latin almost without exception as was the actual instruction. Attempts to convert to German were largely unsuccessful, illustrated by the failure of Martin Agricola's two efforts, Kurtz Deutsche Musica (1528), and Musica Figuralis Deutsch (1532). On the other hand, his Rudimenta Musices (1539) and Quastiones Vulgatiores (1543) were quite widely used.34 This is explained to a considerable extent by the preservation of Latin services in the church. Luther had specified in his preface to the Formula Missae that Latin worship was desirable for students who could understand it, and the Latin Mass remained longer in the churches having schools attached. It did tend increasingly to move into German, however, while other services converted more slowly. Matins and vespers especially remained in Latin and as a result became the

33Lampadius, Compendium Musicae . . . (Bern, 1546), p. Ba; Microfilm roll No. 975, Foundation for Reformation Research, 6477 San Bonita, St. Louis 5, Missouri.

34Sternfeld, Musica Disciplina, II (1948), 113. Probably the most famous school book was by Cochlaeus, Rektor of Lorenzerschule in Nürnberg after 1510, Tetrachordum Musicae (1511 ff.); Ibid., p. 114.
special province of the Schulkantorei. Textbooks were a necessary part of the preparation for these services and development of a substantial literature in collections of Latin hymns and psalms, the music used most there, was a further outgrowth of their preservation. Latin songs were maintained, but the consequence was increasing separation of the music of school and worship from the music of the community at large.

Practices arose in the schools which reinforced this dichotomy. Classical Latin, sponsored by the humanists, was learned, spoken, and sung more and more to the detriment of the living Latin of the late Middle Ages. The song of the secondary services was mostly chant and thus involved the entire student body, but the music of the

35Epstein, p. 32.

36Ibid., p. 33. Locally popular collections included volumes by Johann Spangenberg (Madgeburg, 1545), Lucas Lossius (Nürnberg, 1533), Ludicus (Wittenberg, 1589), and Franz Eler (Hamburg, 1588). Generally popular was Keuchenthal, Cantionale (Wittenberg, 1573).

37Ibid.

38Ibid., p. 12.

39Ibid., p. 34.
Mass was performed by the Kantorei selected from advanced, talented, and permanent students.\textsuperscript{40} These few sang music which, even as it was moving steadily away from Netherlands polyphony in Latin toward the emerging style of isometric homophony in the vernacular, was becoming increasingly identified as a separate type, "church music"—the chorale.\textsuperscript{41} But whatever the changes evolving later in musical styles and practices, Luther's retention of the Mass guaranteed the preservation of the Schulkantorei and music in the schools.

Formal music instruction and performance in the schools of the Reformation were little influenced or changed by the hymn. As a teaching and disseminating device for the new doctrines, it was accomplishing the same goals through song as the music curriculum and the worship services. There was little need for a fusion of the two. The influence worked by the hymn, then, is to be sought inside the school but outside the boundaries of curriculum and liturgy.

The Schulordnungen for Hesse in 1526 and Wittenberg in 1533 gave the impetus of the Reformation to a movement which

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 35. Transient students were a characteristic even of the grammar schools of the late Middle Ages. Ibid., p. 10. Luther's own academic career (Mansfeld, Erfurt) is an illustration.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., pp. 35-36.
spread throughout Germany from roots in the pre-Reformation as early as Nürnberg in 1500.\textsuperscript{42} This was the singing of two or three Latin hymns, usually psalms, by the entire student body before and after the morning and afternoon lessons.\textsuperscript{43} In time a body of songs grew up related to this type of singing, which expanded frequently to where it enclosed each hour of instruction.\textsuperscript{44} Its ancillary relationship to curriculum and worship is designated in its identification as "außerkirchliche Kunstgesang."

Nonetheless, this informal music was heavily religious in character, being mainly Latin hymns and psalms, although on occasion it included a setting of an ode by Horace or a chorus from a musical drama. Closely related to instruction and usually composed specifically for the classroom, the songs frequently included such universally

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 27.

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., p. 22. A strong case can be made for these psalms and hymns in the development of Western music. Through the impact originally of humanist musical concepts, they were four-part, harmonized, isometric homophony with the melody in the uppermost voice. The expansion of humanistic school reforms in connection with the Reformation, plus the expansion of these new musical concepts into wider areas such as the school dramas, redoubled their impact on the development of music. The original insistence upon Latin--to reinforce language instruction--gave way in time to the vernacular--for the same reason but with more widespread effect on the society. Epstein, pp. 28-30, argues on these bases for the expansion of humanism.

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., p. 23.
popular hymns as "Veni creator spiritus." As with the textbooks, a mass of printed literature soon developed.45

Another aspect of singing in the schools—especially hymn-singing—apart from formal instruction, was found in the numerous festivals and special days occurring during the school year. The most popular with the students was the festival of St. Gregory, March 12. Since it was especially devoted to the schoolchildren, it is not surprising that merrymaking completely took over the schools for as long as three days. There was a great deal of singing and most hymnals for school use contained special hymns for St. Gregory's Day, such as Melanchthon's, "Vos

45 Examples:
Melodiae Scholasticae sub horarum intervallis decantandae (1512?). Six motets, 32 Latin hymns. Arr. by Martin Agricola (?).
Melodiae Scholasticae sub horarum intervallis decantandae (1597, 1609). Twenty-six hymns in four voices arranged by Bartolomäus Gesius, Kantor at Frankfort a. d. O.; Latin texts various.
Odae Sacrae, 2 vols., by Ludwig Helmhold, Kantor at Mühlhausen, arr. (except one) by Joachim à Burck (1568).
Ibid., p. 24.
ad se pueri," which Martin Agricola set to music. Eventually, whole collections for the event appeared.\footnote{46}

Finally attention must be given to the most significant aspect of casual music in the schools, the Kurrende. Their music was less regularized and more informal than that of the Kantorei. Luther, as reported by Walther, expressed the desire that songs with the gospel be written for them.\footnote{47}

They kept the schools from going over completely to a systematic humanistic education by their singing for the public at large and by the fact that their members often lived among families in the town, receiving lodgings and meals in exchange for family tutoring.\footnote{48}

During the course of the sixteenth century, the public nature of the functions of the Kurrende often led to their regulation by municipal ordinances and gradual conversion

\footnote{46}Ibid., p. 26; e.g., Cantiones Gregorianae (1624); cf. \textit{supra} p. 209 n. 45, \textit{Crepundia sacrae} . . . .

\footnote{47}WA, XXXV, 82; cf. \textit{supra}, p. 158.

\footnote{48}Epstein, p. 12. The major distinction between Kurrende and Kantorei is that members of the latter were recompensed for their services in the form of scholarships, housing, and meals. They were a select few of the whole student body. The Kurrende, on the other hand, theoretically were non-supported singers who sang in the streets for an income. They were distinct from the pauper students, who likewise benefitted from scholarships in their behalf. In actual practice, the same boys often made up the actual membership of both Kantorei and Kurrende. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 43.
into adjuncts of the municipally supported musical establishment. This was a far step from their inception in begging by students for subsistence, but it could only serve to widen contact with their music.\textsuperscript{49} All in all, the activities and continued existence of the Kurrende worked in several ways to offset the evolution of an independent school-church music and to increase the identity between worshiper and music of the worship. Although their repertoire included many elements, it was based on the hymnody. More importantly, their singing accomplished much the same task as the hymns.

It can be seen that at every level of music instruction in the schools the goals remained the same after the Reformation as they had been before. These objectives were essentially practical, beginning with the one most important, performance in the church of music necessary for worship. In terms of instruction, music was \textit{ars bene cantandi}, the effort to make the art of music and of singing equally excellent.\textsuperscript{50} Beyond these ends, music in the schools was to

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., pp. 42-43, 45. Such ordinances are found in Hannover, 1561; Braunschweig, 1570, wherein rehearsals were specified; and Nordhausen, 1583, where two Kurrende were recognized, one of non-local students which performed four times weekly, and one of local students which performed three times weekly.

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., p. 18.
provide exercise and reinforcement in the Latin language; indirectly it also echoed the lesson of the sermon.\footnote{Sternfeld, \textit{Musica Disciplina}, II (1948), 100-102.}
The role of the hymn as well was emphasized but was not greatly altered. Aims for the hymn analogous to those of music in general were expressed by Martin Agricola in the preface to a school hymnal of 1556: exercise in the prayers, a refreshing change of pace, and reinforcement of the classical meters.\footnote{Epstein, p. 25.} Hymns occupied the attention of students and masters for a sizeable portion of the school day even though they were not an element of the formal instruction. The benefits received from this tangential activity did not appear as concrete curricular accomplishments but were valuable nonetheless. The Hamburger \textit{Kirchenordnung} of 1529 expressed them as follows:

> Many educated people must recognize that it was useful for memorization and instruction that they, in their youth, were required to sing all sorts of psalms, antiphones, and responses, etc., which in limited measure are even to this moment customarily employed in the small towns as well as the large. . . . Our children should not begrudge that which has been learned in the past. Things which have helped their fathers will also help others and should—with God's grace—help more people.\footnote{Lilencron, \textit{Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte}, p. 11.}
Thus the influence of the hymn upon the music of the schools in the Reformation period was indirect. The explanation for this rests at bottom on the fact the idioms of the two were quite distinct musically. These idioms did not come into conflict because the tracks on which they were travelling were essentially parallel. Curricular music was concerned with requirements of the worship service. The extensive non-curricular and extracurricular music was the domain of the hymn. In both areas the essential activity going on was propagation of the gospel.
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<td>24</td>
<td>Wittnb</td>
<td>Joseph Klug</td>
<td>Wittenberg-Chor-GB of 1524</td>
<td>Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Worms</td>
<td>Peter Schoffer</td>
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<td>Geystliche Gesangbüchlein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Wittnb</td>
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<td>Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge und psalmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/29</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>Michael Blum</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Wittnb</td>
<td>Hans Weis</td>
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<td>Weis'che GB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Zwick</td>
<td>Hans Schoenperger</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Wittnb</td>
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<td>Klugsche GB of 1529</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Andreas Rauscher</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert</td>
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<td>33</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Wittnb</td>
<td>Joseph Klug</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Wolfgang Stürmer</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Geistliche Lieder. Auffs new gebessert</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Place Printed</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Hymnal Group</td>
<td>Name/Title of Edition</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>Valentin Schumann</td>
<td>Klugsche GB of 1535</td>
<td>Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert und gemehrt (Schumann-(\text{\texttrademark}) sche GB of 1539)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
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<td>Mich. Lotther</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Magdeburg</td>
<td>Mich. Lotther</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42/</td>
<td>Magdeburg</td>
<td>Mich. Lotther</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Magdeburg</td>
<td>Mich. Lotther</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>Joach. Schumann</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Wittnberg</td>
<td>Nicholaus Schirleit</td>
<td>Begräbnislieder of 1541</td>
<td>Ein schon geistlich Lied zu singen zum begräbnis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Wittnberg</td>
<td>Joseph Klug</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Christliche Gesänge Latein und Deutsch zum Be-(\text{\texttrademark}) grebnis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Wittnberg</td>
<td>Joseph Klug</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Wittnberg</td>
<td>Joseph Klug</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Ludwig Kingel</td>
<td>Begräbnis Lieder of 1541</td>
<td>Ein new lied . . . zum begräbnis der verstorben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Wittnberg</td>
<td>Joseph Klug</td>
<td>Klugsche GB of 1543</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Place Printed</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Hymnal Group</td>
<td>Name/Title of Edition</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Wittnb</td>
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<td>Geistliche Lieder zu Wittenberg</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>Valentin Bapst</td>
<td></td>
<td>Geistliche Lieder. Mit einer newem vorrhede (Bapst-sche GB of 1545)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Magdeb</td>
<td>Mich. Lotther</td>
<td></td>
<td>Geistliche lieder und Psalmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Jobst Gutknecht</td>
<td>Achtlieder-buch of 1524</td>
<td>Etlich christlich lieder . . .</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Jobst Gutknecht</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Jobst Gutknecht</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Augsburg</td>
<td>Melchior Namminger</td>
<td></td>
<td>Etlich Christliche lyeder . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Mathäus Maler, &quot;zum schwartzen Horn&quot;</td>
<td>Erfurter Enchiridion of 1524</td>
<td>Enchiridion, oder eyn Handbuchlein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Ludwig Trutebul, &quot;zum Färbe-fass&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein</td>
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TABLE 1 -- Continued

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<th>Yr</th>
<th>Place Printed</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Hymnal Group</th>
<th>Name/Title of Edition</th>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>&quot;Färbe-fass&quot;</td>
<td>Erfurter En-chiridion of 1524</td>
<td>Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>&quot;zum Schwartzen Horn&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Enchiridion Geystliche Gesenge</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Wolfgang Sturmer</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Gesenge (Sturmersche Enchiridion of 1525)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Hans Hergot</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Enchiridion oder handbuchleyn</td>
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<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Hans Hergot</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bresl</td>
<td>Adam Dyon</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Eyn gesang Buchlein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Bresl</td>
<td>Adam Dyon</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Strasbourg</td>
<td>Wolk Kœpel</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge</td>
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<td>(?)</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Johann Loersfeldt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Johann Loersfeldt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>Johann Loersfeldt (?)</td>
<td>Erfürter Enchiridion of 1524</td>
<td>Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mathias Maler</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Hans Hergot</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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TABLE 1 -- Continued

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<th>Yr</th>
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<th>Printer</th>
<th>Hymnal Group</th>
<th>Name/Title of Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Hans Hergot</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Enchoridion gesen ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>Jobst Gucknacht</td>
<td>Enchoridion of 1424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aSelection criteria: First hymnal of each group was edited or sanctioned by Luther, or featured Luther and Wittenberg hymns.

Source: WA, XXXV, Chap. iii, "Bibliographie."
**TABLE 2**

NUMBER OF SELECT EDITIONS PRINTED PER TOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>No. Editions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wittenberg</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worms</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zwickau</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erfurt</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magdeburg</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augsburg</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breslau</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strassburg</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*WA, XXXV, Chap. iii, "Bigliographie."
APPENDIX

MUSIC PRINTING AND MUSIC PRINTERS
IN GERMANY DURING THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Among various factors responsible for the tremendous growth of printing in the sixteenth century, the Reformation ranks perhaps as the most important. With a steadily rising level of literacy and a growing economic prosperity, printing grew out of the incunabula stage as more than a fad or a variation of hand reproduction. The Reformation provided stimuli from controversies, debates, and propaganda, plus objectives of long-range education, by which the press emerged as the most potent of all media of mass communication.

The Reformation period was a highly competitive but profitable age for printers. Sharing in the boom were those who partially or exclusively printed music. They appeared immediately after Gutenberg's perfection of the basic techniques. As masters of a specialized process in the general profession, music printers by the time of the Reformation had settled upon basic solutions to their technical problems and were firmly established as part of the whole book-printing and book-selling trade.

Printing music is more difficult than printing text. Although there is less type to set, each type appears
essentially alone. Furthermore, its vertical and horizontal positioning must be accomplished with utmost precision. Each note must appear in an exact position upon a background of horizontal lines, vertical lines, text, and miscellaneous other items. For the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this was the most important technical problem: to place the notes accurately in relation to the lines.

The earliest examples of music-printing exhibit no attempt to deal with this problem. Either the notes and lines were drawn in by hand, with only the text printed, or the lines were printed and the notes added later. About 1480, a solution by means of the woodcut was introduced. Initially, lines and notes were cut in the same block. But the following year, Jörg Reiser of Würzburg and Octavio Scotus of Venice both developed a two-block method, one for the notes and one for the lines. It made little difference which was printed first, since the problem was to print the second block upon the sheet in exactly the same registration. Despite its technical difficulties, some very lovely examples were produced by this method. It was preferred for printing music in rubric style or for white notes on a black sheet. A typical use of the latter was to distinguish among part books for a choir. Difficult to read, it soon was discontinued.

The method utilizing two-block impressions received an important improvement about 1501 with the introduction
of metal cuts for the former wood cuts. This technique was first perfected and put into general use by Ottaviano Petrucci in Venice in that year. It was adopted immediately by at least two German printers, Gerhard Õglin and Peter Schöffer the Younger. Schöffer's type is similar in appearance to Petrucci's, leading to speculation that he learned the technique from the Italian and took over his models.

A system of moveable type for music was developed first by Pierre Haultin of Paris in 1525. He cut each note to include a minute section of the immediately adjoining line. His process was introduced to German printing by Christian Egendolph of Frankfurt am Main in 1532 and by George Rhaw of Wittenberg in 1537.

The method of printing music which has become the most widely practiced today is metal-plate engraving. It was first perfected by Simone Verovio of Rome about 1570. Copper is the usual metal.¹

Thus, during the first half of the sixteenth century there were two major methods of printing music, each with subdivisions of detailed techniques. The block method included the woodcut and the metalcut. The moveable type method included a number of possibilities. Each note

¹Zelle, pp. 12 n., 14 n.
could be cut with a fragment of a complete staff around it. Or it could be cut with only the immediately surrounding line or lines, leaving the remainder of the staff to be set separately. This was the method perfected by Haultin and practiced most by printers using the single impression method, though in either case only one printing was needed. A double-impression, moveable-type method was known in which either notes or lines were printed first. Its greatest limitation was faulty registration of the second impression, but it eliminated the unevenness in the staffs which plagued the one-step method. A triple-impression method was known using moveable type which involved

printing text, staff, and notes separately in any order.\footnote{Paul Cohen, \textit{Die Nürnberg Musikdrucker im sechzehnten Jahrhundert} (Erlangen: Höfer und Limmert, 1927), p. 4.}

The evolution of printing techniques can be illustrated in the early hymnals of the Lutheran Reformation. Three of the earliest were printed by the single woodcut block method, the Achtliederbuch, the Erfurter Enchiridion, and the first edition of the Walthersches Gesangbuch. Subsequently, the second and third editions of the Walthersches Gesangbuch were printed in the double-
impression block method and the fourth and fifth were printed in the Haultin method of moveable type.\(^3\)

Printing could be a highly profitable trade, but it involved considerable risk and danger to the printer. Few laws protected him, but many held him liable for what came off his press. He was safe only if an offending work had not yet been offered for sale.\(^4\) Nürnberg had a censorship law by 1502 and hired two official municipal censors beginning 1523. After 1527 any new work had to be submitted to the council for approval before sale. A law of 1550 made an offending printer liable not only to forfeiture but to expulsion from the city. In 1569 it was required of each printer that he annually swear an oath to uphold the printer's code.\(^5\)

The minuteness, complexity, and repetitiveness of such laws suggests that they were honored more in the breach. That they rest squarely on the printer suggests that the law was slow to separate printing from related professions of publishing and selling. Nor were these distinctions

\(^3\)Zelle, p. 13 n.


\(^5\)Cohen, pp. 8-9.
apparent in fact. The clearest division was between composer, editor and printer. Even so, many notable musical works and hymnals were edited in the workshop by the printer. The beginnings of a distinct book-selling trade began to appear and some large printers did business occasionally like a publisher, but the publishing house still was unknown.

The composer or editor of a musical publication usually had the better of the contract with his printer. He even took the liberty of publicizing his other works in the prefaces of new ones. For his own part, however, the printer took steps to protect and enhance his business. Frequently he wrote his own preface to a new work, in which he flattered the city council. He often dedicated the book to the council or to some influential person, an obvious but customary pursuit of favor.6

Copyright laws and conventions were non-existent in the sixteenth century, and honest printers lost enormous profits to pirate printers. Most local authorities issued regulations governing reproduction. The Nürnberg

6Cohen, pp. 8-9.
city council took steps against pirating in 1527. But such efforts were effective only locally at best.

Luther became extremely vexed by rampant pirating of Reformation hymnals and writings. He protested to Elector John in 1526 and received the promise that unauthorized reprinting of any new work would be forbidden provided prior notice of its appearance were given. He issued an order on March 21 to the city councils of Erfurt, Zwickau, Grimma and Eilenburg, charging them with enforcing a decree that the original printer of any new publication shall have the copyright for one year.

Considerably more stringent were the efforts of Duke George of Albertine Saxony to exclude Reformation printings from Leipzig. An edict in 1522 forbade publication of the writings of Luther and his associates. It was issued again in sharper form at Easter 1524. Severe regulations appeared the following year in the wake of the peasant uprisings, and in 1529 a censorship code was decreed. A mass

7 Ibid., p. 9.
8 Ibid., p. 6.
9 Kurfurst Johann (Torgau) to Luther (Wittenberg), March 16, 1526; WA-Br, IV, No. 986, 38.
10 Ibid., n. 1.
expulsion of Lutherans in 1533 was followed by a search and seizure of publications by known Reformation printers, such as Michael Blum. 11 Blum had regularly gotten into trouble for his printings. In May, 1526, he was punished severely for work produced during the Peasants' Revolt. 12 But three years later he edited and published a collection of Lutheran hymns, the Blumsche Gesangbuch. It even included a preface written in 1524 by Luther, though neither preface nor title mentioned the real author. 13

The clearest generalization that can be made about printers in the Reformation period is that there were vast numbers of them. 14 It is physically impossible to treat each individually, but it is possible to select representative printers to illuminate the nature of printing in that period.

Printing was, in its ultimate terms, an individual matter, a function of the individual businessman running his own shop. These operations sometimes became sizable,

11 WA, XXXV, 51-52.
12 Ibid., p. 51.
13 Ibid.
and printers were known sometimes to have as many as a hundred employees. In addition to the illustrious individual there was the illustrious shop which did printing on a grand scale under several owners for as long as three generations. Then there were certain cities in Germany which became illustrious centers of printing. At each level there were houses engaged in music printing.

The most famous of the multitude of printers in the service of the Lutheran Reformation was Georg Rhaw. He entered a printer's career after spending the earlier years of his life as a musician and teacher. He retained the ideals of a teacher and used his press to achieve pedagogical goals. A sampling of his musical publications reveals that they constituted a significant portion of his overall output but that only a lesser percentage of them were Lutheran hymnals. His musical works were equalled and even exceeded in importance by his printings of Wittenberg writings.

Rhaw was born in 1488 at Eissfeld (Essfelt), in Franconia. His education was completed at the Universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg, where he was exposed to music and humanism. In 1518 he assumed the duties of Kantor of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig and part-time instructor at the

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15Winterfeld, Der evangelische Kirchengesang; Erster Teil, p. 187.
University. He is reputed to have composed "Missa de Santo Spiritu" for the opening services of the debate between Eck and Luther, and a "Te Deum" for the closing observances.  

Rhaw came to the Reformation on the pathway of humanism. By 1520 his continued association with the Wittenberg movement led to his forced resignation and withdrawal from the city. After a precarious existence as a schoolteacher in Eisleben, he came to Wittenberg as a teacher in 1524. The following year he embarked on his career as a music printer. 

Rhaw was never particularly noted as a composer and none of his works are extant. He was widely known as a music theorist through his two popular summaries on the chant and on polyphony. But he was best known as a music editor, particularly through his remarkably successful editions of Reformation hymns. The reason for this success was that Rhaw was an educator who revealed his qualities as a teacher through printing.  

His prefaces are an excellent place to study the Lutheran doctrine of music as founded by Luther, expounded

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18 Ibid., p. 32.
by Melanchthon, and reinforced by Rhaw. They were all agreed that the purpose of music is to propagate the Word. Melanchthon wrote in Luther's line of thought to declare that music is directly instrumental in furthering man's knowledge of God and appreciation of the Christian faith. This is because, like preaching, it is an instrument to spread the Word of God among the people. Rhaw himself echoed Luther by asserting that ever since the psalmists the doctrines in Scripture of Christ and the Apostles have been revealed through music. With this in mind, he carefully edited the hymns he accepted for publication.

Rhaw rose to a position of great prominence in Luther's movement, acquiring the title, "Printer of the Reformation." His correspondence reveals that he had wide connections outside Wittenberg and was almost totally involved in printing for the Reformation. A letter of November 6, 1527 to his brother-in-law Stephan Roth, bookseller, printer, and city scribe in Zwickau, indicates the

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19Ibid., p. 39.

20 Ibid., p. 36.

21 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

capacity of a typical Reformation print shop. He remarked that whereas two of his local competitors produced about four or five signatures per week, he seldom figured on turning out more than three because he paid great attention to quality and accuracy. The extent of his occupation with printing for the Reformation came clearly to light in another letter to Roth on February 10, 1528. He was fully occupied with setting up and printing the postil sermons on the New Testament saints. But he was not the only printer kept busy by the reformers at Wittenberg. In that winter alone the following was taking place: Hans Lufft was printing the Winter Postils. Melchior Lotther was at work on tracts against Zwingli and Oecolempadeus. Joseph Klug was doing Melanchthon's Greek grammar while Nicholas Schirlentz was working on the visitation ordinances for the Saxon lands. Finally, Hans Weiss was finishing up on a hymnal so he could begin on the Summer Postils in the Saxon dialect.

Rhaw printed continuously for the Reformation from 1525 until his death in 1548 at the age of sixty.

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23 Ibid.


Through his twenty-three years as a printer he steadily produced musical works which were almost totally involved with the Reformation. His musical publications numbered twelve from the years 1538 to 1545. They break down into three categories: hymnals, liturgical music, and secular music. Only two of the twelve fall clearly into the last category. They were collections of bicina and tricina, light and rhythmic two- and three-voiced songs, published in 1545 and 1532 respectively.

The music Rhaw edited and printed outside of hymn-books covered a wide range. In 1538 he did a huge anthology, Symphoniae Iucundae, in four voices. Another one-of-a-kind edition came in 1541, Opus decem Missarum, primarily a school songbook. Two collections were organized around the theme of Easter, in 1538 and 1539, while in 1545 he printed Officiorum (ut vocant) de Nativitate, Circumcisione, Epiphania Domine, et Purificatione, Tomus primus, with a preface by Melanchthon. Collections in 1540 and 1544 dealt with vespers. All seven of these publications were in Latin.

His major hymn effort was in Latin also, Sacrorum Hymnorum Liber Primus, 1542. It contained 134 hymn arrangements by the foremost composers of the day including the first efforts of this kind by Thomas Stoltzer, Heinrich Finck, and Arnold von Bruck. Near the end of his career he produced his most famous hymnal,
Newe Deudsche Geistliche Gesenge, 1544, a collection of 123 hymns dedicated to schoolboys. His third hymn publication appeared in editions of 1541 and 1545. It was a mammoth collection by Sixt Dietrich, Novum opus musicum tres tomos sacrorum hymnorum. 26

Rhaw's musical publications mirror the fact that he was almost totally absorbed with printing for the Reformation. He was one of the biggest printers in Germany and the most important single printer in the service of Luther's movement. Yet, his titles in other areas were vastly more numerous than the twelve in music. For all these reasons, his career was not typical and it is unsafe to generalize about music printing during the Reformation from his output alone.

By the same token, it is equally unsafe to generalize about the production of hymnals from Rhaw's tiny number. Numerous small printers—Joseph Klug in Wittenberg for example—found a very large portion of their business in hymnals, song books, and enchiridien. By contrast, Rhaw was a trained and qualified musician himself, quite competent to edit and publish artistic works. The

26Ibid., pp. 32-33. Rhaw apparently never forgot his place of birth. The 123 hymns of 1544 were dedicated to the schoolboys, the Burgermeister, and the council of Eissfeld. Winterfeld, Der evangelische Kirchengesang; Erster Teil, p. 187.
high proportion of such music coming from his press probably reflects his background and inclinations rather than a small demand for hymnals.

Rhaw's brother-in-law in Zwickau, Stephan Roth, illustrates the fluid nature of printing at the time. Roth was an operator with many interests, including a position as city scribe. He owned and managed a large bookstore and did some printing. He developed into a recognized editor, musical consultant and publisher. He was called upon in 1525 by the Kantor of the Marienkirche in Zwickau to help prepare a Psalter in German.\textsuperscript{27} The same year he evaluated the market for a collection of Latin hymns by Prudentius.\textsuperscript{28} As a large scale dealer, he was called upon by Joseph Klug in 1527 to supply the books needed to be prepared for the book fair in Leipzig.\textsuperscript{29}

Joseph Klug was one of many printers in Wittenberg who were important for the Reformation. One of his colleagues, Valentin Bapst, was the butt of a pun by Luther in his preface to the \textit{Baptische Gesangbuch} of 1545:

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\textsuperscript{27}Buchwald, \textit{Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels}, XVI (1893), 14.
\textsuperscript{28}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., pp. 55-56. Klug voiced the expectation that sales would be good at Leipzig and he would then be able to pay something on his account with Roth.
\end{flushright}
This printing by Valentin Babst [pope] is done up splendidly; may God grant that it may do great damage and injury to that Roman pope [Babst] who has brought nothing but grief, sadness and suffering to the whole world through his cursed, unbearable, and painful laws.30

Virtually every city of respectable size had printers among its business community. There was need for them to take care of the minor job printing—programs, calendars, regulations, pamphlets,—which were generated recurrently as the press came to be used in mass communication. A number of cities rose to great heights as centers of printing, with a variety of factors entering into such a development. There might be a considerable local demand, as in the case of Mainz where imperial needs were added to those of the archbishop. Frankfort am Main and Leipzig combined publishing with sponsorship of huge book fairs. Nürnberg had no singular advantage but benefited cumulatively from many. It was one of the greatest commercial centers in Germany and one of the principal towns on the overland trade routes through Germany. Thus it had ready access to a far-flung market while constantly experiencing the traffic and exchange of merchants and traders. Many of the conflicts and cross-currents of the Reformation period found voice in Nürnberg. The sum of all these

30 Wackernagel, Bibliographie, p. 583.
factors was a situation to foster and stimulate development as a major publishing center.

Nürnberg had a large number of printers of music and the town became well-known for music publishing. Not all Nürnberg's printers, however, dealt with the special techniques of printing music, and only a few of those who did reached major stature as printers of music. Below them was a larger number of minor printers, or those who printed music only secondarily. Those houses which achieved great stature did so primarily by combining excellent workmanship with a keen business sense as to what type of music was in demand. Secondarily, the great houses usually extended beyond the lifetime of one master, sometimes running to three owners.

Up through the initial years of the Reformation, until about 1549, three distinct generations of musical demand and supply can be distinguished in the publishing of music in Nürnberg. The first, having its highpoint about 1500, was a generation of artistic printing in an aura of peaceful craftsmanship. Demand came mainly from the Church, and was for missals, breviaries, and hymnals. It was a fairly localized market. The outstanding printer was Johann Weissenburger, whose most significant publication was Johann Cochläus', *Compendium Musicæ*, 1511.\(^{31}\)

\(^{31}\)Cohen, p. 1.
This phase was followed by that of the Reformation, the agitation and controversy of which is revealed in a floodtide of printing of all descriptions, from Lutheran hymnals to Anabaptist tracts. The principal figure in these turbulent days was Johann Formschneider.  

The highpoint in Nürnberg music printing was reached in the third period. Led by the entrepreneur Ott and the printer Johann Petrejus, the town attained a high reputation for excellent and significant titles.

But inevitably a decline set in, coming about mid-century and consisting of a stream of uninspired songs by rectors and cantors for instructing congregations and schoolboys. A brief re-emergence of artistic music in the Netherlands style occurred about 1562 with the printing by Berg of a collection by Orlandus Lassus. But it was overshadowed by a steadily growing change in tastes which began about 1568 toward the styles coming out of Italy, especially the sacrae cantiones and the "Neopolitan canzonetta." Secular art music dominated printing in Nürnberg through the end of the sixteenth century.

Many Nürnberg music printers in the sixteenth century

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32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., p. 2.
34 Ibid., p. 3.
were not native but came to the town from other places. They customarily sought citizenship in the city and customarily received it. The printers basically were independent of each other, although they associated loosely for mutual protection and cooperated in preparing major publications too great for the capacity of a single shop. The bonds that developed among the various houses frequently were ties of marriage and family. It was not at all uncommon for a widow to carry on the business of her late husband, although sons appear to have started their own shops without waiting to inherit the business.  

Johann Weissenburger, more than any printer, awakened Nürnberg to the possibilities of a market larger than the immediate locale by printing the theoretical writings of two German masters, Johann Cochläus and Simon de Quercu. But he was overshadowed by Jörg Stuchs, who came to Nürnberg about 1480 from Sulzbach in the Upper Palatinate. He began printing missals without notes as early as 1484. After 1491 he printed notes and no longer penned them in.

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35 Wagner, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, XXX (1931), 458.
37 Ibid., p. 12.
38 Ibid.
At the beginning of the sixteenth century he was one of the most highly recognized German music printers, and his work was put to use in places as diverse as Prague, Magdeburg, Salzburg, Rome, Hildesheim, and Minden. Stuchs eventually printed most of his works in the Haultin, double-impression, moveable-type method. But for later editions of Cochläus' book, which he took over from Weissenburger, he used woodcut blocks.

The Gutknecht family contributed five members to the printing profession in Nürnberg, two of whom did music, Jobst and his son Christoph. Jobst Gutknecht first appeared in the municipal records as a printer in 1515, but publications of his from 1509 have been found. He was one of the earliest printers of the Achtliederbuch, illustrating the fact that most of his musical works were songbooks and hymnals. Only one known publication from the press of Christoph exists, and it is undated. When he

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39 Ibid., p. 13.

40 Ibid. Cochläus' work was one of the most popular instruction books during the period. It went under a variety of names, including Compendium Musicae, De musica activa, and Tetrachordum musices. Subsequently it was printed by Friedrich Peypus. Cf. supra, p. 204; Cohen, p. 13.

41 Cf. supra, pp. 186-187, 216.

42 Cohen, p. 16.
began printing cannot be established, but he was prosperous enough in 1542 to purchase the house where the family business and home were located. But he died in 1548.43

The liability borne by a printer is strikingly illustrated by the colorful career of Hans Hergot. Regulations forbidding pirate-printing simply did not exist for him. At one point Luther himself felt compelled to protest to the Nürnberg city council over Hergot's lifting a portion of the postils.44 Whatever punishment he may have suffered at that time, he eventually paid with his life for his printing. He became attracted to the Anabaptist movement but seems to have abandoned it to take up the cause of the revolutionary spiritualists in his printing. In 1526 he ran off Von der neuen wandlung eynes Christlichen lebens; hutt dich der Teuffel, die Hell wird zurbrechen. On orders of Duke George of Albertine Saxony he was accosted as the pamphlet's printer in Leipzig in 1527, imprisoned, and eventually executed on May 20.45 By that moment, Hergot's religious printing had ranged the whole spectrum of Reformation ideologies. He is credited with the first printed Mass including music to appear according to Luther's

43Ibid.
44Ibid., p. 15 n. 2.
45Ibid.
doctrines, Form und Ordnung einer christlichen Mess, so zu Nürnberg im Newen Spittel im brauch ist, 1525.\textsuperscript{46}

One of the most interesting characters among the greater Nürnberg printers and one of the most significant in the city's history of music printing in the sixteenth century is Hieronymus Andre, who usually signed his work Hieronymus Formschnieder, after the fact that his trade included cutting artistic forms in wood or metal blocks.\textsuperscript{47} He was active from 1519 and attained citizenship in 1523. All of his printings are distinguished by perfect workmanship; his type is sharply defined and regularly spaced. Imperfections such as breaks in staff lines or faulty text-spacing are not to be found. He used the single-impression, moveable-type method with the technique of including a fragment of the line only immediately adjoining the note.\textsuperscript{48}

Formschnerider's success as a printer was inaugurated auspiciously when he introduced to Nürnberg the printing of lute music, a new area heretofore untouched. His excellent workmanship attracted the attention of Hans Ott, an outstanding music editor of the period who had

\textsuperscript{46}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., p. 18 and n. 2.

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., p. 21.
already worked with Johann Petrejus. Their first collaboration, a collection of songs, touched off Formschneider's rise during the mid and late thirties to the climax of his career. He published steadily for Ott, for Heinrich Finck, for Ludwig Senfl, and finally a collection of 100 three-voiced songs which he himself selected and edited. His activity coincided with the peak of publishing Netherlandish music in Nürnberg, and a decline in Formschneider's business after about 1544 marked the onset of changing tastes.

Formschneider's personal life presents another picture quite in contrast to the diligent perfection of his printings. He apparently had a ready temper and appeared repeatedly before the council on slander charges. His most serious offense occurred in 1535, when he slandered the Burgermeister. Indicted, he fled to the protection of Elector Ott-Heinrich of the Palatinate. Eventually he returned and served fourteen days confinement, but more serious repercussions followed. The municipal privilege of cutting the stamps for coins minted by the city, which he had held, came to an end after his run-in with the Burgermeister. Nevertheless, he seems to have been given the

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49 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
50 Ibid., p. 22.
51 Ibid., p. 20.
assignment occasionally after 1535, and he was not formally replaced until 1543.\(^{52}\)

The most long-lived and one of the most distinguished printing houses in Nürnberg was that established about 1530 by Johann vom Berg. It passed through four changes of name and ownership up to the time it eventually went out of business, about 1614. Its highpoint came during the ownership of Dietrich Gerlach and his wife Katherina.

Johann vom Berg came to Nürnberg from Ghent. A title from his shop is dated 1531, although he does not appear in the municipal records until 1541.\(^{53}\) At that time the business was already a partnership with Ulrich Neuber, which continued until the founder's death, August 7, 1563.

Neuber continued in business with the widow Katherina for only a few years after her husband's death.\(^{54}\) He left Frau Berg entirely in 1567 to set up his own printshop but moved from Nürnberg soon thereafter and died elsewhere in 1571.\(^{55}\)

Berg and Neuber used the same printing method as Form-schneider: single-impression, moveable-type, notes with

\(^{52}\) Ibid.

\(^{53}\) Ibid., p. 27.

\(^{54}\) Ibid., p. 28.

\(^{55}\) Ibid.
adjoining line. Their workmanship was of high quality but
did not match their competitor's. Their business just
began to get under way during the years when Formschneider
was riding the crest of his popularity. Consequently, the
newer firm spent its early years in jobbing liturgical
works to meet the demands of the area. Their first
artistic title appeared in 1547, a collection of seventeen
Netherlands motets. But they alone subsequently
pursued a profitable course in the mainstream of demand
for compositions by rectors and cantors. Theoretical
works also figured in their repertoire, along with a
growing number of German song collections in the Nether-
lands school, as it enjoyed a resurgence of popularity.
This diversification finally boosted their firm to a
virtual monopoly over music printing in Nürnberg. Then,
as tastes began to change once more in the 1560's, the
partners were among the first to adapt to the growing
preference for non-German composers. They began in 1562
with a collection of Orlandus Lassus, followed the next
year by works from Mathieu le Maistre.

56 Ibid., p. 29.
57 Ibid., p. 30.
58 Ibid., pp. 30-31. These men worked in Germany,
however, Lassus at the Bavarian court in Munich and Le
Maistre at the cathedral in Dresden. Subsequent Berg
and Neuber publications included a wide range of Flem-
ish, French, and Italian composers. Ibid.
Dietrich Gerlach entered the business of Berg and Neuber sometime before Berg's death. He continued after 1563 and took it over when Neuber withdrew in 1567. Gerlach apparently relied upon the good name of Berg in his early business years, for not until 1571 did the firm cease to honor the name of its late founder on its publications. But Gerlach led the business singly only until 1575, when he died. During his leadership he expanded his interests outside Nürnberg, contracting with other printers as a publisher, or with other publishers as a printer. His widow Katherina carried on with great vigor and success for seventeen years more, until 1592. She was a remarkable and energetic businesswoman-printer. During her leadership, the house raised its average yearly output from 5.4 to 6.5, and expanded into bookselling.

Gerlach was not as devoted to music printing as was Berg, who had handled it almost exclusively. Only one edition came from his own pen, in 1567, and, although

\[59\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 33.}\]
\[60\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 32.}\]
\[61\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 33.}\]
\[62\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 34.}\]
\[63\text{Ibid.}\]
the firm produced 156 music titles in 27 years, it did so in addition to a considerable book printing trade. He had a keen sense for current tastes, however, and responded to the demand for non-German composers in the Italian styles. In addition, he continued to meet the steady demand for practice books and text books.

His widow, however, handled the business quite differently. She resisted the trend toward complete absorption with Italian secular forms and continued to print German songs in the Netherlands style. She upheld the traditions of her predecessors by continuing to print theory books and hymnals. Among her efforts stands one of the most significant hymnals, Lucas Osiander's fifty hymns, 1586, in which the melody was placed in the soprano to make it easier for the congregation to follow and to sing it. These works, plus business in the new Italian style, served to keep the Gerlach house in the forefront of Nürnberg printers.

Paul Kauffmann seems to have entered the shop of Katherina Gerlach some time before her death in 1593. The business came to him subsequently, for although the name still read "Katherina Gerlachin Erben" in 1593,

64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., pp. 35-36.
Kauffmann was the sole master. After 1595, her name disappeared entirely.66

Kauffmann appears to have abused the business, diverting profits and operating funds to his private use. In addition, he continued to emphasize the Netherlands motet in his printing long after its popularity had faded before the secular canzonetta and villanelle styles from Italy. As a result, his firm steadily lost ground. He ceased to print theory books and, despite a late attempt to enter the new market, his last known title appeared in 1614, characteristically a collection of 86 "allerley kurtzweiligent teutschen Liedlein" in three voices.67

66 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I was born in Malad, Idaho, where my father was superintendent of schools. My elementary schooling took place in Price, Utah, and Salt Lake City, Utah. I attended North High School in Columbus, Ohio, graduating in 1952 with election to the National Honor Society. My college studies were begun at the University of Utah, and continued at Ohio State University after the first year. As a senior, I was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, designated Outstanding Senior in History, and selected to be a Student Assistant in the History Department. I was graduated Summa Cum Laude in June, 1956, and began graduate study at Johns Hopkins in September under a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship. From June to December, 1957, I served six months' active duty in the U.S. Army, followed by a half-year appointment in the Hopewell, Virginia, schools as a seventh grade teacher. Returning to Ohio State in June, 1958, I received the M.A. degree in June, 1959. That spring I was awarded a Stipendium for study in Germany by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, plus an additional scholarship for summer language study. The latter grant I took at the University of Cologne, Germany. I was joined in that city in October by my fiancé, Miss Margaret Jean Ecker, of Gallipolis, Ohio. We were married in the Standesamt, Köln-Lindenthal, on
October 16, and in the U.S. Military Chapel at Heidelberg, Germany, on October 17, 1959. I then used the original Stipendium for a year's study at the University of Heidelberg. Returning to Ohio State in September, 1960, I commenced a Ph.D. program in History, aided by a Graduate Assistantship (teaching two quarters). An interruption came 1961-1962, as I was recalled to active duty in the Berlin Crisis. Released in August, 1962, I returned to a Graduate Assistantship (teaching) at Ohio State and to researching and writing my dissertation. I received the Ph.D. degree in December, 1963. In September, 1963, I joined the faculty of Huron College, London, Ontario, as a Lecturer in History.