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LUTHER'S IDEAS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC  
IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

THESIS

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## INTRODUCTION

A considerable quantity of sacred music has been produced by Lutheran composers since the Lutheran Reformation. Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630), Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654), Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), Johann Pachelbel (1656-1706), Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1750), and numerous others contributed their significant part in quantity, in style, and in the development of various forms, and each used the past to benefit his own works.

The source of this music was, naturally, the Reformation of Martin Luther (1483-1546) which had its inception during his years as a professor at Wittenberg beginning in 1512. "When Luther became convinced that 'justification by faith' was God's plan of salvation, he did not rest until he had won the whole faculty of the University of Wittenberg to this point of view."<sup>1</sup>

The Reformation was concerned primarily with religion, but it also had its effect on music and education. It was not Luther's intention to start a reformation but to urge the assembly of a General Council to purge the Church.<sup>2</sup> His real

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<sup>1</sup>E. G. Schwiebert, Luther and His Times (St. Louis, 1950), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>G. F. Young, The Medici (New York, 1912), p. 423.

purpose was to purify the old. As Roland Bainton says, "Luther came not to destroy, but to fulfill."<sup>3</sup>

Luther was troubled about the destiny of his soul and floundered aimlessly for years while trying to find contentment. He did not, of course, realize when he found this peace of mind and soul in the biblical truth that a man is saved by grace alone through faith in Christ Jesus,<sup>4</sup> that he had sown the seed of the Reformation. As he continued to examine the Scriptures, another truth became evident to him: that man can approach God directly without an earthly mediator. This doctrine is that of a universal priesthood of all true believers, and is based on the passage: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into this marvelous light."

(I Peter 2:9.) These two doctrines received considerable emphasis by Luther, and his strict adherence to them eventually led to his excommunication from the Roman Catholic Church, January 3, 1521.

With Luther's departure from the Catholic Church it was not unnatural that many shared his conviction and followed

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<sup>3</sup>Roland H. Bainton, Here I Stand (New York, 1950), p. 180.

<sup>4</sup>Ephesians 2:8, 9. "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast.

Romans 3:28. "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law."

him, and were likewise excommunicated. Standing alone, few in number, against a church that covered and controlled the world, made it necessary that they use all the means they had to foster their convictions. The cartoon and tract were at first the primary tools.<sup>5</sup> Congregational hymns were to furnish considerable assistance too. Only in this way could they hope for success in spreading their beliefs.

Luther's early education had afforded him knowledge and training in the music of the Roman Church. In the elementary school he had received instruction in sacred song. He learned the Sanctus, the Benedictus, the Agnus Dei, and the Confiteor by heart. "Students were required to learn Psalm tones and the rules of harmony."<sup>6</sup> Some schools taught counterpoint and gave special practice in singing. Luther "was competent, if not to execute, at least to direct and inspire, since he could play the lute and sing even though he did not regard himself as skilled in composition . . . Certainly he knew how to compose simple melodies, to harmonize, and arrange."<sup>7</sup>

In 1524 Luther wrote to Spalatinus<sup>8</sup> (1484-1545) as follows:

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<sup>5</sup>Bainton, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>6</sup>Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>7</sup>Bainton, op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>8</sup>The name given to George Burkhardt, the private secretary to Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony in 1524. The latter would not let Luther be punished without a fair hearing, though he risked his own electoral hat in doing so.

I am willing to make German psalms for the people according to the example set by the prophets and ancient fathers; by this I mean that I am willing to prepare spiritual songs (hymns) in order that the Word of God may be conserved among the people through singing also.<sup>9</sup>

Recognizing the qualities that music possessed, he set out to emphasize the use of music in every way possible to fortify his work and teachings. It is the purpose of this thesis to show Luther's influence and trace his ideas in the development of music in the Lutheran Church.

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<sup>9</sup>Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," The Musical Quarterly, XXXII (January, 1946), 87.

## CHAPTER I

### MUSIC IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION

To understand Luther's significant role in the development of Lutheran Church music and to sacred music in general, a brief survey of music in the Roman Catholic Church as it was at the time of the Reformation may be of help.

The history of music in the Roman Catholic Church shows that certain practices were not as permanent and rigidly established as it may appear. Already in the fourth century St. Ephraim (d. 373), the chief hymnwriter of Syria, realized the value of music for religious purposes. He "substituted orthodox words for those contained in the popular and liturgical songs of the heretics, while preserving melodies already in existence . . . The originators of the melodies he borrowed, therefore, were probably the Gnostics."<sup>1</sup> About this time in Milan, in a concerted effort against the heretical Arian sect, St. Ambrose (333-397) introduced the Syrian custom of singing hymns to elevate the spirits of his Catholic adherents. While nothing definite is known of the melodies that were originally applied to St. Ambrose's hymns, the hymns

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<sup>1</sup>Gustav Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940), p. 69. Cf. footnote 3, Chapter III.

were intended for the use of the congregation and it seems probable that their melodies were simple and syllabic.<sup>2</sup>

Despite their original purpose, the Ambrosian hymns came gradually to be assigned to the clergy alone, and congregational participation disappeared. The hymns were sung only by monks or monastic choirs; outside the church they were read in private by secular priests.

According to Schweitzer,

It was the custom in the Catholic church, in the earliest times, for the congregation to take a direct part in the singing during the service; to it belonged the doxologies, the Amens, the Kyries, and hymns. At the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh, however, this privilege of the faithful, which had been secured by Ambrose, was taken from them by the Gregorian reform, which substituted the singing of the priests for that of the congregation.

In Germany, however, this reform was not adopted in its entirety. The people still preserved a few of their privileges, especially in the Easter service when they joined in the Kyrie and the Alleluia. The result was that it became the custom to insert German verses among the lines of the liturgy in these places. In this way the German sacred song gained admission into the religious service under cover of the Kyrie and the Alleluia. Throughout a long period of time these ejaculations formed the obligato verse ending to every hymn sung in the church. Hence these songs we called "Kirleison" (i.e. Kyrie songs).<sup>3</sup>

The oldest of these Easter-hymns dates back as far as the twelfth century. It runs thus:

Christ ist erstanden  
Von der Marter alle.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>Albert Schweitzer, J. S. Bach, translated by Ernest Newman (London, 1923), I, 4-5.

Des sollen wir alle froh sein  
Christ soll unser Trost sein.  
Kyrioleis.

Halleluja, Halleluja, Halleluja.  
Des sollen wir alle froh sein  
Christ soll unser Trost sein.  
Kyrioleis.<sup>4</sup>

By the eleventh century the Ordinary of the Mass<sup>5</sup> with its five sections--Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei--established the arrangement as we know it today. With the fixing of this plan came the delegation of musical portions to the priest and the choir only. Thus the congregation was excluded from participating musically to any degree.

Professional solo singers or cantores were used to sing various parts of the Mass where the demands were too great for the choir or schola. These cantores were virtuosi and sang melodies in florid style. Then, too, the size of the vocal group to be used depended on the degree of solemnity of the particular day. On week days one singer, on Sundays or other feasts two singers, and on other solemn occasions four singers sang the Introit.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

See also J. Mearns, "Christ ist erstanden," Dictionary of Hymnology (by John Julian, 1907), p. 225.

<sup>5</sup>See outline of Roman Mass in Appendix I.

<sup>6</sup>Curt Sachs, Our Musical Heritage, 1st ed. (New York, 1948), p. 69.

The choirs, composed of monks and priests sang music by such composers as Josquin des Prez (c. 1450-1521), Ludwig Senfl (c. 1490-1556), and Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450-1517).

As to the organ, the Roman Church did not look on it with much favor.

According to Platina ("De vitis Pontificum," Cologne, 1593), Pope Vitalian (657-72) introduced the organ into the church service. This however, is very doubtful. At all events, a strong objection to the organ in church service remained pretty general down to the twelfth century. . . . But from the twelfth century on, the organ became the privileged church instrument<sup>7</sup>

because it was particularly suitable for adding solemnity to divine worship. Though it was called the "sacred instrument" its use was very limited. A just reason for its minimum use lay in the crudity of the instrument both mechanically and tonally. More will be said in reference to the organ in Chapter V. But as Lang notes, "The interesting fact remains that this instrument, expressly secular in nature and usage in the East, became a symbol of religious music in the West, and its players were recruited, until after the Reformation, mostly from among the clergy."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Bewerunge, "Organ," The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XI (New York, 1913).

<sup>8</sup>Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York, 1941), p. 81.



## CHAPTER II

### LUTHER'S CONCEPT OF MUSIC IN CONTRAST TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND CALVINISTIC

The fundamental disagreement which Luther had with the Roman Catholic Church was in matters of doctrine. His use of music differed from that of the Roman Church as a result of this difference in doctrine.

While still a Roman Catholic, Luther served as a professor of religion at the University of Wittenberg. After receiving his Doctor of Theology degree in 1512, he began his lectures on the various books of the Bible. As he prepared his lectures for the next several years various changes took place in his methodology.<sup>1</sup> It was during this time that his disagreement with the Roman Catholic theology began. In the preface to the Latin edition of his works, the Opera Latina I, published in 1545, appears Luther's account of this experience:

I began to comprehend the "righteousness of God" through which the righteous are saved by God's grace, namely, through faith; that the "righteousness of God" which is revealed through the Gospel was to be understood in a passive sense in which God through mercy justifies man by faith, as it is written, "The just shall live by faith." Now I felt exactly as though I had been born again, and I

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<sup>1</sup>Schwiebert, op. cit., pp. 282-289.

believed that I had entered Paradise through widely opened doors. I then went through the Holy Scriptures as far as I could recall them by memory and I found in other parts the same sense: the "work of God" is that which He works in us, the "strength of God" is that through which He makes us strong, the "wisdom of God" that through which He makes us wise, and so the "power of God," the "blessing of God," and the "honor of God," are likewise to be interpreted.<sup>2</sup>

Now the real meaning of the Scriptures began to unfold for him as he began to interpret them from the viewpoint that a man is saved from eternal damnation solely by complete faith in the forgiveness of Christ Jesus.

Furthermore, through his study of the Bible, Luther found that all true believers have the right to approach God directly without an earthly mediator, such as a priest.

The idea which pervades the New Testament teaching is that of a universal priesthood. All true believers are made kings and priests,\* bring spiritual sacrifices,\*\* and, having received a true priestly consecration, may draw near and enter the Holy of Holies.\*\*\* As priests the Christians possess all the treasures won for mankind by the suffering Christ . . . They have the privilege of free access to God without human mediators.\*\*\*<sup>3</sup>

These doctrines proved extremely satisfying to Luther for now things that had troubled him about the teachings of the Roman Church were clarified. His stand on these doctrines resulted in open disagreement with the Catholic Church, and

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 286.      \*Revelation 1:6; I Peter 2:9.

\*\*Romans 12:1.      \*\*\*Hebrews 10:19-22.

\*\*\*\*Ephesians 2:14, 18.

<sup>3</sup>"Priesthood, Universal," Lutheran Cyclopedia, edited by Erwin L. Lueker (St. Louis, 1954), p. 850.

the threats made against him to the extent of taking his life did not affect him. The leading minister, Giulano de Medici (d. 1516),<sup>4</sup> brother of Pope Leo X (1513-21), apparently considered it sufficient to have Luther warned by the highest authority of the Augustinian Order. This was to be followed by a formal recantation from Luther, through John Staupitz (d. 1524), then head of the Augustinian Order and a leader in the founding of the University of Wittenberg.<sup>5</sup> The pope's condemnation was contained in the Bull "Exsurge"<sup>6</sup> which gave Luther sixty days to submit or be excommunicated. (This papal bull took three months to find Luther.) He would not retract these teachings and recant unless he could be proved in error on the basis of the Scripture. This was never done.

He /Luther/ stressed this doctrine shortly after the beginning of his career as Reformer, and, it is important to note, he stressed it in the very years in which he wrote his great liturgical writings and was most active in helping to establish the musical standards of his church.<sup>7</sup>

Luther was aware of the fact that the doctrine of the universal priesthood was a force and a power which expressed itself continuously in every phase of life and worship.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup>G. F. Young, op. cit., pp. 390-391.

<sup>5</sup>Heinrich Boehmer, Martin Luther: Road to Reformation (New York, 1957), p. 203.

<sup>6</sup>Bainton, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>7</sup>Walter E. Buszin, "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and Its Influence Upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church," The Musical Heritage of the Church (Valparaiso, 1946), p. 104.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

The doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers directly opened the way to give people the opportunity to speak to God in song. It emphasized the laity rather than the clergy. Comparing Luther's view with that of the Roman Church it is obvious that Luther sought to emphasize the people; the Roman Catholic Church tended to emphasize the mediation performed by the priest.

In contrast to Luther, John Calvin (1509-1564) and his followers were a group of religionists who differed both with the Roman Catholic and with the Lutheran practices in regard to music in the church.

Instrumental music was not used in the Calvinistic churches at Geneva, as this quotation from Calvin shows:

It would be too ridiculous and inept imitation of papistry to decorate the churches and to believe oneself to be offering God a more noble service using organs . . . All that is needed is a simple and pure singing of the divine praises coming from heart and mouth, and in the vulgar tongue . . . Instrumental music was tolerated in the time of the law /given to Moses on Mount Sinai/ because the people were then in infancy.<sup>9</sup>

Calvin was well aware of the power of music for he had seen its effect in Strasburg in 1538 during his exile from Geneva where he heard the Germans sing Luther's hymns. In keeping with his belief that the psalms should be understood by the congregation, he permitted no other texts to be used

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<sup>9</sup>Robert M. Stevenson, Patterns of Protestant Church Music (Durham, 1953), p. 14.

for congregational singing. These psalms were not to be sung in parts but entirely unison. Polyphonic settings<sup>10</sup> were forbidden by Calvin to be sung in the church.

Throughout his leadership of almost thirty years during an era when polyphonic complexity and chordal innovation were prevalent, he remained hostile to part-singing and sanctioned only single-line melodies as psalm settings.<sup>11</sup>

Calvin sanctioned the psalm setting of Clement Marot (c. 1497-1544) and Theodora Beza (1519-1605). Though the relationship between Calvin and Marot lasted for only two years, Calvin nevertheless showed marked appreciation for Marot's texts. Beza, a French humanist and Reformed leader, a professor and pastor at Geneva, and Calvin's successor, completed the translation of the Psalter (1551).

The melodic settings of the Genevan Psalter (1551) were largely furnished by Louis Bourgeois (c. 1510-c. 1561), a competent but needy musician, who was living in Geneva at this time. Calvin's problem at Geneva was to find melodies that would carry the Psalms and Bourgeois was competent to solve this problem. The tune which follows is known today as "Old Hundredth" because it is used for the melody of the One Hundredth Psalm. In 1562 it was taken into Lutheran

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<sup>10</sup>A. T. Davison and W. Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, Vol. I, No. 126, pp. 135, 136.

<sup>11</sup>Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York, 1954), p. 359.

usage and it continues to be used in the Lutheran Church today for both Psalm 100 and the Doxology.



Fig. 1--"Old Hundredth"<sup>12</sup>

However, it was Luther's ideas that determined the development of Protestant church music in general. As Davison says, "Indeed, the more one studies the history of church music the stronger regard one has for the wisdom of Martin Luther."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Pratt, The Music of the French Psalter of 1562 (New York, 1939), No. 134, p. 192.

<sup>13</sup>Archibald T. Davison, Church Music (Cambridge, 1952), p. 12.



## CHAPTER III

### LUTHER'S USE OF MUSIC

As has been seen, Luther considered music not only a gift of God, but a practical matter as well. In addition to this, he saw it possessed other potentials. For one thing it enabled the congregation to proceed in the service with greater unanimity. "It is easier to have a congregation sing a hymn than it is to have the same group of people read in chorus a prose or even poetic selection."<sup>1</sup> The rhythm of music serves to unite all the individuals, and the constant thread of music throughout the liturgical portions of the service tends to bind the service together with a continuity which only music seems able to provide. Luther desired to have the congregation participate significantly in the service so he used hymns and also had the congregation sing liturgical responses. This is demonstrated in the liturgical part of Luther's service and especially in the Deutsche Messe (1526).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Halter, The Practice of Sacred Music (St. Louis, 1955), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>See Walther's description of Luther's Deutsche Messe on page 19. Also note the substitution of a hymn for the spoken Creed (cf. p. 26) and the paraphrasing of the Lord's Prayer instead of speaking it in Appendix II.

He recognized another purpose. In the second and third centuries a sect, called the Gnostics,<sup>3</sup> arose among the Greek Christians. They used hymns to express their philosophy. Arius (256-336) also started promoting his beliefs in a similar way. Adherents of the Arian heresy<sup>4</sup> wrote hymns for the purpose of educating the people. Luther realized the educational power of music, that it could fulfill a didactic purpose in instructing his people. He used several chorales with this particular aim in mind, e.g., "Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice,"<sup>5a</sup> which is a summary of Christian doctrine, and "That Man a Godly Life Might Live."<sup>5b</sup>

The liturgical function was valuable, too. At the proper place in the service a chorale, sung by the congregation, was used in preference to speech. Instead of reciting the Creed, the congregation sang, "We All Believe in One True God."<sup>5c</sup> Several other chorales were used in like manner. (Cf. p. 26.)

Music could be used in meditation at private devotions, as for example the Lord's Prayer which is sung in the chorale "Our Father, Thou in Heav'n Above."<sup>5d</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Advocates of Gnosticism which was "a philosophical and religious system . . . teaching that knowledge rather than faith was the key to salvation." Encyclopaedia Britannica World Language Dictionary, Vol. I (Chicago, 1956).

<sup>4</sup>The false doctrine that Christ, though greatest of all created beings, was not the eternal Son of God nor of the same substance with the Father. Walter Lieder, Lutheran Dictionary (St. Louis, 1952), p. 9.

<sup>5a</sup>, <sup>5b</sup>, <sup>5c</sup>, <sup>5d</sup>For complete stanzas in English see Appendix II. These hymns are still used today in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod frequently in the same manner as Luther used them.



Furthermore, music afforded a link with the common life of the people. Luther's hymns were "caught up by the people and sung everywhere, in their homes, their places of work, their local gatherings."<sup>6</sup>

It was not only Luther's deep-rooted love for music, but especially also his belief in the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers which prompted him to establish practices, policies, and usages which ultimately won for the Lutheran Church the reputation as the "Singing Church."<sup>7</sup>

### The Sources of Lutheran Music

Seeking to fulfill the uses of music in the Church, Luther was confronted with the challenge of securing suitable material. He was familiar with the Roman Catholic music, which included plainsong melodies, melodies from Latin sequences, and Latin hymns. With this material he had a logical beginning. Since Luther was a purifier and not a destroyer he did not deem it objectionable to borrow from the Latin hymnody. When the words were not satisfactory he merely changed them to agree with his teachings. Often he found both the music and the words useful, but in order for the congregation to sing these plainsong melodies, which were often melismatic, alterations were sometimes necessary. When this was the case, Luther changed these into congregational

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<sup>6</sup>G. Wauchope Stewart, Music in Church Worship (London, 1926), p. 149.

<sup>7</sup>Walter E. Buszin, "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood," Musical Heritage (Valparaiso, 1946), p. 116.

songs by making them syllabic--a note for each syllable or word.<sup>8</sup> This simplification made the songs easier for the congregation to sing. By retaining many familiar hymns of the Latin Church,<sup>9</sup> he encouraged the participation of the congregation in the divine service.

In his Formula Missae (1523) Luther used the Latin language and maintained the style of chant used in the Latin Church. However, when he later formulated the Deutsche Messe (1526) he introduced a new liturgical language (German) which permitted the common people to take an active part in the service. Since Luther was not a special student of the Liturgy, he prepared his reconstruction without going far afield. Following is a statement of Johann Walther (1496-1570), who served as Luther's musical counselor:

When Luther, forty years ago, wanted to prepare his German Mass, he requested of the Elector of Saxony and Duke John [of Saxony] . . . that Conrad Rupff and I be summoned to Wittenberg, where he might discuss music and the nature of the eight Gregorian psalm-tones with us. He himself selected finally the eighth tone for the Epistle and the sixth for the Gospel, saying at the same time that Christ is a friendly and charming Lord, hence we shall take the sixth tone for the Gospel. Since St. Paul is a very serious-minded apostle, we shall use the eighth tone for the Epistle. He (Luther) prepared the music for the Epistle and Gospels, likewise for the Words of Institution of the true body and blood of Christ; he chanted these for me and asked me to express my

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<sup>8</sup>For example see Edwin Liemohn, "Veni Creator Spiritus," The Chorale (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup>See Appendix III.

opinion of his efforts. At that time he kept me in Wittenberg for three weeks, we discussed how the Epistles and Gospels might be set properly. I was in Wittenberg with Luther until the first German Mass had been presented (October 29, 1525). . . he was able to discuss music eloquently.<sup>10</sup>

Walther's report shows that Luther was well qualified to compose music. Luther was sensitive to the intimate union between music and text, and desired that this union be in the true German style rather than in a mediocre translation from the Latin. To obtain this union, he realized the necessity of altering at times both music and text.<sup>11</sup>

The popular hymns, which were actually religious folk songs of the pre-Reformation period, provided a second source. As in the case of Roman Church music Luther found many of the melodies and texts useful. Sometimes both could be used with only slight revisions. Both the Gregorian and the pre-Reformation folk melodies were altered rhythmically more than melodically, so that they would conform to the rhythmic structure of the secular folk melodies with which the people

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<sup>10</sup>Buszin, "Luther on Music," The Musical Quarterly, XXXII (January, 1946), 95-96. The source presently cited gives the sixth tone for the Gospel. Reed, cited on page 24 of this study, gives the fifth tone. In The Works of Luther, ed. Charles M. Jacobs, (Philadelphia, 1932) VI, 159, the fifth tone is stated.

<sup>11</sup>An example is "Media vita in morte sumus" which became "Mitten wir im Leben sind," Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York, 1954), p. 674.

were familiar. A pre-Reformation hymn taken over by the Reformation is "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost."<sup>12</sup>

The third source from which Luther drew was the melodies of secular songs. Not infrequently the words of these secular songs could be used if some revisions were made. "Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen,"<sup>13</sup> credited to Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450-1517) became "O Welt, Ich Muss dich lassen." After Luther's time texts were supplied for hymns as a reflection of contemporary affairs as, for example, "Now Thank We All Our God" which was composed as peace was again restored to Germany in 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years War.<sup>14</sup>

A fourth source one may term original composition. It is difficult to determine the exact number of hymns that can rightfully be credited to Luther. One authority may consider a chorale original if the music is not taken wholly from a pre-existent song. Another may not accept this criterion, but rather demand that the chorale tune be entirely unlike any other melody. Still another might not classify a chorale of Luther's as original unless both text and music

<sup>12</sup>"Nun Bitten Wir Den Heiligen Geist" is the original title. For complete stanza see Appendix II. Original words and melody are in Walther's Gesangbüchlein (1524), cited in Liemohn, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>13</sup>See Appendix II for German and English texts.

<sup>14</sup>Julian does not agree with this, however. Dictionary of Hymnology (London, 1907), p. 963.

are by him. In that case a paraphrase of some portion of Scripture set to Luther's own music, if that could ever be accurately determined, would not be credited to Luther as original. Regardless of these differences it cannot be denied that it takes a genius to assimilate fragments of existing music and produce chorales with the organic unity that Luther did.<sup>15</sup>

Whether Luther's close friend, Johann Walther (1496-1570), composed any original hymn-tunes is difficult to prove, but he was a valuable help to Luther in the selection and publication of music.

In this connection it should be pointed out that Luther cherished at least two Roman Catholic composers. Ludwig Senfl (c. 1490-1555) was a musical friend and a gifted composer. Luther was a great admirer of his works, as is brought out in the following remark: "I would not be able to compose such a motet, even if I would tear myself to pieces in the attempt, just as he (Senfl) would not be able to preach as I can."<sup>16</sup> He rated Josquin Des Prez (c. 1450-1521) equally high as can be seen from the following quotations from Luther:

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<sup>15</sup>See Appendix III for the list of hymns attributed, wholly or in part, to Luther.

<sup>16</sup>Quoted in Buszin, "Luther on Music," p. 85.

Josquin is a master of the notes which must express what he desires; on the other hand, other choral composers must do what the notes dictate.

. . . . .  
God has His Gospel preached also through the medium of music; this may be seen from the compositions of Josquin, all of whose works are cheerful, gentle, mild, and lovely; they flow and move along and are neither forced nor coerced and bound by rigid and stringent rules, but, on the contrary, are like the song of the finch.<sup>17</sup>

Here again it is seen that Luther had no misgivings about using other sources of music outside his church as long as that music could satisfy his purpose.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE FORMS OF SERVICE<sup>1</sup> AND THEIR USE OF MUSIC

Luther's two Services, the Formula Missae (1523) and the Deutsche Messe (1526) were patterned after the Roman Catholic Mass. The former was intended as a local program (Wittenberg) and not a general Order for the whole church. The latter was a treatise, written in response to the laity's demand, intended to be used primarily in the Parish Church of Wittenberg.<sup>2</sup> He formulated these by making minimal revisions in the Catholic Mass changing or deleting only that which was not compatible with the evangelical doctrine. These Services were regarded as Luther's greatest liturgical writings.

The Latin language predominated in the Formula Missae except for the sermon and a few hymns which were in the vernacular.<sup>3</sup> Luther was not concerned with instituting a new liturgical language at this time. He recognized the cultural value of Latin in schools and colleges and his desire was to "retain the fine music traditionally associated with it."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix V for a comparison of the four orders of Service.

<sup>2</sup>The Works of Luther, edited by Charles M. Jacobs (Philadelphia, 1932), VI, 83 and 156.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix IV.

<sup>4</sup>Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 72.

The Deutsche Messe was intended for the laity who still needed to be educated in the Scriptures and God's Word. Reed gives this description of the German Mass (Deutsche Messe).

The Service begins with a hymn or a German Psalm in the First (Gregorian) Tone.<sup>5</sup> This is a substitute for the Latin Introit. Then follows the Kyrie (three-fold). The Gloria in Excelsis is not mentioned. Rietschel surmises that Luther took it for granted as belonging to the Kyrie. The Collect<sup>6</sup> is intoned in the key of F, facing the altar. The Epistle is intoned in the Eighth Tone, facing the people. A German hymn takes the place of the Gradual. The Gospel is intoned in the Fifth Tone. Luther provides a German translation of the Nicene Creed, "Wir Glauben all an einen Gott"<sup>7</sup> to be sung by the congregation. Then follows a sermon on the Gospel, a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, and an exhortation to communicants.

.....  
The Communion Office follows. All the usual prayers of the Mass are omitted. The Words of Institution<sup>8</sup> are sung aloud by the minister to a melody which Luther provides. He suggests that the bread be administered immediately after the consecration,

<sup>5</sup>Sachs, op. cit., "Church Modes," pp. 56-57.

<sup>6</sup>"A Collect is a short prayer following a certain structural form (usually having an invocation, a relative clause, a petition, a purpose, and a Trinitarian ending), offered by the minister in public worship." Walter Lieder, op. cit., p. 13. The Collect for Ash Wednesday serves to illustrate:

Invocation--Almighty and Everlasting God,  
Antecedent Reason--Who hatest nothing that thou hast made and dost forgive the sins of all those who are penitent;  
Petition--Create and make in us new and contrite hearts,  
Benefit Desired--that we, worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness;  
Doxology--through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Paul Strodsch, An Explanation of the Common Service (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 31.

<sup>7</sup>"We All Believe in One True God." See Appendix II.

<sup>8</sup>See Appendix V.



"before one blesses the cup," with the Sanctus or another hymn<sup>9</sup> and the Agnus Dei sung in German during the administration of the cup.<sup>10</sup>

The Deutsche Messe (1526) has the outstanding feature of being German throughout, and places emphasis upon congregational hymns. The Kyrie is the only part of the Service in Greek, the rest is in the vernacular. In the Formula Missae (1523) the Introit, Gradual, Creed, and Sanctus had been sung in Latin but in the Deutsche Messe they are translated into German verse and sung as congregational hymns.<sup>11</sup>

In general, the Lutheran Church approved Luther's German Mass, particularly the principle of a vernacular service and by the middle of the sixteenth century most of the Lutheran Churches throughout Germany were using it. The historic outline of worship, congregational hymns, and active congregational participation were additional features which readily received approval. However, in south and southwest Germany the church later rejected many features. The omission of the Gloria in Excelsis, the retention of the Elevation used in the Catholic Mass, and especially the paraphrasing of the Lord's Prayer eventually opened the way to grave abuses in the period of Rationalism.

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<sup>9</sup>"Isaiah, Mighty Seer." See Appendix II.

<sup>10</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>11</sup>See Appendix IV for the specific chorales which Luther substituted for the Gradual, Creed, and Sanctus.

The following musical portions of the Ordinary could be replaced by specific chorales:

The Kyrie by Kyrie, God Father in Heav'n Above  
 Gloria in Excelsis by All Glory Be to God on High  
 The Creed by We All Believe in One True God  
 The Sanctus by Isaiah, Mighty Seer in Days of Old  
 Agnus Dei by O Christ, Thou Lamb of God; or else  
Lamb of God Most Holy<sup>12</sup>

Apart from these items of the Ordinary, the texts corresponded with the Church Year. In the present Lutheran Liturgy<sup>13</sup> it is still permissible to follow Luther's pattern of replacing parts of the Ordinary with specific chorales as he did in the Deutsche Messe.

The reading of the Gospel was the climax of the Service. The Sermon, whose purpose is to present the meaning of the Gospel by explanation and application, holds a very important place. The sermon was followed by the chorales. School children learned chorales and sang them in church. Boys trained in singing by the parish schools were scattered among worshippers to support and carry the adults in the singing of chorales. Choirs, where they existed and when they were large enough, helped to vitalize the singing of the congregation. Owing to the emphasis laid on the congregational song anything elaborate was avoided.

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<sup>12</sup>For German titles and versification of these see Appendix II.

<sup>13</sup>The outline of the Liturgy of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod is in Appendix V.

Luther's first proposal was to restrict the music of the Church to the congregational chorale: however, he was aware of the value of music not only in simpler forms, such as the chorale tunes, but in more artistic settings as well. He compromised with himself and not only allowed the congregation to have its active part but reserved a place for the choir in the Liturgy. Here more elaborate music could be used.

The congregation sang unisono without accompaniment as in the Catholic church prior to the seventh century.<sup>14</sup> Artistic polyphonic arrangements of the hymn, which Luther cherished, were sung by the choir as it alternated with the congregation. At times the choir and congregation remained silent and the organ played a stanza. "In this case the organ was considered a complete substitute for vocal rendition."<sup>15</sup> One must realize that the texts were so familiar to the congregation, and the words so closely related, that an organ-chorale could readily be substituted for the singing of the words.

It is apparent that the Lutheran hymn-text is something indivisible representing a unified thought;<sup>16</sup> it is often a

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Chapter I.

<sup>15</sup>Paul Nettl, Luther and Music (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 92.

<sup>16</sup>See the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in Appendix II.

psalm, a part of the catechism, or a part of the mass. The consciousness of the unity of a hymn like "Ein Feste Burg" was much more pronounced in the early times (sixteenth century) than in our age. "But the hymn was never sung by the congregation alone."<sup>17</sup> The custom was to alternate between choir and congregation.

Another musical practice ought to be noted here. Luther's friend, Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1562) in his Itinerarium (1536) describes the Wittenberg church service of Luther's time.

When the choir sang Latin hymns in a contrapuntal setting, the German versions of similar German hymns were alternately sung by the congregation. For instance, the choir and organ started with the Christmas sequence, Grates nunc omnes, whereupon the congregation in unison sang the second strophe, Gelobet seist Du Jesus Christ, and so on.<sup>18</sup>

Schweitzer also cites the account of Musculus, but he is not in exact agreement with Nettl as to the city where this alternation practice took place. According to Schweitzer it was to be found in Erfurt, not Wittenberg, for it was in this city that the congregation as a rule did not sing, but left even the chorales to the choir.<sup>19</sup> Where no choir existed, more importance, of course, was placed on the congregational

<sup>17</sup>Nettl, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>19</sup>Schweitzer, op. cit., I, 31.

singing since in these instances the Kyrie, Gloria, and Agnus Dei were sung in the corresponding German chorales.<sup>20</sup>

One cannot determine to what degree many of these practices obtained, for in music, the method of performance is often unrecorded, as Schweitzer observes in his account of the apparent change of styles by the composers of German church music.<sup>21</sup>

The organ was used in the Lutheran Church "exactly as it had been in the Roman Catholic Church, first of all to play a prelude and give the note to the minister and choir, and secondly to alternate with the choir in the rendering of those parts of the musical service assigned to them."<sup>22</sup> Luther rarely mentions the organ in his writings. In his book on the history of the chorale, Liemohn says, "The organ was more to be tolerated in the Lutheran service than desired."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Cf. p. 26.

<sup>21</sup>Schweitzer, op. cit., I, 33-34.

<sup>22</sup>Stewart, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>23</sup>Liemohn, op. cit., p. 55.

CHAPTER V  
CHANGES EFFECTED IN MUSIC AFTER  
LUTHER'S DEATH (1546)

After Luther's time the degree of congregational participation in singing varied. One must realize that the congregation did not at once take over most of the vocal music in the Service proper. The change was not sudden, but gradual. While Luther attached great importance to congregational singing, "he did not fail to advocate the retention of trained choirs and thereby to encourage the composition of choral music in the more elaborate forms."<sup>1</sup> Since he saw the value and place of the choir, one sometimes receives the impression "that the congregational singing, instead of gaining ground, was in the course of the sixteenth century driven back by the art-singing [artistic contrapuntal works] and by the organ."<sup>2</sup>

In the 1524 edition of Walther's Gesangbüchlein, the melody of the chorale was still in the tenor. It was intended for the choirs which were trained in the parochial schools and which sang at the Sunday services. The settings were

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur Mees, Choirs and Choral Music (New York, 1901), p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>Schweitzer, op. cit., I, 31.

arranged in four parts and since the melody was in the tenor it made difficult the cooperation of the faithful.<sup>3</sup>

Almost up to the close of the sixteenth century musical compositions were conceived on a horizontal plane with several melodies performed concurrently. This type of music had its limitations. According to Liemohn, "the church musicians were dissatisfied with some aspects of their music; congregational singing was still carried on in a limited manner."<sup>4</sup> Evidence shows that both choir and organ had to be put to greater use in interest of congregational singing, and not until the end of the century did congregational singing achieve eminence. A new style, known as homophony, which consisted of a melody with a harmonic background proved to be a significant contribution in the direction of encouraging more congregational singing.

In 1568 Lucas Osiander published Fifty Church Songs with the melody in the soprano<sup>5</sup> for the first time instead of the tenor. Vertical music with the structure of chords developed and was to be an aid to church music in general and congregational singing in particular.

<sup>3</sup>An example with the melody in the tenor. Johann Walther, "Aus tiefer Not," Davison and Apel, op. cit., I, 115.

<sup>4</sup>Liemohn, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>5</sup>See an example of Osiander in Geschichte Der Musik in Beispielen, edited by Arnold Schering (Leipzig, 1931), No. 143, p. 142.

Johann Eccard (1553-1611), Bartholomaeus Gesius (c. 1560-c. 1614), Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612), and Melchior Vulpus (1560-1615) in their works respectively Geistliche Lieder auff den Choral (1597), Geistliche Deutsche Lieder (1601), Kirchengesange (1608), and Gesangbuch (1609) followed the method used by Osiander.

Although these hymnbooks were mainly intended for the choir, the vertical structure of the music now made it possible for the congregation to sing along with the choir in the hymns. Singers could more easily hear the melodic line when it was in the upper voice. Where only small choirs existed inadequate support to the congregation resulted. However, Osiander's technique made it possible for the organ to lend its support to congregational singing. This naturally increased the importance of the organ.

In 1650 Samuel Scheidt published his Tabulature Book<sup>6</sup> which was to serve for accompanying congregational singing with the organ. "It was not long after Scheidt's publication was issued that the organ displaced entirely the choir as the leader of congregational singing."<sup>7</sup>

Many German chorales as they appear in the hymnbooks today are not in their pristine form. Modifications in

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<sup>6</sup>Das Goerlitzer Tabulaturbuch, edited by Christhard Mahrenholz (New York, 1940).

<sup>7</sup>Liemohn, op. cit., p. 58.



harmony, rhythm, and often melodies have resulted as illustrated by the following example:

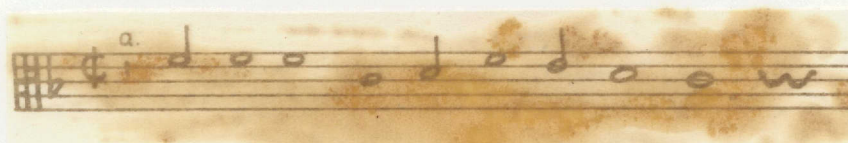


Fig. 2--Luther's setting of "Ein feste Burg"<sup>8</sup>



Fig. 3--Setting of "Ein feste Burg" from The Hymnal 1940.<sup>9</sup>

Alterations in rhythm are very striking. The primitive chorale apparently had more variety and life than the rigid form of today and is unlike the present chorale which "is usually written in notes of equal length, one note to a syllable."<sup>10</sup> Thus it appears that, as the congregation sang these chorales, the longer became shorter and the shorter notes became longer which tended to equalize note values. However, present chorale settings are to be found in the form of the very early and supposedly original settings.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Claimed as Luther's original setting. Liemohn, op. cit., p. 17, citing Franz Horn, Das Lied, der Lieder.

<sup>9</sup>The Hymnal 1940 (Norwood, 1943), No. 551.

<sup>10</sup>Dickinson, op. cit., p. 263. <sup>11</sup>Cf. Fig. 2 and Fig. 4.





Fig. 4--Setting of "Ein feste Burg" from  
The Lutheran Hymnal.<sup>12</sup>

Thus it is not to be inferred that adherence to the original settings have been forsaken entirely as the above example illustrates.

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<sup>12</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis, 1941), No. 262. No metrical signature is given: bar lines divide each line of music into two divisions not always equal, but varying by only a quarter note to a half note except in two lines of the music.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE INFLUENCE OF LUTHER TO 1750

Luther had set a favorable pattern for church music when he placed it next to theology saying, "After theology I accord to music the highest and greatest honor."<sup>1</sup> What Luther actually did was to restore to the congregation the opportunity to sing in the Service. The proportion of congregational participation during the sixteenth century began to increase after the Reformation in accordance with the change in musical style and the chorale as summarized in the previous section. In the seventeenth century the congregation took little part in the singing, being restricted to the Credo--and perhaps a communion hymn.<sup>2</sup>

The musical aspect of the Lutheran Reformation was most fully and characteristically expressed in the chorale. It (the chorale) became the thematic material of many motets and cantatas in the Lutheran Church as the plain chant tune furnished thematic material for masses, motets, etc. in the Roman Catholic Church. The chorale-motets treated the chorale melody in motet style, "i.e., as a succession of fugal sections

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Buszin, Luther on Music, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup>Schweitzer, op. cit., I, 31. The Creed sung in verse. "We all believe in one true God." See Appendix II.

each based on one of the successive lines of the chorale.<sup>3</sup> Chorale cantatas are "those in which chorale texts (and, as a rule, chorale melodies also) are used for movements other than the final one which is nearly always a harmonized chorale."<sup>4</sup>

Bach had been preceded by Johann Kindermann (1616-1655), Johann Philip Krieger (1649-1725), Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722), and others. They too used chorale texts and melodies for their cantatas and "in their hands the cantata became a more serious type of worship music and more elaborate musically."<sup>5</sup>

The chorale melodies gave the composer material on which to base compositions for the organ. Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654) in his chorale harmonizations in Das G rlitzer Tabulaturbuch (1650) gave the organ music which was intended for the accompanying of congregational singing. This work contained 112 settings of 100 melodies in use at that time. The publication helped establish him as a leader in organ music in central and northern Europe. It helped attract many organ

<sup>3</sup>Willi Apel, "Chorale Motet," Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, 1955).

<sup>4</sup>Apel, "Chorale Cantata," Ibid. See example in Carl Parrish and John F. Ohl, Masterpieces of Music Before 1750 (New York, 1951), pp. 208 and 215. Cantata No. 4 of Bach, "Christ Lag in Todesbanden."

<sup>5</sup>Floyd Henry Quist, "Bach's Treatment of the Chorale in Chorale Cantatas," unpublished master's thesis, Department of Music, North Texas State College, Denton, Texas, 1950, p. 11.

students from much of this territory. Prior to this, in 1624, Scheidt published an epoch-making volume, Tabulatura Nova in which the organ treated the chorale in an original organ style. Because of this he is generally referred to as the "father of German organ music" which seems well justified, for it was not long after the publication of Das G rlitzer Tabulaturbuch that the organ displaced entirely the choir as the leader of congregational singing. By this time, too, the organ had become a well-developed instrument.

Following Scheidt the most notable German masters of the organ based their compositions on the chorale and as a result produced the chorale prelude. Pachelbel (1653-1706), Georg Boehm (1661-1733), and Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707) created various forms of the chorale prelude. Each had his own style and form of working out the chorale prelude.

Pachelbel, in writing his chorale preludes usually took each phrase of the chorale melody in turn and presented it in several voices in quick notes, making from each phrase a miniature fugal exposition. This he followed with the same phrase as a cantus firmus in longer notes. In brief, Pachelbel's style is a series of individual fugal expositions held together by successive phrases of the chorale melody.

Boehm's conception of the chorale prelude is radically different. "His favorite method is to break the chorale melody up into luxuriant coloratura, and to keep this rich

and flowing paraphrase moving about over a simple harmonic accompaniment of a more or less free nature."<sup>6</sup>

Buxtehude's chorale preludes are chorale fantasies of varied kinds, from the simplest to the most ingenious. The simple ones have the melody embellished only slightly.<sup>7</sup> In his larger chorale preludes<sup>8</sup> the melody is treated in fragments thrown into the flood of a brilliant, animated fantasia, and sends them swiftly along, one in the soprano, another in the alto, another in the tenor, and another in the bass, according as his fancy suggests.<sup>9</sup>

Besides the three forms of chorale preludes just mentioned, other types of compositions for organ existed. The chorale partita or chorale variations,<sup>10</sup> as it is sometimes called, were written by Scheidt (1587-1654), Pachelbel (1653-1706), Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748), and others. These variations often corresponded to the number of stanzas of the chorale and were often used in an alternating manner

<sup>6</sup>See example in Johann Pachelbel, "Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund," Ausgewählte Orgelwerke, Band II, No. 9.

Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 45. See Boehm's "Christ Lay in Bonds of Death II," Masterpieces of Organ Music, Folio 19, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup>Dietrich Buxtehude, "Herzlich tut mich verlangen," Buxtehude Orgelwerke, edited by Hermann Keller, II, 1.

<sup>8</sup>"Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>9</sup>Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>10</sup>See Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque, p. 105, for a fuller treatment of variations.

with the choir and congregation. The congregation was so familiar with the chorales that the organist was able to play a variation and the congregation to follow the particular verse with its meaning. The example of Scheidt's variations on "Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund"<sup>11</sup> illustrates the number of variations corresponding to the number of stanzas of the particular chorale.

Bach's admiration of Luther is evident for he possessed a complete edition of Luther's works.<sup>12</sup> When in 1722 Bach accepted the position at the University of Leipzig he was required to sign the Formula of Concord (1580)<sup>13</sup> and was found to be theologically sound.<sup>14</sup> In the Lutheran Church Bach found the environment to compose new church music and he could produce it constantly. His prolific output of sacred music testifies to this. His oratorios and cantatas were written for presentation in church as an integral part of the service. Leo Schrade states, "There has been no other musician who like Bach possessed the inner force to create church music in the spirit of Luther's church without breaking

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<sup>11</sup>Samuel Scheidt, "Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund," Six Chorale Preludes, edited by Walter E. Buszin (St. Louis, 1954).

<sup>12</sup>Nettl, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>13</sup>The last of the Lutheran Confessions, printed in Concordia Triglotta, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis, 1921), pp. 845-1103.

<sup>14</sup>Hans Theodore David and Arthur Mendel, The Bach Reader (New York, 1945), pp. 92-93.



up the liturgy with an excess of the subjective, and by taking liberties with it as men are wont to do."<sup>15</sup>

In Part III of his Klavierübung, "Organ Mass," (1739) appears perhaps Bach's most impressive monument of strict observance of the liturgy. He endeavored to work out Luther's Catechism by gathering the chorales of the Catechism in a highly meaningful order. In correspondence with the Large and Small Catechism each chorale is presented in a large and a small setting, except for the chorale to the Trinity, All Glory Be to God on High, which appears three times. The longer arrangements belong to the concerto type of prelude, the short ones mostly chorale fugues. The technical demands of the preludes become particularly obvious in the six-voice Out of the Depths which calls for an obligato double pedal. Framing the whole collection is the grandiose prelude and fugue in E-flat symbolizing the Trinity in the three flats of the key signature and the three themes of the "triple fugue."<sup>16</sup> In the use of motives depicting joy (Figures 5a and 5b), faith (Figure 6), sorrow (Figure 7), etc., he was able to express his deepest religious feelings.



Fig. 5a--"In Peace and Joy I Now Depart" (Orgelbüchlein #18)

<sup>15</sup>Leo Schrade, Bach (New York, 1955), p. 39.

<sup>16</sup>Manfred F. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era (New York, 1947), p. 299.





Fig. 5b--"In Thee Is Gladness" (Orgelbüchlein #17)



Fig. 6--"Wir Glauben all an einen Gott" (Klavierübung)



Fig. 7--"O Lamb of God, Pure, Spotless" (Orgelbüchlein #20).<sup>17</sup>

Bach's life-long purpose was to enrich the musical treasury of the Church he loved, to strengthen and signalize every feature of her worship which his genius could reach. In 1708 when he resigned from his position at Mülhausen, he stated in his letter of resignation that he felt his calling in life was to be "organizing church music well," and it was primarily for this reason that he sought a position elsewhere.

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<sup>17</sup>Schweitzer, op. cit., II, 56-71.

See the complete musical compositions from which three of the musical examples are taken in J. S. Bach, The Liturgical Year (Orgelbüchlein), edited by Albert Riemenschneider (Pennsylvania, 1933.)

There is no "end," no idea, not even a particular merit in disposing of duties such as fall to the musician's daily routine. Bach . . . conceives of a new and inspiring aim: he intends to impart to church musicians a new structure. Such reforms are not invented because a person likes to invent them. On the contrary, an idea brings the reform to life; in this case it was the Lutheran idea of the Protestant church. Bach visualized a new regulation of religious life through music, a "birth of the Church out of the spirit of music" to give a famous expression a new turn.<sup>18</sup>

And in his works he used the chorale, which Luther unfolded, to produce masterpieces in form and beauty unsurpassed.

Calvinistic Switzerland and Holland contributed little to Reformation music in comparison to Germany where Bach, Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, Praetorius, Pachelbel, Buxtehude, and a host of other composers worked. These were the stones of an edifice of German music in the sixteenth to eighteenth century built on Luther, the cornerstone, and were fortunate to have lived where Luther's teachings were in practice.

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<sup>18</sup>Schrade, op. cit., p. 12.

## CHAPTER VII

### MUSIC IN THE LUTHERAN SERVICE SINCE THE DEATH OF J. S. BACH (1750)

The death of Bach ended a musical era, the Baroque. After about 1750 serious interest in church music, which formerly most composers possessed, began to wane. Hereafter musicians sought positions in opera or in princely chapels and, from the nineteenth century, on the concert stage, with the result that churches now acquired their musicians largely from those who were unsuccessful in their secular ambitions.

The roots of this decline are to be found in the Pietistic movement<sup>1</sup> which began in the latter part of the seventeenth century and continued through the eighteenth century. The seeds of Pietism, in turn, came from the period of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Prior to this, during the first century after the Reformation, the hymns were objective in character, as can be noticed from the use of the plural form of pronouns used in hymns. They were hymns of praise and adoration which could be called "doctrinal" songs<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Pietism--A 17th century movement within the Lutheran Church of Germany aiming to correct the evils of "dead orthodoxy" by means of a more emotional Christianity. Lieder, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>See "Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice," Appendix II.

of the Reformation. In contrast to this objective mode of religious thought appears Pietism's subjectivism, illustrated by noting the use of singular pronouns "my" and "me."<sup>3</sup> The grievous war years stimulated a more subjective type of sacred poetry and the view that God was not only the Supreme Being to be worshiped and adored, but also their comfort and help in time of affliction. It was this period of Christian self-consciousness that was to lead eventually into the Pietistic movement.

"Pietism was not friendly toward art of any kind"<sup>4</sup> with the result that church music was destined to decay. This spirit of subjectivism deserted the rugged, forceful, virile melodies of the Reformation and used a "freer-moving Italian operatic type of melody."<sup>5</sup> The use of triple meter became common, and often resulted in a waltz-like movement.<sup>6</sup> This

<sup>3</sup>For complete stanza see "Jesus, My Captain, to victory lead me" from Liemohn, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. See the example which Liemohn gives in his book on p. 60.

<sup>6</sup>An example is "Approach, My Soul, the Mercy-Seat," #456, The Lutheran Hymnal. It is interesting to note that in the twentieth century strong objection has been voiced in respect to triple meter. Archibald T. Davison discusses the use of this meter for sacred music saying, "Admittedly, there is nothing intrinsic in any rhythm which, per se, places it in either the secular or sacred category. We have only to remember that during a large part of the Middle Ages the triple pulse was used almost exclusively for the music of the Church; but, in that period music was as much a science as an art, and in addition, the predilection for triple meter was partly due  
(continued next page)

was in contrast to the Reformation type of melody found in the Lutheran chorale inherited from the Gregorian plain-song, where notes tended to be of equal duration. Spitta says that "in pietistic circles nothing was encouraged but 'spiritual songs' of the narrowest type which followed the verse as closely and simply as possible."<sup>7</sup> "Old Bach . . . was followed by Philipp Emanuel Bach [1714-1788], Carl Heinrich Graun [c. 1703-1759], and Johann Adam Hiller [1728-1804] with their sentimental compositions . . ."<sup>8</sup> Out of countless musicians these three were the best, and in general composers interests were now turned toward the opera house and princely chapels.

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6(continued) to the theological concept of the number three. Triple time was called 'tempus perfectum,' perfect time; but behind that lay another triple concept, a Beginning, a Middle, and an Ending; Father Son, and Holy Ghost. While it is obvious, therefore, that triple meter was not fore-ordained to be the characteristic rhythm of secular music, nonetheless the feeling persists that in our time, in a majority of cases, a basic movement in threes is unsuited to the music of the service. This may only be explained, I think by ascribing it to the power of association. As I think of literature of music in general, it seems to me that disregarding for the moment other technical considerations which may affect its nature, behind much of our church music that is cast in threes lurks the seductive shadow of the lilting waltz . . . The whole truth is, of course, that rhythm is but one among a number of ingredients of which a piece of music is made up; . . . Rhythm, the one constant in music, and the element most likely to provoke a physical response, even though the urge to motion be repressed as it generally is in church, is not the friend of pious contemplation. The church in earlier times recognized that fact. We have forgotten it." Church Music (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 30-31.

<sup>7</sup>Philipp Spitta, Johann Sebastian Bach (New York, 1951), I, 362-363.

<sup>8</sup>Alfred Einstein, Music in the Romantic Era (N. Y., 1947), p. 159.



As Pietism died, Rationalism infested the Church and attempted to reduce religion to the plane of ethics alone. Reason came to be considered the source of all human knowledge. Subtly it made its entrance through the revision of hymns.

It (Rationalism) "broke into the German churches and made sad havoc in the hymnbooks and liturgies . . . It is the period of hymnological revolution . . . It began with the well-meant zeal for improving old hymns in style and expression and adapting them to the taste of the age."<sup>9</sup>

Philip Schaff says, "Instead of hymns of faith and salvation, the congregations were obligated to sing rhymed sermons on the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the delights of reunion, the dignity of man, the duty of self improvement, the nurture of the body, and the care of animals and flowers."<sup>10</sup>

The relative freedom of expression, which was a result of Luther's Reformation, at this point unfortunately took a weird excursion by permitting, though unconsciously, this rationalistic germ to infest the church.

Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1716-1769), a professor of poetry and moral philosophy at Leipzig, was a pious and highly

<sup>9</sup>Lang, op. cit., pp. 432-434.

<sup>10</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 417. An example is "We Plough the Fields and Scatter" by Matthias Claudius (1740-1815).

gifted man and one of the foremost hymnwriters of this time who fortunately was not carried away by the forces of Rationalism. His Spiritual Odes and Hymns (1757) "are didactic . . . spiritual, warm, and edifying . . ." <sup>11</sup> These texts became so popular that such composers as Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach <sup>12</sup> (1714-1788) and Ludwig van Beethoven <sup>13</sup> (1770-1827) used many of them in their vocal music.

Rationalism also worked against the rich cultivation of religious art and helped to reduce the stature and interest of musical positions in the church. As a result there were "musicians in the church" rather than "church musicians" and the churches found themselves saddled with frustrated secular musicians.

These conditions, were not, of course, wholesome and the significance of the chorale and good church music was relegated to a secondary position. As has been mentioned above, Bach's own sons had little interest in the chorale tradition and much of the father's music remained unpublished <sup>14</sup> until its discovery by Mendelssohn (1809-1847) a hundred years later.

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<sup>11</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 418. An example of his hymns is "Auf Gott, und nicht auf meinen Rath."

<sup>12</sup> Carl P. E. Bach, Thematisches Verzeichnis Seiner Werke, edited by Alfred Wotquenne (Leipzig, 1905), p. 70 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Beethoven used six of the themes in opus 48. Georg Kinsky, Das Werke Beethovens (München, 1955), p. 113.

<sup>14</sup> Johann Nikolaus Forkel, Johann Sebastian Bach, His Life, Art, and Work, trans. C. S. Terry (London, 1920), pp. 116-124. Bach's works which he himself had engraved for publication are mentioned on these pages.

No lasting contribution of Rationalism remains. Hymns representative of this period are seldom found. The present Lutheran Hymnal<sup>15</sup> contains no hymns of this nature.

Around the second decade of the nineteenth century, following the period of Rationalism, comes a revival of evangelical theology, piety, and hymnology. It is rich in hymns which combine the old faith and sound doctrine with deep feeling. Karl Johann Philipp Spitta (1801-1859),<sup>16</sup> a Lutheran pastor and superintendent over Hannover, is the most popular Lutheran hymn writer of the nineteenth century. "His hymns are characterized by deep evangelical piety and simplicity, and have found an excellent translator in Richard Massie [1800-1887]."<sup>17</sup> His "O Selig Haus wo man dich aufgenommen"<sup>18</sup> is currently in use.

In 1829 Mendelssohn revived the neglected and forgotten works of Bach by performing his St. Matthew Passion in concert style. He was impressed by the greatness of Bach<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal. (1941).

<sup>16</sup>He was the father of the well-known Bach-biographer, J. August Philipp Spitta (1841-1894). George Grove, "Spitta," Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. VIII, revised 5th ed., edited by Eric Blom (London, 1954).

<sup>17</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 418.

<sup>18</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal, #626 (translated "O Happy Home, Where Thou Art Loved Most Dearly").

<sup>19</sup>See Mendelssohn's letter to his father where he expresses his admiration for Bach's music. Julius Rietz, Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833-1847, translated by Lady Wallace (Boston, 1863), pp. 72-73.



and tried to give impetus to Protestant church music by amalgamation of his own style with some traits of Bach. His cantata-like psalm compositions (Psalms 31, 42, 95, 98, and 111) are the evidence of his attempt. But these works of Mendelssohn "are really homeless compositions strange both to the concert hall and to their imaginary liturgical setting."<sup>20</sup>

Mendelssohn himself came from a family famous in the Jewish world but "gradually abandoned all bonds with Jewish tradition till his interest centered solely in Christian ideas and German music."<sup>21</sup> His Reformation Symphony centers around the Lutheran chorale, "Ein feste Burg," which indeed might be called the musical symbol of this symphony.

Not only Mendelssohn, but numerous others have based works, largely for organ, on this chorale of Luther. Richard Wagner (1813-1883) used it in 1871 for his Kaisermarsch (written to celebrate the return of the troops from France) and under no circumstances should Max Reger's (1873-1916) Chorale Fantasy on this theme for organ be overlooked. Even today composers, especially of organ works,<sup>22</sup> give attention to this chorale in their own compositions.

<sup>20</sup>Alfred Einstein, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>21</sup>Peter Gradenwitz, The Music of Israel (NY, 1949), p. 162.

<sup>22</sup>Garth Edmundson, Seven Classic Preludes on Old Chorale (NY, 1938), #4, p. 13. Homer Whitford, Five Choral Paraphrases (NY, 1941), Set 1, #2, p. 5. Flor Peeters, Ten Chorale Preludes (NY, 1950), opus 69, #10, p. 33.

Another prominent composer of the Romantic Era, Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), deserves mention in connection with music in the Lutheran Church. His contribution to religious music in general is not large, and his music specifically for the Service is even less. Psalm XIII, opus 27, and Three Sacred Choruses, opus 37, are suitable as choir music for the Service. Opus 30, the Geistliches Lied, could perhaps be used for the same purpose as the two works just mentioned. His motets, which reveal the influence of Bach, show his individualistic style. Three of these motets (of which there are seven)<sup>23</sup> are based on Lutheran chorales and they find a comfortable location when they serve as special choir music in the Lutheran Service. Their difficulty limits their use since the majority of church choirs find them too challenging. Brahms' German Requiem (1857-1868), which draws from the Scripture for its text<sup>24</sup> reveals a relation to Bach and Handel, and it is concert music which would hardly be used in a Service.

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<sup>23</sup>Thematic Catalog of the Collected Works of Brahms, edited by Joseph Braunstein (New York, 1956), p. 172. See opus 29, 74, and 110. Opus 121, Ernste Gesänge, for solo (bass) voice, based on Ecclesiastes and I Corinthians, are religious songs which could be used as a choir selection.

<sup>24</sup>Chiefly from the Psalms and Isaiah. For the complete listing of texts see Edwin Evans, Handbook to the Vocal Works of Brahms (London, 1912), p. 165.

More useful are his eleven organ preludes<sup>25</sup> based on the Lutheran chorales. These seem to find a comfortable setting in a Service of Worship. This could not be said of his predecessor's (Mendelssohn) organ works for they drew attention to themselves by their subjectiveness.

A generation after Brahms produces another prominent composer, Max Reger (1873-1916). Although a Roman Catholic, he based many of his organ compositions on Lutheran Chorales.<sup>26</sup> His smaller compositions (e.g. Thirty Short Chorale Preludes, opus 135a) are excellent for use in the Service, but his larger works for organ (e.g. Fantasia on Wie schön leucht't Morgenstern) are too difficult, pompous, and complex. Of medium difficulty is his opus 67,<sup>27</sup> the Fifty-two Choralvorspiele for organ also based on Lutheran chorales. Seldom

<sup>25</sup>Johannes Brahms, Eleven Chorale Preludes (New York, 1928), op. 122, Book 1. The Eleven Preludes are as follows:  
 "Mein Jesu, der du mich" ("My Jesus Calls to me")  
 "Herzliebster Jesu" ("O Blessed Jesu")  
 "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" ("O world, I now must leave thee") 2 settings  
 "Herzlich thut mich erfreuen" ("My faithful heart rejoices")  
 "Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele" ("Deck thyself, my soul")  
 "O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen" ("Blessed are ye faithful souls")  
 "O Gott, du frommer Gott" ("O God, Thou faithful God")  
 "Es ist ein' Ros' entsprungen" ("Behold, a rose is blooming")  
 "Herzlich thut mich verlangen" ("My heart is filled with longing") 2 settings

<sup>26</sup>See list in Fritz Stein, Thematisches Verzeichnis der im Druck erschienenen Werke von Max Reger, Section D, Für Orgel (und Harmonium), pp. 506-507.

<sup>27</sup>Practical edition published by Ed. Bote and G. Bock (Berlin, 1931).

are these referred to in musical publications, and yet they are significant enough to be cited here, for again there is a sizeable group of compositions based on the chorales.

Other non-Lutheran composers, even in the twentieth century, find the chorales of Luther interesting material for some of their compositions:

Marcel Dupre (1886-) bases his Seventy-nine Chorales for the organ, opus 28, on the melodies of old chorales which Bach had used. As Dupre states in his introduction, these are to be used as educational material for the organ student rather than for the service.

Another non-Lutheran, Flor Peeters (1903-), uses thirty Lutheran chorales as the thematic material for opus 68, 69, and 70.<sup>28</sup> Healy Willan (1880-), a contemporary Canadian, recently published two sets<sup>29</sup> of preludes each based on a chorale of the Lutheran Church. It would be impossible to mention every one who has used this material, but from these recent publications it is apparent that the Lutheran chorale still stimulates composers.

It thus appears that even in the twentieth century Luther's effect on Lutheran Church Music continues in this stream of new compositions based on old chorales. His influence is felt in

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<sup>28</sup>Each volume is entitled Ten Chorale Preludes (New York, 1949-1950).

<sup>29</sup>Each set entitled Six Chorale Preludes, Two sets (St. Louis, 1950 and 1951).

vocal music as well. Within the past five years innumerable anthems and many cantatas have been published which draw heavily from the chorale.<sup>30</sup>

As to the congregational aspect, during the latter part of the nineteenth century German immigrants came to America and brought with them their divergences in hymn literature. Hymnbooks were published by the various groups but no common hymnbook was to be found. The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelische-Lutherische Gemeinde compiled and edited by C. F. W. Walther and his associates became the official hymnbook of the Missouri Synod after its founding in 1847. In 1879 the Synod published the Hymnbook for Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations, and, since this publication, new ones have been brought out and frequently revised. In 1929 the Missouri Synod authorized a complete revision of its hymnal and it appeared in 1941.<sup>31</sup>

The chorale remains the basis of Lutheran hymnody, since approximately 60 to 70 per cent of the hymns are of chorale origin. Non-chorales constitute the remainder of The Lutheran Hymnal. Of these non-chorales certain hymn-tunes by such names as St. Anne, Sine Nomine, Italian Hymn, and Hanover are non-Lutheran in origin, but are frequently used.

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<sup>30</sup>See the catalog of choral (sacred) music distributed by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis.

<sup>31</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal. At the time of this writing it is again in the process of revision.

Even today the effect of Luther is apparent in the form of service used by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.<sup>32</sup> It still follows his basic liturgical outline which he formulated at the time of the Reformation. A considerable part of the Liturgy is chanted by the entire congregation as are the following major portions: Gloria Patri, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, The Offertory, Sanctus, the latter part of the Lord's Prayer, Agnus Dei, Nunc Dimittis, and numerous short responses, all of which are done in the vernacular. Where adequate choirs exist, they often chant the Introit, Sequence Hymn, Gradual, and Season Sentence. Ordinarily three, sometimes four or five hymns (chorales and/or hymn tunes) are sung by the entire congregation thus perpetuating the plan of Luther to have the congregation participate significantly in the Service. Incidentally, the proportion of congregational hymns today shows an increase when compared to the number at the time of Bach, when the congregation sang one chorale in addition to the Sermon hymn. Special choral music is encouraged today as Luther had desired of the churches of his day to foster artistic choral music.

Luther realized that the church would not remain static and for that reason would not inflict rigid rules which would need to be followed indefinitely. Rather, he formulated orders of Service, the Formula Missae and the Deutsche Messe,

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<sup>32</sup>Compare the present Lutheran Liturgy with the Roman Mass, Formula Missa, and the Deutsche Messe in Appendix V.

which could be altered and changed whenever and wherever necessary. Today the Lutheran attitude is to "throw nothing valuable away, but at the same time look forward not back."<sup>24</sup> Do not throw away the beautiful chorales and liturgical forms because of age, neither feel harnessed to the past, but use that which fulfills the need. To keep from becoming sterile musically, create new and use it with the best of the past. This is the Lutheran viewpoint toward music in the Church today.

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<sup>24</sup>Carl Halter, op. cit., p. 93.

## APPENDIX I

### THE ORDER OF THE MASS<sup>1</sup>

The following shows the usual order of the Mass. When the Mass is sung (as it is in High Mass), the parts marked "Sung" are sung, usually in Gregorian Chant, by the choir (including soloists). The other parts are intoned or spoken by the priest. The Ordinary texts do not change. The Proper texts are appropriate to the time or season . . .

SUNG		INTONED OR SPOKEN
ORDINARY	PROPER	PROPER
1.	Introit	
2. Kyrie		
3. Gloria		
4.		Collect (prayers)
5.		Epistle
6.	Gradual	
7.	Alleluia or Tract	
8.		Gospel
9. Credo		
10.	Offertory	
11.		Secreta
12.		Preface
13. Sanctus		
14. Agnus Dei		
15.	Communion	
16.	Post-Communion	
17. Ite Missa Est		
(dismissal; from which the Mass or Missa gets its name).		

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted from David D. Boyden, An Introduction to Music (New York, 1956), Appendix II, p. 440.



## APPENDIX II

### ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE CHORALE TEXTS

Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above (458)<sup>1</sup>  
(Vater unser im Himmelreich)

- 1 Our Father, Thou in heav'n above,  
Who biddest us to dwell in love,  
As brethren of one family,  
To cry in ev'ry need to Thee,  
Teach us no thoughtless words to say,  
But from our inmost heart to pray.
- 2 Thy name be hallowed. Help us, Lord,  
In purity to keep Thy Word,  
That to the glory of Thy name  
We walk before Thee free from blame.  
Let no false doctrine us pervert;  
All poor, deluded souls convert.
- 3 Thy kingdom come. Thine let it be  
In time and in eternity.  
Let Thy good Spirit e'er be nigh  
Our hearts with graces to supply.  
Break Satan's pow'r, defeat his rage;  
Preserve Thy Church from age to age.
- 4 Thy gracious will on earth be done  
As 'tis in heaven before Thy throne;  
Obedience in our weal and woe  
And patience in all grief bestow.  
Curb flesh and blood and every ill  
That sets itself against Thy will.
- 5 Give us this day our daily bread  
And let us all be clothed and fed.  
From war and strife be our Defense,  
From famine and from pestilence,  
That we may live in godly peace,  
Free from all care and avarice.

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<sup>1</sup>Numbers in parenthesis refer to The Lutheran Hymnal from which these words were taken.

- 6 Forgive our sins, Lord, we implore,  
Remove from us their burden sore,  
As we their trespasses forgive  
Who by offenses us do grieve.  
Thus let us dwell in charity  
And serve our brother willingly.
- 7 Into temptation lead us not.  
When evil foes against us plot  
And vex our souls on every hand,  
Oh, give us strength that we may stand  
Firm in the faith, a well-armed host,  
Through comfort of the Holy Ghost!
- 8 From evil, Lord, deliver us;  
The times and days are perilous.  
Redeem us from eternal death,  
And when we yield our dying breath,  
Console us, grant us calm release,  
And take our souls to Thee in peace.
- 9 Amen, that is, So shall it be.  
Confirm our faith and hope in Thee  
That we may doubt not, but believe  
What here we ask we shall receive.  
Thus in Thy name and at Thy word  
We say: Amen; Oh, hear us, Lord!

Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice (387)  
(Nun freut euch, liebe Christen g'mein)

- 1 Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice,  
With exultation springing,  
And, with united heart and voice  
And holy rapture singing,  
Proclaim the wonders God hath done,  
How His right arm the vict'ry won;  
Right dearly it hath cost Him.
- 2 Fast bound in Satan's chains I lay,  
Death brooded darkly o'er me,  
Sin was my torment night and day,  
In sin my mother bore me;  
Yea, deep and deeper still I fell,  
Life had become a living hell,  
So firmly sin possessed me.
- 3 My own good works availed me naught,  
No merit they attaining;

- Free will against God's judgment fought,  
 Dead to all good remaining.  
 My fears increased till sheer despair  
 Left naught but death to be my share;  
 The pangs of hell I suffered.
- 4 But God beheld my wretched state  
 Before the world's foundation,  
 And, mindful of His mercies great,  
 He planned my soul's salvation.  
 A father's heart He turned to me,  
 Sought my redemption fervently:  
 He gave His dearest Treasure.
- 5 He spoke to His beloved Son:  
 'Tis time to have compassion.  
 Then go, bright Jewel of My crown,  
 And bring to man salvation;  
 From sin and sorrow set him free,  
 Slay bitter death for him that he  
 May live with Thee forever.
- 6 The Son obeyed His Father's will,  
 Was born of virgin mother,  
 And God's good pleasure to fulfil,  
 He came to be my Brother.  
 No garb of pomp or power He wore,  
 A servant's form, like mine, He bore,  
 To lead the devil captive.
- 7 To me He spake: Hold fast to Me,  
 I am thy Rock and Castle;  
 Thy Ransom I Myself will be,  
 For thee I strive and wrestle;  
 For I am with thee, I am thine,  
 And evermore thou shalt be Mine;  
 The Foe shall not divide us.
- 8 The Foe shall shed My precious blood,  
 Me of My life bereaving.  
 All this I suffer for thy good;  
 Be steadfast and believing.  
 Life shall from death the victory win,  
 My innocence shall bear thy sin;  
 So art thou blest forever.
- 9 Now to My Father I depart,  
 The Holy Spirit sending  
 And, heavenly wisdom to impart,  
 My help to thee extending.

He shall in trouble comfort thee,  
Teach thee to know and follow Me,  
And in all truth shall guide thee.

- 10 What I have done and taught, teach thou,  
My ways forsake thou never;  
So shall My kingdom flourish now  
And God be praised forever.  
Take heed lest men with base alloy  
The heavenly treasure should destroy;  
This counsel I bequeath thee.

That Man a Godly Life Might Live (287)  
(Dies sind die heil'gen Zehn Gebot')

- 1 That man a godly life might live,  
God did these Ten Commandments give  
By His true servant Moses, high  
Upon the Mount Sinai.  
Have mercy, Lord!
- 2 I am thy God and Lord alone,  
No other God beside Me own;  
Put thy whole confidence in Me  
And love Me e'er cordially.  
Have mercy, Lord!
- 3 By idle word and speech profane  
Take not My holy name in vain  
And praise but that as good and true  
Which I Myself say and do.  
Have mercy, Lord!
- 4 Hallow the day which God hath blest  
That thou and all thy house may rest;  
Keep hand and heart from labor free  
That God may so work in thee.  
Have mercy, Lord!
- 5 Give to thy parents honor due,  
Be dutiful, and loving, too,  
And help them when their strength  
decays;  
So shalt thou have length of days.  
Have mercy, Lord!
- 6 In sinful wrath thou shalt not kill  
Nor hate nor render ill for ill;  
Be patient and of gentle mood,

And to thy foe do thou good.  
Have mercy, Lord!

7 Be faithful to thy marriage vows,  
Thy heart give only to thy spouse;  
Thy life keep pure, and lest thou sin,  
Use temperance and discipline.  
Have mercy, Lord!

8 Steal not; all usury abhor  
Nor wring their life-blood from the  
poor,  
But open wide thy loving hand  
To all the poor in the land.  
Have mercy, Lord!

9 Bear not false witness nor belie  
Thy neighbor by foul calumny.  
Defend his innocence from blame;  
With charity hide his shame.  
Have mercy, Lord!

10 Thy neighbor's house desire thou not,  
His wife, nor aught that he hath got,  
But wish that his such good may be  
As thy heart doth wish for thee.  
Have mercy, Lord!

11 God these commandments gave therein  
To show thee, child of man, thy sin  
And make thee also well perceive  
How man unto God should live.  
Have mercy, Lord!

12 Help us, Lord Jesus Christ, for we  
A Mediator have in Thee.  
Our works cannot salvation gain;  
They merit but endless pain.  
Have mercy, Lord!

We All Believe in One True God (251)  
(Wir glauben all' an einen Gott)

1 We all believe in one true God,  
Who created earth and heaven,  
The Father, who to us in love  
Hath the right of children given.  
He both soul and body feedeth,  
All we need He doth provide us;

He thro' snares and perils leadeth,  
 Watching that no harm betide us.  
 He careth for us day and night,  
 All things are governed by His might.

- 2 We all believe in Jesus Christ,  
 His own Son, our Lord, possessing  
 An equal Godhead, throne, and might,  
 Source of ev'ry grace and blessing.  
 Born of Mary, virgin mother,  
 By the power of the Spirit,  
 Made true man, our elder Brother,  
 That the lost might life inherit;  
 Was crucified for sinful men  
 And raised by God to life again.
- 3 We all confess the Holy Ghost,  
 Who sweet grace and comfort giveth  
 And with the Father and the Son  
 In eternal glory liveth;  
 Who the Church, His own creation,  
 Keeps in unity of spirit.  
 Here forgiveness and salvation  
 Daily come thro' Jesus' merit.  
 All flesh shall rise, and we shall be  
 In bliss with God eternally.

We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost (231)  
 (Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist)

- 1 We now implore God the Holy Ghost  
 For the true faith, which we need the most,  
 That in our last moments He may befriend us  
 And, as home-ward we journey, attend us.  
 Lord, have mercy!
- 2 Shine in our hearts, O most precious Light,  
 That we Jesus Christ may know aright,  
 Clinging to our Savior, whose blood hath  
 bought us,  
 Who again to our homeland hath bro't us.  
 Lord, have mercy!
- 3 Thou sacred Love, grace on us bestow,  
 Set our hearts with heav'nly fire aglow  
 That with hearts united we love each other,  
 Of one mind, in peace with ev'ry brother.  
 Lord, have mercy!

4 Thou highest Comfort in ev'ry need,  
 Grant that neither shame nor death we heed,  
 That e'en then our courage may never fail us  
 When the Foe shall accuse and assail us.  
     Lord, have mercy!

Isaiah, Mighty Seer, in Days of Old (249)  
 (Jesaia, dem Propheten, das geschah)

Isaiah, mighty seer, in days of old  
 The Lord of all in spirit did behold  
 High on a lofty throne, in splendor bright,  
 With flowing train that filled the Temple  
     quite.  
 Above the throne were stately seraphim;  
 Six wings had they, these messengers of Him.  
 With twain they veiled their faces, as was  
     meet,  
 With twain in rev'rent awe they hid their feet,  
 And with the other twain aloft they soared,  
 One to the other called and praised the Lord:  
 "Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth!  
 Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth!  
 Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth!  
 Behold, His glory filleth all the earth!"  
 The beams and lintels trembled at the cry,  
 And clouds of smoke enwrapped the throne  
     on high.

Kyrie, God Father in Heaven Above (6)  
 (Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit)

Kyrie, God Father in heav'n above,  
 Great art Thou in grace and love,  
 Of all things the Maker and Preserver.  
 Eleison, eleison! Kyrie, O Christ, our King,  
 Salvation for sinners Thou didst bring.  
 O Lord Jesus, God's own Son,  
 Our Mediator at the heav'nly throne,  
 Hear our cry and grant our supplication.  
 Eleison, eleison! Kyrie, O God the Holy  
     Ghost,  
 Guard our faith, the gift we need the most;  
 Do Thou our last hour bless;  
 Let us leave this sinful world with  
     gladness.  
 Eleison, eleison!

All Glory Be to God on High (237)  
(Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr')

- 1 All glory be to God on high,  
Who hath our race befriended!  
To us no harm shall now come nigh,  
The strife at last is ended.  
God showeth His good will to men,  
And peace shall reign on earth again;  
Oh, thank Him for His goodness!
- 2 We praise, we worship Thee, we trust,  
And give Thee thanks forever,  
O Father, that Thy rule is just  
And wise and changes never.  
Thy boundless pow'r o'er all things  
          reigns,  
Done is whate'er Thy will ordains:  
Well for us that Thou rulest.
- 3 O Jesus Christ, Thou only Son Of God,  
Thy heav'nly Father,  
Who didst for all our sins atone  
And Thy lost sheep dost gather:  
Thou Lamb of God, to Thee on high  
From out our depths we sinners cry,  
Have mercy on us, Jesus!
- 4 O Holy Ghost, Thou precious Gift,  
Thou Comforter unfailing,  
O'er Satan's snares our souls uplift  
And let Thy pow'r availing  
Avert our woes and calm our dread.  
For us the Savior's blood was shed;  
We trust in Thee to save us.

O Christ, Thou Lamb of God (147)  
(Christe, du Lamm Gottes)

- O Christ, Thou Lamb of God, that takest  
          away the sin of the world, have  
          mercy upon us!
- O Christ, Thou Lamb of God, that takest  
          away the sin of the world, have  
          mercy upon us!
- O Christ, Thou Lamb of God, that takest  
          away the sin of the world, grant  
          us Thy peace!



Lamb of God, Pure and Holy (146)  
(O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig)

- 1 Lamb of God, pure and holy,  
Who on the cross didst suffer,  
Ever patient and lowly,  
Thyself to scorn didst offer.  
All sins Thou borest for us,  
Else had despair reigned o'er us:  
Have mercy on us, O Jesus! O Jesus!
- 2 Lamb of God, pure and holy,  
Who on the cross didst suffer,  
Ever patient and lowly,  
Thyself to scorn didst offer.  
All sins Thou borest for us,  
Else had despair reigned o'er us:  
Have mercy on us, O Jesus! O Jesus!
- 3 Lamb of God, pure and holy,  
Who on the cross didst suffer,  
Ever patient and lowly,  
Thyself to scorn didst offer.  
All sins Thou borest for us,  
Else had despair reigned o'er us:  
Thy peace be with us, O Jesus! O Jesus!

Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen  
(a--original text.  
b--hymn version derived from it.)<sup>2</sup>

- a Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen,  
Ich fahr dahin mein Strassen  
In fremde Land dahin;  
Mein Freud ist mir genommen,  
Die ich nicht weiss bekommen,  
Wo ich im Elend bin.
- b O welt, ich muss dich lassen,  
Ich fahr dahin mein Strassen  
In ewig Vaterland;  
Mein Geist will ich aufgeben,  
Dazu mein Leib und Leben  
Setzen gnädig in Gottes Hand.

---

<sup>2</sup>Quoted from Liemohn, The Chorale (Philadelphia, 1953),  
pp. 10-11.

O World, I Now Must Leave Thee<sup>3</sup>  
(English translation of version b)

O World, I now must leave thee,  
And go my lonely journey  
To my eternal home.  
I faithfully and humbly  
Commit my soul and body  
Unto the Lord's all-loving hands.

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<sup>3</sup>Translation as found in John West's edition of Brahms' Eleven Chorale Preludes, opus 122 (New York, 1928), pp. 32-34.

### APPENDIX III

#### CLASSIFIED LIST OF LUTHER'S HYMNS<sup>1</sup>

##### I. Translations from the Latin;

###### A. From Latin Hymns:

1. Christum wir sollen loben schon  
(A solis ortus cardine: A. M., p. 242,  
L. U., p. 316)<sup>2</sup>  
Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One (104)<sup>3</sup>
2. Der du bist drei in Einigkeit  
(O Lux beata Trinitas: A. M., p. 533)  
Thou Who Art Three in Unity
3. Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von  
(Jesus Christus, nostra salus)  
Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior (311)
4. Komm, Gott Schöpfer  
(Veni, Creator Spiritus: A. M., p. 518,  
L. U., p. 756)  
Come Holy Ghost, Creator Blest (233)
5. Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland  
(Veni, Redemptor gentium)  
Savior of the Nations, Come (95)
6. Was furcht'st du Feind  
(A solis ortus cardine: A. M., p. 242,  
L. U., p. 316)  
Why Herod Unrelentless Foe

###### B. From Latin Antiphons, etc.:

7. Herr Gott, dich loben wir  
(Te Deum laudamus)  
Holy God, We Praise Thy Name (250)

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<sup>1</sup>Compiled from Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology (London, 1907), pp. 299-308, with additions by present writer. For additional English translations see under original in Julian.

<sup>2</sup>Numbers in parentheses refer to The Lutheran Hymnal.

<sup>3</sup>Abbreviations following Latin title refer to Antiphonale Monasticum (A. M.), Graduale Romanum (G. R.), and Liber Usualis (L. U.).

8. Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich  
(Da Pacem Domine)  
In These Our Days so Perilous
9. Wir glauben all' an einen Gott  
(Patrem credimus)  
We All Believe in One True God (251)

C. Partly from Latin the translated stanzas being adapted from Pre-Reformation version:

10. Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott  
(Veni Sancte Spiritus: G. R., p. 194,  
L. U., p. 750, 1613)  
Come Holy Ghost, God and Lord (224)
11. Mitten wir im Leben sind  
(Media vita in morte sumus)  
In the Midst of Earthly Life (590)

II. Hymns revised and enlarged from Pre-Reformation popular hymns:

12. Gelobet seyst du, Jesus Christ  
(Grates nunc omnes reddamus)  
All Praise to Thee, Eternal God (80)
13. Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei  
God the Father, be our Stay (247)
14. Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet  
O Lord, We Praise Thee, Bless Thee and  
Adore Thee (313)
15. Nun Bitten wir den Heiligen Geist  
We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost (231)

III. Psalm Versions:

16. Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein  
(Psalm 12)  
O Lord, look down from heav'n behold (260)
17. Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir  
(Psalm 130)  
From Depths of Woe I cry to Thee (329)
18. Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott  
(Psalm 46)  
A Mighty Fortress is Our God (262)
19. Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl  
(Psalm 14)  
The Mouth of Fools Doth God Confess
20. Es woll uns Gott genädig sein  
(Psalm 67)  
May God Bestow on us His Grace (500)

21. War' Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit  
(Psalm 124)  
If God Had Not Been on Our Side (267)
22. Wohl dem, der Gottes fürchte  
(Psalm 128)  
Happy the Man Who Feareth God

IV. Paraphrases of other parts of Holy Scripture:

23. Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot  
(Ex. 20:1-17)  
That Man a Godly Life Might Live (287)
24. Jesaia, dem Propheten, das geschah  
(Is. 6:1-4)  
Isaiah, Mighty Seer, in Days of Old (249)
25. Mensch, willst du leben  
(Ex. 20:1-17)  
Wilt thou O Man Live Happily
26. Mit Fried' und Freud' ich Fahr' dahin  
(Luke 2:29-32)  
In Peace and Joy I Now Depart (137)
27. Sie ist mir Lieb die werthe Magd  
(Rev. 12)  
Dear Is to Me the Holy Maid
28. Vater Unser Im Himmelreich  
(Matt. 6:9ff)  
Our Father Thou in Heav'n Above (458)

V. Hymns mainly original:

29. Christ lag in Todesbanden  
Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands (195)
30. Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan Kam  
To Jordan, Came Our Lord the Christ
31. Ein neues Lied wir heben an  
Flung to the Heedless Winds (259)
32. Erhalt Uns, Herr, Bei deinem Wort  
Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word (261)
33. Jesus Christ unser Heiland, Der den Tod  
überwand  
Christ Who Freed Our Souls from Danger
34. Nun freut euch, liebe Christen g'mein  
Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice (387)
35. Von Himmel hoch, da komm' ich her  
From Heaven Above to Earth I Come (85)
36. Von Himmel kam der Engel Schar  
To Shepherds as They Watched by Night (103)

## APPENDIX IV

### TABLE I

#### A COMPARISON OF THE FORMULA MISSAE AND DEUTSCHE MESSE\*

<u>Formula Missae</u> (1523)	<u>Deutsche Messe</u> (1526)
Introit . . . . .	Hymn or German Psalm in 1st Tone
Kyrie . . . . .	Kyrie (Gloria in Excelsis not mentioned, but believed by Rietschel** to have belonged to the Kyrie)
Collect . . . . .	Collect
Epistle . . . . .	Epistle
Gradual . . . . .	German Hymn (replaces Gradual) "Nun Bitten wir den heiligen Geist"
Gospel . . . . .	Gospel
Nicene Creed . . . . .	Nicene Creed (sung by congregation to "Wir Glauben all an einen Gott")
Sermon (in German) . . . . .	Sermon (based on Gospel and followed by a paraphrase of Lord's Prayer and an exhortation to communicants)
Preface . . . . .	(Preface omitted)
Words of Institution . . . . .	Words of Institution
Sanctus and Hosanna . . . . .	Sanctus (or another hymn)
Elevation . . . . .	Elevation (dropped in 1542)
Lord's Prayer	
Pax and response	
Administration . . . . .	Administration "German Sanctus" (hymn written by Luther for this purpose and place--"Isaiah, Mighty Seer")
Agnus Dei (or Communion hymn by the choir in German)	
Collect . . . . .	Collect
Benedicamus	
Aaronic Benediction . . . . .	Benediction

\*From The Lutheran Liturgy by Luther Reed, pp. 49 and 75.

\*\*Georg Christian Rietschel (1842-1914), professor of practical theology at Leipzig, wrote Der evangelische Gottesdrenst and other writings on liturgies and church music.

# APPENDIX V

## TABLE II

THE FORMULA MISSAE, THE DEUTSCHE MESSE, AND THE LUTHERAN LITURGY AS RELATED TO THE MISSALE ROMANUM\*

<u>Missale Romanum</u> (Latin)	The <u>Formula Missae</u> (1523) (Latin)
1. The Act of Preparation by the priest and servers before the altar.	(Preaching allowable here or after the Creed.)
2. Introit	2. Introit
3. Kyrie (nine times)	3. Kyrie (nine times)
4. Gloria in Excelsis- Et in terra-	4. Gloria in excelsis- Et in terra-
5. Salutation	5. Salutation
6. Collect	6. Collect
7. Epistle	7. Epistle
8. Gradual, or	8. Gradual, shortened and with (10) Alleluia or
9. Tract, or	10. Alleluia
10. Alleluia	11. (Only three Sentences approved)
11. Sequence	12. Gospel
12. Gospel	12a. Glory be . . .
12a. Glory be . . .	12b. Praise be . . .
12b. Praise be . . .	
(Then anciently the place of the sermon)	
13. Nicene Creed	13. Nicene Creed
	Preaching

\*Adapted from Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia, 1932), VI, 37-40.

TABLE II--Continued

<u>The Deutsche Messe (1526)</u> (German)	<u>The Lutheran Liturgy</u> (English)
<p>**</p> <p>Hymn (vernacular) or German Psalm</p> <p>3. Kyrie (three times)</p> <p>6. Collect (facing altar)</p> <p>7. Epistle (facing people)</p> <p>Hymn--German "Nun bitten wir"</p> <p>12. Gospel</p> <p>13. Creed- German and versified: "Wir glauben alle"</p> <p>Sermon on Gospel for Sunday or Festival</p>	<p>1. Adapted to congregational action. Hymn Invocation Invitation to Confession Versicles and Confession Collect Declaration of Grace</p> <p>2. Introit</p> <p>3. Kyrie (three times)</p> <p>4. Gloria in Excelsis- Et in terra-</p> <p>5. Salutation</p> <p>6. Collect</p> <p>7. Epistle</p> <p>8. Gradual- (no Hallelujah during Lententide) or</p> <p>10. Alleluia</p> <p>12. Gospel 12a. Glory be. . . 12b. Praise be . . .</p> <p>13. Nicene Creed at Communion and Festivals: Apostle's Creed other times Hymn Sermon Votum</p>

\*\*Items which do not appear in the last three columns were those not adopted in the Lutheran Services. Substitutions which replaced some of these omissions are included in the proper place.



TABLE II--Continued

<u>Missale Romanum</u> (Latin)	<u>The Formula Missae</u> (1523) (Latin)
14. Offertory	14. Is abrogated specifically. Preparation of Elements during Creed (13) or after Sermon.
15. Preface	15. Preface
15a. Salutation	15a - 15d
15b. Sursum	(15f and 15g see below)
15c. Gratias	abrogated specifically, as such
15d. Vere dignum	
15e. Proper Preface	
15f. Sanctus	
15g. Benedictus qui	
16. The Canon of the Mass	16. Qui pridie (Consecration)
16a. Te igitur	15f. Sanctus
16b. Memento, Domine	
16c. Communicantes	
16d. Hanc igitur	
16e. Quam oblationem	
16f. Qui pridie (The Verba)	15g. Benedictus qui . . . Elevation (cf. 16f)
16g. Unde et memores	
16h. Supra quae	
16i. Supplices te	
16j. Memento etiam	
16k. Nobis quoque	
16l. Pater noster Liber nos . . .	16l. The Lord's Prayer
16m. Pax Domine (The Communion)	16m. Pax Domine. Communion of celebrant first, then people while



TABLE II--Continued

<u>Missale Romanum</u> (Latin)	<u>The Formula Missae</u> (1523) (Latin)
16n. Haec Commixtio 16o. Agnus dei 16p. Domine Jesu Christi qui dixisti 16q. Pax tecum (The Kiss of Peace) 16r. Domine Jesu Christi, Fili Dei 16s. Perceptio Corporis 16t. Panem coelestem 16u. Domine, non sum 16v. Corpus Domini 16x. Sanguis Domini 16y. Quod ore sumpsimus 17. Communion (Chant- Distribution) 18. Post Communion 19. Salutation 20. Ite, missa est or 21. Benedicamus Domino 22. Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus	16o. Agnus dei, is sung  16r. (as prayer before communing)  Words of Institution 16v and 16x  18. Post Communion but 16y- appointed  21. Benedicamus with Alleluia 22. Benedicat vos or Aaronitic

TABLE II--Continued

<u>The Deutsche Messe</u> (1526) (German)	<u>The Lutheran Liturgy</u> (English)
160. Agnus dei	160. Agnus dei  Administration    Words of Administration 16v and 16x Benediction of Dismissal Nunc Dimittis
18. Post Communion (Invariable German Collect)	18. Post Communion (Invariable Collect translated from The Deutsche Messe) 19. Salutation  21. Benedicamus 22. Aaronitic

The Words of Institution

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples saying, "Take, eat; this is My body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of Me."

After the same manner also He took the cup when He had supped, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them saying, "Drink ye all of it; this cup is the New Testament in My blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins. This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me." The Lutheran Hymnal, p. 27. The text is a harmony of the four New Testament accounts in Matt. 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, and I Cor. 11.

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