

Chapter X

The Lutheran Reformation

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The religious revolution of the sixteenth century, generally known as the Reformation, took place against the background of wider changes in European society, politics and culture (although some of these changes were brought about by the Reformation itself). Feudalism was coming to an end, capitalism was dawning and patronage of the arts was passing from the church to the courts and the new capitalists. Although the Reformation was inextricably bound up with political ambition and sociological transformation, at root it was a theological revolution. It centred on the question of the nature of the church and its authority. For Catholics the church was regulated from Rome by the authority of the pope, the Vicar of Christ, and beneath him by an authority which was wielded at parish level by the priests of the church. For the new 'Protestants', whether they were Lutheran, Calvinist or Anglican, the church was the creation of the Spirit of God, with a common priesthood of all believers, and grounded in the authority of the written word of Scripture. The Protestant reformers also argued that if Scripture was the final authority for the church it must therefore also be normative for the worship of the church. Thus new patterns of worship were introduced and the role of music was re-evaluated.

—The key figure in the Reformation of the sixteenth century was the former Augustinian monk, Martin Luther. It was his stand against the Church of Rome and his voluminous writings which fuelled the religious ferment of Europe. Furthermore, it was Luther who almost single-handedly created the theological and liturgical climate which enabled a new musical tradition to develop within dawning 'Lutheranism', a tradition which was distinctive among the new churches created by the Reformation. This chapter will therefore begin by discussing Luther and his positive approach to music. The practical outcome of his musical leadership will then be traced as it affected certain representative cities throughout Germany. In general one can say that the German Reformation succeeded in those areas where there was either a university protected by a local prince sympathetic to Luther's views, or a free imperial city where the local ruling magistrates had elected to pursue Lutheran reforms. We shall therefore investigate Wittenberg and



59. Woodcut contrasting Lutheran services (left) with the iniquities of Catholic practice (right): woodcut (c1545) by Lucas Cranach the younger

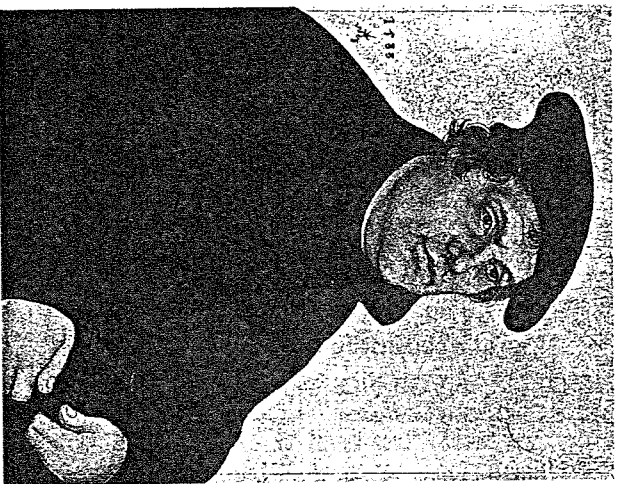
The Lutheran Reformation

Leipzig as examples of the former and Augsburg as an example of the latter.

Unlike the reformers in Switzerland, Zwingli and Calvin, who either banished music from the sanctuary altogether or drastically restricted its use, Luther enthusiastically accepted the art as an integral part of liturgical worship. The whole of the Reformation movement throughout Europe was marked by a new awareness of the Bible as the Word of God, which was to be heard, believed and obeyed in every aspect of corporate church activity and individual Christian life. The Swiss reformers were suspicious of music because it had a power of its own which, in their view, could undermine the primacy of the Word of God; it was also subject to misuse and abuse, and instead of celebrating the glory of God in worthy hymns it was frequently used to deify the inglorious aspects of human nature in immoral songs. Luther was aware, of course, of the possibility of the misuse of music, but he was concerned to emphasize the positive rather than the negative aspects: instead of undermining Scripture, music, if properly understood, is a bearer of the Word of God. Luther observed that music was an integral part of prophecy in the Old Testament and therefore music and theology must be inextricably bound together.¹ For example, in a letter to the composer Ludwig Senfl, dated 4 October 1530, he wrote: 'the prophets did not make use of any art except music. It was not as geometry, or arithmetic, or astronomy, but as music they delivered their theology. For then theology and music were closely bound together and they proclaimed the truth through psalms and songs'.²

Luther sang often, played both flute and lute, was able to compose in four parts and, according to the composer Johann Walter, had some considerable ability in creating – and re-creating – melodies for particular texts of liturgical monody and congregational song. He also had a discriminating musical ear and was able to distinguish between the adequate works of local composers and the really great polyphonic music of the age. He knew the music of the leading contemporary German-speaking composers well and also had a marked preference for the music of Josquin Desprez, whom he regarded as 'the master of the notes' and a preacher of the Gospel through music, since his 'composition flows out joyfully, willingly, tenderly, like the song of the finch, and is neither forced nor constrained by the rules'.³

Luther's views on music did not remain in the realms of speculative theory but were worked out in practice, particularly in Wittenberg, the hub of the Lutheran revolution. Here Luther worked under the protection of Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony and created a new approach to music in worship which exerted a powerful influence on musical composition and practice, first in Wittenberg and later throughout Germany.



60. Martin Luther: portrait (1533) by Lucas Cranach the elder

WITTENBERG

Wittenberg was a small town in Saxony, situated on the banks of the Elbe. The university had been founded by the Elector of Ernestine Saxony, Duke Frederick the Wise, in 1502, in direct competition with the older university of Albertine Saxony at Leipzig. Luther, who had studied law in Erfurt, was called to Wittenberg University in 1508. At first he lectured on Aristotle, but after studying theology and receiving the doctorate he concentrated on theology. Following a visit to Rome on behalf of his order, he became disillusioned with what he had seen and began to test the church of his day by the principles he found in the New Testament. Then there was the great indulgence debate, which he had begun in Wittenberg in 1517 by nailing his 95 theses to the university notice-board (the door of the Schlosskirche). As a result he was summoned in 1520 to the Diet of Worms where he was expected to recant his views. He stood firm and in consequence was banished both by church and state. After almost a year of enforced exile, which his friends had arranged for his own safety, Luther returned to Wittenberg and continued his reforming work under the protection of Frederick the Wise.

As a professor Luther taught in the university; as a priest he celebrated Mass and preached in the Schlosskirche, the university church and also in the Stadtkirche, where he assisted the parish priest Johann Bugenhagen. The Latin Mass was celebrated in both churches, virtually unchanged, with all the attendant plainsong. Proper and

polyphonic settings of the Ordinary, sung by the Kantorei, or school choir. By the end of 1523 Luther had issued his revised form of the Latin Mass, *Formula missae et communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensi*.⁴ This Latin order is liturgically conservative but theologically radical. The Mass is no longer seen as a propitiatory sacrifice offered to God by the priest on behalf of the people, but rather as God's offer of forgiveness and grace to the people, in the consecrated bread and wine. The Canon of the Mass is thus truncated by the elimination of all reference to the sacrifice of the Mass; indeed, it now consists of only the Words of Institution. In contrast, practically everything else, especially the music associated with the Mass, was subject to only slight modification. For example, the traditional introit is retained except that Luther directs that a complete psalm, rather than a few verses, should be sung the use of the Kyrie eleison is to continue 'with the various [plainchant melodies for different seasons, together with the Angelic Hymn, Gloria in excelsis, which follows it'.⁵ Only one Collect for the day is to be used but this should always be intoned; the Epistle and Gospel are to be chanted to lectionary tones; only the shorter graduals and alleluias are to be retained, and in general only shorter sequences are to be sung such as the Christmas *Grales nunc omnes*; and so on.

The Mass was thus revised rather than eliminated and in the Wittenberg churches polyphonic settings of the Ordinary continued to be sung, together with traditional plainchant. One radical departure was the singing of the Words of Institution by the priest, words which were normally inaudible in the Roman Mass. For Luther these were no words of priestly prayer but of proclamation to be heard by all, and therefore they were to be sung. However, Luther made another radical departure which was to have far-reaching consequences for Protestant church music: to the traditional music of the Mass was to be added new musical dimension – congregational song.

In the *Formula missae* Luther had stated: 'I also wish that we had a many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during Mass, immediately after the [Latin] gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei'.⁶ By the time this liturgy had appeared in print (towards the end of 1523), broadsheets containing German hymns complete with melodies, were available in Wittenberg. They were written by Luther and his colleagues, such as Agricola, Speratus, Hegenwalt and others. These congregational songs spread like wildfire. The following year, 1524, almost before a collected edition of these hymns could be published in Wittenberg, publishers in such widely separated cities as Nuremberg, Erfurt and Strasbourg issued their Wittenberg hymns.

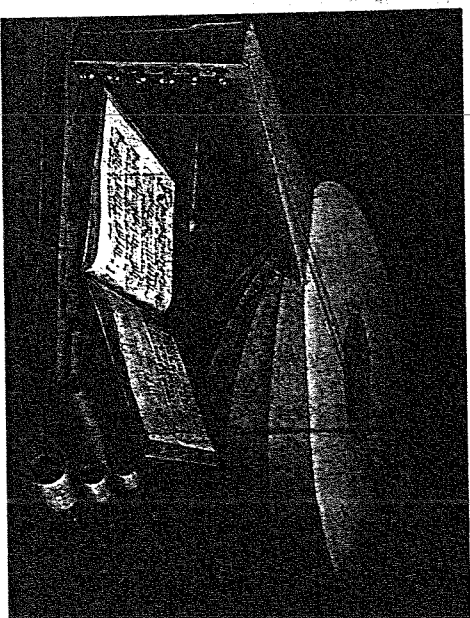
Luther was a practical pastor and although the concept of congregational singing was regarded as something of an innovation, not every thing he gave his congregations was entirely 'new'. Some of the Witten



61a. The Ambassadors (1533) by Hans Holbein; the painting depicts (left) Jean de Dinteville, French ambassador to England in 1533, and Georges de Selve, surrounded by objects with symbolic connotations, including an open copy of Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* (2nd edition, 1525; see fig. 61b)

berg hymns were translations from the Latin which the people would recognize from the associated melodies they had heard sung over the years. Among such hymns are *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*, crafted from the Ambrosian *Veni Redemptor gentium*, and *Komm Heiliger Geist*, a translation of *Veni sancte spiritus*. Another familiar source Luther used were the *Leisen* – so named from their common refrain ‘Kyrie eleison’ – the German folk hymns which had been sung for generations after Mass at the high festivals. Luther usually altered or extended them in some way; among them are *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* and the complete rewriting of *Christ ist erstanden* to form *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. There were, of course, freely-composed hymns which took as their model the Hofweise, the art song of the day. These are notable for their syncope and rhythmic melodies in a basic AAB or bar-form structure, a built-in repetition which would have helped congregations memorize them. Among this type are *Nun freut euch, lieben*

61b. Walter's *Chorgesangbuch*, with a title page (detail of fig. 61a)



Christen g'mein and *Ein feste Burg* (see fig. 62 below).

In 1524 there was a basic corpus of about 40 Wittenberg hymns over half of them written by Luther himself. One of the basses in Duke Frederick's Hofkapelle was the 28-year-old Johann Walter, to whom Luther turned when he was ready to edit a hymnal for Wittenberg. This was to be no ordinary congregational hymnal but something rather different. As in other matters, Luther was literally a reformer: he took an old idea and gave it a new and radical expression. He requested Walter to compose choral settings of the hymns. Walter was to take as his model the polyphony associated with the mass; only the cantus firmus settings were to be composed around the melodies of the new Wittenberg hymns rather than around plainsong fragments. Walter accepted Luther's challenge and composed, under his guidance, polyphonic settings of 38 Wittenberg hymns, together with five Latin motets. This was created the first great work of Lutheran church music: *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, the so-called Walter *Chorgesangbuch*. It was issued as a set of five partbooks, clearly intended for choral use in school and church. Luther wrote in the preface:

These songs were arranged in four parts [some of the compositions are in fact written in three voices, others in five] to give the young – who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts – something to wean them away from love ballads and carnal songs and to teach them something of value in their place, thus combining the good with the pleasing, as is proper for youth . . . I would like to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of him who has given and created them.⁷

Music had therefore educational as well as liturgical functions. The partbooks were to be used in the Wittenberg schools as part of the pupils' musical education, but once the compositions had been learned

they were to be sung within church worship.

Walter's settings of the Wittenberg hymns are in two basic styles. The first follows the older Flemish cantus firmus motet style, echoing the compositions of Josquin Desprez which Walter – like Luther – particularly admired; but it is treated with some freedom (as is also evident in the music of Walter's contemporary, Ludwig Senfl). Imitation and canonic devices derived from the basic chorale melody are common in these settings, which are generally much more concise than the earlier polyphonic masses with plainsong cantus firmi. Unlike many of these earlier examples, in which the cantus firmus is lost within the texture of the music, the chorale melody in Walter's settings is usually more obvious. The second style used by Walter is simpler, more homophonic and similar to the settings of the older composers such as Finck, Hofhaimer and Isaac. Here the chorale melody, usually in the tenor, is supported by three other voices in a basically homophonic structure. In these simple and more concise settings the melody is never hidden but is clearly heard throughout. They represent an embryonic form of the characteristic 'cantional' style of later Lutheran church music.

At this early stage it appears that the Kantorei sang Walter's polyphonic settings of Wittenberg hymns in the church services as the representative of the congregation. Indeed, it seems highly likely that Luther issued this choral hymnbook before a specifically congregational collection so that the choir could teach the congregation how to sing the new hymns. Thus a double educational function was involved: teaching good music to the pupils of the school and teaching the congregation their songs of worship; both aims were achieved with the one important publication. The Wittenberg congregations did not have a hymnal to sing from but they did have the hymns available in broadsheet form. Thus it seems most likely that an *alternatin* practice quickly developed, with the congregation singing alternate stanzas in unison, led by the boys of the choir, in response to the Kantorei singing the other stanzas in Walter's polyphonic setting of the hymn for the day. This practice is known to have occurred in Wittenberg a few years later, especially for the main liturgical hymn, which was sung between the Epistle and Gospel, after the gradual. These seasonal hymns, such as *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* for Advent and *Christ lag in Todesbanden* for Easter, came to be known appropriately as *Graduallieder*. For most of Walter's polyphonic settings, the chorale melody is in the tenor voice.⁸ Therefore, if the tenor partbook is isolated from the others its contents make it look like a unison hymnal, with the texts given with the appropriate melodies. This tenor partbook was clearly the model for a congregational Wittenberg hymnal, 'for the laity' rather than the choir, which was published in 1525 and reissued in 1526. Its texts and melodies are given in exactly the same order as in Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* and the

collection is introduced by the same preface Luther had written for the partbooks in 1524.

Thus the Lutheran tradition of combining simple congregational song with complex polyphonic choral music was established. From the beginning it was a partnership of congregation and choir who in unanimity and diversity sang words of praise to God and proclaimed the Word of God to each other. The tradition was also bilingual. Even though Luther published his *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts* in 1526,⁹ he did not intend that Latin should no longer be used in worship. In the preface to the new liturgical order he wrote:

It is not now my intention to abrogate or to change this service [the Latin *Formula missae*]. It shall not be affected in the form which we have followed so far; but we shall continue to use it . . . For in no wise would I want to discontinue the service in the Latin language, because the young are my chief concern.

He then went on to explain that the *Deutsche Messe* is 'arranged for the sake of the unlearned lay folk', and concluded, 'These two liturgical orders must be used publicly in the churches and for all the people'.¹⁰

The German liturgy, therefore, was intended for the churches in small towns and villages, where Latin was virtually unknown. To accommodate the particular needs of such churches Luther introduced the concept of vernacular hymnic paraphrases of the Latin Ordinary, so that instead of listening to the Latin Kyrie and Gloria etc, the worshippers could join in singing such congregational hymns as *Kyrie*, *Gott Vater in Ewigkeit* and *Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehre*. Luther implied that in the larger towns and cities, where there were Latin schools and universities, the language of education would continue to be used in worship. In practice they rarely used Latin alone, but rather a mixture of both Latin and German. Thus many church orders published for use in the various areas of Lutheran Germany conflated Luther's two liturgies and used Latin and German side by side. For example, after the choir had sung polyphonic settings of the Latin Ordinary, the congregation would sing the appropriate German hymnic version. Furthermore in Wittenberg, for example, each verse of the *Te Deum* was sung in Latin by the Kantorei, to which the congregation responded by singing the same verse in Luther's German translation, the whole being punctuated by improvisations on the basic melody by the organist.¹¹ At Christmas the congregation sang the hymn *Globet seist du, Jesu Christus* which was inserted stanza by stanza within the Latin sequence *Gloria nunc omnes* sung by the choir with organ accompaniment;¹² and at Easter the same pattern was followed with *Christ ist erstanden* and the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*.¹³

Johann Walter was only in Wittenberg for a few years. By 1526 he had left to become the Kantor in Torgau and the musical leadership in Wittenberg was assumed by Georg Rhau. Rhau had been a student a

Wittenberg University during the turbulent years of the indulgence debate. During this time he had also worked in printing and publishing with his uncle. In 1518 he left to become the Thomaskantor in Leipzig, returning to take over the publishing business in Wittenberg in 1523. There were many publishers working in Wittenberg – over twenty produced more than 120 musical publications before the end of the century. One of them was Joseph Klug who had published Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* of 1524. In 1529 Klug brought out a new congregational hymnal, *Geistliche Lieder*. Over the next sixteen years he produced at least eight further editions of this Wittenberg hymnal, many of them revisions and expansions of the previous ones. One of the new features developed in the subsequent editions was a section of catechism hymns – that is, hymns written by Luther on the five main parts of his *Small Catechism*: Ten Commandments, *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*; Creed, *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*; Lord's Prayer, *Vater unser im Himmel*; Baptism, *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*; and Communion, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*. These chorales were to have immense importance for later Lutheran choral and organ music. The Wittenberg hymnals published by Klug were not exclusively German; they also contained Latin items, and Luther's *Begrüßnis Lieder* (burial hymns), which Klug first published in 1542, included Latin *responsoria*. Klug was the principal publisher of hymnals in Wittenberg but Rhau became the most important publisher of liturgical and school music. Rhau did not confine himself to music but also published a variety of theological books

by Luther, Bugenhagen, Melancthon and others – Bible commentaries, apologetic and polemic theology, and editions of the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism.

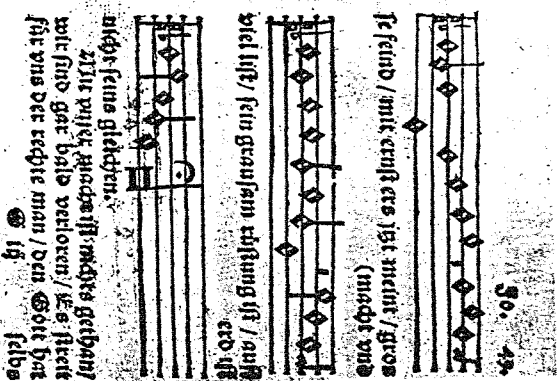
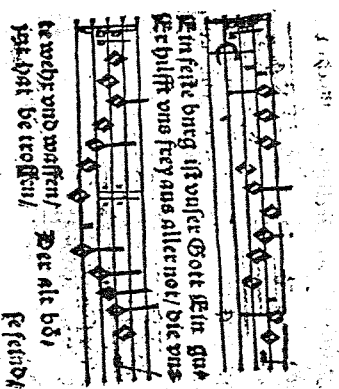
From 1528 Rhau published a succession of books on music theory beginning with Agricola's *Ein kurtz deutsche Musica* and including Spangenburg's *Quaestiones musicae* (1536) and Walter's *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica* (1538). Over the next seven years he published a number of major collections of Latin polyphonic settings of the Ordinary and Propers arranged for the church year. The settings were by a variety of composers and ranged from the simple to the finest examples of Franco-Flemish polyphony. These collections demonstrate the conservative style that was favoured by the leaders of the Lutheran reform, who were content to continue to use much of the music written for the Roman rite, providing that the texts did not offend biblical doctrines. Rhau also published collections of music for Vespers by individual composers: Sixt Dietrich's antiphons in *Novum opus musicum musicum* (1541) and three volumes of his hymns in *Novum opus musicum* (1545), and two volumes of *responsoria* by Balthasar Resinarius (a pupil of Isaac), *Responsorium . . . de tempore et festis* (1542).

In 1544 Rhau issued two different sets of partbooks with predominantly German texts. The first was the expanded, fourth edition of *Chorgesangbuch* by Johann Walter – who a few years later became Kapellmeister to the Saxon court in Dresden – and the second, a new work, *Neue deutsche geistliche Gesenge*. Unlike Walter's partbooks, which contain the music of one composer, this new work is an anthology of pieces by a variety of people. About two-thirds of the 123 pieces are the settings of five composers: Resinarius, Bruck, Ludwig Senfl, Ducas and Dietrich. The remainder is made up of the compositions of eleven lesser-known composers. Again, as with the volumes of Latin polyphonic music Rhau published, a significant number of the composers in these German partbooks were Catholics and the style is generally conservative. Rhau issued two further editions of Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* (1550 and 1551) and another Wittenberg printer, Johann Schwertel, added to the repertoire of masterly polyphony for church and school use by issuing another set of partbooks, *Geistliche und weltliche teutsche Gesenge* (1566), composed by Matthaeus Le Maistre, Walter's successor as Kapellmeister in Dresden.

But there was also a concern for liturgical monody, the traditional chant of the church. There was a danger that plainsong might disappear from the new Lutheran churches, even though most of the regional church orders included some of the chants. Therefore Luca Lossius of Lüneberg compiled a basic anthology of Latin chant suitable for reformed use: *Psalmodia, hoc est cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta* (Nuremberg, 1553). Although compiled in the north of Germany and published in the south, in a sense it carried the Wittenberg imprimatur

Der christ. Palm/ Den nosser refugium et virtus/ &c.

Martinus Luther.



since Luther's colleague and successor, Philipp Melancthon, wrote the preface.¹⁴ Furthermore, Rhau's relatives, who took over the publishing house after his death, reissued the work in Wittenberg in 1561 and at least four more editions followed before the end of the century. Another Wittenberg publisher, Lorentz Schwenck, brought out a further extensive collection of liturgical monody, Johannes Keuchen-thal's *Kirchen Gesenge lateinisch und deutsch, sampt allen Euangelien Episteln, und Colleten auff die Sonntage und Feste nach der Ordnung der Zeit durchs ganze Jahr* (1573).

The liturgical experience that developed in the Wittenberg churches, under the initial leadership of Luther himself, was rich and varied, a combination of Latin and German, traditional monody and contemporary polyphony, the music of Catholic as well as Lutheran composers, choral and organ music, all held together by the common thread of congregational hymnody. It was a liturgical-musical experience shared by other Lutheran towns and cities in which the common tradition was extended. One such city was Leipzig in the other part of Saxony, with its old, established university which had been Duke Frederick the Wise's model when he founded his university in Wittenberg at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Leipzig already had a notable Catholic tradition of liturgical music which was taken over and modified to become the distinctive Lutheran musical tradition that culminated in the Kantorate of Johann Sebastian Bach in the eighteenth century.

LEIPZIG

Leipzig was a medieval walled city situated at the confluence of the Pleisse and Parthe rivers, already famous as much for its annual fairs as its university. There were two principal churches within the city walls, the Nikolaikirche and Thomaskirche. To sustain their liturgical music each church had a school with a Kantorat made up of boys' voices. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Kantorat of the Thomaskirche already had 300 years of tradition behind it. As with the churches in other centres of trade and commerce at this time, the repertory of polyphonic liturgical music in the Leipzig churches reflected the work of the leading composers the Flemish masters Josquin Desprez, Obrecht and Isaac, and such regional composers as Senfl, Finck, Hofheimer as well as, for example, the local composer Nikolaus Apel, a Leipzig student at the beginning of the sixteenth century and later professor of theology at the university. As elsewhere, the polyphony was a supplement to the traditional liturgical plainchant on which it was based, as is demonstrated by the important fourteenth-century manuscript *Graduale* in the Thomaskirche library.¹⁵

In the summer of 1518 a new Kantor was appointed to the Thomaskirche and Thomasschule, Georg Rhau from Wittenberg, who had already distinguished himself by the publication of a treatise on music theory relating to plainchant, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae practicae* (Wittenberg, 1517); while in Leipzig he would issue a second part, *Enchiridion musicae mensuralis* (1520). Within weeks of his arrival in the city, on the strength of his 1517 publication, Rhau was appointed to the faculty of the university to teach music theory. He was obviously recognized as an accomplished musician.

At the end of June the following year, 1519, there was an important theological debate which took place in the Pleissenburg, a fortification built into the walls of the city not far from the Thomaskirche. It concerned the indulgence debate which had been stirred up by Luther – though he was not one of the official participants. The disputation was between Johann Eck of the University of Ingoldstadt, representing traditional Catholicism, and Andreas Carlstadt, Luther's older colleague in Wittenberg. Luther, however, was present and preached in the castle chapel during the proceedings (since he was forbidden to preach openly in parish churches), and inevitably he was drawn into the debate with Eck, since it was principally his views rather than those of Carlstadt which were in dispute. On the day of the opening of the disputation, 27 June 1519, Mass was celebrated in the Thomaskirche with Rhau directing the Thomanerchor in a twelve-voice polyphonic mass he had composed, *Missa de sancto spiritu*. Later in the day, in the Pleissenburg, the disputation itself was begun with Rhau directing the Kantorat again, accompanied by the *Stadtpfeifer* (town trumpeters) in the singing of *Veni sancte spiritus*, and concluded with the same ensemble rendering the *Te Deum laudamus*, which made a distinct impression on all present.¹⁶ It seems likely that Rhau sympathized with Luther's position; after all he had been in Wittenberg when the whole matter came to a head towards the end of 1517. Rhau remained in Leipzig for only about a year following the disputation. In 1520 he left the prestigious position in Leipzig – probably because of the hostility shown towards any who sympathized with Luther – and became a teacher in Eisleben, then in Hildburghausen, before returning to Wittenberg in 1523.

The ruler of Albertine Saxony, Duke Georg, present at the Leipzig disputation, was adamantly opposed to everything that Luther stood for. Reformation doctrines and practices were therefore officially banned from his part of Saxony. But this general prohibition did not discourage a Leipzig printer, Michael Blum, from publishing a Lutheran hymnal, *Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge und Psalmen für die leien* (1530), clearly modelled on the Wittenberg collections. While Duke Georg was still alive, however, there could be no moves in a Lutheran direction. But following his death early in 1536, plans were made for the Reformation to be introduced officially into the churches of the city and

area, as well as into the university. It took three years to make the necessary preparations, which had the full support of the new Elector, Duke Heinrich. Luther, who was accompanied by many of his Wittenberg colleagues, preached in the over-full Thomaskirche on the feast of Pentecost, 24 May 1539. The order of service followed the newly drawn-up directory of worship for Albertine Saxony, *Agenda, das ist Kirchenordnung* (Leipzig, 1539), which was republished in an expanded form the following year. The liturgical provisions closely follow the practices of Wittenberg in general and Luther's two liturgies in particular. All the bells of the city churches were rung to announce the first Lutheran Mass, at which the *Gradualied* was *Komm heiliger Geist, Herr Gott*. At the afternoon Vespers service, when Johann Bugenhagen preached, the Pentecost hymn *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* was sung following the sermon.¹⁷ These hymns were presumably sung from the new hymnal published by Valentin Schumann, following the Wittenberg model, *Geistliche Lieder aufs neu gebessert und gemehrt zu Wittenberg* (Leipzig, 1539).

The first Lutheran Kantor of the Thomaskirche and Thomasschule was Johann Brückner, appointed in 1540, but he only stayed for about a year. He was succeeded by Ulrich Lange, a former student in Leipzig who was the Kantor until 1549. During these years it is known that polyphonic masses by Josquin Desprez, Obrecht and Isaac, among others, continued to be sung, together with settings found, for example, in the publications of Vesper music published by Rhau in Wittenberg. Also during Lange's Kantorate the publication of the Wittenberg hymnal was transferred from Klug in Wittenberg to Valentin Bapst in Leipzig: *Geistliche Lieder... [und] Psalmen...* (Leipzig, 1545), with a new preface written by Luther. Bapst issued a further six editions by 1567 – in addition to numerous hymnals published by a variety of other Leipzig printers.

Lange was followed by Wolfgang Figulus, another graduate of Leipzig University and a noted composer and editor of various collections of church music, the first being his three-volume *Prelationes aliquot musicis* (Leipzig, 1553). During the next Kantorate, that of Melchior Heger, 1553–64, a manuscript collection of 243 polyphonic works was compiled. It contains masses, introts, motets and chorale settings, and bears the date 1558. Among the composers are Clemens non Papa, Dietrich, Figulus, Finck, Isaac, Josquin Desprez, Obrecht, Othmayr, Resinarius, Senfl, Stoltzer and Walter.¹⁸ The conservative nature of the Leipzig repertory is confirmed by the inventory of the Thomaskirche music library, drawn up in 1564 by the new Kantor, Valentin Otto.¹⁹ Although some printed works are listed, the library was mostly made up of handwritten partbooks assembled by Otto's two predecessors during the previous quarter of a century.

During Otto's long Kantorate two very important publications

appeared, both compiled by colleagues in the Thomaskirche. The organist Elias Nikolaus Ammerbach issued his *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulaturbuch* in 1571, a collection of pieces which generations of organ teachers used with their pupils, including Johann Sebastian Bach who owned at least three different copies. This anthology of keyboard pieces includes a few settings of chorale melodies which are keyboard transcriptions of polyphonic choral models, among them examples from three successive Kapellmeisters to the Dresden court, Johann Walter, Martinus Le Maistre and Antonius Scandellus. Four are chorale settings by Walter and Le Maistre, two from each, which first appeared in the partbooks published by Rhau in Wittenberg in 1551 and 1556 respectively.²⁰ The pastor of the Thomaskirche and superintendent of the Leipzig churches was Nikolaus Schneccer, one of the theological architects of Lutheran confessionalism and a hymn writer of note. In 1587 he issued his *Christliche Psalmen, Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, an anthology of liturgical monodic chant, similar to the collections of Lossius and Keuchenthal, but arranged according to genre rather than to the church year.

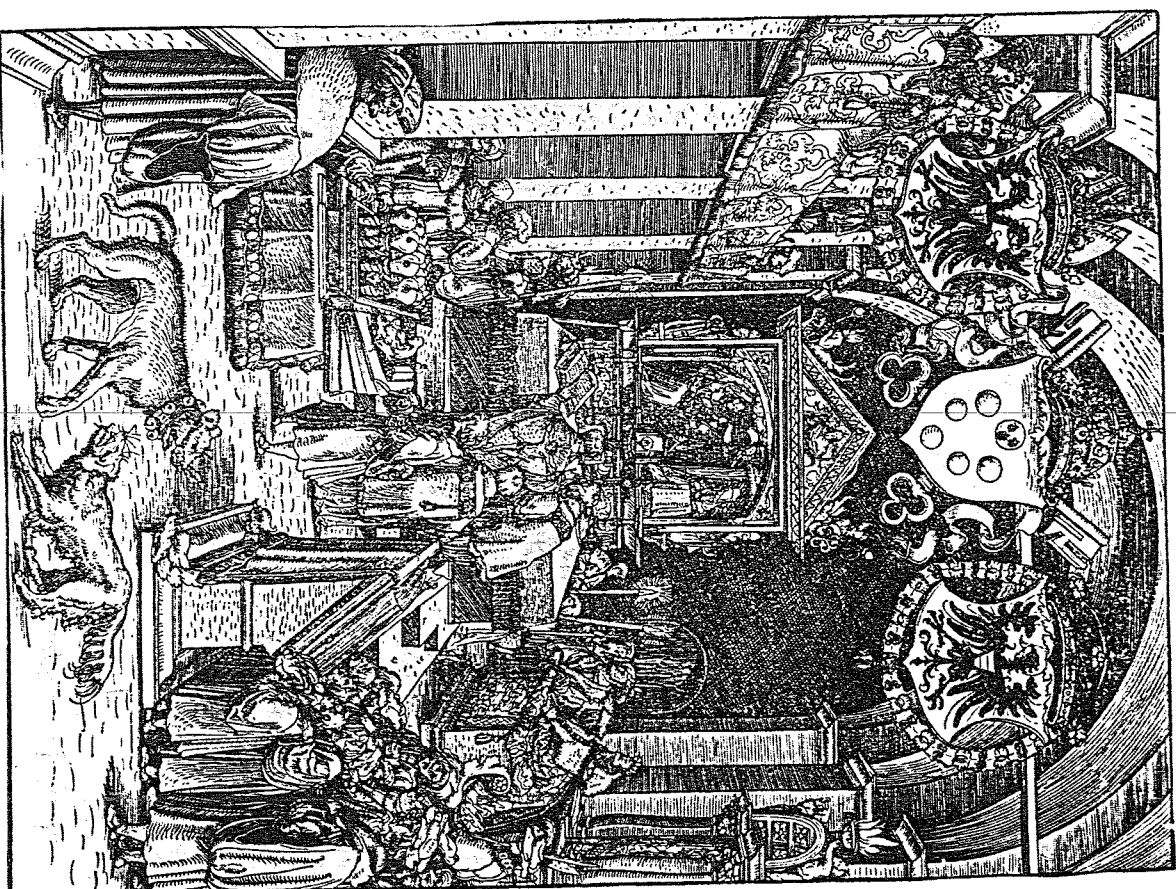
Otto was succeeded in 1594 by Seth Calvisius, a polymath who was expert in history, astronomy and education, as well as in music. He was a composer and one of the most important music theorists of his day. In addition to other works, Calvisius composed 115 four-part settings of Latin and German hymns, with the melodies in the upper voice rather than in the tenor, which had been the usual practice; these were published as *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum* (Leipzig, 1597) and went through a further four editions before being replaced by Schein's *Cantional oder Gesangbuch Augsbürgerlicher Confession* (Leipzig, 1627). The settings are in a basically homophonic style which has its origin in the simpler settings found in Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* of 1524. With this collection of Calvisius, together with those of Lucas Osiander, Rogier Michael and others, published elsewhere in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the 'cantional' style of harmonized congregational hymnody was established; and it remained unchanged from the collections of Vulpius, Hassler and Praetorius at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to that of Vopelius, the *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of 1682, which was still in use in Bach's day – and even later. Calvisius established the Thomaskantorate as a position of influence and authority in Lutheran Germany and thereby ensured the impressive sequence of successors throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Johann Hermann Schein, Tobias Michael, Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, Johann Kuhnau and Johann Sebastian Bach.

In northern Germany the Reformation was fostered particularly in university cities, but in the south it was free imperial cities, such as Nuremberg and Augsburg, that were the centres of reform. Since the music of Nuremberg is discussed later in this book (see p. 286) we shall turn our attention to Augsburg.

Augsburg is a Roman foundation, its name being derived from the Roman Emperor, Augustus Caesar. Unlike Wittenberg and Leipzig, Augsburg was a Reichstadt, a free imperial city, and was therefore not subject to the rule of one of the many German princes but was governed by its own magistracy. Like other imperial cities, such as Worms and Nuremberg, Augsburg from time to time hosted the Reichstag, or Diet, the parliament of imperial Germany which met under the presidency of the German emperor — Maximilian I at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The combination of freedom and imperial responsibility gave a certain prestige to the city, attracting both commerce and culture. In the arena of commerce Augsburg held a position of leadership because the banking house of Fugger was based in the city. It was the Fuggers who lent a substantial sum to Pope Leo X for the rebuilding of St Peter's in Rome, a transaction which led to the promulgation of a papal indulgence in order to repay the loan, and this in turn led to Luther's protest against what he saw as commercialization of the Gospel. The prosperity which commerce brought to the city enabled the arts in general, and music in particular, to be supported and encouraged. Like Nuremberg, Augsburg attracted such artists as Lucas Cranach and Albrecht Dürer as well as many leading musicians and composers. By the middle of the fifteenth century the Meistersinger had become a significant group in the city and the Augsburg Meistersingerschule predates that of Nuremberg.

Emperor Maximilian I made almost annual visits to Augsburg and when he did so he brought with him the musicians of his Hofkapelle. At the turn of the century the court composer was Heinrich Isaac; he was succeeded in 1514 by Ludwig Senfl, who had sung as a boy under Isaac; and the court organist for many years was Paul Hofhaimer — three leading composers who were to leave their mark not only on Catholic but also on Lutheran church music. The musicians of Maximilian's Hofkapelle performed frequently in the Annakirche, the church of the Carmelite cloister. Jakob and Ulrich Fugger had arranged for the church to be enlarged by the addition of a chapel, with altar and choir stalls, which they intended to use for their burial place. A fine organ was built in 1512 and after the consecration of the chapel in 1518 Hofhaimer became the Fugger organist. The Fuggers also endowed other Augsburg churches, subsidized their musicians and funded valuable collections of music and instruments.

In the same year, 1518, the Diet met in Augsburg and Luther was called to appear before the pope's representative in order to be persuaded to recant his views. Many prominent people in Augsburg received Luther as a hero, and when he refused to deny the doctrine of justification by faith and instead eloquently defended it, the esteem in



63. Maximilian I attends Mass in his chapel at Augsburg: woodcut (c1518) by Hans Weiditz (the organist is thought to be Paul Hofhaimer)

which he was held in the city grew even greater. The centre of this support for Luther was located in the Carmelite cloister of St Anna. Johann Frosch, a friend and supporter of Luther, had been appointed prior in 1517. Thus when Luther was called to Augsburg in 1518, Frosch and monks acted as hosts and also secured his safe departure from the city after the Diet. Following years of intense debate, the Annakirche formally adopted Lutheran doctrines and practice in 1525 when most of the brothers of the cloister renounced their vows and Frosch celebrated the Eucharist for the first time following the practice established in Wittenberg. The next year, 1526, an Augsburg imprint of Luther's *Deutsche Messe* was published within weeks of the original Wittenberg publication. Thereafter Augsburg was second only to Wittenberg for the dissemination of Lutheran views. Publishers in the city brought out editions of Luther's writings, including collections of the Wittenberg hymns, which had begun in 1523 with Augsburg imprints of Wittenberg broadsheet hymns.

Luther was again the centre of attention in Augsburg at the Diet of 1530. It was too dangerous for the reformer to appear in person in the city so he stayed nearby in Castle Coburg. During this time Luther wrote his famous letter to Ludwig Senff (part of which is quoted on p.265). The definitive doctrinal statement of the emerging Lutheran Church, later known as the Augsburg Confession, was presented at the Diet. The Annakirche continued to be the focus of Lutheran reform in the city and in the year following the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, a Gymnasium (Latin school) was established with music being a principal subject in the curriculum. This emphasis on music must have been at the instigation of Frosch, since the very next year he published a music treatise, *Rerum musicarum opusculum rarum ac insignie* (Strasbourg, 1532). In 1540 an important set of partbooks was issued, Johann Kugelmann's *Concentus novi*, which, even though it was commissioned by Duke Albrecht of Prussia, was probably used in the Annaschule, since most of the settings were in three parts, a characteristic of school music at the time. It is a varied collection of 39 settings of Latin and German liturgical prose and German hymns (some of whose melodies appear here for the first time) with an appendix of further settings, in four to eight voices. Most of the compositions are by Kugelmann and Stoltzer, together with some by lesser-known and anonymous composers. The musical leadership of the Annakirche and Annaschule throughout these years was in the hands of a succession of musicians, sufficiently competent to develop a rivalry between the music courses offered in their own Lutheran school and that of the Salvatorsschule, a Jesuit institution in Augsburg. The competition continued even after the Peace established by the Diet of Augsburg in 1555, which sought to establish a measure of mutual toleration between Catholics and Protestants of the German states and free imperial cities.

In 1581 a new Kantor was appointed to the church and school of St Anna, Adam Gumpelzhaimer, who remained in the position until his death in 1625. For his pupils in the school Gumpelzhaimer compiled what proved to be a very influential manual of music theory, *Compendium musicae* (1591). During the next 90 years fourteen further editions and reprints were issued. The particular value of this bilingual work, the Latin and German texts being given in parallel columns, is the selection of musical examples which make up two-thirds of the book. Many of the examples were composed by Gumpelzhaimer himself and most of the part-writing allowed for the different parts to be sung by voices of equal range, a significant pedagogical aid. Among his published compositions were volumes of settings of German and Latin texts – *Neue teutsche geistliche Lieder* (1591 and 1594), the first in three voices and the second in four and five voices, and *Sacrorum concentuum* (1601 and 1614), both in eight voices.

Gumpelzhaimer initiated a significant reorganization of the Augsburg Annakantorei in 1596 and assembled a significant music library for practical and theoretical use in the church and school. In 1620 he began to compile a handwritten inventory of all the printed books and manuscripts in the library. It is an impressive listing that demonstrates the richness of musical performance in the liturgy of the Annakirche and in the education offered in the Annaschule. Catholic composers appear side by side with Lutherans, among them Calvisius, Eccard, Ferrabosco, Andreas and Giovanni Gabrieli, Gumpelzhaimer, Lassus, Monteverdi, Palestrina, Victoria and Walter.²¹

The inventory also reveals that Gumpelzhaimer had arranged for virtually all the collections of music composed and compiled by Michael Praetorius to be purchased for the library, the *Musae Sioniae* and other titles of Latin and German masses, motets, litanies, chorale settings and other liturgical pieces – sixteen volumes in all. Praetorius was Kapellmeister to the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel who maintained close ties with Wittenberg. Through these important publications Praetorius assumed the mantle of Rhau as the editor, composer and publisher of choral liturgical music for Lutheran Germany. These collections display all the variety of Lutheran church music as it had developed from the roots established by Luther and Walter. For example, the year before Gumpelzhaimer began his inventory of the Annakirche music library Praetorius issued his *Polyhymnia caduceatrix et panegyrica* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), a collection of compositions based on Lutheran hymns.

Number 30 is *Vater unser in Himmelsreich*, scored for six vocal soloists, four-part choir and ripieno chorus of boy sopranos, and accompanied by contrasting groups of four-part strings and four-part trombones, with continuo comprising organ, bass viol and bassoon.²² The text is the nine-stanza versification of the Lord's Prayer by Luther – third in

the sequence of Luther's catechism hymns – which first appeared in the Schumann *Geistliche Lieder* (Leipzig, 1539). By this time the hymn had become the accepted *Gradualled* for Rogate, the Fifth Sunday after Easter, although it was also sung on other Sundays, especially at Vespers when it was customary to teach the catechism. Praetorius called it 'very long, and . . . a half-hour work'.²³ Should the whole composition be thought too long for performance as the *Gradualled* for the day, the composer makes the suggestion that it could be performed in its individual parts and gives the following specific example.²⁴

EPISTLE

Vater unser im Himmelreich, part 1

Sinfonia – instrumental

stanza 1: duet for two sopranos, accompanied by trombones and continuo

stanza 2: tenor solo, accompanied by strings and continuo

Ritornello 1 = stanza 9 for full instrumental, vocal and choral resources

GOSPEL

Vater unser im Himmelreich, parts 2 and 3

stanza 3: duet for alto accompanied by strings and soprano accompanied by trombones, with continuo

stanza 4: sextet of solo voices, accompanied by continuo, reinforced by bass trombone and additional bass viol

stanzas 5 and 6: sextet of solo voices, accompanied by both instrumental groups with continuo

Ritornello 1 repeated

CREED – either chanted in Latin or sung as a congregational hymn in Luther's metrical version: *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*

PULPIT HYMN – for example, *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend*

SERMON

Vater unser im Himmelreich, part 4

Sinfonia – instrumental

stanza 7: sextet of solo voices, accompanied by two violins and continuo, reinforced by additional bass viol

stanza 8: vocal trio, with ripieno chorus of three boy sopranos singing the chorale melody, accompanied by both groups of instruments 'in echo', with continuo

Ritornello 2 = stanza 9 for full instrumental, vocal and choral resources

Then would follow the remainder of the Lutheran, evangelical Mass, which would have begun with an introit, either plainchant or polyphony, and the Kyrie and Gloria, either sung in Latin plainchant, or polyphony, and/or as German congregational hymns; more congregational hymns, organ playing and choral singing would have concluded.

Such patterns of choral and vocal music, combined with both liturgical monody and congregational hymnody, become the common practice as an ever-widening circle of composers produced and performed liturgical music for the Lutheran liturgy. Thus the distinctive Lutheran tradition of church music was firmly established by the end of the sixteenth century. It was a practical expression of Luther's thinking: a rich and varied combination of the sounds of theology and music within the context of worship.

NOTES

- 1 See C. Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise* (St Louis, 1988)
- 2 *Luther's Works*, ed. J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehmann (St Louis and Philadelphia, 1955–86), xlix, 427–9.
- 3 D. Martin *Luther's Works: kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883–1983), *Tischreden* no. 1258.
- 4 *Luther's Works*, liii, 19–40.
- 5 *ibid.*, 23.
- 6 *ibid.*, 36.
- 7 *ibid.*, 316.
- 8 'Chorale' from 'choraliter', meaning unison singing, a term used hitherto for the singing of unaccompanied monodic plainchant.
- 9 *Luther's Works*, liii, 61–90.
- 10 *ibid.*, 62–3.
- 11 See A. Börs, 'Die reformatorischen Gottesdienste in der Wittenberg Pfarrkirche von 1523 an. III Teil', *Jb für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, vi (1961), 56–61.
- 12 R. F. von Liliencron, *Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte der evangelischen Gottesdienste von 1523 bis 1700* (Schleswig, 1893), 18.
- 13 W. Herbst, *Quellen zur Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Göttingen, 1968), 71 and 74.
- 14 See W. Mertens, 'Die "Psalmodia" des Lucas Lossius', *Jb für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, xix (1975), 4–5.
- 15 See P. Wagner, *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1930).
- 16 V. H. Mauffeld, 'Rhaug, Georg', *Grove* 6.
- 17 R. Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i: *Die zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909, rev. 2/1926), 54.
- 18 See *Selected Introits from Leipzig 49/50 (1558)*, ed. L. Youens, RMR, ix (1984).
- 19 Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, 111–12.
- 20 See R. A. Leaver, 'Bach, Hymns and Hymnbooks', *The Hymn*, xxxvii/4 (1985), 9.
- 21 See L. E. Cuyler, 'Musical Activity in Augsburg and its Annakirche, ca. 1470–1630', in *Cantors at the Crossroads: Essays on Church Music in Honor of Walter E. Buzin* (St Louis, 1967), 33–43; and R. Schaaf, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg: ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert* (Kassel, 1965). The inventory should be compared with the similar contemporary repertory in Nuremberg; see W. H. Rubsam, 'The International "Catholic" Repertoire of a Lutheran Church in Nürnberg (1574–1597)', *AnnM*, v (1957) 229–327.
- 22 See further, H. E. Samuel, 'Michael Praetorius on the Concertato Style', in *Cantors at the Crossroads*, 95–109.
- 23 *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius*, ed. W. Gurilt, xvii/2 (Wolfenbüttel, 1933), 433.
- 24 *ibid.*

The Lutheran Reformation

The literature on the Reformation in general, and the Lutheran reform in particular, is enormous and continually growing. Up-to-date literature, in various languages including English, can be discovered in the extensive bibliography which appears each year in the *Luther-Jahrbuch*. Probably the most accessible general account of the Reformation of the sixteenth century is H. J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era* (New York and London, 2/1973), valuable for its conciseness. The equivalent for the German Reformation from the beginnings to the Peace of Augsburg is F. Lau and E. Bizer, *The beginnings of the Reformation in Germany to 1555*, trans. B. A. Hardy (London 1969). For *A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555*, trans. B. A. Hardy (London 1969). For studies more closely related to Luther's life and activities the classic interpretation of R. H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: the Life of Martin Luther* (New York and Evanston, 1963), remains unrivalled. For more extensive accounts of the events surrounding the reformer's life during the formative years until the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, see M. Brecht, *Martin Luther: his Road to Reformation, 1483-1521*, trans. J. L. Schaaf (Philadelphia, 1985), and H. Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career, 1521-1530*, trans. E. T. Bachmann (Philadelphia, 1983).

Luther, music and the arts

As with Reformation and Luther studies in general, up-to-date information on literature dealing with the reformer's attitude towards and influence upon music can be found in the annual bibliography in the *Luther-Jahrbuch*, especially section B.2.k, 'Gottesdienst, Gebet, Kirchenlied', which is not restricted to Luther alone but broadly covers the church music and hymnody of the period. The following studies are basic: W. E. Buszin, 'Luther on Music', *MQ*, xxxii (1946), 80-97, in effect an abbreviated translation of K. Anton, *Luther und die Musik* (Zwickau, 1916, 3/1928); P. Nettle, *Luther and Music* (Philadelphia, 1948); R. M. Stevenson, 'Luther's Musical Achievement', in the author's *Patterns of Protestant Church Music* (Durham, North Carolina, 1953), 3-12; and C. Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise* (St Louis, 1988). Luther's theology had wider implications than for music alone: see the brief survey by J. W. Cook, 'Picturing Theology: Martin Luther and Lucas Cranach', in *Art and Religion: Faith, Form and Reform: 1984 Paine Lectures in Religion, University of Missouri-Columbia*, ed. J. Brown (Columbia, 1986); the more extensive study by C. C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, Ohio, 1979); and the composite volume, *Luther and Culture*, Martin Luther Lectures, iv (Decorah, 1960).

Lutheran musicians and their music

For information on individual composers and specific cities mentioned in this chapter, standard reference works such as *MGG* and *Grove* 6 should be consulted. In the latter the article on Luther and Lutheranism by R. A. Leaver and A. Bond is a suitable starting-point. In connection with Leipzig, the following two titles are useful, though somewhat brief: R. Petzoldt, *The Leipzig Thomaner Chor* (Leipzig, 1962), and P. M. Young, 'The Musical Tradition of the School and Church of St. Thomas', *American Choral Review*, xxiii/3 (1981), 4-50. Collected editions of the works of specific composers should also be investigated, especially the following which have introductory and editorial material translated into English: *Georg Rhau: Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545 in praktischer Neuauflage*, ed. H. Albrecht (Kassel and St Louis, 1955-80), and *Johann Walter Sämtliche Werke*, ed. O. Schröder (Kassel and St Louis, 1953-73).

A brief survey of the Lutheran music of the period can be found in G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954, 2/1959), 673-713, and a more detailed account in F. Blume and others, *Protestant Church Music: a History* (New York, 1974), a transla-

tion and expansion of the second edition of the seminal German work, *Geschichte der evangelische Kirchenmusik* (Kassel, 1965). A wider context is explored in J. W. Barker, 'Sociological Influences upon the Emergence of Lutheran Music', *MMA*, iv (1969), 157-98. Specific musical, liturgical and hymnological aspects are investigated in J. Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale: its Basic Traditions* (Minneapolis, 1967); R. A. Leaver, *The Liturgy and Music: a Study of the Use of the Hymn in Two Liturgical Traditions* (Bramcote, Notts, 1976); and Leaver, 'Lutheran Vespers as a Context for Music', in *Church, Stage, and Studio: Music and its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, ed. P. Walker (Ann Arbor, 1989). Specific forms of Lutheran church music are discussed in A. Kirwan-Morr's *The Small-Scale Sacred Concerto in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1981) and H. E. Smither's *A History of the Oratorio, ii: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (Chapel Hill, 1977), especially pt. 1, 'Protestant Germany: the Seventeenth-Century Antecedents and Origins', which focusses on the emergence of the distinctive Lutheran tradition of extended liturgical choral works for major feasts, such as Christmas and Easter, notably the Passion, for which the classic study is B. Smallman's *The Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and his Predecessors* (London, 1957; rev., enlarged 2/1970).