

The struggle with the forces of re-Catholicization pressed another, hitherto latent, problem into the foreground, that of language. Luther and the whole circle of Reformers had taken for granted that while the vernacular was appropriate to the participating congregation in church services, Latin was the proper medium for the priest or the liturgical, florid counterpart of the choir. Now, however, stimulated by the Interim and then strongly emphasized through the Counter-Reformation, the conflict simultaneously became also a contest between the languages. Entirely in accord with churchly tendencies and teachings, Latin remained longest in use beside German in the citadels of strictly observed Lutheranism (in Saxony, especially in Leipzig, into the 18th century; in Franconia, especially in Nuremberg, even longer). Calvinism, by contrast, from the very beginning suppressed Latin in favor of the vernacular. A great variety of intermediated compromises remained possible in practice, but in principle the contest may be regarded as having been settled around 1600. Since the beginning of the 17th century, there has been a preponderance of the national language in art music and to a large extent also in liturgical altar chant. But for a long time to come, Latin would find a safe retreat in the Ordinary of the Mass (rarely in the Proper), the Magnificat, Vesper hymns, the *Te Deum*, occasional Marian antiphons, Communion songs, and so forth.

The Reformed church played the most important role in the development of the language question. It undertook, in any case, the "purification" of divine services from all other remnants. Calvinism's sober, puritanical conception of divine worship as unadorned teaching and preaching, its sharp rejection of the miracles of the Mass, its leaning toward the ethical and pedagogical, like its aggressive, anti-Catholic, even anti-Lutheran attitude, drove it to extinguish all "papist abominations." This meant organ music as well as candles on the altar, the Latin language as well as the trappings of the priest, florid counterpoint as well as pictures in the church—indeed, the whole ceremonial cult and the form of the Mass above all. Johann Scultetus, the court preacher of Elector Johann Sigismund, was even allowed to attack the Mass and the singing of Latin in church with great vehemence in Lutheran Brandenburg. Hoe, the arch-Lutheran in Dresden, still (like Luther) declared ceremonies, altars, pictures, and art music in the church to be adiaphora, tolerated rather than encouraged. Georg Calixt, however, though a Lutheran, declared his outright opposition to the celebration of the Mass. Even the Great Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, still felt it necessary in his will to recommend to his son that he should "do away with the Lutheran customs in a polite way" (Leube). The consequence of these undertakings and attitudes was in fact that the celebration of the Mass was more and more simplified and an impoverishment set in; of the whole ceremonial that had been so fruitful for music, only the Kyrie and Gloria (the so-called *Missa brevis*—at that time usually called *Missa*) were left. Consequently, the demand became so small that it could be filled from the common musical literature, and the stimulus for Protestant composers to write *Missae* declined greatly.

BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMED PSALM LIED AND THE ORIGINS OF THE LUTHERAN CANTIONAL SETTINGS. THE CANTIONALES

As a result of the attitude of the Reformed confessions toward music and liturgical form, all but the simplest types of art music were drawn more and more into the orbit of Lutheranism. As far as the general history of music is concerned, the Reformed churches were productive only in the field of the hymn and, for a time, that of hymn settings. Only hymns were acknowledged, and then only in their simplest form, as choral congregational song. Indeed, even Zwingli, though himself the poet and perhaps composer of the melodies of several songs, and to a greater degree Calvin, had consciously eliminated the associations with the musical tradition of the old church and with contemporary art music which Luther had been at pains to preserve. Furthermore, the sharp emphasis on morality had severed the connection with secular folk song that had been so fruitful in the Lutheran church. Thus, only one path for the creation of a body of songs for congregational singing remained open: new settings of the contemporary literary material following the trends at court.

The artistic genesis of a Calvinistic treasury of songs had its own historic background. The Strasbourg songbooks of the 1520s and '30s (see p. 46 f.), which show an affinity to the Zwinglian position, already reveal a strong tendency to utilize the content of the Psalms for congregational singing. In 1538 Jakob Dacher at Strasbourg and in 1542 Hans Gamersfelder at Nuremberg had each published a complete rhyming Psalter with tunes. In 1540 the *Soutierliedekens*, Flemish psalm lieder with secular tunes, had appeared in Antwerp. These were revised and published (1556-57) for three voices by Jakob Clemens non Papa. The Ulhart Psalter and the significant, complete psalm composition of Burkhard Waldis (see p. 48) also belong to this series. For southern Germany, the Zurich songbook of Froschauer (1540, 2nd or 3rd edition; see pp. 47 and 513) had already represented a decisive step in the direction of the Zwinglian position. Its authors, the Constance Reformers Johann Zwick and Ambrosius Blaurer, aided by the poets Matthäus Greitter, Heinrich Vogther, Ludwig Öler, and others, are known in music history for their connections with Ducus and Dietrich. Zwick's musical limitations are very clear: he relegates countless hymns to a few known melodies that recur again and again—the number of new tunes is extremely small. In the important preface he expresses the conviction that although precedence might readily be given to psalm singing, the other kinds of religious song must not be neglected in its favor; still, in church, music should be restricted exclusively to congregational song. But Zwick did not have his way. Soon the only material for congregational singing in the Reformed church was the Psalter. When, doubtless in response to a direct suggestion from Calvin, Clement Marot began writing the "official" rhyming Psalter, propagandist motives must have played a part too. The French court, whose favorite poet was Marot, received the Psalter with enthusiasm. King Francis I had the poet send a copy to Emperor Charles V, who in turn spoke of it with praise. Catherine de' Medici, Marguerite of Navarre, King Henry

II, and Diane de Poitiers all outdid themselves in the use of the Marot psalm lieder. This was apparently one of the many subtle attempts of Calvinism to penetrate the leading circles and gain a footing there, but Catholic reaction would not permit it. It was not until after many struggles, and long after Marot's death, that a complete rhyming Psalter could be published for the first time (1562). (For the further history of the Reformed hymn and of the so-called Huguenot Psalter, see chap. V, p. 507 ff.)

Within German Lutheran church music, the Reformed psalm lieder achieved only secondary importance, and this not until after the translation of the Marot Psalter into German (1565) by the Königsberg law professor Ambrosius Lobwasser (incidentally, a Lutheran) and its publication in 1573 (see p. 546). Thereafter it was disseminated in countless editions, well into the 19th century. In France the Marot Psalter appeared in various arrangements for several voices, among others in three different versions by Claude Goudimel. The last of these (1565; see p. 535) offered the Psalter in an unpretentious four-voice form, in *contrapunctus simplex*—that is, homophonic, with the cantus firmus in the tenor. (Earlier arrangements by Bourgeois [1547, 1554, and 1561], as well as those by Goudimel of 1551–66 and 1564, had no significant place in Lutheran music.) Lobwasser's Psalter now appeared with the settings of Goudimel's last version (1565), achieving through this an amazingly wide distribution. Thus, the historically important factor for Lutheran church music was not Lobwasser's texts or the French melodies introduced with them, but the presentation in simple, four-voice, note-against-note cantional settings at such a relatively early time. Previously, settings of this type had scarcely appeared at all in German secular songs. In the area of religious song they turned up only in a few works by Johann Walter (Walter's so-called second lied type), and otherwise only in the humanistic ode. What significance the different compositions and types or styles of settings of the Huguenot Psalter had for the Reformed church and how they were employed there (within or outside the church service) will not be discussed here (see chap. V). But for Lutheran church music the appearance of a German-language rhyming Psalter in pure cantional setting was an event of far-reaching significance. It does not matter whether the melody lay in the tenor or, as later became the rule, the soprano. It was, in any case, the only part actually sung. As the evidence shows, men and women could sing it in octaves, and the other parts, it must be supposed, were instrumental. Indeed, it is quite possible that organ accompaniment to congregational singing came about in this way. The organist could intabulate the more complicated, polyphonic settings usual in the Reformation period, and use them to alternate with the congregation but not to accompany it, whereas the simple cantional settings were almost ideal for accompanying. As a matter of fact, the latter seem to have been used in this manner in the Reformed church too. The Zwinglians had dismantled the organs in their churches, but it is reported from Bern as early as 1581 that the congregation sang with the help of a cornett (obviously the soprano part is meant here) and three trombones or, for the sake of students, with an organ. The Hamburg *Melodeien Gesangbuch* (1604) speaks expressly of the organ accompaniment to hymn singing. The com-

plicated and metrically involved settings of the Reformation period were probably also often presented so that only the cantus firmus was sung, while the other parts were played on instruments or pulled together on the organ. In any case, they remained art music and did not lend themselves structurally to congregational singing. Now, however, the polyphonic settings were arranged so that the congregation could sing the melody to the accompaniment of a simple, four-voice setting. The concept of "choral singing" (see p. 63 ff.) changed from one of absolute unison singing to one of accompanied unison singing. The word "chorale," originally designating liturgical altar chant and its monodic presentation, gradually came to mean the congregational song; this was, to be sure, monodic, but now it could be sung with accompaniment. From now on one finds this provided for in songbook titles, like that of Lukas Osiander: "So arranged that an entire Christian congregation can easily sing along." The Huguenot Psalter therewith provided the impetus for a practice that has remained to the present day one of the foundations of all Protestant church music.

Johann Walter (see p. 73 ff.) had approached the practice very closely in his "second type" of lied setting, which, incidentally, was even then sung chiefly in unison with instrumental accompaniment. But for the most part, composers followed him along this path only hesitantly. Indeed, the younger ones held rigidly to the old type, the genuine polyphonic lied setting. Yet it is significant that precisely in those Lutheran districts bordering on Calvinistic or Reformed areas, the pure cantional type had already evolved around the middle of the 16th century and many hymnbooks employed it consistently. The 156 settings for the German rhyming Psalter of Burkhard Waldis (the verses first printed in 1553) that J. Heugel of Kassel composed in four and five voices (between 1555 and 1570, according to W. Brennecke; *MGG* VI, 342) extend from the pure homophonic cantional settings to the richer, more contrapuntal type (still extant in manuscript). At about the same time, however, *Der ganze Psalter Davids* appeared in Stuttgart and Tübingen, which also bordered on Calvinist territory. This was composed by Sigmund Himmel, choir director of Duke Ulrich, and was published posthumously in 1569; according to Brennecke, it was written between about 1561 and 1564 (see *MGG* VI, 140). Himmel collected the texts of his psalm lieder from Strasbourg, Augsburg, Constance, and Basel songbooks, especially from the Bonn songbook (edition of 1561)—in other words, from the greatest variety of poets. Similarly, his melodies stemmed from the greatest variety of sources (*MGG* VI, 141). His settings were in a predominantly cantional style—here and there perhaps a bit livelier, though hardly any longer polyphonic—with the tenor carrying the melody (see Ex. a). The Breslauer David Wolkenstein should be mentioned in this connection; he published his *Psalmen für Kirchen und Schulen, auf die gemeinen Melodien syllabenhweise zu vier Stimmen* at Strasbourg in 1577 and 1583. The editors of Himmel's Psalter, which subsequently enjoyed a broad dissemination beyond confessional lines, were the two Stuttgart court preachers Balthasar Bidenbach and Lukas Osiander. Their preface states that in hymn singing, too, "such language should be used as may be understood by the entire Christian congregation." Like Marot's Psalter in the French court,

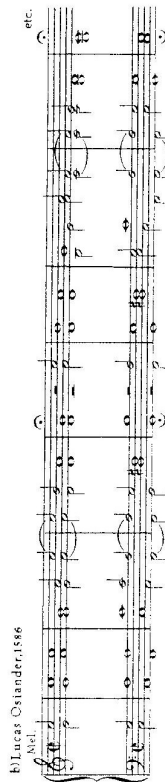
LUTHERAN CANTORIAL SINGING originated in the Wittenberg court. It was bestowed upon the schools and came to be used throughout southwestern Germany. With these models as a basis, the same Lukas Osiander took the decisive and permanently effective step in 1586 when he published his *Fünffzig geistliche Lieder und Psalmen mit vier Stimmen auf Kontrapunktweise*. These were rendered in the simplest cantional settings, the melody in the upper voice (see Ex. b), homorhythmically but not isometrically: the original rhythm of the song remains, though it is bestowed simultaneously upon all four voices. Osiander's book, containing the principal Lutheran lieder "so arranged that an entire Christian congregation can sing along," became the prototype of all future congregational hymnbooks. With that, the extended influence of the Huguenot Psalter on Lutheran hymn setting practically came to an end. The model for the future was complete; musicians had only to make use of it. Osiander, who was related to Jakob Andreae and participated in the drafting of the Formula of Concord, was a Lutheran of the strictest observance, and commanded the sort of influence to promote his work in the broadest Lutheran circles. It has not unjustly been called a "musical Formula of Concord" (see U. Siegele in *MGG* X, 429). Osiander concluded for the Lutherans what the Calvinist Psalter had begun: he distinguished between the Lutheran cantional lied setting and its origins and established a model for the future, the Protestant archetype containing all its inner musical conviction and limitation. Artistically, Osiander's work should not be overestimated. It represents that point of development at which the practical needs of the church and artistic values separated decisively for the first time. The Cantionales (songbooks for congregational use) that appeared in a long series after Osiander sought to present practical music for congregational worship. They did not impinge upon art music, but stood independently beside it, raising no claim to exclusivity (on this section, cf. p. 47 ff.).

Openings of Cantionale settings of *Ein feste Burg* (Psalm 46), transposed to the same tonality.

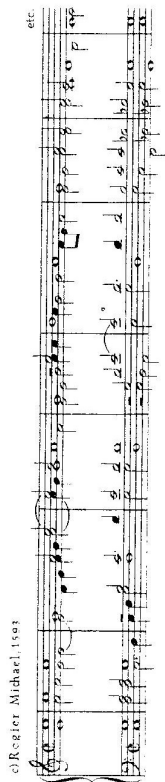
a) Sigmund Hemmel, 1569



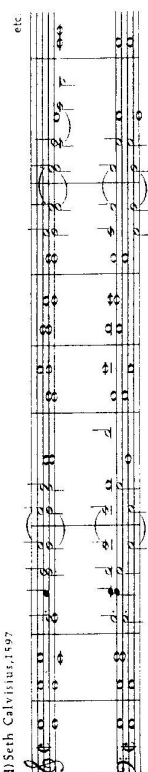
b) Lucas Osiander, 1586



c) Rogier Michael, 1597



a) Seth Calvisius, 1597



e) Barth. Gestius, 1601



f) David Scheidemann, 1604



g) Melchior Vulpius, 1604



h) Hans Leo Hassler, 1608



i) Michael Praetorius, 1610



The Protestant Cantionale underwent no basic change in the following centuries, and the kind of accompaniment to congregational singing on which it settled has in principle remained the same to this day. The most important later Cantionales are: Andreas Rastelius, Regensburg, 1588; Rogier Michael, Dresden, 1593; Seth Calvisius, Leipzig, 1597; the *Eisleben* hymnbook, 1598; Melchior Franck, Coburg, 1602; Bartholomäus Gestius, Frankfurt on the Oder, 1594, 1601, 1605; Melchior Vulpius, Weimar, 1604; Johann Jeep, Weikersheim, 1607; Martin

zeuner, Ansbach, 1616; Gotthard Erythraeus, Altdorf, 1608. The first comprehensive Cantionale of northern Germany is the Hamburg *Melodeien Gesangbuch* of 1604.¹ Among the composers of its lied settings were David Scheidemann, uncle of the later famous Hamburg organist Heinrich Scheidemann; Joachim Decker; Hieronymus Praetorius, famous composer and organist at St. Jacob's in Hamburg; and Jakob Praetorius, his son, later organist at St. Peter's in Hamburg (see Ex. 6–g).

The group of south German Cantionales finds its climax in Hans Leo Hassler, who published his *Kirchengesänge, Psalmen und geistliche Lieder, auf die gemeinen Melodien mit vier Stimmen simpliciter* in Nuremberg in 1603, a year after his *Psalmen und christliche Gesänge mit vier Stimmen, auf die Melodeien fugweis komponiert* had appeared. It contains the established festival and Sunday lieder of the old Lutheran church, as well as catechismal and psalm lieder and a few of general content. There are only sixty-eight, all told, but they are masterful, even in their simplicity: "the best Lutheran chorale book in this style" (Teschner). The book was reissued in 1637 in Nuremberg by S.G. Staden, with the addition of several settings by himself and his father Johann. Since the republication by Teschner (Berlin, 1865), it has gone through a series of reprintings within the past hundred years. The north German counterpart to Hassler's *Kirchengesänge simpliciter* may be found in parts VI–VIII of the *Musae Sioniae* of Michael Praetorius, Wolfenbüttel, 1609–10. Part VI contains the festival songs, part VII the catechismal, Communion, thanksgiving, and other hymns, while part VIII embraces songs about the cross, the church, death, and judgment, for morning and evening, and for the home, as they were "commonly used in churches and homes" and "as sung . . . in different localities and lands." But while Hassler's *Psalmen simpliciter* is restricted to the old repertory of lieder, *Musae* VI–VIII comprises a great amount of new material in addition, such as just then began to appear in great abundance (see below). It includes over four hundred and fifty songs in about seven hundred and fifty settings. The inventiveness of the settings—simple, note against note, loosened up only rarely—is inexhaustible. This Cantionale is of the greatest hymnological interest, because it is the only source for the texts of many hymns, and because Praetorius here systematically employed the melodies in the various versions in which they were used at the time in the different state territorial churches. Melodic imprints from Brunswick, Mark (Brandenburg), Meissen, Thuringia, the coastal towns, Franconia, and so on, appeared regularly. Thus the powerful Cantionale of Praetorius represents an unparalleled source for the entire stock of Lutheran-Protestant hymns around 1600. At the same time, it brings to a close the first phase of the history of the Cantionale. Schein's *Leipziger Kantional* (1627) occupies an intermediate position between these older groups and the characteristic hymnbooks of the 17th century.

NEW LUTHERAN SONG PRODUCTION. SCHOOL ODE, SCHOOL HYMNBOOK, AND CONGREGATIONAL HYMNBOOK

The more or less strict application of the four-voice cantional setting was a common feature of the older Cantionales; the texture may have been expanded here and there into a loose pseudo-polyphony, but it never lost its basic nature. Another common feature was the faithful retention of the basic lieder of the Reformation period. The collections were enriched by the adoption of some of the lieder from the later hymnbooks of the Bohemian Brethren (see chap. VI, p. 591 ff.) rather than those newly composed. Only Michael Praetorius surmounted these limitations. Taking his entire work into account, he wrote about seven hundred different melodies and well over a thousand texts—this in contrast to the roughly eighty songs constituting the narrower "stock." The figures make clear how rapidly production rose in the Counter-Reformation. Here, too, one notices the impetus stemming from the dissemination of the Lobwasser Psalter and stimulating Lutheran poets and musicians to new creativity.

But the area within which this new production of hymns could take place was restricted, and the reverse side of the lively quantitative revival was a rapid decline in creative intensity. Neither the texts nor the melodies of the Counter-Reformation can compare in force and directness with those of the Reformation. Songs for the Ordinary of Sunday services were fixed. There was an adequate repertory of festival songs. Most of the catechismal, funeral, and other lieder of the Reformation period maintained their position. There was no shortage of any of these. To be sure, psalm, Gospel, catechismal, funeral lieder, and the like, continued to be composed according to the old pattern, but often the result was only a watering-down of the older compositions, the strength of which could not be equaled. The change and decline can be traced in the case of the psalm lieder, which suffered as a result of the Reformed model. In Luther's time, the psalm was looked upon as a textual source for content, imagery, and so on, which poets interpreted in reference to Christ. But now they clung with a certain timid pedantry to the very words of the Bible. Consequently, the force of fervent conviction disappeared and the songs assumed a didactic, preaching tone. Courageous confession was replaced by edifying contemplation, which easily carried a trace of permissiveness. This tendency encouraged the appearance of whole categories of new hymns, especially for the household. All members of the entire family circle and all the little cares and joys of everyday existence were brought into a relationship with God that was sometimes crudely picturesque but more often dryly enumerative and moralizing. Georg Niede of Herford (1585) commended everything to God—his possessions, his wife, his children, his relatives, down to mere acquaintances. "The home atmosphere not infrequently becomes a home-baked atmosphere" (Nelle). Children's songs such as those composed by Nikolaus Herman constituted an entire literature of their own, especially cultivated by Kaspar Stolschagen (*Kinderspiegel*, Eisleben, 1591). Joachim Magdeburg's *Tischgespräche* (Erfurt, 1571) were widely used. His hymn *Wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut* was included in many collections. The inclination