

The Musical Heritage of the Church

Volume V

Edited by Theodore Hoelty-Nickel
Valparaiso, Indiana



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Editor's Preface

The essays contained in this volume were presented at the Valparaiso University Church Music Seminar during its annual sessions from 1953 to 1957. They are published as Volume V of the Musical Heritage Series.

It has been our policy to publish this material as it was presented at our conferences. The opinions expressed are those of the essayists and do not necessarily reflect our point of view. The editor wishes to extend his appreciation to the Aid Association for Lutherans of Appleton, Wisconsin, for the continuous interest in our program of studies in the field of church music and for making possible a wider distribution of this volume.

The editor also wishes to extend his appreciation to Prof. E. Foelber and the editorial department of Concordia Publishing House for many suggestions.

Theo. Hoelty-Nickel
Valparaiso University
February 3, 1959

Foreword

Concordia Publishing House is pleased to make available Volume V of *The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church*. The essays in this volume as well as those in the previous volumes were presented at the Church Music Seminars conducted by Valparaiso University under the scholarly leadership of Dr. Theo. Hoelty-Nickel, head of the Department of Music.

Those attending these seminars have benefited much, and their work has grown richer as a result. They discovered the creativeness evident in Lutheran music. They also, in some measure, achieved a unity of purpose and practice. The result has without question been a gradual but definite raising of the standards of church music throughout the Lutheran Church.

Nor has the effect been evident solely in the Lutheran Church. There is also in other church bodies an evident reawakening in the entire field of church music. Thus the seminars have made a significant contribution to the church.

O. A. Dorn

Introduction

The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech; and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Psalm 19:1–4 a.

The whole immense universe of God's creation is presented to us by the psalmist as the visible and concrete evidence of divine glory to all men, all nations, and all tongues to see and to admire. This grand picture is a communication of the glory of the Creator. No less than five times in these three and one-half verses are terms used which emphasize communication: declare, show, utter, language, speech. It is significant that not in any way is this message given us in human words. Words are only poor substitutes for the eloquent language of beauty. Man has always realized that and has always tried to match in some way his words to the beauty which he sees. Music and all the arts, if properly understood, are the reflection of God's glory in the heart and voice of man. The appreciation of beauty in this world is therefore a part of that ethos of the Christian life that comes from the realization of the grace of God in creation: and this ethos is, of course, possible only in the life of man who can see this world in the light of redemption.

In the constant battle between man as a sinner and a violator of God's orders, and man as a believer and a happy citizen of God's cosmos—and this is the battle within man—in this constant battle we can see the debate of our times about the norms of art. The purely subjective feeds on the nature of man, whereas the truly objective tries to correct this. The reaction to the subjective perversions of beauty has led to pietistic and puritan sterility in art. The reaction of natural man to the bonds of Christian ethics has resulted in unnatural revolt to norms and orders of creation. It is our duty to understand the language of the universe as the psalmist speaks of it, as it is our duty to correct and to improve where we see that the language of art transgresses the boundaries of nature's glory.

In the question of the relevancy of art in our time we might ask: Has our time enforced its norms and standards in the music of our day, or has the music of our time maintained its own norms? We realize that the very words "norm" and "standard" are obnoxious to the free artist. These words sound too much like clanking chains and prison doors. An artist can get claustrophobia just hearing the word "norm." He will say: What power, what society, what being has a right to dictate to me what my art ought to be! It must be clear to us that the true norms of art do not set laws. Yet no artist escapes completely the kind of norm his time and his environment and society sets. Every true artist will differentiate conscientiously between norms as historically evident rules and customs, and norms that are inherent in art itself. The historic norms are like the rules that established monocular perspective in painting at about the same time when music was limited to the major and minor modes. These standards are not valid for all times; they are limited, and they tell of a phase in the development of history. They are relevant to a time or phase. The true norms, however, are free of such relativities. Just as truth in religion cannot be relative, so norms are free and make an artist free.

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In our time and day the relevancy to music, or the relevancy of music to our time, should be evidenced in a democracy dedicated to the expression of the liberated spirit of the artist, free from and, where necessary, in protest against all trends. It is the need of our time and indeed very much of our culture that the artist born and bound at the same time in the true norm learns to express the very essence of things. Genuine norms are to be discovered in the things themselves (in God's creation). Art, true and honest, deals with an object in the spirit of truth. All this, however, in the relation of things and art to man, that is, to man true to himself. The essence of man is to be human; anything more or less than human is nonhuman. This is an illustration, also, of the norms of true art. True art is bound by the essence of the object. Works of art are greater than any technical product. A hammer is to serve its purposes, or it is no hammer. But in a work of art, the whole man is addressed by the true essence of the object presented. And because art is relevant to man, true art addresses true man, that is, man true to his essence as a human being. This makes it easier for us to see a horizon. The scope of man is wide and far-reaching. No one can estimate the height and depth and width of man, and no one can exhaust the concept of art of man yesterday or today, not to mention the future. But we can and must attempt to say whether or not the ideal is approached in a specific case.

Criteria that are helpful in evaluating art are hard to establish. Let us say that in any work of art something spiritual-mental becomes sensible, that is, can be seen or heard. The ideal would be that the thought can be fully apprehended. Wherever this relation is not evident, the work of art loses some of the essential value it ought to have. Sometimes the transfer is completely absent and the claim to being art is ridiculous. This can happen in various ways, and the ignoring of these dangers is characteristic of much of the work done by artists in our day. The essential value of a piece of art is destroyed or at least lessened when, for one thing, certain component parts act or appear independently of the whole of the work. Any facet of the opus making itself free from the body of it, and existing by and for itself, is against the nature of art. Again—and this is similar to the defect just mentioned—it is possible that the technical part, the technical excellency of the work, let us say, becomes the end and not a means to an end. In this case also the formal makes itself independent and destroys the spiritual. It is even possible for the spiritual to dominate sufficiently to destroy the formal and sensible.

No single aspect of a work of art can exist for itself, for its own purpose, without affecting the essential beauty of art. Few realize this in our day, and there is little hope that it will be recognized in the future; it is, therefore, in this respect that we must view our time in relation to art. We say this without condemning our time. Our time is more concerned with science. Art is only a minor department, and the Muses appear only amusing to our day. The Muses serve the tastes of man, and here we are back at the beginning again. Our time also claims to have norms and standards, and these standards are proclaimed with a stubborn insistence that "you cannot argue about taste." Taste rules and will not be cross-examined as to whether it is good or bad. The taste of our day takes refuge in a "fifth amendment." Taste has the majority on its side, it serves the masses. And so a modern university can present its band at half-time in a football game in the formation of the mushroom cloud and cyclotron with appropriate visible and audible effects, and who is offended? The public sees nothing of the irrelevance and even gross inappropriateness of the thing, especially if the show includes the patriotic motif and does homage to the men who "gave their all."

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Neither technical perfection, nor success (hit tune), nor the grotesque of the accidental dadaistic art, nor the appeal to the inhuman in man is art in any sense. All these things destroy, detract, defame, desecrate! Only there where music or any other form of art succeeds to be to the ear of man (man in the sense of the essentially human) a visible or audible representation of the thoughts and the spirit of man and where man is enabled by the very presentation to translate back again into the spiritual the sounds and sights—only there is art relevant to man, only there is the essence of art. Only when art is a reflection of the message given to man in the heavens of God, only there is the essence of art.

Thus the artist of today is free to be himself and to give himself as a noble and high servant to mankind only when he realizes the norm that is essential to his art. The interaction: Object to spirit of man, and spirit of man to object, gives the artist all the freedom he wants and yet preserves him from the temptations that beset him on all sides.

And so it is finally most necessary that we in our day find the true norms for our work as artists and musicians. It is important that we recognize the fact that God still loves His creation, His cosmos, and that in this world He has given man, who discovers himself insignificant and irrelevant wherever he faces the beauty of true reality, a revelation of his love in the redemptive work of His Son. He who knows of God's love toward him is the one who does best battle the tendency of his own heart to pervert truth and to blaspheme nature. The true norm of art will honor God in His creation and will do so with a heart humbly cognizant of God's love toward him.

Theo. Hoelty-Nickel

Liturgy and Theology

Regin Prenter

What is liturgy? Liturgy is service; and every human service, whatever its content, consists in serving God. Thus, our whole life may be called a service to God, i.e., a liturgy. As an introduction to a paper on liturgy and theology, it might be well to point to the beginning of the twelfth chapter of Romans, where we are told that our whole life should be a divine service, a reasonable “liturgy”: “I beseech you therefore, brethren . . . that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.” The Greek noun used here is *latreia*, which means cult or worship of God. True worship, we learn, requires our whole life, our “bodies.”

These words open up a wide Biblical perspective. We can trace in them the spirit of the great prophets of Israel who passionately opposed a perversion of the cult into a presentation of gifts to God performed without confidence of heart and inner obedience on the part of those offering the gifts. “For I desired mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings” (Hos. 6:6). Above all, there is behind these words of St. Paul the memory of the one perfect sacrifice of the body of Christ. *He* gave his body as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. Therefore, the true worship of his believers can only be the sacrifice of their bodies in the service of the brethren. “So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and everyone members of one another.” (Rom. 12:5)

The *leitmotif* of our presentation of the subject “Liturgy and Theology” is, then, that the center of the Christian liturgy is the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ. *He* is the Priest conducting that divine liturgy of sacrificing His own body in the act of love to God, His heavenly Father, and to us, His brethren. We, too, are priests with Him when we partake in His liturgy, that is, in His sacrificial love by presenting in daily life our bodies as “a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God,” in praise of Him and service of our neighbor.

Thus liturgy is a most comprehensive term consisting of the whole of Christian life. This includes also theology. Theology is a part of the liturgy, part of that sacrifice of our body of which St. Paul speaks. Indeed, when we say this and thereby explain the word “liturgy” in Pauline terms, we are making a theological statement. But a theological statement of that kind—and this is true of any theological statement—has no meaning at all if it is not considered an essential part of that divine liturgy which it describes and explains.

This means, of course, that the word “theology,” too, is understood here in a wider meaning than that assigned to it by tradition. When we say that theology is part of the liturgy (part of that sacrifice of our body in the service of God and of our fellow men to which St. Paul calls us), we are not speaking exclusively of theological research, that is, of the academic theology produced in our seminaries and universities. Of course, this scholarly theology, too, belongs to the liturgy defined as the true sacrifice of our bodies. However, theology is something far more extensive than the academic work usually referred to when we use the term. Theology is any human witness to the truth of God’s revelation, any true *speaking about God*. Once again, then, our whole life, interpreted as divine liturgy, is theology, i.e., our way of speaking about God to

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God Himself and to our fellow men. Whether a good or a very poor theology, it is, nevertheless, a theology.

In the quotation above, St. Paul uses a curious expression when he speaks about our life as a sacrifice of our bodies. He calls it our “reasonable” service. The Greek word for reasonable is *logike*, i.e., logical. Our logical service. Because it is derived from the Greek word *logos*, which itself means “word,” “logical” originally had to do with words. We would not be entirely wrong, then, if we were to paraphrase St. Paul thus: “our *witnessing* worship, our speaking service.” The words of St. Paul might almost be rendered, therefore, in the following way: “Make your whole life a true liturgy *and* theology by presenting your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God.”

In this context, then, liturgy and theology are identical when taken in that wider sense in which they must be understood if they are to be related to the true center of any human liturgy and theology, namely, the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. Theology is, then, an essential part of any liturgy insofar as any liturgy, is “*reasonable* service,” “logical service,” an expression through human words and actions of the sacrificial love towards God and our fellows in Christ. Further, liturgy finds its goal in theology insofar as no act of sacrificial love may be accomplished without some expression of its own meaning in the terms of personal relationships. These personal relationships are always “logical” terms, i.e., *meaningful* human words and actions.

Having seen this fundamental unity of liturgy and theology when both are taken in their wide, inclusive meaning, we must from the outset be aware of two very common and very dangerous deteriorations affecting liturgy and theology. If liturgy is separated from theology, i.e., if it is no longer in its essence “theology,” or true witness to the revelation of God, it then becomes an end in itself, a “good work” performed with the intention of pleasing God. This was the kind of “liturgy” that the prophets of Israel attacked when they condemned the complacency with which their nation relied upon its correct cult of sacrifices. It was also this kind of liturgy that Luther and the other Reformers attacked when they characterized the theoretical and practical understanding of the sacrifice of the Mass within the church of their time as an “abominable idolatry.” And it is this kind of liturgy that is the constant danger in all types of “ritualism.” If, on the other hand, theology is separated from liturgy, i.e., if it is no longer seen as a part of the liturgy of the church, part of the living sacrifice of our bodies in the service of God and our fellow men, it, too, becomes an end in itself, a human wisdom competing with and sometimes even rejecting the revelation of God. It was this kind of detached theology that the ancient church fathers attacked in the Gnostics and Luther in the Schoolmen. There have been very many instances of such nonliturgical theology in modern times. We might even say that the main theological task of our day is the reinstatement of theology in its true liturgical function. These two dangers arising out of the neglect of the essential unity of liturgy and theology are, I think, imminent in our present situation in the Lutheran Church. Personally, I think that perhaps the two most promising features in the recent development of Lutheranism are what I would like to call the theological and the liturgical renaissance. Both in the field of liturgy and in the field of theology we have experienced a renewal of profound insights into the very essence of divine revelation. The present renewal in Biblical scholarship, in the study of the thought of the Reformers, and in the ways of worship has, I think, been unparalleled for centuries. Surprisingly,

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this renewal seems to transcend all denominational barriers. Even in the Roman Catholic Church there is a remarkable theological and liturgical renaissance today. However, there are grave dangers inherent in this renewal, important as it is, because it stands in danger of becoming a new intellectualism detached from the worship of the congregation, a new kind of Gnosticism. Curiously enough, this danger is immanent in both Fundamentalism and Modernism. Both are rationalistic in their structure and are therefore too easily detached from the life situation of the worship of the church. The liturgical renewal, on the other hand, is in constant danger of becoming a new ritualism in which the theological meaning of worship is neglected for the benefit of reviving beautiful and interesting old customs. If the intellectualistic theology prevails in the church, it may transform that church into a philosophical society or a Gnostic sect. If, on the other hand, ritualistic liturgy prevails, it may change the Christian faith into a mystery religion. The fact that the representatives of intellectualistic theology and of ritualistic liturgy are often hostile to one another does not solve the problem. In my opinion, the only possibility of preserving the great values of the present theological and liturgical renewals is to keep them together and to interpret their meaning in the light of the fundamental unity of theology and liturgy as seen in the wider meaning of these two words.

I cannot in a single short paper thoroughly reinterpret liturgy and theology in the light of this basic unity. That would require a whole series of papers. I will therefore attempt to point out the main structure of both liturgy and theology in their narrower sense, that is, as the “worship” and the “doctrine” of the church, and I will also try to show how they are related by means of their being originally a unity in the fundamental, wider sense of each term.

Let us turn again, then, to the word “liturgy,” thinking of it now in its more traditional meaning as the worship of the church, particularly the worship in the main Sunday service. This service was still called the Mass by the reformers and was mentioned under that name in the Confession of Augsburg. It is an old and significant name which I would like to retain. What is the structure of the liturgy of the Mass, seen as a part of that wider liturgy which comprehends our life in the service of love to God and to our fellow men?

The center of the liturgy, we said, is the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. In the Mass this sacrifice of Jesus Christ in which He gave His own body for the sins of the whole world is, to use a Pauline expression, “evidently set forth before our eyes” (Gal. 3:1). In the Mass this is done in two different ways: through the proclamation of the Gospel and through the administration of Holy Communion.

The difference between the Roman Catholic way of speaking about the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass and the Biblical and Lutheran way of understanding it is easily detected. The Roman Catholic Church does not claim that the historical sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross is *repeated* in the Mass. Most Roman Catholic scholars would emphatically reject this expression. They say, however, that the sacrifice of Jesus Christ is *represented* unto us in the Mass. This expression need not necessarily be wrong. It depends upon the interpretation put upon it. If it is taken in the sense of Galatians 3, in which St. Paul speaks of the crucified Christ as being “evidently set forth before our eyes,” it would be perfectly true. In that case, then, the interpretation would include first and foremost the preaching of the Gospel. This is not the case, however. Although the proclamation of the Gospel is not directly excluded in modern Roman

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Catholic expositions of the Mass, the emphasis is not upon the proclamation of the Gospel but rather upon the offering of the transubstantiated bread and wine as gifts unto God. This idea of sacrifice enables the priest to present the body and blood of Christ as an atoning sacrifice for people who do not personally receive the gifts in faith by partaking of the meal. Indeed, this may be done for people who are not even present, e.g., the departed souls in purgatory. Such an idea of sacrifice changes the whole meaning of Christ's sacrifice and of Christian worship. The sacrifice of Christ as the atonement for the sins of all men has been offered on the cross once for all. It is an act of God wrought in human history and cannot be repeated since its effect is universal. It cannot even be reenacted as is claimed in the Roman Catholic conception of the Mass. The fruits of this perfect sacrifice have only to be distributed and received in faith. That is what is happening in the Mass.

This happens, first, in the proclamation of the Gospel. Here the historical uniqueness and universal validity of the sacrifice of Christ is publicly proclaimed. This is done by an exposition of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, where the whole history of God's dealing with men in and through his chosen people Israel is recorded and where Christ's sacrificial death and resurrection is proclaimed as the consummation and ultimate meaning of that whole saving history. In the preaching of the Gospel this whole history of salvation recorded in the Biblical Scriptures is addressed to the people of God who are not present to worship Him. This history is pronounced unto them in God's name as His personal word of judgment and grace. The preaching of the Gospel in the Mass is not an interesting lecture upon some important religious or moral issue. When the sermon deteriorates into something of this kind, it has lost its liturgical function and is in the greatest danger of disturbing, if not destroying, the act of worship which it was intended to serve. If the Gospel is not proclaimed in the name of the Triune God as the living, prophetic, and apostolic voice maintaining the personal relationship between God and His people, a relationship which we, using Biblical terms, call a covenant, then there can be no true liturgy; for then the people of God are not entitled to bring any gift to God, much less their own bodies in the service of Him and their neighbor. The people of God consists of sinful men and women who cannot draw near God and who cannot present any offering to Him without being redeemed from its sins by its only High Priest, Jesus Christ. Therefore, the condition of any Christian worship is a proclamation of the Gospel which points back to the covenant relationship that is based upon the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and established with the sinful members of the people of God in their Baptism. Such proclamation cleanses the sinful people of God from all its sins and puts it into that new situation in which all members may present their bodies as a living, holy sacrifice, the situation, namely, of sinners whose sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ's perfect sacrifice. The people of God must hear this proclamation of the Gospel as coming from God Himself, as His personal Word of judgment and forgiveness. It must also believe that Word in order to be able to present its poor sacrifice of love to God. That means, then, that the people of God, when it has listened to the proclamation of the Gospel, knows no other possibility of offering God a sacrifice than that of recognizing its own sins and asking the High Priest, Jesus Christ, to cover its sin-stained words and actions with His perfect righteousness and to present these words and actions to the heavenly Father as the gifts of His love. Or, to put it in other words: We can become a royal priesthood of believers bringing spiritual sacrifices to God only by sharing in Christ's sacrifice. Only as members of His body may we bring the sacrifice of praise and love to God. If the Gospel is not proclaimed and received in faith, our whole worship is changed into idolatry, because we may then presume that we

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ourselves have the right to appear before God with our gifts instead of placing ourselves behind our High Priest, trusting solely in His righteousness and love while constantly despairing of our own. That is the reason that the proclamation of the Gospel is an essential part of any Christian liturgy.

In the Mass the fruits of Christ's perfect sacrifice are also distributed and received in faith in still another manner, namely, in the administration of the Holy Communion. As we said, in the proclamation of the Gospel the historical uniqueness and the universal validity of the sacrifice of Christ is proclaimed. In the administration of the Holy Communion the universal validity of the historically unique sacrifice is confirmed by the personal communication of its fruit to every single member of the people of God. They are thereby joined with the Head and High Priest and with each other in perfect unity.

The second way of distributing the fruits of Christ's perfect sacrifice is of the greatest importance for the understanding of the proclamation of the Gospel. Indeed, this proclamation loses its liturgical significance if it is separated from the administration of the Holy Communion. Personally, I feel convinced that the frequent deterioration of the sermon into a sort of interesting lecture has something to do with a liturgical abuse common in Protestantism, namely, the separation of the preaching of the Gospel from the administration of the Holy Communion in the main service. What is the importance of administering the Holy Communion in the closest possible connection with the preaching of the Gospel and vice versa? May I put it this way: Only when the preaching of the Gospel is followed by the administration of the Holy Communion, is it clearly manifested that the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in history is not simply an important fact of the past, the moral and religious evaluation of which is left to us, but rather that this sacrifice is God's ultimate dealing with His people and is valid for all places and for all ages. This has not been proclaimed at all when the commandment to partake of the fruit of His sacrifice by receiving His body and blood under bread and wine is more or less openly neglected. We do not regard ourselves as members of that people to whom the Gospel is proclaimed as God's personal Word of judgment and forgiveness if we do not personally receive the gifts of the perfect sacrifice of Christ where they are offered unto us according to the institution and commandment of Christ. Or, to put it a little differently: We do not acknowledge the covenant relationship with God into which we are taken in our Baptism if we do not respond personally to the Gospel message by receiving the gifts of Christ's sacrifice at His Table. Without Baptism as its foundation and Holy Communion as its consequence, our faith in the preached Gospel lacks its distinctively personal qualification.

It is therefore quite easy to understand why the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Holy Communion in their unity is the essence of the liturgy of the church in the Mass insofar as the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ is its center. (The preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Holy Communion is the saving presence of Christ's unique and perfect sacrifice in His people through all generations.)

From this center, too, we must see and interpret the responsive action of the people receiving in faith the Word or the Gospel and the gifts of the sacrament. We can use a Pauline word to describe this responsive action in its totality. The word is "confession." "The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is, the Word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt

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confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” (Rom. 10:8–10)

The point St. Paul makes here is that there is no saving faith in the Gospel which does not manifest itself in a responsive word personally acknowledging the truth of the Gospel. The Greek word for confession is *homologia*, which, when translated literally, means: to say the same word which has been said before. So the confession of the people of God says the same thing that God has said to it in the proclamation of the Gospel. However, it says it in another form, namely, that of prayer, witness, and thanksgiving. In prayer the people of God extends its empty hands to receive what God has promised in His Gospel. In the witnessing word of the confession of sins and the confession of faith the people of God assumes that relation to God which He has assigned to it in Baptism, namely, the place of justified sinners. In the word of thanksgiving, finally, the people of God delivers all that it has and all that it is to God in reply to His forgiveness and renewal in the Holy Communion. Thus prayer is the living expression of hope, witness the expression of faith, and thanksgiving the living expression of the love. All of these God creates in His people through the proclamation of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. All of the elements of the Christian liturgy express the proclamation of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments in the name of the Triune God and express, in the name of the people of God, its responsive confession in the prayer of hope, the witness of faith, and the thanksgiving of love.

This is the structure of the liturgy of the church, and it is theological through and through. It is a clear and unambiguous expression of the truth of the divine revelation. It is “*theologia*,” a word speaking the truth about God in human, understandable terms, a reasonable service, *latreia logike*. In the theology of the liturgy any genuine theology of the school, the seminary, or the university must be rooted. Academic theology is not a different theology from the theology of the liturgy. They are substantially the same. Academic theology, however, is a reflective unfolding of the content of the theology of the liturgy apart from the worship of the church, whereas the theology of the liturgy is the unreflected, living manifestation in the worship of the church of that truth analyzed by academic theology. The theology of the liturgy and academic theology are substantially one because both feed upon the same source; the revelation of God historically recorded in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and actually addressed to the people of God in the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. Now let us turn to theology in the narrower sense of “doctrine of the church.” We already anticipated this subject in the last sentences of our treatment of the structure of the liturgy, where we compared what I called the theology of the liturgy with academic theology. Academic theology was defined as the reflective unfolding of the content of the theology of the liturgy. We will now consider this statement more closely. Let us begin from the other end, however, considering academic theology as it is practiced today. It consists of three main branches which cannot be reduced to one, for each of them represents a specific approach to the common subject matter of theology. We speak of exegetical, doctrinal, and philosophical or apologetic theology.

In exegetical theology we approach the revelation of God through a historical consideration of its reality by studying the Biblical records of this revelation, using historical methods. We

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thereby treat the Biblical writings as the sources of the historical content of God's revelatory act in history. It is extremely important for *all* theological work that the historical approach be strictly preserved in exegetical study. Whenever this approach is neglected for the sake of allegorical interpretation, the understanding of God's revelation as an act of God in human history is obscured. Luther, in attacking the allegorical exegesis of the Alexandrine fathers and their successors in the Medieval Church, fought for the recognition of the historical reality of God's revelation. By adopting modern critical methods, exegetical study has been able to strengthen this emphasis still more. For this reason the fundamentalists' attempt to discard the critical methods cannot be right; and for this reason, too, the modern attempts to reintroduce allegorical methods must be rejected in the exegetical work of the church. Exegetical theology has to remain historical. Its representatives must recognize, however, that exegetical theology is not the only possible or necessary theological approach. If exegetical study is made absolute in this manner, as sometimes happens, the result is an unbiblical Biblicism which does not realize that the responsibility of authentic thinking and acting put upon us by the Biblical message itself cannot be replaced by even the most correct historical presentation of Biblical ideas.

In doctrinal or systematic theology we approach the revelation of God by means of dogmatic or ethical reflections upon its reality, i.e., reflections upon the permanent truth and validity of the Biblical message in its relation to the situation of the people of God in both its present-day worship and its daily life in the world. "Dogmatics" comes from the word *dogma*, which may be taken to mean the formulated truth of the theology of the liturgy of which I spoke in the first part of this paper. "Ethics" comes from the word *ethos*, which means a specific way of life. Theological ethics then, signifies a reflection upon that specific way of life implied in the Biblical message when it is applied to the situation of today's man in his own world.

Systematic theology, too, represents an independent approach to the common subject matter of theology. It cannot be replaced by either exegetical theology, of which we have already spoken, or philosophical theology, of which we will soon hear. It is distinguished from all kinds of philosophical theology by being bound to the Biblical Scriptures. On the other hand, its lack of a historical approach distinguishes it from exegetical study. Systematic theology continually raises the question of the actual truth of the Biblical message, relating it in terms of present-day life to the people of God in its worship and in its life in the world. It must transcend the limits of purely historical research set for exegetical study. Nevertheless, it is important to remind the representatives of systematic theology that their work does not represent the only possible or necessary approach to theology. Systematic theologians often tend to regard their field as the "real" or "proper" theology. That is wrong. Systematic theology must learn from exegetical theology unceasingly. It has to examine the truth of the *Biblical* message, not something else, and it has to relate the genuine Biblical message, not some modern transformation of it, to the situation of the people of God today. Systematic theology, therefore, is dependent upon the work of exegetical theology. It cannot do this work itself. There is much systematic theology which has become more or less imbued with all kinds of human ideas alien to the Biblical message as a result of this lack of contact with the living exegetical study.

In philosophical theology we approach the revelation of God from a reflection upon the questions and needs of man to which this revelation brings the answer. Its relation to the Holy Scriptures is different from that of exegetical or systematic theology. They have their foundation in the Scriptures. Of course, philosophical theology, insofar as it is theology, has some relation to

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the Biblical writings. It is continually concerned with the answer given to man's needs and questions in the revelation of God recorded in Scripture. It does not, however, reflect upon the answer as such but rather upon the question to which the answer is a reply. Therefore, its methods are neither historical nor systematic but rational. It reflects upon the ultimate questions of man in their relation to divine revelation by means of man's own self-understanding.

There has been a great neglect of and contempt for philosophical theology in recent years, probably as the result of a necessary and healthy reaction against the overestimation of it in liberal circles. However, philosophical theology is indispensable. The claim of Biblical religion to be the ultimate truth answering every human need is not taken seriously if the task of philosophical theology is neglected. When this task is thus neglected, Christianity is too easily transformed into one religion among others instead of being understood not only as religious truth but also as the truth of all human life, indeed, of the whole universe. It is necessary to remind also the representatives of philosophical theology that, although indispensable, their approach is not the only possible or necessary one. Philosophical theology cannot be appointed the supreme theological science directing and controlling the other theological disciplines, as has happened all too often, especially in the many schools of modern theology. The result is a modernism which obscures the truth of the divine revelation by fitting it into some incidental system of modern thought. The questions of man rationally analyzed by philosophical theology should be seen in the light of divine revelation, not divine revelation in the light of man's questions.

I have said nothing about church history, because I do not think it represents an independent theological approach like that of exegetical, systematic, or philosophical theology. Church history employs the same historical methods as exegetical study but applies them to different sources, namely, those coming from the life of the church after the New Testament epoch. It must therefore be considered an auxiliary theological discipline connecting exegetical and doctrinal theology but with no specific approach of its own.

If we try to look at these three main branches of academic theology in their relation to what we called the theology of the liturgy, we cannot avoid seeing that there is an analogy between the structure of the liturgy and the structure of academic theology.

Exegetical theology corresponds to the witness of the church in its confession of sin and faith. It unfolds the foundation of the faith of the people of God in the Gospel of the Scriptures. Therefore, its approach is historical.

Systematic theology corresponds to the thanksgiving of the church as its expression of love to the God of salvation and expounds the fullness of the gift of God to His people. Both dogma and ethos have a relation to *doxa*, or "glory," and to doxology, or "glorification of God's mercy." Dogma and ethos are the expressions of the love of the people of God to its Lord and Savior in worship and daily life respectively, that is, in the service of God and of neighbor. Therefore, systematic theology is *doxological*, not historical, in its approach. We might venture now to replace the formalistic word "systematic" with the significative word "doxological." By relating the message of the Bible to the present situation of the people of God in church and world, this

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theology unfolds the meaning of the sacrifice of thanksgiving and love through which the church in its service of God and neighbor in church and world responds to the saving gifts of God's love and mercy.

Finally, philosophical theology corresponds to the prayer of the people of God. Prayer is the cry of created and fallen man for the redemption offered him in the promise of the Gospel. Even the prayer in the name of Jesus is a *prayer*: for in Christ's own prayer He took upon Himself all the sins and all the needs of fallen man and made them His own petition to His heavenly Father. "Forgive us our trespasses . . . lead us not into temptation . . . deliver us from evil." Indeed, the great importance of the book of Psalms lies here. It not only contains hymns of praise and thanksgiving but also the many prayers and lamentations of men in distress and in desperate need of salvation, both temporal and eternal. Through prayer the questions and needs of man have found their place in the liturgy of the church as the necessary complement to the answer of God in the proclamation of the Gospel and in the administration of the sacraments. Prayer must be taken seriously as prayer, that is, as cry, as expression of fear, of guilt, of need, and of doubt. When prayer is thus understood, it is easy to see that philosophical theology cannot lose its meaning in a church that has not expelled genuine prayer as too uncertain, as too little religious, too little Christian, or as too much of a question and too little of an answer. Philosophical theology takes the question of man seriously, as question, and does so in a manner strangely analogous to prayer.

We do not wish to overstate the analogy between the structure of the liturgy and the structure of academic theology. On the contrary, we doubt that the various approaches in academic theology can simply be deduced from the various forms of the responsive confession of the church to the proclaimed Gospel and the given sacraments. Nevertheless, I do think that the analogy is significant and that it may, at least to a certain degree, throw light upon the profound meaning of that threefold approach in academic theology which cannot be reduced to one uniform approach.

Having seen this analogy, I think we can conclude our presentation of the subject "Liturgy and Theology" by saying once again that the liturgy is in its essence theological and the theology liturgical and by commenting upon this statement in the light of the analogy between the structure of worship and the structure of academic theology.

The liturgy of the church is theological. It speaks to God and man about God and man. Therefore, in both the narrower sense, comprehending only worship, and in the wider sense, comprehending also the whole life of the people of God in this world, the liturgical functions of the church continually need guidance. They need guidance from the light of the revelation of God as it shines not only through the words of Scripture and through the sacraments themselves but also through the words of Scripture and the sacraments as they are prismaticized in the threefold theological reflection upon them, that is, in exegetical, systematic, and philosophical theology. The liturgy must not be separated from the theology, for it then becomes superstitious and is made an end in itself instead of being the means of serving God and neighbor in all dimensions of life.

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The theology of the church is liturgical, a part of the liturgy in the wider sense. Theology has no purpose in itself. It serves God and neighbor. It is part of that sacrifice of our bodies to which we are called as the people of God. Just as our prayer, witness, and thanksgiving break down all barriers between church and world, that is, between the sacred and profane spheres of life, taking the whole of reality into the perfect sacrifice of Christ, so also theology—if it has any reality at all—is real only as service to God and to men. This means, then, that theology is real only insofar as it is liturgy, that is, a poor human work attempting to praise God for His mercy and endeavoring to help our neighbor in his need for clarity of thought and in his understanding of the Gospel. It is a poor human work which becomes significant only when it is taken up by Christ and united with His own perfect sacrifice. It is thus made righteous and holy and living by its relation to Him and not by the ability of the theologians.

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Martin Luther's Concept of Worship*

Vilmos Vajta

** This lecture, delivered at the Valparaiso University Church Music Seminar at Teaneck, N.J., in the fall of 1957, contains excerpts from the book by Dr. Vajta Dr. Martin Luther's Concept of Worship, published in 1958 by the United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia, Pa.—The Editor.*

Holy Scripture is the one and only foundation of Luther's theology of worship. This fact is vital. He countered the ingenious allegorical Mass expositions of the Middle Ages, not with any theological constructions of his own but with the witness of Scripture.

A Free Course for the Word

Luther's greatest concern in the reform of worship was the restoration of the Word to its rightful place. In his pamphlet of 1523 "On the Order of Public Worship" he calls the neglect of the Word the worst abuse of medieval worship.

And this is the sum of the matter. Let everything be done so that the Word may have free course instead of the prattling and rattling that has been the rule up to now. We can spare everything except the Word. Again we profit by nothing as much as by the Word. For the whole Scripture shows that the Word should have free course among Christians. And in Luke 10(:42), Christ Himself says: "One thing is needful," viz., that Mary sit at the feet of Christ and hear his Word daily. This is the best part to choose, which shall not be taken away forever. It is an eternal Word. Everything else must pass away, no matter how much care and trouble it may give to Martha. To this God help us. Amen.

What is implied in this demand? This is not the place for discussing Luther's theology of the Word in all its ramifications. But we must try to understand the role in worship of the Word of God and the meaning of the term "proclamation of the Word."

In *De servo arbitrio* (Of the Bondage of the Will) Luther had made the well-known distinction between the hidden and the revealed God (*Deus absconditus* and *Deus revelatus*). God in His majesty is hidden and inaccessible to man. We cannot find or see Him as He is. But He has been pleased to condescend and to take the form of the Word, born in Bethlehem and proclaimed in the world. As such He is *revelatus*, revealed to man. And as such we can know Him and have fellowship with Him.

This distinction throws light on the meaning of the Word in worship. The God whom we preach and worship is not the hidden one but He who revealed Himself in His Word. To hear and believe the Word is therefore worship at its truest and best.

At times Luther stresses the distinction between God in Himself and in His Word. Since the incarnation the Word belongs on the side of created things. God will allow no other access to Himself except through the incarnate Word Jesus Christ. It is in Christ that He wants to be found. And the words "Hear ye Him" (Matt. 17:5) indicate the one and only approach to God. But this distinction between God and His Word implies no separation. The Word is God, not only the eternal, uncreated, pre-existing Word (John 1:1), but also the incarnate, created, and revealed

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Word. In all its earthly lowliness the Word brings God to man. In this sense Luther's entire theology is a theology of the Word.

All this goes to show that Luther's concern was with the Word as a means of revelation. He refused to speculate on the Eternal Word. To him the Word and its proclamation were the weapons by which God subdues His enemies and frees mankind from bondage. This cosmic warfare began with the incarnation. And it continues after Christ's death and resurrection in spite of the victory which He obtained. The Word written and preached is the sword with which He pursues His struggle up to the Last Day.

Aside from this war the Word cannot be understood. Always it lays its hearer under obligation, addresses him, arrests him, condemns, and comforts him. But it escapes the one who would try to listen in cool detachment. We cannot hear the message from the safe distance of a point outside of its perimeter. It speaks to us of our own existence, our own battle with sin and death. If we try to remain neutral, we have already deserted to the enemy.

Luther's demand that the Word should have free course implies the wish that the warfare of Christ through the Word would dominate and mold the church service. His views about Christ's rule through the Word are deeply relevant for his concept of worship. We must therefore examine several aspects of the work which Christ performs through the preaching of the Word.

The Word and the Works of God

The Word reveals the works of God, past, present, and future. It is not a philosophy but a message, not a flight into the realm of fancy but a witness to the works which God does for us men and in this our world. Without the Word the works would remain meaningless. The great facts of our salvation are more than historical events. They escape objective observation; for they lay a personal claim on every man. This claim comes through the Word. The Word transforms the "then" into a "now." It renders the past relevant to the present. It makes Christ the contemporary of every generation.

Of course, both creation and redemption are complete and finished acts of God. God has left nothing undone in His dealings with mankind. But the Holy Ghost must make the works of God available for the benefit of men. He bridges the chasm between the past works of God and men living today; for men cannot appropriate the works of God by their own reason and strength. It is just here where the Mass theology of the Roman Church and the spiritualism of the enthusiasts failed. Both would replace the function of the Holy Ghost by the works of man—the Roman Church by the sacrifice of the Mass, and the enthusiasts by the "inner light." But their attempts are futile and unnecessary. God himself imparts the benefits of His redemptive work through the Holy Spirit. Our present age—no less than past or future is part of redemptive history.

This explains why Luther stressed the proclamation of Christ's birth, death, and resurrection more than these historical events as such. The Word alone conveys the truth that all the works of God are done for our benefit. Not Christ needed to be saved, but we. Our adoption by God, our dying to sin, our righteousness are included in His birth, death, and resurrection.

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By this Luther did not mean to deny the historical validity of Christ's life and death. They are the beginning of a chain reaction which includes God's works among His people today. They are the warranty for the benefits which we now receive.

Occasionally Luther distinguished between *factum* and *usus facti* (the fact and the use of the fact), *meritum* and *distributio meriti* (the merit and the use of the merit). The work of Christ (*factum* and *meritum*) and the work of the Holy Spirit through the Word (*usus*) must not be considered separately. Luther included the church (the Word, the use, the distribution) in the historical work of Christ.

With this perspective he resolved the dilemma of the so-called objective and subjective theories of redemption. The objective view tends to isolate Christ's work of redemption from those for whom He died and rose. The subjective view considers His work an event of the past and stresses the personal psychological appropriation of it. But Luther saw past and present merely as different phases of redemptive history. Now is the era of the Holy Spirit, who through the Word brings Christ to all the nations. Thus *usus facti* (the use of the work) is nothing but God's continued work in its application to mankind, and the sermon nothing less than redemptive history comprehended in the Word.

This unity of work and Word rests on the dual nature of Christ. Christ was true man, born of the Virgin. He bore the curse of the Law and the guilt of mankind. But He suffered and died vicariously; for He was without sin. His cross concerned therefore not Him but those whose sins He bore. Not in Himself was He a "sinner" but only in His solidarity with sinful mankind. As such He suffered the wrath of God. But because He was both God and man in one person, the battle became a mighty struggle in His own person. This struggle was fought, not for His sake, nor as a contest between God and the devil, but on behalf of man to be freed from the devil's dominion. Thus the opposition between the curse (wrath) of God and His eternal blessing (love) is not a conflict between different attributes of God but one on the level of man's concrete existence. For in Christ God deals with mankind. And the victory is based on the fact that Christ is not only man but God at the same time. This victory, however, was attained, not for His benefit but for ours. For it is the very nature of God to give Himself for others. And so mankind shares vicariously in the triumph of Christ over sin, death, and the devil.

The "for us" character of Christ's redemptive work implies the message of the Word. For the message is the reference-to-us, the validity-for-us of the divine work. To preach is more than to report and comment on certain events of the past. It is to make Christ our contemporary so that His death and resurrection become our own and that the redemption which He wrought becomes our righteousness. Indeed, one cannot accurately describe the work of Christ without reference to the people for whom He died and rose again. Christ's work of redemption does not cancel the two-fold aspect of God's dealings with mankind. He continues to deal with us in love or in wrath. For Christ's work does not imply the resolution of a conflict between differing attributes of God, as though God's love had overcome His wrath, else the Word of reconciliation would simply mean the victory of God's love. But the Word of redemption is much more than a process in the mind of God. It is an act of God. God acted when He reconciled the world in Jesus Christ. Christ has vicariously borne the sins of all mankind and suffered for their sake the wrath of God. By striking Him God's wrath struck all mankind. And so the Word of Jesus' death is a

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Word of condemnation (Law). The voice of condemnation is the Law that forces all men into the fellowship of the death of Christ. Christ's continued work of redemption makes us die with Him; for we stand condemned by the fact of His death for our sins. But he who submits to the verdict of the Law submits to the wrath of God, as did Christ. He belongs to the Crucified and therefore to the Risen One too. In the midst of death he receives life. To raise us with Christ is the proper work of God, or—as it were—the proper Word of God, viz., the Gospel.

Thus the Law and the Gospel remain the twofold message of the Christian pulpit. So far from being principles of human conduct, they are the dealings of God in Christ. They cannot be divorced either from the historical events of the past or from the situation of the present-day listener. The wrath of God and His love, the Law and the Gospel, cannot be described objectively (*per se*) but only as the expression of actual fellowship with God.

Thus the proclamation of Christ's work is in itself an integral part of His work. The Word explains the work. And the work bears no fruit without the Word. The devil is unabashed by Christ's death and resurrection as mere facts of the past. He is quite content to have people accept these events as part of ancient history. What he opposes is the preaching of the Word which would apply them to men in their need. By my own reason and strength I can indeed learn and accept the story of Christ. But I cannot see the hand of God in it until the Word reveals it to me and kindles my faith. As long as it remains "the sweet story of old" it is the teaching of men (or rather of the devil). It must become my own story in order to be truly Word of God. But the conflict between the teaching of men and the Word of God is only one aspect of the struggle between Christ and the devil and will continue to the Last Day

Scripture as Proclaimed Word

In the conflict between the Word of God and the teaching of men, Holy Scripture plays a decisive part. Luther found the Word of God in the Bible. Biblical lessons were to replace the "un-Christian fables and lies" which had usurped their place in the church. But he demanded more than lessons from the Bible. To him "using Scripture" was not tantamount to "reading Scripture." But it implied the preaching of the Word by which the redemptive facts of the Bible could be applied to the congregation.

For it is possible to misinterpret Scripture. The divine nature of the Word is as hidden in the Bible as it was in the manger of Bethlehem or on the cross of Calvary. Faith is needed to find the Word of God in the Bible.

As the unbelieving Jews refused to acknowledge the Sonship of Jesus, so modern unbelief fails to find the Word of God in the Bible. This is the work of the devil. Men read their own preconceived ideas into the Bible and draw from it heresies instead of the truth. Man has an inner resistance which must be broken by Christ. The correct understanding of Scripture is a gift of the Lord, and it comes to men, not through an inner light but through serious study of the text. The Bible has to be interpreted—not because it wanted clarity—but because of the lack of perceptiveness on the part of men. So far from understanding spiritual matters, they don't even master the linguistic problems. Scripture does not yield its meaning without meditation. And meditation implies a careful study of the text. It requires not only contemplation but careful philological research. Bible study is an intensely personal and practical matter. For it aims at

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blocking the “static” of man’s own misconceptions so that the voice of God in the Bible may come through and be heard.

Thus the difficulty in interpreting the Bible has nothing to do with an alleged discrepancy between its content and its form. The interpreter has no call to separate the chaff from the wheat or to search for so-called “deeper truths” behind the plain “external” Word of Scripture. For the problem of interpretation is not a problem of the book but one of the interpreter. If the message of the Bible concerned any less than his total existence, there would be no problem of exegesis. This serves to explain why Luther would cling to certain words of Scripture and reject any evasion of the plain sense of the words. The latter was to him the only effective bar against misinterpretation.

The text as such was not problematical to him. He asked, not: What is in the Bible? but: What does this mean to me? For the same reason he insisted that the oral proclamation or preaching is the proper form of the Word. Originally the Gospel was not a book but a sermon, and the church not a *Federhaus* (quill house) but a *Mundhaus* (mouth house). The crystallization of the Gospel in a book was prompted by the rise of heresies and therefore indirectly by the power of sin. But Christ never wrote anything, and His apostles were not scribes but messengers. So today the Bible must be preached if the Gospel is to assume its proper form and fulfill its proper task. The pulpit stands between the lectern and the pew. It applies the Bible truths of old to the congregation of today. It is in the sermon that the letter which kills becomes the spirit which gives life. Thus Scripture and sermon stand in the same relation as the work and the Word of God. And as the Word does not impair the validity of the works of God, so the sermon does not impinge on the importance of the Bible. After all, the Bible itself witnesses to the importance of the oral Gospel in the early church. The sermon does not supersede Scripture but “uses” it. Here is the main emphasis in Luther’s concept of Scripture. He is interested in the message of the Bible, not in theories about its origin or form. He sees in the Bible not a document the validity of which needed to be examined or proved but a message concerning man and his existence. The former question may get passing notice. But in comparison with the latter it is trivial and inconsequential.

The Pulpit as the Battlefield of Christ

Rarely did Luther preach without a text. And even his textless sermons are—in a wider sense—expositions of Scripture. Ordinarily he expounded a definite lesson or part of it—on Sundays and feast days the lesson for the day, on weekdays successive chapters of a given book of Scripture. Nor did he try to extract a theme from his text. His one and only subject is Christ, and all his sermons are variations on this great theme; for to him the sermon was Christ’s continued “Advent,” His coming to every generation of men, the means by which He establishes fellowship with His own. One could also say that righteousness is the continual subject of Luther’s preaching, viz., the righteousness which Christ obtained and which He offers to men through the preaching of the Word. Every sermon should vindicate the justification of faith against the justification by works.

It was this Christocentric emphasis that Luther missed in the Roman Church. The Christ of the Roman pulpit was not the Christ of the Gospel but a stern judge of men’s works or else an example to be imitated. He inspired fear rather than comfort.

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Luther saw the difference between the sort of proclamation that he wanted and the preaching of the pseudo church as a conflict of legalistic and evangelical preaching. The preachers of the pope's church had failed to present Christ as a gift to men. They had turned the Gospel into Law, or—and that amounts to the same—they had confused the two.

This was the reason for Luther to begin his collection of sermons (*Kirchenpostille*) with a brief instruction on what one should seek and expect in the Gospels. In this introduction he explained the above-mentioned difference in regard to the Person and office of Christ. For, as a model to be imitated, Christ is no more than any other saint. He is not truly known until He is being accepted in faith as our Savior. Every sermon must present Him as God's Gift "for us."

In order to bring the true message of Christ, the preacher must therefore be able properly to distinguish the Gospel and the Law. For redemptive history can be seen either under the aspect of the Law or from the vantage point of the Gospel. The former view falsifies the message of Scripture. Christ becomes a lawgiver. Grace becomes a virtue by which man is supposed to recommend himself to God. Christ's sufferings and death become an example to be followed by the faithful. But such imitation of the dying and rising Christ is a purely human endeavor. And it amounts to a complete perversion of the Biblical way of salvation. Christ's death and suffering were seen as example to be followed. Conformity with the dying and rising of Christ was made a task to be accomplished by men.

The evangelical understanding of Scripture leads to a totally different approach. Christ's death and resurrection should be represented, not as a pattern to be imitated but as a present reality proclaimed and offered in the Word. Both God's wrath over sin (the punishment) and His life-giving love preclude human works; for they are the marks of God's dealing in Christ with men. Through the Word of the Law and of the Gospel we are drawn into the redemptive work of Christ.

Thus the evangelical aspect does not impair the twofold nature of the Word (Law and Gospel, death and resurrection). But it speaks of the Law (death) as fulfilled and overcome by Christ. The proper understanding of this distinction between the Law and the Gospel is the foremost task of the preacher. The legalistic pulpit confuses the two, the evangelical pulpit keeps them "undivided" and "unconfused." Luther's own sermons illustrate this distinction. Their scope is always the work of Christ. This is the central message which he found in every text. On the other hand he felt free to criticize certain books or selections of the Bible from his central position. He would question the apostolic origin of St. James' Epistle because it fails to witness to the resurrection of Christ. From the same viewpoint he evaluated other books of the Bible. He deplored the one-sided emphasis in the Epistle Lessons of the church year. It offered so many paraenetic sections in preference to those which teach the righteousness of faith. However, he made no changes but preached on the prescribed lessons, yet with a clear evangelical emphasis.

The Place of the Sermon in Worship

When Luther demanded the proclamation of the Word, he thought of two forms of worship, the office (Canonical Hours) and the Mass. With the Reformation the horary services became daily offices, while the Mass became the order of worship for Sundays and holy days. Luther insisted on the sermon in both forms. Even in the canonical services he was not content with the mere

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reading of the Word without an exposition. Actually this was not a matter of principle with him but resulted from the abuses which he sought to correct, viz., firstly, the fact that legends of the saints enjoyed equal rank with the Bible in the calendar of pericopes, and secondly, that even the reading of Scripture had become a work of merit. Long chapters were faithfully read from the lectern; but without aid from the pulpit, people failed to find the Word in the words. He therefore combined reading and preaching, even as St. Paul had placed the interpretation beside the speaking in tongues.

As for the Mass, preaching was no innovation. It had been quite common during the Middle Ages. And yet the sermon gained new stature through the Reformation. Before, it was optional. It wanted an organic relation to the Mass. The best that could be said of medieval preaching is that it sought to direct the people to the benefits of the Mass by expounding the Law. But it remained for Luther to recover the early Christian co-ordination of sermon and sacrament. Luther proceeded from the Words of Institution. Says he: When the Lord instituted the Mass, He said "This do in remembrance of Me," as though He meant to say, "As oft as you do this sacrament you shall preach of Me."

The difference between Luther and the Middle Ages lies in the exegesis of 1 Cor. 11:26. The medieval "remembrance" consisted in a dramatical representation of the Passion of Christ. But to Luther the sermon was the remembrance, and he would quote Luke 22:19, Ps. 102:21, and Ps. 111:4 f. in support of his exegesis. This concept of remembrance is found already in his first commentary of the Psalter. Here he quotes 1 Cor. 11:26 as a proof for the connection of the Gospel (in this connection probably a Lesson in the Mass) and the sacraments. In later years it was the understanding which he took for granted.

Luther identified the remembrance and the sermon because he understood the remembrance as a part of God's redemptive work rather than as a work of man. Compare his exposition of Ps. 111:5: "He will ever be mindful of His covenant":

Furthermore, in the sacrament we keep the remembrance of His covenant according to Christ's institution. For it is not our own institution or work but His. He performs it through us and in us; for He is speaking not of the inward remembering in the heart but of the outward, public, and oral remembering to which Christ referred when He says: This do in remembrance of me—which is done through the sermon and the Word of God.

This exegesis leads logically on to the next verse: "He hath showed His people the power of His works" (Ps. 111:6) for it connects the elements of proclamation and of remembrance. This concept of remembrance differs markedly also from that of the enthusiasts. The latter understood remembrance as an inner effort on the part of man, an ascent of the individual soul to God. Luther called it a remembrance *im Winkel* (in one's own private corner); for here the individual was expected to secure his own tryst with God, apart from the congregation, while Luther considered it a public act of God by which the work of Christ continued to be proclaimed and to invite praise and thanksgiving on the part of men.

The bond between sermon and sacrament was further strengthened by Luther's definition of the sermon as an exposition of the Mass. He implied no explanation of the liturgy as had been

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customary during the Middle Ages but the evangelical scope of the sermon. To him the “Mass” was the New Testament as instituted by Christ. Here he found the message of Christ’s redemptive work on our behalf, the Word of the cross, in short, the whole Gospel in a nutshell. To find and expound this theme in every text was the principal task of the preacher, and any sermon which presented the alternative of the Gospel versus the Law, of the righteousness of faith versus the righteousness of works, of Christ versus the devil, was a proper exposition of the Mass.

The Presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper

The presence-in-worship of Christ is—as shown above—a presence in the Word. The Word is that of oral preaching; for though present everywhere, Christ is comprehended and found in His Word.

The Word is the essence of His presence; for through the Word proclaimed all the works of God are being revealed. And through the Word Christ comprehends Himself in the sacraments. He is here, according to His promises “Lo, I am with you always” (Matt. 28:20) and “Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them” (Matt. 18:20). Wherever the members of His body meet in prayer and worship, He is there.

Since Christ’s presence-in-the-Word is the place of His presence-for-us, worship may be defined as His presence-in-Word-and-Sacrament within the communion of saints. His presence is related to His people and cannot be divorced from them. It cannot be considered “by itself” (*per se*). The Word and the Sacraments are for the benefit of men—not in the sense that they concerned mankind by virtue of their objective value but only in the sense that as realities they bear a personal reference.

It was in connection with the controversies on the Lord’s Supper that the problem of the presence of Christ presented itself to Luther. As we review his arguments in these controversies, we hope to further clarify the mode and meaning of the presence of Christ.

In the Lord’s Supper Christ is present “under the bread and wine.” This phrase circumscribes the “real presence.” Earthly means become the vehicles by which the body and blood are being distributed in all the earth. Here we note two marks characteristic of the presence of Christ: it is realized in the visible, earthly means of creation, and under these means God reveals Himself in a hidden manner. The physical nature of these vehicles of Christ’s presence is an offense to sinful man. He is prone to misunderstand the revelation of God as though it could be mastered and comprehended. But it is only open to humble faith; for the presence of Christ is hid. The Word alone does reveal it. And this Word must be received in faith. Thus the visible, earthly means are closely bound to the Word (as an interpretation of the sacrament) and to faith. Christ’s presence is a presence-for-our-faith. God deals with us through earthly means to which he adds His Word. It is faith alone which combines the two and enables the Word of promise to make the earthly gifts a blessing for man.

By accepting the Word the believer so understands the sign as God has given it, viz., as a salutary gift (Gospel) under earthly forms. Faith waits for the Holy Spirit, who—though not

depending on outward means—is granted through them *ubi et quando visum est Deo* (when and where it pleased God).

The real presence was also taught by the representatives of scholasticism, and Luther freely acknowledged the zeal of his opponents at this point. But he rejected their attempt to explain the real presence by the doctrine of transubstantiation. In this doctrine he detected the influence of philosophy. Scholasticism had introduced the substance concept of Aristotle in order to explain the real presence. From these premises they had concluded that the sacrament contains the substance of the body of Christ. The substance of the bread had been changed, or rather made to disappear, so that of the elements the accidents alone were left.

Luther rejected this doctrine, not as too irrational but as too rational. Reason is bound to misinterpret the real presence. A deeper understanding of Christology made transubstantiation pointless to Luther. For in Christ he found both human and divine nature to be present without change and without mixture. Human nature therefore needs no transubstantiation for the divine to dwell in it. Faith can see both natures in one. Reason alone remains baffled. But in matters of revelation it has no voice. The real presence does not depend on transubstantiation. Natural bread and wine are the vehicles of the presence of Christ. This conviction of Luther was also strengthened by his understanding of the First Article (*Schoepfungsglaube*). In dealing with man, God uses His own creation. The argument that created things ought to give room to Christ is an insult to the good gifts of God; for sin is not in the created things themselves but in their abuse by sinful man.

Christ's omnipresence, a direct expression of Luther's faith in the Creator, is the crowning argument against transubstantiation. Christ is in the elements long before they are placed on the altar. The eyes of sinful man cannot see Him there. But faith accepts the Word which reveals His presence for the forgiveness of sins.

By the teaching of transubstantiation Christ had been localized in the host. "The church" could dispose of His presence. The substance of the bread disappeared through consecration, and under its accidents the substance of Christ's body could be seen. The invisible had been made visible, the spiritual material, the earthly divine. At the altar the priest held Christ in his own hand. No longer could Christ dispose of His own presence. No more did the Word determine the meaning of the Supper. The church had replaced Christ as a mediator between God and man. Christ had become a tool to use and control. Redemption lay not with Him but with the church that had Him in her hand and could reconcile God by the sacrifice of the Mass. The real presence had become a sort of Law, a human way to God, and was no longer part of the Gospel through which God Omnipresent and Omnipotent reveals Himself.

Few changes were needed in order to turn Luther's arguments against the scholastics also against the enthusiasts. For they, too, allowed philosophical concepts to color their thinking. Their objection to the real presence rested on a substantial interpretation of the latter. They, too, sought to localize Christ, not indeed in the elements but in a spatial heaven. Nor could they see the relation between the earthly elements and Christ glorified. In spite of their rejection of transubstantiation they used the same categories as the scholastics. Again it was their concept of creation—or rather the lack of it—which prevented them from accepting the presence of

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Christ in the elements. Theirs was a deistic notion of a god throned in lonely majesty and far removed from his creation. This unbiblical idea of God perverted their Christology. To Luther the real presence was a corollary of the incarnation. The latter was the real offense, and His presence-in-worship no more than a consequence and extension of the revelation of God Omnipresent. But the deism of the enthusiasts allowed no other presence of Christ than the mental process of remembering Him. They thought of a psychological effort by which the devout would transfer their thoughts and feelings to the cross of Calvary, there to receive the forgiveness of their sins.

Luther contrariwise places the “remembrance” in the Word which proclaims and offers the presence of Christ. In the Supper Christ Himself is present and coming to man. There is no need for the flight of religious fancy by which man would leap the alleged gap between earth and heaven. The “remembrance” of the enthusiasts was a form of speculation on the divine majesty, not a believing acceptance of the real presence. The same approach which had led the scholastics to the theory of transubstantiation prompted the enthusiasts to divorce the “sign” from the presence of Christ. In either case did the real presence depend on the work of man, here the manipulations of the priest, and there the contortions of a pious soul. Both ways made the sacrament a *Werkgeschaeft* (work business), rather than *Glaubensgeschaeft* (faith business).

The Consecration as the Pledge of the Presence of Christ Through the Word.

We must now turn to the liturgical moment in the service which is decisive for the real (bodily) presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper.

We said before that for Luther, God (and Christ) is always near because of His omnipresence. This fact is an expression of God’s omnipotent dominion over His creation. But Christ’s presence-for-us, i.e., the presence in which He wants to be sought and to be found, is a presence in the Word which connects the outward signs (*signa, res externae*) of creation with faith. What is needed is a revelation of the presence of God through the Holy Spirit. This takes place in the church service. Here the Word of God occupies a central position, also in connection with the distribution of the sacrament. For the presence of the body and blood of Christ is effected *ex virtute verbi*.

Luther understood the Words of Institution as the pledge (*Verheissung, Zusage*) by which Christ has promised to be present in His church whenever bread and wine are being administered in His name. The celebration of the Eucharist rests on our faith in these words; for it joins them to the elements through which Christ wants to be present for us. This is the liturgical act of consecration, the significance of which we must now define.

God acts in the sacrament. His Word, His institution and command, is the chief thing in the sacrament. Man’s activity has no place in the sacrament. What is being distributed is God’s gift for His people. There is no room for the underlying concept of the Roman consecration, viz., the *potestas sacrificandi* (power to sacrifice); for this concept assumed for the clergy a power superior to that of God. The teaching of transubstantiation was another expression of this arrogated power; for the clergy alone was deemed able to effect it.

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Luther based the real presence on the Word. It is the promise of Christ by which He offers His gifts under bread and wine; for the Word alone has the power of granting heavenly gifts in earthly forms. In this connection Luther referred to Augustine's "*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*" (When the Word accedes to the element, it becomes a sacrament). There can be no sacrament apart from the Word. Consecration is the liturgical act in which the omnipresent body and blood of Christ are being revealed and promised to man, as the Word accedes to the elements in accordance with Christ's institution and command, in order to be received by the church as God's gift for the remission of sins.

Through the Words of Institution God's creative words become effective. And with power divine the promise of the Upper Room effects Christ's presence for us; for the words "This is My body" are *Taetelworte* (action words) which create that of which they speak. Thus, to Luther, the consecration is nothing else but the promise of Christ's presence-for-us in the Word.

The gift of forgiveness promised in the Word is present right in the elements. This *est* (is) is basic to Luther's defense of the real presence, The union of earthly and heavenly things in the sacrament is a corollary of the union of divinity and humanity in the Person of Christ. The sacramental union reflects the personal union on the level of the church.

Luther was greatly concerned that the consecration should not be separated from the Communion. Christ effects His presence in order to be received. It is an insult to Him when men worship the host instead of eating it in faith. The Roman concept of consecration made Communion proper irrelevant. Nor did the enthusiasts consider eating and drinking essential for the real presence; for to them the presence had nothing to do with the elements. Luther was of a different mind. To him, eating and drinking were constitutive parts of the presence of Christ; for God gives His gifts to be received by men.

Luther's teaching should not be interpreted as though forgiveness was given alone by the Word, while the elements offered food for the body. Of course it is true that the Word imparts the forgiveness of sins. Christ is also present in the Word, though in a different, namely, bodily manner. Luther stressed this presence-in-the-Word in his controversies with the enthusiasts. He pointed out that even should it be granted that the elements are only "signs," yet it would not be necessary for the believer mentally to transport himself to the cross of Calvary; for Christ is present here and now in His Word. But in fact, the elements are more than "signs," more than food for the body. They are vehicles of the presence of Christ, the same presence which—in a different manner—comes through the Word. As a matter of fact, it is the Word which attests Christ's presence in the elements. And to divorce the presence from the elements would be contrary to Luther's whole intention.

As shown above, Luther based the sacramental union on the Words of Institution. These words, read in the service, reveal the presence of Christ, not by offering information on a purely intellectual level but by proclaiming the redemptive activity of Christ. It was as important for Luther to maintain (against Rome) that *natural* bread and wine are the vehicles of the real presence, as to stress (against the enthusiasts) that the elements are no longer "*mere bread and wine*" after the Words of Institution have been spoken over them. To be sure, they have not been changed "in substance." But they have been set apart from every other created thing.

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While all other things of this world serve our present life, the consecrated elements have been placed in the service of the new creation. They have become vehicles of the new creation, viz., of the body and blood of the crucified Savior. This function is unique. Other earthly gifts do not share it, not even bread and wine in ordinary use. It takes the promise of Christ and receptive faith. Without these—though present everywhere—He cannot be found.

This point again reflects the twofold manner of Christ's presence which we discussed earlier. The enthusiasts viewed the Supper as an ordinary meal, while Luther insisted on its uniqueness, with Christ at hand as both the Giver and the Gift; for if the Eucharist should be no more than any other supper, the Christian's every meal would become a sacrament. This is not so. Through the Word alone the Supper becomes a gift of salvation, and the food that is eaten, more than bread and wine.

That is not to say "mere bread and wine" had no relation to the Word. The latter points to Him who grants these gifts and to our duty to receive the same with thanks. But he who eats his daily bread with thanks does not thereby receive a sacrament. A table prayer—even though it should be pronounced by Christ Himself—does not make the bread and wine the Supper of the Lord. The gifts of the Redeemer call forth a different response on the part of the believer than those of the Creator. The latter require man to distinguish that which is made from Him who made it. But in the latter he must acknowledge the union of the two natures, human and divine.

The Office of the Ministry as Impartation of the Gift of God

Worship, as we have found, is that work of the gracious God by which He imparts to us the fruits of the redemption in Jesus Christ. The work is done through the Word and the sacraments. But we also found that the Word must be preached and the sacraments be administered. It is not enough for the Word to rest between the covers of the Bible, nor for the sacrament to be displayed in the tabernacle of the altar. The Word is a message. It must be heard. It needs messengers. The sacrament is a gift. It must be received.

The Ministry as a Service "for Others"

And so we must consider the office of the ministry. To Luther, worship and the ministry were intimately connected; for worship is nothing but the office through which Christ is present in and with His gifts of grace. This implies an important conclusion, viz.: The office receives its validity from the Word and the sacraments. It is a handmaid of the Word, *aministerium verbi divini* (a ministry, i.e., service of the Word of God).

This order cannot be reversed. The validity of the Word and of the sacraments needs no authorization on the part of the ecclesiastical office. With this assertion Luther stood against Rome. For in the Roman Church the handmaid had become the mistress, as the hierarchy presumed authority to decide what is the Word of God and claimed the power to effect transubstantiation and so to "make" the sacrament. So far from serving the work of Christ, the priesthood had arrogated to itself jurisdiction over the means of grace.

This development had brought one further consequence, The accent had moved from the office as an institute of God to the officiant as a person of authority. From a function, the ministry had become a rank. And the fiction of "apostolic succession" was needed in order to guarantee the

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legitimacy of the ministry and therewith indirectly of the means of grace. This fiction is incompatible with the Lutheran concept of the office. The Christian ministry receives its proper authorization, not from an ecclesiastical pedigree but from the Word and the sacraments. As a function the ministry can never be an end in itself. Its one and only purpose is to serve others. Luther's view of the ministry is inseparable from his concept of worship as *abeneficium*, a benefit granted to us by God.

As a matter of fact, the ministry is Christ's continued activity on earth. In the pulpit He speaks through the mouth of the preacher, at the font He Himself is the Baptist, at the altar He imparts the remission of sins through the hands of the minister. There is no delegation of authority here. But the minister is simply a tool, and his office a kind of stewardship. He has no authority over the Word and the sacraments apart from his call to administer them to the congregation. The same applies logically to the power of the Keys. It rests not with the pope but with Christ. We can do no more than declare the forgiveness which Christ obtained for us on the cross. Otherwise the ministry might become a sort of tyranny over the souls of men for whose benefit it has been instituted. For what the minister by virtue of his call receives from Christ, that he must pass on to his fellow men for their eternal salvation. In so doing he "co-operates" with God. That is not to say that he could add anything of his own, not even the external form. And yet his office is important; for Christ has chosen not to give the Word *senkrecht von oben* (straight down from above) but rather through the medium of human tongues and voices. Finally, this concept of co-operation implies the possibility of abuse. The minister of Christ may fail to fulfill his appointed task, or else he may usurp the grace which he was called to impart to others. Luther noted both forms of non-co-operation. An instance of the first was the Mass service of the Roman priests. It was no more than a caricature of the holy ministry; for the sacrifice which they presumed to bring was a fiction invented by the devil and not a function ordained of God. This office had nothing in common with the Christian ministry. The other perversion, against which Luther warned equally often, was the glorification of the ministry as a calling more divine than others. This abuse was not quite as serious as the first. It might corrupt the personal faith of the incumbent. But it did not necessarily affect the validity of the office which he rendered; for where the means of grace are being administered in accord with Christ's institution, there is a valid ministry, irrespective of the personal faith of the pastor. The wickedness of His servants cannot hinder God from imparting His grace to His children.

Geneva, Switzerland

The Character of Christian Worship

Martin J. Naumann

For years it has been a praiseworthy endeavor of Valparaiso University to sponsor Church Music Seminars under the leadership of Dr. Hoelty-Nickel. Under the general title “The Musical Heritage of the Church,” the specific topic “Church Music and Theology” has recently been under discussion.

It is well that our church musicians come to our theologians and that the theologians should go to the church musicians, to the gifted artists of the church. Both the Lutheran theologians and the church musicians must get together, for neither theology as a discipline alone nor church music as such can produce a proper Lutheran worship. We will seldom find enough musical experts who are at the same time professional theologians to give the church what it needs. Luther was (in spite of many things he seems to have said against ceremonies) the theologian who knew the place of music in worship. He was a theologian great enough to see where changes from the old rite were essential. One example only: He dared to move the words of consecration closer to the distribution by putting the Our Father before the Words of Institution. We must consider together the essence of worship and, in particular, the character of Lutheran worship. Let us ask our architects, our painters, our decorators to remember the Lutheran worship in the work they do. And let us above all together with our musicians find the proper form of worship. For whereas church buildings, church decorations, etc., may still be considered only a frame, music is much more! It is a gift and power so intimately joined to the proclamation of the Word that it must of necessity be sacred, be Lutheran. What this Lutheran music is in actual notes and measures, what the proper rhythm, the proper *melos*, the proper harmony for Lutheran worship, that is for the Lutheran Church’s musicians to say. And they will be able to tell us if they will forever remember it does not so much depend on the *cantus* but on the *res quae canitur* (that about which you sing).

Let us consider the question “What is the character of Lutheran worship?” keeping in mind the directives that are thereby given to the form and manner of our church services.

In Rom. 12:1 we have the word of our “reasonable sacrifices.” This reasonable offering, or service, or worship, is the logical result of the doxology in the verse immediately before, “for of Him and through Him and to Him are all things, to whom be glory forever. Amen.” And Paul continues: “I beseech you *therefore*, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service [or worship].”

The reasonable worship-service is not a cult, not a formal act of presenting something before God, but it is the whole man, the living person, giving himself an offering to God. This sacrifice is not limited to a place, a form, a time, but is a total sacrifice; it is as such a total service, a logical, reasonable way of life. It is as such something unreasonable to man with his darkened reason, which has taken the form and the place of worship to be a thing and not the thing in our life. That can be eating, drinking, marrying, etc. But when man thinks of worship, he thinks of cutting out of his time and life a section to be subjected to the radiation of what we call “going to church,” in the hope that this irradiated piece may do for a while to preserve us from total

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decay. That is not logical, is not good reason at all. Therefore it has been difficult for people, even theologians, to realize the essence of true worship.

There have been and still are two views of worship which on the face of things seem valid. The first is the view of public worship as an *educational* or edifying act. The other is to consider worship as a *demonstrative* act.

Luther himself spoke very strongly of the educative force of worship. But let us state, without going into detail, this emphasis in Luther was only an accentuation of worship according to the needs of his day. Luther's concept of worship was Biblical (Rom. 12:1). Again, we all know that edification, building up, is one of the effects of Lutheran worship, and in view of the ignorance of many who "go to church," an ignorance of things spiritual, we all will feel the need of education in our services. Yet, as in Luther's day, this cannot be the real essence of worship. Nor is the second concept mentioned correct. Since Schleiermacher and his subjective concept of faith, it has become customary in the Western hemisphere to think of worship as an act in which the congregation demonstrates its faith. This seems very much like saying: "The congregation confesses," but it is certainly not the same thing. According to Schleiermacher, faith is the subjective inner consciousness of the human heart, "the taste and feeling for the infinite," and in worship man demonstrates this.

We can see that both these concepts see in worship a means to an end. Both seem to lead to something. Worship is only an exercise leading to something beyond worship itself. This does not sound strange to many, because it is and has been the idea of "going to church." We go to church to do something or get something that will be useful to us on weekdays or on our deathbed or in judgment or in the battle against sin. This can be rightly understood, and this is the result of worship, but only if we know what happens "in church," in the service and worship of God.

It must be emphasized: Proper worship is not a means to an end. A worship is not to be considered educative or demonstrative, but it is an event, a happening: something happens by the act of God; worship is an act of salvation (*Heilsgeschehen*). We will be able to see this only if we dare to look at it from the point of view of God. For it is God's doing. God acts. God serves. What the act of God causes or creates in us is of secondary importance. The consequences are not the final aim and end of worship. It is important that a man of God live and act as a man of God, but of prime importance is God's act. He acts first and must act first. *And it is His act that defines and forms the essence of worship.* "It is God that justifieth." Justification gives us the theme and scheme of our worship. Of course, it must be remembered who is justified and who in consequence is sanctified.

The acting of God is of course not the repeated sacrifice of the Mass, as in the Roman Church. The Roman Church denies the *εφ'απαξ*, the once and for all time.

We confess according to Scripture that Christ's work of redemption was completed with the cry "It is finished." But in our worship the power and grace of the Christ who died and rose again is active. In Him we die and live again daily. This not only in me but in the whole Christian church on earth (Third Article). The doctrine of the church is the doctrine of the Second Article applied

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by God to all believers. The church, the communion of saints, is the living body of Christ. This is more than just a figure of speech. We are the mystic body of Christ, and the worship of the church is the *διαχονια της καταλλαγης*, the service of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:18). This is the message of the church. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. By this message the church lives and grows, and this living and growing goes on especially where the congregation is assembled for worship. And in all this we see God's power *active and acting*. Let us say: Worship is an event. So we see, for example: Preaching the Word is an event. (Dynamic of the Kerygma.) The sermon is not just an essay or paper on God or about God. But God *speaks*. And when God speaks, something happens—God's speaking is powerful. God's speaking is eventful in the extreme. A decision is made every time God speaks. One does not go home to decide! Whoever hears, decides, or rather, *God* forces the issue. That is why the pedagogical theory is not enough. In this pedagogical concept of worship there is an overemphasis on the intellect and the human decision.

God, however, does not educate us into being believers. He makes us believers by His Spirit and the means of grace, e.g., we are made disciples by Baptism. So we remember to respect Baptism as an event, an act, as something done by God for Christ's sake and through Christ's death and life for the one being baptized.

So we also have a divine act in the Lord's Supper. "This is My body, this is My blood," is the almighty word of God that cannot be gainsaid, just as little as God's word "Let there be light" could possibly be blocked, delayed, or annulled. There was light!

This acting of God happens in our midst and in our presence. *Hic et nunc!* Here and now! In our worship service, in our presence, God deals with sinful men. We see in Baptism how a man, a human being, is buried into the death of Christ and raised again to everlasting life. The real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is not just a demonstrative act. The words "for you" make it God's acting with me! *Pro me et in me!* It all is the event of worship. Our faith is God's work, and all of it so marvelous beyond human reason.

And now we who are His by His act of grace must see our coming together to worship Him also as an event of salvation. And you and I are to give to our worship our gifts, not indiscriminately but in faith and in keeping with what we know of this worship.

Musicians, organists, singers, preachers—all believers, all are to give to worship what is in keeping with the dignity, yes, divine majesty of God's service (*Gottesdienst*—divine service). There is a theology *of* music but not a theology *for* music; rather, there is a music for theology, for the glory of God. And what might that be? It must be the best, not the most popular, for as we all know, man in all his gifts only hesitatingly and unwillingly bows to law and order.

In the nineteenth century art was something to lift us out of the world to a higher reality (Platonic idealism). Our century has gone far to do the opposite; in the name of truth we dig down into the innermost secrets of man himself and find, as Paul said, "no good thing!" Let us just try to remember modern existentialist stories or pictures: ugly as sin, the garbage and the guts of rotten humanity. Some may say it develops into the question "Is final truth beautiful or ugly?" Yes and no. Ugly is the truth about man. Sin is ugly—so ugly that no devilish

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representation can really express it. But this truth is confessed in worship, not as an exhibition but as a confession, and the truth of God's grace and mercy is beautiful beyond compare. It is our obligation to exercise what we bring to God and His worship. Is it the artist who pictures himself? Or is the artist telling of God's beauty and grace? Is the music a rhythm that expresses emotions of man? Is church music a subjective statement of man or even of man's opinion of God? Or does it convey man's confession and God's forgiveness? Luther brought out the duplicity or paradox of our Christian existence. Man is at the same time *justus* and *peccator*. *Simul justus et peccator* we are who are Christ's by His grace. Many, many mysteries become clear to me when I realize the paradox existence I lead. Divine worship is God acting with a sinner making him a saint, always by His means of grace and Spirit. Is this the basis for our church music?

Let us try to think of our hymns in the light of such a concept of worship. We could also think of every other place or aspect of worship, even of such little things as what type of clothes the worshiper should wear. (Cf.: Kings and royalty demand a certain court demeanor and dress; the pope will give audience only to people properly dressed.) The church, the body of Christ, the bride of Christ, sings of Christ, of His work of salvation. The church in the spirit and life of Christ sings to Christ. Two demands are to be made of hymns: Hymns must be based on the revelation of God in Christ—the only source is Holy Scripture; and our hymns must be filled with the certainty of Christ's presence in the congregation—a living, active presence. There are some limitations to consider: hymns should not be improvised; text and melody must be given. This is the task of poets and musicians. The essential characteristics of good hymns are these:

Hymns must be a confession of faith (*justus et peccator*).

Hymns must be a prayer in Christ to God.

Hymns must be a meditation on the Christ of Scripture.

Music and theology are more closely related than is usually admitted. "Music has its meaning not in itself, but in God" (Dedo Mueller). True music can only be described or defined theologically. Such music does not only want to be heard, but music wants to be something through which we hear, that is, hear what is beyond music. Music wants to let us listen to things, thoughts, and matters which are not so well heard by the ear of man. Therefore, music has the faculty of being used to hallow God's name. Music can in its divine mystery express the inexpressible. If we use words or speak of the holiest and sublimest things, these words themselves tend to limit and devalue the subject. Dedo Mueller says, "Beyond all speaking of God there still is making music of God."

Luther practically made music a gospel in a form of nature. Luther says that *der Geistwunderbarliche und grosse Geheimnisse anzeigt in der Musika*. ("The Spirit indicates marvelous and great mysteries in music"). But music calls for something greater than man and his works. Music seems to call for divine themes, and we can say, properly, music needs the Gospel of Jesus Christ to fulfill its existence and office on earth. The natural place for music therefore is in worship. The place where music can serve best is in worship. The place where music can develop to greatest heights is in worship. But not to beautify, to decorate, to please

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man's vanities but as a partner to the sound of the voice of man. For God after all has commanded man to speak of Him and His mighty works. The *viva vox evangelii*, the living voice of the Word of God, needs all the gifts of God to man to sound forth His message of salvation. The holy writers call on music, psalter and harp, to sound forth, to praise God. (Ps. 150) Our Lutheran worship is *theological*. If it is not theological it isn't worship and, of course, isn't Lutheran. Theological doesn't mean "of a theologian." Theology is really properly defined: "Praise of God, 'speaking' of God." There is another "speaking" of God, which is blasphemy. All true speaking of God is theology. And all theology is Christology. We know no theology without Christ. Without Him there is no praise of God, only wailing and gnashing of teeth. Therefore all our worship must have the Christological dimension.

This worship service exists only since the day of Pentecost, at the end of the way that God had chosen in order to bestow the blessings of perfect salvation on mankind. Unless God had "spoken unto us at the end of these days" in the incarnation of his Son, there could be no church service. Christ had to suffer and die and rise again before the Spirit was poured out, and only then did the congregation of the last days assemble for the worship service. (Peter Brunner)

This dimension of worship service is that which draws the horizontal line from Pentecost to Judgment Day. When Christ died, an eon had passed, and a new one had begun. It is this turning point on which the service of worship also turns. For, as we said, God acts, and the sinner dies and lives again. This is the *occidendo vivificat*, killing He gives life. That is the miracle of the New Testament, that is the Christology of a living Christ, living after dying for man. In our worship Christ's work and Christ's presence are the life and meaning of everything. And this is all in view of the coming of Christ, and in this interim of completed redemption and waiting for complete deliverance we conduct our worship. It is always "He has come," the Word was made flesh, *incarnatus est*, and it is always also "He will come!" "Come, Lord Jesus."

This Christological and Christocentric aspect of all our worship should in and by itself make such an impression on worshipers that in a most natural and self-evident way all the idols of men are discarded. That means, all the musical vanities of man should be trodden underfoot as music unworthy, yes, even Satanic, that grows from below, from the depth of man and out of his lust and pride; this music has no place in this most important and momentous interim, especially when the Christians, the Christ-bought and Christlike, assemble to praise and worship God. Certainly even the best we have is only to be tolerated inasmuch as it is all we have, inasmuch as it, too, with body and soul, is justified and sanctified through the Spirit. Certainly, what we have is not good enough. Nevertheless it is a gift of the Creator and as such can serve the Creator.

It cannot be that we do not discriminate but depend on God's grace to make holy the unholy. The devil makes music and sets tunes. They are not so hard to recognize. (Some musical Kinsey should and could give us the lowdown, in a very pregnant sense of this expression, on modern popular music, its adulteration, etc.) But the devil also has some good tunes. Satan lays claim to all creatures: "This all will I give thee." Luther said, in explanation of why he took some popular tunes of his day for church hymns, he was not going to let the devil have these nice tunes. Someone rightly said that the old folk tunes were not *erfunden*, but *gefunden*—not invented but found or discovered in nature itself. We are not only referring to obscene songs and sensual

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music. We refer, too, to what man, as sinful man, considers beautiful. His emotions, his desires, his “confessions,” all unsanctified, may be interesting reading and listening, but they are certainly in no way related to the recognition of the interim of this Christological dimension. Christian music is giving the right emphasis to the right word.

There is also the *anthropological* dimension of worship. Worship is man’s concern, specifically man’s concern on earth. We know of the worship of angels and also of the worship of all nature. But in our worship man is the partaker of God’s gift. To forget man in any way is to forget what God has done. God’s revelation is to man, Luther did not want to rationalize, intellectualize, and secularize worship. Many have so interpreted his position. But Luther in no way wanted to get away from theological reality; he wanted to make theology real in that he brought it so much closer to man. He introduced German into the service, not to rob it of its dignity but to make it what it ought to be. In this he was immensely practical and was concerned with the existence of man in the world and not with the perpetuation of some ideal.

We know that in our worship we want all who attend to participate; but how easily this is translated into the notion of doing something together in order to establish fellowship! Certainly the communion of saints becomes evident, but the anthropological must not be interpreted to read “sociological.” Where the theological is the dimension, the anthropological cannot create and “make” anything. Before any single person can worship, something must have happened to him. (“Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,” John 3:3). By Baptism God has given us the benefit of Christ’s life and death. Only then when we are regenerated, when we are children of God by His grace, can we worship Him. “Baptism is the foundation of worship service,” says Peter Brunner. But this is not all. We can fall from grace. We must be preserved by the power of God in His grace. To this purpose God has given the means of grace. As long as we live here we will need this constant act and power of God. And all this becomes so eminently important when we view man *in toto*, not only in all his essence, but also chronologically: birth, Baptism, and the years of his life on earth, and then what? Death and eternal life! Again we see that we have an interim to think about. We must think about the time from Baptism to the day we leave this world. In this interim we exist, we live as human beings.

Every believer has been puzzled, like Paul, who saw in himself active a twofold law. He found in himself “no good thing,” he found that the good he wanted to do he did not do. The evil he didn’t want to do he did. He cries out, “Who will deliver me from this body of death?” But Paul also knows the answer. He knows himself just and righteous. He knows God has given him the victory in Christ! He knows he cannot be separated from the love of God. Paul accepts the paradox. Since Paul, many have suffered under this paradox, were puzzled, were led to wrong conclusions. But after Paul came Luther, and he in his anthropology, too, accepts the paradox and states it plainly: *Simul justus et peccator*, at one and the same time the believer is just and a sinner. Just—in and with Christ! a sinner—in his own weakness and sinfulness. In our church service we must therefore again remember it is interim music we must sing and play. A justified sinner sings praise to God with all the other justified sinners. And this confession of sins and receiving of absolution, though logically one follows after the other, yet is chronologically instantaneous and simultaneous.

We examine our worship and our worship music from that point of view; we ask the question: Has it that dimension? Music itself is a paradox. Music has its own laws, but it has its own liberty too. In between the two, true music grows. Neither one nor the other can be forgotten or denied.

Here it is not a question of beauty but a question of adequacy and propriety. We must educate our people to sing and speak out of Christian consciousness. Do we know we are *justi* and *peccatores*? Can we afford to indulge in sentimentalities? We who have died in Baptism and will soon die to the world, can we be satisfied to sing about this existence in music inspired by Satan? Similar questions will arise if we should take a look at another, the *cosmological* dimension of worship. There is the promise of a new heaven and a new earth. For this promise we live. But we are still living in the old world, and this world, the creation of God, is not unconcerned with the children of God. All creation longs for and waits for the revelation of the sons of God. This groaning cosmos, subjected to vanity for the sake of sin, is to have a share in our complete and final redemption. Ears, perhaps, are deaf to this groaning, and we seldom or never notice the expectancy of creation. We have no aerial or antenna to receive the glorious song of the sun, moon, and stars. Yet all creatures praise God! Human language is not their medium, but sometimes music is. And it is from this praise of God in nature that music takes all its nobility. Man in his degenerated state has succeeded in painting purple cows as well as making purple music. Man has “listened in to himself” and has tried to say what he heard. Ever so often such things are popular and find acclaim. But better it would be if man listened to God’s Word, which has so much to say about His glory in nature. We who have eyes that see beyond the sunset, who see in faith the new creation, can best realize how much worship could learn from God’s subhuman creatures, who are willing to be under our feet, as long as we are under God. The glory of heaven is not expressed with what man finds in his own nature. Only revelation can teach him that. But once it has been revealed to him and once he learns to listen to the harmony of God’s lesser but sinless creatures, he will realize that there, in this voice of nature, is the indication (*Ahnung*) of what is to be.

But there is in God’s creation another category. We know the cosmos is populated with spirits. In our worship we join angels and archangels and all the company of heaven. Yes, round about us stand the holy choirs of God, His hosts, who do His will as it ought to be done on earth. We stand between both choirs, the angelic choir that is higher and that of the other creatures. In our worship we must know of this dimension also. We are not alone. We sing not alone. Worship music must reflect also this dimension.

All these deductions can be made spontaneously by the new man in Christ. Yet the better we know the dimensions of worship and the clearer we see ourselves as living in and with these dimensions, which take us far out into the infinite reaches of eternity, the more will we gravitate to that which is truly fitting, beautiful, and blessed.

May we all be filled with the Spirit of God, who teaches us and leads us into all truth, so that where our worship by God’s grace is one in spirit and in truth, there, too, our church music may match as far as it is possible in this imperfect world the perfect creation of God: His holy church!

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The Life and Work of Samuel Scheidt

Walter E. Buszin

Introduction

Three long eventful centuries have elapsed since March 24, 1654, the day on which angelic hosts took to the mansions on high the immortal soul of an immortal musician of the Lutheran Church. I refer to the death of Samuel Scheidt. Bearing in mind the rich content and the glorious message of his compositions, it is of significance to know that Samuel Scheidt died on Good Friday, the very day on which the Christian church commemorates the death and burial of Jesus Christ.

While it is true that one can really never understand and appreciate fully the life and work of great men unless one is acquainted with the forces, times, and circumstances which put them on their mettle, contributed to their growth, and gave character to their work, we must admit that this often applies more so to certain men than to others. As one studies the life and work of Samuel Scheidt, one soon begins to realize that Scheidt must be counted among those whose genius was shaped and molded in large degree by the situations and circumstances into which God had put him. It is important to know that Scheidt spent almost all of his life in Halle, the city of his birth, which was not far distant from Wittenberg, the center of the Lutheran Reformation. It is important also to know that Samuel Scheidt was active as a composer during the trying days of the Thirty Years' War, that he had been a pupil of Jan Pieters Sweelinck, that his music was written in large part for the liturgical services of the Lutheran Church, that his magnum opus, his *Tabulatura nova*, was published exactly one hundred years after the first hymnal of the Lutheran Church had been published, and that, like Johann Walther, Michael Praetorius, Heinrich Schütz, and others, he was more active as a court musician than as a church musician.

In order that we may understand and appreciate more fully the life and work of Samuel Scheidt, we shall today discuss only personalities and circumstances which contributed substantially to his growth and development, to his aims, procedures, and achievements.

I

We cannot dissociate Samuel Scheidt from Jan Pieters Sweelinck (1562–1621), his illustrious teacher, without breaking that great sequence which culminates in Johann Sebastian Bach. This sequence does not have its roots in Sweelinck himself; its roots were in evidence already in Renaissance and Reformation days, and Sweelinck is already a part of the mighty tree or plant which we see in full growth, decked with luscious fruits, fully ripened and for us to enjoy. If we desire to find the roots, we must look for them in the organ works of Konrad Paumann (ca. 1410–73), Arnold Schlick (ca. 1450–ca. 1520), Paul Hofhaimer (1459–1537), Hans Buchner (1483–ca. 1540), Leonhard Kleber (ca. 1490–1556), Hans Kotter (ca. 1485–1541), and other composers of the 15th and 16th centuries. As we examine these roots, we discover that they, too, are often most luscious, offering needed nourishment to our hungry musical palate. We may well say that the sequence in which Sweelinck and Scheidt played such important parts had its origin in the music of these early masters. They were succeeded by the so-called colorists of the late 16th century, among whom were Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach (ca. 1530–97), Bernhard Schmid(t) the Older (1520–ca. 1592), Jakob Paix (1550–after 1617), and Bernhard Schmid(t) the

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Younger (1548–?). Were we to accept as gospel truth the words of condemnation which August Gottfried Ritter (1811–85) directed against the colorists, we would thereby, together with Ritter, accuse the colorists of breaking the great sequence or chain we have referred to at a time when it sorely needed support for further development. We must admit that the colorists often did overindulge in the use of splashy and meaningless coloratura passages which were stereotyped as well as senseless; and yet we must admit that we find these same traits in some organ works written by such noted composers of later years as Claudio Merulo and the two Gabriellis. It is most unfair to refer to the coloristic age of German organ history as an age of decline and decay; had it been such an era, says Max Seiffert,^[1] the most noted pupils of Sweelinck^[2] would hardly have been able suddenly to introduce the advanced and full-grown idioms of the last of the great Netherland composers into Germany and blend them effectively with a German idiom which had not yet arrived at the stage of maturation. That a fusion and a blending were possible proves that the work done by the colorists was of greater value and import than some have thought. It likewise proves that steady and much-needed advances toward maturation had been made in Germany and that, basically, German coloration had something in common with the Dutch idiom which the Germans imported through Scheidt and other pupils of Sweelinck. We dare not forget that it was in large part through the work of the colorists that a distinctive instrumental style was developed in Germany and that to this day the Germans are in the very first rank of those who have mastered the art and skill of writing instrumental music in true instrumental style.

The early German masters, who wrote organ music before the colorists appeared on the scene, employed in their organ music a type of polyphony which was basically vocal and choral in character. Through the introduction of intricate musical embroidery and florid passage work the colorists introduced a wholesome type of freedom and liberty into the music of their own native land which was needed in order to produce not only a Scheidt but also a Johann Pachelbel, a Dietrich Buxtehude, a Johann Sebastian Bach, a Beethoven, a Brahms, and a host of other composers. Through the introduction of florid passage work the colorists removed from German instrumental music the mental strait jacket of former days; their music not only furnishes proof that German composers had outgrown their swaddling clothes but also that they now began to wear apparel which would enable them to swim with utter freedom of movement in the turbulent waters of musical composition. We note greater expansion and freedom in this, that the tablatures employed by organists were now used also by performers at other keyboard instruments. Secular music thrived and was regarded as a gift of God intended for the welfare of man. The organ was used as an accompanying instrument, and hymn accompaniments were on their way. Chromatics as well as diminished and augmented intervals were now heard to good effect at the organ; it became necessary to extend keyboards, and also the pedal range was made wider. In these years great advances were made in organ building, which became not only a science but also an art. All this happened in Germany during the coloristic period; we thus see that the era was not one of decline. The era was an important link in the chain of events which progressed steadily from a Konrad Paumann to a Johann Sebastian Bach. All was part of the great sequence with which we must identify Jan Pieters Sweelinck and Samuel Scheidt. If you want proof, examine the music of these masters.

More must be said concerning Sweelinck himself. However, before we take this important step, we should mention that Italy played into the picture to no small extent. Hans Leo Hassler (1564–

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1612) and Johann Ulrich Steigleder (1593–1635), both of whom were contemporaries of Sweelinck (1562–1621), learned from and admired the work of the Venetian masters Adrian Willaert (ca. 1510–86), Claudio Merulo (1533–1604), Andrea (ca. 1510–86) and Giovanni (1557–1612) Gabrieli. However, these same Venetian masters, together with Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90), were admired and followed also by Jan Pieters Sweelinck, whose pupils established the North German school of organists and, through Samuel Scheidt, the Central German school; both of these schools were Lutheran, and both differed in more respects than one from the Roman Catholic South German school of organists, whose members were products of the Roman school and of Sweelinck's foremost contemporary, Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643). Through his studies under the able guidance of Gioseffo Zarlino, Sweelinck, like Hans Leo Hassler and Heinrich Schütz, helped to establish a most significant *rapprochement* between northern and southern Europe. But more: since he himself was a Calvinist and since his foremost pupils were Lutherans, we can say that Sweelinck helped to establish and perpetuate a type of Christian ecumenicity among Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed which was not merely innocuous, but even salutary and fruitful. In addition, Sweelinck adopted much of the style and many of the practices of the English virginalists, particularly of Dr. John Bull (1563–1628), whose friendship he enjoyed and who based a fantasia on a theme by Sweelinck. While we must admit that the English composers with whom Sweelinck established connections were largely composers of secular music, the fact remains that the majority of these men were Anglicans and most of them, like Sweelinck, did write church music as well as secular music. Sweelinck thus drew the Anglican Church into the ecumenical picture referred to a moment ago. Also in the music of Sweelinck our attention is drawn to the fact that the Calvinism of the Reformed Netherlands was by no means as severe and straitlaced as that of Switzerland and France. Sweelinck's music is full of the very type of elements which Geneva, Calvin, and Zwingli would never have tolerated. It is not surprising to note, therefore, that a world of difference exists between the music of Jan Pieters Sweelinck and that of the talented but very restricted Claude Goudimel (ca. 1505–72).

The musical tradition of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice had likewise remained free and unhampered. This music was different from that of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (ca. 1525–53) and of the Spaniards Christobal Morales (ca. 1500–53) and Tomás Ludovico da Victoria (ca. 1540–1611), all of whom we identify with the beautiful but reserved music of Rome. The music of the Venetian masters was colorful and dramatic and, though we know that Palestrina had his choirs sing his compositions with accompaniment, we can be reasonably certain that these accompaniments were not as brilliant and impressive as those of the Gabrielis and those of the master composers of Germany, including Samuel Scheidt. That Scheidt at times made a joyful noise unto the Lord in a very literal sense of the term reminds us of the noise made by the brasses of the orchestra of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. There are times when the music of Sweelinck reflects a spirit of typical Calvinistic severity and gravity; we may even conclude that this music reflects a regard for liturgical and ecclesiastical propriety. His organ toccatas, however, though performed in the church, express the free spirit of rhapsodic abandonment which is sounded forth already in the organ music of Claudio Merulo. Bukofzer remarks: "He [Sweelinck] amalgamated in his music the modern Venetian forms with the figurative techniques of the English virginalists."^[3]

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Among the Italian elements adopted by Sweelinck and later passed on to Scheidt and his other students, the use of chromatics plays an important part. The Italians employed chromatics in order to add chroma, or color, to the texts of their music. It is possible, however, that Frescobaldi of Rome learned to use chromatics, not directly from his fellow Italians, the Venetians, but from the Netherlands who, in turn, had learned it from the Venetians. In his youth, Frescobaldi lived for a time in Flanders; by this time Sweelinck and his two foremost competitors, Peter Philips (ca. 1560 to 1633) and Pieter Cornet (d. 1626) had matured fully as composers. All three made effective use of chromatics. That Frescobaldi learned from Sweelinck and not directly from the Venetians is deduced by some from the fact that Frescobaldi's pupil, Johann Jakob Froberger (1616–67), at one time used a theme composed by Sweelinck; however, he used it in an abbreviated form. The use of chromatics and of *musica ficta* helped, of course, to break down the use of the medieval modes. Composers no longer remained altogether true to the mode in which they wrote their music. Modulations became more and more frequent, chromatically altered chords were introduced, and composers began to lean heavily towards major and minor tonalities. The Lydian and Ionian modes, to a large extent also the Mixolydian, were treated very much like major tonalities, while the Aeolian mode was made to correspond to our minor keys. Chromatics were used to weaken the modal character particularly of the Dorian and Phrygian modes, the very modes which differ most clearly from our major and minor. All this becomes apparent not only in the music of Sweelinck but also in that of his pupils and of Johann Pachelbel, an ardent follower of Samuel Scheidt, the pupil of Sweelinck.

Sweelinck also contributed to the expansion and growth of musical form. The *ricercare* and the *canzona* were the most popular fugue forms used by the Italians. Adrian Willaert and the two Gabriellis wrote many *ricercari* and *canzoni*, as did also Jacques Buus (d. 1565), a Dutch composer who may have been a pupil of Willaert and who was for a time second organist at St. Mark's in Venice. Sweelinck combined the *ricercare* and the two-part *canzona* into a three-part fantasy. He related the themes of the three individual parts to each other according to the practice followed in writing the two-part *canzona*; however, thematic development took place as it did in the *ricercare*. Sweelinck therefore went farther than did Hassler, who remained faithful to the *ricercare* form used by his teacher, Andrea Gabrieli. On the other hand, others followed procedures similar to that followed by Sweelinck. We refer, for example, to Charles Luyton (ca. 1556–1620) of Prague and Pieter Cornet of Brussels. Also Frescobaldi's name should be mentioned in this connection.

Echo effects play an important part in the music of Sweelinck and Scheidt, as well as in the music of the North German school of organists. It is believed that Sweelinck became fond of these while he was in Italy, where they were applied in the use of pastoral poetry and song. In Germany echo effects became popular in instrumental and vocal, in sacred and secular music. Sweelinck was likewise fond of writing antiphonal and double-chorus music. This fondness he had acquired while studying with Zarlino at St. Mark's in Venice, where double-chorus music was part of the order of the day already for acoustical reasons. Not only Sweelinck, but also Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Schütz, Michael Praetorius, and others wrote much music of this type. We likewise call attention to the fact that, already prior to Sweelinck's day, the colorists of Germany had made much use of antiphonal and echo effects in their instrumental music. Particularly in two ways did Sweelinck surpass the Italians. First, rhythmically his music is more variegated and interesting; secondly, he understood better how to develop his motifs. The

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rhythms used by the Italians offered little that was new and challenging. We cannot ascribe this weakness to Sweelinck. The teacher of Samuel Scheidt mastered the skill of developing motifs through studying the variations written by the English virginalists. Variations were popular in those days, also in Italy. Sweelinck learned to write variations chiefly from the music written for the virginal by William Byrd (1543–1623), Orlando Gibbons (1583 to 1625), and John Bull. While volumes could be written which treat Sweelinck's variation techniques, we shall say no more concerning these at this time, though Samuel Scheidt inherited his mentor's fondness for variations and became a past master at making use of this form.

Sweelinck was very fond of using sequences in his compositions. As we shall hear again later, the same may be said of Samuel Scheidt, who even used them excessively. Sweelinck and his pupils learned this from the vocal music of the Italians, who used sequences for the purpose of creating musical tension. They thus endeavored to heighten dramatic effects. Even the German colorists made such use of sequences, as did likewise the English virginalists.

The pedal parts of Sweelinck's organ music, like those of the early English composers, had little or no independent obbligato character. Editors of organ music have often assigned notes and themes to the pedals which Sweelinck had assigned to the manuals. This is often wise and necessary. In this respect Sweelinck's pupils usually excelled their teacher. As a teacher of musical theory, Sweelinck made faithful use of the principles set forth in Zarlino's *Institutioni armoniche*. His pupils later passed on to posterity these same teachings and principles. Sweelinck was held in high regard by his contemporaries. Some of his pieces were included in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (ca. 1625). When Sweelinck died on October 16, 1621, Dr. John Bull wrote a fantasy and fugue with which he sought to honor the memory of "the last of the great Netherland composers." Sweelinck was esteemed highly also by his pupils, who sought to follow in his footsteps. Jacob Praetorius even went so far as to try to appropriate and imitate the mannerisms and peculiarities of Sweelinck, the "maker of organists," who composed a *canticum nuptiale* for Jakob Praetorius and who dedicated a canon to Heinrich Scheidemann. Partly because two compositions were written jointly by Sweelinck and Samuel Scheidt, some have concluded that Scheidt was the favorite pupil of Sweelinck. While this may not have been the case, we are certain that Samuel Scheidt was the most talented pupil of Jan Pieters Sweelinck of Amsterdam.

II

To understand more fully the work of Samuel Scheidt, one must therefore acquaint oneself with the work of Jan Pieters Sweelinck, his teacher. Without this knowledge one can easily make mistakes akin to those made by people who sought and still seek to judge the works of Johann Sebastian Bach without first familiarizing themselves with the works of those master composers who helped to prepare the way for J. S. Bach and of others who were his colleagues and contemporaries.

There is much misinformation abroad concerning Halle, the city of Scheidt's birth, the city in which and for which he did much of his work. In the year 1937 this same city published a *Festschrift* to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the birth of Samuel Scheidt. In a short article contained in this *Festschrift*, Arnold Schering calls attention to the fact that the portraits of Michael Praetorius, Johann Staden (1581–1634), Heinrich Schütz, and Samuel Scheidt reveal

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that each of these eminent composers of the Lutheran church was imbued with an impressive *Lebenseinst*. This *Lebenseinst* was by no means accidental. On the contrary, it developed and grew through certain experiences and events in life which made of them men of integrity and character. All lived during the time of the Thirty Years' War. Those were trying years of oppression and devastation, and we marvel not so much because these men were able to endure it all but rather because they did not permit trial and affliction to deter them and prompt them to cease using the musical talent God had given them. To them music was more than a pastime and a luxury; to them it was a vehicle for prayer, testimony, and thanksgiving; to them it was a necessity, particularly in days of trial and defeat, victory and rejoicing. Their outward countenances mirrored and reflected their inward convictions and strength of character. They lived in days of confusion, breakdown, poverty, and tears, in days of much callousness and hardening of the heart. But despite it all they remained true to their ideals, true to the cause of great music, true to their church, true to their God. Their decimated choirs sang music which these men had to write as simply as possible; in a composition for two equal voices, written by Heinrich Schütz, they sang:

Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness.
Thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress.
Have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer.—Ps. 4:1

But their spirits did not remain depressed; Schütz, Scheidt, and others wrote also Alleluias, settings of the Gloria in Excelsis and of psalms of praise and thanksgiving. They set to music the abiding Word and through their music offered interpretations of that same Word which to this day relieves the heart and gives strength to the soul. Scheidt seems to have been particularly fond of writing elaborate choruses based on Martin Rinckart's great hymn, *Nun danket alle Gott*. Such a person was our Samuel Scheidt. We in America think of him largely as a composer of organ music. While we can certainly pray and give thanks also through the tones of an organ, we should not ignore that Scheidt is one of the great choral composers of the ages. Unlike Schütz and Schein, his eminent contemporaries and friends, he glorified God not only through the medium of choruses and choirs but also with the tones of the organ. He and Michael Praetorius indeed let everything that had breath praise the Lord, whether through the channels of the vocal cords, the pipes of an organ, or the mouthpieces and tubes of other musical instruments. Scheidt wrote this music largely for the purpose of strengthening, sustaining, and edifying his fellow citizens of Halle; hence we should take the time to say a few words regarding conditions in Halle in his day. We shall do so largely on the basis of reports furnished us by Dr. Walter Serauky of the University at Halle.^[4]

During the first half of his career in Halle, Samuel Scheidt was privileged to work under the jurisdiction of Margrave Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg, an art-loving man who in the years which preceded the Thirty Years' War made court life in Halle attractive and lustrous largely through the use of music. However, the war put a stop to this. Duke August of Saxony now became administrator, and he, too, respected Samuel Scheidt highly and treated him well until the day of Scheidt's death. It was particularly through the efforts of Duke August and Samuel Scheidt that Halle became a famous seat of musical culture. Throughout his career as a musician, Scheidt was in the employ of the ducal court at Halle; his work at the Halle churches, though important, was in a way rather incidental. However, prior to the time he spent in

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Amsterdam to study with Sweelinck, he was for three years organist of Halle's *Moritzkirche*; that he was only 17 years old at the time of this appointment testifies not only to his talent but also to the fact that others were aware of his talent and sense of responsibility. He became *Hoforganist* in the year 1609, after his return from Amsterdam. Between the years 1610 and 1620 the Halle *Hofkapelle*, of which he was a member, consisted of ten instrumentalists: four trumpeters, one lutanist, one violinist, one violist, two wind instrumentalists, and one organist (Scheidt). It is interesting to note that Michael Praetorius served at times as *Kapellmeister* of the group, though the seat of his activity was Wolfenbüttel. In addition to the instrumental *Hofkapelle*, Halle had also its *Hofkantorei*. Great musical performances took place in connection with certain occasions and festivals; Michael Praetorius often appeared as guest conductor for the occasion. He and Samuel Scheidt became close friends; on one occasion Praetorius imported a *positiv* from Dresden which was used to augment the festive character of the occasion. The performances at times took place in Halle's large market place, e.g., at the time Princess Sophie Elisabeth was baptized. It was on this occasion that Samuel Scheidt played the *positiv* referred to a moment ago. Shortly after, Scheidt was appointed *Hofkapellmeister*, a position he held until 1619 or early in 1620. This appointment brought about a great change in the life of Samuel Scheidt; he now withdrew from much of his work as a performer and became chiefly a composer of music. He dedicated a number of his compositions to individual members of his *Hofkapelle*; the relationship which existed between him and his *Hofkapelle* was evidently most cordial. He was permitted to augment the group, and the group now consisted of two violinists, two violists, two performers on bass instruments, a cornettist, and an organist. Johann Lehmann, who until now had conducted the *Hofkantorei*, resigned and turned his post over to Scheidt. The nucleus of this choral group was the choral group of the *Gymnasium*; its soloists and *Konzertisten* were the members of the *Hofkantorei* proper.

One reads and hears at times that the Thirty Years' War did not affect Halle. This is definitely contrary to fact. Halle was subjected to the terrors and tensions of the war particularly after 1624. In 1625 Wallenstein entered the city. In that same year Margrave Christian Wilhelm was obliged to leave Halle, since he had entered the service of Christian IV of Denmark, who sought to come to the rescue of the Protestants. The *Hofkapelle* could no longer be supported and was disbanded. That Scheidt might not leave Halle, he was appointed municipal *Kapellmeister* in 1628. He resigned from this office in 1630, and some feared Scheidt's career as a musician had ended. For Samuel Scheidt the following eight years were trying years indeed, and it was not until 1638 that new hopes arose. In that year August entered the city. Special music was presented to observe the occasion, and a festive service of worship was conducted in the *Dom* of the city. Scheidt wrote a *Te Deum* for the occasion, which was sung after the sermon had been delivered. In his sermon the preacher of the day, Christian Weber, made special mention of the music of the service. The *Dom* was declared the *Hofkirche* of the city, and Scheidt was put in charge of the music. Though it did not meet the standards of former years, the *Hofkapelle* again began to function. It included Wolfgang Teubner, a native of Prague and a famous harpist of the 17th century. The *Hofkapelle* was now here to stay and, after the days of Samuel Scheidt, helped to introduce grand opera into Halle.

Scheidt was on friendly terms with the church musicians of Halle. We refer to those who were active at the three leading churches of Halle. Despite the Thirty Years' War, the organ came to the fore in Germany at this time, and the respect formerly shown the cantors of the church was

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now shown more and more the organists of the church. Towards the close of the war, cantors of churches began to lose their influence too because court music often brought about the decline and downfall of church music and even of music in the homes (*Hausmusik*). The *St. Marienkirche* in Halle maintained the best musical traditions in the early years of the 16th century; musical standards began to rise in *St. Ulrich* and *St. Moritz* in the second half of the 16th century. It seems that Scheidt's relations with the church organists of Halle were more intimate than those with the cantors. There were times when in one or the other of the three churches mentioned the musical standards must have been rather low, for complaints have been recorded which make mention of this. This was true particularly of the music at *St. Ulrich*. However, Michael Meister, a very able musician and a close friend of Melchior Vulpus, was cantor of *St. Ulrich* from 1618 to 1626. Samuel Scheidt felt attached particularly to Halle's *Moritzkirche*, whose organ pleased him greatly. Though the *Moritz* parish was the poorest of the three, it is interesting to note that this congregation purchased a new organ in 1625, at the very time when conditions were becoming highly critical in Halle. Scheidt had much to do with the building of this instrument, which cost a total of 935 gulden, of which Scheidt paid 200 gulden out of his own pocket. The organ was built by none other than Johann Heinrich Compenius, a personal friend of Scheidt, who was at that time only 17 years old. We are thus obliged to identify the name Compenius with that of Scheidt just as we identify the name of Gottfried Silbermann with that of Johann Sebastian Bach.

To obtain a complete picture of conditions in Halle during the days of Samuel Scheidt, we must consider also what happened in its *Gymnasium*, since the work done at the *Gymnasium* was the very backbone of all musical activity. Serauky^[5] insists that all musical enterprise in Halle lacked a foundation until 1565, the year in which Halle's *Gymnasium* was founded. The student choir of the *Gymnasium* then became the hub around which all other musical activity revolved. As stated before, this student group was the nucleus of the *Hofkantorei*. The teachers of music at the *Gymnasium* served as cantors of the Halle churches. Students recruited from the three upper classes constituted the *Stadtchor* or municipal *Kantorei*; in keeping with common practice of that day, the group would furnish the choral music for each of the three churches, singing in the *St. Marienkirche* one Sunday, in *St. Ulrich* the next, and in the *Moritzkirche* the following Sunday. Thereupon the cycle would again be repeated. A second choir rendered similar service in the parish churches of the city, while the music for funerals, weddings, and other occasions was presented by members of the *Kurrende*.

Samuel Scheidt was obliged to put up with very serious handicaps and inconveniences during the time of the Thirty Years' War. We refer now to his *Kantorei*, which in the early years of the 17th century numbered about forty singers. In 1627 it numbered no more than ten members; a few years later, like Bach's *Thomanerchor* of many years, it totaled 16 members. The boys lived in the *Gymnasium*, where they received board, room, and other needed care. Oddly enough, in 1641 all student members of the *Kantorei* came from other places and parts of Germany, and not one was a permanent resident of Halle. When they would sing in a certain church, the cantor of that respective church would conduct. Samuel Scheidt made it a point to maintain close contact with the *Gymnasium*. When necessary, he criticised and complained severely and in no uncertain terms. On one occasion he remarked that the singing of the students reminded him of the bellowing of oxen, sheep, and calves; "they sing as though their mouths are filled with plums so that one can understand and follow neither the text nor the tune—one is

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tempted to clog his ears and run out of the churches.”^[6] However, Scheidt did not only find fault; he was ever ready to step in to remedy conditions. According to all indications the cantors of Halle were as aware of the genius of Samuel Scheidt as they were of the respect which the citizenry of Halle accorded him. Scheidt shared one great personal gift of Heinrich Schütz: When he gave people a piece of his mind, there was only one thing for them to do, and that was to take it. Like Heinrich Schütz, he was a strong character and a man of deep-rooted and fearless convictions.

The court life of Halle, its churches, and its schools helped to attract many to this city, including artists of various types and categories, also poets as well as people of high learning. The city maintained healthy international contacts which contributed to its growth and to the development of its character. Dr. Rolf Hünicken, the municipal archivist of Halle, reports in his article *Scheidt und Halle. Eine Studie über die Zusammenhänge von Erb- und Bildungskräften*^[7] that merchants came to Halle from Scotland, goldsmiths came from Switzerland, painters and wood carvers from the Netherlands, and musicians from England and Italy. He speaks of the wonders of Halle architecture and calls attention to the fact that at the close of the 16th century Halle established its basis as a cultural center. Into this world we must put Samuel Scheidt, a leading citizen and guiding spirit of this city. Taking into consideration that religion and music weld together a people and help to integrate them, we begin to realize better the importance of a Samuel Scheidt not only for the city of Halle but even more so for the development of a healthy culture which became not only German but even international in character. A healthy democratic spirit prevailed in the city, and also the common-run musician could count on being respected by his fellow citizens.

III

The democratic and high cultural level of Halle manifested itself also in the liturgical worship practices of the individual parishes. As we examine these we see the doctrine of the royal priesthood in action. We become aware, too, of a solid type of sound Lutheranism and find that the blessed work done by Martin Luther in nearby Wittenberg only a century before bore fruit an hundredfold. We dare not ignore, of course, that Halle later became the center of the Pietistic Movement in Germany and that August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), whose pietism was of a zealotistic order, helped to bring fame to Halle not only through the lectures he delivered at the university and through his activities as a pastor but also through the orphanage he established there in 1695. This orphanage achieved fame in part through its cultural endeavors, and it is known that members of the nobility who sought a consecrated and cultured wife often contacted the Halle orphanage for this purpose. The very fact that this orphanage interested itself in a cultural type of education interests us not only because the pietists often assumed an unfriendly attitude towards art and culture but also because we are almost compelled to conclude that the general cultural atmosphere of Halle helped to bring this about and thus perhaps helped to temper a zealot like Francke. We recall at this time, too, that George Frederic Handel was a native of Halle, that his teacher Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow (1663–1712) was active here for many years, and that in 1713 Johann Sebastian Bach was asked to leave Weimar for Halle to become the successor to Zachow at the *Liebfrauenkirche*.

Our knowledge of the musico-liturgical worship practices of Halle during the 17th century is by no means complete. It is believed that the *Kirchenordnung* of Halle was prepared by Luther's

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coworker Justus Jonas, the first Lutheran superintendent of Halle. We today possess only a fragment of this *Kirchenordnung*.^[8] The instructions it gives apply more to the singing done by the choir and not so much to the singing by the congregation under the direction of the sexton or verger (*Küster*). In view of the fact that German translations of certain hymns seem to have been unknown in Halle, it was not unusual for the choirs to sing these hymns in their original Latin version. In fact, much Latin was sung. It was not until after the Thirty Years' War had ended that greater use was made of the German language. Christhard Mahrenholz reports^[9] that no serious attempts were made by the city council of Halle to abolish the use of much Latin until May 1702. This explains why Samuel Scheidt so often made use of Latin texts.

On ordinary Sundays the choir alternated with the congregation in presenting the hymn used as Gradual, the Creed was omitted, and a free composition was sung instead. After the sermon either a contrapuntal work or a *geistliches Konzert* was sung. On the festivals of the church year the choir sang in addition to the above: the Introit, the Kyrie the *Et in terra pax*, the Epistle- and the Gospel-sequence. In the Order of Vespers a Latin hymn was sung alternately with the congregation, or a double-chorus version of the Te Deum was sung. At the close of the service a Latin version of either the Magnificat or the Benedicamus was sung. In services devoted to a study of the Catechism, contrapuntal and instrumental music was presented after the Benediction had been pronounced. When it was necessary for the cantor to be with his choir, it was incumbent upon the verger to lead the singing of the congregation. Although the *Moritzkirche* was the favorite church of Samuel Scheidt, it was least favored as far as musical performances were concerned; the music for the festivals of the church year was not presented in St. Moritz until the third day of the feast, since this parish was the youngest of the three. For the minor feasts, including the first Sunday in Advent, Feast of the Circumcision, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, and others, there was no special music in St. Moritz at all. On such days it was the duty of the organist to present special music which was to replace music by the choir. This may explain why much of the music of the third part of the *Tabulatura nova* was written. The organ was used often for the performance of liturgical music; in such cases the text was not sung at all, neither were congregation or choir active in the performance of the music. This also explains why Scheidt wrote so many organ settings of the Magnificat. When the text of the Magnificat was sung, it was sung in Latin. The first half of each verse was sung by the officiant or a soloist, while only the second half was sung by the choir. Psalm tones were used for the Magnificat as well as for the chantings of psalms and Introits. It is possible that the congregation consistently sang along when the Gloria Patri was sung. Samuel Scheidt based no organ music on hymns intended for Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday. This may have been due to the fact that the organ usually remained silent in the services of these days.

We thus see that many of the musico-liturgical practices of Halle were identical with those of other parishes. Not a few were identical with those of St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg, where Johann Pachelbel was active. Halle is located in Saxony, and we know that in this great province of Germany the traditional Lutheran liturgies were retained without interruption throughout the years which led up to Bach. We become more fully aware of this as we study the work of Samuel Scheidt and as we relate the same to his life and career in Halle.

IV

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Many facts regarding the genealogy of Samuel Scheidt have been gathered. Dr. Rolf Hünicken has made some available,^[10] and time permits us to refer to only a few. Samuel Scheidt's parents were of Thuringian stock. His father's family loved freedom; its innate *Wanderlust* prompted its members to love travel and made them somewhat unstable and restless. While Samuel's father, Konrad Scheidt, inherited this trait, it was offset in large part by the stability of the Achtmann family and of Anna, the daughter of the master baker Simon Achtmann and the wife of Konrad Scheidt. To use an expression current in our day, the Achtmann family was made of solid stuff and was imbued with what the Germans call *Charakterfestigkeit*. This trait Samuel Scheidt inherited from his mother. It is difficult to ascertain with certainty where Konrad Scheidt was born; it may have been in Glaucha, which was close to Halle. The family of his wife came to Halle from Gera. The Scheidts and the Achtmanns were on intimate terms and associated with people of artistic leanings. Among these was the Compenius clan, which achieved immortality in the history of organ building; among these was also the Stellwagen family, famous for its wood carvings but addicted to kleptomania. While Samuel Scheidt inherited his strength of character from his mother, it is possible that he inherited his musical talent from his father. Not only Samuel, but also two other sons of Konrad Scheidt became musicians and composers. One of these was Gottfried Scheidt (1593–1661) who, like Samuel, studied with Sweelinck and later was court organist in Altenburg. While Michael Praetorius, in addition to being a musician, was likewise a brewmaster, Samuel Scheidt is likely the only illustrious member of the music world whose father was a barkeeper who eventually became a *Ratsbierschenk*. However, Hünicken^[11] states that, according to all indications, Konrad Scheidt shared the profound religious spirit of his wife. When Samuel Scheidt in 1627 married Helene Margaretha Keller, he not only married a patrician noblewoman, but he thereby affiliated with the Olearius relationship, which ultimately produced none other than George Frederick Handel. Samuel Scheidt became the father of seven children; of these, five died as victims of a pestilence. As we shall hear again later, the life of Samuel Scheidt was by no means devoid of grief, trial, and sorrow.

The exact date of Samuel Scheidt's birth is not known. He was baptized on November 4, 1587, and may therefore have been born on November 3. We know very little regarding his early youth but assume that like his brother Gottfried he was a product of the Lutheran *Gymnasium* in Halle. At the early age of seventeen he became organist of Halle's *Moritzkirche*. He served in this capacity for three years and then went to Amsterdam to study with the renowned Jan Pieters Sweelinck. After he had been a pupil of Sweelinck for only two years, he returned to Halle at the age of twenty-two to be *Hoforganist* for Margrave Christian Wilhelm. In the Magdalen Chape1 of the *Moritzburg* he played the organ every Sunday for the early morning preaching service and for the Order of Vespers. It was his duty, too, to play the clavichord for social functions at the court. As stated previously, he assisted at times at his former post in the *Moritzkirche*. Pupils soon came to him in increasing numbers, and much of his work was devoted to teaching musical theory and composition. His reputation spread, and not a few requested that he compose music for them. Among these early works we find a set of variations on the chorale *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, which Fritz Dietrich has included as the first composition of his *Elf Orgelchoräle des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*.^[12] We find in these variations the unmistakable influence of the German colorists, and in them Scheidt is not at his best. Various other sets of variations of his early years are today available.

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Scheidt's more mature works date back to the early 1620s. In 1624, the 37th year of his life, he began to publish his greatest work, his *Tabulatura nova*. The publication of this important opus was indeed an appropriate centennial thanksgiving offering for the publication of the first Lutheran hymnal in 1524. This applies particularly to its third part, which is liturgical in spirit and expression. The title chosen by Scheidt was not original on his part; it had been used already by others, e.g., for Gregor Krenkel's *Tabulatura nova* of 1584. Scheidt himself informs us in the preface to the first part of his *Tabulatura nova* why he made his monumental work available. Some were anxious to study musical theory and composition with him who did not live in or near Halle and hence were unable to study with him. For them he then arranged a correspondence course, a procedure we frown upon more or less today as far as the study of music is concerned. As you all know, a correspondence course involves much labor for the teacher as well as for the student. Scheidt's *Tabulatura nova* was to serve the purpose of relieving the Halle master of this burden. In addition, despite his instructions to the contrary, some of Scheidt's pupils had distributed his compositions among others. These manuscripts naturally included the many mistakes which usually go into music copied by hand. Taking into consideration that this music had been prepared largely for the express purpose of teaching musical theory and composition, Scheidt could not help but disapprove most heartily of the dissemination of manuscripts of his music which had not been authenticated. For similar reasons he had begun to publish his choral works already four years earlier. I refer to the publication of his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1620. This collection contains 38 *a cappella* choral works, each for eight voices. Fourteen of these were settings of chorales and Latin hymns. At about this time Samuel Scheidt was appointed *Hofkapellmeister*, likely succeeding the English violinist William Brade (1560–1630), who left Halle in 1619 to accept a position in Brandenburg. Scheidt's new position naturally enhanced his prestige, since it put him in charge of all choral and instrumental music at the court. He continued to conduct the music in the Magdalen Chapel and thus kept up his activity in church music.

In 1621 appeared the first part of Scheidt's *Ludi musici*, a collection of instrumental dances. The second part of this collection was published in 1622. Scheidt gave about the same reason for publishing this music that he gave two years later for publishing his *Tabulatura nova*. He complained that it pained his ears to hear all the changes and mistakes that had been made by those who without his consent copied or disseminated unauthentic manuscripts of his music. The third part was published in 1625, the fourth in 1627. It is most unfortunate, says Mahrenholz,^[13] that so much of his precious music has been lost to posterity. In it one finds a revelation of the composer's skillful use of rich harmonies, his manifold ways of expressing what he has to say, and clear evidence of a well-tempered spirit of joy.

Because the publication of his *Cantiones sacrae* had met with encouraging success, he published in 1622 the first part of his *Concertuum sacrorum* for two, three, four, five, eight, and twelve voices. In all, it contained twelve compositions: three Magnificats, a Mass, and seven settings of Biblical texts. Only one of these compositions, *Herr, unser Herrscher*, had a German text. The Italian influence is clearly present, likewise the type of intemperance which we find in some music of the Italian baroque. The music sparkles and glimmers, and we note a lack of the inner depth which we are accustomed to find in noteworthy choral music of Germany. We note in these compositions also an excessive use of echo effects.

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Donald Ferguson remarks in his *A History of Musical Thought*:^[14] “—particularly Samuel Scheidt . . . laid solid foundations for that pinnacle to which Bach . . . was to climb.” Our esteemed friend, who has been present at more than one of our conferences during the past ten years, is referring here to the organ music of Samuel Scheidt. While he here refers to Bach as a pinnacle, Gotthold Frotscher^[15] uses the same expression (*Gipfelpunkt*) when he refers to Scheidt’s position in the organ world of pre-Bach days as a composer of chorale preludes. We must think at this time primarily of Scheidt’s *Tabulatura nova*, a work so significant that the editors of the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* could think of no better work to publish as the first volume of their great series (1892). Bokofzer^[16] calls this work “epoch-making.” Mahrenholz^[17] calls attention to the fact that the perilous clouds of the Thirty Years’ War had begun to gather over Halle by 1624 and that this likely persuaded Scheidt to publish the three parts of his *Tabulatura nova* before matters grew worse. In this work Scheidt did not use the traditional organ tablature. He used instead the Italian keyboard partitura which allowed a separate five-line staff for each voice. All prominence is given the *cantus firmus*, and we have in this practice one of the strongest characteristics of the music of Samuel Scheidt, notably that based on the chorale. What is more, he restricts himself to the use of one theme; one may find in his music a multiplicity of counterpoints, but not a multiplicity of themes. Frotscher^[18] has also this in mind when he says that Scheidt varies not the substance of his compositions but only their garment. We thus find remarkable clarity in his compositions. On the other hand, Scheidt did not put undue stress on simplicity; while we must marvel at times at the utter simplicity of his compositions,^[19] there are times when even his chorale harmonizations are somewhat complex. He did not always remain within the mode of a composition and departed from the same by means of chromatics; his chords at times become very dissonant and suggest tonal modulation. There are also times when he altered the melody of a chorale through the use of accidentals or through the use of figuration. Scheidt did not therefore follow in the footsteps of Lukas Osiander (1534–1604), who insisted upon using the chorale melody in the upper voice for the sake of simplicity and thus allied himself with the principles of Calvinism and Zwinglianism; neither did Scheidt adopt the stark simplicity found in the music of the *Cantionale* of Andreas Raselius (1588), of Rogier Michael (1593), of Seth Calvisius (1597), and of Johann Eccard (1597). Scheidt expressed his disapproval of the Osiander ideal also by refusing to make extensive use of the isometric chorale and by refusing to substitute the isometric version of the chorale melody for the rhythmic. Osiander stressed such simplicity in order that congregation and choir remain “nicely” (*hübsch*) together. Scheidt was an artist and a man of deep understanding; he refused to clothe his art in a strait jacket or to bind it with arresting fetters and shackles. From the music of the colorists, from that of his teacher, and from that of the Venetians and of the English virginalists Samuel Scheidt had learned to know the value of freedom and the worth of rhythmic variety. We shall see this also when we consider his *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*.

Samuel Scheidt applied greatest reserve when he treated liturgical materials. That may be seen as one studies the music of the third part of his *Tabulatura nova*. The first two parts of *Tabulatura nova* include music of various types: settings of chorales and secular songs, echo compositions, and fugues. In the first part he has variations of German chorales only and in the second has only one composition which is based on a Latin hymn. In this music he enjoys employing freedom and liberty. Not so, however, in the third part. With but one exception,^[20] he here bases his music on Latin liturgical *cantus firmi* and states that he has used them *pure & absque ullo colore*, that is, true to the melody and without figuration or ornamentation. In other

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words, as is stressed by Scheidt in his foreword to Part Three of his *Tabulatura nova*, Scheidt insists that particularly the liturgical *cantus firmus* be clear and distinct, that here no rhythmical variety be employed to obscure the *cantus firmus*, and that here the *cantus firmus* be not altered and thus rendered unclear through notes and figuration which are not part of the *cantus firmus* itself. Scheidt stresses here not simplicity, but clarity. The third part of his *Tabulatura nova* was prepared for use in the liturgical services of the Lutheran Church. He did not arrange the compositions of this part in the order in which they were used in the liturgical services of Halle. In fact, compositions for the Order of Holy Communion are put alongside of those intended for the Order of Vespers. Thus after the Kyrie and the Gloria in Excelsis follow settings for organ of the Magnificat, and the Credo follows the hymns for Vespers. Imitation plays an important part in this liturgical music and is used to put the *cantus firmus* into bolder relief. The music is related to the organ fantasy more than to the organ variation. Scheidt provided Part Three of his *Tabulatura nova* with definite and clear-cut suggestions for the performer, who is told which manuals and which stops he is to use and is told, too, whether and where he is to use a 16', an 8', or a 4' stop on the manuals and on the pedals. He mentions expressly that the *cantus firmus* is to be played with a solo stop that has a sharp and cutting tone. Compenius evidently built an organ which possessed these qualities for the *Moritzkirche* in Halle, and that is why Scheidt was likely so fond of playing in this church. On the other hand, Scheidt at no time suggests or intimates that he had any one organ in mind when he wrote his music and set forth his requirements, not even the organ of St. Moritz. He does, however, state what tone qualities an organ should have and what ranges are to be used for an effective performance of his music. We might yet add that Scheidt provided also instructions for playing double pedal parts.

Mahrenholz ^[21] is of the opinion that the conclusion of Samuel Scheidt's activities as an active organist likely coincided with the publication of his *Tabulatura nova*. That he continued to love the organ as a musical instrument we take for granted. History records that, as in the case of J. S. Bach, he continued to examine and pass judgment on newly built organs in churches. Since the war had not yet brought troops into Halle, Scheidt succeeded in making available the third part of his *Ludi musici* in the year after he had completed his *Tabulatura nova*, and he made plans to add to the *Concertus sacri*, which he had published in 1621–22. However, the war frustrated these plans. The tensions of war became acute in 1625, and, in addition, an epidemic broke out. In a service of humiliation and prayer the seriousness of the situation was presented to the people, and Kyries ascended to God's throne on high. After much deliberation Administrator Christian Wilhelm decided to ally himself with Christian IV, the king of Denmark. In November 1625 Wallenstein took possession of Halle. The administrator left, and court life ceased to function. Scheidt derived some income from various side jobs, and less fortunate musicians clung to him for help. Other musicians sought work in other cities and communities. Amidst all these trials, Scheidt married at the age of forty. He and Helene Margaretha Keller united in marriage on April 16, 1627. Since conditions became no worse in Halle in 1627–28, Scheidt published the fourth and last part of his *Ludi musici*.

In the fall of 1631 Gustavus Adolphus took over the city amidst much jubilation on the part of the people of Halle. The soldiers were kept under strict control, the abuses of former days ceased, and the people now began to breathe freely again.^[22] Scheidt, too, felt relieved and now returned to the preparation of additional *concertus sacri*. Since he could find no publisher, he decided to simplify the music, to reduce the number of voices, and to drop the instruments of

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the accompaniment, retaining only the figured bass part of the *continuo*. These *Neue geistliche Concerte* for two and three voices included twenty compositions of which not a few were based on chorales. A quodlibet based on three chorales was included, and the opus was published by Oelschlegel of Halle. For a time Gustavus Adolphus lost possession of the city, and though he regained it again later, the harm done the city was so great that it did not recover for a long time. It was not until 1634 that Scheidt continued to extend his series of *Geistliche Concerte*, and in 1635 two additional parts of these were published. This music, though written in war years, was for eight and twelve voices and for two, three, and four choruses. We again find the Lutheran chorale well represented. The second volume contained thirty compositions and the third, which was related to the church year, thirty-four. In 1635 was published also his *Liebliche Krafft-Blümlein/Aus des Heyligen Geistes Lustgarten abgebrochen/vnd zum Vorschmack/des ewigen Lebens/im zweystimmichten Him/mels-Chor versetzt*. The music is two-part with continuo accompaniment, and it includes twelve compositions.

Saxony and Sweden did not get along with each other too well, and tensions were again acute. In addition, a frightful pestilence plagued all of central Germany and brought death to all four of Scheidt's children. It was not until 1638 that Halle experienced relief from pestilence and plunderings. Administrator Christian Wilhelm was deposed and Prince August of Saxony was elected in his place. A festive service was conducted in the *Domkirche* to welcome the new regent. Scheidt wrote a setting of the *Te Deum* for the occasion, of which it was said that no such beautiful music had been heard before. From this time, too, date Scheidt's elaborate triple-chorus arrangement of *Nun danket alle Gott*, a chorale which he used repeatedly and which was perhaps his favorite chorale, and likewise a setting of *Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren*.

Samuel Scheidt was now reinstated as *Kapellmeister* of the Halle court. Since the Magdalen Chapel had been burned to the ground in 1637, Scheidt no longer had to concern himself about presenting music in it. It was not until 1644, at which time the Administrator again took up residence in Halle, that the Dom of Halle became the official church of the court. A court organist was no longer needed. A certain Friedrich Köhler continued to serve as organist of the Dom. Times were again more quiet in Halle, and in 1640 Scheidt finally completed the fourth volume of his *Geistliche Concerte* which was published by Hennig Köler of Leipzig. The volume contained 31 compositions and the chorale was again well represented. The fifth and sixth volumes, both of which were lost to posterity, soon followed. We know, however, what their contents were: the fifth contained 35 compositions, of which some were settings of chorales and others liturgical compositions, and the sixth contained 26 choral works, of which some were settings of chorales (including *Esaia dem Propheten das geschah*) and other compositions based on Biblical texts. In 1641 Scheidt published a collection of vocal compositions for weddings; they were arranged for five voices, and their style was made to conform somewhat to that of madrigals. In the early 1640s Scheidt wrote his *LXX Symphonien auff Concertenmanir*. These were not intended so much as independent works but rather as *sinfonias* which might be played at the beginning of a choral work or as interludes and ritornels which might be played between certain sections of a choral composition of larger proportions. To make them as practical as possible, they were written at various pitch levels and in the various keys or modes. They were written for no special compositions of his own and might be used together with choral works by other composers. Meanwhile the lengthy Thirty Years' War was drawing to its close. Negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia were begun, and the treaty was signed on October 14,

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1648. Halle had been spared the ravages which accompanied the last years of the war. The city quite naturally resolved to join in with the rest of Germany to thank God in its churches and in services of worship. These services often began with the singing of *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*, the Te Deum was sung, as were also such hymns as *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, *Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren*, and *Nun danket alle Gott*.

The close of the war aroused new hopes in Scheidt, and in these last years he again returned to writing music for the organ. Thus arose his famous *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*. However, much that is contained therein he had written already in his earlier years for his own personal use. At the time he completed his work, he still had not found a publisher. After looking around for years, a councilman of Görlitz bearing the name of Endermann was persuaded to present the matter of subsidizing the publication of this *Tabulaturbuch* to the town council of Görlitz, which complied with the request and also put the work into the hands of a publisher and printer, Martin Herman of Görlitz. All this quite naturally explains the name *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*; the volume was not prepared, therefore, to supply a special need for the city of Görlitz, but Scheidt dedicated the volume to Görlitz as a token of his gratitude. The volume contains harmonizations of one hundred hymns of which Scheidt thought that they were the chorales most widely used in Germany. Though it is often stated that the *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* is the first *Choralbuch* of the Lutheran Church, Mahrenholz and others rightly point to the fact this volume is not a *Choralbuch* at all and that it differs radically from practically all *Choralbücher* of the Lutheran Church. It is virtually impossible for a congregation to sing to the accompaniment of many of the harmonizations of the *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch*. We are safer in concluding that it serves its purpose best when used with the *Alternatimspraxis* of the Lutheran Church. Various *Kirchenordnungen* encourage us to take this position. A Mecklenburg *Kirchenordnung* of 1650 thus says: "Where organs are available, there should the organist play every other stanza." A *Kirchenordnung* of Braunschweig and Lüneburg of the year 1709 says: "In those churches in which organs are available, it is the duty of the organist to make known the chorale melody, to get the singing of chorales started in the service, and to play a stanza without playing a variation instead; this latter practice is to be followed also while the hymn is in progress of being sung." While it may be true that the settings which Scheidt prepared for his *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* may have differed quite radically from those used in various parishes, this need not have prevented organists from using them in connection with the *Alternatimspraxis*. Not only Scheidt, but also others refused to use slavishly the simplicity insisted upon by Olearius and later by the pietists. It was no more unusual to use both the rhythmical and the isometric version of chorales in connection with the *Alternatimspraxis* than it was to use various harmonizations and to use a very plain version of the chorale for one stanza and a figurate or coloristic version or a chorale variation for another.

In the *Liebfrauenkirche* of Halle there were two organs; this naturally encouraged Scheidt to include echo effects in his organ music. The choir was often divided and its various divisions placed in various parts of the church. We see here the influence of St. Mark's in Venice, of Zarlino, and of Sweelinck. Scheidt was not the only one to take over these ideas; Michael Praetorius resorted to the same practice, as did others. To us this seems theatrical, and to our sensitive ears this sounds very much overdone and even naive. The same applies to a large extent to the use of sequences. Even the music of Bach contains many sequences, and Debussy is known to have ridiculed the music of Bach by stating that it consists of nothing but sequences.

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However, Scheidt made much greater and at the same time less discriminate use of sequences, but it was done for a purpose, namely, to heighten the effect and to add dramatic emphasis. We often are not affected by echoes and sequences in this way, but to the people of the 17th and 18th centuries these devices sounded just as effective as certain other devices seem effective to us today, though they might sound naive and ineffective to people of other generations.

Like other masters of the 17th and 18th centuries, Scheidt used all the musical means at his disposal in order to add to the worth and effectiveness of his music. It did not matter to him that a device or a style which he used had been used previously in secular music, in madrigals, in music written for the virginal, in the music of the colorists, among Roman Catholics and Calvinists, or at court functions; if it served his purpose and served it well, he used it and, to our thinking, he at times used it even injudiciously. What he did was thoroughly in keeping with Luther's remark that we employ everything that hath clapper to praise the Lord. We do not imply thereby that Scheidt was indifferent to liturgical decency and wholesome standards; had this been the case, he would not be among the immortals today, and we recall, too, how in the third part of his *Tabulatura nova* he was sensitive to healthy liturgical worship standards. If we rule out his music for the reasons referred to, we must rule out also the music of practically all Lutheran masters, and the next step we will have to take will be to replace the work of these geniuses of the church with the work of mediocrities and musical nonentities who may have the pious desire to do what is right and wholesome but from whom God Himself has withheld the gifts and the musical sensitivity needed for the creation of first-class church music. Then, too, likely, everything will be regulated by precepts and ordinances instituted by men who do everything according to rote and rule. The *geistliche Konzerte* of Scheidt remind us of this problem. The very word *Konzert* will fill the minds of some with misgivings. However, we wonder at times whether Scheidt should here have chosen the word *Konzert*, since the composition in question sounds more like an accompanied motet. Not a few of these *geistliche Konzerte* should, in fact, be called cantatas, for they have the earmarks of the cantata, and we wonder at times why Scheidt's name is referred to but very rarely and usually not at all when we speak of the church cantata. While the *da capo* aria is still missing, we do have in the *geistliche Konzerte* of Samuel Scheidt mighty opening choruses, duets, chorale variations, an echo chorus, motetlike movements and, at the close, a simple four-part harmonization of the chorale. This type of structure we find, for example, in his *geistliche Konzerte*, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, in which he covers all seven stanzas, and *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*, in which he covers the eight stanzas of the hymn. In connection with this very matter, Mahrenholz^[23] says: "In truth do we find in the music of Scheidt the cantata in such distinct and clear-cut form that we marvel, that in this respect Scheidt has to this day remained unnoticed. We are still without a history of the cantata, especially of the chorale-cantata; when one does appear, it will hardly be able to pass up Samuel Scheidt." We so often speak of Andreas Hammerschmidt (1611–1675) having helped to pave the way for the coming of the cantata through his *Dialogi oder Gespräche zwischen Gott und einer gläubigen Seele* (1645–1669), but the work done by Hammerschmidt along these lines is much further removed from the cantata than the *geistliche Konzerte* of Samuel Scheidt who, let us not forget, belonged to the generation which preceded that of Hammerschmidt. In this respect Scheidt was ahead also of Heinrich Schütz, his contemporary, whose *Dialoge* are in reality no closer to the cantata than the *Dialogi* of Andreas Hammerschmidt. Incidentally, in his *geistliche Konzerte* Scheidt included at least three choral dialogs which he himself had written.

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A relationship exists between Scheidt and the chorale cantata also in this that what Scheidt and, of course, also Sweelinck and the virginalists did by way of instrumental variations was applied by Johann Pachelbel and J. S. Bach in some of their cantatas. We think, for example, of Bach's cantata No. 4, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, which in turn is very similar to that based by Pachelbel, an ardent friend of Scheidt's music, on the same chorale.^[24] When we study and compare these cantatas with the variations of Scheidt, we begin to realize to what great extent a man like J. S. Bach admired and leaned on the work done by his musical forerunners. Although we have no large-scale oratorios by Scheidt, it is believed^[25] that he wrote a contrapuntal setting of the Passion for performance in the churches of Halle in the very midst of the season of Lent, on Laetare Sunday.

While it does not occur often, there are a few instances where Scheidt uses a double orchestra (eight part), e.g., in what we might call his echo symphonies. His orchestral works have a distinct Italian flavor, and in them we find the seed of later orchestral works of Germany, and they show us, too, that Germany was already fairly well along on its way to the leadership it enjoys in the orchestral world to this day. Through Scheidt Germany made rapid strides also as far as the development of musical form was concerned. We discover this already in his *Tabulatura nova*. The colorists had used the terms "fantasy" and "fugue" synonymously; in the music of Scheidt each has more of its own individuality. His toccatas, too, have more individuality of their own, more, for example, than those of Sweelinck, which in large part are modeled after those of Merulo. In other instances, where Sweelinck was influenced by music written for the virginal alone, we see in the music of Scheidt not only the influence of the virginal but also that of the stringed instruments of an orchestra; we refer to the so-called *imitatio violistica*. Scheidt's echoes, too, are more independent than those of his teacher. What Sweelinck calls a fantasy, Scheidt calls a *fuga*. In much of his music, Scheidt is more skillful than his teacher at driving home his principal theme. Willi Apel^[26] states: "On the whole, Scheidt lacks the ingenious imagination of his teacher." While the statement is likely true, some may be inclined to challenge its veracity. Of this we may be sure: Sweelinck is in truth the last of the great Netherland composers, while Scheidt is on the threshold of a new era. Scheidt is more of a transition composer than Sweelinck; at times he seems to be at home neither in the medieval modes nor in the major and minor tonalities. His *Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch* belongs into the new era, and in it we see Scheidt breaking away almost completely from the medieval modes; everything flows and moves along chromatically and otherwise, and only the *cantus firmus* holds its ground without swaying. We here have a foretaste of the chorale harmonizations of Bach. Both masters assigned figuration to each voice, and a polyphonic type of coloration is the result. We find, too, the early development of the figured bass in this music.

In his chorale variations Scheidt does not attempt to interpret the text. The number of his variations does not correspond to the number of stanzas of a hymn. Scheidt perpetuated what he had learned in the field of chorale variations from Sweelinck, whom we must regard as the first great composer of chorale variations. Sweelinck's variations are cycles; therefore his variations are related to one another. It remained for Reinken, Böhm, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, Walther, J. S. Bach, and other composers of the second and third generation after Samuel Scheidt to write variations which were not part of a large interrelated cycle and each of which was independent, capable of serving as an autonomous prelude, offertory, or postlude. That

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Scheidt did not seek to relate his variations to a special stanza becomes apparent also from the fact that he included no repeats in his variations.

Though Samuel Scheidt taught many pupils, only one, Adam Krieger (1634–1666), achieved lasting fame which has endured to the present day. Through Adam Krieger German solo song was related to a folk idiom. Hermann Kretzschmar^[27] is of the opinion that he may have learned this from Scheidt, notably from his *Tabulatura nova*. We have already referred to the fact that Scheidt possessed a strong character. That he was a pious man we may assume without much hesitation. That he was loyal to his Lutheran Church, her teachings, and her traditions becomes evident as we study his life and his music. We may also be sure that he loved the chorales of his church; he used them to so great an extent that we cannot think of his music without thinking of the chorale. By his very insistence that in the performance of his music the chorale be played clearly and distinctly he gave clear evidence of his high regard for the chorale. The chorales were to him an expression of his Christian faith, and it was hardly accidental that the first opus of each of his two most monumental works, the *Tabulatura nova* and his *Geistliche Konzerte*, was a composition based on the Lutheran Credo: *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*. As already stated, Samuel Scheidt died on Good Friday March 24, 1654. The works of Samuel Scheidt did indeed follow him: he became not only the founder of the Central German school of organists and the father of the choral prelude, but with him began the era which culminated in Johann Sebastian Bach. We thank God for having given us Samuel Scheidt.

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14. Published by Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1948, p. 233.
15. *Geschichte des Orgelspiels und der Orgelkomposition* (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1935), I, 386.
16. P. 105.
17. P. 12.
18. P. 388.
19. Cf. Samuel Scheidt, *Six Chorale Preludes on When Jesus on the Cross Was Bound..* St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, OC 339.
20. *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior).

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21. P. 15.

22. The information here given is taken largely from Mahrenholz, pp.15 ff. Mahrenholz in turn gives much credit to Arno Werner, the author of *Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt*; cf. *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, I, 1900, pp. 401 ff. Mahrenholz's volume corrects much misinformation published by Werner.

23. P. 94.

24. This cantata by Johann Pachelbel is being published at this very time by the Bärenreiter Verlag of Kassel, Germany.

25. E.g., by Mahrenholz, p. 96.

26. *Masters of the Keyboard* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 89.

27. *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911), p 93.

Concordia Seminary

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Michael Praetorius Creuzburgensis: Church Musician and Scholar

L. B. Spiess

Let me first ask a question: “Are you familiar with the music of Michael Praetorius?” You are probably thinking to yourself, “Of course I’m familiar with his music: that’s a rather absurd question.” Then I ask you a second question, “With what pieces of Praetorius are you familiar?” Well, you immediately think of “Lo, How a Rose E’er Blooming” (*Es ist ein Ros’ entsprungen*), and then you probably pause a moment. You may each know a few other works, but the fact remains that to most of us Praetorius’ fame is based largely on one single short choral piece. This is rather unique in the whole history of music. There are instances of a composer known for a single large orchestral work or an opera. For example, what other works of Paul Dukas come casually to mind besides the *Sorcerer’s Apprentice*? Dukas is a “one work” composer because of neglect, but at least he is represented by a piece of some dimensions. Michael Praetorius’ reputation is largely based on one single brief little composition. There is a contributing factor to our neglect of Praetorius in that the complete works have been available for only a comparatively short time. The complete edition was finished just before the second world war, so that it is not widely available, and I suppose we can be forgiven for not yet having a Praetorius festival. But the time is now ripe for the performance of more and more of his music and an appraisal of his stature as a composer. What did this “famous unknown” produce, and is his music worthy of performance? Is all comparable in interest to the “Rose” piece, or is that simply a “fluke”? Should we lift him out of the musicological footnotes? Where should he stand in the literature of music, and of church music in particular?

Let us first see just what Praetorius produced as a composer and writer on music. Musicologists have always known of his encyclopedic survey of music, the *Syntagma musicum*, and most dictionary articles to this day are largely confined to a discussion of that scholarly work, with painfully brief mention of the composer’s music. (This is even true of the new *Grove’s Dictionary*, 1954.) I will speak of that theoretical work later, but it is the neglect of any but the most casual mention of his music which is unforgivable in the histories and dictionaries. The works in the complete edition, edited by Blume, are arranged in the chronological order in which they were published in Praetorius’ own lifetime. This very much simplifies our approach to his music since we can see fairly easily the “growth pattern” of his musical style. His style falls into two general periods: the first is dominated by typical sixteenth-century choral technique, and the second shows the emergence of the baroque. The first period is dominated by the style which university music departments like to call “modal counterpoint,” a style largely diatonic, unaccompanied, imitative, and modal. The second period shows a remarkable change of style. There is, first of all, more emphasis on harmony, both in the use of more purely homophonic passages and in a more harmonically conceived counterpoint. In this second period there is also a remarkable use of instruments both in accompanying the choral writing and in independent instrumental passages

Praetorius’ first period we can easily fix as being through the publications of the year 1607. (This period also should include the Latin motets and masses of 1611, which probably were written much earlier than the date of publication.) The second, or later, period includes the publications of the years 1613 through 1621. The published music of the years between 1607 and 1613 varies in style, some works showing close alliance to the sixteenth century and some showing

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tendencies towards the baroque. It is clearly a period of transition in his stylistic development, and not a true “middle period” in the sense of Beethoven’s middle period, for example. One can hardly help noting something of a parallel between the lifetimes of Beethoven and Praetorius in their positions at points of transition between major periods in music history, with Beethoven between classicism and romanticism and Praetorius between renaissance and baroque. It would be difficult to say to which man this complete stylistic change was the more soul-searching problem, though the cleavage between classicism and romanticism could hardly have been greater than the vast change taking place in Praetorius’ lifetime. Both men succeeded in solving the problem, and history has yet to decide whether the influence of Praetorius on the succeeding century was as extensive as that of Beethoven on the romantic century.

Now let us turn to the specific question of Praetorius’ historical and musical significance. I would like to consider this under two headings for the sake of clarity. First, the significance of his theoretical work, the *Syntagma musicum*, and second, the significance of his compositions to history and as music.

First, then, what is Praetorius’ place as a theorist and scholar as represented by his monumental *Syntagma musicum*? The immediate answer that a musicologist will give is, of course, that it is one of the major sources for our modern knowledge of the state of music in the Renaissance and even for certain details of even earlier periods. Volume One is essentially a history of church music; Volume Two is an encyclopedic survey of instruments; and Volumes Three and Four were to have dealt with aspects of theory, though the fourth volume was apparently never completed. It is the first two volumes that are of particular interest to the church musician. Volume One contains a detailed history of church music plus a study of ancient music. Unfortunately Volume One has not been reprinted in modern edition, though several copies of the original edition are extant. The new edition of Grove’s *Dictionary* describes the volume in sufficient detail to make one realize how necessary a reprint of that volume should be to the modern scholar.

Volume Two, at the moment, is of greater interest to us because it is available in a facsimile edition published in 1929 by the Praetorius authority, Wilibald Gurlitt. Since its publication in facsimile the volume has been literally a mine of information to the historian. Let us briefly look at some of the aspects of the facsimile to better appreciate Praetorius as a scholar.

First of all, here is a somewhat free translation of the title page of Volume Two. It will give you an idea of the contents of the book just as Praetorius intended for his readers of 1619:

The second volume of the *Syntagma musicum* by Michael Praetorius of Creuzburg, DE
ORGANOGRAPHIA, in which there is pleasant and charming reading matter, useful and necessary not only for the organist, instrumentalist, organ builder, and instrument maker, as well as all devoted to the Muses, but also useful and necessary for Philosophers, Philologists, and Historians; (and this is namely the following:—) the nomenclature, intonation, and character of all instruments old and new, foreign, barbarian, rustic, and unknown instruments, as well as native, artistic, pleasant, and well-known instruments, together with accurate cuts and drawings of the same; and then also a clear description of old and new organs as to manual and pedal clavier, bellows, specification and many a type of stop, and also how regal and clavicembalo are accurately and easily tuned; and what one considers in building an organ; as

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well as an appended extensive list of illustrations. Printed at Wolfenbuettel by Elias Holwein, etc., etc. Author's edition. Anno Christi, 1619.

I think we may safely say that, as a title page, this is at least adequate. The cuts and illustrations that Praetorius appends to the book are the source of a multitude of illustrations of old instruments that find their way into almost all modern dictionaries and histories. These pictures and the factual information in the text make the book very possibly the most important source for the period. Within the limits of this paper we cannot mention too many details, but one single area of information might suffice to illustrate its significance, namely, the state of the organ about 1600.

Between pages 161 and 203 (42 pages) Praetorius prints detailed stop lists of some two dozen organs in use in Northern Germany at the time. Even a cursory examination of these stop lists provides some amazing information; large three-manual organs with full pedal were in use in Danzig, Hamburg, and Luebeck, to mention just three familiar cities, and there are several other three-manual specifications as well. The number of stops in these three-manual instruments varies from about thirty to about fifty-five. In the general type of stop list, they resemble our more extreme modern baroque revival instruments. In details these instruments are sometimes even more surprising. For example, I might simply mention the frequency with which the tremulant occurs in these specifications, a rather startling fact in the light of arguments as to whether one should or should not use the tremulant in some of Johann Sebastian Bach's chorale preludes, some one hundred years later!

From this brief mention of Praetorius' significance as a scholar we now turn to our second point, namely, the significance of his music to history and to musical literature.

Let us first look at Praetorius' significance in the instrumental field. Certainly the church musician is interested in Praetorius as an organ composer, and you will perhaps be interested also in his works outside the area of church music.

Praetorius' independent instrumental music consists of the following: (1) nine organ pieces of the "organ hymn" type, that is, immediate predecessors of the chorale prelude; (2) a single set of variations for organ; (3) an extensive collection of *bicinia* and *tricina*, designed to be either played or sung; (4) a collection of dances for ensemble instruments; and (5) instrumental "symphonies" in some of the later choral works. In addition to these we might mention that he frequently refers, in the prefaces to his choral publications, to the possibility of doing the choral works either unaccompanied or with voices *and* instruments, or with instruments alone *without voices*, or on the organ. Apparently Praetorius expected much of the choral music to be arranged for instrumental performance, and such a flexibility of medium is not at all abnormal in the Renaissance and the early Baroque Period.

Apart from actual instrumental music, we should also mention some of the composer's projected works which unfortunately did not materialize. In the preface to Part Seven of the *Muses of Zion* (1609; Vol. 7) Praetorius mentions plans to publish toccatas, fugues, fantasies, organ hymns or psalms, ". . . should he live on a bit longer." The composer did live on for twelve years after this publication, but the projected works did not appear, except for six Latin organ

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hymns included in one of the publications of 1611 (*Hymnodia Sionia*; Vol. 12, pp. 7, 45, 46, 147, 240, 254).

Of the instrumental music outlined above, the dance pieces and the instrumental “symphonies” are important to our knowledge of the emergence of certain aspects of the baroque. The collection of dance pieces, published in 1612 under the title *Terpsichore*, is valuable to the early history of the suite. The dances are arranged by type instead of in a given order, as became the practice later. All the dances are French types. They were probably intended simply for entertainment, music for the Duke of Brunswick, to whom Praetorius was *Kapellmeister*. Interestingly enough, this collection is Praetorius’ only venture into the realm of secular music, though in the introduction to the publication he mentions intending to produce similar collections of Italian and English dances. They never appeared, however. The instrumental “symphonies” in the later choral works indicate on the one hand an important influence from renaissance Venice and on the other hand the very beginning of the baroque ensemble—or if you like, orchestral—development in Germany which was to culminate in Johann Sebastian Bach some one hundred years later. These “symphonies” are simply brief instrumental preludes in extended choral pieces. So far as I know, this is the first use of the instrumental “symphonia” in German music, and the only antecedent of the practice is to be found in Venice in the later years of the sixteenth century.

The corpus of organ music by Praetorius includes the nine organ hymns, the solitary set of variations, and the *bicinia* and *tricina*.

The *bicinia* and *tricina* are the most immediately interesting of the organ works for the listener. They are short pieces in two or three parts based on German chorale melodies and are very much like the chorale prelude in technique of composition. In general these pieces make one think distantly of Bach’s *Little Organ Book*: in the case of both Bach and Praetorius the chorale melodies are treated imaginatively within the limits of very brief little pieces.

Praetorius’ *bicinia* are two-voiced, and are either to be sung by two descant singers (i.e., boy sopranos) or to be played on the organ on two keyboards. This manner of performance is specifically stated by the composer himself in the original introduction to the volume (Vol. 9, p. VIII). The *tricina* are to be performed by the organist doing the middle part, the two outer parts being sung by individual singers, creating an interesting and unique sort of sacred chamber music.

The organ hymns, or “psalms,” as Praetorius calls them, are extended pieces based on either a Latin plainsong melody or a German chorale. In the six Latin organ hymns (Vol. 12; see above) the plainsong melody is treated as a *cantus firmus*, whereas the three based on German chorales (Vol. 7, pp. 263–304) handle the chorale melody with imagination and are musically more interesting than the plainsong-based pieces. The most important of the three German organ hymns is the one based on “A Mighty Fortress Is Our God.” (I might here call attention to the excellent scholarly edition by Dr. Fleischer, published by Concordia.) The imitative motet principle is the dominant structural technique in this work, as with the other German organ hymns, with each successive phrase of the original chorale melody becoming the subject of a point of imitation. This is, of course, one of the major chorale prelude types throughout the development of that form. We need only call to mind the monumental *Aus tiefer Noth* of Bach

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to see an example of the same technique as used by the Eisenach master. These three German organ hymns of Praetorius, interestingly enough, antedate by some fifteen years the chorale preludes of Samuel Scheidt's *Tabulatura nova* of 1624, which one usually thinks of as representing the beginning of the true German chorale prelude.

The set of variations on "Now Praise the Lord, O My Soul," is much less imaginative than the organ hymns. It is characterized by a great deal of mechanical passage work that shows a rather obvious influence of Sweelinck or of the English virginalists.

Now let us turn to the significance of the choral music. I don't believe I need mention how little is available in modern edition for practical performance. Looking casually through the standard catalogs one finds several versions of "Lo, How a Rose," and there are about a half dozen or so other similar short pieces available. Peters Edition recently brought out what is probably the most important piece so far available, namely the cantatalike work *Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern*, which originally appeared in the *Puericinium* of 1621 (Vol. 19, p. 94). It is a fine example of Praetorius' later style, showing the emergence of the true baroque. The setting is for double chorus with independent instrumental accompaniment of strings and winds.

We might ask why there is not more of his choral music available. Is it because the music is not worthy of a hearing, or is it because of sheer neglect? I am afraid it is mainly for the last reason—neglect. Of course the complete edition was only recently finished, the last volumes dating from 1936 to 1940 (the edition was begun about 1929). With the difficulties in Europe intervening about 1940, the set has not been generally available to scholars until the last few years, so that publishers will now begin to make up for time lost and improve our acquaintance with Michael Praetorius with at least a few more practical editions.

As an introduction to a somewhat more detailed discussion of the choral music let me put into words two questions which I am sure are crossing your minds: (1) Is the choral music of interest to an audience, or is it only of musicological interest? and (2) What is its historical place, particularly in the development of church music?

As to the first question, whether the choral music has "audience appeal," the answer is decidedly in the affirmative. For example, if we simply take the pieces similar to "Lo, How a Rose," we find three volumes full of similar compositions, or about seven hundred such works. Some of those pieces are original with Praetorius (like "Lo, How a Rose"), and others are settings of familiar chorales such as *Ein' feste Burg* or the *Vater Unser*. Almost all are set in the same quasi-chorale style, but with great imagination within the limits of that simple idiom. Among his later works are many large cantatalike works which could very well take their place alongside the cantatas of Bach musically as well as in their usefulness and appropriateness to the various seasons of the year. The *Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern* mentioned above is one of those. Another one, perhaps even more interesting, is the lovely *Singet und klinget*, based on the melody *Joseph, lieber Joseph mein*, which some of you may know in the nineteenth-century setting by Johannes Brahms for alto voice with viola and piano (Opus 91). And these works are just samples, more or less at random, of the many treasures waiting to be discovered in Praetorius' choral works. One is almost reminded, though perhaps in a lesser degree, of the rediscovery of Bach's choral works in the nineteenth century. It seems to me that here is actually a composer of major stature who, for all practical purposes, is completely

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unknown to us today. One can perhaps hope that by the time we are ready to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1972 our composer will have taken his proper musical place in church literature.

As to the second question stated just above, the historical significance of his choral music in the development of church music, even a superficial survey of his choral compositions discovers some remarkable aspects. Praetorius seems to be the exact figure in whose music the baroque style emerges in the development of German music. His earlier choral music is under the obvious influence of men such as Orlandus Lassus, the Spaniard Victoria, or the Italian Marenzio. In point of fact, Praetorius actually mentions the influence of these three men in one of his prefaces (cf. Vol. 9, p. ix). The later style has its origin in the influence of Venice and the brilliant Venetian style, and also the influence of the experiments in dramatic music in Italy at the turn of the century. The works of the transitional middle years show an influence which seems to be that of Johann Walter.

Now, to better understand his historical significance, let us turn to a survey of his musical production. Most of Praetorius' works were published within his own lifetime, and this situation is largely due to his fortunate position as *Kapellmeister* to the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbuettel. Praetorius' publications appeared in about the order in which they were composed, and the complete edition of Blume follows the order of original publication. Hence, one need only casually to glance through the complete edition to see something of the growth and change of style throughout the entire compass of his work from the earliest published compositions of 1605 to the *Puericinium* of the year of his death, 1621.

The first four volumes of the *Muses of Zion* (1605–07; Volumes 1 through 4, complete edition) contain motets in a typical sixteenth-century style, unaccompanied, in modal counterpoint, with the imitative principle dominant. (The texts are in German.) The influence here is probably that of Orlandus Lassus mainly. As pointed out before, the composer himself actually mentions this influence, as well as that of Victoria and Marenzio (*Muses of Zion*, Part IX; Vol. 9, p. ix). To have a composer be so kind to the later historian is a situation almost unheard of in music history. One suspects that Praetorius, being a scholar and historian himself, probably realized—or at least hoped—that posterity might be interested in his music.

In Part Five of the *Muses of Zion* (1607; Vol. 5) we already begin to see hints of a new influence, which crystallizes in Parts Six through Eight of the *Muses of Zion* (1609–10; Vols. 6–8). This is the influence of the German chorale and seems possibly to be the influence specifically of Johann Walter, as already suggested earlier in this paper. Practically all the pieces in Parts Six through Eight are set in choralelike style, a remarkable change from the contrapuntal idiom of the earlier works.

Part Nine of the *Muses of Zion* (1610; Vol. 9) contains the *bicinia* and *tricinia* about which we have already spoken. In the light of historical considerations one can perhaps see the significance of these pieces occurring at this point in Praetorius' development. A change was taking place in the composer's thinking, with the function of the chorale for the German church composer becoming more and more significant in the composing of new music.

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The tenth through thirteenth volumes of the complete edition interrupt our convenient chronological sequence. There is reason to believe that these works were written much earlier than the actual dates of publication. Volume Ten contains "Motets and Latin Psalms of the Muses of Zion," with a publication date of 1607, which clearly places that collection with the earlier period, and the style of the music is of the Orlandus Lassus character. Volumes Eleven through Thirteen contain various Latin works in a similar style, all published in 1611 but probably actually written about 1607 or earlier. Volume Fourteen contains Latin works also, but with certain features which point to their dating from the earlier part of the transitional period, probably from somewhere in the neighborhood of 1607 or 1608. This volume is a collection of Latin Magnificats, but with interpolated passages in German in a curious style that is a mixture of the German chorale style and the Italian secular madrigal style. (Cf. the influence of Marenzio!)

Volume Fifteen contains the collection of dances which looks forward to the instrumental suite, as already mentioned.

The *Urania* of 1613 (Vol. 16) marks the beginning of the later period. The contents of *Urania* consist of polychoral settings of German chorales for two, three, or four choruses. The settings are essentially homophonic but seem to be allied to the massive choral effect of Venetian polyphony as much as to the influence of the chorale. There are aspects of the music itself which point to this influence, such as the sense for color in the alternating of the choruses and then their joining in "tutti" passages. If additional evidence were needed, there is concrete and specific evidence of this Venetian influence in the composer's own introduction to the volume. Praetorius has been speaking about the problem of keeping the two or more choirs together when separated at some distance. He mentions the practice in Italy of using a *basso continuo* to keep the choirs together and goes on to say that this practice is to be seen in the "previously unheard" concerti and motets of the "splendid composer and organist Giovanni Gabrieli." (Vol. 16, p. xiv)

With the *Polyhymnia* of 1619 (Vol. 17) the baroque style emerges even more fully. Here we have independent instrumental accompaniments and the use of figured bass throughout. (N. B.: Heading the title page are the words *Bassus-generalis, seu continuus*.) Besides the instrumental innovations, the contrapuntal lines now become more typically baroque than renaissance, with the more obviously instrumental-type lines characteristic of the newer period. All of the works in this volume, moreover, are extended, cantatalike compositions which show a probable acquaintance with the early dramatic experiments of Monteverdi and the Florentine composers.

I might remark parenthetically here that these later works make one think remarkably of Praetorius' younger contemporary, Heinrich Schütz, and make one wonder to just what extent the younger German may have been influenced by the older man. One usually considers Schütz's stylistic source to have been mainly from Italy.

To return to the *Polyhymnia* of 1619, we might cite as an example of the form and style of this collection the *Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme* (Vol. 17, pp. 192–228). It is set for four choruses, though the fourth chorus appears only near the very end, and choruses one and two are in only two parts and, stylistically, seem intended for solo voices. In addition to the vocal parts there is a remarkably full orchestra consisting of strings, two "cornets," and four trombones. The cornet

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parts are elaborately virtuoso in style, rather like the baroque trumpet parts in Bach or Handel. The piece is in three movements, the first being preceded by a brief orchestral introduction leading directly into the opening chorus. An orchestral introduction is quite common in these works and often is a completely independent short movement by itself. The figured bass, or continuo, is present throughout the entire piece. The chorale melody is treated freely and imaginatively, and in some ways even more freely than is true of the Bach cantatas. Certainly the *Wachet auf* and all Praetorius' later comparable works are true cantatas in all but name.

Pieces in the remaining three volumes are comparable to the *Wachet auf*. We might call attention to some particularly interesting examples in these last volumes. (1) "Christ Lay in the Bonds of Death" (*Polyhymnia exercitatrix*; Vol. 18, pp. 44–53): this is a single-movement work and not as extended as the *Wachet auf* but uses instrumental accompaniment, and its choral parts are even more typically baroque than in that above-mentioned composition. A casual glance at a page calls to mind a page of a Bach cantata. (2) *Singet und klinget* (*Puericinium*, 1621; Volume 19, p. 30). This is a cantata-like work after the manner of the *Wachet auf*, in three movements with instruments. The melody on which the composition is based is the familiar *Joseph, lieber Joseph mein* mentioned earlier (cf. Brahms). (3) *Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern* (*ibid.*; Vol. 19, p. 94): This is the work recently published by Peters Edition. In every sense of the word it is a true cantata. There are movements and an independent instrumental accompaniment. Moreover, Praetorius here begins to make a distinction in print between the full chorus and the solo voice, indicating the full chorus with the word *omnes* and the solo voice with either *solus* or *voce*. This innovation results in something like the coloristic effect of the solo quartet versus the chorus in Beethoven's *Missa solennis*!

The final volume of the complete edition (Vol. 20) contains miscellaneous works, not necessarily all of the last period. The most remarkable work here is the *116th Psalm*, published posthumously in 1623. It is not quite as advanced stylistically as the works mentioned before: the instruments largely double the voices, and the Italian influence in the vocal writing is too obviously newly acquired and not yet assimilated. The influence seems to be that of Monteverdi, and several passages are suspiciously like the madrigal-type choruses in that composer's *Orfeo*. It probably dates from Praetorius' first contact with the Italian dramatic influence, and that would place it somewhere between 1613 and 1619.

To sum up the significance of Praetorius in history: it would seem that a reappraisal is in order for the beginnings of the German baroque. We have usually conventionally ascribed to Schütz and Scheidt the origins of the baroque in Germany; to Schütz the emergence of baroque church music and to Scheidt the foundation for baroque organ music. It would begin to seem that quite possibly both men owed their ideas in surprisingly large measure to Michael Praetorius. We can perhaps hope that by the time of Praetorius' four-hundredth anniversary (1972) we can do justice to his place in the development of music and particularly that of church music.

M P C

Michael Praetorius Creuzburgensis

Born, 1572, at Creuzburg (hence, Creuzburgensis)

Died, 1621, at Wolfenbuettel, as Kapellmeister to the Duke of Brunswick

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CHORAL COMPOSITIONS (keyed to the complete works, Fr. Blume, ed.)

- A. Motet-style works (motets, masses, etc.; German or Latin text; typical 16th-century influence)
 - Vols. 1–4 (1605–07)—German texts
 - Vols. 10–12 (1607 and 1611)—Latin texts (origin before 1607?)
- B. Motet-style works (German and/or Latin text; mixed influence)
 - Vols. 5 and 14 (1607 and 1611, resp.; origin ca. 1607?)
- C. Transitional works using chorales
 - Vols. 6, 7, 8—homophonic chorale settings (1609–10),
(Ex.: “Lo, How a Rose” —Vol. 6)
- D. Later style: elaborate chorale treatments, or cantatalike works.
 - Vol. 16—polychoral chorale settings
 - Vol. 18—baroque-type motets using chorales; instruments
 - Vols. 17, 19, 20—cantatalike works using instruments;
chorale subject material

INSTRUMENTAL COMPOSITIONS (cf. the complete works)

- A. Ensemble
 - Vol. 15—dances
- B. Organ music
 - Six Latin organ hymns; volume 12 (1611; but probably dating from ca. 1607), pp. 7, 45, 46, 147, 240, 254
 - Bicinia* and *tricina*, Vol. 9 (1610)
 - Three German organ hymns and variations: Vol. 7 (1609)

MODERN EDITIONS, outside complete works:

- A. Organ
 - 1. Complete organ music: ed. Gurlitt, 1929 (out of print)
 - 2. “A Mighty Fortress,” ed. Fleischer, Concordia
 - 3. Miscellaneous examples in Peters’ *Alte Meister* publications
- B. Choral
 - 1. *Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern*. Peters
 - 2. Miscellaneous short choruses, G. Schirmer, Carl Fischer, etc.

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Washington University, St.
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Heinrich Schütz: Composer of the Bible

Willem Mudde

One evening in the year 1598 a carriage stopped in front of the inn called *zum Schützen* in the old village of Weissenfels, Germany. A prominent guest stepped out, Count Moritz von Hessen, who because of his scholarship was also called Moritz the Learned. He was on a journey, probably now on his way home, and he had stopped here for no other reason than to spend the night. The short stay of this Hessian prince at this inn, however, was to take on a different significance before he left. In fact, it would take on much greater significance. For here, this evening, he was to make a discovery that would have historical consequences.

History chronicles exactly how it happened. The young prince lingered awhile in the family circle of the innkeeper, Christoph Schütz. In the course of the family's informal music making he heard the 13-year-old son, Heinrich, singing. What he was singing we do not know. But the trained ear of Moritz' musical nature perked up, and the delicate intuition of his aristocratic spirit comprehended immediately that in this boy existed something special. Martin Geyer, Schütz's biographer, says that the count was literally moved by young Heinrich's singing. In fact he was so moved that he immediately proposed to Heinrich's parents that they should permit the boy to go with him on the very next day to his residence at Kassel so that he might train him there in the fine arts and courtly virtues.

Moritz the Learned had seen correctly. His expectations were not disappointed. From the immature voice of young Heinrich grew the mature musical opus of the great Schütz, the opus of a master. Not only the opus of a man of talent, for talent is only the best form of the possible. No, his was the opus of a genius, which Dr. Moser characterizes as the realization of the impossible, which makes mockery of all calculation and speculation about its causes because it falls from heaven. Schütz's contemporaries always appreciated his work. Although he expressly preferred the modern idiom he held fast to the traditional but not to the conventional. They were witnesses to the pilgrimage he made while still a young man to the musical mecca of that era, namely, the Venice of Giovanni Gabrieli. They learned from his first works that he had drunk long and deep from the sparkling goblet of the *nuove musichi*, the modern Italian style which overflowed with new zest for life and a new ideal of sound. The attraction of sound differentiation, the fascination of the contrasting effects of vocal and instrumental choirs, of the *tutti* and *solì*, and the sensation of the musical word expression, all of this they breathlessly took in from his Italian madrigals, his *Psalms of David* of 1619, his *Resurrection Story*, and—to name just one more example—his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1625. During the dark years of the Thirty Years' War, Schütz was *Kapellmeister* at the court in Dresden. His artistry acquired new profundity because of the serious wartime situation, and he became a shining figure to his contemporaries. They drew strength and comfort from his *Shorter Psalms* and from his *Musikalische Exequien*, which is a requiem mass pointing beyond death and the grave. Hope and encouragement they received from his *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* and from his *Geistliche Chormusik* written in the year of the Peace of Westphalia, 1648. To be sure, toward the twilight of his years he was a lonely man. He was alone also in this sense, that he had arrived at a level which in the history of the human spirit is seldom achieved, and then by very few. His creative powers, however did not desert him here. In extreme concentration he set himself to the task of what he called the revision and compilation of some of his former ideas and inspirations. With

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the last works he wrote, he hoped to serve God and the world even after his death. They were the *Zwoelf geistliche Gesaenge* of 1657, the *Christmas Oratorio*, and last of all the *German Magnificat*, the work of an 87-year-old man, his musical “last will and testament” and at the same time his confession and farewell: “My soul doth magnify the Lord.” Although in later years Schütz had withdrawn from public life, his contemporaries did not forget him. Naturally they were not able to envision the extent of his significance in the history of music. They could not realize the key position he held in the transition from renaissance to baroque. They had not yet concerned themselves with the problems with which we are now concerned, namely, the profound resources of his person and thought. For them he was without a doubt a Protestant like them, who in the words of Friedrich Blume reworked the musical forms of Roman Catholic and secular Italy and produced a music which amounts to a Lutheran confession in musical sound. They were grateful to him and honored him as *musicus excellentissimus*, the most excellent of musicians.

Historically speaking, however, it is not extraordinary that after his death Schütz was soon forgotten. His age possessed no historical consciousness, and in addition it was interested in the new music which the next years brought. It was left to a later age to discover Schütz again. In the same way Bach, after he had long been forgotten, was discovered anew. With Schütz, however, it took longer than with Bach, but it did happen in 1834, and once more it was a learned man who came upon Schütz’s trail. It was Carl von Winterfeld, by profession a lawyer but by preference a devoted student of music history.

In the same way as Moritz the Learned, he, too, was not actually looking for Schütz. You could also say that he was on a journey, for he had ascended the mountain of Bach to get a clear look at the horizon. You might say he was paying a visit to the Gabrieli family, studying their works and the works of their pupils, and in so doing he suddenly discovered Schütz. With his inner ear he heard him singing. In this discovery of Schütz it was not a matter of intuition but rather of professional understanding to comprehend the significance of the encounter. Carl von Winterfeld proved that he was enough of a professional. In his two books on Johann Gabrieli he brought Schütz, along with others, back into the limelight. Great was the excitement this discovery produced, and great was the movement that followed it. It was the signal for further investigations which finally led to the publication of all the rediscovered works of the master—in 16 large volumes. This also led to a series of studies on Schütz’s art which culminated in the great Schütz biography by Prof. Dr. Hans Joachim Moser, a worthy pendant to Spitta’s book on Bach and Abert’s work on Mozart. After the comeback made by Bach, a Schütz renaissance was possible and to be expected. And it did come! It came in such proportions that it was simply astounding. In this connection I should like to mention the *Singbewegung* in Germany and elsewhere which has worked so intensively with Schütz’s music, that not long ago the director of a church music school remarked that he had determined while enrolling new students that nowadays “young people know every available note of Schütz’s music” better than Bach’s music! He was referring, naturally, to young folks interested in church music. But these people exist today in no small numbers. The rebirth of Schütz’s music is confirmed by the fact that in addition to a Bach Society, a Mozart Society, and a Bruckner Society, there has also existed for many years a Schütz Society. In fact, there is even a new Schütz Society, the successor of the former one, which is now publishing a new edition of Schütz’s works. Together these two societies have sponsored twelve Heinrich Schütz festivals. These festivals, regardless of where

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they were held, were extremely well received. Schütz's setting of the psalms of David, the *cantiones sacrae*, his religious choir music, and above all, his little religious concertos have become known and loved in ever-widening circles. In addition (and this is not unimportant) the majority of the significant young composers of contemporary *musica sacra* have found education and inspiration in this newly discovered Schütz. To make a long story short, one can say the old *Kapellmeister* of Dresden has once more become a reality, a symbol for many. He lives again.

The question arises how all this was possible. Didn't Schütz belong to that group of ancient masters who were buried behind the grandiose figure of J. S. Bach? Bach, who excelled them and who superseded them, while they, according to a contemporary philosophy of music history, merely prepared the way for Bach, that is, they were nothing more than his forerunners? We come now to several discoveries that have been made on the subject in our own time. These have taken place not in the quiet of the music expert's study but rather have come about through practical association with Schütz, an association which has taken place primarily against the background of our encounter with the tragedy of the stormy world and time in which we live. Wars and revolutions bring about a reevaluation of all values; and so also this philosophy of music has become outmoded. Thus we know today better than previous generations could that the history of music is not a straight line which begins with Dufay and ends with Schoenberg, or according to some others ends with Beethoven or Brahms. We have discovered and learned that the history of music is rather a circle encompassing the present and that sometimes it can happen and does happen that in a certain period and situation Mozart, for example, comes closer to us than Mendelssohn, and that Schütz is closer than Schubert or Schumann. Thus, although the master is old, he is not therefore antiquated. In the same way Schütz's famous contemporaries Rembrandt and Rubens, Shakespeare and Paul Gerhardt, though old, are not antiquated. No, the re-encounter with the Schütz who personally lived through the horrifying holocaust of the Thirty Years' War has prepared us for this discovery: that we of the twentieth century with our world wars and rumors of wars stand very close to him. We have discovered that he is our kindred spirit with his profound, continually vital—rather revitalized—tone language, that he has something to say to us, that he belongs to us, that he is able to grant us light and joy to look once more with courage and with comfort into the darkness of our times.

Professor Dr. Theodore Adorno, the Schoenberg apostle and sociologist of music, a non-Christian and a musical radical, has expressed his veto upon the composers of the new church music. He has accused them of archaism. He claims that they are not genuinely modern, precisely because they begin by latching on to Schütz again and to his forms (which by the way is not necessarily imitation). Everyone today who still finds his foundation in the church, who has respect for the culture which has come and still comes forth from the worship life of the church, and who knows at least something about the proven strength of her tradition will not be misled by Adorno's sharp, arrogant, and incorrect verdict. For the churchman can show Adorno that in Schütz we find today hints of a free tonality and melody which, as Ernst Pepping has shown, can be further evaluated and utilized without radically breaking with the past and without robbing our technical world and mechanical mankind of their salutary bonds with former times. I should like to point to the beginning of the 84th Psalm, "How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts," and point to Schütz's musical setting of these words and ask whether this particle of

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ancient music does not sound “modern” in that sense (and modern enough in our ears) and whether his tonicless beginning does not indicate a way out of the pinch of romantic cadence harmonics that is better and fuller of perspective than the way proposed by twelve-tone music.

However, there is something completely different with Schütz that yet remains to be discovered, something for which Adorno undoubtedly has no ear, no antenna, but something which for us church musicians at the present is especially important.

To one who knows something of the history of liturgy and church music the classical problem of the relationship between word and tone, music and text, is well known. He knows how in the course of the centuries the emphasis has shifted from word to music. In Gregorian the word was primary, and music was the servant which merely gave a tone of reverence to the words. Music was genuinely *ancilla*—handmaiden. With the many voices of ancient polyphonic music a different situation arose: the text became incomprehensible in the contrapuntal structure. However, in the *musica reservata* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as in the *monodie*, this was corrected to this extent, that the text determined the new forms of expression and thus received once more a central position. Later though, especially in romantic music, which was the expression of personal subjective “emotional life,” music once more assumed primacy over the word. And in the so-called religious music of the last century, which in the meantime in many congregations and churches has been experiencing its second, third, fourth, and fifth rejuvenation and evidently cannot be killed in this religious music, the sacred Word hangs so loosely to an overwhelming banal melody that word and tone actually have nothing to do with each other. If only present-day church members, our pastors, our synods, and finally, *all* church musicians would realize this! Then for instance you, too, here in America would immediately have a new hymnbook and a different church-music practice.

Therefore it is no small wonder that in the meantime, as this low point in church music arrived (you can still hear this in “little brown churches of the air”), a reaction ensued, promoted by the liturgical, and above all, the church-music renewal of our time. Thus one can understand that this renewal was extreme to begin with in that it fastened upon the ancient Gregorian, which had also flourished alongside of polyphonic music in the young Lutheran Church, as the ultimate ideal. This had its effect in the new art of the motet, where for example a half-tone step was avoided and the whole-tone step was considered *more pious*. Without a doubt Adorno was justified in his mocking reference to this (one might almost say) pedantry. Since that time, however, important changes have occurred. The re-encounter with the treasure of old church music and the rise of a new church music has led to conscious contemplation of the whole complex of questions about liturgy and music, word and tone, church and art, etc., and finally has induced a theology of music in which music per se is taken seriously and illuminated. With this theology Lutheranism arrives at different results from Roman Catholicism, for whom Gregorian is something holy and determinative. Lutheranism also arrives at other results than Reformed theology. For Reformed theology, music per se is still something dangerous, it remains a threat to the Word. Lutheran theology comes to this result, that music per se, music as a phenomenon, as a gift of God, and, as Luther additionally emphasized, as “instrument of the Holy Spirit,” possesses its own rights and inherent laws, that it ought to have these, and that, when connected with the Word, it need not nor should not abandon these laws, if it really wants to serve the Word, that is, in its limited expression to help it. It would take us too far

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afield to go deeper into the development of a theology of music. Suffice it to say that such a theology has recently achieved a high point in the significant study by Dr. Oscar Söhngen in the book *Leiturgia*, in his attempt at a trinitarian understanding of music. This is a piece of work that is not only genuinely interesting but even fascinating. For our purposes these two points must be made: (1) Luther's famous hymn of praise to music was not spoken merely by Luther the musical reformer but also by Luther the serious theologian. This hymn of praise was not addressed only to a subordinated "service" music, not even to church music in the common sense of the term, but to music itself, that is, the free and great art. According to his theology there is no such thing as sacred church music per se, there is no essentially sacred music. (2) It is especially revealing that the Reformed theologian Karl Barth places Mozart above Bach. For the consequence of this is, that Barth, a good disciple of Calvin, wants to have no art in the church, being still afraid that the Word will be smothered, and therefore he has no interest in Bach, although he can enjoy Mozart unendingly in the concert hall. The result is that in the current Reformed Church a division of music is made which from a Lutheran point of view is completely unjustified and incorrect.

Barth believes—as he once wrote—that the angels in heaven, while on the job, will most likely sing Bach publicly, but that in their spare time, when they are just with one another, without a doubt they will play Mozart. It is my opinion, however—to follow Barth's train of thought—that the angels will sing Schütz and the modern composers whom he has inspired above and beyond all others. Why? Because in the first place I believe that the angels together with the "cloud of witnesses" will sing praise unceasingly to God and to the Lamb. They will have no spare time because time will exist no more. They will be busy doing this with the striking texts of the psalms and the Biblical canticles. Secondly, I am bold enough to maintain that even the angels know no other master who, like Schütz, was able to make these sacred texts alive and transparent in a marvelous balance of word and music. For in this balance the music sanctifies nothing of its own existence, although the text has inspired it and, on the other hand, the word loses none of its value although because of the music it has attained greater expression and higher precision.

Let us look for a moment at the central position which Schütz occupies in the historical development of the relationship between music and text. He lived after Josquin des Pres, the man in whom *musica reservata* with its objectively applied "affects" conquered the old *musica speculativa*. He began working at a time when Palestrina had already followed the wishes of Pope Marcello in using texts for the church's music which the normal ear could understand. He composed shortly after Monteverdi had used the *stilo concitato*, *stilo temperato*, and *stilo molle* to clarify and bring out the content of a text polyphonically. Schütz wrote his outstanding works before this new musical development had lost its objective substratum and before it had embarked on individualistic subjective dead ends.

Let us further take a precise look at how he exercised his creativity in giving musical structure to his texts and in his serious concern for balance between text and music. We know a few things about this subject from a treatise on composition by one of his pupils, namely, the *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* of Christoph Bernhard, published in 1926 by Josef Marie Müller-Blattau. This book introduces us to the technique of Schütz's composition. It gives us insight into the rules by which the maestro gave musical expression to such concepts as redemption and doubt, such words as weeping and joy. It shows us how he went about giving musical form to

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certain basic motifs such as peaceful release and a growing sense of power. It explains to us such things as the significance of rising motifs in Schütz's interpretation of the text, and the use of an "organ point" when the text speaks of serenity or confidence. To make a long story short, this document describes Schütz's *stylus luxurians communis*, in which both *oratio* and *harmonica domina*, text and music, word and tone, stand in perfect balance. One simply must read this interesting document which introduces the profound artistry of Schütz. For our purposes let me quote one concluding statement from the editor's introduction. He wrote:

There is no motif which does not correspond to the form of the text, no motif whose *Affekt* runs counter to the content of the text. On the contrary: the musical invention is almost completely oriented toward the text. It clings closely to the system of accentuation which syntax dictates and gives sensations lively expression. On the other hand, the musical motifs are at the same time pure musical structures of independent value constructed according to musical laws and comprehensible on the basis of these laws even apart from the text.

In this connection one question: Could the same remarks be made about Bach? Is it not rather the case that since Bach could use the same music for different texts, for him the connection between word and music is basically much less intimate? Therefore we may ask, From this point of view is there really any other maestro who, like Heinrich Schütz, possessed the skill to unify, unite and weld text and music to each other? Is there besides Schütz any other composer who was able to permeate word with music and music with word as he was? Is it not therefore natural that for those of us who are concerned today with both word and music Schütz has once more become a lively reality? Even more so than Bach? Even more than the so-called eternal and supra-personal Gregorian music, which we naturally appreciate, which Schütz also used, which however immediately took a second role to his polyphonic music (I am tempted to say "Lutheran" polyphonic music) whenever his prime concern was to provide a text not merely with a vehicle of expression but to give it decisive power.

To carry on, in the artistic treasure-house of Heinrich Schütz there is more to be discovered. Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Ehmann, the musicologist and practicing church musician, has demonstrated this in his endeavors to determine how Schütz's music was performed, what it really sounded like, and he has done this much more critically than his predecessors.

We said before that Schütz owes his revival to Carl von Winterfeld, the first person to re-encounter him in the middle of the last century. This means that Schütz was rediscovered in the era of the restoration of a cappella, that is, at a time when a cappella singing was considered the highest ideal, the purest tonal art. Therefore, it was self-evident that the music of the Reformation (just like Palestrina) had to be performed without instruments. For it was universal opinion that instrumental music could only detract from a musical work of art. To quote a document from 1887, instrumental music "annihilates, destroys, and renders a genuine work of art impossible." Thereby Schütz's works were drawn into this vocal music movement. They were drawn into a romantic movement which in addition did not hesitate to take Bach's chorales out of their vocal-instrumental setting and calmly to interpret them with *crescendi* and *decrescendi*, with *rubati* and *ritardandi*, which, as we all know today, is absolutely incorrect.

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There is one possible excuse for this. The manner in which Schütz's music existed at the time of its discovery in the 19th century could easily lead to the conclusion that it really was meant to be sung a cappella. In the section parts—at Schütz's time there was no such thing as an instrumental score, for only the individual vocal parts were written out—in these section parts instruments are seldom mentioned. To understand this correctly demands a more exact knowledge of Schütz's time. One has to reinvestigate the manner of performing music at that time, and then co-ordinate this with the fact that the famous picture of Schütz with his choir in the Castle Church at Dresden shows not only singers but also a whole long row of instrumentalists as a part of the choir.

Nevertheless, our predecessors ought to have known something about this mixed vocal-instrumental music practice which was customary and taken for granted in Schütz's day. For many of the titles and forewords of Schütz's works indicate that the maestro was operating with the assistance of various instruments. Even in the motets of the *Geistliche Chormusik* of 1648, his most choral work, apparently intended to be sung a cappella, Schütz writes the following notation: "to be used both *vocaliter* and *instrumentaliter*." In addition, here and there in some of the section parts specific instruments are indicated: for example, in such simple notations as "trombone solo" or "cornet solo," etc. Especially in Schütz' 150th Psalm for four choirs is this the case. Here every instrument mentioned in the psalm is brought into the performance.

But now we have arrived at the problem for which the 19th century had no possible solution. The use of a wide variety of instruments in Schütz's time was in the first place so much taken for granted, secondly, so closely bound with singing, and thirdly, so much a matter of improvisation on the part of the players that no composer needed to make precise notations or even to write out the instrumental score. Everything proceeded according to established laws and rules, traditions and customs, or to put it differently, it proceeded according to a common music practice of combining voices and instruments which today we call *Kantoreipraxis*. Since Schütz's time this has ceased to exist, and thus has arisen the problem of how to perform Schütz's music. Thus it was simpler for our forefathers to perform Schütz's music without instruments and to publish it this way in new editions. Thus it is also to be understood that even nowadays certain editors and publishers don't bother their brains about the problem of instrumentation in Schütz (if they have any brains at all) and consequently still try to convince the public that Schütz's music is purely vocal. In the meantime, however, a penetrating investigation in this area has taken place. In 1916 the *Syntagma musicum* of Michael Praetorius was published by Bernoulli. This book, from the year 1619, reveals a great deal about the ancient *Kantoreipraxis* and also clarifies the issue of improvisation. As mentioned above, it has been primarily Wilhelm Ehmann who has worked on the problems of the music of this era and especially the music of Schütz. His research as well as his practical work may well be considered the primary cause for our present knowledge of how Schütz's music was meant to be performed and how his works ought to sound. Ehmann has preserved the results of his many years of work in various monographs. As far as musical practice is concerned, however, it is even more important that he has put out a new series of practical editions of Schütz's music which once more put us in a position to perform Schütz true to his own style. The Bärenreiter Publishing Co. of Kassel, Germany, is printing this series. In these editions the ancient *Kantoreipraxis* is made the basic principle. Instruments are once more set together with the choirs to strengthen and to add color to their sound. This is done not arbitrarily but on the basis of scientifically determined and rediscovered

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rules. Thus, for example, the various instruments are fitted together in family groups, and as in the case of vocal choirs they play groupwise back and forth against one another. In these texts not only the thorough bass is worked out, but in addition that which originally was improvised is also written out, especially in the cadences of a work or at the end, when, for example, trumpets and timpani competed with each other to intensify the brilliance of the sound. I should like to call everyone's attention to this musicological and practical work of Prof. Ehmann and especially urge, above all, that his directives be followed. For the issue here is not one of mere historicism. It is not a mere technical musical issue. But it is the matter of the genuine sound-structure of Heinrich Schütz. The sound of instruments belongs to his choral music. Trumpets and timpani belong to his psalms of praise. Anyone who has ever heard Schütz performed like this is even more profoundly impressed. It is similar to what happens when an old painting has been chemically cleaned and the dust removed from the canvas. At first glance one is tempted to criticize what the cleaning has done for the old picture isn't there any more. But after one has gotten used to the new, after one has overcome the initial astonishment, one then acquires all of a sudden a new approach to the picture, and one sees it with more clarity and brilliance than ever before. It is as if a new world opens up, a world of undreamed of beauty. At least this is the case with Schütz. For him a cappella performance is the dust which the newly discovered *Kantoreipraxis* wipes away.

But now the question arises: What, then, about the text? If Schütz's music depends on the word, won't the instruments drown out or at least threaten the word? Naturally modern-day instrumentalists, accustomed as they are in modern symphony orchestras to using their instruments as though they were machine guns, or (as Berlioz almost demands) to use their trombones to produce the roar of cannon, could prove very obstructive. Therefore, the director who performs Schütz today has to train his vocal choirs as well as his instrumental choirs anew. Therefore, back to the *Kantoreipraxis*! This means, for example, that singers and brasses breathe at the same time, articulate, accentuate, and tune themselves altogether differently than they would in a classical oratorio. When this has been accomplished, then there are no dangers. As Ehmann says, then the instruments begin to speak like the human voice itself. I myself would like to add: Then the word which the choir sings receives additional precision and conviction, additional depth and expression, additional clarity and strength, additional life and brilliance. In any case, instruments simply belong to Schütz's world of choral music. From the very beginning he had figured them into his settings of the text, and he knew what he was doing.

We now come to the last point, to a brand new discovery which the learned as well as the unlearned can make. This is the discovery, that Schütz was not merely a composer, not merely a servant or a promoter of that which we today call culture, namely, that independent and so-called neutral zone which has become *Ersatz-Religion* for many and a home for those who are "too intelligent" to go to church or even to believe in a God. On the contrary, what everyone will discover if he takes a closer look at Schütz and his work is that he created from depths of Christian conviction or, to be more precise, from inner Christian motivation and compulsion, that on the basis of this he took seriously his responsibility to his fellow man—for the plagued fellow man of the dark days of this time. Wilibald Gurlitt in his book on Johann Walter refers to a "Lutheran ethic of vocation" present in this composer. Yes, that's precisely what it is. It is a Lutheran, evangelical concept of working which stems from the evangel, that is, from the

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Gospel, which built up Schütz's life's work, shaped it, and put its decisive stamp on it. Schütz was a master of setting words to sound. In his long and hard life Schütz never wrote one single note for instruments alone. The word always fascinated him and tantalized him to set it to music, to give it the wings of song. But not every word was important to him: he selected carefully. To be sure, in his younger and more peaceful years, he wrote his Italian madrigals. In fact he wrote the first German opera, *Daphne*, on a text by the famous Martin Opitz. Sorry to say, this opera has never been found again. But already at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, as all peace and joy disappeared, as life and limb were being destroyed, he turned to the great texts of the church fathers, and above all to the even greater texts of the Bible. Already in 1619 he published his psalms for two and three choirs and shortly thereafter his *cantiones sacrae*, his *symphonie sacrae*, his *Geistliche Konzerte*, and all the other works mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in addition to many texts from the New Testament, especially those concerning Christ's dialogs and practically all the parables. Thus when his world became darkened, when the life of mankind and his own life, too, was struck with hardship, he concluded his first, his "pure artist" period, full of daring experiments, and grew into a new role: "Full of pious humility he grew into the fellowship of the people of the evangelical world as its great cantor" (Moser). But he became more than just a great cantor. He became, as one of his contemporaries said, the *Asaph christianus*, the Christian psalm singer. Yes, he became even more. In view of what we now know about history, we can say he became the "composer of the Bible." More than for any other composer, the Bible was for Schütz the most beloved libretto. He chose it purposely because he knew and wanted to testify that in the last analysis there is only one text in the world which possesses enduring value, which is really worth being set to music to sing and ring. And that text was the old but ever new, the warming and yet comforting, eternal Word of God. Schütz tested his artistically sharpened pen on the Bible and that which he always had in mind, namely, to make the Word of the Bible sing, to transpose it into a *viva vox*, a living voice, to make it ring out loud and *lovely*—and this he succeeded in doing. Possessing extraordinarily creative capacity, he understood how to actualize the Word of the Bible with variations at times unpretentious, at times fascinating, at one time sensitive, at another time sensational. Three hundred years later we are surprised and inspired, impressed and strengthened in our faith time and time again when we hear how Schütz serves Holy Scripture, how he lets its Word sound forth, how he underscores it, enlivens it, illumines it, colors it, and sets it on fire so that we might pay attention only to it, let it surge through us, so that it can truly strike us and stand in flaming letters before our spirit. In reference once more to Psalm 136, it is impossible ever to read this psalm in the way Schütz sings it. For example, in the first part, which repeats the constant refrain "for His mercy endureth forever," the psalm receives once more the form which it originally had in the days of the psalmist. Secondly, it is set to such transfixing music that it prompts an echo from the hearers. If you've ever heard it once, you have to sing it again and again. The second part should be mentioned too, where the joyfulness of this refrain suddenly sounds forth from the three choirs a whole tone higher and breaks forth into a genuine *exultate* actually above and beyond the realm of the trumpets and timpani. And finally the third portion should be mentioned, wherein the phrase "Oh, give thanks to the Lord" is sung at first in broad chords as if standing on pillars. It is sung more slowly, more emphatically than before, as though Schütz were raising an admonishing finger, whereupon the refrain returns once more and in a new almost dancelike rhythm—I am tempted to say—tears loose in this surprising tonal variation, and at the end, proclaimed by a fanfare of trumpets, comes the final proclamation that God's mercy "endureth forever."

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There are people today, prompted by an unbalanced, that is, un-Lutheran, liturgical passion, who divide church music into three categories: (1) The music *of* the church. By this they mean Gregorian, which brings them dangerously close to Catholicism, which has canonized this music and thus isolated it. (2) Music *in* the church. This is the later polyphonic art of the motet which many of them no longer like because it is too much music. (3) Music *outside* of the church.

The music of Heinrich Schütz was not written originally for the worship service. In the precise sense of the term, Schütz wasn't even a church musician. He was *Kapellmeister* at the Dresden court. Nevertheless his music is music of the church, written for the church's task in the world. Thus his music is church music of the first order because it sets the message of the church into music in such an infectious manner that it forces its way into the hearts and souls of men, into the deepest layers of their inner life where—as psychology says—human decisions are made. Schütz's church music, it may be said, is genuine Lutheran church music. It not only conveys the Word, but it actively carries the Word forth. It doesn't merely make known, but it preaches, it proclaims. It does not merely serve the Word, but it makes the Word truly strike a person. In addition it confesses, admonishes and comforts. In fact, we can say still more about Schütz's music. It belongs to that type of church music for which many a cantor and many a theologian has spoken words of praise. I could in conclusion cite several of these words but will limit myself to one rather unknown comment which, however, really fits in Schütz's case. It is the "greeting to music" by Abraham a Santa Clara in the year 1698. He possesses a typically Lutheran trait in that he brings music into comparison with all the other liberal arts. He begins by saying *salve*, greetings to you, dear grammar and rhetoric. Then he says, *servitor*, I am your servant, O beautiful logic and arithmetic. He continues, *basio le man*, I kiss your hand, O beautiful geometry and astronomy. Now, however, when he has fulfilled these duties, he comes to that which he really wants to say, and in exhilaration he proclaims: But you, my praiseworthy beloved, artful, charming, noble, and pleasant music, to you a thousand times welcome! The others are, to be sure, the free arts, but you are a free and joyful art! You are a portion from heaven. You are the foundation of eternal joy. You are a poultice for melancholy, you are the harmonization of the emotions. You are a spur to meditation, you are a treasure of the church, you are a work of the angels. You are the respite of the aged and the delight of the youth.

Yes, all of this is the music of Heinrich Schütz, and thus it is to be understood that in the grim years of the second World War his music came so close to us and was so beloved. It was a portion of heaven for us, and since we still live in an almost apocalyptically threatened and anxious world, it will continue to be so. Together with it will be the music of our time which following Schütz's example has returned again to the source of highest inspiration and is merely waiting for the church to see it as its treasure.

Utrecht, Holland

Nicolaus Bruhns

Richard C. Fosse

I

Probably the most rewarding experience for the musicologist and performing musician is to encounter in his research a composer from the past whose work shows the divine spark of genius especially when it appears with a consistency and authority that is unmistakable. Too often the music of minor and unknown composers from the past gives us no more than the impression that it is academically correct, uninspired and functional, and, as it were, “in the style.” Though one may encounter isolated masterpieces, the search for its companion piece in artistic value and greatness is too often followed by disillusionment and disappointment. A happy exception to this can be found in the music of Nicolaus Bruhns (1665–1697). As a representative composer of the North German School in the late seventeenth century, Bruhns usually receives no more than passing and dutiful reference by the writers on the period and the biographers of Johann Sebastian Bach. Yet anyone coming into contact with Bruhns’s music is immediately impressed by its originality and compelling inspiration. Further study of Bruhns’s music reveals the extraordinary consistency of his style and the boldness and freshness of his musical imagination. Though his creative production as it has come down to us may indeed be small, it reveals enough of the nature of his musical personality and the scope of his genius to place him in the company of the greatest among Bach’s predecessors in North Germany.

Nicolaus Bruhns descended from a family of North German musicians which held a respected and honored position in the musical life of the province of Schleswig-Holstein and the city of Lübeck during the seventeenth century.^[1] His grandfather, Paul Bruhns, had been attached to the court of Christian Albrecht IV the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, where he served as court lutanist. In 1639 he left the court to accept the post of lutanist and town musician in his native city of Lübeck.^[2] He served in these capacities until his early death in 1655. All three of his sons were trained as musicians and lived and worked in North Germany.

It was Paul Bruhns’s second son, likewise named Paul, who became the father of Nicolaus Bruhns. He was trained as an organist, probably by Franz Tunder, the organist of the *Marienkirche* in Lübeck from 1641 to 1667. Later he became organist of the *Jacobikirche* in Schwäbstadt, a small village near the city of Husum in Schleswig-Holstein.

Nicolaus Bruhns was born in Schwäbstadt in the Advent season of 1665. He received his early musical training under his father, who brought him to a considerable level of proficiency as an organist and composer. In 1681, when he was sixteen, Nicolaus was sent to Lübeck to continue his musical training under his uncle Peter Bruhns, who taught him to play the violin and viola da gamba.

Peter Bruhns, the youngest of Paul Bruhns’s three sons, had established himself in Lübeck as a violin virtuoso and teacher. In 1667 he succeeded Nathanael Schnittelbach as the leading violinist among the Lübeck *Rathsmusikanten*. Nathanael Schnittelbach, who, according to Gerber, was the greatest German violinist of his day, was the leader of a school of violinists located in Lübeck.^[3] This school emphasized the use of double stops, high positions, *scordatura*, and other virtuoso techniques introduced by the Italians in the first half of the seventeenth

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century. Without question Peter Bruhns came under the influence of Schnittelbach and his school, since he was a native of the city of Lübeck.

According to Mattheson, Bruhns's mastery of the violin and viola da gamba aroused the enthusiasm of all who heard him.^[4] The descriptions of Bruhns's violin playing indicate that he had mastered the techniques of the Lübeck School. Unfortunately, no examples of Bruhns's compositions for solo violin or viola da gamba have survived, although we do have the violin obbligato he wrote for the bass cantata *Mein Herz ist bereit*, in which Bruhns makes intensive use of the various double-stop techniques developed by the violin virtuosi of Lübeck.^[5] The immense possibilities which the double-stop technique provided for new avenues of musical expression no doubt captured Bruhns's imagination and offered him the opportunity to display his powers as a virtuoso. This predilection for virtuoso display is present in nearly all of Bruhns's music and provides a key to the understanding of his musical personality. Johann Mattheson's oft-repeated account of Bruhns's custom of sitting at the organ with his violin and improvising an obbligato pedal part to that which he played on the violin offers a charming and illuminating picture of this facile and audacious musical personality.^[6]

Bruhns's sojourn in Lübeck led to his mastery of the art of violin and organ playing and the materials of musical composition. But it was also important as a period devoted to the formulation and development of his musical ideas and the search for outward artistic stimulation. Lübeck, "The City of the Seven Golden Spires"^[7] and the once proud seat of the Hanseatic League of the Renaissance and Middle Ages, provided the ideal setting for this phase of Bruhns's education. The intensive musical life of the city centered on the *Marienkirche* under the leadership of Dietrich Buxtehude and was rivaled in the North only by the cities of Hamburg and Copenhagen.

The musical traditions of the Lübeck churches are well documented and prove the importance which civic leaders attached to music in the church. The *Marienkirche* was the most impressive church in the city, and the people of Lübeck took great pride in its music, both in the liturgical service and the *Abendmusiken* established by Franz Tunder and so greatly developed by Dietrich Buxtehude.^[8] Of more than passing interest to Nicolaus Bruhns, the aspiring young organist, was the fact that the *Marienkirche* housed one of the most beautiful and imposing organ cases in Europe.

In Lübeck Bruhns continued his study of organ and composition under Dietrich Buxtehude (1637–1707), the successor of Franz Tunder as organist of the *Marienkirche*. Bruhns must have been deeply stimulated by his association with this great musician, for Buxtehude had few rivals in the power of his musical expression and the originality and fertility of his musical imagination. Bruhns possessed these same qualities to a remarkable degree and would have been well equipped to absorb and put into practice all that Buxtehude had to offer him.

Unfortunately there is virtually a complete lack of source material on Bruhns's study and relationship with Buxtehude. It is veiled in the same obscurity which surrounds Bach's study with Buxtehude during his famous sojourn in Lübeck in the fall of the year 1705. But the evidence in the music of Buxtehude and Bruhns is sufficient to show the striking similarity between their musical style and temperaments. Yet so strong is Bruhns's creative genius, one seldom feels that his music suffers in comparison with Buxtehude. Rather, it is an individual

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expression and breathes a life all its own. We may note in passing that in comparing the music of the two composers, one gains the impression that Buxtehude's vocal compositions are decidedly lacking in the individuality, strength, and clarity of expression as typical of his organ works, while Bruhns's vocal compositions on the other hand have the same interest and consistency of style of his organ works.

Bruhns's study with Buxtehude gave him the opportunity to learn and perfect the techniques of organ playing representative of the North German school, which cultivated the idiomatic and virtuoso potentialities of the instrument. As Spitta has pointed out,^[9] the organ music of the Middle and South German composers, which was considered by them to be extremely difficult, could very well have been played at sight by organists of Buxtehude's and Bruhns's technical ability. And as organ playing in Germany at this time was primarily an improvisatory art, Bruhns probably received much of his training from Buxtehude along these lines.

The high regard which Buxtehude held for Bruhns prompted him to write a letter of recommendation which Bruhns probably used to establish himself in Copenhagen after his period of study in Lübeck.^[10] Buxtehude's letter was very probably directed to his old friend and teacher Johann Lorenz, the celebrated organist of the *Nicolaikirche*.

In Copenhagen Bruhns found a city whose cultural life was fully as stimulating as that of Lübeck. The musical life of Copenhagen had a strongly cosmopolitan tradition. Heinrich Schütz had found in Copenhagen a place of refuge during the Thirty Years' War, a thriving ballet tradition had been in force in the city for many years, Italian singers and instrumentalists were always in great demand there, and Matthias Weckmann had come into contact with English virginal music by association with English composers residing there. Bruhns's instrumental style and the highly dramatic nature of his vocal music shows a definite Italian influence which may date from his contact with Italian musical style during his stay in Copenhagen.

The exact year of Bruhns's arrival in Copenhagen is not known. We know that he left Copenhagen in 1689, when he was twenty-four years old, to assume the position of organist of the *Stadtkirche* in Husum. So we may assume that the Copenhagen sojourn must have been no longer than three or four years. It is improbable that he left Lübeck and his studies with Buxtehude and his uncle Peter Bruhns before reaching the age of twenty-one. Mattheson states only that Bruhns resided in Copenhagen for "a few years."^[11] That he was there even three or four years seems open to question, for a musician of his ability would probably have left a mark on the city's musical life that would have been observed and recorded. Unfortunately the record of his activities in Copenhagen is a complete blank.

No doubt Bruhns quickly established a reputation for himself as an organist and violin and viola da gamba virtuoso in Copenhagen, playing in the churches of the city and in the concerts given at the court of Christian V, king of Denmark. He also probably associated himself with Johann Lorenz, who had acquired a considerable reputation as an organist and church musician by the series of concerts of church music which he regularly directed at the *Nicolaikirche*. Three concerts were given each week, providing anyone connected with them an unparalleled opportunity to study and become familiar with a vast store of church music.^[12]

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In February 1689 the city fathers of Husum, Schleswig-Holstein, instituted proceedings for the immediate call of Nicolaus Bruhns as organist of the Church of St. Maria, the city church of Husum. Bruhns passed the formal examination for the position held on March 30, 1689, and his appointment as organist of the Husum *Stadtkirche* was officially confirmed. The examination was a personal triumph for the young virtuoso, who demonstrated to his examiners a command of the techniques of composition and of playing all kinds of instruments which, by their own admission they had never witnessed before in the city of Husum.^[13]

The city of Husum is located in southwestern Schleswig-Holstein on the Husumer Au, a rivulet or drainage canal which empties into the North Sea. The city was chartered in 1603 and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a prosperous commercial center. Husum has since suffered a decline and today is known only as a livestock trading center and as a minor port of call in the North Sea shipping trade. The descriptive title of "The Still, Gray Town on the Sea," which has been given to Husum in modern times, vividly reflects the twilight in the importance of this once flourishing and prosperous city.

The musical traditions of the Husum *Stadtkirche* had been firmly established by Matthias Ebio, who served as *Kantor* of the *Stadtkirche* for fifty-seven years (from 1616 to 1673).^[14] Ebio was known as a composer of numerous vocal works in the Venetian style, many of which were published at the expense of the city of Husum. He also assembled a collection of the finest contemporary church music for the library of the Husum *Stadtkirche* during his *Kantorat*. Ebio was succeeded on June 24, 1673, by Georg Ferber, who was an accomplished musician and gifted with an exceptionally beautiful bass voice.^[15]

In 1687 Ferber left Husum to become *Kantor* of Schleswig, a city located directly west of Husum, midway between Husum and Kiel. It is very possible that Ferber remained in contact with the Husum *Stadtkirche* and knew Bruhns, who came to Husum in 1689, two years later. The extreme difficulty and highly individualistic style of Bruhns's bass cantatas indicates that they were written for a specific singer. Knowing Ferber's reputation as a singer, we may conjecture that Bruhns had Ferber in mind when he wrote them. Ferber's successor in Husum was Petrus Steinbrecher (1659–1702), a skilled musician and gifted teacher who was educated in Lübeck and Kiel. He very probably collaborated with Bruhns in the performance of many of his colleagues vocal and instrumental compositions.

Shortly after his arrival in Husum, Bruhns married Anna Dorothea Hesse, the stepsister of his uncle, Peter Bruhns. She bore him five children, one of whom entered the ministry. With his home now established and with the security which his position as organist of the Husum *Stadtkirche* provided him, Bruhns remained in Husum for the rest of his short life, bringing fame in a small way to this small, once proud city near the bleak shores of the North Sea.

Already Bruhns had enough of a reputation as musician to cause competition for his service. Pastor Krafft, writing in 1723, relates how Bruhns was approached by the city of Kiel only a few weeks after assuming his position at the *Stadtkirche* in Husum. The ensuing oral negotiations resulted in Bruhns accepting the position of organist of the *Nikolaikirche* in Kiel "under certain conditions" on July 22, 1689. Apparently Bruhns was even urged by the city fathers of Kiel to attempt a cancellation of his contract with the city of Husum. This brought to a head the

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jealousy and intrigue which had flared up between the two cities on the matter. The indignant Husum deputies severely criticized the city of Kiel for attempting to secure the services of Bruhns and to force upon them another organist in his place. They did their utmost to retain the services of Bruhns. It was decided that an annual stipend of 100 thalers for life be added to his established salary of 400 thalers, in consideration of his accomplishments as a musician and to insure the right to retain him as their organist. It was expressly stated that this increase in salary should apply only to Bruhns and in no way to his successors.^[16]

The account given by Pastor Krafft of this episode, brief as it is, graphically reflects the determination of the city fathers of Husum to retain the services of the gifted young musician who promised to bring honor and musical distinction to their city. Their willingness to accommodate Bruhns in a financial way in order to insure his loyalty and service was but a reflection of the respect that Bruhns evoked as an artist from those who knew his work and heard him perform.

No records or documents concerning Bruhns's musical activities in Husum aside from Pastor Krafft's account have come down to us. It is likely, however, that an organist of his reputation would have been invited to perform in the palace of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. In the Husum *Stadtkirche*, Bruhns served in the traditional role of organist for the Lutheran church service. Since the Kantor of the Husum *Stadtkirche* was charged with the responsibility of providing for the choral and instrumental music used in the service, Bruhns, being the organist of the *Stadtkirche*, played a subservient role in the composition of concerted church music in Husum. His cantatas and spiritual concerts were probably written to be performed on special occasions, and in some cases we may assume that they were written out of an inner artistic compulsion.

Bruhns's life was cut short in his thirty-first year on March 29, 1697. He was succeeded in April of the same year by his brother, Georg Bruhns.^[17] His early death, coming at a time when his great genius was just beginning to blossom forth, was a loss of considerable importance. As we shall see, he held every promise of carrying on the great traditions of the North German School which were so firmly embodied in the works of Buxtehude. In the composition of concerted church music he had few rivals in North Germany. Extended acquaintance with Bruhns's music causes one to regard him as one of the most highly endowed German musicians of the seventeenth century, a composer who commands our attention and respect by virtue of the beauty, originality, and power of his ideas and their expression.

II

For an artist whose fame rested primarily on his gifts as a composer of organ music and his facility as an organ virtuoso it is unfortunate, and somewhat strange, that so little of Bruhns's organ music has survived. Only four of his organ works are extant.^[18] Three of them are episodic preludes and fugues in the free style of Buxtehude, and the fourth is a complex and lengthy fantasia based on the chorale *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*. Yet their great variety and musical merit is sufficient to give us an insight into the gifted composer's music style and personality. They also earn for him a high place in the company of his great teacher, Dietrich Buxtehude, and the other distinguished organists of the North German School, including Matthias Weckmann, Johann Adam Reinken, Vincentius Lübeck, and George Böhm.

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In speaking of the organ music of the North German School, Philipp Spitta makes the following observation:

This school was in great danger of squandering its strength in mere ingenuity of external elaboration, but its peculiarities could be turned to account for delightful ornamentation when wielded by an artist of deep feeling and learning.^[19]

But Spitta also points out that we are dealing here with a style of music that grew not only out of a virtuoso and improvisatory style but one which allowed the organist to show off the organ in all its beauty, versatility, and grandeur. The chorale-fantasias and organ chorales of the North Germans lent themselves very well as musical forms to the rich and varied tonal resources of the baroque organ. In the same manner, the chaconne, the toccata, and the organ prelude were forms which were closely related to the organ as their performing medium. Pedal points, echo effects, brilliant manual and pedal virtuoso flourishes, rambling chromatic-arioso-recitative interludes, majestic cadences, and full-bodied climaxes all fall into a logical pattern of musical expression when transferred into the living sound of the baroque organ.

We cannot be sure to what degree the organ of the Husum *Stadtkirche* approached the tonal resources of the Lübeck organs, yet the specifications listed by Klotz of two other organs designed by Gottfried Fritzsche, who designed the Husum *Stadtkirche* organ, clearly suggest that Bruhns had a more than adequate instrument at his disposal in Husum.^[20] The Husum *Stadtkirche* organ had 36 stops, three manuals, and a pedal board and dated from the year 1629.

Though only a very few of Bruhns's organ works have survived, we may probably assume that they show his organ style as it was in many other compositions that have been lost or which perished in improvisatory performance. "They show him," writes Dufourcq, "still searching for his way. But he said enough in them to show to what extent the muse had brushed him."^[21] But besides relating them to his North German musical and artistic heritage, we must consider Bruhns's organ works as highly personal expressions, for a very persuasive musical personality is revealed in them, a personality that commands our attention on stylistic grounds as well as the realm of the organization of musical ideas. Bruhns's use of conventional imitative techniques, baroque keyboard devices, and conventional functional harmonic progressions gives the impression of a man working with materials still fresh and exciting. He finds delight and wonder in them and for the present seems preoccupied mainly with exploiting them within a limited framework and with all of the joy and freedom that comes from the first feelings of command and assurance.

Bruhns's most important organ composition is the "Great" Prelude and Fugue in E minor. The designation "Great" is used to differentiate the work from a shorter prelude and fugue in the same key. The Prelude and Fugue in E minor shows almost every characteristic of Bruhns's musical and expressive style. It is in many ways his masterpiece and one of the most important organ works of the seventeenth century.

In the opening measures of the Prelude we are introduced to one of the most characteristic elements of Bruhns's musical style, namely, his tendency to confine his expression to a series of short episodes which flash by in quick succession.

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Andre Pirro has made an interesting observation about a possible personal motivation behind Bruhns's episodic style of composition as revealed in the Prelude and Fugue in E minor:

If he lavished here impassioned secrets and seeks to dissipate his goods without waiting the time to see them mature, it is perhaps that he had a presentiment that he must hasten to tell his secrets such as they were. He delivered thus, a little confusedly, the promises of beautiful poems that death prevented him from writing, for there is enough substance in the composition the Prelude and Fugue in E minor to fashion several different works.^[22]

Bruhns's Prelude and Fugue in G major is in many ways as significant an organ composition as the Prelude and Fugue in E minor. It resembles very closely the latter work, but it also contains many stylistic traits of the North German school not found in the Prelude and Fugue in E minor. Furthermore, its formal structure is more logical and clearly defined. In this it shows the influence of the multipartite preludes and fugues of Buxtehude, where the divisions between the main episodes are more clearly drawn, the internal structure of the episodes more closely knit, and the musical ideas more fully developed.

The initial fugue offers us a superb example of Bruhns's exploitation of the double pedal. This fugue places the most extraordinary demands on the ability of the organist to co-ordinate his hands and feet as they play on the manuals and pedal. The double-pedal writing in this fugue also makes it easy to understand how important it was in North German organ music for the pedal organ to be as completely independent from the manuals as possible.

A short prelude and fugue in E minor referred to above represents the third and last of Bruhns's surviving organ compositions in this form. It is beautifully conceived in terms of the tonal resources of the organ. The way in which Bruhns uses the time-honored clichés and idiomatic figurations of seventeenth-century German organ music and gives them new life and meaning in this work is particularly revealing. It is an ideal study piece for the young organist because of its simplicity and great variety of texture, tempo, and musical idea.

The fourth surviving organ work of Nicolaus Bruhns is a chorale-fantasia based on the chorale *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*. With the exception of a very brief chorus in his Easter cantata *Hemmt eure Tränenflut* and the chorale cantata *Erstanden ist der heilige Christ*, this fantasia is the only example we have of Bruhns using a chorale as the melodic basis of one of his compositions.

The fantasia *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* is divided into four main sections, each section corresponding to one of the four lines of the chorale melody. There seems to be no attempt to relate the text of the chorale to the fantasia. We gain the impression that Bruhns has simply taken the melodic ideas of the chorale and coldly and analytically set about to construct a free-style fantasia based on them. Unfortunately, there is little conviction to the work as a whole, although the third section is one of great beauty and profundity. The fantasia otherwise seems labored and uninspired. It catches fire only when Bruhns allows his improvisatory keyboard style to take hold, especially in the brilliant closing measures of the fourth section.

To witness in art the budding of genius can often be a most rewarding and stimulating experience, for it sets the imagination at work in an attempt to evaluate the potential of an

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artist who shows signs of constant growth. While the exact nature of a young artist's potential must necessarily remain conjecture, we can observe in retrospect the potential achieved by mature artists who showed great promise in their youth. Although the organ works of Nicolaus Bruhns do not always give complete artistic satisfaction, they are of historical interest as a record of an aspiration after a goal. But more important, they document the genius of one of the most extraordinarily gifted composers in Germany during the seventeenth century.

To compare Bruhns with the Bach of Arnstadt and Mühlhausen is inevitable. One cannot help wondering what Buxtehude's thoughts were when he met the young Sebastian Bach for the first time in 1705. It is possible that Bach reminded Buxtehude of his former pupil, Nicolaus Bruhns, who died before realizing the full possibilities of his great genius. We know that Bach came to know the organ works of Bruhns along with those of Froberger, Pachelbel, Buxtehude, and Böhm by secretly copying them by hand from a well-guarded collection of clavier music owned by his brother, Johann Christof Bach. Selecting what was acceptable to him, and rejecting the uncongenial, Bach would have had much to draw from in the organ works of Bruhns.

It is remarkable how forcefully Bruhns's musical personality reveals itself in his organ music and in the all-too-meager accounts of his life and work which we have from his contemporaries. Indeed, we would almost be inclined to hold suspect such a vivid picture were it not for the fact that his twelve surviving cantatas and *geistliche Konzerte* reveal similar high qualities of style and expressive power. Though the treasure of his vocal music may indeed be small, nevertheless it is of great importance and enduring value.

The majority of Bruhns's vocal compositions are contained in a manuscript collection of church music known as the *Bokemeier-Sammlung*, Mus. ms. 30 101 of the Prussian State Library.^[23] The *Bokemeier-Sammlung* is named after Heinrich Bokemeier (1697 to 1751), the *Kantor* of Wolfenbüttel, who served as *Kantor* of the Husum *Stadtkirche* from 1712 to 1717. Although credit must be given to Bokemeier for preserving the Bruhns manuscripts in his library, the man who actually copied most of the manuscript was Bokemeier's teacher, Georg Oesterreich, *Kantor* of the Cathedral of Braunschweig.^[24] Bokemeier is known to have studied with Oesterreich while the latter was *Kantor* of the *Martinkirche* in Braunschweig (1704–1712). It was during his study with Oesterreich that Bokemeier obtained the manuscripts, and he mentions them specifically in his correspondence with Johann Gottfried Walther. Oesterreich probably had come into contact with Bruhns earlier, when he served as *Kapellmeister* in the Royal Chapel in Gottorp and Schleswig from 1689 to 1702. The chapel was located a short distance from Husum.

Bruhns's vocal compositions fall into three general categories. The first of these is the sacred concert (*geistliches Konzert*), a through-composed composition on a text taken directly from the Scriptures, in which each textual idea receives a distinct musical setting.

The second category, which we shall call the number cantata, includes works divided into separate numbered sections. They were set either to Biblical texts or paraphrases of Biblical and chorale texts. These compositions are usually framed by choral numbers and include arias, duets, and trios with instrumental ritornelli interspersed among them.

Our third category is the chorale cantata, a type of vocal composition based on the German chorale. The Easter cantata *Erstanden ist der heilige Christ* is Bruhns's only surviving composition in this form.

Bruhns's choice of Biblical texts was uniformly excellent and assured his vocal compositions, particularly his sacred concerts, a dignity often lacking in the sacred music of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The matter of the bad taste and poor literary quality of most of the late baroque German cantata texts needs no comment here. The most interesting aspect of Bruhns's choice of texts is that they were very largely subjective personal expressions by Old Testament writers. Bruhns treated the sacred concert as a vehicle for the individual's religious expression.

The texts of Bruhns's vocal compositions have two central themes constantly reappearing in them. The first is his mystical awareness of approaching death, his longing for it, and the release it offers from worldly sorrow and care. The second theme is a seeming contradiction of the above. It is centered on the joy of Christian living and the offering of praise and thanksgiving for temporal and spiritual blessings. Here we encounter the expression of Bruhns's affirmative philosophy of life and the delight that his creative activity brings to him. The expression throughout is highly personal and colored by Bruhns's strong orthodox Lutheran faith. Even when his texts deal with the themes of death and mortal suffering, his treatment of them graphically reflects the Christian's affirmative pronouncement of faith.

The sacred concert posed the special problem of providing one continuous musical setting to a lengthy Biblical text. The episodic style typical of the sacred concert shows in the practice of giving each new phrase or verse of the text a new episode or musical idea that was marked either by a change in style, texture, tempo, or meter. A kind of dramatic unity was achieved by maintaining the basic mood of the composition, or more specifically, by an adherence to the expressive implication of the central idea of the text. As the text unfolds, a variety of ideas or shades of meaning are given to its central theme. In this way unity was achieved more along dramatic and rhetorical lines.

Yet as a group the sacred concerts give the impression of formal weakness, as his organ works do from being overburdened with too many musical ideas in a succession of short episodes. The longer ones seem to become lost in a maze of episodes so numerous that they elude the grasp of the listener. Bruhns did not always exercise the proper sense of selection in determining the length of his texts or how much he would break them up to comply with the formal demands of the sacred concert. All of his sacred concerts have strong opening episodes and even stronger and more affirmative closing ones, but many of them are confused and diffuse in the middle. Even though the separate episodes and musical ideas in them are handled brilliantly, the unfolding of many of his sacred concerts often leaves the listener with an impression of formal weakness and lack of direction.

On the other hand, the sacred concert *Die Zeit meines Abschieds* really profits by its episodic style. Here the changes of mood are musically and dramatically convincing, and there is only one climax, at the end, toward which every episode is directed. Form and content are completely reconciled, and the work emerges with the artistic balance of a truly great work of art. It should be regarded as one of the greatest German sacred compositions of the seventeenth century.

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The disposition of instruments and voices in the sacred concert and the early solo cantata was extremely varied. A sacred concert for solo voice or vocal ensemble would be accompanied either by a five-voice orchestra or a combination of solo string instruments. The string trio, consisting of two violins and basso continuo, was by far the most popular instrumental combination in the solo cantata, and vocal trios and duets often received the same instrumental support. Bruhns cannot be said to have favored any one type of instrumental disposition in his sacred concerts. It is clear, however, that he thought of the sacred concert in terms of chamber-music combination and conceived his number cantatas with larger vocal and instrumental forces in mind.

As a group, Bruhns's sacred concerts may be considered his most important vocal compositions. His basically subjective and romantic approach to composition and the originality and freedom of his musical language were ideally suited to the form of the multipartite, through-composed sacred concert. The sacred concert served his special musical needs. It could absorb the fertile outpouring of his musical imagination and indulge his predilection for dramatic contrast and sudden change of mood. Finally, the emotional range of the sacred concert was very wide. It extended from a plane of highest exaltation to the depths of spiritual dejection. From moments of the most lyrical quality, full of tender beauty, Bruhns will plunge us, without warning, into a restless sea of energy and drive.

The mature style and expression of Bruhns's sacred concerts leads us to wonder whether he would have developed the form further or have turned his attention solely to the number cantata, as Bach did.

To the modern listener, used to the formal designs of the late baroque, especially in the cantatas and Passion settings of Bach, the number cantatas of Bruhns are more readily understandable. With their arias, ariosos, choruses, and instrumental ritornellos, they anticipate to some extent the composite structure of the late baroque cantata. The various movements or clearly defined numbers of the cantata give the listener definite points of reference that he can use in orientating himself to the over-all form of the work. Unfortunately Bruhns's number cantatas are much more uneven works than his sacred concerts. The self-contained numbers, such as the continuo aria, the accompanied arioso, and the instrumental ritornello, with few exceptions, did not offer him the freedom of expression that was vital to him. Occasional lapses of musical inspiration in these numbers contribute to a lessening of the musical and dramatic impact of the cantata as a whole. Yet in many of these numbers we can find moments of great beauty and expressive power. In a moment of inspiration Bruhns seizes upon a musical idea and turns out a miniature masterpiece. A conductor is tempted either to extract the episode or movement from the cantata or perform the entire work merely to bring the inspired passage to life in the proper context.

The choruses of the number cantatas are all impressive and effective, however. For the most part they are written in fugal style, but extensive passages in homophonic style are also characteristic of them. The choruses are episodic and similar in form to his sacred concerts, although their texts are much shorter. As a result there are usually only one or two tempo or meter changes in a chorus and as many new musical ideas and episodes as may be required by the text. The choruses are accompanied by a five-voice string orchestra and organ continuo. In

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the cantatas *Muss nicht der Mensch* and *O werter heil'ger Geist* two clarinos are used to give added support and color to the ensemble.

The ritornelli and opening symphonias are uneven in quality. In the better-integrated cantatas they serve as very effective and moving episodes which tie the various movements of the cantata together. They are usually self-contained compositions, but in some instances they move directly into the succeeding movement of the cantata. The transitions between the various movements of the great Easter cantata *Hemmt eure Tränenflut* are especially well worked out. In this cantata Bruhns makes a special effort to move smoothly from the luxuriant texture and style of the instrumental ritornelli to the vocal solos with their thinner texture and contrasting musical style. Bruhns was influenced by the style of Buxtehude's continuo arias, principally from the master's *Abendmusikencycles* and elaborate number cantatas. Unfortunately Bruhns's continuo arias are of only passing interest. We look in vain for the genius of the sacred concert and the free-style prelude and fugue in them. Yet when he assigns an instrumental accompaniment in his arias, it takes on the musical distinction of his other vocal and instrumental music.

The texts of the number cantatas are drawn either directly from the Scriptures or are paraphrases of Scriptural or chorale texts. The exception to this is found in the Easter cantata *Hemmt eure Tränenflut*, which is a subjective interpretation by an anonymous poet of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. The text is both didactic and reflective and closely resembles the form and poetic style of the texts of Buxtehude's number cantatas and *Abendmusiken* cycles. The text of the cantata *O werter heil'ger Geist* is a direct paraphrase of Martin Luther's *Komm, Heiliger Geist*, which was the Reformer's version of the Latin hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

The form of the chorale cantata *Erstanden ist der heilige Christ* is dictated by the chorale text. In this cantata Bruhns uses three stanzas of the chorale and subjects the chorale melody to a series of variations. The text *Erstanden ist der heilige Christ* dates from the twelfth century and is set to the melody *Surrexit Christus hodie* from the fourteenth century. The work opens with a very dramatic symphonia, and a short ritornello for two violins and continuo is inserted between the second and third stanzas of the chorale. The cantata is probably an early work, for it shows unmistakably the influence of Buxtehude, especially in the unpretentious style of its imitative counterpoint and the simplicity and directness of its expression.

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- B. The town musicians, *Ratsmusikanten*, of Lübeck during the seventeenth century are listed by Wilhelm Stahl in his *Franz Tunder und Dietrich Buxtehude* (Leipzig: Kistner und Siegel, 1926), pp. 76–79.

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- C. J. W. von Wasielewski, *Die Violine und ihre Meister* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 236.
- D. Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1940), p. 27. “. . . da er denn auf der Viola da gamba, und vornehmlich auf der Violine, solche Fertigkeit erlangte, dass er von allen damahls lebenden Musikbeflissenen, die ihn kannten, sehr werth und hochgehalten wurde.”
- E. *Bruhns* (CE), I, 73–84.
- F. Mattheson, *Ehrenpforte*, p. 27. “Well er sehr stark auf der Violine war, und solche mit doppelten Griffen, als wenn ihrer 3. oder 4. wären, zu spielen wusste, so hatte er die Gewohnheit, dann und wann auf seiner Orgel die Veränderung zu machen, dass er die Violine zugleich, mit einer sich dazu gutschickenden Pedalstimme ganz allein, auf das annehmlichste hören liess.”
- G. Referring to the spires of the five Gothic churches of Lübeck. As these churches were constructed of red brick, their roofs and spires took on a rich golden cast from a distance.
- H. See Wilhelm Stahl, *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik in Lübeck* (Lübeck: Otto Guitzwow Verlag, 1931).
- I. Philipp Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, trans. Clara Bell (London: Novello & Co., 1884–85), I, 267 f.
- J. Mattheson, p. 27.
- K. Mattheson, p. 27.
- L. H. J. Moser, *Musik-Lexikon* (Hamburg: Sikorski, 1951), p. 648.
- M. Pastor J. M. Krafft, *Ein zweyfaches zweyhundertjähriges Jubelgedächtnis . . . dem beygefügt eine zweyhundertjährige Husumische Kirchen und Schulgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1723), p. 318. “. . . durch allgemeine Zustimmung, da vorher seines-gleichen vom Komposition und Traktierung allerlei Arten von Instrumenten in dieser Stadt nicht gehöret worden.” Quoted by Stein, p. vi.
- N. Mattheson, p. 57.
- O. Mattheson, p. 60.
- P. The episode is related by Stein, p. vi, based on the account in the *Husumsches Jubelgedächtnis* of Pastor Krafft, p. 318.
- Q. Mattheson, p. 28. See also W. Stahl, *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik in Lübeck*, p. 100.
- R. The collected organ works and critical remarks concerning their sources are found in the Bruhns *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. II, pp. 157–190. An excellent edition of the preludes and fugues was prepared by Max Seiffert: *Organum, Vierte Reihe, Orgelmusik* (Leipzig: From *The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church*, Volume V (Valparaiso, Ind.: Valparaiso University, 1945).

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- S. Spitta, *J. S. Bach, I*, 195 f.
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- V. Andre Pirro, “L’Art des organistes,” *Encyclopedie Lavignac* (Paris, Delagrave), Part II, Vol. II, p. 1329.
- W. See “Kritischer Bericht,” *Bruhns Gesammelte Werke*, I, 129.
- X. See A. Soltys, “Georg Oesterreich (1664–1735), sein Leben und seine Werke,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1922), pp. 169 ff.

Index of the Vocal-Instrumental Compositions of Nicolaus Bruhns

A. Through-Composed Sacred Concerts

1. *Die Zeit meines Abschieds ist vorhanden*. Sacred concert for four-voice chorus, strings, bassoon, and basso continuo, (*Werke I*, pp. 3–20)
2. *Jauchzet dem Herren, alle Welt*. Sacred concert for solo tenor, two violins, bassoon, and basso continuo. (I, 33–52)
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3. *Ich habe Lust abzuschneiden*. Cantata for four-voice chorus. (II, 19–26) (Textual adaptation of the music for *Ich liege und schlafe*)
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C. Chorale Cantata

1. *Erstanden ist der heilige Christ*. Chorale cantata for two tenors, two violins, and basso continuo. (II, 141–156)

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Vocal Leisen Settings in the Baroque Era^[1]

Johannes Riedel

Concerning Church Orders

Innumerable church orders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrate the widespread popularity of the *Leisen* in connection with the celebration of the high church festivals. The most prominent are the two that are allied to Easter and Pentecost, *Christ ist erstanden* and *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*. The *Leisen* were sung during the liturgical services, alternated with other German hymns. They were performed preferably after the sermon and during the Communion. On common Sundays the hymn selected, along with others, was the Pentecost *Leise*, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*.^[2]

In the seventeenth century it became the customary procedure to include specific hymns in accordance with the seasons of the church year. For example, the Noerdlingen church orders of 1538 and 1650 directed Berthold of Regensburg's *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* from *Purificationis* to Easter, *Christ ist erstanden* from Easter to Pentecost, and again, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* from *Dominica III* to Christmas.^[3]

The Prussian church order presented by Duke Albrecht V on July 6, 1525, suggested that the congregation and the choir sing the Communion *Leise*, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* and *Gott sey gelobet*.^[4] The church order from Annaberg, 1579, indicates the following recommendations regarding use of church hymns: at Christmas, *Christum wir sollen loben schon*, or the Christmas *Leise*, *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*; at Easter, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* and *Christ ist erstanden*; for Jubilate Sunday, *Froehlich wollen wir Alleluja singen* or *Christ Lag in Todesbanden*; for Ascension Sunday, *Christ fuhr gen Himmel* (variant of *Christ ist erstanden*); for Exaudi Sunday, the same as for Ascension; for Pentecost, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*; for the 1st, 5th, 6th, 17th, and 22nd Sundays after Trinity, the Ten Commandments *Leise*, *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot*; for the 16th Sunday after Trinity, the burial *Leise*, *Mitten wir im Leben sind*; for the 15th Sunday after Trinity, the abridged Commandment *Leise*, *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*.^[5]

The church orders from Halle in 1543 and the revised edition in 1660 present interesting data because the great composer of the *Tabulatura nova*, Samuel Scheidt, was active at the corresponding churches.^[6] These orders issued the following directives: from Advent to Christmas Eve, from *Purificationis* to Easter, and from Pentecost to Advent, the aforementioned *Leise*, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*, was to be sung. The venerable *Christ ist erstanden* was to be performed from Easter to Rogate and at *Philippi-Jacobi*, also. The variant, *Christ fuhr gen Himmel*, was to be intoned from Ascension to Exaudi.

In the Nicolai and the Thomas church at Leipzig around 1694, this order was followed: after the Epistle at Christmas, *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*; after the Epistle at Easter, *Christ ist erstanden*, and before the sermon, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*; before the sermon at Whitsuntide, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*.^[7]

Concerning Performers

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These *Leisen* were to be sung during the services by various groups either with the congregation or with the choir or with a combination of the two. The superintendent, Lucas Backmeister, states in the preface to Joachim Burmeister's four-part psalm book from 1601, that the upper voice of the four-part compositions can be sung by the choir. According to Lucas Lossius' *Psalmodia sacra*, 1553 and 1597, the whole congregation or the choir could be used during the Communion.^[8] The church orders of Brandenburg and Nuremberg direct the pupils' choir to intone. The Noerdlingen church order directs the choir and the *Vorsaenger* to perform in *alternis vocibus*. The Prussian order (1563) suggests that the choir and congregation alternate. The *Officiae missae* from Hof in 1605 prefers the participation of three different choirs, one to be a *Jungfrauenchor*. At Easter, the various stanzas of the *Leise Erstanden is der heilige Christ* were sung in Latin and German. Boy soloists sang each stanza in Latin, and the choir repeated the same stanza in German.^[9] A similar practice is followed at Halle: the choir sang the Latin text, and the congregation sang the German text in alternation.^[10] Staden, in the preface to Hassler's *Kirchengesang*, 1636, says in regard to organ accompaniment to congregational singing.^[11]

I wanted to dedicate this work of mine particularly to my dear colleagues who through their organ playing keep the congregation at the right pitch.

The Kantional Style

There are, above all, two terms used to describe the aforementioned practices: the *choraliter* practice signifying congregational singing and *figural* practice indicating the use of the choir. According to Adlung, *choraliter* singing is performed by the entire congregation in unison or in octaves.^[12] For example, the *Psalmodia nova simplex et harmonica*, *Schlecht und Recht* by the music pedagog from Goettingen, Otto Siegfried Harnisch, 1621, is arranged for four voices in such a manner that it may be sung by the congregation while the boys sing the melody in their range, the men an octave lower. This melody is written in the tenor clef, between the bass and the tenor voices.^[13]

The so-called *Kantional* style reflects the importance and interest in *choraliter* singing. It is usually conceived for four or more voices, an exclusively homophonic, homorhythmic, and homosyllabic style, in *contrapuncto simplici nota contra notam*.^[14] With the melody in the soprano, all *Kantional* composers insist that the congregation be able to recognize the tune and sing it with the choir. The beginners' choir is to sing with the school and not with the professional choir. Thus we read in the preface to the Schott *Gesangbuch*, Frankfurt, 1604.^[15]

For the advantage of the beloved youth I have maintained the choral in the descant in all psalms and hymns, to enable the schoolmasters to train the students in learning the *Musica* by singing the divine psalms and hymns. This strengthens the choir in the church and edifies the common people as well, who follow youth rather than pedagogs. Do not become confused when you hear the tenor part sung an octave lower by men singing in their own familiar manner. This procedure, although it may hinder the *contrapunctus*, increases the volume of the choir to such an extent that the melodic line is easily heard and learned by the congregation.

Since *Kantional* settings have been written for the pleasure of the congregation and the training and participation of the school youth, we may distinguish two types: the first,

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the *congregational Kantional style*, in which note-against-note writing predominates; the second, the *choir Kantional style*, in which contrapuntal lines or other devices occur in the inner voices.

The *choir Kantional* style is cultivated by composers who are related (by profession) with the large *Kantoreien* which are prominent from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century in North and South Germany. Daser at Stuttgart (ca. 1680) Osiander at Regensburg (1588), Weber at Weissenfels (1588), Rogier at Dresden (1593), Calvisius at Leipzig (1597), Eccard at Koenigsberg (1597), Vulpius at Weimar (1604), Hieronymus Praetorius at Hamburg (1604), Michael Praetorius at Wolfenbuettel (1607–10), Samuel Besler at Breslau (1618), Samuel Scheidt at Halle (1624) J. H. Schein at Leipzig (1627), Melchoir Franck at Coburg (1631) etc.^[16]

The Osiander settings, for example, are truly *congregational Kantional* settings. The four voices proceed in equal tone progressions. Rests and fermata signs are inserted after each phrase in all voices, thus enabling the congregation and the choir to make their next phrase simultaneously. In the preface of his *Fünfzig geistliche Lieder*, Osiander mentions that the *Mensur im Takt* should be given by the congregation, and the choir members should adapt themselves to the *Mensur* or *Takt* of the congregation.^[17]

Monometric and *congregational Kantional* writing is very much present in the *Leisen* settings of Hans Leo Hassler's *Kirchengesang* 1608, his *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, Erstanden ist der heilige Christ*, *Christ fuhr gen Himmel*.^[18] Only the final *Kyrie eleison* formulae show from time to time figural activities.

A direct continuation of the renaissance and early baroque *Kantional* practices are the note-against-note four-part settings of the great Berlin composer and publisher of the famous *Praxis pietatis melica*, Johann Crueger. These middle-baroque settings are accompanied by supplementary obbligato violin duet parts. They are written in note values twice or four times smaller than the hymn tune proper, with emphasis on third and sixth parallels with dotted rhythmic patterns in eighth-note and sixteenth-note fashion. The *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* setting, for instance, is above all enjoyable because of the triplet figuration in the violins which occurs at the last verse line "des freuet sich der Engel Schar."^[19] In this connection do not forget the innumerable hymn-books of the middle and late baroque period which contain hymns as written out for soprano and figured bass alone. The most representative hymnbook of this kind is Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesangbuch*, 1741, to which Zachow, Handel's teacher, contributed.

Michael Praetorius

The *Kantional* style of writing is best represented in Michael Praetorius' six hundred chorale settings of his *Musae Sioniae*, Vols. VI–VIII. The greatest merit of these settings is (according to Blume) the preservation of a great many variants of the different tunes that have been in use in the different *Kantoreien* in North and South Germany during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.^[20]

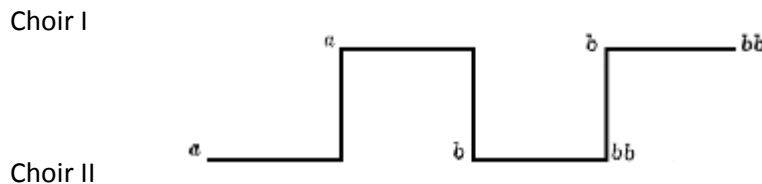
In addition to the elaborate use of baroque devices, Michael Praetorius' contribution to Protestant music lies in the preservation of musical traditions, composition techniques, and repertory of the Reformation era. These renaissance and baroque devices are, according to the composer: (1) settings for eight voices, (2) for two and three voices, (3) for five voices *ad imitationem Lucae Maurentii* and other *Halonum* in the fashion of a madrigal, (4) for five voices in the manner of *Ludovici da Victoria*, (5) with five voices *ad imitationem Orlando di Lasso* in the fashion of motet writing, (6) with four-voice fugues for equal voices.^[21]

These and more techniques are present in the complete edition of Michael Praetorius' works in the following manner:

Vols. I–IV	eight-part compositions
Vol. V	three-, four-, five-part <i>Lied</i> motets
Vols. VI–VIII	<i>Kantional</i> settings
Vol. IX	two- and three-part settings
Vols. XVI–XIX	polychoral compositions

It is characteristic for the Lutheran composer Praetorius, that he begin the first volume of his *Musae Sioniae* with the same *Leise* with which Johann Walter opens his Wittenberg *Geystlich Gesangk-Buchleyn* from 1524: *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*. It is an eight-part setting for two choirs of four voices (SATB). Typical procedures of Venetian antiphonal and bichoral writing are applied. In the eight-part burial *Leise Mitten wir im Leben sind* (Vol. I, p. 73) a dynamic and contrapuntal crescendo becomes evident through the superimposition of the phrase entrances of both choirs, the intervals of each choir entrance becoming more and more abridged, e.g., from four to half a measure.

Contrapuntal crescendo: (*a*—first verse line; *b*—second verse line)



In Vol. II four polychoral *Leisen* settings are available. The Christmas *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Vol. II, No. III, pp. 13 ff.) displays the familiar Gabrieli style. A Christmas lullaby meter is used in ritornello fashion at the words "praised be Thou" and "this rejoiceth." While in No. IX, a *Christ lag in Todesbanden* setting, antiphonal writing predominates, a *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* setting shows the three stanzas through-composed with a long elaboration of the section "alle die zu ihm treten er kann erretten." For No. XV, a chordal arrangement of *Erstanden ist der heilig Christ* (pp. 55 ff.) the composer suggests "in organo, voce una atque altera et

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instrumentis.” The prescribed simultaneous use of organ, soloists, chorus, and instruments is illustrated by the differentiation between many-voiced sections (eight voices, stanzas 1, 2, 12, 13, and 4, 6, 8, 10 respectively) and a few-voiced section of three voices for stanzas 3, 7, and 11. Of the settings of Vol. III, a *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* (p. 27) uses concertato practices, while a *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich* setting is a four-part setting, the eight voices being used only toward the end.

While Vols. I–IV present double-choir and Vols. VI–VIII *Kantional* materials to be used in alternation with the double-choir settings, i.e., baroque techniques, Vol. V with its motet compositions points toward the Renaissance and Reformation period and its *alternatim* practices.^[22]

Thus the first stanza can be sung either with two, three, or with four and more voices (As, e.g.: *Gelobet seist du . . .*) and then the second stanza *choraliter* with the congregation, the third *figural*, the fourth *chorale*, the fifth again *figural*, and so on: the last stanza must always be sung together *figural* with the congregation.

The Reformation period is emphasized furthermore by the fact that some of Johann Walter’s *Leisen* settings are included, such as a four-part *Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ* and two *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* settings (one for five, and one for six voices respectively).

Composition device No. 2^[23] can be found in an SST setting of *Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ* (Vol. V, No. 10, p. 127), in which an imitative echo duet is placed above an unembellished tenor part which sings the *Leise* proper. Another setting of the same *Leise* (STT) shows a free, madrigalistic duet on top of a second-tenor part which presents the tune in sustained note values. An SAT setting of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (Vol. V, No. V) leads the *cantus firmus* in the uppermost voice against a nonimitative *bicinium* in the two lower voices. An STB selection (Vol. V, No. VI) of this same *Leise* has the *cantus* in the bass part against a concertizing upper-voice duet.

Composition devices of the Lassus school are in the four-part setting of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (Vol. V, No. VII, pp. 81 ff.) and in the five-part compositions to *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Vol. V, Nos. 66, 67), *Christ ist erstanden* (Vol. V, No. 126, pp. 240 ff.), *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (Vol. V, No. 127, pp. 246 ff.), and *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (Vol. V, No. 129 pp. 258 ff.). Madrigalistic devices, similar to those used by Marenzio (fourth composition device) are present in the five-part *Christ fuhr gen Himmel* (Vol. V, No. 138, pp. 272 ff.) and the six-part *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (Vol. V, No. 127, pp. 257 ff.). Traces of Victoria’s style of writing can be detected in a *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.) and a *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. (Vol. V, No. 125, pp. 244 ff.)

In regard to the contents of Vols. VI–VIII, Vol. VI contains the *Leisen* settings which are connected with the celebration of the church festivals; so *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Christmas), *Ehre sei dir, Christe, O wir armen Suender, Ach wir armen Suender* (Holy Week), *Christ ist erstanden, Christ lag in Todesbanden, Also heilig ist der Tag, Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, Erstanden ist der heilig Christ* (Easter), *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (Pentecost). Vol. VII contains settings to the two Ten Commandments *Leisen, Dies sind die heil’gen zehn Gebot* and *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*, and the Communion *Leise Gott sei*

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gelobet und gebenedeiet. Vol. VIII shows settings to the old burial *Leise Mitten wir im Leben sind*..

Many explicit notes in regard to organ accompaniment introduce Vol. IX, which consists of two- and three-part hymn and psalm settings written “in the fashion of motets, madrigals, and one fashion invented by the author himself.”^[24] The stress on the participation of the organ indicates the author’s intentions to have these *bicinia* and *tricinia* performed during the church services. Praetorius goes beyond Caspar Othmayr’s *Bicinia Sacra*, which were written primarily “for private entertainment.”^[25] These *bicinia* are not selections of pedagogic meaning only, such as the *tricinia* of the *Newer geistlicher Lieder und Psalmen* by the cantor-composer from Hannover, Andreas Crappius.^[26]

In recent years a great many distinct German *tricinia* have been published by means of which the young music-loving freshmen can be brought and led easily (to the point) that they can participate soon in singing many a song. Therefore, following the requests and desires of many benevolent persons and friends, I have selected these Christian and sacred hymns and psalms which incorporate many God-fearing texts from which one can obtain instruction and comfort. I have composed them in a singlehearted and simple fashion that they can be learned, spoken, prayed, and sung by the young boys at our times so full of distress, for the sake of their piety and religiousness. They are useful against the hereditary archenemy of the very oppressed Christianity, the Turk, and also for any other kinds of need.

Most of the *Leisen bicinia* are two-part motets. Thus the TB setting of *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 3), presents the *cantus firmus* in the upper voice, while the bass part is an elaborately ornamental countervoice. A similar procedure occurs in the TB setting of the burial *Leise Mitten wir im Leben sind* (Vol. IX, No. 183, pp. 253 ff.) Motet-like subsections, due to textual subdivisions, are in the TB setting of *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* (Vol. IX, Nos. 101 and 102, pp. 129 ff.) and in *Christ ist erstanden* (Vol. IX, Nos. 18–20, pp. 19–21 ff.) as well. Some settings are through-composed to such a length that the composer allows the performers to omit whole sections (cp. *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* [Vol. IX, No. 5, pp. 4 ff.] and the *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* [Vol. IX, No. 25, pp. 27 ff.]) A pseudo-canonic technique is used in the *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* setting (Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 5) to the effect that a rejoicing composition full of concertizing elaborations is produced. This same quality is strikingly apparent in another TB setting of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (Vol. IX, No. 157, pp. 64 ff.), in a *Christ fuhr gen Himmel* setting (Vol. IX, No. 43, p. 59) in which no pure *cantus firmus* exists any more, and in a delightful soprano duet of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (Vol. IX, No. 22, 23). The composition technique which Praetorius claims to be his own invention is applied in the bass duet of the Ten Commandments *Leise Dies sind die heil’gen zehn Gebot* (Vol. IX, No. 55, p. 76), in which the *cantus firmus* moves from voice to voice.

Greater variety of writing becomes apparent in Praetorius’ *tricinia* compositions. Actually motet and madrigal devices penetrate one with the other to such an extent that it would be unwise to force the settings into labels of formal explanations. One preferred device seems to be the maintenance of an untouched or at least almost unaltered *cantus firmus* in one voice against an imitative duet which is provided sometimes with concertizing echo effects. Examples of this kind can be found in an SST *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Vol. V, No. 60, p. 127), in an STB *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (Vol. IX, No. 23, pp. 25 ff.). Madrigalistic effects are present in the SSB setting

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of *Christ fuhr gen Himmel* (Vol. IX, No. 54, pp. 59 ff.), in which coloristic procedures are used for the word *Himmel*. The SST setting of *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (Vol. IX, No. 27, pp. 29 ff.) and the SAT selection of *Erstanden ist der heilig Christ* (Vol. IX, No. 29, pp. 33 ff.) are chorale-madrigals, while another *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (AAT, Vol. IX, No. 29, pp. 29 ff.) is a chorale-monody, supplemented by two additive voices. Another *Erstanden ist der heilig Christ* (Vol. IX, No. 30, pp. 34 ff.) is a chorale-madrigal-quodlibet, since text and music materials of *Erstanden ist der heilig Christ* are blended together with *Christ ist erstanden*. Moving *cantus firmus* techniques are used in *Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot* (Vol. IX, No. 56, pp. 71 ff.) and *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*. (Vol. IX, No. 58, pp. 79 ff.)

The *variatio per choros* technique finds outstanding examples beginning with Vol. XVI, which contains Praetorius' *Urania* or *Uranochorodia*. This is: *Musica per choros caelestia canens* or "celestial Choir Music." This technique consists of two types:

1. Each stanza of a hymn is performed by a different chorus. (The term "chorus" is used in the sense of any vocal or instrument ensemble.)^[27]
2. Each verse line is performed by a different chorus. In the *Introductio pro cantore*, the first *variatio per choros* technique is explained in detail:^[28]

The first manner with two choirs:

Very common in most of the places in Germany where a psalm is sung *choraliter* with the whole congregation in the church. . . . One could arrange any psalm in such a fashion that the first stanza be sung *figuraliter* and by the congregation at the same time. . . . The second stanza be played by an organist with a pleasing registration and be sung by one or two good discant singers. . . . The fourth stanza again like the second stanza to be played on the organ. The fifth could be played together by both choirs, namely, the singers and the organ. The sixth stanza again like the first, the seventh like the second, and so on until the last stanza, which could be performed again by both choirs, provided the congregation intone the chorale in the church at the same time.

The Christmas *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 5) is composed in such a way that

stanza 1 is sung *figuraliter* by four singers;
 stanza 2 is accompanied by the organ (organ prelude);
 stanza 3 is performed like stanza 1;
 stanza 4 is performed like stanza 2;
 stanza 5 is performed by choirs 1 and 2;
 stanza 6 is performed by choir 1;
 stanza 7 is performed by choir 2.

The 12-voice setting of *Erstanden ist der heilig Christ* (Vol. XVI, No. 15, pp. 57 ff.) is an example for the first type of three-choir writing as indicated in the preface of this volume: choir 1 consists of *vocales musicos*, choir 2 of organ plus one discant or one tenor, choir 3 or *vocales* or trombones and zincs, two viols and one violin, plus one discant or one tenor, the first stanza to

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be executed *choraliter* together with the congregation, the second stanza *figuraliter*, the third stanza by organ and/or other instruments. Actually:

stanzas 1, 8, 18, 19 are performed by three choirs and congregation

stanzas 2, 5, 9, 13 are performed by choir 1

stanzas 3, 6, 10, 14 are performed by choir 2

stanzas 4, 7, 11, 15 are performed by choir 3

stanza 12 is performed by choirs 1 and 2

stanza 16 is performed by choirs 2 and 3

The second type of *variatio per choros* is present in:

Polyhymnia caduceatrix et panegyria (Vol. XVII, 2, Vol. XVIII)

Puericinium (Vol. XIX)

Polyhymnia exercitatrix, seu Tyrocinium musicum harmonicum (Vol. XVII, 1)

According to the subtitle of the *Polyhymnia caduceatrix*, its settings have been composed for noncongregational activities such as festive gatherings of political authorities. It is imperial baroque music written for instruments and voices in which new devices such as the basso continuo, sinfonias, ritornellos are tested. Most of the 40 *Polyhymnia* settings are accompanied by elaborate performance indications as shown by the preface to a *Gelabet seist du, Jesu Christ* (No. XXXII in Vol. XVII, 2, p. 505):

1. The fifth chorus can be performed by soloists and choir singers, or it can be omitted; then, the instrumental bass of the fifth, and the second bass of the other, choir are to be written together in one score. Then the second choir must add to the lute part a regal, positif; if this is not possible, the organ must play simultaneously.
2. Or one can form one chorus out of the third and the fifth or the third and the fourth chorus, establishing thus a *capella fidicinum*, which can be done easily by any diligent cantor or organist. If the third and the fourth chorus are put together, for the sake of variety, one can use different instruments in the manner as it is applied in the *Te Deum laudamus*, in *Polyhymnia* I and III, while the fourth is placed underneath the third.
3. In the third choir the middle parts can be omitted, and the bass part can be played by one bassoon alone. Then, however, four violins with inserted flutes are to be provided for the fifth choir.
4. If lutes and instruments are present in the second and the fifth chorus respectively, it is not necessary that the second bass of the fifth chorus be played at the same time unless there is a surplus of instruments.
5. The third chorus is, figuratively, a *cappella instrumentalis* for the first. The fourth chorus is, figuratively, a *cappella instrumentalis* for the first and second.

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6. If three tenors are not available, the tenor of the second chorus and the *cantus* part of the fourth chorus can be merged into one tenor part and be performed by a single person.
7. Lastly, the fifth instrumental chorus, as well as the other missing instruments, can be omitted. But then the *concertato* or vocal parts from which the instruments had been subtracted should be placed close by the organ or the regal (to the effect) that the *voces humanae* can be found proceeding from close by the fundament.
8. The bass part of the second chorus is arranged in octave for an instrument such as a bassoon, a trombone, or bass viol, but in such a way that the text which is printed in German letters be sung; that the text printed in Latin *cursiv* letters be played by the bassoon or trombone; but that the text printed with Latin *antiqua* letters, in the *ripieni* sections, be sung and played likewise by the instruments. Lacking these instruments, it can be sung throughout.

The complex monodic-polychoral-instrumental setting of this Christmas *Leise* is subdivided into three parts. The first shows three sections. Section A is written for two vocal choruses, to the middle of which a viol chorus is added. It is abundant with diminutions in all ensembles. Section B (the second line) is a tenor monody which is accompanied by or incorporated into the trombone chorus and its basso continuo companion. Section C presents in *ripieno* fashion (five choruses together) once more the first line.

The second part is composed of two sections, the latter of which is a five-chorus *ripieno* part similar to section C of the first part. The music to the third line makes out the first half of section A as performed by parts of two choruses and of the viol chorus. The first two verse lines of the fourth stanza make out the initial measures of the second half of section A, and one tenor part of the first vocal chorus, and one tenor part of the second vocal chorus, the viol ensemble and the complete fifth chorus (voices and instruments) and basso continuo participate. The third line *Es leucht't wohl mitten in der Nacht* is performed by a tenor solo and chorus No. 4 (trombone), a reminiscence of the before-related performance practice as applied to line two in the first part. The fourth line "und des Lichtes Kinder macht" by the tenor part of chorus two (voices) and the complete chorus five and basso continuo. The final *Kyrieleis* reunifies all participating voices. An excellent example of the *Verhackungstechnik*,^[29] which consists of distributing the different choral stanzas or choral lines to different choruses or single members of the choruses.

The third part, being the most extensive one, consists of the music to the fifth through seventh stanzas. Chorus 4 (trombones) and chorus 2 (voices) and b. c. (basso continuo) are in charge of the interpretation of the fifth stanza. All five ensembles are utilized for stanza 6, although at the beginning only chorus 3 (viols), chorus 1 (voices), and a complete set of solo voices of chorus 5 are presented. The first two lines of stanza 7 show the *ripieno* style used in parts I and II; line 3 consists of a contrasting interlude, one voice and 3 viols, soprano and bass of chorus 1 in diminished fashion, soprano and bass of chorus 2 in diminished fashion. Line 4 and the *Kyrieleis* appendix resume once more the familiar *ripieno* style.

Less organizational magnitude, however great concertizing paschal glamor, is present in the setting of *Halleluja! Christ ist erstanden* (Vol. XVII, 2, No. XXXV, pp. 559 ff.). It is written for five ensembles, i.e., chorus 1 (viols), chorus 2 (trombones), chorus *vocalis*, capella 1 *in pleno choro*, capella 2 *in pleno choro*. A full-sounding Halleluja *ripieno* with all ensembles participating is used at the beginning and end and after each stanza respectively.

The first stanza of the *Christ ist erstanden Leise* is sung by a soprano of the *chorus vocalis* against a vocal bass part and the complete viol ensemble. Only for the *Kyrieleis* statement the complete trombone chorus is added. The style of writing is highly ornate, imitative, and of instrumental vivacity.

Stanza two is sung by alto and tenor of the *chorus vocalis* against a vocal bass and the complete trombone ensemble. For the *Kyrieleis* statement the viol ensemble is added.

While stanzas one and two are rather thinly orchestrated, stanza three forms a sonorous and dynamic climax. It begins with all five voices of the *chorus vocalis*. The complete trombone and later the complete viol ensembles are added.

The seven- or nine-part setting of *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* from the *Polyhymnia exercitatrix* (Vol. XIX, No. 9, p. 32) is less complex than the *variatio per choro* setting of Vol. XVIII, 2. It is subdivided into three parts in which two to four solo voices compete against an instrumental quartet and figured bass part. In the short preface the composer stresses the participation of the congregation in singing the second, third, fifth, and sixth stanzas. The presence of the *simplex* and the *diminutus* version of the same solo parts is explained in the first paragraph of the notes to the reader:

I have composed originally, these Alleluias and German hymns in this *Polyhymnia V. Exercitatrix* in order to encourage my cappella boys to practice and to accustom them to a frame of mind for, and a way of, singing. Underneath the difficult spots [in the score] I have put a *cantum simplicem* so that other students who bear desires for such a way of singing can practice and be not deterred and horrified at the beginning because of the amount of *fusae* and *semifusae*.

No. X (p. 44) is written similarly. In the short *Ubi Rex est gloriarum—Surrexit Christus hodie* (Vol. XIX, No. 7, pp. 64 ff.) polychoral devices of the *Urania* collection are applied.

The *Stylus motecticus*

For the discussion of baroque compositions other than those written by Michael Praetorius, I use the terms *stylus motecticus* and *stylus madrigalescus* as they are explained by Johann Gottfried Walther, by the great German music encyclopedist Johann Mattheson,^[30] and others. The *stylus motecticus* includes “fugues, allabreves, double counterpoint, canons, etc.,” and is used for the expression of “astonishment, consternation, pains,” etc. The *stylus* incorporates musical baroque forms such as the aria, recitative, cantata, passion, and oratorio; and it lends itself to the expression of love, tenderness, and compassion.

Strong contrapuntal devices characteristic for the *stylus motecticus* appear in Hans Leo Hassler's four-part *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* from his *Psalmen und christlich Gesaenge . . . auf die Melodeien fugweis komponiert*. In its *lied-motet* style of through-imitation it combines characteristics of the Lassus school with devices typical of the Baroque era. Thus, for instance, the first three bass statements produce the effect of an *ostinato* rather than an anticipation of the *cantus firmus*.^[31]

Michael Altenburg's five-part *Christ lag in Todesbanden* from his *Kirchen- und Haus Gesaenge* (1620) displays in its first part a motetlike contrapuntalism which is expressed in free figurations in the different voices with the aid of dotted rhythms, eighth- and sixteenth-note progressions.

Christoph Thomas Walliser's four-part setting of *Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*, his five-part setting of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist, Mitten wir im Leben sind, Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet, Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot* (3 settings), his six-part settings of the latter, of *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist, Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*—all taken from his *Ecclesiodiae ander Theil* (1625)—are arranged, according to the composer, "in a somewhat madrigalesque manner." They should be performed at "a pretty slow speed," and the repetition should "be embellished with soft register."^[32] They are thought to be performed *viva voce* as well as by instruments. This statement agrees with what Mattheson mentions about motet writing.^[33]

And the motets of past periods consisted of such fugues or fuguelike settings, without any instruments, without any *bassus generalis*; in recent times one had not only admitted the figured bass but strengthened also the vocal parts by all kinds of instruments. Nevertheless, the players are not supposed to make any more, other, or fewer notes than the singers, the latter being a basic characteristic of the motets.

These facts about instrumental activities refer directly to church music practices at the Strassburg *Muenster*, where the city council, Walliser's employer, favored a certain cultivation of figural music.^[34] His chorale arrangements are written as figural interludes between the unison chorale performances of the congregation, accompanied by the organ and/or instruments. Although written in figural and madrigalistic fashion, the composer says about his settings that they are written in such a fashion that the local chorale tunes and texts are observed as much as possible so that the same can be heard and understood correctly by the congregation.

To mention a characteristic setting, the five-part setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* presents the *Leise* tune with its original phrases mostly in the soprano and tenor voices. Each phrase material is repeated, varied, and extended in all voices for a certain time. A short unison canon of a motif with dotted dancelike rhythm is used for the madrigalistic interpretation of the words "praising our God." An *ostinato* pattern to the words "with hearty glee" follows immediately in the alto part. Almost careless use of accidentals indicates great movability of voice leading on the one hand, and on the other, the subordination of certain voices to filler and harmonic functions only.

In Johann Hermann Schein's five-part *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, written in *contrapunto composito*, arbitrary harmonization causes frequent tritone relationships. The flexibility of

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accidental treatment for the purpose of expressiveness in exchange is an outstanding quality of the final four-part chorus of Heinrich Schütz's *St. Matthew Passion*, in which the composer uses the old passion *Leise, O du armer Judas* to Hermann Bonus' *O wir armen Sünder*.^[35]

A four-part setting of *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* by Adam Gumpeltzhaimer has the *Leise* melody in the upper voice in equal half-note values, while the remaining voices exercise pseudopolyphonic activities, the bass part excelling itself in giving baroque support to the *cantus firmus*. Similar to the Walliser settings, alto and tenor fulfill the function of beautifully designed filler voices. The composer follows a technique which had been made famous by Johannes Eccard's *Geistlich Lieder auf den Choral gerichtet* from 1597. The melody is presented in one voice in a simple fashion with the intention that the congregation can perceive and even sing it.^[36]

A near canonic treatment, similar to many Michael Praetorius *tricina*, appears in Johann Staden's SSB setting of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* in the two upper voices, while the bass presents an extended elaboration of the chorale proper.^[37]

Strict *motectus* five-part writing appears in a *Quodlibet* by Johann Gödel,^[38] in which the five main sections of the Catechism are presented in five different voices with five different hymn texts and tunes, the bass part singing the brief Commandment *Leise Mensch, willst du leben seliglich*.

Like in cantor Stephan Hoepner's six-part setting of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*, the *stylus motecticus* is preserved purely in the *missa brevis* on the *Leise Christ lag in Todesbanden* for four voices and *basso continuo* by Handel's teacher, Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow.^[39] With the basso continuo being optional, continuous imitation and moving *cantus firmus* techniques are the media which use the whole chorale, phrase by phrase, in the Kyrie as well as the Gloria.

The *stylus motecticus* as adapted to polychoral writing is present in Samuel Scheidt's eight-part *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (No. 11), *Puer natus est—Surrexit* (No. 18), and *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (No. 22). All three numbers are contained in Scheidt's first published work, the *Cantiones sacrae* from 1620. Thirty-eight hymns are written in the style of Venetian polychorality. The three *Leisen* settings begin in a contrapuntal and imitative fashion concluding with two *concertato* echo choirs full of homophonic block chords.

Nuremberg's Johann Staden's eight-part setting of *Christ fuhr gen Himmel* from 1625 is based on a constant process of shifting antiphonal effects between two choirs together with frequent meter changes. The latter is written with the purpose of emphasizing the occasion of the Ascension.

The cantor from Weimar, Melchior Vulpius, shows in his eight-part setting of *Erstanden ist der heilig Christ*^[40] purely antiphonal singing which agrees with the Easter spirit and the popular melodicism characteristic for this composer.

The young Heinrich Schütz becomes acquainted first with polychoral writing through the bichoral hymn and psalm compositions of the Weissenfels cantor Georg Weber. Weber's complete *Leisen* repertoire shows an expanded *Kantional* technique rather than

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Venetian *concertato* devices. Taking for example the eight-part setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, the chorale is presented by both choirs in such a fashion that it easily can be recognized by the congregation. Each phrase is presented by each choir separately, i.e., choir 1 sings phrase 1 first, choir 2 answers with phrase 2 while choir 1 is silent, choir 1 follows with phrase 2, which is taken up by choir 2 and so on. Dissections, expansions, or alterations of the melodic material occur only at the very end of the corresponding phrase cadences. A full eight-part writing occurs only toward the very end.

What a difference, then, in Schütz's eleven-part *Christ ist erstanden* (Vol. XIV, pp. 167 ff.),^[41] in which the original *Leise* melody is playfully abandoned and in which the instrumental choruses of viols, trombones, and organ double the vocal parts in a pompous Venetian manner.^[42]

The *Stylus madrigalescus*

Instrumental writing in conjunction with polychorality can be found in Johann Rudolph Ahle's *Fuerchtet euch nicht*, which is written *per choros cum fundamento et instrumentis*.^[43] A mediocre type of unsophisticated, sacred "music for pleasure" is characteristic of this composer from Thuringia. A short *sinfonia* for four bassoons, trombones, and viols with basso continuo precedes a *Lied*-like monody. A homophonic *chorus angelorum* is followed by an imitative four-part *chorus pastorum*. A short *sinfonia* written for four bassoons introduces the final number, in which the first and last stanzas of the Christmas *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* are written for eight voices with bassoon accompaniment. The verbatim presentation of the chorale forms the climax of this middle-baroque *Leisen* cantata.

The prototype of few-voiced popular cantata music can be found in the compositions of Andreas Hammerschmidt. His *Kirchen- und Tafelmusik* from 1662 has a *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (No. 5), which is written for two voices and three trombones, while his *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (No. 21) is set for alto, two trumpets, and trombone quartet. Following in his footsteps are certain Thuringian composers of the first half of the eighteenth century, such as Johann Topf, E. F. Niedt, and Liebhold.

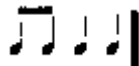
In Johann Topf's *Das Wort ward Fleisch* for six voices,^[44] the interpretation of the first two verse lines uses five imitative voices with concertizing effect. For the next two lines all six voices participate in the presentation of a syllabic and homophonic section. Only then the first stanza of the Christmas *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* is presented in unison and in long note values by soprano I and II. They concertize against a vocal four-part accompaniment which derives its motivic material from the *Kyrie eleison* cadence of the *Leise* proper. Another setting to the same text (No. 19, pp. 58 ff.) has the *Leise* section being followed by a doxology appendix (*Ehre sei Gott in der Hoehe*). In both settings the liturgy-mindedness and the consideration of the congregation and school youth are evident.

E. F. Niedt's *Es müssen sich freuen und fröhlich sein* for four voices (p. 64) is subdivided into two sections. The first deals with a four-part elaboration of the Biblical saying itself, the second section displays the *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ Leise* in long-note values in the upper voice against the three lower voices presenting *Leise* motives in echo fashion.

Liebhold, too, set the music to *Das Wort ward Fleisch* (No. 51). The four-part composition shows more madrigalistic tendencies. Sixteenth-note figurations are used for the words “wohnet” (liveth) and “Herrlichkeit” (magnificence). The *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* is presented again in the uppermost voice.

Still more cantatalike subdivisions are in the *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* setting for five voices and seven instruments by the cantor from Danzig, Balthasar Erben.^[45] The first stanza shows the chorale in an unaltered fashion in unison both in the *canto fermo* (soprano) and *alto primo* part, and it is accompanied by two violins, three wind instruments, violetta, and basso continuo. The second stanza is a combination of *canto fermo* and tenor with the *Leise* tune, while the full instrumental output, including the bassoon, accompany. Stanza three has the five voices and seven instruments in action, while in stanza four the tenor and bass sing the *Leise* in unison to a quickly moving two-part violin obbligato which is supported by the basso continuo only. Stanza five is again made up by the tutti, while stanza six shows a solo of the *canto fermo* against the full instrumental body. Stanza seven represents the twelve-part ensemble. A similar multisectional organization is at hand in the sacred concert music of the cantor from Hamburg, Thomas Selle. Still more than in Erben’s composition Selle’s settings show similarities with the *variatio per choros* technique of Michael Praetorius, all the more since Selle had been exposed to Praetorius’ compositions while he studied music in Leipzig with the Thomas cantors Seth Calvisius and Johann Hermann Schein.^[46]

Selle’s setting of the Passion *Leise Ach wir armen Suender* is a huge, multisectional set of *per omnes versus Leise* variations for ten vocal and instrumental parts. It is introduced by a short, *slowsinfonia* for two violins, violetta, viola da gamba, bassoon, and basso continuo which has only little connection with the motivic output of the *Leise* itself. Stanza one is treated for three voices and basso continuo in note against note fashion. Stanza two forms a sharp pitch contrast since the three homophonic voices sing one octave lower than in the previous stanza. A *ritornello* for two violins playing in unison, viola da gamba, and bassoon shows over the descending hexachord motif of the bassoon part a descending violin and viola da gamba duet which uses the dotted rhythm pattern for almost the entire piece. Stanza three has two soprano



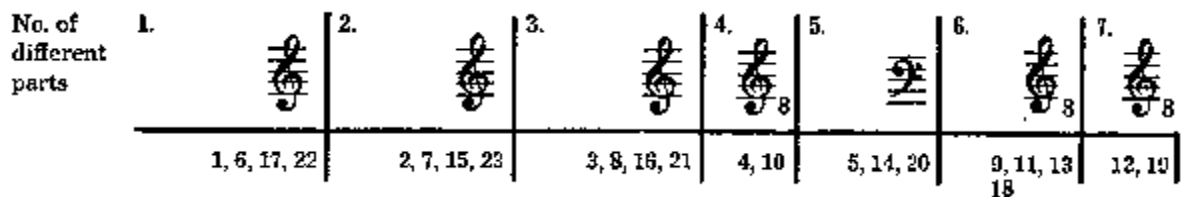
parts in concertizing antiphony, using *acanzona* rhythm, while the viola da gamba, bassoon, and basso continuo accompany. The *ritornello* is repeated, stanza four using then a similar concerto technique. In stanza five the *Leise* is treated in four-part chordal writing against a highly ornate gamba figuration which consists mostly of scale devices, repeated tone patterns, octave skips, etc. Stanza six is done by all ten parts in strict note-against-note fashion so that the congregation can join in singing, although the unusual triple meter is being used.

The five-part *Jesus Christ, unser Heiland, der den Tod ueberwand* (No. 8) begins in note-against-note fashion with the participation of both vocal parts and lute and bassoon as well. Only the viola da gamba part shows an animated sixteenth- and dotted-note figuration similar to the fifth stanza of the preceding *Leise* variation. The second stanza is handled by a tenor solo. It introduces the different chorale phrases in sections widely separated by rests and is accompanied by a lute and bassoon continuo which is vividly contrasted by a highly ornamental viola da gamba obbligato. The concluding *Kyrieleis* pattern is extended by sequences which exploit dynamic contrasts between forte and piano.

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His *Christ ist auffgerstanden* (No. 9) is set for two voices with violin, double bass, and basso continuo. It begins with a *sinfonia* which reveals a varied *Leise* tune in the double bass and basso continuo part against a concertizing violin part, full of scale passages and thirds sequences, mostly in sixteenth- and eighth-note values. The musical treatment of the first two verse lines shows the *cantus firmus* in half note values as responded by interludes of descending sequences full of dotted rhythms in the before-mentioned string instruments. The second section changes to a dancelike triple meter, while the last section returns to the duple meter. The second stanza is done in unison by both voices with half-measure rests between each phrase so that the congregation could easily have joined in singing. The violin part begins with dotted rhythms against complementary patterns both in string bass and basso continuo. The third stanza with its three-sectional construction resembles rather an instrumental postlude. In a twenty-two-part setting of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (No. 72) the first stanza is a soprano solo which is accompanied by four violins. The second stanza is a tenor solo which is set against four trombones, and the third stanza uses all twenty-two parts. Actually only seven different parts are used, which are doubled correspondingly.



According to Blume,^[47] Friedr. Wilhelm Zachow's Nativity cantata *Es wird eine Rute aufgehen* is a contemplative cantata typical of cantata compositions around the turn of the eighteenth century. It is written for thirteen parts, consisting of two violins, viola, two oboes, bassoon, two hunting horns, four voices, and basso continuo. There are nine numbers, some of which are solo, da capo arias with instrumental accompaniment, others which are chorus numbers. Numbers three and five are the second and fourth stanzas of the Christmas *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* written for four voices in note-against-note fashion to the accompaniment of the full orchestra including an obbligato bass part.

Speaking about cantatas and the Christmas *Leise Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*, we are reminded of Johann Sebastian Bach's first Christmas cantata No. 91 (cp. BG XXI) of the same name in which the *Leise* material is elaborated upon freely in the first and second number. The same *Leise* occurs also in the second number of the cantata No. 64: *Sehet, welch eine Liebe*. Cantatas 169 and 197 use a *Kantional*-type setting of the Pentecost *Leise Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*, while cantata No. 66 uses the Easter *Leise Christ ist erstanden*; No. 77 the Ten Commandment *Leise Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot*; and No. 158 the tune of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* to the text *Hier ist das rechte Osterlamm*.

The most famous *Leise* cantata, however, is J. S. Bach's chorale cantata No. 4, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, which uses the *Leise* material in all sections. It consists of an introductory *sinfonia* and seven variations on a basic melody.

Christ lag in Todesbanden:

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- A. *Sinfonia orchestra lento*
The sinfonia lasts for fourteen measures. Mournful mood is set for stanza interpretations to come.
- B. *Stanza 1 mixed chorus allegro moderato*
The soprano presents the original *Leise* tune in long-note values. The remaining three voices elaborate on its motivic contents in imitative and concertizing fashion. At the concluding *Hallelujah* speed and volume are increased considerably; the accompanying strings, woodwinds, and brass reach the peak of excitement simultaneously.
- C. *Stanza 2 duet (sopr. and alto) andante*
The melody is given first in the woodwinds and low strings, against which the duet is presented. Both voices elaborate very freely on the *Leise* tune.
- D. *Stanza 3 solo (tenor) allegro*
The tenor sings the *Leise* in a slightly embellished fashion. The vigorous optimism of the text is emphasized by the orchestration: a playful violin motive is put against steady and strong bass progressions.
- E. *Stanza 4 solo (tenor) allegro*
Imitative devices are used consistently between the tenors, sopranos, and bass, while the contralto presents the *Leise* in an unaltered fashion.
- F. *Stanza 5 solo (bass) andante con moto*
The bass part indicates the *Leise* in triple meter. First each line is presented close to the original tune; the music then is very much extended and embellished. In addition, the violins carry further, effective obbligato writing.
- G. *Stanza 6 duet (sopr. and tenor) andante maestoso*
Both voices present segments of the original *Leise* phrases. Then elaborate motivic extensions and embellishments occur. Throughout the setting, the dotted dance rhythm of the instrumental accompaniment is strikingly noticeable.
- H. *Stanza 7 chorale (mixed chorus)*
The original *Leise* is presented in four-part harmony.

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The Choral Music of the “Kantorei”^[1]

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The subject we are to discuss implies an element of vital importance to the life and stability of all musical composition in a certain epoch: the unity between the artistic style, its geographic origin, the purpose of composition, the repertory, and the musical education. If the unity exists and is in keeping with the predominant spirit of the time, outstanding achievements of the highest artistic quality usually give the period its lasting distinction. All the great epochs of the history of music betray such a unity. If no full harmony between all these factors comes to pass, contradictions arise, and conflicts of more or less severe nature entangle the individual composer. Although his accomplishments may, despite adverse conditions, still be profound and even unique from an absolute point of value, his historical position will often be distressingly ineffective, if not tragic.

The institution we characterize as typically Protestant, the *Kantorei*, or rather its history, shows both phases: on the one hand, all is inner unity, and the existence of music and musician fully harmonious; on the other hand, the unity breaks down, and the Protestant composer comes to be exposed to confusion and conflict.

Since for the time being at least, we do not pursue scholarship for its own sake, since, in other words, we desire to draw the benefits from scholarship which we take to be the guide in what should be done today, the lessons history has in store for us should attentively be studied. And the history of the Protestant *Kantorei* holds many a lesson it will be wise not to overlook.

The *Kantorei* entered upon its most glorious epoch when, after 1450, the rise of the Netherlandish School brought about a musical style, various factors of which necessitated the most elaborate form of a choral institution. The new music was essentially religious, since its style took origin in direct relationship to the liturgy, to the Ordinary of the Mass. In contrast to the period prior to 1450, the Netherlandish style was essentially vocal, in place of the previous structural contrast between a predominant vocal part and instrumental accompaniment; it became essentially choral, instead of the soloistic art that preceded; hence its melody was made to be essentially functional; that is, melody derived its character from the function it fulfilled in the polyphonic total.

All these characteristics called for the group as the proper medium of performance, for the choir. The style of the Netherlandish music made the organization of choirs a necessity. The two main characteristics, those of being religious as well as choral in substance, were the very backbone of the *Kantorei* as the institution which was organized according to the needs of the music composed. For an institution never has, or should never have, and in good times actually did not have, a life of its own apart from the music. On the contrary, the style of music always formed its own appropriate conditions and proper institutions.

The adequate institution of the Netherlandish music was the *Kantorei*. Since the style of the Netherlanders lasted as an international force for about 150 years, from 1450 to 1600, the age of the Reformation coincided with the age of the Netherlandish music. And the *Kantorei* existed throughout the period as an international organization.

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What, then, is the *Kantorei*, and what its specifically Protestant form? The term *Kantorei*, which Luther and the Wittenberg circle of reformers so frequently used, was applied to various types during the sixteenth century and for a short while thereafter, all of them important for the organization of Protestant church music. To enumerate the types in question immediately: there is the *Hofkantorei*, perhaps to be mentioned first because of the splendor it gained until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War cut short the story of its fame. Second, there is the *Schulkantorei*, which functions as church choir; it has a variety of names; next to *Schulkantorei* we find it to be called *Schulchor*, *chorus musicus*, *orchorus symphoniacus*, or *Figuralchor*, all terms being equally expressive of the choral polyphony they perform; for *musica*, or *symphonia*, or *chorus*, or *musica figurata*—all is related to the polyphonic form of vocal music. The *Kurrende*, a special branch of the *Kantorei* at the school, may merely be mentioned in passing. There is, thirdly, the *Kantorei* in the narrower sense of the word. It is often called *Kantoreigesellschaft* if applied to the city, *Adjuvantenverein* if applied to the village. None of these organizations is an original creation of Protestantism, although the Reformation has worked out the third type, the *Kantoreigesellschaft*, with characteristics entirely its own.

The *Kantorei* at the courts fulfilled a function of particular importance, since German princes came to be the chief supporters of the Protestant cause. The singers were appointed and paid by the court. Their duties consisted of providing the music for all activities at the court, religious and otherwise. Since the princes, mainly for reasons of representation, had a keen interest in high qualities of the music, they called musicians of first rank to their courts. Most of them came from Flanders, a land incredibly prolific in turning out musicians, extraordinary not only in genius but also in numbers. The *Kantorei* of the court antedates the Reformation. It had an estimable tradition at the time when German princes began to turn Protestant. Luther was deeply concerned with the lively continuance of the activities; and if any *Hofkantorei* was intended to be dissolved for reasons of religious austerity, Luther immediately gave vent to his disapproval in terms characteristic of both his directness and impatience.

The shift of musicians from one court to the other was relatively easier and more frequent than the change from one church to the other, especially if such a change implied the turn from the old religion to the new. The early period of the Reformation displayed a lively interchange in musicianship at princely courts. Above all, the imperial court assembled many Netherlandish musicians. Indeed, under Maximilian I it became the very center of Netherlandish art, which Ferdinand I made successful efforts to keep alive. The leading musicians of the young Protestant Church came nearly all from that school. And many a composer at a Catholic court provided music for the Protestant service. Even Lassus, who worked under one of the severest representatives of the Counter Reformation, Albrecht V, composed several specifically Protestant texts. In 1526 Stoltzer wrote the music to the Lutheran Psalms, commissioned by the Duke Albrecht of Prussia and Queen Mary of Hungary. Arnold von Bruck, priest and court composer of Ferdinand I, contributed works to the Lutheran liturgy. So did Stefan Mahu, perhaps also in the *Capella* of Ferdinand I. The intimate relationship of Senfl to Luther is too well known to be discussed. Balthasar Resinarius, pupil of Isaac in the imperial *Capella*, himself became Protestant and one of the better composers in the early years of Protestantism. Without lengthening the list of musicians any further, we may say that the structure of the court *Kantorei* was fully maintained by the Protestant principalities. At the head of such

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institutions there were often the best composers of the time. Hence their artistic faculties made the Protestant church music appear from the very outset with compositions of European prominence. We understand fully why Luther insisted on the maintenance of as many *Hofkantoreien* as tradition had established. There is still another factor worth mentioning: in various cities a mutual interchange of musicians took place between the *Kantorei* of the town's church and that of the court. Here and there the singers were the same. On the strength of such an agreement the musical activities presented, indeed, a remarkable picture of artistic uniformity.

The second type of the Protestant *Kantorei* is as strongly rooted in tradition as is the court choir, yet still closer to the organization of the Lutheran Church: I mean the school choir. Protestantism upheld the medieval ancestor of the school *Kantorei*, as it did in so many other matters, external and spiritual. But here, too, the most illustrious period began when the Netherlandish composers formulated their musical ideal within the medium of choral polyphony. It is through the organization of the school *Kantorei* that the Netherlandish music obtained its best vehicle of expression. And the stern discipline with which the institute has been ruled explains the miraculous achievements in the choral art of the cathedral choirs. It is the greatest age of choral singing in all history. Without the *Kantorei*, Protestant church music would never have become what it was during the century of the Reformation.

In this organization, school and church work side by side. The musical education is entrusted to the school. The results of the education are presented in the church. The cantor of the church is the teacher in the school. His position gives him social distinction. Next to the rector he is second in the faculty. Rector and cantor decide upon the admission of pupils to the school, whereby very often the cantor makes the musical interests bear upon the decision. For the school *Kantorei* comprises all the students of the school. The singing is compulsory. All pupils have to participate in choral singing.

Bugenhagen, in Luther's time the chief organizer of liturgy and school for the North of Germany, put music first in the curriculum of study in schools. The compulsory training took place daily, in most schools after lunch from twelve to one; some plans of study give also the reason for this order: the singing should take place daily because it was done in honor of the Lord; and it should be from twelve to one because it was recognized as an efficient prompter of digestion.

Out of the whole student body the best singers of the higher grades from *Tertia* to *Prima*, rarely the youngsters, were combined into the school choir to appear chiefly in the services of the church, partly also on festival occasions of the community. The rigid regulations made the outstanding results possible. In the first place, the compulsory singing of all students, regardless of talent or interest, promoted a musical education so widespread and general as to grant music to remain part of man's life. Musical education was not meant to involve only those who had their minds already set upon music, but to provide as broad and fertile a ground as possible, so that the finest would grow thereon actively to be shared by all. Our school organizations merely take care of the student who is sufficiently interested and satisfactorily talented; they neglect all others; and music as a medium of expressive activity will not be attainable as long as the majority is left aside and given over to merely passive listening and aesthetic pleasure. In the second place, the organization fitted closely the music made by it. The compositions the time produced were almost exclusively of choral nature. The institution to carry them out was

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organized for and together with them. Since the discipline was strict, the training thorough and comprehensive, the fruits the efforts bore were equal to the compositions themselves. And great was the fame the school and church choirs acquired in the age of the Reformation: Leipzig, Dresden, Schulpforta, Lüneburg, Nuremberg, Halle, Hamburg, Wittenberg, and many another city had, in the course of time, built up a prominent reputation.

The last type, Protestant in a particular way, is of special interest. The *Kantoreigesellschaft* is to a lesser degree an offspring of tradition. To be sure, it also had certain models from which it developed. The *Kantoreigesellschaft* of the Protestant period had its predecessor in the so-called *Kalandsbrüderschaft*, a brotherhood founded for musical and religious purposes to combine both laymen and clergy. It was sometimes named "Society of Choir Singers." But it is significant that these medieval brotherhoods entered upon the state of dying out at the time when Luther came. Hence the link between the Protestant *Kantoreigesellschaft* and tradition cannot be regarded as particularly strong. It is even more than doubtful—so far as I can ascertain—that the founders of the *Kantoreigesellschaften* intended to revive the old brotherhoods with new, Protestant ideas. It seems that the societies were founded rather out of the needs and characteristics of Protestantism. For when they began to rise, they were largely without organization, and it is only toward the end of the sixteenth century that they adopted the regular statutes of a society. How were they formed? The burghers of the city, often together with some pupils of the school, had regular gatherings in order to study the music to be sung in the services. The study was usually conducted by the *cantor*. This was voluntary choral practice for the purpose that members of the congregation should enable themselves to take part in the liturgical music of the service. To quote from an original source: the citizens of the town should meet that "to the honor of the Almighty, on the high feasts and Sundays, they should help in singing the *musica figurata* to the services of Mass and Vesper so that subsequently youth may be kept in practice and be able to improve upon the art of music." In the days of Luther the burghers of the congregation, high or low in station, gathered to the end that music should be made the form through which the congregation could express itself. Since the Lutheran liturgy is based on the active congregation, the share it has in the musical manifestations is of the utmost importance. But this has often been questioned by scholars, particularly for the early period when the members of the congregation were said to have been unable to sing the compositions taken into the repertory of Protestant church music. Some scholars suggested that possibly the singers of the trained choir were distributed over the church to support the congregational singing. There is a passage in Luther's works that explains the share of the congregation differently. He tells that it assembled on certain days of the week to practice the music to be sung in the service.^[2] This conforms to a few other documents we have where it is said that in certain cities young people came together in the church for an hour or more in order to prepare themselves for the music; and the documents praise the laudable zeal of the youngsters who thus distinguished themselves from the habitual loafers of the town.

In the early days of the Reformation these *Kantoreigesellschaften* sprang up according to the needs of the Church. Inasmuch as they were first without strict regulations, they also had something of a democratic character. For burghers of all stations united themselves in view of what the Church needed. The picture was to change toward the end of the century. Burghers of the upper class no longer took part in such musical practice of the congregation. Simultaneously this group of singers became more and more organized as a regular society. The statutes

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adopted were extremely elaborate, rules being put down for nearly all the society was to undertake. The singers practiced once a week for four or five hours; they met in the school or in the home of one of the members. Luther himself had something of a *Kantoreigesellschaft* in that on regular days his friends met in his house to practice that music which he made every effort to gain for Protestantism. Due to industrious practice and discipline the period in which these societies came to their best was about 1600 and after, until the Thirty Years' War ended the custom. Although the societies were revived after the war, they never again became what they originally were.

These three organizations, then, contributed to the realization of Protestant church music: the *Kantoreigesellschaft* most to the congregational singing, the *Hofkantorei* most to the artistic development, the school *Kantorei* most to the advancement of musical education. They all reached their height from about 1550 to 1620 in Protestant regions. They all suffered from the blight the war put upon them. But there were also artistic reasons why they never again came to true life. These reasons will have to be discussed.

And all these institutions were united on the ground of a common repertory. A common style, common forms linked the three together to reach a common end: the organization of the new liturgy by way of music.

It is a striking fact that Protestantism associated itself with the Netherlandish music. The association became, indeed, so close, and the influences, direct and indirect, were so manifold that the ideal of Protestant music and the ideal of Netherlandish composition grew to be one and the same. I do not mean merely the use Protestantism had made of the musical heritage related to the older Church. All such relations, often of external nature only, led to transformations in the sense of the new religion, frequently so far-reaching reinterpretations of the old material that at times we can no longer attach a primary importance to the source of influence. What I mean lies apart from the sphere of external influences. I mean the complete identity that came to exist between two ideals of composition. This, of course, is not only taken for granted on the basis that Luther himself declared Josquin des Prés to be the greatest of all composers and his personal favorite as well. However consequential Luther's own judgment may have been to the form of a musical liturgy, it is not likely alone to have had sufficient power in producing the identity between Netherlandish and Protestant musical terms. Historically speaking, there is hardly any epoch in German music, the classic period excepted, that presents itself so free from conflict and so fortunate in unity despite the greatest religious rupture that ever had come upon the country. Glareanus, the intimate friend of Erasmus, once described the political picture Germany displayed to the world in the most exasperating terms. There was, in other words, nothing, political and religious, that would even in the slightest resemble a unity. Nevertheless, German music was, either before or after in the baroque, as united as in the century of the Reformation. And in spite of the severest antagonism in matters religious and political, there was continual communication between the Netherlandish and German Protestant circles in music. Surely, this cannot be explained by some sentimental reason that music is an internationally unifying agent. Even the word of Luther, by its own weight and value, could not have produced the astonishing unity. The reasons for all this lie deeper. To give an account of them is all the more important as they provide means of solving an extraordinary puzzle in the history of Protestant music. They cast light upon the fact that Protestant music is

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united and uniform in the epoch of the Reformation, disunited and full of conflicts in the baroque age.

German polyphonic music during the Middle Ages had at all times been exposed to compositions that came from countries for centuries in the lead of the artistic development. France, Burgundy, and Italy had provided style and repertory which German musicians accepted with profound interest. The student of the history of German music knows that it never was independent or of any importance in the concert of European music. Only relatively very few compositions contained a peculiar character and showed a structure, genuine and native, for which no other country had stylistic parallels. Viewed under European aspects, even this type remained as ineffective as all other polyphonic music of Germany. Nonetheless, the type has decisive bearing on the problem we have raised. Some of the early polyphonic compositions, not produced under outside influence, the works of the Monk of Salzburg in the second half of the fourteenth century and those of Oswald von Wolkenstein in particular († 1445), bring forth the structure of the *tenor-cantus firmus Lied* in the sphere of secular music. The melody of the *Lied* is placed in the *tenor*, the second part above is set as counterpoint. The *Locheim Liederbuch*, some compositions of which are extended to three parts, works out this native structure even more significantly in that the *cantus firmus* is used as *tenor* in the middle, while two free contrapuntal parts frame the central *Lied*. To be sure, this *Lied* maintains the contrast of performance that generally prevailed in all secular songs of the time: one part to be sung, the others to be played; here the *tenor* is vocal, the surrounding parts instrumental. It is the structure, however, that counts.

When the Netherlandish school came to birth and the compositions of Ockeghem, its founder, began to appear in increasing numbers after 1450, a style gradually arose to attain European rank which conformed to the native concepts of the German polyphonic song. A *cantus firmus* was borrowed, arranged as *tenor* in free rhythms and long emphatic values, placed in the center of the work, and around this central melody there rotate, as it were, the three free counterpoints with long melismas and in almost endless lines. We immediately think of the wonderful words with which Luther described this very structure, in a manner I believe to be without equal. The character of the *cantus firmus* that carries the melody distinguishes the *tenor* from all other parts: the sustained tones, irregular in the succession of the rhythmical values, give the voice an objective solemnity and structural prominence which has often been acoustically underlined in that an additional *trombone* accompanied the voice of the *tenor*. Thus all other voices became subordinate to the *tenor*. This is the oldest stylistic form of the Netherlandish School and has been maintained, at the side of other forms, throughout the age, by varying degrees of its frequency. Since the form, however, corresponded to the structure of the polyphonic *Lied* in Germany, it is understandable that the German musicians fully absorbed the Netherlandish art as soon as they came to know it. For they grasped the form on the strength of their own tradition which allowed them to seize upon the Netherlandish compositions most eagerly. Hence, the rapidity with which the new style spread in Germany; hence, also, the obstinacy with which German musicians adhered to the style even at a time when the Netherlandish style had lost its place and influence in all other European countries.

A second reason had definite bearing on prompting an inner coincidence of Netherlandish and German music. The medieval repertory of German polyphonic compositions presents a definite

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contrast to the style that governed the art of the epoch. It consisted chiefly of sacred works collected by German musicians. Their manuscripts differ essentially from the rest of the continental sources in so far as there is this emphasis on sacred music, whereas the style prevalent in the age had secular connotations. When the new forms emanated from the Netherlands, they came forth with a new sacred message—after centuries past, the first genuinely religious style in polyphonic music. At this point, German tradition that gave preference to sacred compositions even when they were not in fashion, and the new profoundly religious work of the Netherlands came to reach an inner agreement. Both the artistic structure of the composition and the religious tendency in the music enabled the German musicians to accept the forms that came from the Netherlands with a spontaneous understanding.

There has, of course, been an inner evolution within the Netherlandish style itself, and it is Josquin des Prés who during the most important years of his activities, between about 1490 and 1510, has carried it further than anyone else. In his epoch-making motet *Ave Maria*, of perhaps 1500, and the *Missa Pange Lingua*, which came later, Josquin eliminated the structural contrast between the sustained *tenor* and the melismatic counterpoints. He invented his own theme for every text phrase to be imitated successively by all the parts in fugal manner. The length of the melodic phrases as well as the entrances of the voices were non-symmetrical, cadences were avoided, rests scarce, and an uninterrupted stream of balanced melismatic lines resulted from such a concept of composition that with reference to the work of Josquin and of Gombert the very learned Spanish theorist Thomas de Sancta Marie said in 1565: entrances and cadences should be treated in such a way that they do not stand out by themselves; for this is a very delicate problem, in fact, the greatest beauty and art possible in music. The third and last phase of evolution in the Netherlandish music is chiefly related to the motets of Roland Lassus, who endeavored to achieve a new style of declamation. But whatever the changes were that came into being, the German musicians kept closely in touch with all of them; indeed, they proceeded at the same pace as did the Netherlanders. Once the contact had been established at the very origin of the style on the basis of an inner relationship, it had been maintained through its phases. This keeping in pace with the Netherlandish development is characteristic of the German music in the century of the Reformation.

These two forms we have tried to describe in brief, that of the *tenor-cantus firmus* composition and the imitative structure with or without borrowed melodies, were well established in the choral repertory when the Reformation began to introduce the Netherlandish music into the new service. Just as much as in the work of Josquin himself both types were kept side by side, so the music the young church took over showed the two phases at once. The early Protestant composers were altogether related to the Netherlandish School, whence they came by birth or by training.

A last factor that linked Protestantism and Netherlandish music tightly together may be mentioned. Luther's *Von Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde*, the *Formula Missae*, both of 1523, and *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes* of 1526 had shifted the center of gravity away from the Ordinary of the Mass to the Psalms, Responsories, Antiphons, Hymns, Magnificat, hence to the *Proprium*, to the *Officium*, and especially to the Vespers, because the texts of these parts were based on the Scriptures. All these chants, if

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polyphonically arranged, became motets. With the generation of Josquin the Netherlanders had also placed a new artistic emphasis on the motet composition as music of the Proper rather than on the Ordinary of the Mass, on which the Ockeghem School had focused all its interest. Here again Protestantism found the Netherlandish music to be fully adaptable to its own liturgical tendencies.

When Georg Rhaw started an office of music printing at Wittenberg in 1525, the very foundation for a Protestant music was laid. Rhaw followed closely the order Luther had given; and several collections he published were prefaced by Luther himself and Melancthon. Perhaps less important as a composer, although *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig in 1519 when the famous dispute between Luther and Eck took place, Rhaw was musical organizer and educator of the first order. It was he who provided the music needed in the service of the young Church. And he, too, brought the traditional institution of choral singing, the school, to a full unity with Protestantism—surely inspired by Luther, but still on the strength of his own genius as an educator. If we study the prefaces to the Wittenberg anthologies, we find hardly any that would neglect to emphasize the necessity of institutional training for the church music. Many collections were dedicated to school and church alike. Rhaw united *Kantorei* and church. For he related the music of the service first to the one and only adequate institute of musical training; second, he provided the material for which to train. In his strictly liturgical consideration he showed himself to be the equal to Luther's genius and an educator in the truest sense. Contrary to our own days, where educators often waste their time with trying to invent the most elaborate systems of methods according to which one should teach, with scarcely any solicitude about what to teach, Rhaw, truer to the task of education, took care, above all, of the material, that is, the subject of education. The method of training was derived from the subject. The material being of choral nature, the *Kantorei* was by necessity to carry out the education. Since the musical repertory of the *Kantorei* and of the church were one and the same, Rhaw performed his duties in the office of liturgy as much as in the service of education. Hence his systematic publications of liturgical collections, particularly comprehensive during the years from 1538 to 1545. The *Proprium de tempore* is represented in the Hymns, the *Officium*, as Vespers, through the *Antiphonae dominicales et feriales*, as well as the *Magnificat*, and furthermore Rhaw's special *Officia* for Easter and Christmas. All this comes forth in the form of the motet, which, therefore, grows to be the most important strictly liturgical polyphonic composition of the service: as music of the *Officium*, and as *de tempore* composition in accordance with the Epistle and the Gospel of the day. Of the 778 compositions Rhaw published in the course of seven years, about 550 are liturgical motets. And there are only ten compositions of the Ordinary of the Mass. Obviously, the liturgical ideas of the men at Wittenberg manifest themselves in this order of the Protestant repertory. The Protestant musician, the *cantor*, becomes a motet composer. The majority of these strictly liturgical compositions, however, is still the work of Netherlanders: of Josquin des Prés, Isaac, Pipelare, Brumel, and of Senfl, Stoltzer, Finck, Arnold von Bruck, Sixt Dietrich, Balthasar Resinarius. The Catholic Netherlander and the Protestant German work hand in hand. The Netherlandish repertory becomes the repertory of the Lutheran *Kantorei*.

This character is maintained with all its intensity throughout the sixteenth century, or through 1620. To be sure, the output of specifically Protestant composers grew in size considerably. But the picture did not change. Protestant composers continued to write in the manner of the

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established style. The ideal of polyphonic composition the Protestant musician adhered to remained identical with that of the Netherlandish polyphony. And together with this indissoluble unity between purpose of composition, style, repertory, and education, the Protestant *Kantorei* passed through its most glorious history.

The unity broke into pieces in the new century, which brought about a complete change in the historical situation. The creative center shifted to Italy; the Netherlands died out; so did their choral polyphony. The new repertory was organized by secular forms: the opera and cantata. The soloistic style required new schools of musical training, schools in which the solo style was to be acquired. All this, as everyone knows, took place in Italy, from where the new music advanced to become the baroque style of Europe.

When, around 1620, the Protestant *Kantorei* entered its first phase of crisis, it was not only the great war that became the cause of all the calamities that were recorded. Surely, the war brought destruction and enormous material damage to the institute of the *Kantorei*. But when the organization was to be restored, the music the *Kantorei* once cultivated had passed by forever. Heinrich Schütz was among the first to foresee the immense difficulties that would arise if the *Kantorei* would not be reorganized from within through the new forms of the music itself. And he made it the task of his life to eliminate the wide discrepancy that came to exist between the Protestant German tradition and the new style of Italian music. For the leading style was no longer sacred; nor was it choral. There came upon the German musician the inescapable alternative either to transform the *Kantorei* entirely to make it an adequate medium for the new forms or to remain hopelessly backward and to fall completely apart with the musical ideas of his own time. For his own work Schütz finally succeeded in eliminating the gulf that had opened up because of the rise of the baroque music. With regard to the education of Protestant musicians he failed and, as he himself admitted, failed totally. The organization of the *Kantorei* did not change. Instead of renewing its repertory and style, it adhered to the old works of the past, which became more and more obsolete. Since it was no longer fed by new works in the old fashion, the quality of the *Kantorei* rapidly declined and became inadequate even in its own field. When a man of genius, such as Schütz, at the end of his life must admit that the German musicians did not really understand what he set out to do, that they only had lost their craftsmanship in composition, that he at last must beg of them to compose rather in the sixteenth-century form, and that he curses the day when he turned to music as his profession, the full tragic implications of the discrepancy between the artistic style and musical education, should it ever come to pass, are clearly apparent.

The Protestant baroque music in Germany never achieved a fully adequate institution in which to train musicians for a church music that was in keeping with the time. The Protestant cantor ceased to fulfill his most distinguished function as motet composer for the liturgy. Motets were sung, but works completely outdated. Even the performance of motets was of no concern to him; it was done by the prefect, or *precentor*, and often by a special choir. The repertory of motets was by the time Bach acted as *Thomaskantor* 150 years old. What made Schütz suffer, still affected Bach. To make the cantata a profoundly liturgical work in place of the motet, Bach's task, has been understood by the Germans no better than the work of Schütz. And the bitterness of old Bach sprang from the same cause as the despair Schütz felt when old: from the

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complete rupture between religious composition and musical education which both men saw to be a catastrophe of Protestant church music.

The lesson we must learn from this is self-explanatory. The character, the style, the form of composition must always be related to the function the work has to fulfill within the liturgy, or else the performance of music in the church becomes an arbitrary and at times even regrettable accident. Second: The educational institution entrusted with the performance of the service must be in full harmony with the style of music. Third: Since our contemporary music does not seem to fulfill either of the two conditions, Protestant church music of the past when it was greatest, when it was truest, should be first in being considered for the repertory of the church music. If so, the institution must be conformed to the music to be cultivated. Perhaps an institute exclusively dedicated to the task is the only answer.

Notes

1. Reprinted by special request from Vol. II of this series. This volume is out of print.
2. I am indebted to Professor Roland E. Bainton (Yale University) for having called my attention to this passage in Luther's Table Talks.

Zurich, Switzerland

Johann Pachelbel's Contribution to Pre-Bach Organ Literature

Walter E. Buszin

Exactly three hundred years ago today, on Sept. 1, 1653, a new-born baby boy was baptized in the famous *Sankt Lorenz Kirche* of Nuremberg, Germany, who later became a musician of immortal renown. The boy was given the name Johann, a name which was so common in that day that it often leads us into confusion. His family name was by no means common; in fact, it was so unusual that many of our day wonder how one must pronounce it. They do not know where to place its accent, whether it belongs on its penult or antepenult. According to Hans Joachim Moser,^[1] the name was derived from "Albrecht am Bache"; via the process of elision and diminution this was reduced to "Pachélbel."

Johann's father was not a musician but a tinsmith, and it evidently seemed self-evident to him and his good wife that Johann should receive a good education steeped in the distinctive Lutheran traditions of Nuremberg. Johann Mattheson, whose *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*^[2] speaks of Johann Pachelbel as "*ein weitberühmter Musikus und bestverdienter Organist*," reports that already at an early age Johann manifested not only noteworthy musical aptitude and talent but likewise unusual abilities and interest in academic studies, notably in Latin and in the humanities. His love for these subjects remained with him into the later years of his life.

In his early youth Johann attended first the *Laurentzer Hauptschule* and later, according to Moser,^[3] the *Aegidienschule*, both of Nuremberg. In the meantime he acquired the ability to play various musical instruments; however, he specialized in the study of the *Clavier* under the expert guidance of Heinrich Schwemmer (1621-1696), who at the time was an assistant at *St. Lorenz* but who achieved fame after 1658, while serving at *St. Sebaldus* in Nuremberg.

While serving at *St. Sebaldus*, Schwemmer completed his musical training under the guidance of Johann Erasmus Kindermann of Nuremberg's *St. Aegidienkirche*. It was in no small measure due to Kindermann's noteworthy ability as a teacher that Schwemmer became an unusually skillful teacher of music. Among his noted pupils we find not only the name of Johann Pachelbel but also that of Johann Krieger (1651-1735), the younger brother of Johann Philipp Krieger. While neither Schwemmer nor Kindermann rank as great composers of the Lutheran church, they did play important parts as members of the *Nürnberg Schule* of Lutheran church music, which, let us not forget, included also such illustrious personalities as Hans Leo Hassler, Johann Staden, and Georg Kaspar Wecker. Wecker (1632-1695), like Schwemmer, was connected with the *St. Sebaldus Kirche* and was a most successful teacher; among his pupils we find not only men like Johann Krieger, Christian Friedrich Witt, and Nikolaus Vetter, but likewise the young man who ultimately became his successor at *St. Sebaldus*, Johann Pachelbel.

When we bear in mind that this *Nürnberg Schule* of Lutheran church music forms the connecting link between Samuel Scheidt and Johann Sebastian Bach, we begin to realize how important this entire *Nürnberg* background was for Johann Pachelbel who, as a member of the *Nürnberg Schule*, helped to bridge the gulf between Scheidt and Bach.

In 1668 Johann Pachelbel left his home in Nuremberg in order to continue his studies at the *Gymnasium* in Altdorf. Musical activities at this school began to flourish beginning with

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1595, at which time Gotthard Erythräus (d. 1617) became its cantor. Erythräus later became rector of the school and served in this capacity until 1617, the year of his death. His four-part settings of the chorales of Martin Luther give evidence of the spirit and musicianship which flourished at this *Gymnasium* until the days in which Johann Pachelbel spent three fourths of a year there as a student. Young Pachelbel's musical talent was here recognized and, though only fifteen years old, he served as organist of the *Gymnasium*. This was his first position as organist.

In order to complete his humanistic and classical training, Johann Pachelbel now proceeded to Regensburg where, because of his extraordinary ability,^[4] he was accepted not merely as another student but as an *Alumnus gymnasii poetici*. A noted Lutheran composer of bygone days had brought fame to this school, just as Erythräus had brought it to the *Gymnasium* at Altdorf. I refer to Andreas Raselius (ca. 1563-1602), an expert contrapuntist, who had functioned as cantor in Regensburg until 1600. Here Johann Pachelbel studied music with Kaspar Prentz (Preniz), a former pupil of Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1693). It was here, too, that his training in music became wholesomely broader. Prentz acquainted him not only with the precious music of Kerll but likewise with Italian music of the early and middle Baroque era, as well as with the rich musical heritage of the Roman Catholic Church.

Having decided by this time to devote his life to music, Johann Pachelbel resolved to study in Vienna after completing his work in Regensburg. Vienna was already then a musical mecca of Europe. Johann Jakob Froberger, who died in 1667, had added to the fame of the city, and Allesandro Poglietti was organist of the Imperial Court in Vienna until 1683. What is more, Emperor Leopold I was an ardent devotee of music and a musician of no mean ability. A few months after Pachelbel's arrival in Vienna, none other than Johann Kaspar Kerll took up residence in this great city. This was indeed fortunate for Johann Pachelbel, who likely lost no time getting acquainted personally with Kerll. In Vienna the musical talents of the young Nuremberg musician found ready recognition, as may be seen from the fact that he there soon became not only a pupil but likewise the assistant of Kerll.

Indeed, in Vienna, Johann Pachelbel, who had been brought up in the strict Lutheran traditions of Nuremberg, now became organist at the world-famous Roman Catholic St. Stephen's Cathedral. He held this post for several years. We think in this connection of Hans Leo Hassler and Heinrich Schütz, who received their most advanced musical training from the Gabriellis of St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. We think even of Johann Rosenmüller, who fled from wicked tongues of Germany and found a haven of refuge in Venice, there enjoying the company of Rovetta, Legrenzi, and Ziani, and who there, too, served as teacher of the talented Lutheran composer Johann Philipp Krieger, a native of Nuremberg, whom we referred to before.

While neither Hassler nor Schütz nor Rosenmüller became organists of a Roman Catholic church or cathedral, the fact remains that, like Pachelbel, they did expose themselves to extra-Lutheran philosophies and practices and evidently benefited from them. They did not go to Rome, where Roman Catholic purism was fostered; on the contrary, they went to cities like Venice and Vienna where the worship practices of the Roman Catholic Church were climactic and dynamic, even magnificent and pompous.

As you know, St. Stephen's of Vienna later exerted a tremendous and lasting influence on young Joseph Haydn. Georg Reutter, a pupil of Kerll and later the choir director of St. Stephen's, did

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much to shape the musical thinking of young Joseph Haydn through his sumptuous performances of church music; these had clearly come under the spell of Italian opera and revealed operatic influence rather than the influence of Johann Kaspar Kerll. We are forced to think of this very fact whenever we hear the masses and oratorios of Joseph Haydn.

Johann Pachelbel was influenced similarly at St. Stephen's in Vienna. That he did not depart as far from ecclesiastical practices and traditions as did Joseph Haydn was due not only to his own natural predisposition but likewise to the fact that he belonged to an earlier generation, that he was associated with a man who, after all, was a greater master than Georg Reutter; it was due also to the fact, as we shall hear again later, that Johann Kaspar Kerll was both a great teacher and a great composer. In addition, Kerll was an instrumentalist rather than an opera composer or a choral director; he likely possessed a better sense of liturgical propriety than did Georg Reutter.

The influence which Johann Kaspar Kerll exerted upon Johann Pachelbel at St. Stephen's was as wholesome as it was necessary; it helped to round out young Pachelbel as a musician and as a composer. It taught him the value of freedom but impressed upon him also the desirable first fruits of good discipline. Here he was exposed to Venetian, to Italian, and to French music. These varied types not only relaxed him and eradicated some of his enslaving inhibitions, but they likewise impressed upon him the need for clarity and form. The colorful splendor of St. Stephen's evidently did not take him captive; when exposed to the definiteness of form advocated by the French and Italian masters whose music he heard in Vienna, he undoubtedly became aware of the importance of writing clearly and lucidly. After all, the chief purpose of musical form is to compel the composer to practice self-restraint, to organize his materials logically and intelligibly, and to bring to a head what he desires to present and say. However, in addition to learning this, Johann Pachelbel learned, too, to couple with such healthy discipline the freedom which composer, performer, and artist need.

Johann Pachelbel acquired stylistic traits in Vienna which may not be found readily in much of the music of his North German contemporaries. On the other hand, that Pachelbel was acquainted with the music of Northern Germany may be seen from the fact that he dedicated his *Hexachordum Apollinis* not only to his personal Viennese friend, Ferdinand Tobias Richter, but also to Dietrich Buxtehude of Lübeck. Some claim to find the influence of the North German School in the music of Pachelbel when at times he indulges in the use of dark mystical harmonies in rather low registers of the keyboard. However, unlike his North German contemporaries, he does keep his fantasy in subjection, he does not care for much contrapuntal lacework, and he makes little use of contrast and echo effects. We thus find his South German sobriety and conservatism asserting itself; indeed, we likely find here, too, the results of the ecclesiastical and liturgical discipline to which he was subjected not only in Nuremberg, but even in Vienna.

When we take the background and style of Pachelbel's foremost Viennese teacher into consideration, we recall that the German and Austrian composers of the Roman Catholic Church did not really develop a style of their own but were under the influence of both the Roman and the Venetian schools of Italy.^[5] Thus indirectly the Roman school did exert an influence over Johann Pachelbel. Italian masters occupied key positions in Munich, Salzburg, and Vienna. This explains in part why Johann Kaspar Kerll studied with Giovanni Valentini, who at the time lived

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in Vienna as organist to Emperor Ferdinand II. But he studied also with Giacomo Carissimi in Rome. In addition, it is well to bear in mind that Kerll was organist not only in Vienna but also in Munich, Prague, and Augsburg.

In Kerll, Pachelbel found another teacher who possessed unusual pedagogical ability; among his pupils we find, besides Johann Pachelbel and Kaspar Prentz, such men as Agostino Steffani, Franz Xaver Murschhauser, Georg Reutter the Elder, and Johann Joseph Fux. Even in the results of Kerll's work as a teacher we can see that high regard for controlled liberty and healthy discipline which he manifests to a great extent in his own compositions. He clearly impressed upon his pupils that same high regard for form, clarity, and order which was held and carried into practice by the Italians as well as by himself; this becomes evident from his own compositions. His toccatas, for example, are not wild and aimless capriccios; on the contrary, they present within their framework a closely knit chain of related thoughts, ideas, and figures. His passage work makes sense and does not overflow with inane splashiness and monotonous repetition.

An examination of Johann Pachelbel's toccatas quickly reveals that Johann Kaspar Kerll's instruction had made a definite impression on the mind and compositorial skill of his talented pupil. However, Pachelbel may hardly be accused of having become a rubber stamp or a stereotyped reproduction of his mentor. When we compare the two, we find that Kerll, despite his virtues as a composer, is nevertheless more baroque in the literal sense of the term; his music is more ornate than that of Pachelbel, who remains true to his Nuremberg tradition and hence more simple, plain, direct. The virtuoso element is by no means entirely absent, and we do find times in which Johann Pachelbel becomes quite ornate and ecstatic; however, he never loses hold on himself.

Manfred Bukofzer sums up the situation thus: "Pachelbel transmitted the virtuoso style of the keyboard playing that prevailed in the Austrian school of central Germany and thus brought about the *rapprochement* between the Catholic and Protestant organists. A less profound musician than Buxtehude, he was concerned with playfully ingenious rhythmic patterns rather than with stirring harmonies."^[6]

Moser^[7] is of the opinion that Wilhelm Hieronymus, the son of Johann Pachelbel, relates himself to Kerll more closely than does his father and that he manifests this through his penchant for musical ornamentation. Winterfeld^[8] goes so far as to assert that Pachelbel's toccatas are not to be regarded as church music. While some may insist upon applying this to an opus like the Nuremberg master's *Toccata in G Major*,^[9] yet does much depend upon how the toccata is played. In this connection it may be well to recall that Winterfeld has misgivings about many compositions of J. S. Bach. Today we readily discount much of what Winterfeld says regarding Bach.

A striking characteristic of Pachelbel's toccatas is his frequent use of a pedal point. By means of his pedal points Pachelbel holds together the passage work of his toccatas and thus unifies his compositions. Whether one is justified in saying that Pachelbel made such use of pedal point in order to symbolize the indestructible character and the permanence of the church is highly debatable, already because Frescobaldi and others followed the same practice likely without having this in mind.

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Gotthold Frotscher^[10] concludes that particularly through his toccatas does Pachelbel distinguish himself from Buxtehude, Bruhns, and other toccata composers of the North German School. Kümmerle^[11] sings the praises of Pachelbel's toccatas and insists that in these particularly do we find a revelation of the genius and skill of Johann Pachelbel. His toccatas differ from those of the North in part because they do not include an incorporated *fugato* and do not attach themselves to a fugue which follows. A few of his smaller and less important toccatas make one wish that a fugue would follow; they seem to lack the independence of a musical unit that can stand on its own feet. Here Bach showed greater wisdom, though we do not wish to imply thereby that those preludes and toccatas which Bach himself linked up with a fugue evince insecure dependence or lack the qualities of great works which of themselves are sufficient. On the other hand, the foremost toccatas of Pachelbel are certainly independent monuments which stand on their own feet with little effort.

It would seem strange indeed to hear that Johann Pachelbel lived in Vienna during the most impressionable years of his life without learning also from Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-1667), a pupil of Frescobaldi, for whom he naturally had high regard. It would be strange, too, to hear that he had not learned from Froberger's successor in Vienna, Allesandro Poglietti (d. 1683), whose *Klavier* variations he admired profoundly. While the relationship between Pachelbel and Froberger may be seen most clearly in the organ works of Pachelbel, the relationship with Poglietti found expression chiefly in Pachelbel's variations written for a keyboard instrument. We must remember, however, that such variations, even when based on a chorale, were not written for performance at a pipe organ; they were written to be played on a clavichord or harpsichord, on which they are also heard at their best. Their figurate character, as well as the musical ornaments which such partitas and variations of the 17th and early 18th centuries employed, help to substantiate what has just been said.

You may ask: If the chorale and aria variations of Johann Pachelbel were written for the *Klavier* and not for the organ, then likely they were not written primarily for performance in the church service; where were they to be performed? Our answer is a simple one: They were written as *Hausmusik*, that is, they were written for performance in the home. Even the cause for their being written is based on a domestic situation which filled the life of Johann Pachelbel with deep-seated grief. While he was serving as organist of the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt, a plague struck the city, which was believed to have been initiated by the hostile Turks. All of Erfurt was quarantined, and all contact with the outside world was shut off. No fewer than nine thousand people of Erfurt died, either because of the plague or because of starvation. Among those who died were Pachelbel's young wife and their only child.

The grief-stricken husband and father sought comfort in musical composition and wrote four sets of chorale variations which he called *Musicalische Sterbensgedanken aus 4 variierten Chorälen bestehend, anno 1683*. These variations were to be played *manualiter* at a cembalo and were based on four chorales which even today are heard frequently in Lutheran funeral services; they are: *Christus, der ist mein Leben* (12 variations), *Alle Menschen müssen sterben* (8 partitas), *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* (7 partitas), and *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* (9 partitas).

In these Pachelbel does not employ the *cantus firmus* technique, and here we thus find one departure from the methods employed by Sweelinck and Scheidt. Instead Pachelbel does

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employ cleverly conceived rhythmical patterns which the Germans call *Spielmanieren*; at times these let the chorale melody stand out quite clearly, and at other times they offer only intimations of the melody. Despite the fact that Pachelbel was fond of writing chorale partitas and although Moser^[12] refers to them as "monumental," your essayist is of the opinion that they are but bagatelles when compared with the larger toccatas, fugues, chaconnes, fantasies, and other works which Pachelbel based on chorales. I hear in them too much of the rhapsodic Italian spirit of a Poglietti and too little of Pachelbel, the serious-minded and at times grave German and Lutheran. I find in them not many *Sterbensgedanken* but rather an artificial and stereotyped type of escapist joy. They are not as important for the world of music as are his simple cembalo suites, which at least helped to pave the way for well-tempered tuning and for Bach's monumental Forty-eight.

Pachelbel's *Sterbensgedanken* are expressed, I believe, with greater depth of feeling in his cantata *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan*. This cantata will be published by Concordia Publishing House in an edition prepared by Prof. Dr. Otto Gombosi of Harvard University. In his foreword to this cantata, Professor Gombosi calls attention to the fact that Pachelbel obviously modeled the cantata after a set of chorale variations for organ. While comparing the cantata with the cembalo variations which the composer based on the same chorale hardly convinces us that this cantata has its roots in said variations for cembalo, the fact remains that in this cantata we find proof for Pachelbel's fondness for the variation form.

The same applies to his cantata based on *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, which has been published jointly by the *Bärenreiter Verlag* of Kassel, Germany, and by Concordia Publishing House of Saint Louis in an edition prepared by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. In it we see clearly where J. S. Bach got some of the best musical and interpretative ideas which he incorporated into his monumental cantata based on this same famous chorale written by Martin Luther. That in his chorale variations Johann Pachelbel at times employs dance forms and patterns illustrates to us that Pachelbel was hardly a purist and that we need not go to Northern Germany and to a Dietrich Buxtehude in order to find chorale variations in which this was done. It shows, too, that a close relationship existed between the suite and the partita and that this music was in reality *Volksmusik* and *Hausmusik*.

A great deal of truth accompanies the claim made by those who insist that the variation technique is basic to practically all of Johann Pachelbel's work as a composer. In one of his fantasies, which you will find in a volume dedicated to his works in the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst in Bayern* (II, No. 11), for example, Pachelbel makes effective use of an *ostinato* variation. Some fantasies are excerpts from toccatas, in which the figuration of the toccata is tossed about in varied forms over quiet sustained notes and chords. Referring in passing again to his toccatas, we note that Pachelbel is as fond of using a pedal point in his fantasies as he is of using it in his toccatas. One gains the impression, however, that Pachelbel used the name "Fantasy" when he did not know exactly what designation to use. His fantasies are really somewhat hybrid in character; while from the standpoint of musical form they are free, they are by no means formless, aimless, or chaotic. They often have little in common with fantasies by other composers and are really in a class by themselves.

Johann Pachelbel's *ricercari*, though at times chromatic,^[13] are vocal and motetlike in character. This is not unusual in *ricercari*. Unlike the motet, they have a sectional construction which makes

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them more extensive than the motet. The themes of Pachelbel's *ricercari* quite naturally call for *Lebensraum*; they call for space also as far as their development is concerned. That his themes and counterthemes are often vocal and *cantabile* illustrates that he practices what he taught his students, namely, that the parts of all voices must be attractive and good. This he applied also to his fugues, which at times one can distinguish from his *ricercari* only with a great deal of difficulty. One can readily understand why Franz Commer^[14] uses both names, *Fuga* and *Ricercar*, for a composition written in F-sharp minor. While some of Pachelbel's fugues are what we might call strict fugues, many others show that he used the term freely and perhaps even indiscriminately. Some are simply *bicinia* and *tricinia*. In these works, too, we find proof for his fondness of variation techniques, and one must agree with Manfred Bukofzer, who makes the amply justified statement: "Like Johann Krieger, Pachelbel was still clearly dependent in his fugues on the transformation technique of the variation *ricercar*."^[15]

Let us not underestimate the genius of Johann Pachelbel because of his shortcomings. Even while discussing his chorale variations, we compared Pachelbel with Pachelbel. So, too, let us be fair when we discuss his fugues; some illustrate that the fugue had by now progressed no farther than its adolescent stage of development; others again prove that Johann Pachelbel must be counted among those who helped the fugue to arrive at its stage of maturity. To be fair as well as objective in our judgment, we should be content, therefore, to compare Pachelbel not with a Johann Sebastian Bach but rather with Johann Pachelbel and those contemporaries of his who, like himself, were forerunners of Johann Sebastian Bach and as such performed the arduous and very necessary task of preparing the way for the foremost composer of our church. Even the charming little fuguetas of Johann Pachelbel incite us to admiration and marvel; they prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that they were written by a composer of the first water who possessed not only a tremendous amount of musical ability and a great amount of originality and technical skill but likewise a clear, orderly, and well-disciplined mind.

Permit me, at this very time and in connection with the remarks just made, to call special attention to the supernal chaconnes written by Johann Pachelbel. The *Ciacona in D Minor* has been included by Karl Straube in one of his well-known collections published by C. F. Peters;^[16] Karl Matthaei has included the same chaconne as well as the one in F minor in his collections of organ music by Pachelbel.^[17] Others will be found in the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst in Bayern, II*.

We are here dealing again with a variation type of music and in these works see Pachelbel in all his glory and greatness. J. S. Bach likely learned much from these works, and there is but one step from the chaconnes of Pachelbel to the Chaconne in D Minor and Passacaglia in C Minor of Johann Sebastian Bach. The chaconnes of Johann Pachelbel are mature, full-grown music; they may well be put beside the great works of this category written by such towering figures of the organ world as Frescobaldi and Buxtehude. In them the great Dietrich Buxtehude meets his foremost compeer and equal.

We find no toccatalike passage work in the chaconnes of Johann Pachelbel but rather melodic themes and phrases over a ground bass. Like in his other variations, in his toccatas, fantasies, *ricercari*, and fugues, Pachelbel never loses himself; he is sure of his goal, proceeds to it directly, and arrives at the right time. He does not depart far from his basic tonalities and hence builds few, if any, bridges; he includes no padding or stuffing. His music does not

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dispossess itself of its lucid clarity; his contrapuntal themes and counterthemes may be traced and delineated without great difficulty, and his music never halts or vacillates as it presses onward to emerge from the labyrinthian texture created by Pachelbel's mind and genius. However, to compare it with the labyrinth of Daedalus would be misleading already because the textures of Johann Pachelbel house neither a Minotaur nor monsters of any kind; what they house is life-giving and energizing, not destructive or mortal.

Though all seems simple and self-evident, these chaconnes contain such a wealth of carefully prepared detail amidst all this simplicity that we might well resort to analogy and liken the work of Johann Pachelbel to the clear and yet profound Epistles of St. John, St. Peter, and James, while we liken the work of Johann Sebastian Bach to the straightforward and yet more complex Epistles of St. Paul and to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The simple language and logic employed in his music by Johann Pachelbel should render it ideal for the common man, though, for the same reason, it likely will not appeal to the sophist and snob; its stanch, manly character as well as its moderation and reserve bespeak its competence for use in an edifying type of church service; its lyric and poetic nature qualifies it for use in concert performances of artistic worth, and its solidity and architectonic grandeur should prompt us to hear and perform it when we seek vitality and strength. While these qualities may be found perhaps in richest measure in the chaconnes of Johann Pachelbel, they most certainly may be found also in his other works, notably in his inspiring choral compositions in which he follows the lead of Italian masters and gives us a foretaste of the music of George Frederick Handel.

There are those who believe the music of Pachelbel to be too well-behaved, staid, and uninspiring. Of such we must say that they likely do not really know Johann Pachelbel and his music. Others who have made it a point to become better acquainted with the compositions of the elder Pachelbel feel quite differently about this matter. In fact, careful study and analysis have prompted not a few to conclude that, in the history and development of Lutheran church music, Johann Pachelbel was the first to appear on the scene who composed organ music for the Lutheran church service which possesses intrinsic poetic beauty and charm as well as genuine sparkling lyricism. At the close of Richard Wagner's music drama *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, Hans Sachs, grasping the hand of the victorious Walther, sings in part:

Verachtet mir die Meister nicht,
Und ehrt mir ihre Kunst!
Dum sag ich euch:
Ehrt eure deutschen Meister,
Dann bannt ihr böse Geister!

We might sing similarly regarding the music of Johann Pachelbel and other master composers of the Christian church and say in words related to an extant though faulty translation of the above:

Despise ye not the masters,
But honor their great art!
Hence I insist:
Honor the church's masters,
Thus help stave off disaster!

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In 1667 Johann Pachelbel bade farewell to Vienna and to his Viennese comrades and friends, notably to Johann Joseph Fux, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, and Georg Reutter. He went first to Eisenach, where he served as court organist. Daniel Eberlin, another native of Nuremberg, was *Kapellmeister* at the court; Eberlin later became the first father-in-law of Georg Philipp Telemann. In Eisenach the twenty-four-year-old Pachelbel became a personal friend of Ambrosius Bach, the father of Johann Sebastian, and likewise of Johann Christoph Bach, the uncle of Johann Sebastian, whom we remember best as the composer of the motet *Ich lasse dich nicht* and of the *44 Choräle zum Präambulieren*.

Pachelbel remained in Eisenach for only a year. In 1678 he consented to become organist of the *Predigerkirche* in Erfurt, a post formerly held by Johann Bach (1604-1673). Erfurt was a center of the Bach clan; hence in Erfurt all organists were called Bachs. The *Predigerkirche* of Erfurt became famous in part through the work of its organists, for not only Johann Bach and Johann Pachelbel, but likewise Nikolaus Vetter, Heinrich Buttstedt, Jakob Adlung, and Christian Kittel here served as organists.

In his Erfurt years Pachelbel's fame as a teacher began to spread; the excellent training he received from unusually capable teachers was likely responsible at least in part for the fact that Pachelbel himself became a pre-eminently successful teacher. Not a small amount of his music was written for his pupils, who came to him from many parts of Germany. Among these we find Andreas Nicolaus Vetter, Heinrich Buttstedt, Wilhelm Hieronymus (the son of Johann Pachelbel), Johann Cristoph (the older brother of Johann Sebastian Bach), and a host of lesser lights. These again became the teachers of such well-known personalities of the organ world as Andreas Armsdorff, Georg Friedrich Kauffmann, Johann Gottfried Walther, Johann Michael Bach, Johann Bernhard Bach, and, of course, Johann Sebastian Bach. The pupils of Johann Pachelbel are reported to have learned to know him as a devout Christian, an exemplary church musician, and a devoted teacher.

The twelve years Pachelbel spent in Erfurt were indeed fruitful. However, they were years of trial as well, for it was in Erfurt that he lost his first wife and child through the plague and famine referred to previously. In 1684 he married again, this time the daughter of a Herr Prummert, a coppersmith. In Erfurt Pachelbel had much contact with the Bach clan, whose high regard he enjoyed.

It is possible that Pachelbel began to write his *Acht Choräle zum Präambulieren* while he was still in Erfurt. Whether he did or not is by no means tremendously important, but it is important that the type of chorale prelude we usually identify with Johann Pachelbel likely had its origin in Erfurt. Hans Joachim Moser^[18] reports that Pachelbel was required not only to accompany the chorale but also *thematische praeambulando tractiren*, that is, to play thematic preludes. There existed likely a good reason for this demand.

We are reminded in this connection of a resolution passed by the ministerium of Lübeck in 1701 which insisted that hymn boards be used in the churches of Lübeck and that the hymns for the service be posted on these, since the congregations could not ascertain from the preludes played by the organist according to which melody the following hymn was to be sung.^[19] A problem like this would be obviated, therefore, by playing a prelude whose thematic material was derived from the hymn which would follow. The fugal preludes of Pachelbel represent their

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composer's solution of the problem. They are related, of course, to the more elaborate chorale fantasy and follow the same basic principle. Fugal preludes of this type, in which the entire chorale is presented, belong to the category known as *Orgelchoräle*.^[20] In others, known to us as chorale fugues, the one principal theme of the entire prelude is the first phrase of the chorale melody.^[21] In a third category, known as the *cantus firmus chorale*, the chorale melody appears as *cantus firmus* in sustained notes either in the upper voice or in the bass, while the other voices move along either fugally or in jubilant passage work.^[22] In Pachelbel's works, this third category is often combined with one of the other two; at times it follows a fugal introduction and builds up to an animated climax.^[23] Of one thing we may be sure, when these preludes are played there can be no question as to which hymn tune is to follow.

Each year on June 24, the Day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Johann Pachelbel was required to play a half-hour organ recital after the vesper service of the day; this program was to serve a twofold purpose: (1) to commemorate Pachelbel's appointment to the *Predigerkirche* in 1678; (2) to give an account of the progress he had made and of the composing he had done during the past year. The preludes we have just discussed played an important part in these recitals. In these preludes Johann Pachelbel combined much of what he had learned from his own prelude on *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr.* That the occasional charm which we find in his unpretentious chorale partitas carried over to his preludes may be seen from his lovely canonic pastorate of *Vom Himmel hoch*. With good cause do some believe that Bach's charming little prelude in G major based on *In dulci jubilo* may have been inspired by this composition; both are pastorales, both use the chorale as *cantus firmus* in the bass while the pastoral motif is heard above, and both use canonic devices. Here we have proof for the statement that Pachelbel was perhaps the first lyrical composer of chorale preludes.^[24] When writing lyrically, Pachelbel did not resort to what was banal and tawdry. Even when his music has charm, it does not become gushy or sentimental; its beauty invariably reveals good taste.

In 1690 Johann Pachelbel accepted an attractive offer to become court organist in Stuttgart. His twelve-year stay in Erfurt was the longest professional stay of his career. The Erfurt parish granted him his release with profound regrets. At the time he left Eisenach, *Kapellmeister* Daniel Eberlin expressed his regrets at Pachelbel's leaving and referred to him as *einen perfecten und raren Virtuosen*, as a man who, though bitterly attacked by people who lacked understanding, was nevertheless endowed with *einem treuen und aufrichtigen Gemüthe*.^[25] That the people of Erfurt regretted his departure may be seen from the testimonial given him by the parish of the *Predigerkirche*, which referred to Pachelbel's diligence and faithfulness, to his godly life, and to the gratitude he deserved so well for the work he had done.^[26]

He remained in Stuttgart for only two years and left because he and the other citizens of Stuttgart were driven out of their city by the French, who also took away from Pachelbel all his property. On November 8, 1692, he became organist of the mother church in Gotha. His fame had spread largely through his pupils, and shortly after his arrival in Gotha he was offered an appointment at Oxford, in England, which he, largely because of his family, declined to accept. He was asked to return to Stuttgart but declined.

After serving as organist in Gotha for three years, he returned in 1695 to Nuremberg, the city of his birth, to become organist of the *Sebalduskirche*. Here he succeeded his eminent teacher, Georg Kaspar Wecker, who had died on April 20, 1695. Other musicians of note had served this

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parish; among them we find Sebald Heyden, the author of *O Mensch, beweine dein' Sünde gross*; Kaspar Hassler, the brother of Hans Leo Hassler; Johann Staden; and Valentin Dretzel. The church had, therefore, a great tradition. Its organ enjoyed widespread fame; it had been built in 1444 for Konrad Paumann and was rebuilt in 1691 for Georg Kaspar Wecker. On the day the rebuilt organ was dedicated, Pastor Konrad Feuerlein preached a sermon based on Psalm 150. Later, when Johann Pachelbel became organist of *St. Sebaldus*, Pastor Feuerlein had this sermon printed and dedicated it to his new and noted organist. Moser^[27] rightly calls attention to this rare act of homage of a theologian for his organist. In view of the fact that the specification of this organ is not only unique and interesting but also because it helped to determine the character and style of the compositions Pachelbel wrote while serving as organist of *St. Sebaldus*, we herewith include the specification:

Hauptwerk

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Principal 8' | 4. Super Octava und Decima 2' und 11/2' |
| 2. Octava 4' | 5. Grob Gedackt 8' |
| 3. Quinta Cymbel zweyfach 3' und 2' | 6. Mixtura 16 fach 4' |

Rückpositiv

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Principal 4' | 5. Quintatön 8' |
| 2. Grob Gedackt 8' | 6. Cymbel, zweyfach 1' |
| 3. Quinta cum Octava 3' und 2' | 7. Dulcian 8' |
| 4. Super Octava 2' und 1' | |

Pedal

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Principal Bass von Zinn, ins Gesicht 16' | 4. Sub Bass 16' |
| 2. Octav Bass 8' | 5. Violon Bass 8' |
| 3. Quint Bass 3' | |

You will note from the above that the specification is true to the South German type of organ insofar as it does not stress the need of reeds and gives prominence instead to the flue or labial stops which provide the organ with a clear and bright tone. Only the *Rückpositiv* has much in common with the North German organs.

In addition to the distinctive character of the organ of the *Sebalduskirche*, the liturgy of this Nuremberg parish must be taken into account when evaluating the work done by Pachelbel in this famous Lutheran center and city. Nuremberg held on to many of the liturgical traditions of the Lutheran church of the sixteenth century.

The *Kirchenordnungen* of Nuremberg prescribed that the Magnificat be sung in no fewer than four vesper services each week of the church year. In Vespers conducted on Sundays it was to be sung *figuraliter*, that is, in a polyphonic setting; on two weekdays it was to be sung *choraliter*, that is, in a plain-chant setting; on the Saturdays of the Advent season and of the Easter cycle it was to be sung either according to the *Alternatimpraxis* of the church (choir

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and organ alternating with the congregation in the presentation of the various verses), or it was to be performed *organistice*, that is, played by the organist in an instrumental setting.

A product of frequent use of the Magnificat are Johann Pachelbel's excellent Magnificat fugues, a selection of which is available in an edition prepared by Max Seiffert and published by Kistner and Siegel and Co. of Lippstadt, Germany. These fugues are excellent organ music for the church service. They form a large cycle, relate themselves to individual parts of the Magnificat, are based on various psalm tones, and may be used for numerous purposes. While they vary somewhat in grade or difficulty, most of them are simple. Only a very few are based on themes derived from an extant musical setting of the Magnificat. The majority are based on free and original themes invented by their composer, and at times they were evidently used to introduce what was to follow by way of lively and animated contrast. They are fugal preludes in the best sense of the term.

It is interesting indeed to note that these rather simple compositions were written by Johann Pachelbel at a time when he had arrived at the very height of his creative power. No two fugues are alike; each is in a class by itself. They are all related, directly or indirectly, to the same source and we are not surprised to hear some insist that in them we receive a foretaste of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer* and *Die Kunst der Fuge*. In them, too, we find proof for Pachelbel's fondness for the variation form and of variation techniques.

However, in addition do we find elements in some of these fugues which we otherwise identify with secular life. In the Kistner and Siegel volume, No. 38 is a typical trumpet or fanfare fugue, Nos. 32 and 37 are gigue fugues, etc. The Magnificat fugues are intended really for the manuals only; the majority are two- and three-voice fugues, and very few have as many as four voices. Though considered organ music, one may also consider them merely as keyboard music. The Kistner and Siegel edition contains forty-two of the fugues, whereas Pachelbel is known to have composed at least ninety-four.

Johann Pachelbel is rightly regarded primarily as a composer of church music. Our examination of his organ works has shown, I believe, that though he was conservative and chaste as a composer, he was by no means a pedant. Following the jubilant injunction of the 150th Psalm, he employed even the dance to praise the Lord. Though influenced to a marked degree by the conservative South German School and though identified with the temperate Central German School, he is, as stated previously, by no means altogether unrelated to the freedom-loving and more liberal school of North Germany. He is related musically to Frescobaldi, Froberger, Kerll, and Muffatt, to Sweelinck, Scheidt, Scheidemann, Weckmann, Jacob and Michael Praetorius, and, though more distantly, he is related also to the North Germans Buxtehude, Reinken, and J. S. Bach.

Pachelbel had many followers; among these we find not only his pupils and their pupils but the teachers and pupils of others as well. We often refer to Pachelbel's influence on Johann Sebastian Bach; but Johann Sebastian was only one of many to follow in the footsteps of Johann Pachelbel. Unlike Bach, Pachelbel was not a forgotten man after his death; through his music he continued to live on into our twentieth century. His music is being published in Europe, and it is being published in America; as stated previously, our own Concordia Publishing House is publishing his cantata *Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan* in an authentic, bilingual edition, and,

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together with the *Bärenreiter Verlag*, Concordia is making available bilingual editions of the motets of Pachelbel. It is such enterprise that helps to bind us together as heirs of a common heritage and which, in the most recent issue of *Musik und Kirche*,^[28] prompted Hans Joachim Moser to refer to our Concordia Publishing House as the "*Nachwuchszentrum der evangelischen Kirchenmusiker Nordamerikas*."

Johann Pachelbel died on Wednesday, March 3, 1706. He died a beautiful death, for in the moments of his departure he listened attentively to the singing of his favorite chorale, *Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht*. While his son Wilhelm Hieronymus helped to carry on the traditions of his father, whom he respected highly, and was a more glamorous type of composer and performer than his more eminent father, we still think of Johann Pachelbel when we hear the name Pachelbel mentioned. Johann Pachelbel performed the tasks assigned to him in the spirit of Christian faith, devotion, and consecration. He was a faithful servant of the church and as such had the mind which was also in Christ. His works have become a part of the heritage of the church, and we are the beneficiaries. For this we are deeply grateful to Him who gave to Johann Pachelbel the talents, the will, the heart, and the mind to serve the church and thus to contribute to our rich heritage.

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22. *Vater unser im Himmelreich*, in Matthaei, III, pp. 8, 9, and *Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren*, pp. 28-31.
23. *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr-Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her*, and others, in Matthaei, II.
24. Frotscher, p. 514: *Johann Pachelbel gilt in der Literatur als der eigentliche Begründer des poetisierenden Orgelchorals, den er aus Elementen der süd- und mitteldeutschen Stilsphäre gestaltete.*
25. Testimonial published by Mattheson in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, ed. Max Schneider, p. 245.
26. Cf. Mattheson, p.246.
27. Moser, p. 27.
28. May–June 1953, p. 90.

Concordia Seminary
St. Louis, Mo.

The Attaignant Organ Books

M. Alfred Bichsel

In our quest for historically accurate and artistically interesting liturgical material for the Chapel Choir of Valparaiso University to present at the annual Church Music Seminar held in St. Louis in February 1955, we recalled the three organ books published by Pierre Attaignant in 1531, which had been transcribed in a modern edition by Madame Yvonne Rokseth in 1930. It had been the good fortune of your lecturer to have been a student of the late Yvonne Rokseth at the University of Strasbourg in 1947 and 1948. Yvonne Rokseth published these two volumes as an appendix to her exhaustive study of French organ music in the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries (*La musique d'orgue au 15^e siècle et au début du 16^e*, Paris, 1930). These three books of organ music destined for the divine office were but three out of seven tablatures published by Pierre Attaignant in 1531. But the first four do not concern us at this juncture since they are books containing keyboard transcriptions of chansons and dances. However, the Pierre Attaignant publication of liturgical works is of extreme interest to us since these are the first extant monuments of liturgical music destined for the organ preserved in France. This does not mean that they were the only ones to have been published, but up to this time they are the only ones to have appeared, and strangely enough, the originals now find themselves in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich (*Musica practica* 232–238).

Perhaps one of the reasons that so few tablatures appear prior to this time is the fact that properly trained organists were capable of improvising the versicles or the verses of the Mass and the other Offices from the polyphonic compositions already extant at that time, as, for example, those of Ockeghem, Pierre de la Rue, Josquin des Prés, Busnois, Richafort, Claudin de Sermisy, Loyset Compere. But during the first decades of the sixteenth century, the art of such improvisation from a polyphonic Mass was becoming more and more cumbersome for the players of keyboard instruments, since the method of publishing these works had been somewhat revolutionized by the practices of printers and engravers since the time of Ottaviano Petrucci, who printed the first book of polyphonic music ever to be printed in Venice, in 1507.

While we are primarily interested on this occasion in the liturgical aspect of the publications of Pierre Attaignant, it would not be out of place to give one or two more details concerning the method of reproduction that Pierre Attaignant used in publishing his seven books.

First of all, we must indicate that this was not the first document of organ music destined for the cultus of the liturgy. All of you, I am sure, have at least a passing acquaintance with at least Conrad Pauman's *Fundamentum Organizandi*, published in 1452 (also Buxheimer's *Orgalbuch*, 1460), which contains a number of liturgical pieces such as verses of the *Salve Regina*. But the significant advance that had been made in tablature notation by Pierre Attaignant is the fact that he used a five-line staff as compared to the six-line staff that had been current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries even in polyphonic notation as established firmly by the theoreticians of the Ars Nova Period (Marchettus of Padua in the *Pomerium*; Philippe de Vitry, *Ars nova*). This type of notation was destined to be the father and the forerunner of all keyboard notation, including the organ, to which was later added a separate staff for the pedal, right down to the present day, the only difference being that the lozenge shape of the semibreve and of the minima have been replaced by the round figuration to which we are accustomed in our own day. Another unusual feature of the original tablature

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of Pierre Attaignant is the fact that he used movable metallic type which had been manufactured for him by Haultin a number of years prior to these publications. The next important item to consider in connection with Pierre Attaignant's method of tablature and one which accounts for the fact that his type of notation prevailed, even though only one hundred years later, is the fact that it presented a facility of reading as compared to the cumbersome notation of the German tablatures with their combination of rhythmic symbols (breve, semibreve, minima, semiminima, fusa, semifusa), together with letters for the actual pitches. Pierre Attaignant placed his pieces on a two-staff score of five lines, as mentioned before, and the actual notational symbols preceded by clefs were placed on the actual lines and in spaces.

As concerns the liturgical aspect of the use of instruments in connection with the liturgy, it should be pointed out before we go into the body of these pieces that there was an ever-present controversy between the kings and nobility, together with their retinue of musicians on the one hand, and the theologians on the other hand, who insisted on the purity of the text wedded to the chant. This controversy had not been entirely resolved even with almost two and a half centuries of polyphonic music beginning with the measured organum of Pérotin and ending with the Franco-Flemish school of Josquin des Prés, at which period we now find ourselves. Yet polyphony concerned itself with singing a text, and while many pious pronouncements were made regarding the control of the *cantus firmus* of a Mass, we are all aware of the fact that many Masses were written on profane melodies, as attested to by the fact that every composer at least once in his lifetime wrote a Mass on the popular French song *L'homme armé*. But instruments cannot sing a text, and the introduction of instruments posed another situation, and whether the theologians approved it or not, there were many lords, dukes, princes, and kings who, having a retinue of musicians at their disposal for their light and frivolous moments, also wanted to make use of them for performance of the divine office.

Eventually the burden of this task fell on the organ, and with this procedure there does not seem to be too much opposition on the part of the theologically minded members of the hierarchy.

Another contributing factor to the increasing prominence of the organ in the North Countries, and especially in France, was the superb advancement made in organ construction, particularly of the Great Organ. This, too, may have been a subterfuge to fool the theologians, because since the nobility was constrained not to use their instrumentalists, the organ builders began to introduce reeds into the organs which attempted to imitate the tonal attributes of trumpets, trombones, and musettes. Even in our day the superb quality of French reeds for organs has not been surpassed.

The first of these three books of organ music bears the title: *Tablature pour le jeu d'orgues / Espinetes et Manicordions sur le plain chant de Cunctipotens et / Kyrie fons. Aves leurs Et in terra, Patrem. Sanctus et Agnus dei / le tout nouvellement imprime a Paris par Pierre Attaignant de- / morant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise Sanet Cosme. / Avec privilege du Roy nostre / sire pour trois ans.*

The second bears the title: *Magnificat sur les huit tons avec / Te deum laudamus. et deux Preludes, le tout mys en tabutature des / Orgues Espinettes Manicordions imprimez a Paris par*

Pierre / Attaignant libraire demourant en la rue de la Harpe pres leglise / saint Cosme. Kal. Martii 1530. Avec privilege du Roy nostre sire / pour trois ans.

And the third: Treze Motets musicaulx avec ung / prelude le tout reduict en la tabulature des Orgues Espinettes et / Manicordions et / Manicordions et telz semblable instrumentz imprimez a Paris par / Pierre Attaignant libraire demourant en la rue de la Harpe pre / leglise Saint Cosme Desquelz la table sensuyt. Kal April. 1531.

Turning our attention now to the first book, we note that while the title mentions the *Missa Cunctipotens* first, in actuality the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* and its succeeding Mass movements are first in the publication. If one believes that he is going to find the *cantus firmus* of these Masses in accordance to the Gregorian melodies as we find them in present-day Vatican editions, he is doomed for disappointment, for here we find a mixture of various melodies. It is a known fact that before the Council of Trent, mixtures of Mass movements were quite the usual thing in various graduals—the Ordinary differed from one province to the other and even from one church to the other in the same province, the fragments having been differently assembled.



Upon first examination of the Mass *Kyrie fons*, one would expect to find its accompanying Gloria based on the melody of the Gloria of Mass II according to the Vatican edition, only to find that it is based on the Gloria of the *cunctipotens* Mass (Mass IV of the Vatican ed.). As a matter of fact, with the exception of the Kyries of both masses, the rest are different variations on the same Gregorian themes extracted from the Mass *Cunctipotens*. The reason for this is that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Paris gradual scarcely contained more than these two, and they had been used almost exclusively for several centuries. Up to this time most Parisian missals indicate that the mass KFB was to be sung on the following occasions: the days following Pentecost and the Feast of the Epiphany, the Sundays in the Octave of the Assumption and in the Nativity of the Virgin. For the Sundays of Easter and Pentecost and on all double feasts throughout the year, the missal designates the Mass *Cunctipotens*.

Of these two Masses only the first one has a *Deo gratias* response to the *Ita missa est*. This melody is not to be found in any of the Masses given in the Vatican edition, but Yvonne Rokseth has noted that it coincides with the melody of the antiphon of the Magnificat *O Christi pietas*, designated for the second vespers of the Feast of St. Nicholas.

A word should be spoken about the Credo. As you all know, the Credo does not generally form part of the music of the Ordinary, and these two Masses are no exception. The first Mass of Book I is based on the melody of Credo I of the Vatican edition, and the second Mass contains no Credo; thus it might be safely assumed that the same one could have been used in both instances. The anonymous composer of these pieces, seeing the similarity of many of the verses of the Credo, refrained from composing different variations and no doubt was aware of the fact that the melody for the verse *Genitum* could be played according to the model of the melodic fragment *Et ex Patre* and that the verse *Et resurrexit* could be played according to the melody of *Et incarnatus*. It might be profitable to say a word or two regarding the role of the instruments for which these pieces published by Attaignant were intended. Rokseth maintains that the anonymous composer has in mind a moderate-sized organ, such as those that one might have encountered at that time in the churches of France, rather than the enormous instruments found in the cathedrals. In support of this thesis, she advances the fact that the

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range does not extend beyond the low *f*  or beyond the high *a*  in the soprano, and since at this time pedals were found only in large and important churches, these works may be suitably played on the manuals.

Concerning the use of this music in the service it should be pointed out that these pieces served a utilitarian rather than an artistic function. In our introduction we pointed out the disfavor with which the ecclesiastical authorities regarded the use of instruments for the divine office, and while the organ was favored above other instruments, this disfavor nevertheless had to be made clear frequently, since many of the organists in regal and ducal chapels served the double function of playing for the entertainment of their patron, as well as playing for his daily Offices. One of the reasons that might be advanced for the publication of these books by Attaignant was the fact that there was little if any sacred repertoire at the disposal of the average organist and he was thus strongly tempted to repeat, while playing for the office, the tunes that he was obliged to play at weddings (how much like our own day!) or at family or court festivals.

In the first place, the organ was used to occupy the attention or frequently the inattention of the faithful, as in our own day, before and after the divine Office. At the same time it could be used for the procession of the clergy or royalty at special occasions such as coronations, anniversaries, etc. Secondly, during the service itself the organ could be used to accompany the chants. Thirdly, the great gallery organ could be used to alternate with the chancel choir in those portions which constitute the Ordinary of the Mass, the so-called *Alternatim spraxis*, as well as in various canticles and hymns. In other words, a verse sung by the choir was immediately answered by the organ interlude based on the corresponding Gregorian theme. This practice, however, was reserved for important feasts. In the chapter of the Cathedral of Beauvais in 1533, for example, the use of the organ in this manner was reserved for Christmas, the octave of Easter and Pentecost, the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, the Assumption, all the Apostles, the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Feast of the Four Doctors of the Latin Church when it fell on a Sunday.

Later, when more such feasts were added, we see some inconsistencies in the idea that the choir and not the organ should intone the opening verses of any portion of the Ordinary, for Attaignant's first book, containing the two Masses, has the organ playing the first Kyrie, the choir singing the second one, and the organ playing the third one, and then continues with the choir intoning the *Christe*, the organ continuing with the second *Christe*, and the choir singing the third *Christe*. This same practice is carried on in the Sanctus, where the organ begins the first Sanctus, the choir singing the second Sanctus, and the organ playing the third Sanctus. The same practice is followed in the Agnus, the organ playing the first and third while only the second is reserved for the choir. Another abuse to be found and against which the ecclesiastical authorities strongly protested is the fact that the organ replaced the choir for almost half of the verses of the Credo, in spite of the fact that many councils had insisted that all the verses of the Nicene Symbol be heard clearly by the faithful. The fact that this injunction is found in so many of the decrees of the councils is a clear indication that nobody paid any attention to them.

Finally, it is not unlikely that in many court chapels the organ took the place of the choristers themselves during the daily Office when there were no choristers. The practice of alternation

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has long been one of interest to many of us, and the substitution of instruments for voices was only a natural outflow of the method in which the *missa choralis*, the *cantus firmus* Mass, and the *missa parodia* were performed during the supremacy of the Franco-Flemish School. This, in turn, was an outflow of the usual method in performing responses of the Gradual, partly chanted, partly polyphonic, again partly chanted, terminating finally in the polyphonic *clausula* already at the time of Pérotin in the thirteenth century.

We have recorded the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* of the first Mass in the first Attaignant organ book primarily because it is of special interest to all students of Lutheran church music. The *Kyrie fons bonitatis* is the basis of the melodic structure of the chorale *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit* (No. 6 in the *Lutheran Hymnal*). The text of this chorale is nothing more than a German translation of the interpolated Latin trope, although not necessarily the *Fons bonitatis* trope.

While we have not recorded any of the other portions of these two Masses with the exception of the *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, it would not be without some profit to make an analysis of at least one other piece from the first organ book. According to the verse titles given to the Gloria of the first Mass, the organ began with *Et in terra pax* after the celebrant had intoned *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*. *Laudamus* was for the choir, while *Benedicimus* was again done by the organ, *Adoramus te*—choir, *Glorificamus*—organ, *Gratias agimus tibi*—choir, and so forth. Each verse alternates between choir and organ. The same treatment is accorded the Credo.

We come now to Book Two. This second book contains two works. The first contains a number of pieces related to the Magnificat, and the second is related to the Te Deum. Concerning the Magnificat, the collection is as follows: the first is a prelude apparently to be used for Tone I; the second is entitled *Prelude sur chacun ton*. Then come verses on each of the eight Tones—the first seven tones, with the exception of Tone III, elaborating on two verses, while the eighth Tone has four verses and the third has five. The practice seems to have been that the prelude and first two verses were done by the organ (or in the case of the eighth tone, the first four verses), and the choir then completed the performance by chanting the remaining verses. However, in our performance of this we have combined plain chant, *fauxbourdon*, and organ—the organ plays the prelude on Tone I and the men of the choir sing verse 1. Verse 2 is done by the entire choir in *fauxbourdon*. The organ then continues, and the choir, in similar manner, as stated before, does verses 5 and 6, and the organ continues, and the choir completes with verse 9 and the Gloria Patri. One of the big questions with regard to these verses as well as the Masses of Book I is: what portions thereof are transcriptions, and which are actually composed? Their style seems to indicate that the Mass pieces have been directly conceived for the organ. Several of the stylistic evidences for this belief might be the following: (1) the *cantus firmus* seems to be uniformly set forth in augmented values; (2) there is an abundance of figured scales and harmonic progressions; (3) the absence of repeated notes in the *cantus firmus* where one would expect them in declaiming a text.

On the contrary, the verses of the Magnificat seem to be transcriptions of polyphonic settings. For example, the second verse of Tone VIII follows an original polyphonic setting for four voices by Richafort (*Liber Sextus, XIII quinque ultimarum tonorum Magnificat*, 1534, Folio 11, Ambrosium Library, Milan). As compared to the Mass pieces, these of the Magnificat for the most part do not have the scale passages and rich ornamentation but more frequently contain well-delineated imitations. However, it would be a grave error to say that all of the Magnificat

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verses were transcriptions. I believe that those that we have recorded are not transcriptions but are definitely composed for the organ. On the other hand, examination of the contrapuntal devices used in the second verse of Tone III would seem to indicate a transcription of a vocal original likewise. Others seem to bear resemblances to polyphonic settings which have been treated rather loosely and liberally, thus making an exact comparison with polyphonic settings impossible. These, as well as the *Te Deum*, likewise seem to have fulfilled a utilitarian, that is, a practical purpose, rather than an artistic one—in other words, *Gebrauchsmusik*, which had for its purpose the fulfillment of a liturgical need. The *Te Deum* which completes the second book set forth the melodic elements of the solemn tone of the *Te Deum*. This seems to be only natural since the organ was to be used only on high and solemn feasts.

The third and last book contains thirteen motets transcribed for organ from their original vocal setting, preceded by a prelude. Actually, only eleven are transcriptions of motets with Latin texts, while two are Italian songs.

The only piece for which a composer was indicated by Attaignant is the second one. We find that the second piece in the collection is a transcription of a *Benedictus* by Antoine de Fevin. However, the titles of the original motets were given by Attaignant, and Yvonne Rokseth was able to discover the composers of the originals through the long process of searching through contemporary polyphonic sources. For example, it was necessary to examine seven different motets on the text *Aspice Domine* which had been printed since 1500, to say nothing of those which could be found only in manuscripts. Likewise, ten composers had set the Latin text *Si bona suscepimus* to vocal polyphony. Of the motet *O vos omnes* at least five contemporary settings were already then in existence.

There are represented in this anthology, therefore, the most celebrated and popular composers at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The polyphonic originals divide themselves into three groups, stylistically considered. Eight of the greater motets are in the imitative style so characteristic of the Franco-Flemish School in the first part of the sixteenth century. There are the motets of Lafage, De Fevin, Loyset Compère, Claudin de Sermisy, Antoine Bumel, and Pierre Moulu. At least two of these, Brumel and Compère were direct disciples of Ockeghem, while the rest had come under his influence through the intermediary of his other disciples, such as Josquin des Prés.

The second group are of a more archaic style in which the composer used a *cantus prius factus* as the unifying vehicle. Obrecht's *Parce Domine* with its probable liturgical theme in the bass belongs to this category as well as the anonymous *Dulcis anima* and the Italian chanson *Fortuna desperata*.

The third group, of which there are only two, are entirely homophonic in style, that is, they progress in block chords. This style of note-for-note counterpoint is found generally in the settings of the Lamentations. Josquin's *Motetti da passione* are likewise in this style, as well as the Psalms and Lamentations published in two books by Petrucci in 1506.

Time will not permit us to examine any of these works other than the one that we have recorded, that is, the motet *O vos omnes* of Loyset Compère. The text reads in its entirety as follows: *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*.

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Audite, obsecro, universi populi, videte dolorem. Vocavi amicos et spreverunt me. It has undergone several verbal changes, and the final phrase does not occur anywhere in the liturgy. It is the fifth response of the Ild Nocturn of Matins for Holy Saturday, although the first part is also used as the antiphon to the last psalm of Lauds for the same day. As you may have already recognized from the Latin, the text is taken from the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, chapter 1, verses 12, 18, and 19. A number of other composers had set the Lamentations and also the *Improperia* of Good Friday to polyphony already at this time, but all of them seem to have been doomed to oblivion because of the later, more popular settings of Ingegneri and especially those by Palestrina and Vittoria.

Loyset Compère was a canon of the Cathedral of Saint Quentin, where he died in 1518. As indicated before, he was a pupil of the great and illustrious master of the Franco-Flemish School, Johann Ockeghem. This fact is made known to us by Guillaume Cretin in his famous *Déploration sur la mort d'Ockeghem*. While he seems to have been overshadowed by his master Ockeghem and his contemporary Josquin in our present-day estimate, Loyset nevertheless was ranked with these masters as well as with Alexander Agricola at his own time.

It might also be of interest to note that the great Lutheran editor and publisher Georg Rhaw of Wittenberg included this particular motet in his collection of 1542 entitled *Tricinia tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum* (No. 15).

Rokseth is of the opinion that at least the first part is based on a Gregorian theme. That may well be, since the style is not unlike that of Books I and II, but at any rate, the augmented *cantus firmus* of the bars from measures 3 to 30 bears no resemblance in the slightest degree to the melodies of the Holy Saturday Fifth Response or the antiphon for the last psalm of Lauds according to the Vatican edition.

Since these three books of organ music by their very ecclesiastic nature were destined to serve a liturgical function, something should be said, by way of conclusion, concerning the liturgical function of the organ at the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have already called attention to the insistence on the purity of the chant by the ecclesiastical authorities; we have also indicated that the repetitious pronouncements of various councils and the various encyclicals and bulls of a number of pontiffs concerning this practice and abuse seem to have had little effect on kings, princes, and nobles alike, who were desirous of emulating and even outdoing one another in the splendor of their private chapels. The bishops and archbishops of wealthy dioceses were wont to behave in a similar manner, if one considers the magnificence not only of their cathedrals but also of the organs which they possessed.

Confusion is likewise added to the total picture by the obvious double meaning of certain terminology, such as *organum*, *organisari*, *organisatio*, *organi cantus*, *canto de organo*, and *musica organizata*, to set forth but a few. As you may well know, such terminology when used by medieval theoreticians such as Guido of Arezzo, Hucbald, and others, refers to the contrapuntal technique of primitive polyphony.

As nearly as we can figure it out, at least in France, the practice seems to have been somewhat like this. The great organs seem to have been used only on major festivals. For example, at Notre Dame de Paris twenty-three such solemn feasts were listed, and at the cathedral church

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at Angers in 1463 seventeen such festivals are given for the participation of the great organ. This would lead one to suppose therefore that on ordinary Sundays or minor festivals the little positif which was generally found in the choir would serve a similar function.

As previously indicated, the great organ was to furnish preludes, interludes, and conclusions for the Mass and vespers, and music for processions, as well as alternating with the choir in the performance of certain verses of the Mass and vespers. We have every reason to suppose that at the same time the positif was used to accompany the choir. This does not mean that the organists furnished chordal accompaniments to the chant such as we frequently hear today but that it merely reinforced the chant and perhaps played one of the voices if the composition were a polyphonic one. The first two Attaignant books therefore were intended to furnish a repertoire for the organist who was incapable of improvising from a polyphonic edition. The fact that the Attaignant books are the first examples of such an organ repertoire seems to indicate that with the passage of time the ability to improvise from such polyphonic editions was gradually becoming extinct.

The function of the organ motets seems to be slightly different. These motets could have served as preludes for the polyphonic motet itself, which was then sung by the choir upon the conclusion of the organ. Or they could have been performed in the manner similar to that which is demonstrated in our recording, namely, that the choir would sing the first part of the motet, while the organ would play the second part, or vice versa. Thus the Attaignant organ books seem to have had as their goal first the fulfillment of a desperate need for such literature, and secondly, that of serving as a check on widespread liturgical abuse with regard to the use of instruments for the divine office.

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Note: When this paper was first presented to the Institute of Liturgical Studies of Valparaiso University, a recording was made on tape to illustrate one portion of each of the three organ books. This tape was recorded by Mr. Robert Schunemann, organist, and the Chapel Choir of Valparaiso University. Anyone interested in obtaining a copy of this tape should write to the Music Department of Valparaiso University for further inquiry.

The Congregational Hymn as the Living Voice of the Gospel

Richard R. Caemmerer

What happens when the congregation of worshipers sings a hymn? Are they paying tribute to the custom of many generations? Are they enjoying a variation of community singing? Are some mutely enduring something that they do not like to do or do not understand, until a more acceptable unit of the service appears? Are they mentally agreeing with the taste of the individual who chose the hymn or else belaboring him for his lack of taste? Are they singing with a will, dragging, mumbling, or dozing?

A hymn in a service of Christian worship is a means of adoring the most high God. It is a rehearsal of God's mighty acts. It is a confession of faith in that God. More than that, a hymn in a service of Christian worship is a means by which each worshiper speaks the living Word of God to each other one. The fact bears close scrutiny.

I

The New Testament refers to the hymns of the worshiping congregation in several passages which are potent for Christian worship today. In the Goodspeed version they read:

Do not be foolish, but understand what the Lord's will is. Do not get drunk on wine, for that is profligacy, but be filled with the Spirit, and speak to one another in psalms, hymns, and sacred songs. Sing praise to the Lord with all your hearts; always give thanks for everything to God our Father, as followers of our Lord Jesus Christ, and subordinate yourselves to one another out of reverence to Christ. (Eph. 5:17–21)

Let the ruling principle in your hearts be Christ's peace, for in becoming members of one body you have been called under its sway. And you must be thankful. Let the message of Christ live in your hearts in all its wealth of wisdom. Teach it to one another and train one another in it with thankfulness, with psalms, hymns, and sacred songs, and sing to God with all your hearts. And whatever you have to say or do, do it all as followers of the Lord Jesus, and offer your thanksgiving to God the Father through Him. (Col. 3:15–17)

What is the right course, brothers? When you meet together, suppose every one of you has a song, a teaching, a revelation, an ecstatic utterance, or an explanation of one; it must be for the good of all. (1 Cor. 14:26)

These passages presuppose a function of the Christian congregation which Colossians speaks of in the term "body of Christ." That is that each member of the Christian church is a member, literally, a nourishing helper for his spiritual life. Held together in the mutual fellowship of the Christian church, each Christian is a minister and servant to each other one, St. Paul tells the Ephesians (4:11–16), building up his fellow Christian in faith against the perversion of falsehood by means of the "truth," that is, the message that the promises of God to redeem His people have come true in Christ Jesus.

Christian worship in general, and the use of "hymns and psalms and spiritual songs" in particular, then are to serve this purpose of the mutual upbuilding of the Christian company. Let us abstract from these passages several considerations for present-day worship.

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1. Worship is to be adoration and thanksgiving toward God. That Christians share in each other's worship is a reinforcement, not just psychologically in that they imitate each other, but theologically in that they rehearse what they are thankful for and why they can speak to God at all—a reinforcement of thankfulness and adoration in one another.
2. The rehearsal of what they are thankful for, and the statement of why they can address God as their Father, focus upon the Word and message of Christ, that is, the coming of Christ into the world to redeem mankind to the Father through His own sacrificial living and dying, attested by His rising again. This is the significance of Colossians, "Let the message of Christ live in your hearts in all its wealth of wisdom." 1 Cor. 14 takes up the problem of unedifying, disorderly worship. St. Paul urges that every contribution of any worshiper to the total must "be for the good of all" and then goes on to describe how he himself did it:

Now I want to remind you, brothers, of the form in which I presented to you the good news I brought, which you accepted and have stood by, and through which you are to be saved, if you hold on, unless your faith has been all for nothing. For I passed on to you, as of first importance, the account I had received, that Christ died for our sins, as the Scriptures foretold, that He was buried, that on the third day He was raised from the dead, as the Scriptures foretold. . . . Thank God! He gives us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. So my dear brothers, be firm and unmoved, and always devote yourselves to the Lord's work, for you know that through the Lord your labor is not thrown away. (1 Cor. 15:1–4, 57, 58)

St. Peter describes the function of Christians together as being a priesthood in which they present themselves and one another to God as spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ, by "declaring the virtues of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvelous light" (1 Peter 2:5, 9), and speaks of the Gospel of Christ as at once the seed by which men are born anew to God and the milk by which they are nourished. (V. 2; cf. 1 Peter 1:23, 25)

3. What renders worship a dynamic, edifying thing for all concerned is this, that it is this Word of the Gospel, this account of the redeeming work of Christ which is God's own tool for the spiritual salvage and nurture of men, that is spoken back and forth by the worshipping company. Each worshiper becomes simultaneously a target and a rifle for this projectile of the powerful Word of God. St. Paul describes this process when he discusses the Sacrament. It had become, with the Corinthians, a vehicle for gluttony and class distinction. But what should be is this (KJV): "As oft as ye eat of this bread and drink this cup of the Lord, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. 11:26); it is a mutual proclamation. The sermon in the Christian service grew out of the practice of Christians breaking out into a hubbub of repartee and conversation after the reading of the lessons from Old or New Testament, and thus came to represent the mutual speaking of the Word of the Gospel through the lips of the preacher (Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 67; quoted by M. Reu, *Homiletics*, Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 5th ed., 1944). The writer to the Hebrews describes the whole act of worship together as the communicating of this Word to one another and thus the empowering to the Christian

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life (Heb.10:19–25). All of this mutual speaking of the Gospel, then, is to be uniquely the function of the “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs” of the worshiping church. The great texts from Ephesians and Colossians focus upon the hymn of the congregation as the central edifying act, the means by which each Christian builds each other one, helps the Word of Christ to dwell in him.

4. A final accent emerges directly from the passages under consideration: in the act of worship and in the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs worshipers are to subordinate themselves to one another. This subordination has a simple communicative element to it: people must listen as well as sing, they must yield to each other’s preferences. When Christians sing a hymn together, they are all pooling their likes and dislikes, they are each playing their part for the sake of every other one. There they cease to belong to liturgical or nonliturgical parties, to pride themselves as traditional or creative, for there they all settle upon a common form of mutual expression. This mutual submission is not merely a yielding and communicating, but it stresses a mutual service. The mind of Christ is that men serve one another (Phil. 2:1 ff.), and St. Paul describes as a variation of the submission which Christians have for one another in worship the submission of husband to wife and wife to husband in the mutual self-sacrifice of Christ and the church. (Eph. 5:22 ff.)

II

If we can grant the premises for congregational song which we have attempted to glean from the New Testament, we are ready to summarize the essentials of the hymn in our own time that is to satisfy the requirements of Christian worship.

- A. The people must understand what they sing. This is a hard saying. Evidently some powerful poetry goes by the board. No two people in any group of worshipers have the same capacity for understanding or know just the same words. St. Paul tried to clean out the incomprehensible utterances of ecstasy that disfigured the church at Corinth, but as he writes he says much that pertains to hymnody also:

The man who can speak ecstatically should pray for the power to explain what he says. For if I pray ecstatically, it is my spirit that prays, but my mind is helping nobody. Then what am I to do? I will pray ecstatically, but I will pray intelligently too. I will sing ecstatically, but I will sing intelligently too. For if you utter blessings in ecstatic speech, how is an ordinary man to say Amen to your thanksgiving? For he does not know what you are saying. You are giving thanks well enough, but it is doing him no good. Thank God, I speak in ecstasy more than any of you. But in public worship I would rather say five words with my understanding so as to instruct others also than ten thousand words in an ecstasy. (1 Cor. 14:13–19)

This does not imply that hymnody must shrink to a tiny deposit of worn and childish stanzas. Often the essential meaning can come through when some lines simply symbolize mood but others speak directly. The administration of parish worship, within and outside the services of worship, can seek to enlarge the worshiper’s understanding of the hymns that he sings and the basic appreciation of their meaning and message.

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- B. The hymn must stir people to moods appropriate to what they are saying. Current psychological theory stresses the integration and total response of the individual to the point that it is no longer fashionable to single out and analyze individual moods, their relation to special thoughts and concepts, and the manner in which the human organism harbors and produces them. Yet even a superficial reflection will indicate contrasts and parallels. A basic function of worship and the hymn is thankfulness to God and adoration with reverence. Here come moods of joy, the quickening pulse of gratitude, the sense of the holy and grand towering over the littleness of man. Reflection upon the way of life in Christ, the act of the atonement, the forgiveness of sins, the freedom from the wrathful judgment of God, will be accompanied by moods appropriate to earnest self-searching. The outreach to the worshiping brother will be accompanied by the mood which makes singing natural to begin with, the desire for expression of affection and concern. The word "mood" attempts to describe the indescribable and hence gives rise to no standard language. Bach's time tried it with its *Affekttheorie*. Perhaps, as we try to teach our people why they sing hymns, we shall have to devise such a language. To this quality of a hymn its poetic form, with its evocations of rhythms, its symbolism of restraint and symmetry, its use of metaphor and euphony, makes great contributions. That whole area of expression, at once related to the organic nervous system and to the capacity for thought and language, obviously draws heavily upon the tune to which the hymn is sung and the music of its accompaniment. To that domain my colleague, Dr. Buszin, will give special attention in this conference. In attempting to point out the multiplicity of moods which the hymn should induce in the worshiper, we must not fail to mention the very first: the challenge upon interest, both of the singer and of the listener. This mood is an outgrowth of the comprehensibility of the hymn. It is, in effect, comprehensibility plus an applied and pertinent quality, through which the concepts of the hymn are expressed as experience of the singer to be communicated to his fellow worshiper.
- C. Finally, if the hymn is to fulfill its task, it must actually sing the Gospel. Obviously this does not happen in every line or phrase. It is conceivable that in a total service of worship a hymn could possibly omit the saving message in favor of a simple affirmation of reverence or thanks or adoration, but it is not very likely. Very early in the history of the Christian church the Gloria Patri was affixed to psalms or the New Testament canticles, as an affirmation and signal of the redemptive work of Christ, under the Father, communicated by the Spirit. 1 Tim. 3:16 is doubtless a very early hymn which St. Paul quoted as an apt and familiar statement of how God is "the Pillar and Ground of the truth":

God was manifest in the flesh,
Justified in the Spirit,
Seen of angels,
Preached unto the Gentiles,
Believed on in the world,
Received up into glory.

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When people sing to each other in worship, if their hymn is truly what it should be, they will think what they are singing. Our hymn must then either directly express their thought of Christ Jesus which they wish to communicate to their brother, or it must speak such thoughts which are unmistakably given by the fact of that Gospel. Otherwise they are not fulfilling their ministry as members of the body of Christ worshiping together. But when their hymns give the worshipers an opportunity to hold the Cross and open tomb of Christ before one another's eyes and engrave that meaning upon one another's hearts, then they are truly teaching and admonishing one another, building one another up in the faith, nurturing the body of Christ, speaking the living Gospel.

III

Now let us make the attempt to apply these principles to hymns actually in the employ of the church. This application obviously varies from person to person. Where hymns have been in the employ of worshipers for generations, these will react differently from those who are hearing and using a hymn for the first time. Hymns may become so familiar by much use that they are sung for the sake of pleasant association merely, for the sake of semiconscious and nostalgic associations with certain scenes and events, for the sake of appreciation of the tune grounded sometimes on reasons quite apart from the purpose and the theology of the text. Or a hymn may wear out through overuse or because of habits of listlessness of the congregation as it sings them or because of distasteful tunes or harmonies. Each worshiper develops a series of reactions and associations peculiar to himself. Hence it is especially important that every worshipping congregation train itself periodically to learn and appreciate new hymns, to refresh its understanding of the old ones, and to cultivate the mutual submission of each worshiper to the common goal of edifying the brother through the congregational song.

Hymns in this section are drawn from *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941) unless designated *The Hymnal* (Protestant Episcopal Church, 1940).

- A. Many hymns satisfy the criterion of intelligibility, for editors shape their language to suit the congregational average. Sometimes the result, to some tastes, is destructive of poetic feeling. Thus *Crown Him with Many Crowns*, 341, has the closing stanza:

Crown Him the Lord of heaven,
 Enthroned in worlds above,
 Crown Him the King to whom is given
 The wondrous name of Love.
 Crown Him with many crowns
 As thrones before Him fall;
 Crown Him, ye kings, with many crowns,
 For He is King of all.

An earlier edition (*Ev. Luth. Hymn-Book*, Concordia Publishing House, 1924) reads:

Crown Him the Lord of years,
 The Potentate of time,
 Creator of the rolling spheres,

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Ineffably sublime.
All hail, Redeemer, hail!
For Thou hast died for me;
Thy praise shall never, never fail
Throughout eternity. (104, st. 5)

The chorale *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, 377, has a language, also in the translation, which is sufficiently lucid for the understanding of any catechetically trained worshiper. Its deficiency is chiefly in the realm of interest, in that some of its turns of phrase are hardly more than metrical and rhymed restatements of theological briefs. Thus:

What God did in His Law demand
And none to Him could render
Caused wrath and woe on every hand
For man, the vile offender.
Our flesh has not those pure desires
The spirit of the Law requires,
And lost is our condition. (st. 2)

More vivid is stanza 7:

Let me not doubt, but trust in Thee,
Thy Word cannot be broken;
Thy call rings out, "Come unto Me!"
No falsehood hast Thou spoken.
Baptized into Thy precious name
My faith cannot be put to shame,
And I shall never perish.

To this reviewer the chorale 231, even in translation, has a suitable blend of clear language with unique and interesting form and expression.

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 homeward we journey, attend us.
Lord, have mercy!

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 brought us.
Lord, have mercy!

Thou sacred Love, grace on us bestow,
Set our hearts with heavenly fire aglow
That with hearts united we love each other,

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Of one mind, in peace with every brother.
Lord, have mercy!

Thou highest Comfort in every 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!

Fresh and genuinely poetical in form and language, and clear in meaning, is *Oh, Worship the King*, No. 17:

Oh, worship the King
All glorious above;
Oh, gratefully sing
His power and his love,
Our Shield and Defender,
The Ancient of Days,
Pavilioned in splendor
And girded with praise!

Oh, tell of His might,
Oh, sing of His grace,
Whose robe is the light,
Whose canopy space!
His chariots of wrath
The deep thunderclouds form,
And dark is His path
On the wings of the storm.

This earth, with its store
Of wonders untold,
Almighty, Thy power
Hath founded of old,
Hath stablished it fast
By a changeless decree,
And round it hath cast,
Like a mantle, the sea.

Thy bountiful care
What tongues can recite?
It breathes in the air,
It shines in the light,
It streams from the hills,
It descends to the plain,
And sweetly distils

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In the dew and the rain.

Frail children of dust
And feeble as frail,
In Thee do we trust
Nor find Thee to fail.
Thy mercies, how tender,
How firm to the end,
Our Maker, Defender,
Redeemer, and Friend!

O measureless Might,
Ineffable Love,
While angels delight
To hymn Thee above,
Thy humbler creation,
Though feeble their lays,
With true adoration
Shall sing to Thy praise.

Somewhat wearing in language, partly because of repetition and partly because of hyperbolic language, is 430, *What Is the World to Me*. The noble tune may salvage it for many a worshiper. Poor in basic interest values is 288:

Lord, help us ever to retain
The Catechism's doctrine plain
As Luther taught the Word of Truth
In simple style to tender youth. (st. 1)

- B. Judgments begin to be quite subjective when we explore the value of a hymn in reflecting mood of the worshiper. The interest factors considered above are largely in this area. It may serve the purpose of exploration to single out a few basic moods: those pertinent to the mutual communication of the church, to the adoration of God, and to the mutual submission of Christians. This complex of mood is, admittedly, central in a communication of the living Gospel.

Again 231 (see above) reveals its worth. When taken in combination with its tune, which is an evocation of meditateness and of affirmation simultaneously, we have a splendid demonstration of the Christian hymn. To this reviewer a similar quality of high mood, possibly tinged by associations with the tune, is given in *The God of Abraham Praise*,⁴⁰ Note stanza 3:

He by Himself hath sworn—
I on His oath depend—
I shall, on eagle's wings upborne,
To heaven ascend;
I shall behold His face,
I shall His power adore,

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And sing the wonders of His grace
Forevermore.

Interesting in this connection is the method of material in the first person singular. The question does not seem to be so much the quality of the subjective as contrasted with the objective. Nothing could be more subjective, in the sense of demonstration of personal feeling, than *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God*, 262, which is in the plural. The question is rather whether the first singular is a useful device for speaking to the brother. As Christians join in a hymn in the first person singular the effect can easily become simply the pooling of personal devotion. No. 40 seems to be rescued from this by the grandeur of its utterance and the congregational pace of its tune. No. 430 suffers from the lack of mutual submission in its text.

An older generation found 246, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, one of the outstanding parish hymns. It does breathe a mood of high reverence and adoration. Perhaps it is the tune, together with the lack of an explicit Christological reference, that has caused it to wear poorly.

Despite the high prestige of the queen of chorales, *How Lovely Shines the Morning Star*, 546, it seems to be hampered in its congregational and mutual quality, though high in its mood of reverence. It has splendid sentiments of prayer at the beginning of the day but seems not altogether appropriate to the Common Service. Even less so is *Beautiful Savior*, 657, with sentiments of a folk and individual quality, though reverent and charged with adoration.

The mood of dependence in faith, a thoroughly appropriate goal for a congregational act of worship, is a useful aim in the Christian hymn. Here 350, despite its rather exaggerated language, sounds the note of confession of weakness and of mutual strengthening in faith:

Jesus, the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills the breast;
But sweeter far Thy face to see
And in Thy presence rest.

Nor voice can sing, nor heart can frame,
Nor can the memory find
A sweeter sound than Thy blest name,
O Savior of mankind!

O Hope of every contrite heart,
O Joy of all the meek!
To those who fall, how kind Thou art,
How good to those who seek!

But what to those who find? Ah! this
Nor tongue nor pen can show;
The love of Jesus, what it is,
None but His loved ones know.

Jesus, our only Joy be Thou

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As Thou our Prize wilt be!
Jesus, be Thou our Glory now
And through eternity.

No. 430, *What Is the World to Me*, which we analyzed before as wearing in interest, is very useful in this quality of summoning the fellow worshiper to dependence in faith; the singular number seems to be less effective, however, than the plural of 350. No. 347, *Jesus, Priceless Treasure*, is one of the great chorales in the domain of dependence. Again the somewhat baroque utterance may temper the sincerity and appreciation of the hymn in the Common Service, and it may seem to apply rather to the individual devotional exercises of the Christian.

The Hymnal, 529, brings John Oxenham's prayer of a nation at war. This is an interesting attempt to combine the sentiments of war-ridden people with the prayer of faith. The complex of ideas may be somewhat difficult for the individual worshiper to manage.

Lord God of hosts, whose mighty hand
Dominion holds on sea and land,
In peace and war Thy will we see
Shaping the larger liberty;
Nations may rise and nations fall,
Thy changeless purpose rules them all,

For those who weak and broken lie
In weariness and agony,
Great Healer, to their bed of pain
Come, touch and make them whole again.
O hear a people's prayers, and bless
Thy servants in their hour of stress!

For those to whom the call shall come,
We pray thy tender welcome home;
The toil, the bitterness, all past,
We trust them to thy love at last.
O hear a people's prayers for all
Who, nobly striving, nobly fall!

For those who minister and heal,
And spend themselves, their skill, their zeal;
Renew their hearts with Christlike faith,
And guard them from disease and death;
And in thine own good time, Lord, send
Thy peace on earth till time shall end.

- C. And now what of our central quest today, the hymn that helps the Christian speak to his brother the good news of the redeeming work of Christ?

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Again we can cite 231 as effective, concise, and winsome in its method. The *Deutsche Messe* of Martin Luther suggested that it be sung in every service, and it deserves that use. How well it would wear under repetition is a question.

Dogmatic as 377 is in expression, it does do a complete job of stating the Christian Gospel, with at least a minimum of applied quality. No. 546 is rich in affirmation of the redemptive and ongoing power of Jesus the Lord. No. 350, previously considered at length, here gives explicit signals for rehearsing the redemptive work of Christ. Also sung to the tune of *Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern*, O Holy Spirit, Enter In, No. 235, is a noble rehearsal of the work of the Spirit, giving explicit Christological reference in only one stanza:

O mighty Rock, O Source of Life,
 Let Thy dear Word, mid doubt and strife,
 Be strong within us burning
 That we be faithful unto death,
 In Thy pure love and holy faith,
 From Thee true wisdom learning.
 And grace And peace
 On us shower; By Thy power
 Christ confessing,
 Let us win our Savior's blessing. (st. 6)

Yet this link, in a total service of worship, perhaps as the *Hauptlied* to a sermon on the work of the Spirit in holding the Word of Christ with us, would be sufficient to make the total hymn mutually edifying.

Less potent Christologically is *Holy, Holy, Holy*, 246, setting up the one slender thread of "God in Three Persons, blessed Trinity." Similar in this respect is the otherwise great *The God of Abraham Praise*, 40. *The Hymnal* offers a stanza not found in *The Lutheran Hymnal*:

There dwells the Lord, our King,
 The Lord, our Righteousness,
 Triumphant o'er the world and sin,
 The Prince of Peace;
 On Sion's sacred height
 His kingdom he maintains,
 And, glorious with his saints in light,
 Forever reigns. (st. 3)

The Messianic language might well serve to make the link with the redemptive work explicit. The lovely *Oh, Worship the King*, 17, is devoid of redemptive reference, and the carefully planned service would have to compensate for its omission by means of other hymns. Yet with all of its reference to Christ, *What Is the World to Me*, 430, also speaks no specifically redemptive word, and simply reflects the faith that is the outgrowth of Gospel mutually considered and conveyed in other sections of the service.

To this reviewer some hymns would be deficient, not simply because of omitting the evangelical note but because they set up thoughts and moods that subsist without the Gospel altogether. Here Jan Struther's general and mystic hymn of the kingdom seems to be placed: (*The Hymnal* 473)

High o'er the lonely hills
Black turns to gray,
Bird-song the valley fills,
Mists fold away;
Gray wakes to green again;
Beauty is seen again,
Gold and serene again
Dawneth the day.

So, o'er the hills of life,
Stormy, forlorn,
Out of the cloud and strife
Sunrise is born;
Swift grows the light for us;
Ended is night for us;
Soundless and bright for us
Breaketh God's morn.

Hear we no beat of drums,
Fanfare nor cry,
When Christ the herald comes
Quietly nigh;
Splendor he makes on earth;
Color awakes on earth;
Suddenly breaks on earth
Light from the sky.

Bid then farewell to sleep:
Rise up and run!
What though the hill be steep?
Strength's in the sun.
Now shall you find at last
Night's left behind at last,
And for mankind at last
Day has begun!

Similarly John Oxenham's hymn on the Christian vocation attaches it to the created rather than the redemptive order: (*The Hymnal* 510)

All labor gained new dignity
Since He who all creation made

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Toiled with His hands for daily bread
Right manfully.

No work is commonplace, if all
Be done as unto Him alone;
Life's simplest toil to Him is known
Who knoweth all.

Each smallest common thing He makes
Serves Him with its minutest part;
Man only with his wandering heart
His way forsakes.

His service is life's highest joy,
It yields fair fruit a hundredfold:
Be this our prayer—"Not fame, nor gold,
But—Thine employ!"

These essays in the analyzing of hymns are not given as final in their judgment of the hymn. But they are presented as illustrative of the concern that the leader of worship has for constructing a service in which his people "teach and admonish one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," always to the end that the Word of Christ might dwell among them richly.

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