
REVIVING SACRED SONG: 500 YEARS OF THE LUTHERAN CHORALE IN ITS
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHORAL CONTEXTS

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Hallelujah, Amen!

A Focus on
Music in Worship



REVIVING SACRED SONG
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In the autumn of 1517 at the University of Wittenberg, Germany, the professor and Augustinian priest Martin Luther (1483-1546) prepared a list of ninety-five theological postulates intended for academic debate. Five hundred years later, we mark that event as the genesis of the Protestant Reformation, an era that transformed the theological, cultural, literary, and socio-political trajectory of Western civilization.

Among the developments that arose during the Reformation were musical ones that had enormous impact on Western music, especially sacred song. Luther's love of singing and his conviction that music was a vehicle for evangelical proclamation gave birth to a new genre of church music: the chorale. Chorales (and the *alternatim* performance practice associated with them) heralded the style characteristics of the Baroque period and provided source material for generations of composers who crafted motets, cantatas, concertos, and other pieces based upon them.

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Luther and Music

Martin Luther was immersed in music from an early age. As a child, his mother sang to him, and his formal education at the Latin school in Mansfeld (his parents moved there from his birthplace, Eisleben, in 1484) included both vocal instruction and choral singing for masses and other services.¹ Luther's musical education continued in Magdeburg and Eisenach and later at the University of Erfurt (1501-1505). Here the curriculum followed the standard medieval structure of *trivium*—rhetoric, grammar, and logic—and *quadrivium*—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.² Musical study at Erfurt was not purely the *musica speculativa* of the middle ages but also a practical art; facility with instruments and skillful singing were encouraged among the students, if not explicitly part of the curriculum.³ Luther was both a talented singer and lutenist.⁴

Luther's adult life was equally full of music. In the Augustinian monastic communities of Erfurt and Wittenberg, he and the other monks chanted psalms and canticles every three hours as they prayed the seven daily Offices.⁵ After Luther was ordained in 1507, "his experience of the chants of the Mass was intensified" because he was now required to perform all the parts of the Mass chanted by the presiding priest.⁶ Years later during his tenure on the Wittenberg faculty, meals around the Luther family table regularly included hymns and songs with Luther himself accompanying on the lute, and polyphonic works sung joyfully if not always perfectly:

We sing as well as we can here at table and afterward. If we make a few blunders, it is really not [the composers'] fault but our ability, which is still very slight even if we have sung [the piece] over two or three times....Therefore you composers must pardon us if we make blunders in your songs, for we would much rather do them well than badly.⁷

Luther was particularly fond of the music of Josquin (c.1450/55-1521) and described his compositions as flowing "freely, gently, and cheerfully," likening them to "the song of the finch."⁸ Luther was also a composer himself, penning several chorale tunes and at least one polyphonic motet.⁹

A Theology of Sound

Luther believed that music was not of human creation but a *donum Dei*, a gift of God. He marveled at the omnipresence of music in the natural world, "instilled and implanted in all creatures," and even present in the sound of the wind.¹⁰ But it was the sound of the human voice that most captivated and astonished him:

Philosophers have labored to explain the marvelous instrument of the human voice: How can the air projected by a light movement of the tongue and an even lighter movement of the throat produce such an infinite variety and articulation of the voice and of words? And how can the voice, at the direction of the will, sound forth so powerfully and vehemently that it cannot only be heard by everyone over a wide area, but also be understood? Philosophers for all their labor cannot find the explanation...¹¹

This sense of wonder at the capacity of the human voice had a direct relationship to Luther's theological understanding of the generative power of speech. In Genesis, God spoke the world into being; in worship, Luther held, the oral proclamation of the gospel had the power to transform the hearts and lives of those who (aurally) heard it. And if speech held such potency, so too did song:

I am not satisfied with him who despises music, as all fanatics do; for music is an endowment and gift of God, not a human gift. It also drives away the devil and makes people cheerful; one forgets all anger, unchasteness, pride, and other vices. And we see how David and all saints put their pious thoughts into verse, rhyme, and song.¹²

After all, the gift of language combined with the gift of song was only given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music, namely, by proclaiming [the word of God] through music and by providing sweet melodies with words.¹³

In other words, both preaching and singing could bear

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the word of God and proclaim the gospel. Or as Mark Bangert has written, “[Luther’s] fidelity to the word of God as ‘sounded act’ led him to understand music as partner in the oral/aural process.”¹⁴

Luther’s conviction that music was a gift of God and useful for teaching and preaching separated him from other sixteenth-century reformers such as John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli. These theologians viewed music as a suspicious (if pleasurable) human creation with limited or no appropriate use in communal worship.¹⁵ But Luther reinforced and expanded the presence of music in the worship life of the church. In Wittenberg he advocated for the establishment of daily services for the laity (adapted from the monastic offices of Matins and Vespers) that included chanting, psalm singing, scripture readings, and preaching.¹⁶ And both his Latin and German Mass orders were filled with singing:

Except for the canon of the Mass, [Luther] kept the whole communion liturgy with its chant in Latin and its metrical forms in German. Both the Latin *Formuale Missae* of 1523 and the German *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 were sung services; lessons, prayers, the ordinary and the propers of the Mass in their Gregorian and German hymnic versions plus new hymns all were sung by the people and the choir.¹⁷

Though in some places vernacular hymns were already being sung, with these two worship orders Luther gave German hymns their first prominent and fixed place in worship. These hymns were chorales, first written by Luther and his colleagues in 1523 and 1524.¹⁸

Crafting the Chorales

The term “chorale” comes from the German word *Choral*, meaning Gregorian chant. It may also be derived from the Latin *choraliter*, a word related to the unison, unaccompanied manner in which chants were sung.¹⁹ The term is somewhat ambiguous and can refer to text and tune together, tune alone, or sometimes text alone.²⁰

Textually, chorales were congregational hymns written in the vernacular (German) language. Their content was pedagogical, intended to help instruct a largely il-

literate populace in biblical content and theological concepts. They “functioned not only as worship songs, expressing the response of faith to be sung within a liturgical context, but also as theological songs, declaring the substance of the faith to be sung with catechetical intentions.”²¹ The chorale texts wedded proclamation to praise and celebrated Christ’s victory over sin and death.²²

Some texts paraphrased and expanded upon the ordinary of the Mass and could be used as congregational responses to or substitutions for the Latin chants. Others were connected to specific liturgical seasons or feast days, like *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (“Christ Jesus Lay in Death’s Strong Bands”) at Easter. Still others illuminated theological concepts of particular significance to the reformers, such as *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (“Salvation Unto Us Has Come”), which explained the doctrine of justification by grace through faith.

The chorale tunes were energetically rhythmic, well matched to the bold and declamatory texts they bore. Some chorale tunes were original compositions, while others (especially the sixteenth-century melodies) were carefully adapted from or inspired by Gregorian chants, medieval *Leisen*, and *cantiones*.²³ Though chorale tunes shared musical characteristics with German folk and art songs, Luther and his contemporaries did not appropriate drinking songs or other popular styles for worship use.²⁴

The disparate sources of the tunes make it difficult to summarize common musical attributes, though some broad characteristics are observable when the melodies are grouped by origin. Tunes with roots in chant or *Leisen* tended to be through-composed, with smoother melodic contours and only occasional skips larger than a third or fourth. These tunes include many of those that could replace or respond to portions of the Mass, such as *Kyrie*, *Gott Vater*; *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*; and *Nun bitten wir*. Tunes that were original compositions tended to have a more disjunct character, with frequent leaps by fourth and fifth, and were more likely to be cast in bar form.

Bar form is a ternary musical structure in which two identical sections of a tune are followed by a contrasting third section, A-A-B. This basic form appears in many musical genres and can be traced back to ancient Grecian odes, but it was prominent in medieval Germany

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largely through the Renaissance repertoire of the Minnesingers and Meistersingers.²⁵ In German bar form, the first half of the tune is called the *Aufgesang* (“toward song”), each portion of which is a *Stollen* (“stanza”). The B section or *Abgesang* (“from song” or “swansong”) is often as long or longer than the *Aufgesang*. In rounded bar form, the *Abgesang* borrows material from the ending of the *Aufgesang*. Bar form probably contributed to the popularity and durability of the chorale tunes because, as Paul Westermeyer points out, the form “works very well for congregational singing, not only because it is a satisfying musical form on its own, but because it teaches itself. Once you know A, you know the repeat of A as well.”²⁶ Figure 1 is an example of a chorale in rounded bar form, a tune attributed to Luther that accompanied his paraphrase of Psalm 130.

The metrical dimension of the chorale tunes also illustrates their connection to Renaissance music. The tunes are rhythmically active to match the syllabic stress and rhyme schemes of their texts, but this activity presumes a constant *tactus* with which the rhythms interact (Figure 1). This characteristic comes less from the chorales’ monophonic source material—such as chant, which did not necessarily require a constant pulse—than from their polyphonic choral settings, which are as old as the tunes themselves.

Choral Settings and Performance Practice

The first Reformation-era hymnal was published in 1524 and contained eight chorale texts and four monophonic tunes.²⁷ That same year, the *Geistliche Ge-*

TACTUS ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

AUFGESANG
Stollen 1

Aus tie - fer Not schrei ich zu dir, Herr Gott, er - hör mein Ru - fen.
Out of the depths I cry to you: O Lord God, hear me call - ing

Stollen 2

Dein gnä - dig Oh - ren kehr zu mir und mei - ner Bitt sie öff - ne.
In - cline your ear to my dis - tress in spite of my re - bel - ling.

ABGESANG

Denn so du willst das se - hen an, was Sünd und
Do not re - gard my sin - ful deeds send me the

Un - recht ist ge - tan, wer kann, Herr, vor dir blei - ben?
grace my spir - it needs; with - out it I am noth - ing.

Figure 1. *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir* (“Out of the Depths I Cry to You”).

German paraphrase of Psalm 130 by Martin Luther, 1524.

Tune attributed to Luther, from Walter’s *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein*, 1524.

English version by Gracia Grindal, alt., © Augsburg Fortress. Used by permission.

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sangbüchlein was published in Wittenberg. It contained forty-three polyphonic choral works by Johann Walter (1496-1570), a close friend and colleague of Luther, all scored for three to five voices.²⁸ Five of the pieces were in Latin but the remainder were in German, and most of those were settings of chorales.²⁹ Luther himself wrote the preface to the collection, reiterating his position on the role of music in worship and education:

That it is good and God-pleasing to sing hymns is, I think, known to every Christian; for everyone is aware not only of the example of the prophets and kings in the Old Testament who praised God with song and sound, with poetry and psaltery, but also of the common and ancient custom of the Christian church to sing psalms...

And [the songs in this collection] were arranged in four parts to give the young—who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts—something to wean them away from love ballads and carnal pleasures and to teach them something of value in their place, thus combining the good with the pleasing... But I would like to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of him who gave and made them.³⁰

Luther's preface to this collection highlights two aspects of his liturgical reforms that bear repeating: Firstly, he did not abandon Latin in worship for German but assumed its continued use. Secondly, Luther's encouragement of vernacular hymn singing for the congregation did not mean removing Gregorian chant, polyphonic motets, or the other "sacred art music" associated with



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the Mass. On the contrary: Luther and his followers saw an important connection between sacred art music and congregational hymnody best illustrated in the choral settings of the chorales and their use in worship.

Early choral settings of chorales were archetypical *cantus firmus* Renaissance motets. The chorale melody was presented unadorned in one voice, usually the tenor, and often in augmentation.³¹ The other voices moved contrapuntally around it, sometimes in polyphonic imitation depending on the complexity of the setting. If the chorale tune was in bar form the motets would be as well, setting the A section identically both times. (See Figure 2 for an excerpt of Walter's setting

of *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* from his *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein*.)

Though these chorale motets could be performed with multiples stanzas sung sequentially, their primary function was to support and enrich the congregation's singing. Carl Schalk explains that "a common practice was for the congregation, choir, and sometimes the organ to alternate in the singing of a chorale. The congregation sang its stanzas in unison, unaccompanied, while the stanzas sung by the choir and those 'sung' by the organ were presented in any of the many polyphonic settings which were written for just this purpose."³² For example: The organ might introduce the chorale tune,

S
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
Sal - va - tion un - to us has come

A
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her von Gnad' -
Sal - va - tion un - to us has come by God's -

T
C. F. Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
Sal - va - tion un - to us has come

B
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
Sal - va - tion un - to us

5

S
von Gnad' und lau - ter Gü - - - te;
by God's free grace and fa - - - vor;

A
_____ und lau - - - ter Gü - te;
free grace _____ and fa - vor;

T
von Gnad' und lau - ter Gü - - - te;
by God's free grace and fa - - - vor;

B
men her von Gnad' und lau - ter Gü - te;
has come by God's free grace and fa - vor;

Figure 2. First Stollen of *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* ("Salvation unto Us Has Come").

Text by Paul Speratus, tune anonymous, from *Etlich christlich Lieder*, 1524.
Setting by Johann Walter, *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein*, 1524/1525.
English translation and edition © Augsburg Fortress. Used by permission.

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followed by the congregation singing stanza 1 in unison, followed by a polyphonic setting of stanza 2 sung by the choir, then the congregation in unison on stanza 3, then an organ interpretation of stanza 4, et cetera.³³ Such *alternatim* practice had a long history in the church but was particularly necessary in chorale singing; because many of the texts had numerous stanzas, it was impractical for the congregation to sing all of them on their own.

Baroque Developments

As the chorale repertoire expanded throughout the sixteenth century, so did the number and complexity of the choral settings. Lutheran cantors like Michael Praetorius (1571-1621) composed multiple settings of the same chorale tunes, in varying levels of difficulty, for forces ranging from two to eight or more voices. In his massive, nine-volume *Musae Sioniae* (1605-1610) Praetorius compiled more than 1,200 of his chorale settings, which he classified and grouped by the method used to present the chorale tune—"cantus firmus-wise," "motet-wise," or "madrigal-wise."³⁴ Such classifications illustrate the diversity already present in Lutheran choral music by 1610 and the growing influence of the new Italian style.

In 1584, Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612) became the first of many German composers to travel to Italy to further his musical study. As a student of Andrea Gabrieli, principal organist at St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, Hassler was exposed to the *cori spezzati* style, which used the architecture of the basilica and the careful placement of different choirs of voices and instruments to emphasize timbral and dynamic contrasts in Gabrieli's compositions.³⁵ When Hassler returned to Germany, accepting a position in the cosmopolitan city of Augsburg, he brought these and other Italian techniques with him.³⁶ Since musical contrast was a de facto characteristic of the *alternatim* performance practice used for chorales, these new techniques gave Lutheran composers additional tools for enriching chorale singing in worship. The new Italian style quickly rooted and spread.

Lutheran composers in the generation after Hassler—such as Johann Staden (1581-1634), Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630), Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654),

and Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672)—regularly employed polychoral writing, independent instrumental parts, and basso continuo in their sacred music.³⁷ Though they still wrote in the older Renaissance styles, a new genre of chorale-based composition had been born: the chorale concerto (or concertato). As the chorale concerto evolved, composers borrowed more innovations from Italian music, including recitatives and arias, and the use of libretti that incorporated chorale texts but interspersed them with other, newer texts. Composers still wrote chorale motets according to the older *prima prattica*, with Renaissance-style polyphony and limited use of instruments, but this genre had expanded: Side by side with individual *alternatim* chorale settings were "through-composed" motets in which all stanzas of the text were independently set. In these works, congregational participation was not required.

Other Baroque developments altered the chorale tunes themselves. The movement toward major/minor duality and away from the Renaissance modal system preferred harmonic structure over melody-driven polyphony. Chorale tunes, with their rugged rhythms and dependence on the Renaissance concept of *tactus*, were difficult to harmonize and subjugate to structural forms like the fugue. Gradually, the tunes were modified to accommodate increasingly complex harmonizations.³⁸ Rhythms were simplified, durations were normalized, and passing tones were added (Figure 3).

These isometric versions of the chorale tunes appear in choral works of the later seventeenth century, including those by Dietrich Buxtehude (c.1637-1707) and Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706). By the era of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), the greatest of the Lutheran cantor-composers, the isometric versions of the chorale tunes had all but replaced the original rhythmic versions (see Figure 3 on page 44). Bach inherited the isometric chorales, harmonized them creatively, and used them liberally in his motets, cantatas, and passions.³⁹ In these large-scale works, chorales represented a body of common knowledge: texts and tunes that were familiar to worshipers and carried implicit liturgical, musical, and theological associations. Bach could freely quote, manipulate, or allude to the chorales whether or not he employed them outright. In this context, the chorales enhanced the exegetical genius of Bach's music—par-

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ticularly the cantatas, which deftly fulfilled the proclamatory function that Luther had envisioned for German church music.

Beyond the Baroque

By the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, congregational singing in German Lutheranism was not as robust as it had previously been. The growth of a middle-class consumer culture and theological infighting between pietism and scholastic orthodoxy contributed to a rising preference for sentimentality over proclamation and “created a culture of listening rather than singing” in worship.⁴⁰ But chorales lived on in new choral works by composers such as Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) and Johannes Brahms (1833-1897). Mendelssohn

used chorales frequently, especially in his oratorios and his chorale cantatas inspired by Bach, whose *St. Matthew Passion* he famously revived. Brahms composed chorale motets like *O Heiland, reiss die Himmel auf* (Op. 74, No. 2), revisiting Renaissance and Baroque techniques and treating each stanza of the text as a new opportunity for text painting, as Lutheran cantors had done in the generations before him.

Various reform movements in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries sought to restore Luther’s liturgical orders, improve congregational singing, and revive the original rhythmic versions of the chorales. Central to these efforts were composers like Ernst Pepping (1901-1981) and Hugo Distler (1908-1942). Pepping was a leader in the liturgical reform movement, taught at the Kirchenmusikschule in Berlin-Spandau and the Hoch-

Rhythmic

Ein fes - te Burg ist un - ser Gott, ein gu - te Wehr und Waf - fen.
Er hilft uns frei aus al - ler Not, die uns jetzt hat be - trof - fen.

Der alt - bö - se Feind mit Ernst ers jetzt meint,
groß Macht und viel List sein grau - sam Rüs - tung ist, auf Erd ist nicht seins glei - chen.

Isometric

Das Wort sie sol - len las - sen stahn und kein'n Dank da - zu - ha - ben,
Er ist bei uns - wohl auf - dem Plan mit sei - nem Geist und - Ga - ben.

Neh - men sie uns den Leib, Gut, Ehr', Kind und Weib, laß fah - ren da -
hin, sie ha - ben's kein'n Ge - winn; das Reich muß uns doch - blei - ben.

Figure 3. *Ein feste Burg* (“A Mighty Fortress”).
Original rhythmic versus Bach’s isometric version.

Text and tune by Martin Luther, 1520s.

Rhythmic version text is stanza 1; Isometric version text is stanza 4.

Isometric version from BWV 80, No. 8 (transposed from D major for comparison).

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schule für Musik in Berlin, and wrote motets and other sacred choral works.⁴¹ Distler's many chorale-based compositions included *Der Jahrkreis* (Op. 5), an anthology of two- and three-voice *alternatim* settings, not unlike Praetorius's *Musae Sioniae* three hundred years earlier.

Today the Lutheran chorale tradition thrives in Germany and around the world. Chorale tunes appear in myriad hymnals across denominations and cultures with their texts translated into numerous languages (and sometimes paired with new texts in those languages). Composers continue to draw on the chorales as inspiration for new motets, cantatas, and anthems—from the simple to the elaborately complex, from works intended for the concert hall to those meant for the church sanctuary. Sacred art music and congregational song continue to stand side-by-side, enriching each other in the context of worship. The “sweet melodies with words”⁴² that Luther envisioned five hundred years ago continue to preach the gospel through song. ■

NOTES

¹ Carl Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1988), 11-12.

² Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 27-29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵ Luther was part of the “Black Cloister” (the nickname for an Augustinian priory) at Erfurt from 1505 to 1508 and at Wittenberg from 1508 and onward.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 30-32. See also Schalk, *Luther on Music*, 15-17.

⁷ Quoted in Schalk, *Luther on Music*, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹ *Non moriar, sed vidam* (“I Shall Not Die, But Live”) was a four-voice setting of Psalm 118:17. See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 57-60; or Ulrich S. Leopold, ed., *Luther's Works, Volume 53: Liturgy and Hymns* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 335-341.

¹⁰ Martin Luther, “Preface to Georg Rhau's Symphoniae iucundae,” in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, 322.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Quoted in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 100.

¹³ Luther, “Preface to Georg Rhau's Symphoniae iucundae,” in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, 323-324.

¹⁴ Mark P. Bangert, “Luther, Martin,” in *Worship Music: A Concise Dictionary* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 183.

¹⁵ John Calvin saw the power music had to give pleasure but worried about its ability to distract and therefore severely restricted its use in worship. Ulrich Zwingli and others were iconoclasts who believed music and art had no purpose in worship and banned them outright. The perspectives Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli represent about music and art were not new with the Reformation and can be traced back to Ambrose, Augustine, and Pambo, and possibly even earlier. For further discussion of this history, see Paul Westermeyer, *Te Deum: The Church and Music* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 59-89, 141-198.

¹⁶ See: Martin Luther, “Concerning the Order of Public Worship (1523),” in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, 9-14. Luther's advocacy for daily services of the Word in Wittenberg was a reaction against a colleague who had abolished daily Masses in Wittenberg and left nothing in their place.

¹⁷ Westermeyer, *Te Deum*, 147-148.

¹⁸ Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 108-109.

¹⁹ See: Paul Westermeyer, “Chorale,” in *Hymnal Companion to Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2010), 792-793.

²⁰ For an example of this ambiguity, examine the slightly different definitions of the term and its origins in *Grove Music Online* versus the *Oxford Companion to Music* at *Oxford Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.org>. Westermeyer, Leaver, and most sources say the term “chorale” refers to text and tune together or tune alone, but since the tunes were composed to accompany specific texts and took their names from those texts, “chorale” is occasionally—though perhaps erroneously—also used to refer to the texts. For example, see Ulrich Leopold's introductions to the hymns in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 53.

²¹ Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 107-108.

²² See: Schalk, *Luther on Music*, p. 33ff.; Westermeyer, *Te Deum*, 141-149.

²³ *Leisen* were German spiritual songs from the Middle Ages that ended with some form of the Greek liturgical phrase *Kyrieleis*, “Lord, have mercy.” They were sung

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- congregationally in worship, but their usage was heavily circumscribed. *Cantiones* were non-liturgical sacred Latin songs from the same era. See Robert L. Marshall and Robin A. Leaver, "Chorale," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 13 April 2017.
- ²⁴ Luther also never said or wrote, "Why should the devil have all the best tunes?" These oft-repeated misconceptions have been thoroughly debunked. See, for example, Paul Westermeyer, *Let the People Sing: Hymn Tunes in Perspective* (Chicago: GIA Publications, 2005), 51-52; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 12-18; Erik Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns* (Chicago: GIA Publications, 1981), 21. Only once did Luther use a *contrafactum* for a chorale, writing his children's Christmas hymn *Vom himmel hoch* based upon the first line of a children's ring dance and using the associated tune. After time, however, he composed a new melody to accompany that text. See Westermeyer, *Hymnal Companion to Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, 42; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 17-18.
- ²⁵ Horst Brunner, "Bar form," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 13 April 2017.
- ²⁶ Westermeyer, "Bar form," *Hymnal Companion to Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, 790.
- ²⁷ The hymnal was the *Etlich christliche Liedex*, published in Augsburg and Nuremberg. The eight texts it collected had been published as individual broadsides in Wittenberg in 1523 and 1524. See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 13; Westermeyer, *Hymnal Companion to Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, 265, 796.
- ²⁸ Carl Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism: Shaping the Tradition (1524-1672)* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 9.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ³⁰ Martin Luther, "Preface to the Wittenberg Hymnal," in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, 318. Ulrich Leopold points out Luther's error: Though he says "arranged in four parts," most of the pieces in the *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein* were for five voices.
- ³¹ The presence of the melody in the tenor also recalls the *tenorlieder*, another connection to the traditions of the Minnesingers and Meistersingers.
- ³² Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 22.
- ³³ Westermeyer and others point out that Luther did not write much about the use of the organ but did not oppose it, though some later Lutheran church orders did. In most other contexts, the organ and organist gradually took on the same sort of artistic and interpretative functions that the choir had, but the organ did not accompany the congregation's singing in the way that it does today. See Westermeyer, *Let the People Sing*, 67-68.
- ³⁴ Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 95-100.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ Of these composers, Johann Staden probably needs some introduction. He was court organist at Bayreuth and later cantor at St. Sebaldus Church in Nuremberg. He founded the "Nuremberg School" of composition whose pupils included Pachelbel. Some of the first sacred concertos with independent voices and instruments published in Germany were in his *Kirchenmusik* of 1625-1626. See Denis Arnold and Basil Smallman, "Staden, Johann" in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. Alison Latham, Oxford Music Online, accessed 13 April 2017. Schütz, like Hassler before him, also traveled to Venice to study at St. Mark's but with Giovanni Gabrieli, Andrea's nephew.
- ³⁸ For a helpful summary of the evolution of Lutheran church music in relationship to musical characteristics of the Renaissance and Baroque eras, see Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism*, 15-28.
- ³⁹ Bach has become so closely associated with chorales that the four-part *cantionale* settings with which he concluded his church cantatas are often referred to simply as "Bach chorales." Outside of musicological and Lutheran church music circles, these settings are often assumed to be the most "authentic" versions of the chorale tunes because of Bach's importance to the Lutheran tradition. Such an assumption is incorrect.
- ⁴⁰ Westermeyer, *Let The People Sing*, 152-155.
- ⁴¹ Klaus Kirchberg, "Pepping, Ernst" in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 13 April 2017.
- ⁴² Luther, "Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae*," in *Luther's Works*, Volume 53, 323-324.