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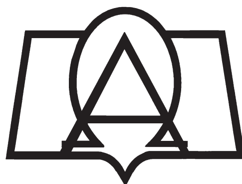
MUSIC IN EARLY LUTHERANISM

SHAPING THE TRADITION (1524–1672)

CARL SCHALK



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Cover illustration: Taken from the discant part of Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538).

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Dedicated to the memory
of Walter E. Buszin (1899–1973)
and Paul G. Bunjes (1914–98),
my teachers, my colleagues, and my friends

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Preface

The first two centuries of the Lutheran Reformation—the period between Martin Luther and Johann Sebastian Bach—produced a singularly impressive body of music written specifically for the worship life of the church. Less often noted is that this music developed as a clear result of Lutheranism's understanding of worship and the important place it gave to the art form it considered next in importance to theology. To explore the music of Lutheranism's early years is to see most clearly how what Lutherans thought about music in the life of the church was given shape and form in the actual music of those times.

The attention and acclaim properly given to Bach as the culminating figure of Lutheran church music in the 18th century have tended to overshadow the significance of those earlier generations of composers who, in the first 150 years of the Reformation, set the course Lutheran music was to follow. This brief study focuses on the life, work, and significance of seven church musicians who lived and worked in the first century-and-a-half of Lutheranism's evolvement and who were of great importance in the early development of the Lutheran tradition of music: Johann Walter (1496–1570), Georg Rhau (1488–1548), Hans Leo Hassler (1564–1612), Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630), Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654), and Heinrich Schuetz (1585–1672). The somewhat arbitrary parameters of this study are set by the publication in 1524 of the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* of Johann Walter and the death of Heinrich Schuetz in 1672, a period of time just two years short of a century-and-a-half. This survey is an attempt to sketch briefly those first 150 years and to bring into somewhat clearer focus the significance of the work done by these pioneer church musicians.

To some the names of these seven early Lutheran church musicians may be largely unknown. To others they may be known only by name or through a passing acquaintance with a particular composition. Yet these are the men in whose music the evangelical thrust of the Reformation took shape to combine a truly popular vehicle of the people—the chorale—with art music of the highest degree of excellence. The result of their efforts was some of the greatest church music the world has ever known.

This brief introduction to early Lutheran music focuses on the musicians and musical developments of the early Reformation years as they reflected the church's understanding of music's place in its life and worship as seen through the musical works of the men who shaped Lutheran music's early course. Such a survey should help contribute to a better

understanding of the roots of Lutheran music. It should also help to correct and clarify distortions and misunderstandings about the role of music in Lutheran worship, distortions and misunderstandings not uncommon even today.

In addition to the biographical information about each of these men, a discussion of their principal works, and the significance of their contribution in the musical world of their day, each section also includes selected references for further reading and study with the emphasis on materials available in English whenever possible. The collected works of each composer, as far as they are presently available, are listed in a manner that the reader may conveniently find particular works.

It is certainly true—and particularly unfortunate—that the music of these early Lutheran composers has largely fallen into eclipse and that one rarely hears this music in the public worship of Lutheran congregations today. This may be because of the general lack of availability of this material in editions practical for congregational usage and in part because of the changes in the musical tastes of succeeding generations. But perhaps most important of all, it may be a silent testimony to the degree to which we in our day have moved away from the theological and liturgical understandings, motivations, and foundations which helped to shape Lutheran music in the 16th and 17th centuries.

To call for a fresh look at the theological ideas which motivated these early Lutheran composers and which served as an inspiration to their craft of composition need not be viewed, as some might have it, as a simple, naive repristination of archaic ideas. Nor need the attempt to recover much of this music for worship today be seen simply as an anachronistic, backward-looking romanticism. Rather, to examine more closely the music of early Lutheranism together with the theological ideas which motivated its composers may well be the first step to approaching more realistically and faithfully the problems and questions which continue to vex the musical and liturgical life of today's church. It may well be the first step toward the recovery of music for worship and the liturgy that—in the early Reformation years—was seen as vital, exciting, and faithful to the challenge of praise and proclamation. A more thorough acquaintance with both the theology and the music of that time may well serve a similar role in our own day.

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SHAPERS OF THE TRADITION

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

Johann Walter (1496–1570)

Georg Rhau (1488–1548)

Hans Leo Hassler (1564–1612)

Michael Praetorius (1571–1621)

Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630)

Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654)

Heinrich Schuetz (1585–1672)

1

The Context of the Reformation

From Renaissance to Baroque

Any introduction to the music of the early years of the Reformation era must necessarily take into account the theological and musical context in which the events of the period occurred. First and foremost is Martin Luther himself. It is difficult, if not impossible, to overestimate the importance of this central figure of the Reformation and his impact on the music and worship life of the Reformation church. But of equal importance were such other factors as the impact of the movement toward the use of the vernacular, the continuity of liturgical forms and musical practices which the Reformation encouraged, the impact of these factors on the music of the liturgy, and the consequences of the larger musical developments of the time as the church—together with the larger culture—moved out of the Renaissance and into the Baroque period.

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

Martin Luther was hardly a musical dilettante. Paul Henry Lang speaks of Luther in the following glowing terms:

> In the center of the new musical movement which accompanied the Reformation stands the great figure of Martin Luther . . . who, as a student in Eisenach singing all sorts of merry student songs, and as a celebrant priest familiar with the gradual and the polyphonic Masses and motets, lived with music ringing in his ears.[1]

It was Martin Luther who alone among the 16th-century reformers diligently and enthusiastically fostered the use of music in worship.[2] In contrast to both Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), who allowed no music of any kind in his services, and John Calvin (1509–64), who would have none of the art and artifice of music in worship except for unaccompanied congregational song, Luther encouraged the most sophisticated music of

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[1] Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1941), 207.

[2] For an introduction to Luther's thoughts on music in the church, see Carl Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1988).

his time—Gregorian chant and classical polyphony—together with the simpler congregational song of the chorale. Luther would have none of Augustine's qualms concerning music in worship, about which he commented:

> St. Augustine was afflicted with scruples of conscience whenever he discovered that he had derived pleasure from music and had been made happy thereby; he was of the opinion that such joy is unrighteous and sinful. He was a fine pious man; however, if he were living today, he would hold with us . . .[3]

Luther, rather than follow Augustine's thinking, encouraged instead a lively nurture and use of this art for the glory of God and the proclamation of His Word.

Luther was an accomplished musician, a singer, and a player of the lute. He had come to love the richness and splendor of Gregorian chant throughout his education and especially in his service as a priest. The great polyphonic music of the time was part of his cultural heritage, and he was acquainted with at least some of the great music and musical figures of his day. Simply to have set all this aside was, for Luther, neither possible nor desirable.

At the heart of Luther's concern was his view of music as a gift of God to be nurtured and used by man for his delight and edification, as a means for giving praise to the Creator, and as a vehicle for the proclamation of God's Word. It was God's gift to man to be used for God's purposes. There was no contradiction between speech and music because to "say and sing" was, for Luther, a single concept resulting from the inevitable eruption of joyful song in the heart and life of the redeemed.[4]

The content of that proclamation was, for Luther, clear and unambiguous: the good news of the Gospel. The Gospel determined the self-identity of the Christian community; if the community's proclamation was something other than the Gospel, it ceased to be a *Christian* community. To speak of music as *viva vox evangelii* ("living voice of the Gospel") was to state unequivocally that for the song to be "living," the

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[3] Translated by Walter E. Buszin and quoted from the Erlangen edition of *Luther's Works,* LXII, 111.

[4] Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in Luther's Christmas hymn: "From heaven above to earth I come / To bear good news to every home; / Glad tidings of great joy I bring, / Whereof I now will say and sing" (*The Lutheran Hymnal* 85). The original German text is "Davon ich sing'n und sagen will." This nuance has been lost in some recent translations. See also the "Preface to the Babst Hymnal" (1545), *Luther's Works* (eds. J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehmann; St. Louis and Philadelphia, 1955–86), 53:333. (Hereafter *LW*.)

content of the song must be the Gospel. It was in the proclamation of the Gospel that God was truly praised and mankind truly edified. For Luther, music was the vehicle for that doxological proclamation—proclaimed both to the world as "good news" and to God, praising Him for it and pleading it before Him. The chief—though certainly not the only—locus for its proclamation was the liturgy.

In stressing the idea of the royal priesthood of all believers, Luther laid the foundation for the involvement of every Christian in corporate proclamation and praise at the highest level of each individual's ability. In emphasizing the understanding that all music falls under God's redemptive hand, Luther affirmed the freedom of the Christian to use all of music in praise of God and in the proclamation of the Gospel.

Luther's ideas gave strong direction and focus to the use of music in Lutheran worship. On the basis of these views the church musicians of the time developed a living tradition in which both simple congregational song and the art music of the time found a comfortable and appropriate place. The result was an outpouring of music which has few parallels in the history of church music.

The Impact of the Vernacular

The Lutheran Reformation is closely allied with the idea of worship in the vernacular. Luther was concerned that worship be understood by the people and that all could participate in their own tongue. The initial thrust toward the vernacular in early Lutheran worship is seen most clearly in the introduction of vernacular hymns and chorales. As early as 1523, Luther expressed the wish that "we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass."[5] His encouragement to poets to produce psalms and hymns in the language of the people is well known, and the years that followed saw the production of a body of hymnody of unusual strength and quality.

Yet in his *Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (*The German Mass and Order of Service,* 1526), Luther clearly expressed himself that "in no wise would I want to discontinue the service in the Latin language" and that "I do not agree with those who cling to one language and despise all others."[6] His first order of worship was in fact a Latin order, the *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensi* (*An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg,* 1523), produced for the church at Wittenberg. In his writings on worship, Luther made clear that neither of his published orders was to be imposed on Lutheran

[5] *LW* 53:36.

[6] *LW* 53:63.

parishes; they were descriptive of his views and not to be made prescriptive. Nor was the *Deudsche Messe* in some sense to supercede or replace his earlier *Formula Missae* as a product of his more fully developed thought. Where Latin was understood—in the Latin schools and in the universities and larger towns—the basic Latin Mass should continue. The *Deudsche Messe*, on the other hand, was designed for the smaller towns and villages where Latin was not understood. In actual practice, these orders—the Latin Mass (1523) and the German Mass (1526)—were the poles between which Lutheran worship in the 16th century worked its way, many of the different *Kirchenordnungen* in the 16th century employing elements from both of Luther's orders.[7]

That Latin continued to be used in many places and in a variety of ways is evident from the many collections of Latin motets, setting of Ordinary and Proper texts of the Mass in Latin, as well as Latin responsories and canticles which continued to be published throughout the 16th century by the most prominent Lutheran composers. Georg Rhau's various publications, intended for use in Lutheran worship, are striking cases in point.

While the use of the vernacular continued to increase as the Reformation spread throughout Germany and the Scandinavian countries, it is interesting to note that as late as the time of Bach the churches in Leipzig continued to hear polyphonic motets in Latin, Latin Glorias, chanted Latin Collects, and the Creed sung in Latin by the choir, as well as other portions of the service. While the simultaneous juxtaposition of German and Latin in 16th-century Lutheran worship may be viewed as a paradox, it may also be seen as further evidence of that freedom and catholicity which characterized much of Lutheran worship at that time.

The Continuity of Liturgical Forms and Practices

Luther's view of music was entirely consonant with his understanding of the relationship between the church's worship and its traditional worship forms and piety. Simply stated, Luther's approach was to retain from the past whatever did not violate his understanding of the Gospel. This was no flight into a wistful nostalgia, but rather a pastorally responsible attempt to demonstrate the continuity and unity of Lutheranism with the church catholic.

Thus any view of Luther as a radical liturgical reformer is fundamen-

[7] See, for example, Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1974), 51 ff. Also Robin Leaver, "Christian Liturgical Music in the Wake of the Protestant Reformation," in *Sacred Sound and Social Change: Liturgical Music in Jewish and Christian Experience* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 124–44.

tally mistaken. While certain new emphases did indeed characterize Luther's reforms—the importance of the sermon, communion in both kinds, the use of vernacular congregational song as an integral part of the liturgy—what is striking about Luther's approach is its basic conservatism. In his Latin Mass of 1523, Luther could state unequivocally that

> It is not now nor ever has been our intention to abolish the liturgical service of God . . . [8]

And in "Receiving Both Kinds in the Sacrament," he remarked:

> Let the old practice continue. Let the mass be celebrated with consecrated vestments, with chants and all the usual ceremonies, in Latin . . . [9]

Even a cursory examination of the various Lutheran orders from the 16th century clearly demonstrates that the general outline of the medieval orders was deliberately carried into the Lutheran practice of the time. Luther saw no need to reject out of hand worship structures which in their richness of Scripture and splendor of their music were still viable vehicles for the praise of God. Only when specific texts or practices reflected a misunderstanding of the thrust of the Gospel did Luther feel constrained to alter and change. (His excising of the Canon of the Mass is the most notable example.)

Whether in the Mass or the Canonical Hours (which Luther reduced to two, Matins and Vespers, to meet more realistically the situation in parish churches), the general structure of the medieval forms remained essentially intact in 16th-century Lutheranism. Nothing could be more eloquent testimony to the fact that Luther saw his reforms not as the unilaterally instituted ideas of an individual, but rather as a reform within the church catholic that sought to demonstrate whenever possible the continuity between itself and the whole history of Christian worship and piety.

The importance for the 16th-century church musician of such continuity of liturgical forms and practices was self-evident. For the most part, music useful or necessary in Catholic worship continued to be useful in the reformed church. With the exception of the chorale and the music that developed around it, there was, in fact, little difference between the music used in Catholic and Lutheran worshiping communities in the 16th century. Polyphonic settings of the Ordinary and Proper texts for the church year, antiphons, responsories, hymns based on the old church melodies, canticles, motets on biblical texts—all these were common building blocks for church musicians in both Lutheran and Catholic communities

[8] *LW* 53:20.

[9] *LW* 36:254.

during this time. The music held in common in Lutheran and Catholic worship of the period was a striking example of such liturgical continuity.

From Renaissance . . .

The music of the early Lutheran Reformation was the music of the Renaissance. While such a statement may seem simply to be repeating the obvious, it needs to be repeated because music of this time is hardly a well-known musical language in today's worshiping communities. Its absence from the repertoire of most church choirs in the 20th century hardly helps us to experience and understand the sounds with which Luther grew up and which constituted the basic musical idiom of Lutheranism's first half-century. The music of the Renaissance remained the basic musical vocabulary of Lutheranism until the time when a new musical language, developing in Italy, would begin to find its way to Germany in the latter 1500s.

The Flemish School

Josquin Desprez (1440–1521), undoubtedly the greatest of the Renaissance masters, and to a lesser extent Heinrich Isaac (ca. 1450–1517), court composer to Maximillian I, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1493–1519), dominated the music of the early 1500s. Both were part of that general development which music historians refer to as the "Flemish" or "Netherlands" school, so named because of the association of many of the important composers of the time with the Netherlands and the emigration of many of them to other European countries where they held important posts in chapels and at various courts. Both Josquin and Isaac were inheritors of the great tradition of the intricate polyphony and technical ingenuity of such earlier Netherlands masters as Ockeghem (ca. 1420–96) and Obrecht (1450/1–1505).

The Flemish school was the most influential movement in the music of the Renaissance, its influence covering the period from about 1450–1600 when new stylistic developments would turn the history of music in new directions. Among the chief characteristics of the Flemish school was the use of a polyphonic style in which all of the parts were generally of equal importance and in which imitation was the chief means to establish that equality. The style was characterized by a clear texture, smooth-sounding polyphony and homophony, controlled expressiveness, and well-organized principles of composition, including a controlled use of dissonance and consonance.

It was the music of the Flemish school that Luther knew well and about which he frequently spoke. He particularly expressed fondness and

appreciation for the music of Josquin, about whom he remarked:

> Josquin is a master of the notes, which must express what he desires; on the other hand, other choral composers must do what the notes dictate.[10]

> God has preached the Gospel through music, too, as may be seen in Josquin, all of whose compositions flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not forced or cramped by rules, and are like the song of the finch.[11]

Luther's various comments about music, whether in his more informal remarks collected in his "table talk" or in the more formal prefaces to the various publications for which he provided introductions, must always be interpreted in light of the prevailing musical style of his time, that of Flemish polyphony. This was the music with which he grew up, the music he loved, the music which from his earliest years, as Paul Henry Lang has remarked, was "ringing in his ears."

Voices and Instruments

In general, there was little or no distinction between vocal and instrumental styles of writing in the 16th century. Music could be performed by voices or instruments or by various combinations of both. Instruments in common use included recorders, shawms, crumhorns, cornetts, trumpets, trombones, viols, and lutes in a variety of sizes and pitch levels. In addition, there was a gradual tendency to move from mixed consorts of instruments to the use of sets or families of similar instruments, which provided a uniform timbre throughout the entire range. Vocal polyphonic music of the Renaissance was sometimes accompanied either by the organ or other instruments, the instruments simply doubling the voice parts—or some of them. Vocal music of the time was often transcribed for keyboard and other instruments, and ornamentation or elaboration of various kinds was sometimes written out and sometimes improvised by the performers.

Vocal music was not written out in full score nor did it include bar lines. Usually it was either set out in choirbook arrangement, in which the various parts were notated separately on one or two pages of a large open book set on a large stand around which the singers would gather, or—with increasing frequency—in partbooks in which each book contained only the music for a single voice. Choirs were generally small—a normal 16th-century choir often consisting of no more than 12 to 16 singers, often

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[10] M. Johann Mathesius, *Dr. Martin Luthers Leben (*St. Louis, 1883), 227 f.; quoted in Walter E. Buszin*, Luther on Music,* Pamphlet Series, no. 3 (ed. Johannes Riedel; St. Paul: Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts, 1958), 13.

[11] *LW* 54:129–30.

2

Johann Walter

First Cantor of the Lutheran Church

Johann Walter (1496–1570) occupies a unique position in the musical history of the Reformation. As the first Lutheran cantor, as friend and advisor to Martin Luther, and as a composer of a wide variety of liturgical music for the needs of the Reformation church and its Latin schools, Walter occupies a pivotal position at the beginning of the development of Lutheran church music, a development which was to culminate in a singular way—some two hundred years later—in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach.

As part of his vocation as a musician serving the church, Walter was also concerned with a proper theological understanding of the use of music in the life and worship of the Christian community. Next to Luther himself, Walter occupies a special place in the establishment of the Reformation's outlook on the role of music in Christian life and worship. His *Lob und Preis der loeblichen Kunst Musica* (*In Praise of the Noble Art of Music*)—a rhymed didactic poem of 324 lines written in 1538 in which he develops an entire theology of music based on Reformation insights—is a unique document in the history of the music of the Reformation. In many ways it surpasses even Luther's "Vorrhede auff alle gute Gesangbuecher" ("A Preface for All Good Hymnals"), which Luther wrote as an introduction to Walter's poem.

Walter's ideas about music in the life of the church, as well as his music itself, deserve to be better known. This brief sketch is intended to serve as an introduction to his life, his thought, and his music.[1]

Johann Walter (Walther) was born in Kahla on the Thuringian Saale near Jena in central Germany in 1496. The details of his early life are not entirely clear. A supplement to his will dated April 1, 1562, suggests that his name was Blankenmueller and that he was adopted by a citizen of Kahla named Walter.[2] It is just as likely that his mother's name was Blankenmueller and that his father, Hans, was a prosperous farmer in the

[1] The material in this chapter is an expanded version of Carl Schalk, *Johann Walter: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1992).

[2] See Wilhelm Ehmann, "Johann Walter. Der erste Kantor der Prot. Kirche," *Musik und Kirche* VI (1934): 188–203, 240–46.

region.[3] Whatever may have been the case, it is generally agreed that Walter attended the Latin school in his native city of Kahla, where he also served as a choirboy. Beyond this, little is known of his early life, especially where he received his musical education. It was not until he was to enter the court of Frederick the Wise in 1517 that we hear further of Walter. It was to be the beginning of a career which would place him at the very center of musical life in the formative years of the Lutheran Reformation.

Walter at Torgau (1517–48)

In 1517, at the instigation of Conrad Rupsch (ca. 1475–1530), *Hofkapellmeister* at the court of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, the 21-year-old Walter entered the court chapel of Frederick as a bass singer and as a young composer.[4] Frederick the Wise, who was Elector from 1486 until his death in 1525, made his court a center of musical and artistic activity. Albrecht Duerer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Peter Vischer the Younger, and Hans Vischer were among the many artists patronized by him. In addition to his musical and artistic interests, Frederick had also amassed a large collection of religious relics for which he was famous.[5] Conrad Rupsch,[6] Frederick's *Hofkapellmeister*, was the successor of Adam Rener,[7] a singer and composer at the court of Frederick the Wise,

[3] See Wilibald Gurlitt, "Johann Walter u. die Musik der Reformationszeit," *Lutherjahrbuch* XV (1933): 1–112.

[4] Gustav Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (rev. ed.; New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1959), 677, indicates that Walter sang in the court choir from 1517–26. Werner Braun, "Walter, Johann," in vol. 20 of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. Stanley Sadie; New York: Macmillan, 1980), 188–89, suggests that Walter may not have begun his court service until 1521. At this time Frederick the Wise divided his residence among Torgau, Altenburg, and Weimar.

[5] Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950), 69, speaks of Frederick the Wise as a man "who had devoted a lifetime to making Wittenberg the Rome of Germany as a depository of sacred relics." For a detailed description of the variety and number of these relics, see E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1950), 242 ff.

[6] Conrad Rupsch (ca. 1475–1530) was associated with the *Hofkapelle* before 1500, though it is uncertain when he assumed the position of *Hofkapellmeister*. Sometime after 1520, he apparently fell under the influence of the Enthusiast Karlstadt, a fact which may have had something to do with the declining interest of Frederick the Wise in his *Hofkapelle*.

[7] Adam Rener (ca. 1485–1520) was a choirboy at the court of Maximillian I in 1498. From 1507 until his death in 1517, Rener was in the service of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Georg Rhau published five Masses of Rener (1541, 1545) and various other works. Eight Magnificats of Rener were also published in 1544.

who had held the position beginning in 1507. Rener, a friend of Heinrich Isaac,[8] was one of the most famous musicians of his day. Isaac and Rener served together at the court of Maximillian I. It was into such a promising position that the young Walter came, an environment which was to provide the context for his early contribution to the music of the Reformation as the first cantor and composer of the Lutheran church.

In 1524, while still a young man and assistant to Rupsch, Walter—apparently with the encouragement and under the guidance of Luther[9]—published his *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, a unique collection of 43 pieces for three, four, and five voices arranged according to the church year. Thirty-eight pieces were in German, five in Latin. All but two of the pieces were *cantus-firmus* compositions with the melody in the tenor part. The contents were intended primarily for the church choirs, which were composed principally of boys and older students in the schools. The songs were "arranged in four parts[10] to give the young—who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts—something to wean them away from love ballads and carnal songs and to give them something of value in their place, thus combining the good with the pleasing, as is proper for youth."[11] It is interesting that this collection—with the intention that it be used in the schools and with Luther's comments directed particularly to the young people—appeared in the same year as Luther's famous appeal "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools" (1524).[12]

Published in five partbooks, subsequent editions or reprints of Walter's collection appeared in 1525, 1528, 1534, 1537, 1544, and 1551. In comparing the first and later editions of Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, it is interesting to note that while the edition of 1524 contained only five compositions in Latin, by the last edition of 1551 the number of Latin pieces had grown to 47. Apparently this collection was the prototype of the Wittenberg hymnal for the laity published in 1525, the texts and melodies of both collections appearing in exactly the same order.

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[8] Heinrich Isaac (ca. 1450–1517) was one of the chief Netherlands polyphonists. Isaac was in the service of Lorenzo de Medici from 1480–92 as organist and *maestro di capella*. After spending some years in Rome, Isaac was called to the court of Maximillian I at Vienna as *Symphonista regis*. From 1514 until his death, Isaac lived in Florence.

[9] In the preface to Walter's *Geystichle gesangk Buchleyn*, Luther says: "Therefore I, too, in order to make a start and to give an incentive to those who can do better, have with the help of others compiled several hymns . . ." *LW* 53:316.

[10] Twenty-nine pieces are in four parts, 12 in five parts, and two in three parts.

[11] From the preface, *LW* 53:316.

[12] See *LW* 45:347 ff.

The polyphonic settings of the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* were typically in tenor *cantus-firmus* style as in Ex. 2, which is based on the melody "Komm, Gott Schoepfer," which was the German adaptation of the Gregorian "Veni Creator Spiritus." Walter's six-part motet "Christe, qui lux es et dies," which first appeared in the 1537 edition, is an example of Walter's great polyphonic skill with the *cantus firmus* in long notes in canon between the tenor and altus parts, the remaining four parts weaving their way while using the melodic material of the *cantus firmus* as the basis for their somewhat freer treatment, as in Ex. 3.

Ex. 2. Johann Walter, "Komm, Gott Schoepfer" from the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*

Ex. 3. Johann Walter, “Christe, qui lux es et dies” from the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*

Walter's treatment of the chorale melody may be seen in Ex. 4a and 4b. While the *cantus firmus* at this point in history would normally be found in the tenor part (as in Ex. 4a), occasionally, however, Walter would place the melody in the upper or discantus part (as in Ex. 4b), harbinger of a practice that would become the norm by the end of the 16th century.

Ex. 4a and 4b. Johann Walter, two settings from the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*

In addition to the polyphonic motet style, simple homophonic settings of the psalms and canticles, in tenor *cantus-firmus* style, are also found in Walter's work. The setting of the Nunc Dimittis (Ex. 5) for six voices is based on the eighth Gregorian tone found in the Tenor I part.

Nunc di - mit - tis ser - vum tu - um Do - mi - ne, se - cun - dum ver - bum tu - um, in pa - ce:

Nunc di - mit - tis ser - vum tu - um Do - mi - ne, se - cun - dum ver - bum tu - um, in pa - ce:

Nunc di - mit - tis ser - vum tu - um Do - mi - ne, se - cun - dum ver - bum tu - um, in pa - ce:

Nunc di - mit - tis ser - vum tu - um Do - mi - ne, se - cun - dum ver - bum tu - um, in pa - ce:

Nunc di - mit - tis ser - vum tu - um Do - mi - ne, se - cun - dum ver - bum tu - um, in pa - ce:

Nunc di - mit - tis ser - vum tu - um Do - mi - ne, se - cun - dum ver - bum tu - um, in pa - ce:

Ex. 5. Johann Walter, six-part setting of the Nunc Dimittis

Fig. 1. *The Ambassadors* by Hans Holbein the Younger, which shows the tenor partbook of the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*

Walter's close contact and developing friendship with Martin Luther is already evident in this collection for which Luther provided the preface and in which Luther commended its use to young people and in general encouraged all the arts, and especially music, to be used "in the service of Him who gave and made them."[13] A unique indication of the renown of this collection is the depiction of two pages from the tenor partbook of the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* in Hans Holbein the Younger's picture *The Ambassadors.*[14] The pages clearly show the melodies of "Komm, Heiliger Geist" and "Mensch, willst du leben seliglich." The same year in

[13] *LW* 53:316.

[14] Signed and dated 1533, the original is in the National Gallery in London. Hans Holbein the Younger was one of the greatest portrait painters of Europe. Born in Augsburg, the son of Hans Holbein the Elder, he eventually settled in London where this picture was painted.

Fig. 5. Maximilian I worshiping in the *Annakirche* in Augsburg (1519)

in Augsburg were his most productive, and with his establishment in Augsburg, Hassler's fame soon spread throughout Germany. In 1595, the emperor knighted Hassler and his two brothers.

Hassler's years in Augsburg saw the publication of a number of individual works and collections which reflected his study in Venice, as well as the continuing influence of the di Lasso school of composers that had been influential in his early training. In 1588 two single motets—"Laudate Dominum" and "Nuptiae factae sunt"—were included in a collection published by Frederick Lindner, a Nuremberg editor. In 1590 a collection of 24 Italian secular songs for four voices, *Canzonette*, was published. The following year (1591) saw the appearance of the *Cantiones sacrae*, a collection of 39 polyphonic motets for four to 12 voices. In 1596 the *Neue teutsche Gesang nach Art der welschen Madrigalien und Canzonetten* for four to eight voices appeared; in the same year, Hassler's *Madrigali*, Italian madrigals for five to eight voices, also appeared. Hassler was—together with Leonhard Lechner and, later, Heinrich Schuetz—among the few German composers who wrote secular music on Italian texts. In 1599 Hassler's *Missae*, a set of eight Masses for four to eight voices appeared; they were undoubtedly written for use in the Catholic services at Augsburg. Hassler's first Mass is a parody Mass on the motet "Dixit Maria." The beginning of the Kyrie follows (Ex. 15).

Ky - rie e - lei - son, e -

Ky - rie e - lei - son, e - lei - son, e -

Ex. 15. Hans Leo Hassler, “Kyrie” from Mass I in *Missae* (1599)

In 1601 Hassler’s *Lustgarten neuer teutscher Gesaeng* was published in Nuremberg. It contains 39 secular German songs in *gagliarda* and *balletto* style together with 12 instrumental intradas for six string or wind instruments without *continuo.* The set of intradas from the *Lustgarten neuer teutscher Gesaeng* are particularly interesting as instrumental pieces in their own right. Such examples of independent wind music, pioneered by the two Gabrielis in Venice and of which Hassler was one of the earliest composers, were undoubtedly ideal for use as festive processional music and for preludes at a variety of church celebrations, pageants, and municipal gatherings (Ex. 16).

6

Johann Hermann Schein

Cantor of St. Thomas, Leipzig

Within the span of three short years—between 1585 and 1587—three men were born who were to significantly affect the course of Lutheran church music. In contrast to Johann Walter, for example, whose roots were firmly established in the musical practice of the late Renaissance, these three men—Johann Hermann Schein, Samuel Scheidt, and Heinrich Schuetz—were to bring the music of Lutheran worship in touch with the new musical developments of their day in a way that had not been true before. None of these three men abandoned the earlier heritage; in fact each wrote significant music in the so-called "old style," and all upheld the necessity for young composers to be thoroughly acquainted with and trained in the craft of composition according to the received practice. It was never a matter of abandoning and moving beyond the old, but it was receiving the heritage and building on to it as the music of the church moved into the future.

Fig. 10. Johann Hermann Schein

In contrast to both Hans Leo Hassler and Michael Praetorius, whose efforts reflected the beginnings of the transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque in Germany, Johann Hermann Schein stands out as one of the greatest among the generation of German composers slightly younger than Praetorius who brought the new Italian style to its first peak of greatness on German soil. Of all the composers considered here, Schein's life was the shortest; he lived only to the age of 44. Yet the impact of this illustrious predecessor of Johann Sebastian Bach in Leipzig was significant. Schein's contribution was both musical and literary, his literary skills reflected in the large number of his texts which he set to music.[1]

[1] Schein's original text "Mach's mit mir Gott" set to his original tune—also "Mach's mit mir Gott"—is still found in current German Lutheran hymnals (for example, the *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch fuer selbstaendige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche,* 1992, Nr. 321). Schein's tune—first published in broadsheet (1628) and later included in his *Cantional* (1645)—is based on a melody of Bartholomaeus Gesius of 1605.

The Early Years

Johann Hermann Schein was born on January 20, 1586, in Gruenhaim near Annaberg in Saxony, the fifth child of Hieronymus and Judith Schein (nee Schacht). Hieronymus was a Lutheran pastor, a devout adherent of the Lutheran Confessions, having entered the ministry later in life at the urging of Polycarp Leiser the Elder. After the death of Hieronymus in 1593, the family moved to Dresden. In 1599 the 13-year-old Johann Hermann became a soprano choirboy at the court chapel, where he came under the tutelage of Rogier Michael, director of chapel music, and Andreas Petermann.

Following a brief matriculation at the University of Leipzig, Schein was admitted to the electoral school at Schulpforta on May 18, 1603, a school that specialized in music and the humanities. After studying at the school at Pforta until 1607—where his teachers were Bartholomaeus Scheraeus and Martin Rothe, and where it is likely that he came under the influence of Erhard Bodenschatz, cantor at Schulpforta (1600-03) and later editor of the important collection *Florilegium Portense* (1603/18)—Schein went to the University of Leipzig early in 1608, where he remained until 1612 studying law. At that time the cantor at the *Thomaskirche* was Seth Calvisius, the predecessor of Erhard Bodenschatz at Schulpforta.

During his time in Leipzig, Schein produced his first musical work, the *Venuskraenzlein oder neue Weltliche Lieder* (1609), a secular collection—similar in form and content to works by Gastoldi and Hassler—containing 16 five-voice songs and one eight-voice song, the voice parts proceeding generally in similar rhythm (Ex. 30). In addition this collection contained several instrumental *gagliarda,* intradas, and canzona.[2] What one sees

Fig. 11. Students gathered for music-making in Leipzig (ca. 1625)

[2] Three of Schein's poems for this collection are acrostics on the name of Sidonia Hoesel, most likely a childhood sweetheart, whom he later married in 1616.

here is the monodic principle being adapted to polyphony. Written for the bicentenary of Leipzig University and printed in Wittenberg,

Ringst-um mich schwe - bet Trau - rig - keit, wel - che mir durch die Lieb be - reit,

Ringst-um mich schwe - bet Trau - rig - keit, wel - che mir durch die Lieb be - reit,

Ringst-um mich schwe - bet Trau - rig - keit, wel - che mir durch die Lieb be - reit,

Ringst-um mich sche - bet Trau - rig - keit, wel - che mir durch die Lieb be - reit,

Ringst-um mich schwe - bet Trau - rig - keit, wel - che mir durch die Lieb be - reit,

Ex. 30. Johann Hermann Schein, "Ringstum mich schwebet Traurigkeit" from *Venuskraenzlein* (1609)

it was dedicated to Wolfgang Lebzelter. Figure 11 shows a typical group of students gathered for music-making about 1625 in Leipzig. It was for just such groups that this collection and such later collections as Schein's *Studentenschmaus* were written.

At Weissenfels and Weimar (1613–16)

In 1613, at the instigation of Gottfried von Wolffersdorff, a fellow pupil with Schein at the school at Pforta, the 27-year-old Schein became teacher and *Hausmusik Director* in Wolffersdorff's household at Weissenfels. Two years later, on May 21, 1615, Schein became the *Hofkapellmeister* for Duke Johann Ernst in Weimar, having been recommended for this position by his friend Wolffersdorff.

In 1615 Schein's first collection of sacred works appeared, the *Cymbalum Sionium*, a collection of 30 quasi-Venetian motets on German and Latin texts—Responses, proses, psalms, Gospels—for five to 12 voices (Ex. 31). This collection belongs to the *prima prattica* in which Schein takes as his model such composers as Calvisius, Hassler, Lechner, Praetorius, and others in the polyphonic motet style of Orlando di Lasso. Despite their generally retrospective character, these motets nevertheless indicate a developing personal style through such means as the development of a clearer formal structure, the adoption of concertato techniques, the beginnings of a clearer use of greater contrast and dramatic tech-

Appendix B

In Praise of the Noble Art of Music[1]

Johann Walter
Wittenberg 1538

All those engaged in any art
Will highly praise its every part,
Tell where it came from, trace its rise,
And laud its virtues to the skies.
Thus I tell, adding to those throngs,
What art to *Musica* belongs,
Her status, power, the good she brings,
And from what noble roots she springs.

When our eternal gracious God
Had fashioned Adam from the sod
To give him joy throughout his life
In Eden's garden with his wife,
God told him: "Earnestly obey
What I command you here today:
Eat any fruit from any tree
That in this garden you may see
Except that tree whose fruit brings in,
Besides known good, the taste for sin.
I tell you, do not eat of it,
For when into that fruit you've bit
Against my will, at once will loom
Your sentence unto death and doom."

Thus God spoke. Then the serpent came
With honeyed guile to call Eve's name.
The wish to sin in her he woke;
So from the tree a fruit she broke
And urged the man to eat it too.
At once they saw God's word come true;
With sinners' eyes they saw as shame
Their nakedness, once free of blame.

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[1] *Lob und Preis der loeblichen Kunst Musica (*1538), *SW* 6.