

“Mistress and Governess of Human Emotions” Luther’s Appreciation of Music as an Essential of Culture

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Abstract

Within the framework of culture as God’s creation and the ongoing dialogue between faith and cultural expression, Luther celebrates the gift of music. Luther’s treatment of the liturgies of the church and the use of music in them demonstrates his tendency to preserve what would provide a bridge from what the people were accustomed to in the service to his radical recasting of the fundamental shape of the Christian life and of the very definition of being Christian.

Culture as God’s Creation

Each culture consists of our common use of the gifts of God. Some cultures conform more closely to God’s will for the use of His gifts, some less closely. Lutherans are—ideally if not always in practice—highly appreciative of His ways of giving in their cultures while sharply critical of the abuse of those gifts by squatters on the Father’s property. H. Richard Niebuhr famously describes the relationship between Christ and culture as “in paradox.” But that framing misses something essential: the clear distinction between God and the world, and the equally clear difference between our relationship with our Creator and our relationships with all His creatures.¹

The combination of God’s gifts of time and place constructs the setting in which each one of us experiences all His other gifts. His gifts serve similar functions in different ways in different times and places. We call this amalgam of God’s gifts that sustain and fulfill human life “culture.” Luther had no word for “culture” as we understand it.² Our usage stems from Samuel von Pufendorf (1632-1694), a German Lutheran jurist, whose contributions to legal and political theory have lasted to this day. The term was further developed by the German Lutheran pastor Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), who, before he moved to Weimar, a center of German literary culture, served a congregation in Riga, Latvia, a meeting point of German and Lettish languages and cultures. Herder emphasized language in particular as a key mark of



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each culture.³ *The Oxford English Dictionary* notes that the usage of “culture” to designate “a particular form or type of intellectual development, also the civilization, customs, artistic achievements, etc. of a people, especially at a certain stage of its development or history,” began in the 1860s.⁴

We might define culture as the organic (that is, composed of mutually related elements) whole of human activities and relationships which define the meaning and significance of life for a specific group of people, who are linked by these elements in a common identity and in common endeavors. “Culture” presumes shared assumptions, values, and allegiances, and it involves systems, institutions, and individuals. Cultures embrace a number of aspects: language and literature; religion and values systems; social structures and relationships; economic relationships; political institutions and practices; sports, leisure, recreation; natural sciences and technology; health care; media; military service; educational systems; festivals, including public and individual rites of passage; practices regarding death, burial, and interactions with the dead; humor; transportation; and others, *including the graphic arts and music*.⁵

Music

Music occupies a vital place in every culture; certainly, it did in the German culture of the Late Middle Ages. Luther and his students had learned music theory as a part of the mathematical quadrivium, the second level of a child’s education in their day. Luther’s remarks regarding music demonstrate his recognition of the power that music exercises over every human being. Birgit Stolt analyzed the reformer’s oral rhetoric as a “rhetoric of the heart.” Luther used the biblical term “heart” to embrace the medieval anthropology that described the human being with reference to mind or reason, will, emotions or affects, and the motor activities of the body. Luther knew the rules of rhetoric inherited from Quintilian and Cicero, and Philip Melancthon reinforced and strengthened his rhetorical perceptions. Luther also grasped the rhetoric of music, as he wrote to Ludwig Senfl in 1530, “except for theology there is no art that could be put on the same level with music since except for theology it alone produces what otherwise only theology can accomplish, namely a calm and joyful disposition”⁶

The biblical promise of liberation from sin and evil through Christ’s death and resurrection rides on language written, spoken, and sung, also as our multi-media Creator enunciates His promise to us under sacramental elements. Even visual presentations of the story of our salvation evoke reactions in verbal form, even if the beauty of artistic creations can evoke feelings that we find impossible to express with words.⁷ Likewise, music adds an element of moving our thinking and feeling, with or without words, that defies a description that captures the whole of its essence and impact.

Music affects the human mind, emotions, and body in ways that can move our will in specific directions. James Brauer describes the ways in which melody and pitch,

harmony, rhythm, timbre, and form of sounds or notes are brought together to permeate those who participate in it. Participation may be passive, simply listening. Even then our bodies and our minds are drawn into melody and rhythm, through the music's own power or a memory of hearing it earlier. Participation may also be active, as we commit lungs and lips, fingers, and feet, to singing or playing a piece of music. Music calls us to thinking and feeling in new ways or leads us into old thoughts and emotions. It may arouse us to action or permit us to retreat into a safe place of meditation or relaxation. In its Dionysian mode, it can open access to new relationships and experiences, while in its Apollonian mode, it allows retreat from threatening or unpleasant situations.⁸

Music exercises external potential in being able to project sounds over great distances; it exercises internal potential in moving, even swaying, our thoughts and moods. Music possesses its own rhetorical forms and powers. Brauer notes that music is "an imprecise language" that is often considered to be "more abstract and more challenging to decipher than a painting. Musical impressions are elusive because pitches and rhythms flow by in time. Except in their memories, listeners cannot back up and reexamine what just happened."⁹ That poses a challenge to our use of music.

Luther and Music in His Cultural Setting

Luther's frequent praise for music is well known. In 1538 he wrote:

...next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise. She is mistress and governess of those human emotions ... which as masters govern human beings or more often overwhelm them. ... For whether you wish to make the sad rejoice or make those who rejoice sad, to terrify the self-confident, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud, to calm the passionate, or to tame those full of hate ... what more effective means than music could you find? The Holy Spirit himself honors music as an instrument for his proper work when in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through her his gifts were instilled in the prophets, namely, the inclinations to all virtues.¹⁰

Robin Leaver traces Luther's musical biography from its beginnings with his mother's singing popular ditties to urge good behavior and his father's urging him to sing rather than drink. In primary school in Mansfeld he learned Latin by singing it; he never lost sight of the pedagogical benefits of singing Latin. Already in primary school and then in secondary school in Magdeburg and Eisenach, music remained in his curriculum, and he continued to sing in the boys' choir that enhanced worship services. Although the university curriculum did not usually provide lectures on music, Luther read music theory in Erfurt as well. In the cloister, chanting the psalms and other standard liturgical elements impressed medieval monastic texts deeply on his mind. They continued to shape his life as professor and friend, husband and father. Leaver notes that Luther was both connoisseur and composer, cultivating new forms

of music himself or through others. He appreciated the work of Josquin de Prez, Ludwig Senfl, whom he knew personally, and Johann Walther, one of his several friends among the cantors who supported his call for reform.¹¹

In the Middle Ages the congregation had sung responses to certain parts of the priest’s chanting the liturgy, but believers did not learn hymns that they could take home with them and integrate into their thinking. Luther’s first venture into composing for public singing came in 1523, not in the preparation of a hymn, but in the use of a popular ballad form to broadcast his polemic against the bloodthirsty church officials who had martyred two friends of his in the Augustine Eremite order, Heinrich Voes and Johann van Esch.¹² (On July 1, 1523, in Brussels, they were burned at the stake for refusing to renounce their Lutheran beliefs, becoming the first martyrs of the Reformation). They had participated with him in the reform efforts of their superior, Johann von Staupitz.¹³

This provided the impetus for Luther to begin composing such music to spread his theology as well, probably beginning with “Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice.” Leaver demonstrates that Luther did indeed turn to a secular style of tune, the “court song” genre (*Hofweise*). However, Leaver also notes that “the secular influence on these eight [initial Evangelical] hymn texts was primarily textual rather than musical.”¹⁴ “Most of the music Luther provided and promoted for evangelical worship was based not on worldly ballads but rather on the chant of the church.”¹⁵

He transformed the chant of the church through his musical experimentation, including his fond exploration of the polyphony that musicians such as Senfl were introducing to German ears. He stated his goal in composing songs in the vernacular and urging colleagues to do so as well: “so that the Word of God even by means of song may be alive among the people.”¹⁶ Luther composed with sensitivity to text and tune. Leaver points out that his two musical settings for “Our Father, Who from Heaven Above” are in two different modes, the Ionian, akin to the major scale, and the Dorian mode, akin to the minor scale.¹⁷

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As with his use of theological vocabulary, Luther’s treatment of the liturgies of the church and the use of music in them demonstrates his tendency to preserve what would provide a bridge from what the people were accustomed to in the service to his radical recasting of the fundamental shape of the Christian life and of the very definition of being Christian. He now centered worship around the sermon: “the preaching and teaching of God’s Word is the most important part of the divine service,” as he stated in his *Deutsche Messe* of 1526.¹⁸ In 1523 he had proposed a “Formula for the Mass” with the intent “not now nor ever to abolish the liturgical worship of God completely but rather to purify the one that is now in use” He did

not, however, propose that his form be adopted by all, for he did not want “to prejudice others against adopting and following a different order.”¹⁹ In 1526, he began his *Deutsche Messe* by requesting readers “do not make [this order of service] a rigid law to bind or entangle anyone’s conscience but use it in Christian liberty as long, when, where, and how you find it to be practical and useful.” He did state that “as far as possible we should observe the same rites and ceremonies,” but he recognized that localities differed in various ways. His fundamental concern centered on the proper proclamation of God’s Word. He regarded it as the identifying characteristic of his reform and of Christ’s church.

Luther’s liturgical reform totally dismissed the canon of the Mass, viewing the Lord’s Supper as His gift to sinners, not as a mutual exchange of sacrifice and praise—although he obviously set the Supper in the context of the response of God’s people to His gifts.²⁰ But both his *Formula Missae* and his *Deutsche Messe* set forth the traditional form of the liturgy, cleansed of sacrificial concepts, especially in the canon of the Mass. He defended the continued use of Latin in the liturgy for pedagogical, not theological, reasons in towns with a Latin school. In village churches, on the other hand, there was no purpose to preserve the Latin because almost no one would have understood it. Worship was to be the conversation between God and His people, no longer a recitation of magical formulas to make people feel safe and remain dependent on the learned clergy. In towns where the schoolboys needed the singing of Latin to improve their language skills and where at least some of the town’s residents had learned enough Latin to understand what was sung, he advocated its retention.²¹

The stamp of Gregorian chant remained embedded in his mind, but its use in actual worship orders decreased. Luther dismissed medieval Latin sequences and responsories, striving to replace them with vernacular singing.²² He retained or reworked favorites such as “*Victimiae paschali laudes*” (“Christ Jesus Lay in Death’s Strong Bands”) and “*Veni, sancte spiritus*” (“Come Holy Spirit, God and Lord”).²³ He also revamped a hymn attributed to Jan Hus, explicitly converting its text to a Lutheran understanding of the Lord’s Supper.²⁴

Luther emphasized the importance of the congregation singing in its own language and said little about instrumental accompaniment. Brauer describes four families of musical instruments: “tubes, strings, membranes, and percussion.”²⁵ Luther played a stringed instrument and knew various forms of tubular wind and brass instruments. He found the organ too closely associated with the medieval practice, but his somewhat negative expressions regarding the organ never became an issue, since he regarded all music that supported instruction and praise as God’s good gift.²⁶

In his immediate circle in Wittenberg, Philip Melancthon,²⁷ Justus Jonas,²⁸ and Elizabeth Cruciger,²⁹ the wife of his colleague Caspar Cruciger the Elder, penned hymns that became part of the German hymnody. Johannes Bugenhagen adapted the Wittenberg liturgy and cultivated Wittenberg hymnody as he traveled to Denmark and eight German towns and territories to help compose new Evangelical church ordinances.³⁰ The nineteenth-century German hymnologist Philipp Wackernagel

published 3,860 texts of German Evangelical hymns, most from Lutheran authors, that appeared in the sixteenth century.³¹ These hymns took form as catechesis and praise, as protest and polemic, comfort in times of war and want, in crises in personal life and society.³²

These hymns transformed public worship and became a way to express the faith. Luther’s student Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528-1604) observed Luther’s catechetical hymns were shaping the expression of the faith of the children of his parish and others:

Now a boy or girl of ten or twelve years, or more or fewer years, is better, more, and more humbly learned and grasps the articles of faith and matters of religion – and can talk about them and report on them – than could the teachers in the schools of higher learning, together with all the monks, priests, and nuns.³³

He went on to describe the impact of learning the catechism, also in Luther’s catechetical hymns as they were sung by “artisans in their workshops, peasants and shepherds in the field, charcoal-makers and woodcutters in the forest, seamen and fishermen on water, couriers and pilgrims on the road, servants and children in the home.” Spangenberg believed that parishioners could use Luther’s hymns “to practice the catechism in a beneficial way and at the same time confess their faith and their Christianity to honor God and to teach others and give them a good example as an aid and a comfort.”³⁴

Luther’s hymns had quickly become a public means of advertising commitment to Luther’s call for reform, sometimes provoking public disorder, as happened in Magdeburg in 1524. A broadsheet of Luther’s “Out of the Depths” provoked singing in the public squares of Magdeburg after mass one Sunday morning, and the resulting hubbub eventually led to the city council’s appealing to Wittenberg for aid in introducing evangelical reform. They transformed other aspects of normal life. Medieval burials were accompanied by dirges as the corpse was borne from the home to the cemetery. Evangelical burials not only replaced the memorial mass at the center of burials with the sermon but also changed the hymnody to songs of resurrection and triumph over death.³⁵ Luther counseled singing a hymn as part of morning devotional prayer,³⁶ and families incorporated hymns into the daily recitation of the catechism and the reading of Scripture.³⁷

Lutheran Music Following Luther

Luther’s followers immediately caught his insights into the usefulness of music in spreading their message and cultivating the faith of their hearers. Luther’s student Cyriacus Spangenberg, who extravagantly praised his mentor’s musical abilities, reflected the opinions of many:

Among all the master singers since the apostolic times, Luther was the best, most talented, and it will remain so. In his hymns and songs, you cannot find a single wasted, unnecessary word. Words and music flowed from his pen in the most beautiful, artistic manner, full of the Spirit and Christian teaching, so that a single word is a sermon in itself. ... There is nothing forced or patched together or rough; the rhymes are well done, the words chosen carefully, the meaning clear and understandable. ... The melodies are appealing and speak to the heart, in summary they are glorious and precious, and have vigor, warming the heart and giving comfort.³⁸

Joachim Mörlin (1514-1571), another devoted student of Luther, ecclesiastical superintendent of Braunschweig, and an architect of the theology of the Formula of Concord, demonstrated that Luther's high appreciation of music continued among his students. Mörlin commented in a sermon on Psalm 28:

Music is a particular gift of God that moves the heart to godliness and the Holy Spirit delights to be there along with it. ... The devil does not like to remain when a person makes music in godliness with beautiful psalms and hymns. ... A beautiful song, and beautiful music on the organ or from other instruments, creates good thoughts, a tender, soft heart, arousing desire for worship, and some, when they hear a psalm sung, can express an idea better than ten sermons. Beautiful music on the organ can give a preacher more desire and material than if he had meditated and read several hours. ... In every tongue and with every musical instrument, God's people recognize God's grace and respond to him with thanks through music.³⁹

Nikolaus Selnecker was superintendent of the churches in Leipzig, professor of theology there, and a member of the committee that composed the Formula, himself an author and composer of hymns and accomplished organist from age twelve. Preaching on Psalm 37, he praised music, both "figural and choral," whether played on the organ or other instruments, for it gave pious hearts joy and encouragement. The harmony of the sound reinforces the message of the words, as was true in David's time, when trumpets, psalters, and harps joined with drums, string and wind instruments, organs, and cymbals to aid the singing of praise to God. The devil opposes such music. Selnecker criticized musical styles in papal ritual and the "Sacramentarian" diminution or rejection of the role of music in worship. From the ancient fathers of the Church, he learned that a good melody and a well-crafted text refresh both body and soul. The Holy Spirit uses music to console and teach believers; thus, Christian music—beautiful song, skillful composition, and rich melody—offers a foretaste of eternal life, when angels and the blessed will join in perfect harmony, singing and playing instruments to the glory of God.⁴⁰

At least three pastors in the generation following Luther employed texts of his hymns as sermon texts.⁴¹ Preachers incorporated hymn texts and occasionally the singing of a hymn into their sermons.⁴² Along with the text of the Small Catechism (which was, at least in theory, memorized by all), the pious followers of Luther, a majority of whom could not read or write, carried the proclamation of the faith with them in the hymns that they had learned by heart.

The role of printing in the spread of Luther’s message receives high praise, but, as Mark Edwards ascertained in his study of the impact of printed works in the early years of the Reformation, oral communication conveyed the Wittenberg proclamation to many more than did books and pamphlets.⁴³ Books, however, enabled the spread of the message to preachers and laity. So it was with the use of song. Singing hymns in worship and in homes, in the field and in the shop, grew under the promotional power of hymnbooks.

Of those early Lutheran hymnals Robin Leaver writes,

these collections of hymns marked the beginning of the remarkable sequence of Lutheran hymnals that expanded throughout the centuries and throughout the world—a vast and overflowing chronological procession of anthologies of corporate song that not only identify the essence of what it is to be a Lutheran but at the same time have contributed significantly to the content of the hymnals in use of other denominations.⁴⁴

Leaver’s collection of essays by himself and nine other authors gives a sample of the richness of the efforts of the editors, authors, and composers who have kept the musical life of Lutheran churches alive and attuned to this day. Nineteen books on music theory appeared from Wittenberg printers between 1520 and 1563,⁴⁵ and Lutherans continued to produce such theoretical works for use in the education of children and the cultivation of musical performers.⁴⁶

When Counter-Reformation forces bore down on Lutherans in the Habsburg lands and forbade them public worship, their gathering in the forests and in their homes sustained their Evangelical faith through Bible reading, the catechism, and their hymnody. Commenting on the Roman Catholic attempts to eradicate Lutheran doctrine and practice in Joachimsthal, Bohemia, (where Luther’s student Johannes Mathesius [1504-1565] and the town’s reforming cantor Nikolaus Herman [ca. 1480-1561] had implanted Luther’s thought with cutting-edge hymnody), Christopher Boyd Brown wrote: “Hymn-singing in Joachimsthal thus helped to form a Lutheran identity that transcended political borders even as a proud local tradition of Lutheran music flourished. This vital element of the Lutheran culture of the town extended into the life of its population even outside the worship service.” And it sustained families well into the time of oppression in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷

The high appreciation of music within Lutheranism throughout the early modern period dare not hide the fact that the actual use of music caused significant conflict

among Lutherans. Joseph Herl's study of musical developments in German Lutheran churches from Luther's time into the late eighteenth century is entitled *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism. Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict*.⁴⁸ Strife continued in the effort to find the balance between the congregational singing that Luther employed to sing his message into his contemporaries' hearts and minds and the choir performances in worship that he fought to retain.⁴⁹ Throughout the period after Luther's death, the careers of Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), court musician in Dresden, Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654), court musician in Halle, and Hermann Schein (1586-1636), cantor in Leipzig, to the era's culmination in Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) demonstrate the continued vitality of the Wittenberg musical impulses.⁵⁰ However, these leaders and many other church musicians of the era experienced strident criticism for introducing new styles, generally coming from Italy, to distract from truly pious worship.⁵¹ Even Luther's love of polyphony could not still condemnation of its use.⁵² Some labeled "Orthodox" and some labeled "Pietist" raised strong objections to organ music as a detraction from pious meditation, especially as organists elaborated their performance of hymns and other music.⁵³

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Such conflicts continue into our day, indicating how vital and precious the role of music is in the worship and pious life of believers. The historical record suggests many factors that should go into the consideration of our use of music today.

Missiologist anthropologist Paul Hiebert (1932-2007) raised the problem of the "excluded middle," the realm between heaven and earth inhabited in many traditional religions by spirits and demons that govern human life.⁵⁴ Christian missionaries often simply ignored that vital space and its functions in traditional religions. So, for some generations, their message did not meet the perceived needs of the people they had brought into the church. In parallel fashion, as we bring the gospel to those around us who have developed their own, often unarticulated, religious structures, we need to be sensitive to what we are saying or failing to say to the way in which those who enter our communities conceive of reality. We will not want to meet every musical taste and style with Christian lyrics to old tunes. We need to use the proper kind of music that conveys both our rejection of the old power of music in their lives and Christ's power riding on melodies in words that address their realities.

We need to recognize that some music bears associations that cannot be baptized. Among Christian Dalits in India, at least among the initial generations of converts, the use of drums, so vital for their traditional manner of contending with forces of evil, cannot easily be cleansed of pagan associations. That does not mean that a new generation may not reclaim drums for proper worship, because the old associations

have been lost in subsequent generations of Christian families. The same phenomenon has occurred in attempts by Indian graphic artists to follow the model of Lukas Cranach and other Christian painters of Luther’s time in placing the scenes of Christ’s birth, life, death, and resurrection in familiar settings with little, if any, resemblance to Judea two millennia ago.⁵⁵

The mysterious nature of music is perhaps to blame for the fact that choices regarding properly worshipful music arouse such emotions that make sober discussion of the best use of this great gift among us difficult. If we wish to take Luther seriously, we will recognize that the identifying mark of those who take his name should rest in our proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ. With that orientation, we should share Luther’s openness to the variety of ways that different communities within the church, in their specific cultural settings, will work out their choices of the best ways in which to place the promise of new life in Christ in the setting that speaks to the people around it. We will share Luther’s openness to changing styles, and we will be particularly sensitive to the breakdown in the semiotics that encase our words of God’s truth. The whole life of the church in its worship and its use of music is a life of experimentation and repentance, a life of rejoicing in the promise to which our worship and music is responding.

Richard Lörcher, a 20th century church musician and trombonist who lived through the *kirchenkampf* (“church struggle” of the Nazi period) wrote the following foreword in his *Musicbook for Trombones*:

In a time so alienated from the Word of God, it is doubly important for us to hold fast to it. The Word of God gave rise to the songs. It is the original, the first and most important, the core of our songs. We brass players are always tempted to be content with the musical form of the songs, with their embellishment. But not music, but only God’s word has the promise of victory in the battles of God’s people. Therefore, let it be said to all who use this book: Do not perform any brass playing without the testimony of the Word of God. Structure your time with the Word of God and prayer. Proclaim and spread the Word wherever you move and reach people’s hearts with your music.⁵⁶

Richard Lörcher wrote the hymn, which was often sung in the circles of the Confessing Church during the years of the *Kirchenkampf*:

Jesus Christ, King and Lord,
is the kingdom, the power, the honor. Amen.
In the light of the last day, when all the world collapses,
everyone will have to confess at Christ’s feet:
Jesus Christ, King and Lord,
is the kingdom, the power, the honor. Amen.

Endnotes

¹H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper, 1951); cf. Robert Kolb, “Niebuhr’s ‘Christ and Culture in Paradox’ Revisited,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 10 (1996): 259–79.

²*Grimms Wörterbuch* does not contain the modern German word “Kultur.”

³P. Perpeet, “Kultur, Kultur Philosophie,” in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer, 4: (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), 1309–20.

⁴*The Oxford English Dictionary. Second Edition* 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 121.

⁵Repeated from Robert Kolb, “A Lutheran View of Culture,” *Lutheran Mission Matters* 31 No.2 (2023): 143.

⁶WA Br 5:639, Nr. 1727, LW 49:427–8. [WA= Weimar Edition *Luther’s Works*; LW= American Edition *Luther’s Works*, also hereafter].

⁷Mark C. Mattes, *Martin Luther’s Theology of Beauty. A Reappraisal* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017).

⁸James L. Brauer, *Music, God’s Mysterious Gift: Its Power to Influence Humans and Its Role in God’s Kingdom* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2023), 16–38.

⁹Brauer, *Music*, 24.

¹⁰WA 50:370,34–371,28, LW 53: 323. Walter Buszin offers a collection of such quotations from Luther in *Luther on Music* (Saint Paul: North Central Publishing, 1958), 3–11.

¹¹Robin A. Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music. Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 21–64.

¹²WA 35: 411–5, 487–8, LW 53: 214–6.

¹³Robert Christman, *The Dynamics of the Early Reformation in their Reformed Augustinian Context* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

¹⁴Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 13.

¹⁵Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 18.

¹⁶WA Br 3:220, Nr. 698.

¹⁷WA 35:463–7, with melodies, WA 35; 527, LW 53:296–8; see Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 132.

¹⁸WA 19:78,26–7, LW 53:68.

¹⁹WA 12: 206,15–211; LW 53:20.

²⁰*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, WA 6:502,1–526,33, LW 36:19–57.

²¹WA 30,2: 545,16–548,25, LW 46:231–2.

²²WA 12: 208,14–211,22–211, 218,15–21, LW 53: 24–25, 36. See Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 227–41.

²³Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 228–33.

²⁴WA 35:435–7, LW 53:250–1.

²⁵Brauer, *Music*, 51–3.

²⁶Robin Leaver explains his negative expressions regarding organs as the result of the quality of organs in northern Germany although he also supplies evidence that this was not always the case. Luther also recognized that most villages did not have organs and did not have resources to acquire one, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 7–8.

²⁷*Lutheran Service Book*, 522, “Lord God to Thee We give All Praise,” and 585, “Lord Jesus Christ, with us Abide.”

²⁸Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864-1877), 3: 42–5.

²⁹ Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, 46–7. See Mary Jane Haemig, “Elizabeth Cruciger (1500?-1535): The Case of the Disappearing Hymn Writer,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (2001), 21–44.

³⁰ Johannes H. Bergsma, *Die Reform der Messliturgie durch Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558)* (Hildesheim: Butzon & Bercker, 1966); Matthias Schneider and Beate Bugenhagen, “Johannes Bugenhagen und die Musik im pommerschen Messgottesdienst,” in *Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558), Der Bischof der Reformation*, ed. Irmfried Garbe and Heinrich Kröger (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010), 111–28.

³¹ Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, vols. 3–5.

³² Irene Dingel, “*Gesungener Glaube. Das Kirchenlied als Medium von Frömmigkeit und Protest in der Frühen Neuzeit*,” in Irene Dingel, *Die Reformation in Gestaltungen und Wirkungen: Speyerer Vorträge* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2023), 97–124.

³³ *Der Dritte Theil der Citharae Lutheri. Die Heuptstufe[e]cke des heiligen Catechismi/ In Gesangsweise gefasset durch D. Martinum Luther* (Mühlhausen, 1572),)(2a-)(3b.

³⁴ *Der Dritte Theil der Citharae Lutheri. Die Heuptstufe[e]cke des heiligen Catechismi/ In Gesangsweise gefasset durch D. Martinum Luther* (Mühlhausen, 1572),)(2a-)(3b. [The symbol)(is a frequent sixteenth century „page” or leaf enumeration, with the individual pages within the fold in between the)(and the)(.)]

³⁵ Robert Kolb, “Orders for Burial in the Sixteenth Century Wittenberg Circle,” in Irene Dingel and Armin Kohnle (ed.), *Gut Ordnung. Ordnungsmodelle und Ordnungsvorstellungen in der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), 257–79.

³⁶ BSELK 890/891,28–9, BC 363. [BSELK= *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*].

³⁷ E.g., the report on the devotional life of the family of the physician and friend of Luther, Matthaeus Ratzeberger, in Andreas Poach, *Vom Christlichen Abschied aus diesem sterblichen Leben des lieben thewren Mannes Matthei Ratzenbergers der Artzney Doctors* (Jena: Thomas Rebart, 1559), a2a.

³⁸ Spangenberg, *Cythara Lutheri. Die schofe[n]en/Christlichen/trostreichen Psalmen und Geistlichen Lieder/ des Hochwirdigen thewren lehrers und Diener Gottes D. Martini Luthers. Der Erste Theil* (Erfurt, 1568), A3a-b.

³⁹ Joachim Mörlin, *Der erste Teil der Predigten vber die Psalmen Davids ...* (Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1576), 354a–355a.

⁴⁰ Nikolaus Selnecker, *Der gantz Psalter Davids aussgelegt ...* (Leipzig: Jacob Erwaldt’s heirs, 1582), 328a-b.

⁴¹ Robert Kolb, “Preaching on Luther’s Hymn Texts in the Late Reformation,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 34 (2020): 1–23.

⁴² Robert Kolb, “Luther’s Musical Legacy in the Preaching of His Students,” in *Consensus. A Canadian Journal of Public Theology* 45, access at “[Luther’s Musical Legacy” by Robert Kolb](#) (pdf available).

⁴³ Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 37.

⁴⁴ Robin A. Leaver, ed., *A New Song We Now Begin. Celebrating the Half Millennium of Lutheran Hymnals 1524-2024* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2024), xi; cf. Herl, *Worship Wars*, 87–106.

⁴⁵ Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 40.

⁴⁶ Siegfried Vogelsänger, *Michael Praetorius 1572-1621. Hofkapellmeister und Komponist zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Eine Einführung in sein Leben und Werk*. In *Zusammenarbeit mit Winfried Elsner* (Mösel: Wolfenbüttel, 2008).

⁴⁷ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel. Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 82, 130–66.

⁴⁸ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism. Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁹ Herl, *Worship Wars*, 107–29.

⁵⁰ The literature on Bach's theological expressions is immense; see, e.g. Jaroslav Pelikan, *Bach among the Theologians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

⁵¹ Herl, *Worship Wars*, 116–8.

⁵² Herl, *Worship Wars*, 112–32, 196–204.

⁵³ Herl, *Worship Wars*, 130–74.

⁵⁴ Paul G. Hiebert, "The Flaw of the Excluded Middle" in *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994).

⁵⁵ Arno Lehmann, (Translated here) *Die Kunst der Jungen Kirchen* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955). Lehman presents the work of Alfred David Thomas, an India painter, whose works used traditional motifs depicting the "guru." Thomas suffered savage criticism as well as appreciation for his work.

⁵⁶ Richard Lörcher, *Einem Notenbuch für Posaunen* (publication facts not listed), *Vorwort*.