Esthetics and Kerygma

Protestant Sacred Music from the 16th Century
to the Baroque Era

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Music and theology in the 16th century
Lutheran musical practices are universally recognized thanks to the great compositions of the 17th and 18th centuries: those of Schütz, Dietrich Buxtehude, Georg Philipp Telemann and above all Johann Sebastian Bach. The importance that music had in Lutheran culture is often attributed to Luther's own high esteem for this art. The 19th century thus created the image of Luther the musician, playing the lute surrounded by family and singing friends. Luther's biography as a musician and his hymnological production became one, and in the year 2000 Finnish composer Kari Tikka (born in 1946) wrote an opera entitled Luther, which, in sketching the reformer's biography, situates Luther's songs at crucial stages of his life, with the result that the songs all seem to have a biographical Sitz im Leben. And for the 2017 Reformation centenary, French composer Jean-Jacques Werner (1935–2017), for his opera Luther and the Beggar of Grace, used the chorale Es teute Burg ist unser Gott in a perspective at once biographical and historiographical.

In my view, however, the importance of music for Lutheran devotional practice cannot be explained primarily on the basis of Luther's personal preference. I propose to change pace, therefore, attempting a theological approach to music from the Lutheran point of view. I am well aware of the difficulties of such an approach. Luther did not write a 'Theology of Music' for the simple reason that music is not one of the theologiae. Music is generally considered to be an object exterior to theology, of which people speak from a liturgical, ecclesiological or anthropological point of view. That is how most 16th-century theologians expressed themselves on music: Erasmus, Melanchthon, Calvin. Calvin attributed great value to music and an important role in worship, specifying that:

A thing very expedient to the edification of the Church is to sing some psalms in the form of public orisons by which prayers are made to God, or to chant his praises so that the hearts of all are moved and incited to formulate similar prayers and render similar praises and thanks to God, animated by the same sentiment ... The psalms can incite us to raise our hearts to God, both to invoke him and to exalt the glory of his name by our praise.'

This quotation — in a January 1537 request addressed to the council of Geneva — well
defines the role of music in the framework of humanist Christianity: song is a form of prayer (the sung word); it assumes the role of praise to exalt God's glory; the musicality of the word makes this more moving, more emotional. We should not underestimate the positive role attributed to music in this Calvinist perspective; some Fathers of the Church were considerably more reticent regarding music.

The Roman Church too believed that music in worship is an aid in making the word effective. The Bull *Docta sanctorum* (the first pontifical text to legislate on music), promulgated in 1324–5 by Pope John XXII, already attributed to music an emotional quality that incites devotion:

> When they [the faithful] speak in words, they accede by the words and by music to a devout state. It is therefore prescribed that in God's churches the psalms be sung in order to stimulate the devotion of the faithful.¹

The Council of Trent, in its 21st session, 17 September 1562, moved in the same direction when it mentioned the need for visible and audible signs to arouse piety:

> Now the nature of man being such that he cannot easily and without some kind of external help lift himself to the meditation of the things of God, the Church, like a good mother, has established certain customs ... to excite the spirits of the faithful - through these sensible signs of piety and of religion - to the contemplation of the great things contained in this Sacrifice.²

In the first collection of Catholic songs (German Catholics were familiar with vernacular collections as early as the 16th century), published in 1537 by Michael Vehe on the suggestion of Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, the author justified song explaining that it allowed "the layman to sing to praise and honor God, to awaken his own spirit and to incite himself to devotion, both in church and outside, before and after the sermon".³ Praise and the awakening of devotion are thus the two functions that the Catholic tradition attributed to song in the context of worship.

Among Lutherans too, with the exception of Luther himself, the same conventional arguments were invoked to justify spiritual song. For Melanchthon, in a 1544 anthology of Christmas songs, music is a precious aid in memorizing doctrine:

> Divine doctrine can be better spread, and can become a more permanent component of the memory of posterity, if it is accompanied by harmonies and songs. People avidly listen to sweet and charming melodies and the memory of these remains inscribed for a long time.³

And twenty years after Luther's death, in the preface of his anthology of songs published in 1566, Lucas Osiander (1534–1604), a Lutheran preacher at the court of Stuttgart, wrote: "We should not hesitate to praise, with mouth and tongue, the great wonders God has done for us".³

**Luther's theology**

An echo of what Luther's 'theology of music' was can be found in Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528–1604), castle preacher and dean of Mansfeld, who in one of his *Liedpredigten* (Sermons on choral singing) of 1569–70 says:

> Through Luther's spiritual songs and lovely melodies, just as through David's harp, the Holy Spirit has powerfully worked to make God's praises grow and multiply, in order to put the devil to flight, to console souls that are afflicted, to defeat death and to soften many hard hearts and convert them to God.³

To put the devil to flight, console afflicted souls, defeat death and convert hearts: no small affair. Luther's theology of music is far from conventional. We will outline it in four points.³

**Music is a gift of God (ontology)**

Luther often defined music as a gift of God.⁴ That definition is frequent in his "Table Conversations", but appears only three times in his published writings. It is difficult to identify the origin of the expression. In the 16th century, in any case, a certain number of authors of treatises on music use it, often without partic
ular emphasis: Heinrich Finck (whom, in his "Table Conversations"), Luther juxtaposes to Josquin Desprez, Ambrosius Wilphlingseder, Gallus Dressler and Peter Eichmann. But in the 16th century the opposite concept existed also: the idea, that is, that music had been invented by man after the Fall, as we read in Genesis 4:21, "Jubal... was the ancestor of all who play the lyre and the flute".33

Following the custom of his contemporaries, Luther at times used the expression in a conventional way, as we read in the preface to his 1538 Symphoniae incendae (an anthology of polyphonic songs): music is, "as all agree, a divine and excellent gift".44 Luther goes on to specify that music was "from the beginning placed in the world and created at the same time as the creatures of the universe, for individual and collective use. Nothing is without sound or without sonorous number".47 That affirmation is less the result of his biblical studies than it is an echo of ancient and medieval speculation, as taught, among others, by Boethius, Thomas Aquinas and Jean Gerson. Luther’s remark in David’s Last Words, of 1534, is similar: he writes that music reinforces the positive effects deriving from reading the psalms, for it is a "creature and miraculous gift of God".48 In the unpublished draft of a 1530 text "On Music", Luther again specifies that music is "a gift of God and of man".49

Luther’s location dominum Dei depends upon theology: music is a gift in as much as created "by God and not by man". He does not conceal his admiration for the talent of composers who create, and for musicians who interpret, but music is in the first place of divine origin: concreta, created at the same time as the creatures of the universe. In this, Luther remains within the framework of speculative ontology: "nothing is without a sonorous number", he says. Music is not a simple object among the other objects created by God; rather, for its numbers, its proportions, its harmonies, it is the ontological foundation of all creation.50 God is thus a sort of "composer", as Luther suggests in a letter to a musician friend.51

The term dominum also refers to God’s love for man, the love which God offers man. Music is thus an expression of divine goodness, and man, on his side, should receive this gift with joyful appreciation. This gift makes man’s praise of God concrete, in the joyous song he raises to God.52

Music procures joy (anthropology)

The terms gaudium or laetitia, in English ‘joy’ or ‘gladness’, are recurrent when Luther speaks of music. The gladness that music procures has its place in his concept of human feelings, born of Neoplatonism. There the human soul is described as a ship pitching on the sea of passions. Luther uses that image in the German Bible:53

For man’s heart is like a ship afar on a raging sea, shaken by strong winds blowing from all directions. At times the heart feels anguish and fear in the face of a future accident, at other times unhappiness and sadness before a present ill. Or again hope and audacity take form at the prospective of future wellbeing, or certitude and joy breathe upon us thanks to some present good.54

It is worth noting that Luther enumerates all the benefits of music (the healing of sadness, putting the devil to flight, procuring innocent pleasure...) without taking into account the ambiguity of the effects it can produce – for music can also evidently lead to debauchery or hatred. Calvin, on his side, compares music to a funnel by which words are injected directly into the human heart and concludes that the words sung should be chosen with care.55 For Luther, by contrast, all music is good since it procures “an innocent pleasure”. The innocence of music begins with birdsong and extends to the song of justified human beings.

Singing the Gospel (theology)

Music, as we have seen, is a divine creation. This divine quality, inherent because of music’s numerical relationships and proportions (“harmonies”), is sometimes inaudible (mathematical), sometimes audible (musical). Thanks to its divine origin music is perfect. Luther held that it had not been corrupted by the Fall, as would have been the case if it had been a human creation. When it makes itself heard it resounds
like the Word that comes from God. Christ, the incarnate Word, thus becomes a singer. Luther defines the difference between the Old and New Testaments in ‘musical’ terms:

In the New Testament we find the better form of worship of which the psalm speaks: Sing to the LORD a new song, sing to the LORD all the earth. For God has filled our heart and soul with joy by his well-beloved Son whom he has given us to deliver us from our sins, from death and from the devil. Anyone who seriously believes this cannot help being joyous and cannot stop himself from singing and speaking of it with pleasure, so that others hear him and draw near. If someone wants neither to sing it nor say it, this is a sign that he doesn’t believe, and that he depends not on the New Testament but on the lazy, fallen Old Testament."

In the German Bible Luther gives a definition of the term “evangelium” which takes account of the musicality of the Good News: “For Evangelio is a Greek word which is translated good news, good message, good announcement, good rumor, which we sing and speak about and which makes us joyous.”

In the famous Christmas hymn Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her (From heaven’s heights I come to you), the Angel says: “I bring you Good News of which I want to sing and speak”. Luther insists that song brings the Gospel not only in a metaphorical sense; he is convinced that the learned music of his time truly is an expression of the Gospel:

And so God preaches the Gospel through music too, as we see in Josquin [Desprez], all of whose compositions flow gayly, spontaneously and with sweetness, not subject to or restrained by rules, like the song-music of Finck."

The expression “the song-music of Finck” – Finckengesang – is deliberately ambiguous. In the first place it designates the song of a finch, God’s sublime gift being already manifest in birdsong. But Finckengesang is also a song written by the composer Heinrich Finck. Bearing in mind Luther’s esteem for the great master Josquin Desprez, one can easily understand his juxtaposition of these two musicians. Josquin’s music takes its cue from freedom, that is from the Gospel, whereas Finckengesang (the song both of the finch and of the musician) is subject to the Law – that of the Old Testament. A remark posthumously attributed to Luther (in 1566) returns to this idea: “Josquin ... is the master of his notes, which must bend to his will, while other song-masters must bend to the will of their notes”. 50

Music is the “new song” (kerygma)
The proclamation of the Gospel is thus musical and procures us immense joy; that joy, in turn, makes our heart Overflow and, unable to speak, we sing. Luther describes this process in his 1545 Baptisches Gesangbuch: “Anyone who seriously believes cannot help being joyous and cannot stop himself from singing and speaking of what he believes with pleasure, so that others hear and draw near”. There is a circularity therefore: a man who has received grace cannot do otherwise than sing, for words would be insufficient. The song he produces is the Gospel, which in this way is announced and brings others to the faith. Evangelical song is nothing else than the canticum novum, the new song, it is the right expression of the Gospel itself.

This is what Luther wrote in the dedication of a copy of the Bible which he offered his musician-friend Wolff Heintz, referring to Psalm 149:

To new wonders one must respond with a new song, new thanksgiving and new speech. But these are God’s new wonders: in his well-beloved Son he has split open the true Red Sea of death, and rescued us from the true Pharaoh, Satan. That is what “singing a new song” means: the Holy Gospel and giving thanks to God. May God help us."

Luther’s first musical creation, a song dated 1523 in memory of two martyrs of the faith burned alive at Brussels, begins with the words: “We intone a new song”. The proclamation of the Gospel passes through song, the new song is the Gospel, the Gospel procures an exuberant joy that makes us sing, and by our song proclamation we draw others to the Gospel.
The evolution of Lutheran music

Definition of style

The second part of this paper considers the consequences of Luther’s theology for the evolution of Lutheran music. We should note first that Lutheranism does not have a musical style of its own, such as we find in Calvinism and in the Catholic tradition. Calvinism defines ecclesiastical music as having “weight and majesty”.

Catholic tradition declares that the musical expression proper to the Church is “Gregorian chant and 16th-century polyphonic music”. In both cases liturgical musical practices are subordinate to a given framework of style. Such a definition is doubly problematic. First, the definition itself often raises problems, referring to fluid aesthetic categories which do not allow us to circumscribe a concrete musical style. How does a composer realize ‘weight and majesty’? With slow, somber music? Or on the contrary with glittering, splendid music? And which ‘Gregorian chant’ do we mean? That of the Carolingian reform of the 8th and 9th centuries? The plainchant of the Ancien Régime? The 17th-century restoration realized at Solesmes? Or the Gregorian Chant which today fills the shelves of record shops?

On the other hand, a style that is circumscribed does not evolve. The style itself may remain fixed, but people’s aesthetic perceptions do not. What for one generation is “majestic”, for the next will be merely sentimental (read: laughable). Sublimity can become sentimentality; accords, harmonies, sequences and rhythms all work in their own time period. Calvinist music, which from the 16th century on favored a textually and musically limited repertory, excluding all stylistic development, did not evolve until the 18th century, when the early practices were finally abandoned in favor of others.

Lutheranism, by contrast, has no stylistic definition for its musical practices. When, in his 1526 German Mass, Luther reused the Gregorian model adapting it for singing in German, he was only proposing one possibility without excluding others. For him, the canticum novum, being the expression of the Gospel, should be a ‘new song’ both theologically and esthetically. The new song should correspond to the newness of the offer of grace, as a song

of Johannes Zwick states: “All Morgen ist ganz frisch und neu / des Herren Gnäd’ und grosse Treu” (The morning is all fresh and new, full of grace and of the Lord’s faithfulness). But the absence of stylistic and aesthetic definitions has consequences for the development of Lutheran music that are still more important. To assume its kerygmatic role, music can take the most varied forms and borrow the most different styles. And this is effectively what happened. Lutheran musicians were open to the styles of their own time. There were no confessional boundaries, they drew inspiration from Protestant and Catholic repertories, from sacred and profane styles.

Let us take the example of the Lutheran musician Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), Kapellemeister successively at Brunswick, Dresden and Sondershausen. Although he had probably never been to Italy, Praetorius easily used the Italian style, especially the stile concertante, adapting it to German liturgical practices. At the beginning of the 17th century, Praetorius published – at the behest of his prince, Heinrich Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel – a monumental anthology of Lutheran chorales (Musae Sioniae, 1605–10), in which he codified the corpus of hymns of the first century of the Protestant Reform under the form of a cappella motets, and at the same time, with his Polyhymnia caducetatis et panegyrica (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), he presented forty chorales transformed into Italian concerts, with several choir-pieces and instrumental ensembles, thus adapting Gabrieli’s Baroque polychordality to the German style. Nothing impeded his being at one and the same time Lutheran and Catholic, German and Italian.

The introduction of the church cantata at the beginning of the 18th century, which we know from Johann-Sebastian Bach, aroused lively debate in the Lutheran world. In the previous century, apart from princely courts, Lutheran musical practices had been relatively stripped down. The chorale for four voices now became the general rule, to which were added organ pieces and motets sung by the Kantorei. The “cantata quarrel”, which developed principally at Hamburg, an important Lutheran city, raised the question of the modernity of sacred music.
Since 1678 Hamburg had an opera house, the Oper am Gaensmarkt (Opera on the Goose Market), where the works of composers like Händel, Keiser and Telemann were performed in German. It was in this city that novelties at the level of compositional techniques and aesthetics were presented and debated.¹⁰

Between 1702 and 1726 the theologian and poet Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756) published the first cantata librettos. For Pastor Neumeister, church music had an important role as a prolongation and continuation of the proclamation of the divine Word. To respond to this ministry, he said, sacred music should use the most contemporary and advanced means and techniques. In other words, sacred music has a radically contemporary vocation. At the beginning of the 18th century such a view could only mean that sacred music should model itself on operatic music. Neumeister resumed his viewpoint in the preface to his first anthology of cantatas as follows: "A cantata has, at the end, no other form than that of an opera; it is composed of recitatives and arias."¹¹ Stylistically, the church cantata was thus a fragment of profane opera and a piece of contemporary music in the service of preaching. In other words: contemporaneity and profane origin are marks of Lutheran music.

Such a concept provoked a strong reaction from pietists, who were shocked by "theatrical Church music."¹² The Kapellmeister of Hamburg cathedral, Johann Matthæus (1681-1784), defended his musician colleague. His own position was close to Neumeister's; since worship without music could not exist, only the best music is worthy of worship, and at that time the best music was opera music. Another musician who helped Neumeister and Matthæus, the Silesian Gottfried Ephraim Scheidel,¹³ also declared that music was necessarily an integral part of worship. The vocation of music, both sacred and profane, was to arouse the passions, and - Scheidel asked - why should opera alone have the privilege of touching listeners to the point of tears?

A similar debate would develop in the Catholic Church at the end of the 19th century, following the Kulturkampf, but with the opposite result. Modern music was banned and substituted with a backward-looking style: the Cecilian movement (or 'cecilianism'), after St Cecile, patron of sacred music, would find its reference in Gregorian chant and in the vocal music of the 16th century. There was no question of drawing inspiration either from contemporary music or from the profane repertory (operatic music in particular was rejected).

Music and liturgy
Luther's theology also favors the liturgical use of music, both song and instrumental music. At the same time, the important role of music in Lutheran worship shapes liturgical expression. As we saw, for other confessions, especially Calvinism, musical practices were more frequently limited and subject to rules. Thus, for a long time Calvinists sang nothing but the psalms, excluding every other kind of music. In consequence, their liturgical forms did not evolve.

Among 17th- and 18th-century Lutherans the most varied liturgical forms were elaborated, using different musical styles and genres. It is sufficient to follow the musical evolution of Heinrich Schütz, who was active as a church musician between 1615 and his death in 1677. On his return from a first sojourn in Venice, Schütz began his career at the court of the Elector of Saxony promoting the polyphonal style he had learned from Giovanni Gabrieli in the Lagoon City, as it had been practiced by his predecessor Michael Praetorius.

His first printed work of sacred music, opus 2 of 1619, The Psalms of David,¹⁴ is a monumental composition. Those motets had their place in the liturgy of the Elector's court, celebrating both the glory of God and the magnificence of the prince, Johann Georg I. The eight-voice motets are accompanied by instrumental ensembles at full strength and by 'preferred choirs' (cori favoriti). It was an aesthetic of monumentalization very far from the Lutheran practice of Luther's own lifetime.

The restrictions of the Thirty Years War forced Schütz to completely change his style, thus modifying devotional practices and liturgical forms. The Little Spiritual Concerts,¹⁵ published in 1636 and 1639, are musical miniatures: one or more soloists (up to five), ac-
accompanied only by a *basso continuo*, explore the interiority and intimacy of the word. That introspection invites believers to meditate the biblical text and to experience the affective (emotional) dimension which the Scriptures contain.

Toward the end of the devastating war, Schütz again renewed his music with the Italian style. In the second part of his *Symphoniae Sacrae* of 1647, he brought together Italian vocal ostentation with the expressivity of the madrigal tradition, this time in German. And at the last compositions of his career, Schütz changed style yet again: his *Christmas Story,* published in 1664, is not an oratorio (in the sense of Catholic non-liturgical oratorios) but a setting to music of the Nativity account according to Luke and Matthew: in a simple but expressive tone, the evangelist sings the biblical text, broken up with *intermezzi* of Italian inspiration. That musical form anticipates the sacred cantatas of the 18th century, especially those forms which use a narrative plot taken from the Bible, such (for example) as the six cantatas of Bach normally grouped together under the title *Christmas Oratorio* but which are really liturgical cantatas.

The sacred cantata of the 18th century modified the way in which the word was heard during worship, for the cantata was at the same time a bearer of the word (textually based on the reading of the day) and an announcer of its meaning (amplifying and actualizing the scriptural text), as well as serving to transmit emotion (shaking the listener, touching his feelings).

These mutations in religious experience were made possible by Lutheranism’s open attitude to music. The stylistic changes of music, which modified its function, inevitably led to liturgical change. That possibility of adapting to every era, to every society, to every listener and to every culture was in perfect harmony with the “theology of music” found in Martin Luther’s thought. Music indeed has a kerygmatic function and for that reason, as the reformer said, occupies “the second place after theology.”

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1 Luther, opera in two acts, libretto by Kari Tikka and Jussi Tapola, staged 8 December 2000 at the Tempellaitio church in Helsinki (DVD, Ondine, 2004).

2 Luther et le mendiant de la grâce, opera in eight scenes, composed by Jean-Jacques Werner, libretto by the composer after Gabriel Schoettel, staged 5 November 2017 at Savoie.


6 ... gesangsleyter ... welche vom gemeynen Leyen Gott lob und reben / zu auffweckung des\ngewiss / und breutz der andacht / moclien in und aus der kirchen / vor und nach der predigt ...
7 Georg Rhan, Officia de nativitate, Wittenberg, 1545, edited by Frank Krautwurst; reprinted in\nMoller 2000, op. cit., p. 122.
8 "Wir wollen uns aber auch mit einem / diese grosse volklichen Gesellschaft / so er an uns gewurde / mit\nunsern mund und zungen zu loben und zu preisen ...": Finstig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen. / Mit vier\nStimmen / auf Contrapunctus wisse (für die Schulen und Kirchen im loblichen Fürstenthum\nWittenberg) also gesetzt, Nürnberg, Katharina Gerbacher, 1536 (RISM 1536/11; HDB 668); reprinted in\nMoller 2000, op. cit., p. 125.
9 "Wir dann auch der heilige Geist / nicht weniger / durch Lutheri Geistliche Lieder und schöne Melo\ndeyen / als bey Davidis Harfen / krettig gewessen / GOTReis Lob aufzubrechen und aufzubrechen / Den\nTennel zuzeigen / Betrübte hertzen zu trösten / Den Tod zu verwischen / und viel herren zu
10 For a fuller discussion of the theology of music in see Beat Follmi, "Luther und die musik: concepte theologiques et anthropologiques", in Lutero. La Re\nforma e le arti. L’articolo rapporto con la pittura, l’architettura e la musica, procedings of the symp\nposium (Gozzada, 2-5 February 2017), edited by Francois Boeckler and Emanuela Fogliadini, Milan, 2018, pp. 99-122.
11 The affirmation is actually less frequent than people think. It has become a ōtopos in the literature on\nLuther and music, as for example Mirika E. Anttika, Luther's Theology of Music. Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure, Gottingen, 2015, pp. 70-1.
12 Musica maxima, immo diuinus est donum, TR, 1568/8; "Musica est insitum domini Dei et theologi\npia virtutem", Tscharden (TR, that is Luther’s Table Talk) 3:187.5; "Musica optimum Dei donum", TR
5:444:4; "Musica est optimum donum et divinum", TR 5:2387.
13 TR 5:258.
15 So says Johann Walter, an eminent musical collaborator of Luther at Wittenberg and first Protestant\nsensor at Torgau, in his Lob und Preis der loblichen Kunst Musica, Wittenburg, 1538; the first edition is\nlost, and we know only that done at Wittenberg in 1544 by Joseph Klug, Geistliche Lieder Zu Wit\ntenberg! Anno 1543 (RISM 1544); HDB 334). The poem is reproduced in Martin Luther, Werke, ed. Weim\nmar, 1888-1929, XXXV, pp. 485 ff. and in Moller 2000, op. cit., p. 213.
16 ... domum illud divinum et excellensismum ...": Luther, Werke, ed. 1883-1929, op. cit., L, p. 368.
17 "Musicae esse ab initio mundi indireum seu concreatum creaturis vivencis, singulis et omnibus.\nNihil enim est sine sono, seu numero sonore ...": ibidem, I, p. 369.
18 "... eine wunderliche Creator und gabre Goete ...": ibidem, I, IV, pp. 33-4.
19 "domum Dei non hominium est": ibidem, XXXV, p. 695.
20 On this point Antika 2013, op. cit., pp. 83-6, seems to have underestimated this speculative aspect of\nLuther’s musical thought.
21 "[The governments of the whole world let God and all of reason compose and institute various\ngood things, but they sing so badly that they would deserve pork sausages ...": letter of Martin Luther to\nMatthias Weller dated 18 January 1535, (Martin Luther, Briefwechsel, ed. Weimar 1930-1935, VII, p.
154); translated by Hubert Guicharron, Les mus\niques de Luther, Geneva, 1995, p. 35.
22 For this second point, I gratefully acknowledge the results of the excellent study on Luther’s theology of music by\nAntika 2013, op. cit., pp. 70-84.
23 Four of the feelings listed by Luther are found in Richard of St Victor (1110-73). Missing are only\nedium (harred), amor (love) and pudor (shame), see PL 196, col. 6.
24 "Denn ein menschlich hertz is wie ein schiff auf ein wilden meer, welches die sturmwind von\nden vier orten der welt treiben. Hier stosset sich\nforte ande sorge fur zukunftigem vnfal, Dort\nfer etern gernem her vnd treuekeit von kogenwerti\ngen vnd. Hier wehte hoffnung vnd vermeessenheit\nzukunftigem gluck. Dort bliebet her sicherheit vnd freude ynn gegenwertaen gtuern" (Martin Luther,\nDie Deutsche Bibel, ed. 1906-61, XI, p. 101).
26 "Voran die liebe Nachtcant"», Wittenberg collection, 1544 (RISM 1544); HDB 334; reprinted
28 "Denn Evangelium ist ein kriechisch worwor, und breyst auf deutsch, gute gotschaff, gute meynen, gute neweytung, gut geschrey, daumen man singet, sagt und frelich ist...", Luther, Die Deutsche Bibel, ed. 1967–68, op. cit., VI, p. 3.
29 TK 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; translated by Guicharrouse 1935, op. cit., p. 29; see also TR 3, 3, 35.
32 For example, these prefaces of La forme des prieres et chants ecclesiastiques, Geneva, 1542, and thereafter reused in several collections. Reproduced in Johann Calvin, opera quae supersunt omnia, edited by Johann Wilhelm Baum, Eduard Kunitz and Eduard Reuss, Brunswick, 1865, pp. 769–770; see also Fuchs 1962, op. cit., II, pp. 20 ff.
35 "Es siehst eine Cantata nicht anders auf als ein Stück aus einer Opera, von Stile Recitativo und Arien zusammen gesetzt". Preface to the Geistliche Cantaten (1703).
36 On this debate see Dorothée Beck, Krise und Verfall der protestantischen Kirchenmusik im 18. Jahrhundert, Ph.D. Diss., Halle; Martin Luther Universität, 1953.