

Martin Luther, God's Music Man

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Martin Luther was, to put it much too blandly, a music lover. "Next to the Word of God," he said, "the noble art of music is the greatest treasure in the world! The riches of music are so excellent and so precious that words fail me whenever I attempt to discuss and describe them."ⁱ Actually, words seldom failed Luther on any topic and certainly not when he was on the subject of music. He was consistently eloquent, whether writing a careful foreword to some musical publication, or speaking on the spur of the moment in one of his table talks.

But Luther himself did feel inadequate when discoursing on music because he was "so completely overwhelmed by the quantity and greatness of its excellence and virtues that I can find neither beginning nor end, nor adequate words and expressions to say what I ought." Because Luther was so intense and enthusiastic in his feeling about music, we might take his seemingly extravagant claims about it with a large grain of salt. This, I think, would be a mistake. Perhaps not all of us would be ready to say a precise Amen to his statement that next to the Word of God, the art of music is the greatest treasure in the world. But for Luther it was a firm and considered conviction. He had a rather carefully thought out musical philosophy which was rooted in his theology. Though without the training of a professional musician of his time, he had considerable knowledge and enough skill to write a four-voice motet in the contrapuntal style of his day. He also played the lute, was an excellent singer and showed a surprising discrimination as a music critic.

In this essay we propose to sketch what Luther *thought about music, did with music and accomplished for music*. We intend to let him speak for himself. For convenience' sake, most of the quotations, unless otherwise noted, are in a translation by Walter E. Buszin (cf. Note 1).

I. What Luther Thought about Music

Most of us do not think very hard about music. We listen to what we like and simply avoid what we dislike. Most of us are exposed to a remarkable spectrum of musical sounds, the likes of which Luther could not imagine. But we do not think much about it. Even in our hymn singing we seem to be conditioned to sing without much thought, interest, curiosity, appreciation or reaction, unless, of course, the hymn is unfamiliar or "heavy," in which case the reaction is usually negative. Luther thought about music, reacted strongly to it and was articulate about it.

Music as God's wondrous gift of creation

Luther thought of music as a truly wonderful, mysterious and powerful gift of God's creative hand. In a preface to a collection of part-songs published in 1538 Luther wrote the following:

I most heartily desire that music, that divine and precious gift, be praised and extolled before all people....Experience proves that, next to the Word of God, only music deserves being extolled as the mistress and governess of the feelings of the human heart....A greater praise than this we cannot imagine.ⁱⁱ

In the same year Luther wrote in a foreword to a musical collection published by Georg Rhau:

I truly desire that all Christians would love and regard as worthy the lovely gift of music, which is a precious, worthy, and costly treasure given mankind by God....It controls our thoughts, minds, hearts, and spirits....Our dear fathers and prophets did not desire without reason that music be always used in the churches. Hence we have so many songs and psalms.ⁱⁱⁱ

In a letter written to the noted Catholic composer, Ludwig Senfl, Luther discloses his thought about the power of music:

There are, without doubt, in the human heart many seed-grains of virtue which are stirred up by music. All those with whom this is not the case I regard as blockheads and senseless stones. For we know that to the devils music is something altogether hateful and unbearable. I am not ashamed to confess publicly that next to theology there is no art which is the equal of music. For it alone, after theology, can do what otherwise only theology can accomplish, namely, quiet and cheer up the soul of man, which is clear evidence that the devil, the originator of depressing worries and troubled thoughts, flees from the voice of music just as he flees from the words of theology. For this very reason the prophets cultivated no art so much as music in that they attached their theology not to geometry, nor to arithmetic, nor to astronomy, but to music, speaking the truth through psalms and hymns.^{iv}

This power of music to affect the emotions, particularly when coupled with the Word—to dispel depression, ward off temptation and make the heart joyful—was for Luther a strong reason to champion its use in Christian worship, whether in simple melodies of congregational hymns or in the artistic music of the choirs.

As Christians of the twentieth century, viewing Luther from the distance of five hundred years, we may sense a gulf between us in the attitude toward music that is more than a matter of time. Not that we disagree in substance with Luther, but his wide-eyed wonder at the nature and power of music, his amazement at the wisdom of the God who created and gave such a gift to man, and his delight and dependence on music and its power, all may seem to us to be a little overblown, a little naïve. But whose is the deficiency? If Luther were here today and could experience the marvelously expanded world of musical sound and composition that has evolved since his day, he might well knit his brow and shake his head at our casual attitude. With luck he would not add in his usual unreserved way, “A person...who does not regard music as a marvelous creation of God, must be a clodhopper indeed and does not deserve to be called a human being; he should be permitted to hear nothing but the braying of asses and the grunting of hogs.”^v

Music as art

Luther lived in the golden age of unaccompanied choral music. The Netherlands school of composers had brought the art of multi-voiced choral singing to a high point. Luther greatly admired these vocal motets which were based on Gregorian chant melodies and elaborately embellished by the various voices. We might expect that he who marveled at the song of the finch, the gift of speech, the ability to express thoughts and emotions of the heart in a song, would certainly wax eloquent at hearing the choral church music of his day. And so he does:

This precious gift [music] has been bestowed on men alone to remind them that they are created to praise and magnify the Lord. But when natural music is sharpened and polished by art, then one begins to see with amazement the great and perfect wisdom of God in his wonderful work of music, where one voice takes a simple part and around it sing three, four, or five other voices, leaping, springing round about, marvelously gracing the simple part, like a folk dance in heaven with friendly bows, embracing, and hearty swinging of partners. He who does not find this an inexpressible miracle of the Lord is truly a clod.^{vi}

Although Luther did not consider himself a composer, he had enough knowledge of the choral art of his day to compose a four-voice motet which demonstrates his understanding of the complex rules of sixteenth century counterpoint [*Non moriar, sed vivam*—“I shall not die, but live”]. History confirms his judgment that Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue and Ludwig Senfl were the best composers of his time. Of des Prez he writes, “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.”^{vii}

Unlike some of the other Protestant reformers, Luther did not reject the composers of the Roman Catholic Church or their music because of their Roman associations. He borrowed freely from their music; and though he was quick to reject or change the texts, he valued the music. In connection with a collection of burial hymns which appeared in 1542, he said,

To set a good example, we have made some selections from the beautiful music and hymns used in the papacy, in vigils, masses of the dead, and at burials, and have published some in this volume.... However, we have changed the texts and have not retained those used in the papacy.... The songs and the music are precious; it would be a pity, indeed, should they perish.^{viii}

In 1530, while at the Coburg, Luther wrote to his friend, Ludwig Senfl:

Grace and peace in Christ! Although my name is so thoroughly hated and despised, dear Ludwig, that I must fear you will receive and read my letter hardly with safety, my love for music, with which I perceive God has adorned and talented you, has conquered all my fears. My love for music leads me also to hope that my letter will not endanger you in any way, for who, even in Turkey, would find fault with anyone who loves music and praises the artist? I, at least, love your Bavarian dukes, even though they certainly dislike me. I honor them above all others because they cultivate and honor music.... My heart overflows with fondness for music, which has refreshed me so often and freed me from great burdens. I return to you with the request that, should you possess a copy of the song, “I Lie and Sleep Enwrapped by Peace,” you have it copied out and sent to me.... I hope that the end of my life is near, for the world hates me and does not care to tolerate me any longer; on the other hand, I have had my fill of this world and despise it. Therefore, may my good and faithful Shepherd take my soul out of this world. For this very reason I am singing this song oftener and should like a many-voiced arrangement of it.... The Lord Jesus be with you into eternity. Amen. Pardon my boldness and verbosity. Extend to your entire chorus my respectful greetings.^{ix}

Luther consistently championed choral music. He repeatedly urged the dukes and princes to support choirs and composers, and considered training in part-singing to be a part of a well-rounded education and a necessity for teachers and ministers. With regard to the latter point, he wrote in his Preface to the *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein* (a choir hymnal of five Latin and 32 German hymns, arranged in four and five parts by Johann Walther and published in 1525):

Together with several others I have collected a number of spiritual songs...in order that through these the Word of God and Christian doctrine may be preached, taught, and put into practice.... I desire this particularly in the interest of the young people, who should and must receive an education in music as well as in the other arts if we are to wean them away from carnal and lascivious songs and interest them in what is good and wholesome. Only thus will they learn, as they should, to appreciate and love what is intrinsically good.... Unfortunately the world has become lax towards the real needs of its youth and has forgotten to train and educate its sons and

daughters along proper lines. The welfare of our youth should be our chief concern. God grant us His grace. Amen.^x

The purpose and use of music

In spite of Luther's deep love and admiration for music, it was his theology which was the source of his convictions about the purpose and use of music. His consciousness of music as a wonderful gift of God's creation led him to the natural conclusion that music was a gift to be received with thankfulness and appreciation which should be used to the glory of God and the good of man. Secondly, nothing therefore seemed more natural to him than that music should be coupled with the Word. Almost all the time when Luther speaks about "music," he means music and a Christian text. Though Luther enjoyed good secular music and poetry and was fond of the German folk songs and of the music and song that accompanied dancing, he felt that music fulfilled its natural and highest purpose and use when it was used to carry and express the truths of God's Word. Thirdly, it was primarily the gospel which should be both the inspiration and the content of that song. For Luther, music and the gospel were a wedding made in heaven. The gospel is the good news that brings faith, hope and joy. Music has the power to light up that message, give life to the words, impress it on the human heart and express the joy it brings. What more ideal combination for Christian worship! What better way to conserve and spread the gospel!

In his Preface to his last hymnal, published by Valentin Bapst in 1545, Luther says:

God has made our hearts and spirit happy through his dear Son, whom He has delivered up that we might be redeemed from sin, death, and the devil. He who believes this cannot but be happy; he must cheerfully sing and talk about this, that others might hear it and come to Christ.^{xi}

What has been said above will make no waves in the Lutheran church today, nor for that matter, in a number of mainline Protestant churches. It was not so in the sixteenth century. Among the Protestant reformers, Luther stood out in a crowd. Almost single-handedly he carried the banner for music as the strong ally of the gospel in worship. In Zurich, Switzerland, where Ulrich Zwingli was firming up his position of leadership, Latin choral song was banned in 1526 and the singing of German psalms and hymns the next year. There was no organ in his church. In Geneva, John Calvin also banished instrumental music and tolerated only the singing of inspired psalms in worship. Why did the Swiss reformers and the radical leaders of the evangelical cause fail to follow Luther in the use of music in worship?

It was not in most cases a dislike of music that prompted their action. Zwingli was a master of six musical instruments. Calvin was also a musician and enjoyed music. Thomas Muenzer was a composer of considerable ability. Before he lost his head and became a wild-eyed revolutionary (after which he really lost his head), he had written a complete German mass. It was not a difference in aesthetics but in theology that left Luther standing alone. In some cases unscriptural notions coupled with impatient zeal to "cleanse" the churches of "popish excess" were responsible. Andreas Carlstadt, a colleague of Luther at Wittenberg, whipped up the emotions of the people with statements such as: "Images in churches are wrong." "Organs belong only to theatrical exhibitions and princes' palaces." "Painted idols standing on altars are even more harmful and devilish."^{xii}

Zwingli's order of service in Zurich at first reflected a conservative approach. But pressured by the Anabaptists, he led his followers into the churches and there "whitewashed the paintings and decorations, carted away the statues, costly vestments, and splendidly-bound service books, and closed the organs in token that no music of any kind would resound in the churches again; the people were to give ear to the Word of God alone."^{xiii} Zwingli insisted that nothing should distract the congregation from total attention to the Word, prayer and contemplation.

John Calvin, of all the Protestant reformers, stands in clearest contrast to Luther's musical convictions. In his law-bound church-state in Geneva, Calvin charted a stern course of obedience and sanctity. "While

Luther emphasized the consolations of grace, Calvin dwelt upon the demands of grace. And while the one found the Bible to be a ‘book of comfort,’ wherein the joy and peace of the Gospel is laid, the other saw it as ‘the holy Law and Word of God,’ which commands his obedience.”^{xiv} Calvin’s liturgical model and ideal was the “ancient church” (by which he meant the pre-papacy Christian church) and a minimum of ceremony and external forms. He sternly excluded from the worship the use of organs, part-singing and all songs except “psalms from the Bible and psalms only.” His theological basis for these actions was his conviction that things like instrumental music, choir singing and rich ornamentation were all part of the Old Testament dispensation, which was terminated by Christ. In his sermon on 1 Samuel 18, he says:

It would be a too ridiculous and inept imitation of papistry to decorate the churches and to believe oneself to be offering God a more noble service in using organs....All that is needed is a simple and pure singing of the divine praises, coming from heart and mouth, and in the vulgar tongue....Instrumental music was tolerated in the time of the Law because the people were then in infancy.^{xv}

In his commentary on Psalm 149 he speaks similarly: “The musical instruments...were peculiar to this infancy of the church, nor should we foolishly imitate a practice which was intended only for God’s ancient people.”^{xvi}

Incidentally, the influence of Calvin in regard to organs was responsible for the wholesale dismantling of pipe organs in England and Scotland, including the organs of Westminster Abbey. In Massachusetts around 1720 Cotton Mather set the tone and practice for the Calvinistic churches of the New World when he said, “Because the holy God rejects all He does not command in His worship, He now therefore in effect says to us, I will not hear the melody of thy Organs.”^{xvii}

Luther’s answer to all of this was that there are no ceremonial laws in the New Testament that bind our Christian freedom in forms of worship. The only constraint is Christian love. Following Paul’s words in 1 Corinthians 3:21, “All things are yours,” Luther paved the way for a mighty outpouring of gospel-inspired congregational hymnody and the development of choral and instrumental music based on the chorale. Two centuries later this culminated in the mighty choral and instrumental works of Johann Sebastian Bach.

It was ironic that Calvin, on the other hand, in his effort to restore primitive Christian worship and rid the church of what he conceived to be Catholic aping of Old Testament practices, thereby instituted a whole new set of ceremonial laws for the New Testament church. In so doing, he rendered the development of church music, except for psalm singing, sterile in the Reformed churches for the next two hundred years.

There is one more factor which influenced the non-Lutheran reformers in their opposition to the use of music for worship. That factor was the fear of the power of music over man’s emotions. Both Zwingli and Calvin were wary of any delight and enjoyment in music. In a sermon on the Book of Job, Calvin wrote,

Music of itself cannot be condemned; but forasmuch as the world almost always abuses it, we ought to be so much the more circumspect....The Spirit of God condemns...the vanities that are committed in music...because men delight too much in them: and when they set their delight and pleasure in these base and earthly things, they think not a whit upon God.^{xviii}

This nagging concern about the power of music to bring delight and enjoyment to man, to the detriment of earnest and serious worship, spooks about in the whole history of the New Testament church. St. Augustine, for instance, voices his concern in his *Confessions* (X,33). This seems to have disturbed Luther somewhat, but he overcomes it with a blithe conclusion:

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.^{xix}

We sum up this section on Luther's thoughts regarding the purpose and use of music in his own words:

I am not of the opinion, as are the heterodox, that because of the Gospel all arts should be rejected violently and vanish, but I desire that all arts, particularly music, be employed in the service of Him who has given and created them.^{xx}

II. What Luther Did With Music

What has been said in the foregoing does not by any means exhaust what Luther thought about music. His more philosophical observations about "order" and "freedom" in music and their relationship to law and gospel and to the Christian man who is at once saint and sinner could be explored. Or one might discuss Luther's medieval and Platonic views about the ethical properties of the various musical modes or scales then in use. Luther thought about such things. But his real concern and goal was not to develop a philosophy of church music. He had more important things on his mind. His real concern was the gospel and its proclamation. Furthermore, Luther was by nature a doer, and what Luther did with music is our next concern.

Luther and hymnody

Luther was practically the "inventor" of evangelical hymnody. There were hymns written before Luther, of course. Paul speaks of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" (Col 3:16), although we do not know precisely how they differed from each other. There were Greek hymns from the first centuries of the church and a large number of Latin hymns from later centuries available to the medieval church. Their use in the mass was normally denied the worshipers. There were also pre-Reformation hymns, written by the Bohemian followers of John Huss. And there were spiritual folk songs, pilgrimage songs and songs sung at vigils and other occasions.

But Luther and his followers produced a new kind of evangelical hymn, filled with God's Word and gospel, in the vernacular, and intended for congregational use in the Sunday worship as well as for other occasions. This new song came to be called the "Lutheran chorale." Luther himself ultimately provided 36 church hymns and tunes. This he accomplished by making metrical versions of psalms, translating and adapting Latin hymns, reworking and spiritualizing folk songs or composing texts and melodies himself. Although it may be true that perhaps only four hymns were entirely his original work, his revisions and improvement of existing materials resulted in most cases in substantially new and original hymns.

Luther's motivation in writing hymns was certainly not that of the artist who seeks personal expression or an inner yearning to "create." In 1524 Luther wrote to Spalatin, secretary to Frederick the Wise, the following: "I am willing to make German psalms for the people...in order that the Word of God be conserved among the people through singing also."^{xxi} He also felt that the laity should take an active part in the worship service. He based this not only on the practice of the apostolic church, but on the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers (1 Pe 2:9). Hymns were one way in which the congregation could actively participate in the service.

The history of Lutheran hymnody is the history of the hymnals. Luther's first church hymn, "Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice," was written in 1523 and published as a single sheet. The first hymnal, the *Achtliederbuch*, was published in 1524. It contained eight hymns, of which four were by Luther. The same year two hymnals were published in Erfurt with triple the number of hymns, 18 by Luther. These hymnals were designed mostly for learning and not for congregational singing. In 1525 Luther and his able composer friend and co-worker, Johann Walther, published a choir hymnal with four and five part arrangements of 37 hymns, the *Geistliche Gesangbuechlein*. Twenty-four of these hymns are by Luther. Within Luther's lifetime nearly a

hundred hymnals were published. Before the impetus of Lutheran hymnody was spent in Germany, the number of hymns approximated 75,000.

The mastery of congregational hymn singing was gradual. People did a great deal of learning outside the service. Luther's hymns were very popular and were sung at home, in the fields, in the marketplace, on the way to work and at group gatherings of various kinds. In the churches the singing was led by the choir (not accompanied by the organ). As hymnals were made available to the congregations, the hymns were often sung antiphonally. The stanzas were divided between the congregation, choir and organ. This is a practice which only recently has become fairly popular in Lutheran churches after a long period of neglect.

Luther and the liturgy

The second notable thing that Luther did with music was to reform the Sunday liturgy and make it available to the common man. This liturgical reform was accomplished in two stages. By 1523 it was obvious to Luther that some changes had to be made in the order of the mass. Over the years the mass had become a meritorious work, performed by the priests on behalf of the people. It was no longer, therefore, tolerable to have some of the scriptural abuses which the evangelicals were attacking in their lectures and tracts continue to be included Sunday after Sunday in the worship.

The second urgent reform was to restore the proclamation of the Word to the service. The sermon had for the most part been dropped from the service; and when it was included, the exposition of the Word of God was largely replaced with stories on the lives of saints, legends, fables and discourses on "blue ducks," as Luther puts it. Luther remedied these abuses, returning the Holy Communion to its original function as a sacrament of forgiveness and arranging for the regular preaching of God's Word. Luther simply eliminated from the mass that section of prayers and commemorations which stressed the idea of sacrifice and saint-worship (the Offertory and Canon). These changes he incorporated in a small pamphlet titled *Formula Missae et Communionis*. As for the rest of the service, he left it unchanged except for the addition of German hymns to the service. The service remained in Latin.

It became increasingly clear to Luther that, for the sake of the common people who could not understand Latin, it was necessary to prepare a German mass or order of service. By this time others had begun to write such services or to substitute German in the service in a piecemeal fashion. Luther would gladly have adopted the work of others, but he felt that none of the German services that had been prepared were suitable. Luther pointed out that the characteristics and word accents of German and Latin were not compatible, and it would not do simply to paste the German words onto the notes of the Latin chants. Also, the text itself needed to be more than a literal translation of the Latin. It should be truly German in its expression, not a "monkey's imitation." Luther set to work in the fall of 1525. He must have worked furiously, for by the beginning of November he had virtually finished the work. The next three weeks he worked with his musical advisor, Johann Walther, in refining the chant settings for the pastor's part, especially the chants for all the Epistles and Gospels for the church year. On November 29 the service was immediately given a trial use in the *Stadtkirche* in Wittenberg. Shortly it gained a wide use in Saxony and beyond, although it was to be used only in the congregations where the majority could no longer understand Latin.

In general the German order followed the traditional mass order. It was somewhat simplified, however. In place of the traditional Introit, a hymn or German Psalm (for which Luther supplied the chant) is used. Then follows the Greek Kyrie Eleison in three-fold instead of usual nine-fold fashion. The Collect is chanted in monotone, followed by the Epistle, also chanted. After the Epistle a German hymn replaces the traditional Gradual. The Gospel is also chanted, followed by the singing of the Nicene Creed by the whole congregation according to the hymn version, "We all Believe in One True God." Following the sermon is a public paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. This is an addition which was not popular and later was dropped. Immediately after the Lord's Prayer comes an admonition for those who want to partake of the Sacrament, and then the Words of Institution are chanted by the pastor in the same Tone (5) as the Gospel. During the Distribution which follows, a German hymn and the new German Sanctus ("Isaiah, Mighty Seer") are to be sung by congregation and choir.

The communicants were to receive both bread and wine. Luther preferred to have the consecration and distribution of the bread before the wine was consecrated and distributed. The Agnus Dei was sung toward the end of the distribution. A brief collect of thanksgiving and the Benediction closed the service.

It was a bold stroke on the part of Luther to give the parts of the Ordinary of the mass to the congregation by providing metrical hymn versions of the Creed and the Sanctus. Apparently Luther did not have German hymnic materials available at the time or he might have appointed a hymn version also for the Gloria. His idea was followed, however. In a few years Nikolaus Decius furnished a metrical Gloria (“All Glory Be to God on High”) and a hymn for the Agnus Dei (“Lamb of God Most Holy”).

Not all of Luther’s ideas, however, survived. The paraphrase of the Lord’s Prayer was largely replaced by the simple text given by Jesus. The introit-psalm also was not popular, probably because of the difficulty in adapting Luther’s chant models to the various psalms. Luther’s preference for separating the distribution of the bread and the wine also failed to find general support. Nevertheless, the German order of service became the basis for Lutheran worship in a large number of congregations, especially where there was no choir. In congregations which tended to follow the earlier Formula Missae, German liturgical hymns such as the German Sanctus and Creed were often used, as well as other German hymns.

III. What Luther Accomplished for Music

First of all, Luther has taught us to see music as God’s creation, given to us the better to praise God and “proclaim the wonders he has done.” In contrast to those who were suspicious or uncertain as to the proper role of music in Christian worship, he demonstrated through his own hymnody the positive worth of enlisting music as the strong ally of the Word. He has shown us how powerful music can be in conserving God’s truth by singing it into our hearts and how ideally suited it is to express the response of Christian faith. He has taught us to appreciate the power of music to give wings to our heart’s Easter jubilation and to strengthen those who mourn the loss of loved ones.

Through music Luther led the priesthood of believers into an active part in the congregational worship, urging and enabling them to bring their sacrifice of thanksgiving, praise and proclamation. Luther has also shown us how the simple unison melody of the congregational hymn can intertwine with the artistic music of choir, organ and instruments to join in a common, concerted praise of God’s name. He has elevated the conception of the work and worth of the church musician and pointed the way to his proper function of serving the cause of the gospel and leading God’s people in worship. Luther also insistently calls us to remember the necessity of musical training for our youth, opening their eyes to the value of God’s precious gift and enabling them to take their place in the corporate worship.

By his personal musical work and example, and by the firm principles he espoused so eloquently, Luther also inspired others to follow in his footsteps and to cherish and develop their musical talents. The result has been a rich production of church music and hymnody, which has brought to the Lutheran church the honor of being called “the singing church.”

All this and more Luther has done for us and the cause of music as God’s gifted and blessed “music man.” Whether we have appropriated all that Luther has taught us is another matter. But we have all been blessed through Luther and his music, more than we realize or appreciate or deserve. How gracious is the Lord our God!

Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice,
 With exaltation springing,
 And with united heart and voice
 And holy rapture singing,
 Proclaim the wonders He hath done,
 How His right arm the victr’y won;
 Right dearly it hath cost Him.

Endnotes

- ⁱ *Foreword to Georg Rhau's Collection, Symphoniae iucundae*. Quoted in Walter E. Buszin's essay, entitled "Luther on Music," published in the January 1946 issue of the *Musical Quarterly*, G. Schirmer publisher. In the following footnotes, the name W.E. Buszin will indicate quotation from this work.
- ⁱⁱ *Luthers Saemmtliche Schriften*, St. Louis Edition, XIV, 428–31 (W.E. Buszin).
- ⁱⁱⁱ Anton, Karl, *Luther und die Musik* (Zwickau, 1928) pp 50–53 (W.E. Buszin).
- ^{iv} St.L., XXIa, 1574 (W.E. Buszin).
- ^v Karl, *op. cit.*, pp 50–53 (W.E. Buszin).
- ^{vi} *Ibid.*
- ^{vii} Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand* (Mentor Book, The New American Library) p 269. Quotation and translation by Roland Bainton.
- ^{viii} M. Johann Mathesius, *Dr. Martin Luthers Leben* (St. Louis, 1883) p 227f. (W.E. Buszin).
- ^{ix} St.L., XXIa, 1574.
- ^x Karl, *op. cit.*, pp 50–53.
- ^{xi} St.L., X, 1430–33.
- ^{xii} E.G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1950) p 536.
- ^{xiii} Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland: World, 1961) p 142.
- ^{xiv} *Ibid.*, p 194.
- ^{xv} Robert M. Stevenson, *Patterns of Protestant Church Music* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1953) p 14.
- ^{xvi} *Ibid.*, p 15.
- ^{xvii} *Ibid.*, p 17.
- ^{xviii} *Ibid.*, p 17.
- ^{xix} *Luther's Works*, Erlangen, LXII, 1539 (W.E. Buszin).
- ^{xx} St.L., X, 1422ff.
- ^{xxi} Wilhelm de Wette, *Luthers Briefe*, II, 590 (W.E. Buszin).