Celebrating Lutheran Music
Scholarly Perspectives at the Quincentenary

Edited by
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Jubilees and other major commemorations are often cultural events brimming with significance. They provide occasion to actualize living traits of the past, to recognize its lasting presence in contemporary consciousness, and suggests its potential to vitalize the future. Through closer attention to both artefacts and ideas, the dynamic interplay between material and immaterial dimensions throughout history opens paths for deeper self-awareness. On levels ranging from the individual to the global, commemorations provoke reflection on how questions of identity evolve within multiplex historical and socio-cultural frameworks.

The quincentenary of the Lutheran Reformation, as celebrated throughout 2017, brought many of these aspects to the fore. Confessional identities have since the Enlightenment often been viewed with scepticism, as sources of lacking tolerance or conflict. Recent historical research is however increasingly paying heed to the positive and creative impact unleashed by post-Reformation differences. The jubilee also brought global attention to the lasting legacy of Christian confessional difference, based on a stronger awareness of the historical interdependency of opposing confessional cultures. Studies of Lutheran culture today thus require us to heed a complex interaction between theology, changing societal norms and other traditions, in some cases within the Lutheran context itself.

The year 2017 provided an impetus to study anew the mutual influence between Lutheranism and music throughout the 500 years since the Reformation. To provide a scholarly arena for such discussions, the Department of Musicology at Uppsala University organised the Lutheran Music Culture conference, 14–16 September 2017. From a rich body of proposals, 47 contributions were included in the programme. Together with keynote lectures, evening concerts and a concluding panel discussion, presentations by contributing scholars from five continents helped to stimulate intensive days of vibrant discussion.

This volume of proceedings is the first of two anthologies documenting the variety of conference papers. A second anthology will provide deeper theoretical discussions, as well as perspectives on Luther’s own musical thought and practice. The constellation of articles presented in this first anthology celebrates a rich diversity of material and approaches. The nature of the theme demands interdisciplinary breadth, and the contributors work from a wide range of disciplines within theology and the humanities. We do not, however,
claim to provide either a full or even a representative picture nor to instil a common conception of what Lutheran music culture entails.

The chapters have been arranged in a broadly chronological outline, ranging from the Reformation to the present. The outline of the volume also follows the geographical expansion of Lutheran culture from its original vantage point in Europe towards a contemporary global diversity. While vernacular languages play a significant role in this tradition, one of the aims of this particular volume is to present otherwise inaccessible sources and contexts in English.

While scholarly work might necessitate many hours of individual solitude, the growth of learning is nevertheless an essentially social enterprise. Both conferences and books are collective efforts and they demand co-operation and financial support. To realize the conference in 2017, we are foremost indebted to a generous grant from The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond) and the Department of Musicology, Uppsala University. A scholarly committee shared their experience and expertise, not least in the selection of papers. For their advice, we would like to thank John Butt (University of Glasgow), Hans Davidsson (Göteborg International Organ Academy), Robin Leaver (Westminster Choir College, Princeton), Karin Nelson (Norwegian Academy of Music), Thomas Schmidt (University of Huddersfield), Johann Anselm Steiger (University of Hamburg), Bernice Sundkvist (Åbo Akademi University), Ruth Tatlow (Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study), and Peter Wollny (Bach-Archiv, Leipzig).

In the process of putting this volume together, the texts have been subjected to a double-blind peer review process. We would like to thank all the reviewers – around the world – who have been involved in this process. We have benefitted from Ph.D. Jo Clements and her experience in language editing, and we are grateful for both her careful work and her patience. The committee for the Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis series and Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond have generously provided funding covering costs of proof-reading and printing.

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PART I

Sixteenth-Century Currents
Hymnals were the quintessential works of early Lutheran vernacular culture. They were certainly the most popular music books in sixteenth-century Germany, and among the most popular devotional books, with some two thousand different hymnals printed between 1520 and 1600.¹ By the mid-sixteenth century, a canon of vernacular Lutheran hymnody had emerged, centered on the hymns penned by Luther and his immediate circle, and this quickly became well known even among the illiterate and marginally literate. Almost all sixteenth-century Lutheran hymnals – as diverse as they were in size and scope – transmitted this core repertory in an accessible and easily navigable form.

The German-texted chorales transmitted in these hymnals were long one of the most studied topics in the history of early Lutheran music, though recently there has been renewed scholarly interest in the role of Latin chant and song within early Lutheranism.² This Latin repertoire is transmitted chiefly in sources that seem to be the polar opposites of hymnals – the mid-to-late sixteenth-century Latin service books and cantionals of Lucas Lossius, Johann Keuchenthal, Franz Eler, and Matthaeus Ludecus. Yet even within vernacular hymnals there existed a highly specific repertory of Latin songs and texts – which suggests that Latin was not completely unknown even to


This chapter is an expansion on research presented at the Lutheranism and the Classics III conference at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, IN, USA (2 October 2014). I gratefully acknowledge the generous support and assistance of the following colleagues and friends: Matthew Carver, Scott Edwards, Mary E. Frandsen, Frederick K. Gable, Joseph Herl, Erika Supria Honisch, Jan Marecek, and Jason Luke Thompson. I also thank Bob Geiger for engraving the music examples.
what Robert Scribner has famously dubbed the “simple folk”. Table 1 maps out this repertory for a selection of early hymnals, printed mostly in North Germany between 1530 and 1565. As this selection shows us, many early Lutheran hymnals included a specific repertoire of Latin-texted pre-Reformation Christmas songs. But other books featured even more Latin: the famous Babstches Gesangbuch of 1545 included a Latin litany and a lengthy section of funeral songs dominated by Latin plainchants. The two Hamburg Enchiridion hymnals of 1558 and 1565 – which are among that city’s earliest music prints – included not only the Christmas songs but also four or five Latin chants in so-called “corrected” versions by the Lübeck school superintendent Hermann Bonnus (1504–48), which also appear in some 1540s hymnals from Magdeburg. The presence of these texts in hymnals can, I believe, help begin to illuminate not only their roles within contemporary vernacular devotional practice but also larger questions of what I shall call “lay Latinity” – the role of Latin in the life of the less educated classes.

Within hymnals, the Latin-texted Christmas songs listed in Table 1 were almost never grouped along with Luther’s own Christmas hymns (e.g., “Vom Himmel hoch” and “Christum wir sollen loben schon”, among others) in the traditional church-year ordering scheme. They appeared instead toward the middle of the book in a separate section with the following heading:

Now there follow some spiritual songs made by pious Christians who lived before our time. We have included the old songs following here as a witness of some pious Christians who lived before us in the [time of the] great darkness of the false doctrine, in order that one might see that there have always been people who knew Christ aright and were upheld in that recognition most wonderfully by God’s grace.5

This section of the book also included several German-texted pre-Reformation songs, including the beloved Easter hymn “Christ ist erstanden” and its Ascension counterpart, “Christ fuhr gen himmel”; other standard items included a “Kyrie Paschale Deutsch” (“Kyrie/ Gott aller welt Schöpffer”), the

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4 One notable exception is the Low German hymnal Ein Kort Psalmbökeschen Dariñ de gebrücklikesten Gesenge vnde Lider D. Martini Lutheri uñ ander framer Christen thosamen gefatet synt, (Hamburg, 1598), which groups both “In dulci jubilo” and a Low German version of “Dies est laeticiae” (“De dach de ys so fröwdenryck”) in the main section of Advent and Christmas songs (headed “Van der menschwerdinge Jesu Christi”).
Table 1. *Latin-Texted Songs and Chants in the Babtsches Gesangbuch and Some Early Lutheran Hymnals from North Germany.* *(HG = High German; LG = Low German)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Babtsches Gesangbuch (Leipzig, 1545)</th>
<th>Geystlyke leder (Rosstock, 1531)</th>
<th>Enchiridion (Magdeburg, 1536)</th>
<th>Geistliche Lieder (Magdeburg, 1542)</th>
<th>Geystlike leder (Magdeburg, 1543)</th>
<th>Enchiridion (Hamburg, 1558)</th>
<th>Geistlike Leder (Magdeburg 1559)</th>
<th>Enchiridion (Hamburg, 1565)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>“Vor unserer Zeit” Christmas songs</strong></td>
<td>Dies est leticiae (no. 52) Resonet in laudibus (no. 54) Nunc angelorum gloria (no. 55) In dulci jubilo (no. 56) Puer natus in Bethlehem (no. 57)</td>
<td>Dies est leticiae (D6v) In dulci jubilo (D7v)</td>
<td>In dulci jubilo (xliii v)</td>
<td>Dies est leticiae (37r–v) In dulci jubilo (38r–v)</td>
<td>Dies est leticiae (XXXIIr)</td>
<td>Dies est leticiae (63v–64v) In dulci jubilo (64v–65r) Puer natus in Bethlehem (65r–66r)</td>
<td>Dies est leticiae In dulci jubilo Puer natus in Bethlehem</td>
<td>Dies est leticiae (49v–50v) Resonet in laudibus (50v) Nunc angelorum gloria (50v–51r) Puer natus in Bethlehem (51v–52r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>“Corrected” chants by Hermann Bonnus</strong></td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td>Puer natus in Bethlehem (CLXIXr) Christus pro nobis passus est (CLXXv) Quando Christus ascenderat (CLXXIVv) Rex Christe omnes in te letamur (CLXXIIr) Discubuit Jesus (CLXXIIr–v)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
<td>Latina litania correcta (no. 38) Burial chants on scriptural texts (nos. 81–89)</td>
<td></td>
<td>In exitu Israel (85v–86r, four voices; only first verse underlaid in Latin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Notes:
- Latin-texted chants in the Babtsches Gesangbuch and some early Lutheran hymnals from North Germany.
- HG = High German; LG = Low German.
- “Vor unserer Zeit” Christmas songs: Dies est leticiae, Resonet in laudibus, Nunc angelorum gloria, In dulci jubilo, Puer natus in Bethlehem.
- “Corrected” chants by Hermann Bonnus: Puer natus in Bethlehem, Christus pro nobis passus est, Quando Christus ascenderat, Rex Christe omnes in te letamur, Discubuit Jesus.
- Others: Latina litania correcta, Burial chants on scriptural texts.
Gloria paraphrase “All ehr und lob sol Gottes sein”, and a German version of the office hymn “O lux beata Trinitas” (“Der du bist drey in Einigkeit”).

Although separate from the main church-year-based ordering of the rest of the book, songs within this section were themselves often grouped in the order of the church year, meaning that the Christmas songs generally came first. The rubric at the beginning of the section attests to the theological correctness of these “old songs” despite their origins in the pre-Reformation “great darkness”, and they were almost certainly handpicked by Luther or members of his immediate circle. Although a comprehensive examination of the history and provenance of these songs is beyond the scope of this investigation, the choice does not seem to have been arbitrary. All five of the Latin Christmas songs listed in Table 1 – “Dies est laeticiæ,” “Resonet in laudibus”, “Nunc angelorum gloria”, “In dulci jubilo”, and “Puer natus in Bethlehem” – were widely transmitted in central European sources of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notably in several of Bohemian origin. But even more striking is that all of them except “In dulci jubilo” appear in one of the most important liturgical and musical sources of the Hussite Reformation: the Jistebnice Cantional of around 1420.

The texts and melodies of the Latin Christmas songs transmitted in these Bohemian sources are strikingly close – often identical – to those used in sixteenth century Lutheran hymnals; examples 1 and 2 compare the Jistebnice and Babst versions of “Dies est laeticiæ” and “Nunc angelorum Gloria”, respectively. Just as they do within early Lutheran sacred song, these Latin Christmas songs formed a distinct subgroup of Hussite sacred song; the mid-twentieth-century Czech music historian Zdeněk Nejedlý reported in his comprehensive Dějiny husitského zpěvu (History of Hussite Song) that Christmas songs were the only popular sacred Latin songs he could find in use during the Hussite period. He further emphasized their popularity, both with Latin-literate students and “among the people” who were “not afraid to

6 Located in the Babstsches Gesangbuch on sigs. R6v, R7v, and S2r, respectively.
9 The exception is “Resonet in laudibus”, the only part of whose text to appear in the Jistebnice Cantional is the refrain “Magnum nomen Domini Emanuel”. Nejedlý, Dějiny husitského zpěvu, Vol. 5, p. 502. The Lutheran and Hussite hymnody repertories continued into the sixteenth century; see Erika Supria Honisch, “Music In Between…: Sacred Songs in Bohemia, 1517–1618”, in Renaissance Music in the Slavic World, Marco Gurrieri and Vasco Zara (eds.), (Turnhout, 2019), p. 169–204. I thank Prof. Honisch for sharing her typescript with me before publication.
use them as their carols”. 11 Luther himself, of course, had famously claimed in his *Glosse auf das vereinte kaiserliche Edikt* (1531) that he and his own Reformation had been foretold by Hus, and it is worth recalling that his well-known and colourful words on the matter even include a mention of singing in conjunction with their extended avian metaphor:

St. John Huss prophesied of me when he wrote from his prison in Bohemia, “They will roast a goose now (for ‘Huss’ means ‘a goose’), but after a hundred years they will hear a swan sing, and him they will endure.” And that is the way it will be, if God wills. 12

In this light, the references in Luther’s hymnal rubric to “old songs” and “pious Christians who lived before us” takes on a fairly specific meaning: through the co-opting of hymns once associated with the Hussites and their reformation, the Lutheran swan was given a chance to quite literally sing one hundred years later. 13

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11 Žáci znali se v latině, potřebovali písně a poněvadž naše latinské písně měly lidové nápěvy a dokonce některé z nich byly i v lidu velmi populární, neostávali se jich užíti při svých koledách”, Ibid.

12 “S. Johannes Hůs hat von mir geweissagt, da er aus dem gefengnis ynn behmerland schreib, Sie warden itzt eine gans braten (den Hůs heist eine gans) Aber vber hundert iaren, werden sie einen schwaken singen horen, Den sollen sie leiden, Da soll auch bey bleiben, ob Gott wil.” Quoted in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimarer Ausgabe), (Weimar, 1883–2003), Vol. 30:3, p. 387. English translation from Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works (American Edition)*, Vol. 34, p. 103. Compare this passage from a 1412 letter of Jan Hus: “And this same truth has sent to Prague, in place of a weak and infirm goose, many falcons and eagles, which surpass all other birds in the sharpness of their vision; these, by the grace of God, fly high and capture the other birds with the help of Jesus Christ, who will support them and give strength to all his faithful” (Et haec eadem veritas pro uno Ansere infirmo et debili multos falcones et aquilas, quae acie oculorum alias aves superant, Pragam misit, hae alte gratia dei volitant, et Christo Jesu alias aves rapiunt, qui illos coroborabit, et omnes fideles suos confirhabit). František Palacký, *Documenta Magistri Iohannis Hus, tam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia, annis 1403–1418 motas illustrantia; quae partim adhuc inedita, partim mendose vulgata, nunc ex ipsis fontibus hausta*, (Prague, 1869), p. 40 (letter no. 17).

13 Other songs in the early Lutheran hymnary had been borrowed or adapted from the Hussite repertoire as well. Perhaps the best known of these is the communion hymn “Jesus Christus unser Heiland”, a textual and melodic paraphrase of the Hussite eucharistic hymn “Jesus Christus nostra salus”, which in turn derived its melody from the Czech devotional song “Otče bože všemohúcí”. Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*, Vol. 3, p. 408–11. See also the comparison of the melodies in Esther Criscuola de Laix, *Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg, ca. 1550–1630*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, (Berkeley, CA, 2009), p. 61–62.
Of the Latin Christmas songs appearing in early Lutheran hymnals, “Dies est laeticiae” and “In dulci jubilo” seem to have been the most widespread, and a closer analysis of them can illuminate several musical and textual characteristics that may account for their popularity. “Dies est laeticiae”, whose text and melody from the Babstisches Gesangbuch are shown in example 1b above, has four verses of ten short lines each, and it is set in a straightforward trochaic meter, with the rhyme scheme ab ab ccd. It also follows the familiar and widespread AAB form – the Barform typical of German song since the days of the Minnesänger, though early readers of hymnals needed no knowledge of either classical or German poetry to negotiate this song. The near-perfect correspondence between musical phrases and poetic lines in this song is emphasized in Babst’s musical and typographical setting. Each musical phrase is composed entirely of semibreves and ends with a breve; the text underlay is almost completely syllabic, with the exceptions clearly identifiable by means of ligatures. Following a common space-saving practice in early hymnals, commas (analogous to the solidi used in German hymn texts) are used to clarify the division of the text into poetic lines. The melodic profile of the song is distinctive and catchy: in each Stollen the opening rising tetrachord is perfectly balanced by a descending figure, and the same balanced structure is evident in the Abgesang as well: it opens with a buoyant swirl around c’, from which it descends first to the tonic of f and then down to c (see systems 2–3). Further extending the balanced structure, the song’s concluding phrase opens with a melodic figure almost identical to that of its first phrase (systems 3–4). At the same time, the chiefly stepwise motion of the melody and its moderate range (B♭–d’) make it easily negotiable by singers of moderate ability; the song dips only briefly to its lowest note of B♭ (see the end of system 3, at the beginning of the phrase “in divinitate”).

The text and music of “In dulci jubilo”, perhaps the most popular of these Latin Christmas songs, are given in example 3 (also taken from Babst). The jaunty tune, with its brightly triadic profile and lilting rhythm, is of course still well known today (with the text “Good Christian men, rejoice” in Anglophone hymnals). Perhaps its most striking feature, however, is its macaronic text, with its (not always strict) line-by-line alternation between Latin and German – an alternation that stood out visually as well as sonically, in the alternation between roman type and Fraktur. The song, or at least its text, is attributed to the fourteenth-century German Dominican mystic Henry Suso (Heinrich Seuse), who claimed in 1328 to have learned it from angels; indeed, the song’s use of “code switching” – to borrow a term from linguistics – does much to lend it an ecstatic, mystical character. But the song’s bilingual nature also would have had strong implications for the way it would have been

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understood by lay singers of a moderate educational level. As a bilingual song it is, of course, somewhat of an outlier within the “before our time” section of Luther’s hymnal. Most songs in this section were either fully in Latin or fully in German, with some of the German songs being translations of the Latin ones (e.g., “Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich” for “Dies est laeticiae”); many hymnals simply omitted the Latin versions. The Latin of “In dulci jubilo”, in contrast, is an indispensable part of the musical and textual structure and cannot be separated from the German because it dovetails with it syntactically: “unsers Hertzen Wonne leit in praesepio, und leuchtet als die Sonne matris in gremio” (our heart’s bliss lies in the manger and shines like the sun in his mother’s lap). At the same time, the piecemeal nature of the Latin in the song may have helped make it understandable to readers or singers with a limited understanding of the language. In particular, it is interesting to note that there are only two almost complete sentences among the song’s Latin phrases, both of which are extremely straightforward in their syntax: “Alpha es et O” at the end of verse 1, and “Trahe me post te” at the end of verse 2, which in turn is a direct quotation from Song of Songs 1:3: “Trahe me, post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum” (Draw me; we shall run after you in the scent of your perfumes). As a corollary, “es” and “trahe” are the only two Latin verbs in the entire song; all other occurrences are noun phrases or prepositional phrases.

Pre-Reformation Latin Christmas songs like “Dies est laeticiae” and “In dulci jubilo” also played a distinctive role within the Christmas liturgy in early Lutheranism. Lutheran church ordinances of the sixteenth century attest to the widespread custom of interpolating liturgical items sung by the choir with congregational songs on high feast days.16 On Christmas Day, “Dies est laeticiae” was customarily sung in alternation with the verses of the Gloria or sequence.17 At Christmas vespers, it was common practice to alternate verses of the Magnificat with stanzas of congregational hymns, with “In dulci jubilo” being a particularly popular choice.18

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16 On this practice, which predated the Reformation, see Joseph Herl, Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Centuries of Conflict, (Oxford, 2004), p. 58. The pre-Reformation German-texted Leisen – so called after their “Kyrieleis” refrains – were often used in this capacity as well (“Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ” at Christmas, “Christ ist erstanden” or “Christ lag in Todesbanden” at Easter, and “Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist” at Pentecost). I thank Prof. Herl for sharing with me his extensive unpublished notes on early Lutheran church ordinances, from which this information is taken.

17 Either sung or played on the organ (per church ordinances from Annaberg [1579] and Hatzkerode [1534?]; see previous note).

this practice. At Christmas mass, the rubric “Ad Et in terra, additur sequens canticum”, followed by the music and text of “Dies est laeticiae”, signals that this song is to be “added” to the Gloria – probably meaning that verses of the song are to be interspersed with verses of the Gloria. At vespers, the rubric preceding the Magnificat antiphon “Verbum caro factum est” indicates “Cui addantur cantica Joseph lever etc. & In dulci jubilo” – that is, the songs “Joseph, lieber Joseph mein” (itself a German version of another pre-Reformation Latin Christmas song, “Resonet in laudibus”) and “In dulci jubilo” are to alternate with verses of the Magnificat canticle. Of these two songs, however, Eler supplies music only for the former – probably to save space in the book, though the general popularity of “In dulci jubilo” likely factored into the decision as well.

It is interesting to note the melodic similarities between the interpolated Christmas songs and the liturgical chants to which they are assigned. The openings of the Kyrie Summum and the Gloria prescribed by Eler for Christmas Day mass are shown in examples 4a and 4b; both outline an ascending tetrachord that then descends back to the final note, following a melodic contour very similar to that of the opening of “Dies est laeticiae” (see again examples 1a and 1b above). The similarity is even more pronounced in the songs assigned for alternation with the Magnificat. The Magnificat tone assigned for Christmas in Eler’s service book is the one he designates tone 11, “Ionici” (i.e., the Ionian mode), which is a transposition of the traditional fifth

19 Franz Eler, Cantica sacra, partim ex sacris literis desumta, partim ab orthodoxis patribus, et piis ecclesiae doctoribus composta, (Hamburg, 1588; repr. Hildesheim, 2002), LV.
20 Ibid., LVII.

Magnificat tone from F to C; as in the traditional fifth tone, one of this tone’s most striking features is its triadic opening gesture (example 5a). The proper antiphon “Verbum caro factum est” shares this opening (example 5b), again following typical practice for liturgical chants in the fifth tone and its transpositions. Moreover, the opening phrases of both of the added songs (“Joseph leuer Joseph mein” in example 5c and “In dulci jubilo” in example 3 above) outline the same triad in one form or another, with slight variations: “Joseph leuer” inverts and redoubles the triadic gesture, while “In dulci jubilo” ornaments it with a passing tone. Besides bringing in the congregation as participants, then, the added Christmas hymns enhance the musical unity of this portion of the service, with the trademark tone 11 (or tone 5) triadic motion serving as a catchy melodic “hook”.

In addition to the Christmas songs, another very different group of four Latin song texts appears in several North German hymnals in the 1540s through 60s, this time outside the “before our time” section of the book and without notation. These were plainchant texts that had been theologically corrected by Hermann Bonnus, an early northern reformer who served as superintendent of the Latin school in Lübeck. Bonnus composed several such texts, most of which were associated with high feast days, and they became a staple of service books like Lucas Lossius’s widely reprinted Psalmodia (Wittenberg, 1553 et al.) and Matthaeus Ludecus’s Missale and Vesperale (Brandenburg, 1589). In northern hymnals, chant texts by Bonnus were usually placed in their own section, with the rubric “There follow some spiritual songs corrected by Master Hermann Bonnus” (“Volgen etlike geistlike Gesenge / Corrigeret dorch M. H. Bonnum”).

One of the most widespread of Bonnus’s reworked chant texts is that of the responsory “Discubuit Jesus”, which appears in service books both as part of matins on Maundy Thursday and as a chant to be sung by choirs during communion. Table 2 compares Bonnus’s text to the pre-Reformation version of the text as preserved in a fourteenth-century antiphoner, which includes as its central versicle the description of the feast of King Ahasuerus from Esther 1:3; Bonnus’s version centers on the account of the Last Supper from Luke chapter 22. Luther expressed his admiration for this responsory in a Table Talk of 1538, specifically referring to the pre-Reformation version of the text:

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21 Enchiridion Geistlicher Leder vñ Psalmen (Hamburg, 1558; hereafter Enchiridion 1558), fol. 110v.

22 See, e.g., Lucas Lossius, Psalmodia, Hoc est, Cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta, (Wittenberg, 1580), fols. 69r (where the chant is assigned to Maundy Thursday matins) and 322v–324r (where the notation appears with the heading “Quod sub sacra Communione canitur”). The 1561 edition of Lossius’s Psalmodia does not assign the responsory to Maundy Thursday but does recommend its use during communion, with the same heading (fols. 295r–296v).
it’s beautiful music, and also a beautiful text, except that they twisted [torserunt] it toward only one species, and the text about the feast of Ahasuerus is twisted. For St. Thomas [Aquinas] is said to have composed [these?] responsories, and he often joined verses of the Old Testament to those of the New Testament.²³

Bonnus’s emendation conforms exactly to Luther’s critique. He replaces the verse about earthly king’s “twisted” feast with Luke 22:19, describing Jesus’s offering of the cup to his disciples, so that both species are described within the responsory text; he also appends a rhymed doxology (“Gloria patri potentissimo [...]”). Yet even if the text was now more in line with Luther’s eucharistic theology, it is difficult to discern the role this responsory may have played within the vernacular devotional milieu of the hymnbook – especially

Table 2. Comparison of pre-Reformation and “corrected” texts of the responsory “Discubuit Jesus” (altered text in bold).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Fourteenth-century Austrian antiphoner*</th>
<th>“Corrected” version by Hermann Bonnus**</th>
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Jesus sat down to dine, and his disciples with him, and he said, “I have greatly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.” [R.] And having taken the bread, giving thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, “This is my body.” V. Ahasuerus made a great feast for his princes and servants that he might display the glories of his kingdom.

Jesus sat down to dine, and his disciples with him, and he said, “I have greatly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.” [R.] And having taken the bread, giving thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, “This is my body. And having taken the cup, giving thanks, he gave it to them and said, “This is my blood.” V. All of you eat and drink this, and as often as you do so, do so in memory of me. Glory to the most powerful Father, to his only-begotten Son, and to the most Holy Spirit, the Comfort-er, as it was in the beginning.

* Source: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29 (olim 38/8 f.), 186v. CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, (http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca), nos. 600586 and 600586a. This is one of only two appearances of this chant in this database, the second being a thirteenth-century antiphoner now held at Wroclaw, Biblioteka uniwersytecka (shelfmark F 401, 248r). The text is essentially the same in both sources.


²³ “Item caneabant aliiud responsorum: Discubuit Jesus etc. Dixit: Das ist ein schone note, auch ein schoner text. nisi quod ad unam speciem torserunt, et textus de convivio Asueri est detortus. Nam S. Thomas dicitur responsoria composuisse; qui plerunque ex novo testamento illa composuit et versus ex vteri testamento.” D. Martin Luthers Werke, Tischreden, Vol. 3, p. 60 (no. 3989). I thank Matthew Carver for directing me to this quotation.
when no notation was given, as is the case in all three of the hymnbooks in table 1 listed as including this text.\textsuperscript{24} In particular, it is hard to imagine that its lengthy, expansive, highly melismatic melody (whose opening is given in example 6) would have been as widely known as the simpler, more syllabic tunes of “Dies est laeticiae” and “In dulci jubilo”. Readers could conceivably have followed along with the text as a private meditation while it was being sung by the choir.\textsuperscript{25}

Another chant by Bonnus, “Rex Christe omnes in te laetamur”, was a revised version of the Marian antiphon “Regina caeli”. It too has a fairly lengthy and elaborate tune – partly by necessity, as Bonnus’s text is a good deal longer than that of the original antiphon. Its text is one of several emended Marian antiphons and prayers that were composed in both German and Latin during the first generation of the Reformation, by Bonnus, Urbanus Rhegius, and others; the Hamburg Enchiridion hymnals of 1558 and 1565 also include anonymous revised German versions of the “Salve Regina”, with the text incipit “Gegroetet seyst du Jesu ein konig der barmhertichkeit”.\textsuperscript{26} Mary E. Frandsen has pointed out that such “de-Marianized” reworkings of Marian antiphons had specific didactic potential, serving to impress upon Lutheran layfolk a proper understanding of Christ’s role as the sole Mediator.\textsuperscript{27} Although this text, like “Discubuit Jesus”, appears without notation in the hymnals listed in table 1, its tune – a direct adaptation of the traditional “Regina caeli” tune – is simpler overall than that of the responsory, falling more readily into discrete phrases and returning frequently to its final (see the opening phrases in example 7). We cannot know for sure to what extent that fact may have made

\textsuperscript{24} Geystlike leder vñ Psalmen vppet nye gebetert. (Magdeburg 1543), fols. CLXXIrv–v; Enchiridion 1558, 113v; and Enchiridion Geistlicher Leder vnd Psalmen D. Mar. Luth., (Hamburg, 1565; hereafter Enchiridion 1565), fols. 90v–91r.

\textsuperscript{25} On non-musical inclusions in early North German hymnals that may have been intended for silent devotion, see Criscuola de Laix, \textit{Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg}, p. 99–111.


\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 147 and 157.
the tune better known to readers of hymnals than that of “Discubuit Jesus”, though here too the didactic potential of the reworked antiphon may have made it a good candidate for private meditation, if not for singing.

Why were pieces like Bonnus’s “corrected” chants included within German hymnals, and why especially in North German hymnbooks? First, there was a local connection, Bonnus being based in the northern Hanseatic city of Lübeck, and there was a precedent in both of the Hamburg *Enchiridion* hymnals for including songs by North German authors alongside Luther’s hymnodic canon – some of which do not appear in any other contemporary hymnals. Second, this could simply be yet another instance in which Lutheran devotional sources used Latin for didactic or educational purposes, in keeping with Luther’s well-known endorsement: “For in no wise would I want to discontinue the service in the Latin language, because the young are my chief concern”. That naturally explains the presence of Bonnus’s chants in Latin plainchant collections like Lossius’s *Psalmodia* and Eler’s *Cantica sacra*, which were intended for use in Latin schools. But even Latin school students began their musical studies with the German hymns; the 1537 school ordinance from Hamburg stipulates that

at 12:00 noon, while the others [i.e., the upper classes] are singing [during daily church services], the boys of the earliest classes, along with a teacher, will sing the psalms and hymns that are used every day in the sacred rites.

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28“Allein in Godt vortrüwen”, by the former Hamburg mayor Albert Salsborch (*Enchiridion* 1558, fol. 69v, and *Enchiridion* 1565, fol. 55v), “Erred my Her tho disser tidt” by Joachim Willich, possibly a relative of the Hamburg Nikolaikirche deacon Nikolaus Willich (*Enchiridion* 1558, fol. 100r, and *Enchiridion* 1565, fol. 80r), and “Nu willet nicht vortzagen”, by Caspar Hackrodt, pastor at the Hamburg Petrikirche (*Enchiridion* 1558, fol. 125r, and *Enchiridion* 1565, fol. 100v). These song texts are reproduced in Gefcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsischen Gesangbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, nos. 57, 88, and 104, respectively (see also p. XXXIII). The Salsborch and Willich songs are among the relatively few in both *Enchiridion* hymnals to include notation. For a detailed discussion of the Salsborch song, see Criscuola de Laix, *Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg*, p. 92–99.


30“A meridie hora duodecima cum allii canent, tum primariaum classium pueri cum uno paedagogo psalmos et hymnos, quibus quotidie in sacris utimur, canent.” Richard Hoche, *Die Ordnungen der St. Johannis-Schule im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule in Hamburg, 3), (Hamburg, 1879), p. 12. See also the ta-
The students began learning Latin chant at the beginning of the third class, which was also when they began leading the singing at daily liturgies in the city’s churches. Perhaps the presence of the Bonnus chants within the hymnbook helped ease the transition to Latin chant within this kind of pedagogical context. Such a role certainly would have agreed well with their didactic purpose, though it must remain pure speculation for now.

However readers and singers may have used them, the Latin-texted songs and chants that appear in German hymnbooks should at least alert us to the possibility of “lay Latinity”, reminding us that not all “simple”, “average” laypeople of the early modern period were completely ignorant of Latin. As Rolf Engelsing has put it in his study of readership in early modern Germany, “Ein Bildungsmonopol der Oberschichten bestand nicht” – the upper classes had no monopoly on education.31 Recent studies of reading practices in the German-speaking lands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveal that members of the mercantile and artisanal classes did own books in Latin – from dictionaries to medical treatises to editions of Ovid, Cicero, and Boccaccio – and may have been able to read and engage with them, if only to a limited extent.32 If so, it is not inconceivable to imagine members of the same classes understanding the grammatical linkage between the German and the Latin in “In dulci jubilo”, or even following along with the texts of “Discubuit Jesus” or “Rex Christe omnes in te laetamur” while hearing them sung by the choir in church. They may even have had opportunities to sing them themselves, whether in church or not. Christopher Boyd Brown mentions a 1567 account from Joachimsthal of “members of the town council and honorable burghers” joining in the singing of Latin chant and polyphony.33 Although we as yet know of no such accounts from North Germany, one may hope that they will be uncovered by further research. For now, at least, the rare appearances of Latin within vernacular devotional literature – hymnals, catechisms, prayer books, postils, and similar works – make for a worthwhile starting point.

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33 Brown, Singing the Gospel, p. 39 and 224 n. 81.
2. Social Conflicts and the Use of the Vernacular in Swedish Reformation Liturgy

Martin Berntson

The Reformation in Sweden is often described by modern scholars as a process in which many traditional features of the late medieval culture of piety remained untouched until the early seventeenth century. At the same time the practical transformation of the culture of piety in Sweden during the sixteenth century was perceived, both by its adherents and its opponents, as constituting something of a revolution in devotional life. The use of vernacular languages in the liturgy was for example a central issue for many European reformers in the sixteenth century and an increasing use of the vernacular also became important for Lutheran theologians in the kingdom of Sweden, who translated the liturgical texts, or at least major parts of them, into both Swedish and Finnish and, later on, also into the Sami language. With regard to the transformation of the liturgy and the introduction of hymn singing, this use of the vernacular was a recurrent theme in the criticism and defence of the Reformation. During various social conflicts, both local and national, the transformation of the mass into vernacular languages was criticized, often in a very violent way. This gives rise to the questions of how and whether we can understand and reconcile these often fierce and violent negotiations with the idea of the smooth, practical implementation of the mass in Swedish. Were the opponents of the new mass merely objecting to rumours of the transformation, or might it be possible that these negotiations actually reflect liturgical change? If the latter is true, could these critical statements perhaps be used in order to better understand how the mass in Swedish was developed during the early Reformation?


In the following, I will relate the discussions on the vernacular liturgical texts found in sources relating to social and political conflicts, especially the so-called “upheavals” during the period between 1525 and 1543, to Reformation liturgical theology and to the transformation of the Swedish liturgy. The primary sources consist of various documents related to these conflicts, for example sources issued by the rebels, negotiation protocols, royal letters and chronicles.  

The Transformation of the Mass in Stockholm during the late 1520s and early 1530s

Celebration of the mass in Swedish was most likely introduced in Stockholm during the late 1520s. According to Johannes Messenius’ Stockholm-chronicle, the first mass celebration in Swedish took place in 1525 during the reformer and city chancellor Olaus Petri’s wedding. Since this account was written down close to a hundred years after the event, its value as a source is rather low. However, we know that in 1528 Olaus Petri claimed in his book about the sacraments that the mass should be performed in the vernacular and be read aloud (“Ath messan bör seyas på huart landzens tungomål, och all oordh oppenbarliga talas”), just like they did in Germany and like they had done for centuries in the Greek Orthodox Church. According to Olaus Petri it was natural to proclaim the gospel of God’s great good will to men, which should be understood by everybody, and since mass was “the sum of the gospel” (“en summa af hela Euangelio”), it was unreasonable to perform it in a language unknown to ordinary people. When it was performed in Latin, the atonement offered by the mass was not proclaimed to the people, instead it was obscured. Therefore, all singing and reading in the churches should be performed in a language that people understood. If not, it was better that the mass was not celebrated at all (”Ther så icke skeer ware better thet ware ogioordt”). However, he also acknowledged that such a transformation would appear strange to many people: “Of this follows that among us Swedes, the mass should be read and sung in Swedish language. However strange [“sälsynare”], when it first started to be read here in Latin, than it now will be when it begins to be read in Swedish”.  


According to the city council report, some form of mass in Swedish had been celebrated in Stockholm before May 1529 when the town council voted on the “evangelical matter” (“euangeliske sakenne”). After deciding that the gospel should be preached in a “clear and pure way” (“reent och clart predikas”), there was a vote on whether the mass in Swedish should continue to be upheld (“skulle bliffua stondandes eller ey”), a question that had been posed to the council by the king himself. The majority of the council voted that the mass in Swedish should continue to be celebrated, even though the Latin mass was also supposed to be used. From this we might draw the conclusion that the mass in Swedish had been in use for a while, and had been celebrated alongside the Latin mass.

However, a year later the council went a step further. In August 1530, just a few months after the diet of Augsburg, the council prohibited all use of the Latin mass in Stockholm: “It was decided by all the council that no mass in Latin would be held in the city. Therefore, all clergy and all friars and monks (“munkar”) were called to the town hall and were forbidden to celebrate mass in any language other than Swedish”.

In 1531, the year after mass in Latin was forbidden in Stockholm, Olaus Petri published his *Then swenska messan epter som hon nw holles i Stockholm medh orsaker hwar före hon så hallen wardher* (“The Swedish mass as it is now celebrated in Stockholm with reasons why it is celebrated in this way”). At the same time, he also published *Orsack hwar före Messan böör wara på thet tungomål som then menighe man forstondelighet är* (“Reasons why the mass should be performed in the language that the common man understands”). In this book, the author mentions that at that time mass in the Swedish language was celebrated in Stockholm and “in some other cities”. The author was, once again, well aware that this transformation would appear strange to many people, not least since many considered such a mass “un-christian”. As in his book about the sacraments, the reformer emphasized the importance of common man’s intellectual understanding of the mass texts, and therefore *as far as possible*, the liturgical texts should be translated into the vernacular. Since the mass was nothing more than the celebration of the holy communion instituted through the word of God, it could be regarded as

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6 It should be emphasized that this first decision on preaching did not concern the language. Rather it was a theological statement relating to the decisions at the diet in Västerås 1527, where it had been decided that the Word of God everywhere in the kingdom should be preached in a “pure way” [“allestadz j rikit renliga predicat varde”], *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, Vol. 4 (1527), (Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia, Första serien), (Stockholm, 1868), p. 231, a formula that possibly might be interpreted as a stance for Lutheran faith.

7 *Stockholms stads tänkebok* 1524–29 av Olaus Petri Phase (Skrifter utgivna av vetenskaps-societeten i Lund, 11), (Lund, 1929), p. 272f.

8 *Stockholms stads tänkebok*, p. 349.

sermon in it itself, a sermon inviting man to believe that Christ, through his death and suffering, had satisfied man’s sin and reconciled him with God, something which was remembered through eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ. To create faith in this reconciliation it had to be understood and therefore heard and proclaimed in an understandable language. Therefore, if mass was allowed to function as it should, it had to be celebrated in the language that was understood by the congregation.\footnote{Petri, Samlade skrifter [II], p. 391–393.} In this, as in other writings by Olaus Petri, we find an intuitive sense of the fact that people in Sweden tended to favour old traditions.

These very fragmentary sources concerning the early celebration of mass in Swedish in Sweden have been interpreted in various ways. The printed mass of 1531 has for example been regarded as an act of propaganda. The clergy in Stockholm, who already celebrated mass in Swedish before 1531, probably from handwritten texts, may have had more elaborate missals than the printed one, and the printed text could be regarded as an attempt to show the rest of the country that it was actually possible to celebrate mass in Swedish.\footnote{Folke Bohlin, “Luthers credo-psalm och Den svenska mässan 1531”, in Reformationen i Norden. Kontinuitet och förnyelse, (Skrifter utgitt av Nordiskt institut för kyrkohistorisk forskning, 3), Carl-Gustaf Andrén (ed.), (Lund, 1973), p. 241–262, p. 257.}

The mass in Swedish that was discussed in 1529 was not necessarily a solemn mass. Rather, it has been suggested that the mass in Swedish was introduced in Stockholm as a \textit{prima missa}, celebrated at a side altar in the town church in the morning before the solemn mass.\footnote{David Lindquist, Första-mässan i Stockholm. En liturgihistorisk studie (Samlingar och studier till Svenska kyrkans historia, 12), (Stockholm, 1945), p. 172–176, Yngve Brilioth, Nattvarden i evangeliskt gudstjänstliv, 2nd edition, (Stockholm, 1951), p. 343f.} Some scholars identify this liturgical act with the mass that was printed by the reformer Olaus Petri in 1531,\footnote{Åke Andrén, Nattvardsberedelsen i reformationstidens svenska kyrkoliv. Skriftermål och fasta, (Samlingar och studier till Svenska kyrkans historia, 27), (Stockholm, 1952), p. 72, Hjalmar Holmqvist, Svenska kyrkans historia III. Reformationstidevarvet I–II, (Stockholm, 1931:1), p. 167.} while others argue that the printed mass in Swedish was rather an attempt to develop the \textit{prima missa} in Swedish into a \textit{missa solemnis} in the same language.\footnote{Lindquist, Första-mässan, p. 182–186.} There is also a scholarly tradition that emphasizes the importance of understanding the Lutheran mass in Sweden in the context of late medieval liturgical preconditions, suggesting that the term “mass in Swedish” at this time could denote a variety of the form of the mass of which some preserved most of the traditional outward forms, including the Latin language. In this perspective, the mass, or rather masses, in Swedish that the city council report mentions may have related to different phenomena in 1529 and in 1530. Whilst the decree of 1529 may have referred to a specific form of mass in Swedish, the decision of 1530 to transform all previous “Latin” mass celebrations cannot only be related to the mass of 1531. It could rather be seen

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as a prohibition against masses including the Roman canon missae (i.e. the eucharistic Prayer), which was substituted with only the Words of Institution in the vernacular. According to this perspective, the term “mass in Swedish” does not necessarily imply a certain mass order, but rather a translation of the Words of Institution. In any case, the mass in Swedish printed 1531 was not a complete handbook for a solemn sung mass since there are no musical directions in the text. Neither was the edition as far as we know accompanied by any printed Kyriale or Gradual.

Due to the limited source material, the conclusions that can be drawn about liturgical development in Sweden at this time can only be more or less tentative. However, even though the aforementioned continuity perspective – which reads the Lutheran mass in the context of medieval liturgical traditions – is broadly tenable, some aspects of it can be discussed. One of the arguments in this school of thought is based on the reference to “monks” (probably designating mendicant friars) in the decision of 1530 who were also exhorted to celebrate mass in Swedish. It has been argued that it is not likely that the mendicants would have replaced the Latin mass and its proper with such a “meagre” (“torftig”) mass as the order of 1531, which would indicate that they celebrated some other form of less meagre mass in Swedish. Still, we cannot be certain that the mendicant friars really considered the mass of 1531 to be meagre, and if they did, it is not likely that they had many other options to choose from. At this time the mendicants in Stockholm had lost all forms of formal spiritual authority in the city. The Franciscan abbey at (today’s) Riddarholmen had been dissolved in 1527 and the Dominican abbey was closed only a year later as a consequence of a longer process of dissolution. In 1530 the mendicant friars that were present in Stockholm were in practice active as clergy outside any organized local convents or communities. To be able to remain as clergymen in the secular city churches, they most likely had to comply with the decisions of the council.

Another argument for the idea that the printed mass of 1531 did not correspond to the order for high mass in Swedish in Stockholm is based on the liturgical regulations included in Een lijten Postilla (“A small Postil”) 1530. These regulations were – according to this interpretation – inserted in the text

\[\text{15} \text{ Pahlmblad, Mässa, p. 36–42, 48f.}\]
\[\text{16} \text{ In the Swedish language at this time, the term “monks” designated both the brethren in, for example, the Cistercian and Birgittine monasteris as well as mendicant friars such as Franciscans and Dominicans. In Stockholm and in its proximity there existed only one Franciscan abbey, one Dominican abbey and, outside the city walls, a convent for the Franciscan Clarist Order. Therefore the term “monks” in the decision most likely refers to mendicants.}\]
\[\text{17} \text{ Pahlmblad, Mässa, p. 37.}\]
\[\text{18} \text{ See Martin Berntson, Kloster och reformationen. Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596, (Skellefteå, 2003), p. 96, 102.}\]
to meet the liturgical requirements of the parish church in Stockholm, and ruled that the sermon should end with a common prayer and confession of sins in the vernacular. This would indicate that the high mass in Stockholm had a different liturgical structure than the printed liturgy of 1531, which, according to this interpretation, rather designated a low mass.20 This is a possible interpretation, but it should be emphasized that Een lijten Postilla of 1530 does not necessarily reflect the contemporary liturgical practices of Stockholm. Rather Een lijten Postilla was explicitly directed to ministers who were not so “skilled” or “sensible” (“forstondighe”) and who “as yet had little knowledge of the Bible” (“än nw fõgho grund haffua j scrifftene”).21 This orientation toward unlearned and presumably non-Lutheran clergy is also evident in the liturgical regulations mentioned in the Postil, which are described in the following way: “Since many of the clergy are so ignorant in their understanding (“eenfaldige i theres forstond”) that they do not know how to begin their sermon, they may use this prescribed way”.22 The “simple” and “ignorant” clergy that Olaus Petri is referring to are most likely parish clergy in the countryside. Since this parish clergy, because of their as yet “little knowledge of the Bible” still wanted to perform the mass in a traditional way, this would also help to explain why the liturgical regulations in Een lijten Postilla were rather traditional.23 They were also in line with the decisions, characterized by a conservative and yet reform-minded stance, taken at the synod in Örebro 1529.24

Consequently, it is difficult to know exactly how the mass in Swedish was celebrated in Stockholm at the end of the 1520s and during the early 1530s. However, a body of source material that is seldom used to understand these liturgical transformations is to be found in the letters from the rebels and negotiators during the Western Rising in 1529 and the Third Uprising

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20 Pahlmblad, Mässa, p. 54f.
22 “Epter thet at somblige clerker äre så eenfaldige i theres forstond at the icke weta huru the skola begynna theres predicatn, The må bruka thette epterscreffna sätt”, Petri, Samlade skrifter [III], p. 9, 467–70.
24 “Item skole förtäld varda i alla predikan Fadher vår, Credo och Ave Maria för ungt och enfaldigt folk skul och tyo Gudz bodhord ena reso eller två i månadhen, och skole the hafva ens åkallan i begynnelsen på predikanen och ens beslutning”, Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia, Vol. 1:1, p. 110f. The churches in Stockholm were also formally obliged to follow the decisions of the Örebro meeting. However, as in the countryside, it is not clear whether the decisions really were accepted. For example, Olaus Petri, who was in a leading position in these church reforms, calmed the German burghers in Stockholm who thought that the decisions were a backward step for the Reformation, by stating that the decisions taken in Örebro were aimed at performing a gentle Reformation among the people in the country, “You have to go slowly with the people here in the country” (“man moste fara sachta medh theta folket her j landet”), Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529, Ludvig Larsson (ed.), (Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund, 11), (Lund, 1929), p. 188–189.
in Dalarna in 1531. One of the earliest references to the mass in Swedish is actually found in a letter from inhabitants of Western Småland to inhabitants of Västergötland dated 8 April 1529. This letter was written during the early days of the Western Rising of 1529, traditionally known as “The Upheaval of the Nobility in Västergötland”, and was issued in order to create a rebel alliance between the inhabitants of the two provinces. In the letter, the receivers were exhorted to rise against the tyrant king Gustav Vasa who was accused of various intrusions in the business of the church, for example translating the mass into Swedish (“fförwandlath messona paa swenska”).

This upheaval was suppressed at the beginning of May 1529 and some months later, at the diet in Strängnäs, the king answered the criticisms raised against him by the rebels. Concerning the accusation of translating the mass into the Swedish language (“ther hans n förkastas att han haffuer latid förwandla messone påå suensth måll”) he replied that he neither sought to prescribe nor to forbid mass in Swedish. However, he had let people decide about this, and these people had founded their work in the Bible. And with a twist typical of Gustav Vasa, he claimed that he, as a king, did not have the authority to exercise power over the word of God. Furthermore, according to the king, this use of the vernacular was not unique to Sweden. The mass had been translated in Germany, Livonia, Denmark, Holstein and in various other countries. Furthermore, the king concluded that the use of the mass in Swedish did not imply that the Latin mass was abolished. Rather, it was still celebrated.

The king’s role in the process of reforming the liturgy was ambiguous. Even though the king’s political support to Olaus Petri and other Stockholm reformers was a prerequisite for these reforms, at this point of time, the king’s interest in the Reformation was primarily oriented toward its economic and political gains, not the reform of rituals per se. Some years later, he would explicitly try to slow the liturgical development considering that people became upset over these kinds of changes.

Based on the king’s response at the diet in Strängnäs, we might conclude that the accusations of the Småland rebels were not empty words. The king did not despise the accusations and claim they were untrue (which he usually did not hesitate to do), rather he defended the changes, and neither did he claim that only a minor part of the liturgy was translated. Furthermore, it is obvious that the main reason behind the king’s exhortation to the city council to vote for or against the mass in Swedish in May 1529 is directly related to the fact that pointing to celebration of masses in the vernacular was used to...


27 See the discussion in Martin Berntson, Kättarland. En bok om reformationen i Sverige, (Skellefteå, 2017), p. 297.
slander the king during the Western Rising. It cannot be ruled out that the king himself was rather sceptical of these relatively radical transformations of the mass. In consequence of the decisions taken in Stockholm, two months later at the diet in Strängnäs, the king could emphasize that Latin mass was still being celebrated in the city.

Concerning the process of implementing the vernacular mass, the year 1531 is decisive in many ways. Not only was a form of mass order in Swedish printed and promoted this year, it was also criticized. During this year the bishops Magnus Sommar of Strängnäs and Peder Månsson of Västerås wrote a secret protest against the establishment of evangelical teaching in the country. In this protest, one of the heretic misuses that they identified as having entered the country was the celebration of the mass in the vernacular (“messe handningh på thet Swenske tungemål”, “missis celebrandis in lingua vulgari”).

During the Third Uprising in Dalarna (a province belonging to the diocese of Västerås), also known as “The Bell Rebellion”, the Dalecarlians claimed that they neither wanted to support nor to listen to the masses in Swedish. In his reply, written in March 1531, the king Gustav Vasa once again claimed that it was not he as a king who had commanded anyone to celebrate mass in Swedish. He had only approved this request from the council and common man in Stockholm. Furthermore, the council in Stockholm, where Olaus Petri was chancellor, also gave a response to the Dalecarlians, and informed them that neither they nor anyone else would suffer from hearing the mass in Swedish. If the Dalecarlians wanted, they could still use their own masses. However, the Stockholmers claimed that man gained greater “godliness” (“gudelighet”) from hearing something in his own language than in a foreign one. According to this document, it was narrow-minded to show such contempt for the vernacular. Once again, Swedish rebels were reminded that in Germany, Livonia and Denmark people celebrated mass in their vernacular.

The replies given by both the king and the council shows that each parish had the option to choose which liturgy it wanted. In Stockholm, the mass was celebrated in the vernacular just because the people of the city wanted it. The inhabitants in Dalarna could also chose which mass they wanted to celebrate. The king and the council also defended a mass that was clearly celebrated in the vernacular. This interpretation, that the “mass in Swedish” at this time could denote a mass in which a large portion of the words were read or sung in the vernacular, does not rule out the possibility that references to “mass in

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29 Here the sole source of the criticism is found in the king’s reply, where he recapitulated the complaints directed against him, *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, Vol. 7 (1530–31), p. 294.
31 Ibid., p. 529.
Swedish” also could signify a solemn mass in Latin, in which only the words of institution were translated. However, in the discussions no masses of that kind were ever explicitly mentioned. If masses dominated by the Latin language were still being celebrated in Stockholm at this time, this fact ought to have been mentioned in the replies to Dalarna, just as the king had done two years earlier (before the Latin mass was forbidden) in his reply to the rebels in Småland. Such a defence would have been in line with the usual royal strategic rhetoric of this time, which emphasized that older traditions were still upheld whilst in practice encouraging reforms.32

The Dissemination of the Mass in Swedish during the 1530s and Early 1540s

As has been discussed earlier, we have only fragmentary knowledge concerning the kind of mass in Swedish that was celebrated in Stockholm and other places during the early 1530s. When it comes to the mass written by Olaus Petri, it is usually held that at least the inspiration came from Andreas Döber’s Nüremberger Mass of 1525, which was an adaption and translation of Martin Luther’s Formula missae of 1523. In the mass order of 1531, the printed parts at least actually took place in Swedish. For example, some of the minister’s prayers and the words of institution, which earlier on were to be read silently, were read aloud in Swedish. Furthermore, the Kyrie, Gloria with Laudamus, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Gradual and Introit were in Swedish. Apart from the transformation of the language, there were other innovations in the new mass. The canon missæ was abolished and the Sanctus was placed after and not before the Words of institution. Both bread and wine were to be administered to the people.33

The instructions and the liturgical text in the third edition of this Mass in Swedish (1537) are basically the same as in the 1531 edition. However, in the 1537 edition is included an appendix that gave some alternatives to the main text. If mass was sung and if anyone at a given moment wanted to sing the Introit and Gradual in Latin, this was allowed, but only if the texts came from the Bible.34 Furthermore, in practice, some ministers added notes about traditional rituals in the mass by hand.35 Some of the old musical traditions of the dioceses were re-used and fused with vernacular texts. Consequently, people could recognize older rites and melodies despite the innovative texts.36 The 1541 edition of the mass in Swedish made even more concessions to the use of

33 Petri, Samlade skrifter [II], p. 405–426, Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3 – Reformationstid, p. 78.
34 Petri, Samlade skrifter [II], p. 443.
36 See for example Folke Bohlin, Upptakter i den svenska vokalmusikens historia, (Göteborg, 2014), p. 109 f.
Latin. As in the 1537 edition, it was possible to use a Latin Introit and Gradual (even though the main alternatives were still in Swedish), and it also became possible for the minister to read the Confiteor on his own in Latin, but only as an alternative to the vernacular act of confession. Furthermore, the Credo could also be read in Latin. Even though there were more Latin alternatives in 1541, the liturgy as a whole, at least as it was printed, was primarily supposed to be in the vernacular.\footnote{Messan på Swensko, (Uppsala, 1541).}

This addition of optional texts in Latin in the 1537 and successive editions has been interpreted as a way of making the printed mass congruent with the actual practice of celebration of the mass in Swedish in Stockholm, which – according to this interpretation – could be celebrated in several ways. Thereby “Mass in Swedish” was a term that could imply various forms of mass celebration, including, for example, masses where only the words of institution were translated.\footnote{Pahlmblad, Mässa, p. 47, 86, 91, 128–33.}

Due to the scarce source material, our knowledge of how the mass was actually celebrated is fragmentary, but I would argue that it is reasonable to regard the continuity provided by the Latin alternatives as a possible way to create a celebration reminiscent of traditional solemn mass.\footnote{Berntson, “Striden” p. 91–121, p. 108.} Furthermore, this Latinization process could be related in part to the decisions at the Synod of Uppsala in 1536 where it had been decided that the clergy of the whole kingdom should attempt to celebrate mass in Swedish in the cathedrals and in the parish churches “where it could possibly be done”.\footnote{Sven Kjöllerström, “De kyrkliga förhandlingarna i Uppsala 1536”, in Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift 1936, p. 228–245, p. 50f.} These decisions are in many ways obscure. They have been understood as a demand to celebrate Olaus Petri’s printed mass all over the kingdom,\footnote{See Holmquist, Svenska, p. 246–247.} but it has also been emphasized, and I fully agree with this interpretation, that this decree did not imply a “final victory” for Lutheran mass celebration in the vernacular.\footnote{Pahlmblad, Mässa, p. 46.} But if we identity the “mass in Swedish” with the mass orders in the vernacular which were similar to, or at least related to the printed order of 1531, the decree of 1536 implies that this form of mass advanced from sporadic local celebration to a national concern. As we have seen, and as will be shown later, there existed a negative attitude toward the mass in Swedish, as it was implemented locally outside Stockholm. In order to simplify its implementation in the parishes some of the texts were permitted to have Latin alternatives.\footnote{The Latinization of the mass is highly evident in De officiis, written by Archbishop Laurentius Petri, probably in the 1560s, in which the cathedrals, not least for didactic reasons – for the sake of the pupils’ Latin teaching – were recommended to use Latin alternatives. Ärkebiskop Laurentius Petri d.ä.:s gudstjänstordning [De officiis] (Liturgia Suecana, Ser. A:2) (Stockholm, 1927), p. 24, 28, 38. Several of the texts that were allowed to be sung in
During the 1530s we find sporadic records of the introduction of the mass in Swedish in the countryside. In November 1535, a royal letter claims that bishop Henrik Jönsson had introduced the mass in Swedish in Rytterne parish church in Västmanland, which had not been appreciated by some parishioners who called it “heresy”.

In Asby parish in Östergötland, the vicar Nils was almost killed by the parishioners inside the church when he tried to introduce the new mass.

During the following year, there was an attempt to introduce the mass in Swedish to Skellefteå parish church, and according to a local chronicle written in the 1540s, “it was not much welcome”. Most likely this unwelcoming attitude toward the mass in the vernacular – along with violent reactions against other forms of infringements in traditional practice – meant that the clergy did not attempt to further transform mass celebration in Skellefteå for many years. The mass in Swedish was probably introduced to Skellefteå in a more successful way by the vicar Andreas Olavi – and not by the vicar and later bishop Ericus Svenonis Hjort as is claimed in older research – in 1544 when he abolished all “papist ceremonies” (“papistisca ceremonier”), which at least seemed to involve introducing celebration sub utraque. According to Olavi himself, at this time the older ceremonies were abolished “without any racket and annoyance” (“utan alt buller och förargelse”).

Latin in *De officiis*, for example the Introit, Gradual and the Creed, were also permitted to be sung in Latin in the 1541 edition of the mass in Swedish. As in this edition most of the liturgy was also supposed to be sung in the vernacular. However, whilst it was presupposed that the Preface was sung in Swedish it was also permitted to sing it in Latin. According to *De officiis*, the two vernacular prefaces from the printed editions of the mass in Swedish were in use, “nevertheless at times the Latin prefaces could also be sung”: “Præfationes tantum duæ linguae vulgaris iam nobis in vsu sunt, quorum altera longior, breuior altera. Possent tamen interdu[m] et latinae Præfationes ca[n]tari...Nam inter Præfationes latinas, sunt pleræ[que] perq[uam] piae ac christianæ”, De officiis, p. 40. The need to emphasize that the alternative Latin prefaces were “pious and Christian” implies that the readers were familiar with the Swedish prefaces but were sceptical of or unfamiliar with the old, presumably catholic, ones. All in all, the order in *De officiis* was more conservative than the mass in Swedish. However, the permission to use Latin alternatives in *De officiis* was not a concession to the traditional congregations in the countryside, but explicitly related to their educational function in the city cathedrals. There exists a parallel in the Danish bishop Peder Palladius’ book of visitation, from ca 1540, in which it is ruled that the “sognedegn” (a form of verger) should not sing in Latin in the parish church except during Easter, Pentecost and Christmas at which times he should use Latin to show his education and thereby attract children to go to school. Peder Palladius, *Visitatsbog*, Lis Jacobsen (ed.), (København, 1925), p. 69f.

44 Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3 – Reformationstid, p. 82–83.
46 According to the same chronicle, the reform-minded chaplain Andreas Olavi (actually the author of the chronicle) had to stand close to half an hour in the pulpit before he could preach since the parishioners thought he was mad in trying to change the traditional liturgical Vesper into a preaching ceremony, see Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia, Vol. 17, (Stockholm, 1832), p. 56–60.
47 Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia, Vol. 17, p. 57, concerning the confusion between Andreas Olavi and Ericus Svenonis Hjort, see Martin Berntson, “Skara stift – vägen mot konfessionalisering”, in *Vägen mot bekännelsen. Perspektiv på organisation,*
As has been suggested, the reformers themselves were well aware that people would not appreciate the new mass, and the many violent protests may have confirmed this. The alternatives that were made available in the third and later editions of Mass in Swedish should be understood in the context of these reports about popular protest against the use of vernacular in the mass, which in practice made the introduction of the mass in Swedish difficult in many parishes. The Latin alternatives could therefore be regarded as a way – successful or not – to pacify both congregations and clergy. However, this continuity with late medieval liturgy was just an alternative to the text in the vernacular. These options could be regarded as acknowledgement of traditional parish piety, and should be related to the decrees of the Synod of Uppsala of 1536. The mass in Swedish was to be celebrated in cathedrals and in some parishes where – in my interpretation – lack of popular resistance against such celebrations meant that “it was possible”.

During 1540 a general visitation was performed in some dioceses and it is likely that this visitation involved the introduction of some form of mass in Swedish. During winter and spring 1540 the most “Catholic” dioceses, Skara, Linköping and Växjö, were visited by the new superintendent, Georg Norman, together with the abovementioned Lutheran bishop of Västerås Henrik Jönsson. During the visits numerous monstrances, chalices and patens were confiscated. Georg Norman’s visitation order Articuli Ordinantiae included a mass liturgy which had many traditional features (for example the ringing of an altar bell), but like Olaus Petri’s mass, the words of institution were read in Swedish. This mass in Latin was probably supposed to be celebrated by bishops on certain important feast days. However, we do not really know what kind of mass was imposed during the visitation. The only record of the imposition of a mass in Swedish at this time is in the Diarium Vadstenense, where it says that the mass in Swedish was introduced in the abbey church in Vadstena by bishop Henrik Jönsson in May 1541. The nuns participated through singing the Salve sancta parens. This celebration did take place at one of the many side altars in the abbey church, and for many years Latin mass and mass in the vernacular seem to have been celebrated side by side in Vadstena. Consequently, what was introduced in Vadstena was most likely not the mass from Articuli Ordinantiae, but a liturgy that mostly consisted of texts in the vernacular, and this was probably also the case in celebrations in other churches during the visitation. If a full mass in the vernacular was

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48 Petri, Samlade skrifter [II], p. 443, Berntson, Striden, p. 110.
49 Vadstenadiariet. Latinsk text med översättning och kommentar, Claes Gejrot (ed.), (Stockholm, 1996), p. 457–459. Pahlmblad has argued that most likely it was the order in Articuli ordinantiae that was celebrated in Vadstena in 1541. Even though this is a possibility, it should be noticed that this order was only supposed to be celebrated during major feast days. According to the chronicle the celebration took place at a side altar and it was celebrated by Bishop Henrik Jönsson, who as we have seen, had been familiar for many years...
introduced during the visitation of 1541, this gives a natural setting for the agitation against the mass in Swedish during the so-called Dacke rebellion of 1542–1543.

During the Dacke rebellion, the rebels demanded that the mass in Latin should be reintroduced. In the chronicle of Rasmus Ludvigsson, written approximately thirty years after the rebellion, we are told that in July 1542 the peasants close to Växjö claimed that they would not negotiate until the old tradition of the mass was reintroduced.\textsuperscript{50} At the negotiations in Bergkvara in July 1542, Nils Dacke claimed that mass should be practiced according to the old order, otherwise there would be no conciliation.\textsuperscript{51} This account in the chronicle is supported by contemporary sources. According to an open royal letter to the people, issued in 1543, the rebels disliked mass celebrations in Swedish (“swenske Mässer”).\textsuperscript{52} Furthermore, a royal letter of July 1543 mentions rumours that a royal bailiff had given permission for some clergy in Småland to celebrate mass in Latin.\textsuperscript{53}

According to the chronicle of Ernst Jöransson Tegel (printed 1622), a list of complaints from the common man was presented to the royal negotiators during autumn 1542. In one of the complaints it was claimed that the old church traditions, including the mass, should be restored: “That the mass in Swedish and other services in the church may be celebrated as in ancient times since soon the mass might be whistled by a child behind a dung wagon” (“Att medh then Swenske Mässa och andre Kyrckiones brukninger måtte holles effer som gammelt och foort hade waret. Ty ett Barn kunde snart widh een Dyngewagn hwisle een Mässa fram”).\textsuperscript{54} We have an even older version of this statement in the chronicle of Per Brahe the elder. The words here are also related to negotiations during the autumn of 1542, during which it was claimed that the newly married clergy were greedy and many of the vicars were so poorly instructed that they might as well stand behind a dung wagon and whistle the mass: (“[…] och at många prester wore icke batter lärde, ähn the kunde stå wid ehn dygnewagn och huisla en messa fram”).\textsuperscript{55} In both versions, the phrase appears in relation to a request to the king to reintroduce the Latin mass, and it is also indicated that the new mass was too “secular” (resembling

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\textsuperscript{50} Anteckningar från det sextonde seklet, Johann Axel Almquist (ed.), (Historiska handlingar, 20), (Stockholm, 1905), p. 65.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 66.

\textsuperscript{52} Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur, Vol. 15 (1543), (Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia, Förra serien), (Stockholm, 1893), p. 136.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 419.


\textsuperscript{55} Per Brahe, Fortsättning af Peder Svarts krönika, (Lund, 1897), p. 44.
a dung wagon) and all too easy to perform. Consequently, through the intro-
duction of the mass in vernacular, it became so simple to celebrate the mass
that everybody, not only the clergy who had knowledge of Latin, could do it.\textsuperscript{56}

These statements can be related to the attempts to establish the evangelical
cult in the southern dioceses during the early 1540s. After the Dacke Rebel-
lion, the king actually intensified evangelical teaching in these dioceses. The
complaints that had been articulated by the rebels were answered in a firm and
official way by the king at the diet of Västerås in 1544. At this diet, the king
openly claimed that ordinary people had been deceived by the clergy for cen-
turies; deceived into believing for example that there would be more “power”
in Latin masses than in the holy gospel, faith in Christ, mass in Swedish and
in love of one’s neighbour and secular authority. Therefore learned people
had gathered with the king and discussed those things that people tended to
complain about, for example, that mass was not celebrated in Latin and that
monstrances were not placed on the altar, and so on. According to the king,
they had concluded that since these misuses contradicted the word of God and
would damage people’s souls, they should be abandoned.\textsuperscript{57}

Even though we do not know much about what kind of liturgical texts were
implemented in southern Sweden in the 1530s and early 1540s, through the
complaints from the rebels and through the king’s reply at the diet of Västerås
in 1544, it is reasonable to believe that large parts of the liturgical texts were
read or sung in the vernacular. However, this does not deny the possibility
that Latin texts were still used as alternatives or as complements to the texts
in Swedish. Furthermore, it does not rule out the possibility that a more tra-
ditional, and less vernacular, mass could also have been celebrated in a solemn
way, for example in cathedrals and in many parish churches. However, during
the 1530s and early 1540s in the kingdom of Sweden it was probably also en-
tirely possible to celebrate various forms of masses in the vernacular involv-
ing more than just the words of institution being translated, a fact that makes
the violent reactions towards these celebrations understandable.

The complaints against the transformation of the church rituals are often
rather concise, and presupposes that the reader or listener understands the
problems. It is therefore a complicated matter to gain a full picture of the
mentality that lies behind the defence of the Latin mass as well as other tra-
ditional ceremonies. However, from these fragmentary statements we might
notice some lines of thought that might have influenced the agitation. It should
however be emphasized that the Latin mass is seldom defended in itself, but
rather together with other institutions and ceremonies that were threatened

\textsuperscript{56} See the discussion in Martin Berntson, “Reformationsmotstånd och en kyrkosyn i föränd-
ring”, in Auktoritet i förvandling. Omförhandling av fromhet, lojalitet och makt i refor-
mationstidens Sverige, (Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia 49), (Uppsala, 2012), p. 33–69,
p. 60–62.

\textsuperscript{57} Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia
1:1, (Stockholm, 1887), p. 342, 349 f.
by the Reformation, such as monasteries, holy unction, holy water, the cult of saints, and so on.

First, especially at the time of the Dacke Rebellion, the dung-wagon metaphor indicates that the vernacular was regarded as too primitive. Whilst the priest’s professionalism was traditionally based on his knowledge of the foreign and presumably magic language of Latin through which he could infuse power into candles, salt, water and also turn wine into blood, through the Reformation everybody could – in theory – perform these acts which therefore seemed to lose their status. We find parallels to this opinion in the Lutheran archbishop Laurentius Petri’s apology for the transformation of the mass from 1542. He refers to an argument against the mass in Swedish, that the evangelical believers sang hymns when they sat drunk at the tavern, and through that kind of behaviour the word of God was disgraced and despised. In *Malmøbogen*, the Danish Reformation theologian Peder Laurentsen claimed that a man or a woman who is sitting on a dung wagon (“møgwogen”) singing the “Ten commandmends of God” or another hymn from the Bible, praising God, he or she should be held in higher esteem than monks or canons who are standing all day singing and reading without understanding the actual words they are uttering. Here, just like during the rebellion, the dung wagon is used as antipole to the sacred church room.

Second, the mass in Swedish was associated with “poisonous” or heretical teachings. It was an outward sign of an inward spiritual corruption in the state that would eventually turn all Swedes into pagans who would have no access to salvation. For example, during the Western Rising of 1529, the mass in Swedish was designated along with other heretical uses, such as abolishment of the other sacraments and the mocking of saints, as damnable paganism. The conclusion was that “we will soon become pagans and condemned unless we take this opportunity” (“Ther wij maagom snarliiga bliffwa hedninga medt oc ffördömde ffor wtan thet i tima bliffuer tiil wara takiit”).

Conclusion

Despite the tentative nature of the conclusions that can be drawn about liturgical developments during the early Reformation in Sweden, I have favoured the more traditional way of regarding the mass in the vernacular being successively Latinized in order to be accommodated by the traditionally minded people of Sweden. The complaints that were articulated during both the Western rising and during the Third Uprising in Dalarna, as well as the responses to these complaints, suggest, along with various other forms of discontent during the 1530s, that the mass in Swedish was perceived as dominated by the

58 Laurentius Petri, *Dialogvs om then förwandling som medh messone skedde* [...], (Wittenberg, 1587), fol. 68r.
use of the vernacular and that this transformation was regarded as an unchristian and strange development. This discontent, along with the need to implement the mass in Swedish all over the kingdom, made it important to make it possible to Latinize the mass, as a way to pacify the people. Consequently, Swedish liturgical life at the end of Gustav Vasa’s regime in the late 1550s, has a rather “motely” appearance.\(^{61}\)

It should however be emphasized that the sources are relatively fragmentary when it comes to explaining the real problem with the ecclesiastical innovations. It is not obvious whether the traditional opponents of the mass in Swedish wanted the whole liturgy in Latin or if they were happy with single parts being translated. However, considering the problems that were associated with the fact that “everybody” – even a boy behind a dung wagon – was now considered able to celebrate mass, and with regard to the opinion that man gained greater “godliness” through hearing their own language, it should be assumed that people reacted against a liturgy – or rather, various liturgies – where most parts were translated into the vernacular, not only the words of institution. However, if these opponents defended a fully Latin mass, could they comply with the various concessions regarding Latin that we see during the latter half of the 1530s? The intention of these concessions, according to my interpretation, was to create a compromise and to reintroduce some traditional features of the mass whilst at the same time preserving a biblically anchored evangelical mass in the vernacular. In the short run, these optional concessions may not have been fully successful. However, although it is difficult to know how the mass was celebrated in Swedish parishes in the 1530s and 1540s, it is likely that it took various forms concerning music and texts between the dioceses. This intended cultic pluralism might actually – in the long run – have proven to be a successful strategy. After the Dacke rebellion, we do not find much resistance to the new mass with these revisions. Instead, people seem to have become more or less familiar with the prayers and hymns in the more or less vernacular masses. In 1580, close to forty years after the publication of the 1541 edition of the mass in Swedish, king Johan III had to issue open letters to the people to dismiss the recurrent rumours that his new liturgy would result in the reintroduction of the old mass in Latin.\(^{62}\) Hereby, in response to these rumours, people anxiously defended an ecclesiastical tradition that, forty years earlier, their ancestors had risked their lives trying to suppress.


3. Drafting a New Lutheran Liturgy in Post-Reformation Iceland

Árni Heimir Ingólfsson

The Reformation, begun in Iceland in 1541 and violently culminating in 1550 with the beheading of Jón Arason, the country’s remaining Roman Catholic bishop, brought about a decisive change in liturgy and music. Yet it took another half century to achieve overall uniformity in liturgical practice; the first local hymnal was printed only in 1589, followed by a missal in 1594. The question of how music was employed in the liturgy during the intervening four decades has largely gone unanswered, not least because source material is scarce. In this chapter, I will discuss the surviving Icelandic manuscript sources from the second half of the sixteenth century. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to two previously overlooked fragments containing plainchant in Icelandic translation; I would suggest that these were written ca. 1544–1562 and give new insight into the state of liturgical music in Iceland in the mid-sixteenth century. I will also discuss, in less detail, a nearly complete gradual-antiphoner written in part by the Icelandic bishop of the southern diocese in ca. 1575, and a nearly complete school/cathedral antiphoner from the country’s northern diocese, written at roughly the same time. These manuscripts and fragments are unique witnesses to liturgical music in Iceland during this period, and virtually none of their material was ultimately taken up in the printed books published towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Liturgical Difference in Iceland, from ca. 1550

In terms of ecclesiastical organization, Iceland was from the twelfth century divided into two bishoprics, with cathedrals at Skálholt in the southwest and Hólar in the north. The diocese of Skálholt was by far the larger of the two, as it encompassed three of the island’s four “quarters” (fjörðungar) – south, east, and west – while that of Hólar encompassed only the north. Each cathedral was connected with a school in which around 20–25 young men were enrolled, and Skálholt and Hólar were the only small hamlets in what was until
the eighteenth century a country made up almost exclusively of small farms along the coastline. The country’s total population is estimated to have been roughly 40,000, and the inhabitants of Skálholt and Hólar usually numbered around 100 in each place.¹ In 1537, the Danish king Christian III issued his church ordinance for Iceland (in Latin); this was ratified peacefully in the Skálholt diocese in 1541 but the Catholic bishop at Hólar held out until 1550, as stated above.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Hólar was served by two consecutive bishops, while three consecutive bishops held office in Skálholt (see Table 3). The second Lutheran bishop of Skálholt, Marteinn Einarsson, resigned from office in 1557 after a dispute over the king’s influence, returning to his old parish. As discussed further below, his successor was the somewhat backward-looking Gísli Jónsson, who in turn was succeeded by the far younger Oddur Einarsson. At Hólar, the towering figure of this period was the erudite humanist Guðbrandur Þorláksson, who sat in office for 56 years, the longest of any Icelandic bishop.

Table 3. Bishops in Iceland, ca. 1550–1600.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishops of Skálholt:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marteinn Einarsson, 1549–1557 (b. ca. 1505?, d. 1576)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gísli Jónsson, 1558–1587 (b. ca. 1515)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oddur Einarsson, 1589–1630 (b. ca. 1559)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishops of Hólar:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ólafur Hjaltason, 1552–1569 (b. ca. 1491)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guðbrandur Þorláksson, 1571–1627 (b. 1541)</td>
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There was only one printing press in Iceland and this was located at Hólar, which gave greater weight to the considerably smaller diocese. Several important books were published in the first decades after the Reformation, including Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson’s monumental bible translation in 1584, but liturgical books containing music were not among them. A handful of hymn books or pamphlets were printed without music (in 1555, 1558, and 1562), but these sometimes contained different translations of German and Danish hymns and were thus unlikely to achieve liturgical unity; if anything, they undermined it.²

Surviving sources from the last decades of the sixteenth century suggest a liturgical/musical dispute between the two bishops, at Skálholt and Hólar, that hindered uniformity throughout the island. This seems to have been a gener-


² Although nearly 100 years old, the magisterial volume by Páll Eggert Ólason, Upptök sálma og sálmalaga í lútherskum sið á Íslandi (Reykjavík, 1924) is still unsurpassed for its overview of early music publishing in Iceland as well as the precise contents of the 1594 Graduale. A more recent survey of books published at Hólar and Skálholt is Einar G. Pétursson, “Bókaútgáfa á biskupsstólunum”, in Saga biskupsstólanna á Íslandi, p. 569–605.
ational dispute as well as a geographical one. The bishop of Skálholt, Gíslason (ca. 1515–1587) had trained and served as a Catholic priest earlier in his career; he lived almost exactly half of his life in a Catholic Iceland and half in a Lutheran one. The bishop at Hólar, the devout Lutheran Guðbrandur Þorláksson, was roughly 25 years younger and was trained entirely within the new tradition. It seems that the two were unable to agree on the details of the liturgy. In 1585, when a substantial printed music book had still not been published in the country over 40 years after the Reformation first began, the Danish king Frederick II himself wrote to the Icelandic bishops demanding swift action, noting that the delay in distributing the new liturgy had adversely affected religious practice. In the letter, which was eventually printed among the front matter of the 1594 Graduale, the king complains of “unseemliness” (uschickeleghed) in the churches, since hymns are being sung “in various manners and translations into Icelandic, so that when someone attends another church [than he is used to], he is unable to sing along with the others”.

Bishop Gísli Jónsson of Skálholt passed away in 1587 and a new bishop was consecrated in his stead in 1589. That same year, the first hymnal with music was published in Iceland. One is left to wonder if the timing was coincidental, or if the bishop at Hólar, who had full control over the printing press, had waited for his older colleague to pass away before disseminating a new liturgy. The new bishop, Oddur Einarsson (b. 1559), was nearly half a century younger than his predecessor, and had been especially recommended for the post by his colleague at Hólar. Shortly before the election, the Hólar bishop wrote a letter to all priests in the Skálholt diocese, noting that full unity had been achieved between north and south “except for that division which remains in the singing of our hymns, which one wishes might be resolved in one Christian unity, as in all other things, for this alone now hinders the worship of God in our country”.

It appears that these two bishops saw eye to eye on matters relating to the liturgy. The publication of the Graduale in 1594 was a major achievement; for

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3 Guðrún Nordal, “Á mörkum tveggja tima: Kaþólskt kvæðahandrit med hendi síðbótarmanns, Gisla biskups Jónssonar”, Gripla, 16, (2005), p. 209–28. Bishop Gísli Jónsson was interested in music and a competent music scribe; apart from the liturgical manuscript described below, another songbook survives in his hand containing 21 songs (AM 622 4to written in ca. 1549, in The Árni Magnússon Institute in Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík), many of which are early versions of tunes later published in the well-known Piae Cantiones; see Marius Kristensen, En klosterbog fra middelalderens slutning (AM 76, 8o), (Copenhagen, 1933), p. xviii–xxvii and p. 205–237.

4 Graduale 1594, also printed in Finnur Jónsson, Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiae, Vol. 3 (Copenhagen, 1775), p. 26: “[...] att sig møgen Vschickeleghed thil drage vdi Kirkerne/ ther paa vort Landt Island/ med Psalmer som siungis/ hulke ehre paa atskillige Maader vdsett och Verteret paa Islandtz maall/ Saa att naar Nogen kommer j en Anden Kircke/ kand hand inted siunge med themmen.”

the first time, a unified Lutheran liturgy was issued, with the two bishoprics in agreement on the fundamental aspects of the organization of the mass. The volume would eventually be reprinted 18 times, the last edition appearing in 1779, and its influence in terms of music and liturgy stretched over more than two centuries.

The title page of the 1594 edition makes clear the emphasis which the two bishops now placed on liturgical unity: “GRADUALE. A common missal, compiled and written so that a more agreeable consensus shall be reached and maintained here in our country in the singing and ceremonies of the church, according to the ordinance, by Mr. Guðbrandur Þorláksson.” The volume can be seen as a kind of a handshake between the northern and southern constituencies. It was certainly no coincidence that Guðbrandur Þorláksson, who controlled the printing press, should invite his young colleague at Skálholt to write the preface. Here Bishop Oddur Einarsson writes:

Now that after the long discord that has been here in our parishes in Iceland regarding the hymns, as we all know, now with God’s help and grace we have come so far that the honorable man, Mr. Guðbrandur Þorláksson, has been able to complete this Graduale which we have waited for, so that it is now printed as all good men can see […] therefore it is important that we now finally agree and accept rightfully this God’s grace, that he has allowed us to see the day wherein the terrible discord that has been in the churches can be laid to rest, and that we may all (if we should want to) with one mind praise and glorify our heavenly God and Father with one voice and concordant songs of praise for all his mercy and good gifts.⁶

The bishop admits that church singing and liturgy has been in a state of confusion and emphasizes the need for unity, stressing that he himself does not wish to stand in the way of “religious concord”. Thus, he has decreed that the new Graduale be enforced “from now on in the entire Skálholt diocese as well as the diocese of Hólar”.

While the 1594 Graduale was indeed a major step towards liturgical unity, it did not fully eradicate regional differences. In 1685, Bishop Þórður Þorláksson of Skálholt acquired the printing press from the northern diocese at great cost. This was a substantial coup for Skálholt, and the bishop’s ownership of the press was justified by the claim to it as a family inheritance, since both his father and his recently deceased brother had been bishops of Hólar, where the press had essentially been their private property. Bishop Þórður was well versed in music; he owned and played the clavichord and regal, supervised the translation and publication of the popular hymns of Thomas Kingo in Icelan-

⁶ The title page of the 1594 Graduale also contains two quotes from 1 Corinthians, further emphasizing the need for order and unity: “Let all things be done decently and in order,” (14:40) and “But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God” (11:16). The message from the bishops to the population seems clear: accept the new volume, and do not threaten the long-desired harmony that our church leaders have finally achieved.
dic translation, and wrote what was the first published music theory manual in Icelandic, printed as an appendix to the 1691 Graduale.7

In the 1691 edition, the first printing of the Graduale under the Skálholt bishop’s supervision, he included a version of the plainchant Credo I with the heading: “This symbolum Nicænum, or mass Credo after an old version, we include here, mostly because it is well known and practiced widely in the southern diocese, on feast days.”8 While it appears here in print for the first time, this version of the Credo is found in a manuscript written by Bishop Gislí Jónsson more than a century earlier (NKS 138 4to, see below), where it appears in the bishop’s own translation into Icelandic.9 Thus, the younger Skálholt bishop, having finally obtained control of the printing press, put his own mark on the contents of the Graduale by including a chant that had been initiated by his predecessor at Skálholt and had been transmitted in manuscripts and orally as well for more than 100 years. Perhaps Bishop Þórður Þorláksson saw in this some justice for the older bishop’s neglected liturgical ideals. This raises the question of the extent to which the 1594 Graduale really did achieve liturgical unity throughout the island, if a key item such as the Credo was commonly sung for more than 100 years in the southern parish in a version which the Hólar bishop had not deemed worthy of inclusion in the 1594 Graduale.10

Liturgies for Cathedral and School in the Late Sixteenth Century

Historians of liturgy have previously suggested that the discord alluded to by the bishops and king Frederick II involved only the various conflicting hymn translations published in the 1560s and 1570s.11 However, other sources suggest that the conflict may have been a fundamentally larger one, concerning the overall contents and structure of the liturgy itself.

Much of the music and liturgy of the Icelandic church from 1550–1589 appears to be lost. Although many music manuscripts from Iceland of all pe-

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8 Graduale (Skálholt, 1691), p. 303–304.
9 NKS 138 4to, 89v–91r. NKS 138 4to, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.
10 The music to the Credo in NKS 138 4to seems to be derived from the Danish Graduale of Niels Jesperssøn (1573). A similar but not fully identical version (in mensural rhythm) had appeared in the Icelandic Graduale from the fourth edition in 1649, published by Þórður Þorláksson’s father, the Bishop of Hólar. Here, it bears a different heading which, given that this is more or less the version sung in the Skálholt parish, suggests a certain arrogance towards the south: “As may be sung on feasts in útkirkjur” (i.e. farm churches without residing priests, hence the lowest class of church). The 1691 Graduale also suggests that the transmission of another hymn was limited to the southern diocese. Frið veittu voru landi appears here in the Graduale for the first time, with the following remark: “On Sundays after exitum, when people fall on their knees, this verse may be sung, as is widely common in the diocese of Skálholt” (p. 189).
riods have perished, the losses for this period are likely to have been even more drastic, since the publication of the liturgy in 1594 made earlier redactions obsolete. The most complete picture we have of any liturgical practice in Iceland during this interim period is given by two more or less complete manuscripts, one of which is demonstrably from Skálholt while the other was used at the cathedral at Hólar. The former is partly in the hand of Gísli Jónsson, the bishop of Skálholt, and was certainly written under his supervision; it is a gradual but also contains some chants for the office (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, NKS 138 4to), and probably transmits the bishop’s liturgy for the Skálholt church and Latin school. The latter is a similar volume in the National Archives in Reykjavík, stored under the shelfmark “Antiphonarium Holense”.12 This is a far more informally copied book, possibly written by a student, containing office chants. It is believed to have been written at Hólar at roughly the same time as the Skálholt volume, no earlier than 1570 and possibly around 1580–90. It is important to note that since these manuscripts of chant in Latin seem to have been intended for the cathedrals and their schools, they do not give an indication of liturgical singing in parish churches throughout the island.

Bishop Gísli Jónsson’s gradual (NKS 138 4to) was most likely written ca. 1575.13 This is a significant manuscript of 128 leaves; while not exactly lavish, it was obviously copied with care, and it contains decorated initials in various colours. Its contents suggest that Bishop Gísli Jónsson wished to retain a substantial Latin mass and office liturgy at Skálholt cathedral. Yet the liturgy is not fully complete; material for 14 feast days is missing, even though all Marian feasts are included. The texts are mostly in Latin, including introits (48), alleluias (44) and sequences (11), but also antiphons (147), responsories (24) and hymns (30); whereas only 30 Lutheran hymns are included (in Icelandic). Much of the material for mass is derived from Niels Jesperssøn’s Graduale of 1573, which thus provides a terminus post quem, while another important source is Bishop Gísli Jónsson’s own volume of hymn translations published in 1558.

12 Antiphonarium Holense in National Archives of Iceland, Reykjavík.

13 Some scholars have suggested a later date for the manuscript (ca. 1585–87), and that it was compiled as a direct response to the King’s letter, but this seems unlikely. Important studies of this manuscript are Arne J. Solhaug, “Et Lutherskt gradualehåndskrift Ny kgl. saml. 138 4to, Nidarostadisjonen på Island i det 16. århundrede”, Studia Musicologica Norvegica, 3, (1977), p. 95–156, Solhaug, Et luthersk graduale-håndskrift fra 1500-tallet: spor av Nidarostadisjon i Island, (Oslo, 2003), and Arngrimur Jónsson, Fyrstu handbækur presta á Íslandi eftir siðbót, (Reykjavik, 1992), both of whom argue for a date of ca. 1585. A dissenting voice is Jón Þórarinsson, in Íslenzk tónlistarsaga 1000–1800, p. 211, but he undervalues the influence of Jespersson’s Graduale and suggests an even earlier date than 1573. I propose a middle ground, that the manuscript was written shortly after the publication of the Danish Graduale, and intended only for use at Skálholt. NKS 138 4to, along with an introduction by Arne J. Solhaug, is accessible online at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/17/ (retrieved 8 November 2018).
NKS 138 also contains a substantial amount of Latin material that is not found in the Danish Graduale, for example sequences that were not part of the reformed Danish or Icelandic liturgy. Seven sequences in NKS 138 are not mentioned in the Icelandic church ordinance, which served as the foundation of the country’s Lutheran practice and which allowed for only three sequences to be used: Grates nunc omnes, Victime paschali laudes, and Veni sancte spiritus. Of the seven other sequences found in NKS 138, only three are found in Niels Jespersson’s Graduale, but all but one are in Lucas Lossius’s Psalmodia (Wittenberg, 1553). This volume was commonly used in Latin schools in Germany, and Gísli Jónsson, who is known to have spent time there in his younger years, may well have owned a copy. By focusing largely on Latin-texted material, even if this was largely copied from the recent volumes of Jespersson and Lossius, the aging Bishop Gísli Jónsson took a decidedly conservative approach. In some instances, such as the inclusion of a surprisingly large number of sequences, he also went against the statutes of the church ordinance. The contents of Gísli Jónsson’s manuscript – much pre-Reformation Latin liturgical material in a Lutheran redaction, interspersed with Lutheran hymns in Icelandic – suggest its intended function. Such a volume could never have been intended as a liturgy for the entire country, but seems specifically aimed at the cathedral and school where it was written.

Another indication that this manuscript was intended for use at the Skálholt cathedral and school is its elaborate material, in Latin, for vespers, lauds, and matins. Here, three antiphons are to be sung at matins and vespers together with their corresponding psalms, whereas the church ordinance prescribes “three or fewer” psalms to a single antiphon, and the Antiphonarium Holense only has a single antiphon with one psalm (see below). On the three major feasts (Christmas, Easter, Trinity), NKS 138 has five antiphons, each with its own psalm. Here, Gísli Jónsson prescribes a degree of liturgical elaboration

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14 The ordinance is printed, in Latin and Icelandic, in Diplomatarium Islandicum, Vol. 10 (Reykjavik, 1911–1921), p. 117–328, see also Síðaskiptin á Íslandi 1541–1542 og fyrstuár síðbótar, Torfi K. Stefánsson Hjaltalin (ed.), (Reykjavik, 2017). The balance between Roman Catholic and Lutheran elements in the Icelandic liturgy was not easily achieved. The second edition of the Graduale (1607) contains far more Latin chant than the first (the chant is derived largely from the Danish Graduale of Niels Jespersson), presumably to appease school authorities who wished to retain a Latin liturgy at the Latin schools.

15 These are Festa Christi omnes christianitas celebret (17v), Mittit ad virginem (27r), Mane prima sabbati (32v), Laudes Christo redempti (43v), Summi triumphum regis (48v), Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia (55v), Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas (62v). Between the two sources of the Danish Graduale and the German Psalmodia, Bishop Gísli Jónsson would have found all the sequences in his manuscript. On Psalmodia and its influence, see Joachim Kremer, “Change and Continuity in the Reformation Period: Church Music in North German Towns”, in Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns, Fiona Kisby (ed.), (Cambridge, 2001), p. 118–130, p. 126, see also Andreas Odenthal, “...matutinae, horae, vespereae, completorium maneant...: Zur Umgestaltung der Offiziumsliturgie in den Kirchen des frühen Luthertums anhand ausgewählter liturgischer Quellen”, Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, 46 (2007), p. 89–122.

16 Diplomatarium Islandicum, Vol. 10, p. 128.
going beyond that of both the Icelandic church ordinance and comparable German sources such as Lossius’s *Psalmodia*, where five antiphons are prescribed for the Christmas vigil (these are not the same ones as found in NKS 138).

Another manuscript, roughly coeval but far more casually written, survives from the cathedral of Hólar and has since its donation to the National Archives of Iceland in 1921 carried the shelfmark *Antiphonarium Holense*.

This was copied ca. 1580 and contains 72 pages, with pages missing both at front and back. The final page of the manuscript as it is now bound is in a different hand and seems to be from a different volume containing identical material. It was at least in the possession of Hólar Cathedral in 1647, according to an inscription on what is now p. 1: “Hunc librum cantionum Holense templum summo sibi jure vendicat [vindicat] þann 13 dag Aprilis [the thirteenth day of April] Anno 1647.” It was likely used for school singing there in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and it contains material for vespers, matins, and lauds on Sundays.

While there is significant overlap in the pieces found in both NKS 138 and *Antiphonarium Holense*, there is still far less than might be imagined. Also, few of the concordant chants share the same liturgical placement, and each contains minor variants in the musical setting. Thus, the cathedral liturgies seem to have differed in overall ambition, as well as in liturgical and musical detail. The liturgy prescribed in Antiphonarium Holense is simpler than NKS 138; only one antiphon+psalm is sung at the beginning of each office, while the Hólar liturgy retained the vespers responsory not found in the Skálholt manuscript.

Two Fragments in the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm

The two manuscripts described above have survived largely intact, and they contain what seems to have been an official liturgy for each of the cathedrals in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Two manuscript fragments, both in the National Library of Sweden (one recently discovered, the other long overlooked), shed light on an even earlier liturgical practice, most likely dating from ca. 1550. They differ from Bishop Gísli Jónsson’s approach in NKS 138 in that they contain only plainchant (there are no Lutheran hymns), and the chant texts are presented in otherwise unknown Icelandic translations. Whether this redaction of the older material ever had the approval of the bishops (one or both) is unknown, as is the extent of its circulation in the decades during which the new liturgy was to some degree in flux.

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17 The only extensive study of this manuscript is Jón Þórarinsson, “Latnesk tíðasöngsbók úr lúterskum síð”, *Ritmennt*, 6 (2001), p. 67–82. The manuscript itself is accessible online at https://www.ismus.is/i/book/id-1000012, (accessed 8 November 2018). It should also be noted that the Icelandic printed books referred to here can be accessed via the website www.baekur.is.
Of the two fragments, the earlier one is likely to be Stockh perg 8vo no. 10, I b (hereafter: no. 10), a parchment bifolium (ca. 16.5 × 14 cm) probably written ca. 1550–60. The bifolium was formerly used as a wrapper for another manuscript in the same collection which contains Icelandic poetry and was written ca. 1660 (Stockh papp 8vo no. 1). The latter was part of a collection of over 50 manuscripts brought to Sweden by the Icelandic scholar Guðmundur Ólafsson, who worked at the Swedish Collegium Antiquitatum in the late seventeenth century. It is unclear whether the wrapper already belonged to the younger manuscript when Ólafsson acquired it, or if he was responsible for using no. 10 in such a way. The outer margins have been cut down and the uppermost staff is partly missing; originally, fols. 1r and 2r/v contained eight staves, while fol. 1v had six.

The second manuscript, S. 252a, is a fragment consisting of two separate paper leaves, probably written in the second half of the sixteenth century. The leaves have been folded in the margins, which suggests that they were used as binding material; there is also tearing on the bottom of fol. 2v. Unfortunately, the library catalogue contains no information on the fragment’s provenance. It seems likely that the leaves were removed after the book into which they were bound arrived at the library, but I have been unable to confirm this.

18 Stockh perg 8vo nr. 10, I b in National Library of Sweden, Stockholm. Vilhelm Gödel, Katalog öfver Kongl. Bibliotekets fornisländska och fornnorska handskrifter, (Stockholm, 1897–1900), p. 115 and 356. Fragments of two pieces from this manuscript are printed in Bjarni Þorsteinsson, Íslenzk hjódlög, (Copenhagen, 1906–1909), p. 180–183, but he was unaware that they derived from specific plainchant models. Two scholars of liturgy mention no. 10 briefly but do not discuss its contents in any detail: Arngrímur Jónsson says that it contains “unorganized material for the mass and office” (Fyrstu handbækur presta á Islandi eftir siðbót, p. 462), while Magnús Már Lárusson remarks that it is “an interesting fragment” but “badly damaged” (“Þróun íslenzkrar kirkjutönlistar”, in Fróðleiksþættir og sögubrot, (Hafnarfjörður, 1967), p. 89).


20 S. 252a, National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

21 The only previous mention of this source appears in a typewritten catalogue of Icelandic manuscripts in Swedish libraries made by Jón Samsonarson, “Drög að handritaskrá um íslenzk handrit og handrit sem varða íslenzk efnir í söfnum í Stokkhólmi og Uppsólum” (unpublished typescript, 1969), p. 59. In the National Library of Sweden, the fragment is placed in a folder marked “Ísländsk kyrkomusik” and 1880; possibly the leaves entered the collection that year, although Gödel’s catalogue (published 1897–1900) contains no mention of them. The author is grateful to Einar G. Pétursson (The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, Reykjavik) for bringing this fragment to his attention, and to Patrik Granholm at National Library of Sweden, Stockholm for his assistance in attempting to trace its provenance.
The contents of no. 10 are as follows (the texts are in Icelandic only, but I give the Latin incipits where known):

1r: illegible (conclusion)

Ö sæla og blessaða (O beata benedicta gloriaosa)
Maria mey og móðir mann ei snerti (Nesciens mater virgo)
Að óbrugðnum, óskertum [...] (Inviolata)

1v: Að óbrugðnum, óskertum, cont.

Þar mun upprenna kvistur (Egredietur virga, without notation)
Heyr herra guð (Hear, Lord God; collect, without notation)
Orðið varð hold (Verbum caro factum est, without notation)

2r: [Barnìð er oss borið] (Puer natus est nobis, beginning illegible)

Alleluia. Helgur dagur birtist oss (Dies sanctificatus)
Kærlíkir guðs er úthelltur (Caritas dei diffusa est)

2v: Kærlíkií guðs er úthelltur, cont.

Alleluia. Christur er uppvakinn (Christus resurgens est)
Hjálpræði [...] (illegible)

Some of the pieces found here appear in other Icelandic manuscript sources of both an earlier and later date. The Trinity antiphon O beata benedicta gloriosa, which begins on the third staff of fol. 1r, is also found in a fifteenth-century Icelandic fragment now at the National Museum, Reykjavik (Þjms 833).²² It also appears, interestingly enough, in Guðbrandur Þorláksson’s 1607 version (and later versions) of the Graduale, even though the Danish Graduale contains different music and text for Trinity Sunday. The following chant, Nesciens mater virgo, has only one Icelandic concordance, the manuscript Rask 98 (Melodia), which is written ca. 1670; there it appears in the original Latin.²³ Rask 98 seems to be connected with Skálholt, and it also contains chants from NKS 138 4to not found elsewhere. This may suggest that the origins of the Stockholm fragments lie in the southern diocese, although this cannot be proven.

Both the Stockholm fragments contain an Icelandic version of the well-known Marian sequence Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria. This chant dates back to at least the eleventh century and was highly popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it was most famously employed by Josquin des Prez in his five-part motet.²⁴ The sequence was known in the Roman Catholic liturgy in Denmark, where it first appears in a source from 1397; and it is also known

²² Þjms 833 in National Museum of Iceland, Reykjavik.
²³ Rask 98 (Melodia), Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Institut for Nordiske Studier og Sprogvidenskap, Københavns Universitet, Copenhagen.
from at least two Norwegian fragments from the Nidarós tradition.\textsuperscript{25} It has, however, not been found in any other Icelandic sources, making its appearance in the two fragments somewhat unexpected.

The Icelandic text of \textit{Inviolata} found here is not a literal translation. The original Latin, which describes the perpetual virginity of the inviolate Mary,

was hardly ideal in a Lutheran context. As was common in such cases – most famously in chants like Salve Regina that remained in the Lutheran liturgy – the Icelandic translator took several liberties, in this case emphasizing Christ’s birth rather than Mary’s immaculate state. In the Icelandic version, the opening line (which requires many more syllables than the Latin) reads: “Through her un tarnished, inviolate and pure virginity, Mary gave birth to her son”; the line suscipe pia laudum preconia becomes “May he accept the prayers of all the faithful”, and most importantly, the final peroration (O benigna! O regina! O Maria! quae sola inviolata permansisti) becomes “O good one, O mild one, O dearest Jesus, who for us deigned to be born”.26

26 Other “Lutheran” versions of the text survive in German mid-sixteenth century sources, but these differ from the Icelandic; see Jane D. Hatter, “Converting the Soundscape of Women’s Rituals, 1470–1560: Purification, Candles, and the Inviolata as Music for Churching”, in Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe, Simon Ditchfield and Helen Smith (eds.), (Manchester, 2017), p. 169–194. The versions of the chant in the two
Although the scribe initially wrote empty staves for the entirety of fol. 1v, the lower half of the page contains not music but a collect. This is an Icelandic translation of a collect found in Hans Tausen’s Danish hymnal of 1544/1553 as well as Peder Palladius’s 1556 *Alterbog*, where it belongs to the Feast of the Annunciation. The original Danish text is as follows:

O Herre/ wi bede/ ingyd din naade i vore hierter/ at wi som bekende Christi
din Sons vndfangelse ved Engelens bebudelse/ maa ved hans pine oc kaarss
komme til opstandelsis herlighed/ Ved den samme vor Herre Jhesum/ etc.\(^{27}\)

The appearance of this collect in no. 10 may be useful in dating the fragment. The two Icelandic bishoprics, seemingly unwilling to reach any liturgical consensus ca. 1550–90, each employed its own translation of the Danish original. An Icelandic translation of the Danish text was published by the Skálholt bishop Marteinn Einarsson in 1555, while the bishop at Hólar, Ólafur Hjaltason, issued his own translation in 1562; yet neither is identical to that found in no. 10.\(^{28}\) This suggests that the Icelandic version found in no. 10 may be an older version, produced sometime between 1544 and 1555 – although it could have been produced in the Hólar diocese as late as 1562, since Marteinn Einarsson’s earlier translation was not adopted in the northern quarter.

The contents of most of the second leaf of no. 10 belong to feasts other than Christmas. *Caritas dei* generally belongs to Whitsunday, while *Christus resurgens est* was, according to *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, sung on the fourth day of Easter as well as the fourth Sunday after Easter.\(^{29}\) With the contents of a single leaf varying so greatly in terms of liturgical placement, it seems unlikely that no. 10 was a full liturgical manuscript arranged in temporal order. Still, its inclusion of a collect suggests some kind of liturgical function. The translation of *Christus resurgens est* (Rom 6:9) is identical to the Icelandic New Testament translation of Oddur Gottskálksson, published in 1540, and this likely provides a *terminus post quem* for the Icelandic version of this chant, and for the contents of the Stockholm fragments in their entirety.

\(^{27}\) Peder Palladius, *Den ældste danske alterbog 1556*, Lis Jacobsen (ed.), (Copenhagen, 1918), p. 86; En Ny Psalmebog 1553, (Copenhagen, 1983), fol. 137r.

\(^{28}\) Marteinn Einarsson, *Ein Kristilig handbog*, (Copenhagen, 1555), 85v, *Guðspjallabók* 1562, Sigurður Nordal (ed.), (Copenhagen, 1933), Gv. The 1562 (i.e. the northern) version of the collect was reprinted in the 1594 Graduale.

\(^{29}\) *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, p. 240, 247–248.
Unlike no. 10, the fragment S. 252a is bilingual, containing chants both in Latin and Icelandic. Its contents are as follows:

1r: Sjáið þeir dagar munu koma (Ecce dies venient)
1v: Sjáið þeir dagar [...] (cont.)
   Ecce dies venient (conclusion missing)
2r: Hodie Christus natus est (in Icelandic, conclusion only, empty staves)
   Nesciens mater virgo (empty staves)
   María mey og móðir mann ei snerti (Nesciens mater)
2v: María mey og móðir [...] (cont.)
   Að óbrugðum, óskertum [...] (Inviolata)30

The two surviving leaves of S. 252a contain four chants related to Advent, Christmas, and Marian feasts; two are copied both in Latin and in Icelandic translation: Ecce dies venient and Nesciens mater virgo. In addition, the conclusion of Hodie Christus natus est survives in Icelandic translation, but without notation. None of these chants is found in the printed Icelandic missal/hymnals, not surprisingly, since these are chants for the office and not the mass.31 The purpose of such a bilingual chant book is not fully clear, but perhaps it was meant to ensure that these items could be sung both at the cathedrals (where Latin school students and staff were charged with singing the mass in Latin) as well as in smaller churches where Icelandic would have been used.

The contents of the Stockholm fragments raise many questions regarding the use of plainchant within the Icelandic Lutheran liturgy. Some of the chants seem in direct violation of the Icelandic church ordinance; as noted above, the ordinance allowed for only three sequences, and therefore Inviolata would seem to have no place in the new liturgy.32 Also, vernacular translations of

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30 Beneath the last staff on 2v is written the text (without music) to Verbum caro factum est: “Ordid villíði verda holld. All[elui]já./Óg þad bygde med öss All[elui]já.” This piece is not found in NKS 138 4to or the Danish printed publications by Thomíssøn and Jespersøn, but it is listed in Ordo Nidrosiensis, see Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, p. 159.

31 Ecce dies venient is found (incomplete) on the last leaf of Antiphonale Holense (p. 145); this leaf is written in another hand than the rest of the manuscript and may have belonged to another book of the same kind. This suggests that Ecce dies venient was part of the liturgy for first vespers on the First Sunday of Advent at Hólar Cathedral. Since Antiphonale Holense is missing music from 2 Advent until Epiphany, it is impossible to say whether the other Christmas chants mentioned above were also part of the liturgy there, but this seems likely.

32 Even the earlier Roman Catholic liturgy in Iceland seems sometimes to have gone against the Nidarós ordinance, so perhaps Icelandic clergymen were accustomed to a certain degree of latitude. As Gisela Attinger has shown, 11 sequences are placed differently within the liturgy than in other Nordic (pre-Reformation) sources, see Attinger, “Sequences in Two Icelandic Mass Books from the Later Middle Ages”, in The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context, Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (eds.), (Trondheim, 2006), p. 135–182, p. 170. Although often classified as a sequence, Inviolata was originally a Responsor prosa and was employed in various ways in the Middle Ages. It might therefore conceivably have been used in the office instead of at mass; see Thomas Forrest Kelly, “New Music from Old: The Structuring of Responsor Prosas”, Journal of the American Musicological Society, 30 (1977), p. 388.
Latin introits and alleluias do not appear in either the Danish Graduale of 1573 or the Icelandic printed graduals. When these liturgical items were to be sung in Danish or Icelandic, this was done not to translations of plainchant Latin, but to Lutheran tunes whose texts had been translated from German. Luther himself did not approve of plainchant in the vernacular language, claiming that the “true German way” demanded new melodies formed around the German language. The Icelandic translations are certainly not unique within the Nordic realm, but rather suggest a trend common in Nordic/peripheral countries. As Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen have observed, the
Gregorian tradition continued in the Swedish kingdom long after the Reformation, and vernacular plainchant is known in Swedish sources starting in the 1540s.33 The liturgical context of the Icelandic fragments is not always clear. The fragments contain material for at least two major feasts (Christmas and the Annunciation), but also Easter, Whitsun, and Trinity. Perhaps the volumes in their complete form contained a selection of chants and prayers for various feasts, as supplementary material to the liturgy. Furthermore, some of the items may have been intended here for feasts other than those with which they are commonly associated; for example, the revised, Lutheran translation of Inviolata makes it more appropriate for Christmastide than the original Latin, which was often employed at the Feast of the Purification. Furthermore, the conflation of mass and office chants seems difficult to explain: the fragments contain a sequence, two introits, and an alleluia for the mass, but also four antiphons and a responsory for the office. Presumably office chants would not have been sung outside the two Latin schools, where, as we have seen in NKS 138 and Antiphonarium Holense, such material was part of the repertory at least until the end of the sixteenth century.

While a precise dating of the Stockholm fragments may prove impossible, it seems likely that the material came into being between 1544 and 1562, as noted above. It seems unlikely that the collect in no. 10 would have been copied in its present form after 1562, when both Icelandic bishops had published their translations of the same text. The material seems certainly not to be younger than ca. 1570, since neither the influence of the Danish Psalmebog (1569) nor Graduale (1573) can be detected. Also, the translations of Ecce dies venient and Egredietur virga (both to texts from Jeremiah) are not concordant with those of the Icelandic bible, published in 1584.

The author/translator of the material is likewise unknown. Since the translation of the collect in no. 10 differs from those by Marteinn Einarsson at Skálholt and Ólafur Hjaltason at Hólar, these two bishops seem unlikely instigators—unless one of them made two different translations, which still cannot be entirely ruled out. The author must have had a deep grasp of the Latin liturgy, and may even have begun his career as a Catholic priest in the pre-Reformation era (as did the Skálholt bishops Marteinn Einarsson and Gisli Jónsson, as well as the Hólar bishop Ólafur Hjaltason).34 This liturgy

34 It is not inconceivable that the material in the fragments is in some way related to the “hymnal of Bishop Ólafur Hjaltason”, which is referred to in sixteenth-century documents but has not survived. Arngrímur Jónsson suggests that this may not have been a traditional Lutheran hymnal at all, but rather a “missal and graduale, in some way based on available Roman Catholic missals, translated into Icelandic” (Fyrstu handbækur presta á Íslandi efir síðþöyt, p. 163; see also Jón Bórarinsson, Íslensk tónlistarsaga, p. 208–210). Several sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth century refer to such a volume and also that Bishop
may also have originated with a priest working outside the cathedrals, whether at a bishop’s request or in violation of their precepts. For example, the priest Sigurður Jónsson (whose father was Jón Arason, the last Catholic bishop), announced in a letter dated 24 March 1554 that he would, as of Easter Sunday that year, “administer that holy sacrament, which we call the service of the mass, in the mother tongue”.35 Nothing more is known of the translations to which he refers. If there is a connection between Jónsson and the translations under discussion here, the Stockholm fragments must be copies of a lost original, since neither of the fragments is in Sigurður Jónsson’s hand.36

The two Stockholm fragments contain Icelandic translations of mass and office chants; since they have three pieces in common, this suggests at least a certain uniformity of practice within the area of origin (both appear to have come from the same diocese, although whether Skálholt or Hólar cannot be established). They demonstrate that certain clergymen – apparently of an older generation – wished to continue the use of plainchant despite the changes brought about by the Reformation. It comes as no surprise that the devout Lutheran bishop at Hólar, Guðbrandur Þorláksson, should have objected to such practice and essentially eliminated it.37 The Graduale, printed under his supervision in 1594, established the details of a new liturgy for the entire country, and thus the translations found in the Stockholm fragments were forgotten for over four centuries. They are a reminder that printed volumes rarely tell the whole story, and provide insight into decades of liturgical practice about which next to nothing was previously known.

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35 JS 375 4to, 178–180, quoted in Páll Eggert Ólason, Menn og menntir síðskiptaaldarinnar á Íslandi, Vol. 2, (Reykjavík, 1922), p. 614–615. Sigurður Jónsson was among Iceland’s leading clergymen and was twice elected bishop at Hólar, although the Danish king refused both times to accept his election.

36 On Sigurður Jónsson’s handwriting, see Jón Helgason, “Nokkur islenzk handrit frá 16. öld”, Skírnir, 106 (1932), p. 157. Several documents are believed to survive in his hand: AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. LII 2 (1553), LIII 1 og LVI 4 (both from 1566) and LVI 32 (1570), all in The Árni Magnússon Institute in Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík.

37 The question remains, and cannot be definitively answered, whether lost material from the fragmentary Stockholm volumes survives through transmission in other, later, sources. While Icelandic translations of plainchant outside the printed Graduale are rare, one example is the sequence Stans a longe, found in a manuscript songbook written ca. 1670–80 (Stóð álengdar staðlaus að gá, in AM 102 8vo, in The Árni Magnússon Institute in Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík). This material would fit well in the Stockholm fragments, but could also be of a later date. See Erik Eggen, The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidarós, Vol. 1, p. lv, lxii, 125; on the manuscript see Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, “AM 102 8vo: Kvæða- og tvisöngsbók frá Vestfjörðum”, in Góssíð hans Árna, minningar heimsins i islenskum handritum, Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (ed.), (Reykjavík, 2014), p. 36–49.
4. Latin Liturgical Chant in Finnish and Swedish around 1600

Erkki Tuppurainen

In Finnish libraries and archives there are more than 30 sources of handwritten traditional liturgical chants of the Western Church, with melodies, translated into Swedish and/or Finnish in the 1500–1600s. In several sources, the chants have both Latin, Swedish and Finnish versions. One manuscript includes a melody of a trope *Benedicamus parvulo nato* with texts in all three languages, that is the subject of this chapter. In addition to this, I will present two additional chants with Swedish text probably not known before, a Marian antiphon *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, hodie*, and a responsory *Discubuit Jesus*. The fourth example discussed here, an antiphon *O sacrum convivium*, with Latin and Finnish text, has probably not been found in other Nordic manuscript sources. The chants presented can be regarded as typical examples of early attempts to transform the melody to follow the text in another language. Best results have been achieved when the melody is treated freely, not simply by the addition of repetitive tones. The examples in this chapter have been written in a way that presents the differences in handling the melodic details.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, liturgical books printed in Germany were in use in the diocese of Turku. The *Missale Aboense* (1488) as well as the *Manuale Aboense* (1522) were printed especially for Finland, the Eastern part of the Swedish kingdom.\(^1\) The liturgy of the Turku diocese was strongly influenced by the Dominicans.\(^2\) In addition to these, in Finnish libraries and archives there can be found more than 30 manuscripts with melodies written by hand in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These sources include traditional liturgical chants of the Western Church, translated into Swedish and/or Finnish. Besides the manuscripts, handwritten additions to printed books are also found. Most sources found in Finland include chants with texts both in Latin, Swedish, and Finnish. Often, they exist in manuscripts that originate in different periods but have been brought together as a result of the changes brought about by the Reformation. Olav D. Schalin has

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analysed the translated texts of almost all of the chants, and Pentti Lempiäinen has continued the work of Schalin. Since then I have found a few further manuscripts and researched the melodies. I have published an edition the most remarkable liturgical manuscript in Finland, the *Codex Westh* (1546?), and together with Jorma Hannikainen, the rest of the chants found in Finland. Jorma Hannikainen has published an edition of the unique collection of Introit antiphons in Finnish for the entire ecclesiastical year, written by Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus in 1605. Several manuscripts can already be accessed on the Internet.

The Gregorian settings were originally conceived to fit closely with the Latin texts. Martin Luther did not approve of the use of the German language in Gregorian chant. In his opinion, the combining of the German language and Gregorian chant was not at all sensible, and the “true German way” demanded melodies formed around the German language. Luther seems to have opposed the strict method of Thomas Müntzer who added German texts that simply followed former Latin melodies. Several Swedish researchers have written about chants with translated liturgical texts in the Swedish kingdom during the Reformation period and as late as the early 1600s. They have often ignored the Finnish sources. Besides the Ordinary of the Mass, this work has been concerned with several other chants, especially those to be used in the liturgy of the Hours. In the Reformation era, the tradition of praying the Hours began to vanish. In the Swedish kingdom, evening prayer on Saturdays and Sundays, and morning prayer on Sundays kept their position, mainly in the school towns.

**Text and Melody**

I have chosen four chants as typical examples of attempts to transform the melody to better follow the text in another language. At its simplest this has been achieved by repeating the same tone. This method occurs especially frequently in the Finnish-language chants with its often long words and...
expressions. Better results have been achieved when the melody has been treated more freely. A good example is the collection of Introitus antiphons in Finnish, Officia Missae, written in 1605 by the Helsinki school teacher Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus. Unfortunately, the corresponding Swedish-language collection prepared by Gunnærus has been lost.\^10

In this chapter, I will examine the following four chants:

- Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, Hodie
- Discubuit Iesus
- Benedicamus parvulo nato
- O sacrum convivium

Outside Finland, the first chant mentioned above appears not to have been found with a Swedish text. The third chant, found in a manuscript from Hämeenkyrö (Tavastkyro) church archive, is a unique example in having texts in all three languages under one melody. In addition, I will present a further chant with Latin and Finnish texts only. For this chant, no Swedish translation from the 1500s or 1600s has been found. These four chants illustrate how Gregorian melodies have been reworked when the texts have been translated into vernacular languages.

In almost all sources there are obvious errors both in the text and in the notation, especially in the use of clefs. In the following examples, I have tried to correct the errors, by comparing the chant with those in numerous Finnish sources that I have previously examined as well as with well-known international sources.\^11

Hæc est Dies Quam Fecit Dominus, Hodie

According to Ilkka Taitto, the antiphon of Annunciation Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, Hodie does not belong to the early Gregorian core repertoire.\^12

It was probably only used in Sweden by the Bridgettine order. In Finnish sources, the Antiphon precedes the Magnificat. Taitto has analysed nine uniform variants in Finnish sources from the years 1460 to 1600. Seven of these variants derive from the post-Reformation period. In four of the sources, there is also a section in 2–4 voices, Hodie Deus homo factus, perhaps to


Figure 12. *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, Hodie.* Fragment from the Swedish version in Iisalmi.
be performed as an organum. This practice is also known in Germany after the Reformation, in the *Psalmodia* of Lucas Lossius, among others.\(^\text{13}\) In the Swedish *Articuli Ordinantiae* (1540) the Antiphon is mentioned as a Gradual.\(^\text{14}\)

An early Finnish translation, *Tämä on päiuä ionga teki Jumala*, is found in *Antiphonarium Tammelense*.\(^\text{15}\) The manuscript originates from the pre-Reformation period, but according to Schalin the Finnish texts were added in the mid-16th century.\(^\text{16}\) Unfortunately, one part of the text is missing, and the way in which the text was adjusted to the melody is unclear. Two later sources derived from the eastern Vyborg diocese contain Finnish translations: the manuscript of Thomas Thomae from Borgå (with the opening words *Tämä on se pääiwä*) and that from Läsiälmi.\(^\text{17}\) The latter may originate from the Hauho parish and also contains a Swedish version, probably the only one found in Finland and Sweden.\(^\text{18}\)

In the version of *Hæc est dies* from Iisalmi (Figure 11) the double bar lines probably indicate the practice of alternating choir groups. Typical differences between the versions in different languages already appear at the beginning. Both “Thenne är then” and “Tämä on se” contain two syllables more than the Latin words “Hæc est”, which has made it necessary to repeat the tone e and then to separate the first tone from the following ligature. On the other hand, at the beginning of the second phrase, the repeated tone a is missing on the Latin word “Hodie”. For the Swedish word “Herren” three ligatures are required instead of four for the Latin “afflictionem” and five for the Finnish “hänen cansans päll”.

A major change occurs in the second phrase because of the different modes of expression and the word order of the three languages. This time the content of the text is much shorter in Finnish, and therefore a longer section of the final part of the melody has been omitted.

It seems that in the adaptation of the melody, it has often been attempted to observe the grammatical emphases of the new language. For example, the word “sendt” in the second line has been placed to correspond to the emphasis on the fourth syllable of the word “redemptionem”. However, attempts have only been made to modify the melody so that the meaningful words of the text have corresponding emphasis in cases where the meaningful word appears in a different place to that in the Latin text. A reverse phenomenon is found.


\(^\text{15}\) *Antiphonarium Tammelense*, Åbo Akademi Library, manuscript department, f. 260r–v.


\(^\text{17}\) Ibid, p. 41–42, 105.

\(^\text{18}\) Manuscript from Iisalmi, Iisalmi church archive, Swedish: 74–76, Finnish: 76–77. See also Tuppurainen, “Iisalmen”.

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in the second line, where both the Finnish word “ja” and the corresponding Swedish “och” are emphasized unnecessarily strongly through a ligature.

An alternative ending with *Alleluja* has been written in some Latin versions for those situations when Annunciation falls after Easter. In the Finnish Iisalmi version, after the antiphon, only Magnificat-differentia is found with additions *seculorum q[uar]ti* (indicating that the Magnificat should be sung in Modus 4 = hypophrygian mode) and the beginning of the Magnificat: “Mun sielun suresti ylistäpi Herraa […]”. These additions are missing in the Swedish Iisalmi version.

A free and rhymed hymn text based on the antiphon is included in Hemming of Maskú’s hymnal *Yxi Wähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria* (1605), and again in the hymnal *Uusi Suomalainen Wirsikirja* (1701) in the group of Christmas hymns. A section of the text has options for both Christmas and for Annunciation. The melody with this translation is found only in Henricus Malm’s school songbook from the second half of the eighteenth century.

**Discubuit Jesus**

The responsory (*Responsorium Prolixum*) *Discubuit Jesus*, based on the Words of Institution, is present in several medieval Finnish sources. It is also known in Sweden from at least 1472. A slightly altered Latin text is included in numerous German sources from the 1530s. Thanks to Hermann Bonnis, it was included in Low German hymnals from 1543. After the seventeenth century, *Discubuit Jesus* was mainly in use in the Cistercian tradition. It was used in the Mass instead of or in addition to the Sanctus, especially on Maundy Thursday and the feast of Corpus Christi, apparently during the procession. The hypophrygian melody resembles a Sanctus melody used in the Swedish kingdom at the end of the Middle Ages. The similar Sanctus-trope *Tibi laus* was also sung specially at Corpus Christi.

*Discubuit Jesus* is also included in Hans Tausen’s Danish hymnal of 1553, and, with melody, in the *Psalmodia* of Lucas Lossius. However, the melodic details in Finnish manuscripts often differ from Lossius’s editions. A

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20 *Uusi Suomalainen Wirsikirja*, (Turku, 1701).
somewhat different version of the responsory is also included in the collection *Antiphonæ et responsoria in vespertinis canenda* (1568), printed in Lübeck for Riga, and in its later edition from 1615. In the latter collection, the responsory has the heading *Pueri canunt in Diebus Iouis* (the boys sing on Thursdays/Maundy Thursdays). It is given as a eucharistic chant in the printed Swedish church handbook of 1548. The opening phrases of the text are the only Latin in the collection *Een liten Songbook*, published in Sweden in the 1540s and again in 1553. The chant is also included in the *Liber cantus*, published with printed music in Uppsala in 1620. In Finland, *Discubuit Jesus* is mentioned in Michael Agricola’s *Messu* (1549) as a Communion song alongside two hymns by Luther in Swedish and *Divinum mysterium*. The responsory is still mentioned in the Church Handbook of Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1669). It is included with Latin text and with melody in numerous Finnish manuscripts from the Middle Ages until the early decades of the eighteenth century.

The Latin text of the responsory in the Swedish sources is very close to that of Lossius’s editions:

Discubuit Jesus, & discipuli eius cum eo, & ait:

> desiderio desideraui hoc Pascha manducare uobiscum antequàm patiar.
> Et accepto pane gratias agens fregit, & dedit illis, dicens:
> Hoc est corpus meum.
> Et accepto calice gratias agens, dedit illis, & ait:
> Hic est sanguis meus.
> Edite & bibite ex hoc omnes,
> & facite quotiescunque feceritis in mei commemorationem.
> Dicens, hoc est corpus meum, & sanguis meus.
> Gloria patri potentissimo & Filio eius unigenito,
> & Spiritui sanctissimo paracleto,
> sicut erat in principio. Dicens.

However, the repeated section “Dicens [...]” in the Swedish sources is longer and contains the text beginning with “Et accepto”. In addition, the word “biberitis” occurs instead of “feceritis”, and the order of words is changed in “dedit et ait illis”.

The only Finnish-language version of the responsory has been found in the *Codex Westh*, dated to the 1540s. The pages including this responsory are

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27 *Antiphonæ et responsoria in vespertinis canenda*, (Lübeck, 1568), p. 57r–58v.
28 *Antiphonæ et responsoria in vespertinis canenda*, (Riga, 1615).
33 Käsikiria Jumalan palweluxesta, ja christilisistä kircon menoista, (Turku, 1669), p. 52.

Figure 14. Discubuit Iesus. Fragment from the Skara version.
rather difficult to read and may have been written later than the main body of the manuscript. The text differs from other Nordic sources. The Finnish translation of the section “Et accepto calice [...]” corresponds in part to the extended text, found for example in the four-part version in the edition of Balthasar Resinarius (1543).34

Similiter et accepto calice dixit: Hic est calix novum Testamentum in meo sanguine qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.

The melody in this extended section is practically the same as in the following two sections of the Latin text.35 A further addition at the end of the responsory contains one part of the usual Gloria Patri. Corresponding Latin words have been written below the added Finnish sections.

I encountered the Swedish translation of the responsory in 2006 when dealing with a copy of Piae Cantiones (1582), preserved in Stifts- och landsbiblioteket [Diocesan library] in Skara (Sweden).36 A handwritten text before the book’s musical section reads: “Sum Ego huius Liber Georgij Martini natus 575[?] Rymetylääcis anno Domini 1611”. The owner of the book probably came from Rymättylä (Rimito) in Finland.37 Above the melodies of some of the cantios, here and there, are words translated into Finnish, which I had little use for. On the other hand, I was interested in a handwritten addition, which included, in addition to a few other chants, Discubuit Jesus with music – but only with Swedish text. This version is near-identical to that (from about 1575) found in Stigtomta church, Sweden.38

The Swedish text in the manuscript is closely linked to the Latin one. However, the word “så” has been added in two places, and in the sentence “and then he took bread, gave thanks, broke it and gave it to his disciples” the word “lärjungar” occurs instead of “illis”, which in the Finnish text has an exact equivalent, “heille”. The corresponding word “opetuslastens” is for its part found in the Finnish text concerning the distribution of wine. The translation “hans enfödda son” of “Filio eius unigenito” continues with “Jesu Christo”. The word “pascha” has been translated into “nattvard” (Eucharist) instead of “pääsiäislammas” (Easter lamb) in the Finnish version. The word “ähra” (glory) may be a spelling mistake, instead of “ätha” (eat) (Figure 13 and 14). The melody in the Swedish responsory is almost identical to the Latin versions in Een liten Songbook and Liber cantus.

34 Schulz, “‘Discubuit Jesus’”, p. 29.
35 The same melody is found in a group of earlier Discubuit-versions in a text describing the feast of Ahasuerus (Esther 1) (Schulz, “‘Discubuit Jesus’”, p. 37). See also Nilsson, “‘Discubuit’”, p. 241, 246–247.
36 Piae Cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum, (Greifswald, 1582).
37 A Georgius Martini (Lepus) is mentioned as vicar of Tammela parish from 1581 to at least 1602, possibly until his death in 1615 (Eeva Ojanen, Tammelan seurakunnan historia, (Forssa, 1990), p. 53. However, he must have been born before 1575.
38 Author’s email correspondence with Mattias Lundberg, Uppsala, 21 January 2018.
Figure 15. *Benedicamus parvulo nato*, Manuscript from Hämeenkyrö, 25r. (Note: Obvious notation errors: seven tones at the beginning of the second row, and two tones at the end of the third row.)

**Benedicamus Parvulo Nato**

*Benedicamus parvulo nato* from Hämeenkyrö is a rare case. Here the texts for both stanzas and all three languages have been placed in an exceptional way. Here, each word’s first syllable lies on the same vertical line as the tone syllable it is to be sung on. However, the vertical lines distinguishing the words from each other have been written only by following the first phrase of the Finnish text. The text’s emphases are quite natural in all three languages. Only in the second stanza of the Finnish text are there difficulties.

The following transcription has been written on four lines instead of five in both sources. The second stanza follows the Riga version.

Benedicamus tropes, extended versions of the versicle *Benedicamus Domino/Deo dicamus gratias*, at the end of the Mass, were popular at ecclesiastical feasts in Europe during the Middle Ages.\(^{39}\) In the Bridgettine Office *Cantus*

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Figure 16. *Benedicamus parvulo nato*. Swedish and Finnish: Manuscript from Hämeenkyrö (Tavastkyro), 25r. Latin: *Antiphonæ et responsoria in vespertinis canenda* (1568), 53r.
sororum, a special Benedicamus trope was sung every morning. In Finland, the tropes were clearly very popular during the later decades of the sixteenth century and even in the second half of the seventeenth.

This Christmas trope is probably based on the melody of Symvm in the Benedicamus in diversis festis in Lucas Lossius’s Psalmodia. The above version appears in Antiphone et responsoria in vespertinis canenda, printed in 1568 in Lübeck for use in Riga, and in the Benedicamus Diversa in Franz Eler’s Cantica sacra. In the Riga version, as in Finnish sources, the first stanza begins with the words Benedicamus parvulo nato. In Eler’s version, the first phrase begins with the words Benedicamus æterno regi, and in some other places the words also differ. In some other German sources, the words have changed place in a similar way, or only the second stanza is included, possibly indicating that the priest had to sing the first.

The Finnish manuscript Liber Ecclesiæ Tammelensis (15r) includes another Finnish translation Kijtäkäm piendä poica ioca seimes maca. The text has been written in quite an unclear way. As the title for the second stanza, its first words are set. The probably later Finnish version Kijtäkäm lasta nyt syndynyt follows the printed text in the hymnal of Jonas Raumannus (Suomen kielen Wiri Kirja [...], 1646, p. 204). The text, translated more freely than the Swedish and omitting the final doxology, is found in previous manuscripts from Loppi, Maaria (St. Marie), and Hämeeenkylä (Tavastkyro), and in the school songbooks of Malm and Thomas Sackelius from the second half of the seventeenth century, but it was not included in the renewed hymnal in 1701. The melodies in the manuscripts have only insignificant differences. In the Hämeeenkylä version, the text below the melody is set in an unusual way, in three languages: Latin, Finnish and Swedish. The Swedish text Tackom and lofwom that nÿfödda barnet has so far not been found elsewhere.

The version in the Hämeeenkylä manuscript is very similar to that in the Antiphona of 1568. In all three language versions, the text has been placed in the same way as in Antiphona, so that words begin strictly below the corresponding tone each time. Vertical lines dividing the words have been drawn according to the first phrase in the Finnish text. In the second stanza, some ligatures belonging to the Latin text have been divided. At the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second there is an obvious copying error: the
melody lies a third too low. In my transcription the melody has been changed to follow the other Finnish manuscripts.

O Sacrum Convivium

The famous Magnificat antiphon *O sacrum convivium* is included in the second vesper at the celebration of Christ’s body and blood (*In Festo Corporis Christi*). Despite its Catholic emphasis, the antiphon is still referred to in
the directive *De officiis* from the era of archbishop Laurentius Petri (around 1565), to be sung in the Mass.45

The hypophrygian melody bears many similarities to that of the Sanctus for Pentecost and the two chants *Hæc est dies* and *Discubuit Jesus*, all mentioned previously. *O sacrum convivium* occurs in several manuscripts found in Finland. The title of the Marttila (St Mårtens) manuscript, *Sub Communione Cantus*, refers to the Eucharist. So far no other vernacular translations of the antiphon have been found in Nordic manuscript sources.

Earlier researchers have not noted a handwritten appendix to a copy of the 1616 edition of Michael Agricola’s Harmony passion (1549) in the Finnish National Library.46 Between that antiphon text and that in Agricola’s Prayer book *Rucouskiria* (1544), there is only a slight difference in the orthography.47 The translation follows the Latin text exactly. No early version of the Swedish translation has been found at present.

**Conclusion**

Martin Luther’s method of following the characteristics of the German language is highly respected even nowadays in Germany. The term “Deutsche Gregorianik” refers to a way of using Gregorian tunes in a more liberal way. The same idea is also generally accepted in liturgical singing in the Nordic Lutheran churches. The chants presented here are early and rather successful examples of attempts to sing Gregorian chant in the two vernacular languages of the Swedish kingdom.

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46 *Se Herran Jesusen Christusen Pina*, Michael Agricola (ed.), (Stockholm, 1549).

5. Music, Politics, and the Reformed Livonian Service Books of 1530 and 1537

Anne Heminger

The role of music in the spread of religious reform in German-speaking lands has been a topic of considerable scholarly focus in recent decades. Musicological research has stressed in particular the importance of print culture in the early years of the Reformation, and scholars have demonstrated how printed books, leaflets, and other materials were crucial for the spread and adoption of reform.¹ Scholarship focusing on the edges of the Lutheran world, however—especially on the northernmost cities of the Hanseatic League—has remained quite limited. This study takes as its focus two German-texted service books printed for use in the Baltic state of Livonia in 1530 and 1537, examining the substantial musical changes that occurred to the initial volume when it was revised in 1537 for use in all three major Livonian cities (Riga, Reval, and Dorpat).² The 1530 edition strikes a conciliatory tone, offering its users substantial freedom while simultaneously attempting to bring practices in Riga in line with those beyond the borders of Livonia. Its lack of any service music—save a collection of new, liturgically organized Lutheran hymns—meant that congregations remained reliant on older Catholic music books but might choose which tunes to use as they wished. Its creators’ choice to append a considerable quantity of Low German hymns to the end of the volume, meanwhile, demonstrates their strong commitment to vernacular music as an effective means for delivering the principles of Lutheran theology to Livonian congregations.

¹ See, for example, Robin A. Leaver, The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther’s Wittenberg, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017), Christopher Boyd Brown, Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation, (Cambridge, MA, 2005), and Daniel Trocmé-Latter, The Singing of the Strasbourg Protestants, 1523–1541, (Farnham, Surrey, 2015).

² Little scholarship exists on music and religious reform in Livonia, despite the survival of editions of the service order and hymnals published for use there in 1530, 1537, 1548/9, 1559, 1567, and 1592. Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny and Walther Lipphardt (eds.), Das deutsche Kirchenlied: kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien, Series B Vol. 8 of Répertoire international des sources musicales, (Kassel, 1975) give citations for all of the aforementioned except the 1548/9 edition (a copy of which is housed at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel), plus an edition of 1574 that is no longer extant. Copies of the remaining Livonian service order may be found at the Uppsala University Library (1530, 1592), the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (1537, 1559, and 1592; citations in DKL are incorrect), and in Riga (1567).
Although the modifications made to the original volume in 1537 were certainly dependent on theological considerations, the political conflicts in Livonia between various factions in local, regional, and ecclesiastical government also shaped the compilers’ decision to put forward an expanded, streamlined volume. A major change in the 1537 edition was the incorporation of specific German- and Latin-texted liturgical chant. This suggests that Livonian reformers saw the potential value in a chant-based liturgy, which might both appease conservatives and continue to link Livonian practices to reformed communities throughout the German-speaking world. The expansion of the Low German hymnal in 1537, meanwhile, shows the compilers’ strong commitment to using hymnody to teach the new doctrine. Indeed, by including music for both a church’s choir and its congregants in the 1537 edition, Livonian reformers intentionally created a volume that could do the work of streamlining and spreading reformed theology and a new liturgy at a time of political uncertainty.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Livonian Confederation occupied the coast of the Baltic Sea between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the south and Russia to the east, covering most of what is now Latvia and Estonia. Unlike the rest of Western Europe, where large areas of land were increasingly ruled by monarchies, Livonia was divided into several bishoprics surrounding towns or cities, with the remainder of the land held by knights of the Livonian Order (see Figure 18). The upper- and middle-class citizens of Riga, Reval, and Dorpat were mostly merchants and artisans, loyal to the interests of their own cities. Moreover, these cities were influential members of the Hanseatic League, whose trade dealings allowed contact with German merchants from cities around the Baltic. The political tension these arrangements inspired, with the Master of the Livonian Order, the Archbishop of Riga and his bishops, and the city councils constantly at odds over control of land revenues and legal jurisdiction, was one of the primary factors leading to the rapid, widespread adoption of religious reform in Livonian cities. Although recently historians such as Joachim Kuhles and Christoph Schmidt have demonstrated close links between Lutheran reform and politics in Livonia, they have left the intersection of these issues with music and liturgy largely unexplored.

Public discussion of religious reform truly began in Riga in 1522, when on 12 June the reformer Andreas Knopken disputed with a group of Catholic

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mons at the parish church of St. Peter’s and quickly won the support of those gathered. At the concurrently held Livonian diet in Wolmar, the knights of the Livonian Order and delegates from city councils reiterated long-held, par-

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allel desires for independence from the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, to whom they were required to pay considerable tithes. Shortly after this, Johann Lohmüller, the city clerk of Riga, wrote a letter to Martin Luther on behalf of the citizens. Luther’s reply, although it did not arrive until the following year, provided encouragement for the people of Livonia while delivering a warning that even the staunchest reformers could be turned from the true path. Emboldened by the common ground shared with the knights of the Order and Luther’s reply, citizens in Riga requested reformed ministers for the two city churches, St Peter’s and St. Jakob’s, and Lutheran reformers began preaching in Reval (late 1523) and Dorpat (early 1524). As elsewhere in the Baltic, much of this initial support was openly hostile to the established church; 1524 and 1525 saw a rash of iconoclasm in all three cities.

Yet even while enthusiasm for religious reform relied on the destruction of church property, new forms of expression played a clear constructive role in the initial public acceptance of reform. Vernacular hymns, for example, helped to popularize Lutheran teaching in Livonia’s cities during the 1520s.

At least two of Luther’s hymns were known in Low German translations in Livonia as early as 1525: in June of that year, the reformer Melchior Hofmann incorporated phrases from “Jesus Christus, unser Heiland” in a letter he sent from Dorpat to Wittenberg; in the same year, two craftsmen wrote the first four lines of “Ach Gott im Himmel” in the Bruderbuch of the Great Guild in Reval. It is possible that Luther’s hymns were translated by Livonian reformers, but more likely that a Low German hymnal of 1525, published in Rostock, was known in Livonia. Indeed, for two craftsmen to record the first four lines of “Ach Gott im Himmel” suggests that they had access to a written version of the hymn in their own dialect, and further indicates that this hymn had spiritual meaning for them and their fellow guildsmen.

In addition, Burchard Waldis, a former Franciscan monk and citizen of Riga, incorporated four of Luther’s hymns into his 1527 play “De Parabell vom vorlorn Szohn”. Waldis’s play, which poked fun at the earlier Catholic tradition of Carnival plays, was a popular demonstration of Lutheran teaching.

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10 Arbusow, Die Einführung der Reformation, p. 290, 316.
12 Arbusow, Die Einführung der Reformation, p. 629.
13 Arbusow refers to three copies of the Rostock hymnal, those of 1525, 1526, and 1531. Two copies of the former exist, now held at the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock and the National Library of Sweden; the Rostock facsimile is available at http://purl.uni-rostock.de/rosdok/ pnn823791610. Both “Jesus Christus, unser Heiland” (fols. Eiii v to Eiiii) and “Ach Gott im Himmel” (fols. Fiiii v to G) can be found in this hymnal.
14 A modern edition is available: Der verlorene Sohn, ein Fastnachtspiel von Burkhard Waldis (1527), with a preface by Gustav Milchsack, (Halle, 1881). Low German translations of Luther’s “Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl”, “Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu Dir”, “Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist”, and “Jesus Christus, unser Heiland” are appended to the play. Dietz
emphasizing the principle of *sola fide*: that salvation is achieved only by faith, not through good works. First performed on 17 February in the marketplace of Riga, the play was still popular in 1541, when it was produced in Reval.\textsuperscript{15}

In the printed edition of 1528, a further six hymns were appended to the play, including three by Andreas Knopken and one by Waldis himself.\textsuperscript{16} That Waldis’s play incorporated several of Luther’s hymns and the printed version included six more hymns suggests that Rigans (and perhaps other Livonians) had some familiarity with this music. This early use of vernacular song thus demonstrates a strong popular interest in German hymnody – one that would continue with the printing of the first service book for Riga in 1530.

When the 1530 order of worship was published, its primary function was to standardize Reformation teaching. Livonian reformers had begun experimenting with new service orders in the 1520s, and some of these early uses were quite radical, calling for Latin to be removed completely from the mass.\textsuperscript{17}

By March of 1526, Livonian reformers were already discussing a new consolidated service order – a topic that became of central importance at the Livonian diet held in Pernau in December of 1527. At the diet, two priests from Dorpat requested that Riga and Reval each send a priest to their city, so that they might use the same order of worship. Likely hoping to prevent further disarray, the mayor of Reval suggested instead that the evangelical preachers from the three cities came together to create a new service order.\textsuperscript{18}

That these Livonian leaders sought to consolidate reform at such an early stage speaks not only to their desire to support Luther’s teaching but also to their understanding of the potential political usefulness of a uniform liturgy, which might bolster support in Livonian cities for a break with the Catholic Church. Johannes Blankenfeld, the archbishop of Riga, had recently died, his tenure marked by his conflict with Master Walter von Plettenberg over the control of Riga; Blankenfeld’s successor, however, was not appointed until 1528.\textsuperscript{19} While a new book of worship for urban parishes would foster Lutheran theology, it could also serve to move Livonian cities further away from the

\textsuperscript{15} Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, p. 107–108.

\textsuperscript{16} Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, p. 629–630, 654. Knopken’s hymns included “Help Godt wo geit dat ijümer tho”, “Ach Godt min eniger trost vnd heil”, and “Van allen minschen auffgewandt”, all three of which were also printed in the 1530 service book.

\textsuperscript{17} Emil Sehling (ed.), *Livland. – Estland. – Kurland. – Mecklenburg. – Freie Reichsstadt Lübeck mit Landgebiet und Gemeinschaftsamt Bergedorf. – Das Herzogthum Lauenburg mit dem Lande Hadeln. – Hamburg mit Landgebiet*, (Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, 5), (Leipzig, 1913), p. 39. Both Sylvester Tegetmeyer’s 1524 order for Riga and Johannes Lange’s service for Reval were to be performed entirely in German.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 4.

\textsuperscript{19} For an overview of Blankenfeld’s role during the Reformation and his tenure as archbishop, see Wilhelm Schnöring, *Johannes Blankenfeld. Ein Lebensbild aus dem Anfängen der Reformation*, (Halle, 1905), p. 58–90.
grasp of the Catholic Church, thus limiting diocesan control of church lands and goods.

Yet the radicalism of some early reformers, specifically Sylvester Tegetmeyer in Riga and Melchior Hofmann in Dorpat, concerned some city council members, who likely surmised that these reformers’ open hostility to the church might provoke the nominally Catholic Master of the Order to break his alliance with Riga. Thus, when the time came to publish a Rigan service book, only two men were involved: Andreas Knopken and Johannes Briesmann, a reformer who arrived in Riga in October of 1527, and whose previous experience compiling a similar service book for Königsberg made him a worthy collaborator.

The 1530 Kurtz Ordnung des Kirchendienst, printed in Rostock by Ludwig Dietz, is an unusual publication that combines an order of worship in High German, modelled on earlier books of this kind for Wittenberg and Königsberg, with a collection of psalms and songs in Low German (see Figure 19). There are clear signs that the 1530 book was crafted to provide its users a degree of freedom while also bringing the Rigan liturgy in closer alignment with those found in other centres of Lutheran reform. In the mass, for example, Briesmann offers a choice of Latin or German for the introit, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, calling all languages “God’s gifts” (Gottis gaben), while at the same time emphasizing that the vernacular was more effective than Latin for teaching God’s word. This choice to sing the ordinary of the mass in Latin or German, a principle also articulated in the 1526 Artikel der ceremonien und anderer kirchen ordnung for Königsberg, was probably designed to appeal to both radical reformers and more conservative laypeople; the population in Riga certainly held members of both factions. This attitude

20 For more on the radical phase of the Reformation in Livonia, see Kuhles, Die Reformation in Livland, p. 137–193.

21 The decision to have Briesmann and Knopken compile the service order was also made at the 1527 diet of Pernau. See Sehling, Livland. – Estland. – Kurland., p. 4.


23 Briesmann himself expresses the necessity of a formal and consistent service order for Livonia that mirrored the service orders used in other cities in his introduction to the 1530 book (see Ri1530 fol. Bv).

24 Kurtz Ordnung des Kirchen-diensts/ Sampt eyner | Vorrede von Ceremonien/ | An den Erbarn Rath der löbl. chenn Stadt Riga ynn | Liefflandt. | Mit etlichen Psalmen/ | vnd Göttlichen lobgesangen/ | die yn Christlicher versamlung | zu Riga gesungen | werden. | M. D. XXX. Gedruecket yn der lauelyken Stadt | Rostock/ by Ludowich Dietz/ am 19. | Julii/ ym iare na Christi vneses erlösers geborth/ 1530. Consulted copy in Uppsala, Uppsala University Library. DKL 1530/05 hereafter Ri1530, fols. CIi1 to Di v. Notably, Briesmann specifies that the introit is sung by the young, who will have learned to sing this repertoire in their schools (“so sie nu yn der schulen wird zugenommen haben”).
Figure 19. Title page, 1530 Kurtz Ordnung des Kirchendienst for Riga.
towards Latin also reflects Martin Luther’s own belief that Latin chant had a place in reformed liturgies. Indeed, as Robin A. Leaver has stressed, numerous references in Luther’s writings indicate that he found the traditional chant of the church spiritually beneficial.25 Briesmann thus allowed for a measure of freedom that might satisfy both reformers and conservatives, while also articulating a position about language shared by many moderate reformers including Luther himself.

Some of Briesmann and Knopken’s musical choices point to a more traditional approach to the mass, while others suggest an openness to services performed entirely in the vernacular. Indeed, Briesmann retained some elements of the Catholic breviary and missal, such as his instruction to the priest to sing the doxology “with the old customary notes” (mit der alten gewöhnlichen noten).26

By allowing existing service music to be used, Briesmann’s order of worship could appeal to a wider audience, providing continuity to reassure congregations that his changes to the liturgy were not too radical. At the same time, the book offered congregations the freedom to sing all the chant of the mass in German, thus simultaneously appeasing more radical reformers. The volume’s inclusion of numerous vernacular songs, meanwhile, suggests that both Knopken and Briesmann felt hymn singing might teach Livonian congregations Lutheran theology more effectively than other methods.

Indeed, the largest section of the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung is the compilation of psalms and hymns that occupies the last portion of the book. Its importance is highlighted on the volume’s title page (see Figure 19), which advertises “several psalms” (etlichen Psalmen) and “divine canticles” (Götlichen lobgesungen) sung by the Christian congregation in Riga. It is a popular belief that Luther’s reforms spread in no small measure through the congregational use of his hymns, though as Joseph Herl has noted the actual singing of hymns and use of hymnals in churches of Luther’s time varied widely in different cities.27 The 1530 Kurtz Ordnung, however, seems to indicate that both congregational and choral hymn singing were expected during worship. Much of the music included in the appended hymnal is either required or suggested for use in the liturgy and is presented in the order in which it was meant to be performed in services, indicating that the book’s primary audience was the choir.28 Some longer sets of instructions within this section, moreover,

26 In the medieval liturgy, the Rigan doxology had a troped form. See Arbusow, Die Einführung der Reformation, p. 569, Ri1530 fol. Dii.
27 Joseph Herl, Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict, (Oxford, 2004). Herl argues that congregations in the early years of the Reformation sang seldom or poorly, and that only certain cities used hymnals during church services.
28 For example, the first song is a German translation of the Sunday antiphon Veni sancte spiritus, and the German litany, which was to be sung antiphonally by the choir, spans four pages (Ri1530 fols. Ei and Hi° to Hiiv).
are given in the Low German vernacular, the dialect much more likely to be familiar to the volunteer choir. Yet there are other indications that the book may have been intended for lay use, such as Briesmann’s incorporation of three congregational hymns in the order of worship: “Wir glauben all an einem Gott,” “Jesus Christus, unser Heiland,” and “Gott sei gelobet,” all of which were probably known to Livonians before 1530. The choice of these specific hymns, and their placement after the Gospel and during and following communion, respectively, was certainly intentional: Briesmann ensured that Livonian congregants would sing together the creed, the most important doctrinal statement of the reformed faith, and also emphasized lay participation in the Eucharist, another of the most fundamental Lutheran reforms to Catholic worship. Briesmann borrowed this placement from Martin Luther, who included these hymns at the same points in his 1526 order of service for Wittenberg; Briesmann thus provided a further link to practices beyond Riga through the specific use of these congregational, vernacular hymns.

The presence of a substantial number of Low German hymns with no liturgical function at the end of the volume, including four psalms by Andreas Knopken and several songs by Luther himself, also suggests that the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung was used to teach hymns to the laity. It is this large body of hymns that sets the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung apart from most reformed service books of this period, which were not typically printed with hymnals attached.

A comparison of the final group of fourteen hymns to a 1527 hymnal published for use in Königsberg demonstrates that Knopken most likely translated twelve of these hymns – eleven of which contain blank staves for notating their melodies – from the High German versions in the Königsberg volume.

29 These instructions tell the reader where specific music occurs during the liturgy; see for example fol. Eiii v, which details when the psalms that follow should be sung during the mass. The service order thus presupposes the use of external, existing music books, but offers a user-friendly manual on how to incorporate new German texts into reformed worship.

30 Ri1530 fols. Di and Dii v. Assuming the 1525 Rostock hymnal was known in Livonia, which seems increasingly likely based on evidence given above, these hymns would already have been familiar to congregants in Riga.

31 As Robin A. Leaver has noted, Luther’s changes to “Jesus Christus, unser Heiland,” which was based on a Latin original, express “a different and broader theological understanding of the Lord’s Supper as the surety of God’s grace in forgiveness.” See Leaver, Luther’s Liturgical Music, p. 156–157.

32 For a copy of Luther’s text, see D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesammtausgabe, (Weimar, 1897), p. 72–113.

33 Geffcken traces the provenance of Luther’s and other authors’ hymns in the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung, as well as clarifying some misattributions in subsequent volumes; see Geffcken, Kirchendienstordnung und Gesangbuch der Stadt Riga, p. XIII–XXVII.

34 Leonid Arbusow suggests that the staves were left blank because the practice of printing notes was still developing, but his assessment is probably incorrect; some of the hymns in the 1527 Königsberg hymnal were printed in the same manner, and this practice is also found in early Swedish music prints, as Mattias Lundberg noted in “Musical Peculiarities of the Reformation in Stockholm in the 1520s and ’30s”, paper given at the Lutheran Music Culture Conference in Uppsala, Sweden on 14 September 2017. See Arbusow, Die Einführung der Reformation, p. 716. A modern facsimile of the 1527 Königsberg hymnal is
Although scholars typically assume that the order of worship and hymnal were compiled independently – the former by Briesmann and the latter by Knopken – this strong connection to the 1527 Königsberg hymnal, which Briesmann must have brought with him from Königsberg in the same year, suggests that the two authors worked together closely on the entire volume. This collection of hymns thus speaks to both reformers’ belief in the efficacy of vernacular hymnody for spreading reformed theology to Livonia’s citizens.

The contents of the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung demonstrate that Briesmann and Knopken hoped to create a book that would be accepted throughout the region. Indeed, Briesmann’s introduction expresses the desire for his new order of worship to be used “in cities and towns in Livonia that have adopted the holy word of God’s mercies”. Approval of the new volume in Reval and Dorpat must have been piecemeal, for it was a topic of conversation at the next Livonian Diet in Wolmar in 1533. Here, leaders of all three cities voted to implement the 1530 service book, stating that “the church ordinances, with songs, ceremonies, and other elements, shall be kept uniformly and peacefully in all three cities, so that it is not kept in numerous ways according to the discretion of any individual”. That the Livonian leaders acknowledged song in particular alongside other parts of worship highlights their recognition of the importance of music in the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung. The word “gesengen” in Lutheran books of this period typically refers to German-texted song, rather than Latin chant; this reference in the Diet proceedings thus signifies that Livonian leaders might have found the new, German songs that made up the latter portion of the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung particularly useful for spreading reformed theology.

Yet, only four years later the inhabitants of these cities would be adopting (and substantially lengthened) service book, and I argue that its creation was instigated at least in part by the political desire for liturgical and theological unity expressed in the 1533 Diet proceedings. The additions to this 1537 printing were some of the most substantive of the changes made to the Livonian service book over the course of the sixteenth century, serving to reinforce the value of the publication for use during both worship and communal or private devotion. Briesmann’s foreword is now preceded by a note to the reader in Low German, which explains how each section of the book available: Joseph Müller-Blattau (ed.), Zwei Königsberger Gesangbücher von 1527, (Kassel, 1933).

35 “in Stedten vnnd Flecken die das heylige wort der gnaden Gottis / ynn Liefflandt angenommen haben”. R1l530, fol. Aii. Within the text of the service order itself, however, specific references to practices at Riga’s churches indicate that Riga was the book’s primary audience.

is meant to be used; this introduction is followed by a collect and a prayer.\footnote{Kurtz ordnung | des Kirchendienstes sambt | zveyor Vorreden/ de erste an dem | Leser/ die ander von Ceremonien/ | An den Ehrbarn Radt der lôb-|lichen Stadt Ryga in | Lyfflandt. | Mit den Psalmen | vi Gôtlichen lobgesengen/ die jn Christ-|licher versamlung zu Ryga ghesungen | werden/ auffs newe corrigit vnnd | mit vleyß gemert. | Psalm. xew. | Dat ys eyn tröstlich dinck dem Heren | dancken/ Vnd loff syngen dynem namen | du alderhôgeste. | Jacobi v. | Hefft yemant vnngemack/ de bede ys | yemant gudes modes/ de syngt Psalmê. | M. D. XXXvii. Jnn der Lauelycken | Stadt Rostock/ by Lu|dowich Dyetz gedrûcket vnnd vu-|len-|det jm jar na der gebort Christi vnses | Heren/ dusent vffundert söuen vi | dôrtich/ am xxiiij. dage Aprilis. Copy consulted in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Dr 16118. DKL 1537/04, hereafter Ri1537, fols. II and III. The prayer (Gebedt zu Godt) was written by Burchard Waldis, who may have played some role in the 1537 edition’s creation.}

Since it is written in a straightforward, clear tone in the dialect spoken by the congregation, we may surmise that it was directed toward laypeople of Livonian congregations, rather than to a priest or cantor, suggesting a more concerted effort on the part of Livonian reformers to get this volume into the hands of their congregants.

The most obvious change in the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung is the addition of a large body of monophonic chant, primarily in German, which is organized ac-
ccording to liturgical feast. Briesmann’s short order of worship is unchanged, but where previously the service book offered one set of mass chant texts, the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung includes notated chant, printed using woodcuts, for Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday, as well as other service music. This section begins with an introit for Christmas; the chant, adapted from the Catholic gradual, is printed in both Latin and German (see Figure 20). As Table 4 demonstrates, with the exception of the bilingual introits (and a single psalm) these chants are offered exclusively in German. Given Briesmann’s note that the young were to sing the introit, this retention of dual-language introits in the 1537 edition was most likely meant to bolster the teaching of Latin in Livonian schools, especially in the new Latin school founded to replace the Domschule in Riga in 1528.38 Previously, for the choir to sing the German texts in the 1530 Kurtz Ordnung, they would have had to either memorize the tune or words, or write the translated German into their old books; this new arrangement thus facilitated an easier performance of the mass. Yet these additions also placed substantial restrictions on how the texts of the mass were sung. While the 1530 edition allowed individual churches to choose which melodies they used each Sunday or feast day, these choices were largely made for them in the 1537 edition. Moreover, although Briesmann’s order of worship still allows for the use of either Latin or German for most of the mass ordinary, in order for choirs to use the Latin texts they would have had to use the old service books, copies of which presumably had become more difficult to acquire as reform became more widespread throughout Hanseatic cities. Thus, this service book privileged the use of German texts essentially through omission of the Latin.

This choice is not, I suggest, so much about a reformed versus conservative liturgy – that Livonians continued to rely on Catholic chant but favoured German texts places them somewhere in the centre of the radical/conservative divide. It may be tempting to see this foregrounding of German as evidence of the popularity of more radical theological views in Livonia, but the compilers’ choice to direct the new introduction towards the laity suggests this move toward the vernacular had more to do with text comprehensibility, rather than a specific theological agenda. In addition, this choice speaks to the desire expressed at the 1533 Livonian diet to implement a unified liturgy for the German-speaking population. Here, liturgical compromise was also politically expedient; by streamlining the reformed liturgy and implementing it on a grander scale, Livonian officials both consolidated religious reform and also strengthened internal political unity. Although many urban Livonians had embraced reform by the mid-1530s, the Livonian Order (and thus its knights) remained nominally Catholic. Yet the Order’s desire for freedom from the jurisdiction of Livonian bishops made the newly Protestant city-dwellers useful

allies, and a unified reform movement was of considerably more value than a handful of reformers implementing their own liturgical reforms in individual churches.

As Marianne Gillion has demonstrated, compilers of the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung did not simply apply new German texts to existing Latin music; the process often involved adapting and editing existing melodies, which in some cases were drawn from contemporary reform-oriented collections of Latin- or German-texted chant. Nevertheless, the chants in the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung display strong stylistic similarities with the Catholic liturgical tradition, and it was these links, I argue, which allowed such music to sacralize church buildings only recently reformed, imbuing Catholic sound with new Lutheran meaning. For reformers, the act of co-opting the audible markers of traditional piety and reimagining them as foundational elements of vernacular wor-

Table 4. Chant in the 1530 and 1537 service books for Riga. The 1530 Kurtz Ordnung gives a single Introit text meant to be used especially (sonderlick) on Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas; Briesmann clarifies that on high feasts the chant melody for Easter should be used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1530 (text only)</th>
<th>1537 (all notated)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Christmas</strong></td>
<td>Introit (G)</td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kyrie/Gloria (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lutheran Hymn (G; void notation)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hallelujah + Psalm (L/G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Easter</strong></td>
<td>Introit (G)</td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kyrie/Gloria (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hallelujah (G; verses text only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ascension</strong></td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
<td>Hallelujah (G; only first line of verse given)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pentecost</strong></td>
<td>Introit (G)</td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hallelujah (G; only first line of verse given)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hymn (G; for Palm Sunday [and Pentecost?])</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hymn (G; for Easter through Pentecost)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Holy Trinity</strong></td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Sundays</strong></td>
<td>Introit (G)</td>
<td>Introit (L/G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>“Ordinary”</strong></td>
<td>Kyrie/Gloria (G)</td>
<td>Responses (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chants (not associated with any particular feast; meant to be used for all masses)</td>
<td>Hallelujah (G)</td>
<td>Sanctus (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses (G)</td>
<td>Sanctus [x2] (G)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanctus (G)</td>
<td>Vater unser (G)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agnus Dei (G)</td>
<td>Agnus Dei [x2] (G)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Responses (G)</td>
<td>Responses (G)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benediction (G)</td>
<td>Benediction (G)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ship could help them legitimate and solidify a relatively radical theological agenda. For those who were apathetic or even hostile to reform, meanwhile, retaining audible links to Catholic worship such as liturgical chant may have allowed them to strengthen their ties to the old religion – or at the very least, feel more at ease with the recent theological changes.

At the same time that the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung emphasized a unified, sung liturgy, it also offered its users a substantially larger body of vernacular hymns and psalms, further indicating that widespread congregational use – which in turn might aid in the adoption of a uniform theological and political stance across Livonian congregations – was intended for the volume. Eleven of these songs are accompanied by mensurally notated music, and these melodies, five of which were written by Andreas Knopken, are the only hymn tunes published in any of the sixteenth-century editions of the Livonian service book.40 This collection of hymns was unique to the Livonian service book, meaning that it provided a musical repertory that as a whole was only available to Livonian congregations. The new introduction to the reader highlights the addition of new hymns by Knopken, suggesting that his hymns in particular enjoyed widespread popularity in Livonia.41

The poem that appears on the verso of the title page of the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung – the most frequently quoted material from any extant sixteenth-century reformed Livonian service book – also confirms that the volume was intended for congregational use (see Figure 20).42 This poem refers to the work as a whole as a songbook, suggesting that its use as a musical tool for the laity was of the utmost importance. Furthermore, the verse specifically points out singing “in unity” as one of the book’s functions. That the poem highlights the inclusion of new psalms and songs “with notes” demonstrates that its creators intended it to be used to teach and strengthen Reformation theology, and further suggests that the addition of tunes in particular was valuable. The mention of “the dear reader himself” for whose “benefit” this book has been printed also reinforces the notion that individual congregants were meant to use the 1537 Kurtz Ordnung. Finally, the poem also stresses the book’s importance “especially to the dear youth,” proving that its use as an educational tool was another of its most central functions.

Livonia was in many ways a likely place for an interest in Luther’s teaching to form, due to the complex relationships between the Master of the Order, his knights, the Archbishop of Riga, the Livonian bishops, and the Hanseatic merchants who comprised the majority of Livonia’s urban population. Yet studies of this phenomenon tend to treat the Livonian service books as merely

40 Knopken’s songs unfortunately suffer from text-underlay issues and minor printing problems, which is probably why they were reprinted without their melodies in subsequent editions.
41 Ri1537 fol. Iv.
42 Joseph Herl, for example, views this poem as evidence that people in Livonia did, in fact, sing hymns. See Herl, Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism, p. 103–104.
contemporary liturgical publications, ignoring the extent to which their contents were motivated by political concerns and the effects these books were intended to have on their users. Although the impetus for the creation of both the 1530 and 1537 Kurtz Ordnungen was certainly theological – at least in the minds of its compilers and most adamant supporters – it received widespread use in part because it was politically expedient for the Master of the Livonian Order, his knights, and the German townspeople, all of whom shared a common goal of resisting the secular authority of the Catholic Church. The publication in 1548/9 of a new and more expansive edition, furthermore, indicates that the process of theological unification in Livonia remained ongoing into the middle of the sixteenth century.

We should not overlook the attention Livonian reformers paid to music when compiling these books. Indeed, the early appearance of hymns in the years following the arrival of Lutheran teaching suggests that Livonian reformers understood the power of song as a tool for spreading new beliefs, and although the evidence is scant, it also indicates that Livonians themselves appreciated the message these hymns delivered. The contents of the 1530 and 1537 service books, moreover, demonstrate that music played a pivotal role in the early adoption of Lutheran worship in Livonian cities, with hymns that provided a means of spreading Lutheran theology quickly and effectively, and liturgical chant in the latter volume that offered a uniform method for performing the new liturgy. Without the crucial political support that the books received at the Livonian Diet, however, their life may have been short lived. Instead, new editions of the Kurtz Ordnung – with revised musical contents – continued to be published throughout the sixteenth century, even as the Livonian Confederation itself was torn apart with the onset of war in 1558.
6. Liturgical Reforms during the Lutheran Period of the Unity of the Brethren

Eliška Bat’ová

The works of Jan Blahoslav (1523–1571), Czech humanist writer, philologist, translator, theorist, editor of hymnbooks and a bishop of the Unity of the Brethren, have formed the paradigm of Brethren hymnography for more than 400 years. Ongoing hymnological research faces the challenge of taking a new look at the liturgy and hymnography of the Unity of the Brethren with awareness that the narrative presented by Blahoslav is highly apologetic and selective in nature. The problem of the self-representation of Bohemian Brethren through their own sources was discussed by Zdeněk V. David. The rediscovery of sources related to Jan Augusta (1500–1572) can now add to the picture of the hymnography of the Brethren. His liturgical and hymnological vision has been lost for many years, even though it contains a very significant reform of the liturgical year. The newly discovered sources are currently the subject of scientific debate. However, many questions still remain unanswered. One of these is the question of the degree to which this reform was influenced by the early liturgical writings of Martin Luther. This chapter contributes to the determination of the extent of Lutheran influence in the Bohemian Reformation.

The Unity of the Brethren began as a reform movement within Utraquism, influenced by the most radical followers of Jan Hus. In the first period of its existence (i.e. in the last third of the fifteenth century), the Unity lived following the example of the Desert Fathers and its worship was based only on biblical models. This differed from the official line of the Utraquists who largely retained the liturgy they inherited from sub una Catholics, although in many cases they translated it into Czech. Under the thirty-year leadership of Luke of Prague (1460–1528), a formalized Czech liturgy began to take shape in the Unity. Luke re-introduced the use of the liturgical year along with the traditional lectionary, and he compiled a detailed liturgical order, “Reports on the Services of the Priestly Office in the Unity of Brethren” (Zprávy při


2 See Tabita Landová, Liturgie Jednoty bratrské (1457–1620) [The Liturgy of the Unity of the Brethren], (Červený Kostelec, 2014).
After this death, the new generation of the Brethren (active in 1530–1560) had intensive contact with Luther and approached Luke’s works critically. New orders of services were approved in 1531, and room opened up for reforming the liturgical year. These liturgical books have not survived, with the exception of a single order for communion. We do, however, have many references to a new scheme of readings and songs to cover the entire liturgical year.

The most prominent representative of these reforms was Jan Augusta. The son of a Prague hatter, he lacked a university education. He joined the Unity of the Brethren in 1524, in 1531 he was ordained to the priesthood, and a year later he was elected to the inner council (i.e. the supreme body) of the Unity. He served in Litomyšl until 1548. From the 1530s he was very busily engaged in literary activity, whether writing treatises on soteriology or on questions of practical theology. He communicated with Luther in person and in writing, and he later affirmed that connection by translating Luther’s works (Von den Schlüsseln, Wider Hans Worst and others). With the treatise “On the Ob-

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4 Antonín Gindely, Dekrety Jednoty bratrské I [Decrees of the Unity of the Brethren], (Prague, 1865), p. 141.


6 Brethren sources differ as to the year when Augusta became a bishop. The Nekrologium of the Brethren gives 1537, while Historia Fratrum Bohemicorum (along with most modern literature) dates it back to 1532. See Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, ms. XVII E 69, f. 174r; Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, ms. XVII F 51a, f. 424r. For a biography of Augusta, cf. primarily Josef Smolík, Bratr Jan Augusta [Brother Jan Augusta], (Prague, 1984); this source also contains references to other literature.

7 Jan Augusta, Rozmlouvání jednoho muže učeného [The Dialogue of a Learned Man], (Mladá Boleslav, 1532), see Knihopis Database, no. K00852. Jan Augusta, Kniežka tato bez titule [A Book without a Title], (Litomyšl, 1534), see Knihopis Database, no. K00846.

8 Prague, Strahov Library, ms. DG IV, Prague, National Museum Library, ms. I H 37.

9 Cf. Smolík, Bratr Jan Augusta, p. 40–59. The two men apparently shared personal sympathies, as is shown by, among other things, Blahoslav’s recollection of their rhetorical abilities: “When I heard Augusta sometime 26 years ago and Luther not long before that, it seemed to me that I had never heard two such zealous preachers and in this matter so similar to each other.” See Brno, Moravian Library, ms. 114, f. 279v–280r, Gramatika česká Jana Blahoslava [Czech Grammar of Jan Blahoslav], Mirek Čejka, Dušan Šlosar and Jana Nechutová (eds.), (Brno, 1991), p. 295.

10 The only translation indisputably by Augusta is Zrcadlo kněžské Doktora Martina Luthera [The Priest’s Mirror by Doctor Martin Luther], (Litomyšl, 1542), see Knihopis Database, no. K05128. Other translations have been hypothetically attributed to Augusta. These include Knieha Ekleyztvystkus podlé starobylých řeckých exempláru od Doktora Martina Luthera zpravená [The Book of Ecclesiastics according to Ancient Greek Sources Made by Doctor Martin Luther], (Litomyšl, 1539), see Knihopis Database, no. K02188, which,
ligations of Christians under Christ’s Law” (*O závazcích křesťanských Zákona Kristova*, 1540, now lost), he launched a long series of polemics against the “mainstream” Utraquist clergy, which appeared throughout the first half of the 1540s. As a result of the activities of the nobility of the Brethren during the Schmalkaldic War, he was accused of conspiring against the king, and for 16 years (1548–1564) he was imprisoned at Křivoklát Castle. There he secretly managed to write down his extensive conception for liturgical reform. The foundational element was the exalting of the articles of the Apostles’ Creed as the model for the true observance of the temporal cycle of the liturgical year. In reference to the early church, the liturgical year was organized around the fundamental Christian beliefs in their early, “uncorrupted” form. The new concept of biblical lessons was intended to help the preachers present an authentic Christian testimony about the saving truth in its fullness, and to renew the church.

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Luke’s Legacy: the Apostles’ Creed as the Cause for the Secession of the Brethren

At the very synod of the Brethren where Jan Augusta was ordained to the priesthood, there was an important decree on “times established by men” (*o časích ustanovených lidmi*). The document’s primary goal was to allow freedom of conscience in the question of observing church feast days. A decree from the Brethren declared that the traditionally observed calendar, in which feast days were divided into “consecrated” days, which required public observance, and “unconsecrated,” was not binding. The concrete formulation of this document, however, goes even further:

Firstly, during the events of the human constructed liturgical year – such as feasts, celebrations, holidays, advents, Septuagisma, fasts, Ember days, rogation
days, octaves and so forth – [the synod asked] what are our people supposed to be doing, and what are we meant to be teaching them? It was decided that all of these days should be considered equal with other days, and that, for God, no one day is holier than another. In order that people’s consciences should not be bound by the times set forth above, but rather that they be liberated from this bondage, the commemoration of the acts of Christ according to the articles of faith should instead be observed all year, and through that commemoration, their redemption and salvation should be made known to the people.\footnote{Gindely, Dekrety, p. 142.}

Renouncing the obligation to observe the traditional liturgical year, even in the cases of “feasts, celebrations […], advents” and other pillars of the church year, gave room to explore ideas about the reform of the temporal cycle. This reform would further codify the liberation from the “bondage” of customs that detracted from the fundamental message of the Gospel, and thus also ensure the exclusive place of the Unity of the Brethren in the history of the Reformation. The understanding of the Apostles’ Creed as a reason for the need for the Unity of the Brethren to split away from Utraquism was not new to the generation of Jan Augusta, but instead was based to a significant extent on a treatise by Luke of Prague titled “Book on the Foundation of the General Christian Faith” (\textit{Kniežka tato jest o gruntu viery obecné křesťanské}, 1525), the entire first section of which is devoted to the “abominations” of the Roman and Bohemian church against the individual articles of the creed.\footnote{Lukáš Pražský, \textit{Kniežka tato jest o gruntu viery} [Book on the Foundation of the General Christian Faith], (Litomyšl, 1525), f. XI\superscript{2}; see \textit{Knihopis Database}, no. K05022.}

Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when the group of priests surrounding Jan Augusta started trying to implement an order of lessons dependent consistently on the sequence of the Apostles’ Creed. An explicit statement permitting the reform of the “order of annual instruction” first appears in the assembly’s decree of 1545, but there are a number of indications that certain changes had already been taking place.\footnote{Gindely, Dekrety, p. 163.} We have reports on the beginnings of the reform of the church year from Bishop Jan Blahoslav, writing somewhat later; Blahoslav dated the efforts to change the “orders” to the period shortly after the death of Luke of Prague (i.e. after 1528). That the new order of lessons was in use no later than the beginning of the 1540s can be seen from Augusta’s statement in 1543 that the Brethren “in the congregations are preaching” the articles of the Apostles’ Creed (“without mixing or changing them”) and furthermore, that they compose songs based on these articles.\footnote{Jan Augusta, \textit{Pře Jana Augusty a kněžstva kališného} [The Dispute of Jan Augusta and Utraquist Priests], (s. l., 1543), f. J2\superscript{2}; see \textit{Knihopis Database}, no. K00850.}

The concrete features of the new calendar long remained a matter of scholarly speculation, because it was assumed that all of the relevant historical sources had been lost. Only after versions of Augusta’s most important texts from prison, specifically his versions of the register of pericopes “Register
or Report on What is to Be Read and When” (Registrum aneb Zpráva, co se kdy a o čem čísti má, 1557–1559) and of the three-volume postil “Books of the Services of God’s Word” (Knihy služby Slova Božího, 1570), were discovered in two previously neglected prints did it become possible to begin studying the Brethren’s reform of the church year. These prints are also important because they allow comparison with manuscripts written by Augusta during his imprisonment at Křivoklát, especially with the “Register of Songs” (Registrum piesní, 1558), now kept at the Austrian National Library.

The basic guide for the reform of the church year was the subordination of all components of the Brethren’s service of the word (readings, preaching, songs, and prayers) to the sequence of the individual articles of the Apostles’ Creed. This involved not only the exact sequence of the Apostles’ Creed, but Augusta’s intention was more specifically to follow Luke’s interpretation of the Apostle’s Creed discussed in the treatise “Book on the Foundation of the General Christian Faith”. Since in the received calendar, the theme of the first Sunday of Advent corresponds to the second and third articles about Jesus being conceived by the Holy Spirit, the preceding Ordinary time had to be shortened, so that the beginning of the new church year could fall six Sundays earlier.

In this adjusted arrangement, the period preceding Advent interpreted the first article, on belief in God the Father. The Christmas season, subsequent Ordinary time, Septuagesima, and the first half of Lent were linked together into a successive exposition of the life of Christ, falling under the fourth article (“born of the Virgin Mary”). In accordance with tradition, the second half of Lent, Holy Week, and the entire Easter season were devoted to the

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19 Registrum aneb Zpráva, co se kdy a o čem čísti má [Register or Report on What is to Be Read and When], (s. l. 1558/59); see Knihopis Database, no. K14768.

20 První díl knih služby Slova Božího [Books of the Services of God’s Word], (Prague, 1570), see Knihopis Database, no. K04055.


22 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7452.

23 Although the inspiration of Luke of Prague is fundamental, the process of interpretation set out in his treatise is not followed entirely precisely by Augusta, and there are certain deviations. A more detailed analysis of the relationship between these texts must be left to more specialized research.
events of the Passion, Jesus’ Resurrection and Ascension, and the descent of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost), representing the fifth through the eighth articles of the Apostles’ Creed. The Feast of the Holy Trinity, however, was newly connected with the ninth article, on belief in the Holy Catholic Church. On the basis of Luke’s interpretation of the tenth article, the weeks that followed were reserved for teachings on the sacraments through the tenth article on the forgiveness of sins. The last five weeks were devoted to the eleventh and twelfth articles – on the resurrection of the body and eternal life, with the addition of a presentation on the Last Judgment. There was also room here for the topic of the church being misled, its temptation by the Antichrist, and its subsequent restoration (see Table 6).

Matins as a Liturgical Model in Reference to the Early Church

Innovations not only included the actual sequence of the church year and the selection of lessons arising from it, but also the quantity of new biblical pericopes, especially from the Old Testament. In this respect, however, one significant aspect of the whole reform has so far escaped the attention of researchers. This aspect begins to assume clearer contours when comparing Augusta’s “Books of the Services of God’s Word” with the “Register of Songs”. This Register – like all of the Brethren’s newer printed song indices – records the structure of each worship service in the church year together with the incipits of the recommended songs. Here we can see that the pericopes contained in the “Books of the Services of God’s Word” are intended for reading at Sunday morning worship (Matins, commonly called “morning”) or at the so-called “first assembly” that often replaced it in the Unity’s worship. The only two formulas found in “Register of Songs” that actually contain the rubric “for the morning” are for Christmas Day and Easter Sunday, but in spite of the absence of this rubric, the structure of the liturgy on other Sundays is either entirely identical (“On the Day of the Lord’s Circumcision”) or is merely more or less abbreviated. In a total of eighteen cases, the invitatory is retained at the beginning of the worship service. It is always sung to one of three selected chant melodies (Christus natus est nobis at Christmas, Alleluia, alleluia at Easter, and Alleluia, Spiritus domini replevit at Pentecost).

Table 6. The relationship of the structure of the Apostle’s Creed to the reconceived Brethren church year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article I</th>
<th>Pre-Advent season</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Article II–III</td>
<td>Advent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article IV</td>
<td>Christmas season, Ordinary time, Septuagesima, the first half of Lent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article V–VIII</td>
<td>The second half of Lent, Holy Week, Easter season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article IX–X</td>
<td>Feast of the Holy Trinity, Ordinary time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article XI–XII</td>
<td>Ordinary time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. Augusta’s proposed liturgy for Matins on Christmas Day; see “Books of the Services of God’s Word”, (Prague, 1570), f. Cc2r–Dd4r; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 7452, f. 12r.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liturgical parts (pre-existing melodies)</th>
<th>Pericopes and paraphrases in Czech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Invitatorion (Christus natus est nobis)</td>
<td>Ej, Pán anjelský (Look, the angelic Lord)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropus ad responsorium (Missus ab arce)</td>
<td>Nastal nám den přeúčtěný (The day of great consolation is come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Nocturno 1:] Lectio 1</td>
<td>Isaiah 11:1–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio 2</td>
<td>Romans 1:1–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio 3</td>
<td>Matthew 1:1–25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropus ad lectionem Iz / Hymnus (Laudem Deo dicam)</td>
<td>Prokřížkněmž k chvále (Let us shout in praise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Nocturno 2:] Lectio 4</td>
<td>Micah 4:13–14; 5:1-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio 5</td>
<td>Luke 2:1–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio 6</td>
<td>Titus 2:11–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantio (Cum sanctis omnibus)</td>
<td>Radost nevýmluvná (Inexpressible joy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Nocturno 3:] Lectio 7</td>
<td>Isaiah 8:22–23; 9:1–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio 8</td>
<td>Hebrews 1:1–2:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio 9</td>
<td>John 1:1–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymnus (A solis ortus cardine)</td>
<td>Pamatujmež my vesele (Let us recall joyfully)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Homilia]</td>
<td>[Sermon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oratio</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantio</td>
<td>Radostně Bohu zpivejme (Let us sing joyfully to God)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An even more striking tie to the secular Roman rite is the preservation of three Nocturnes, which each comprise three lessons and conclude with the singing of a hymn or song instead of a responsory. Each Nocturno contains one Old-Testament pericope (“words of the prophet” or psalm), one Epistle pericope, and one Gospel pericope. Only eight of the more important feast days have a formula with three Nocturnes, while the remaining Sundays have two Nocturnes, but their internal structure and the composition of the pericopes remain the same. The absolute agreement between the “Register of Songs” and the “Books of the Services of God’s Word” with respect to the number of Nocturnes is indicative of how carefully the whole system was planned. Such a liturgically rich worship service (as can be seen in the example of Matins for Christmas Day – see Table 7) that would work with elements of the Roman rite of the office would have been foreign to the heirs of radical Hussitism at the time.

To answer the question of what might have led to this adoption of the Matins structure, it should first be noted that, in his search for the true ecclesiastical orders, Augusta did not limit himself to the heritage of the Utraquist and
Brethren traditions, but also searched the remnants of early Christianity in the Roman church. In his recollections of the period of his conversion, he says:

My spirit was inspired by the Lord God to watchfulness and constant reflection on how things were in the early church of the apostles, and how things should now be corrected. [...] And then everything pointed me in the direction of the Roman church, because in it I found the hidden remnants and fragments of what had been in the apostolic church at the beginning.  

In relation to the liturgy (and to Matins in particular), Luther came up with a similar idea of drawing from the early church. The traditional rite of Matins adopted a series of long readings from the Old Testament from early Christian vigils, and thus represented a purely biblical model of worship. In his text “Concerning the Order of Public Worship” (Von Ordenung Gottis Dienst yn der Gemeyne, 1523), Luther speaks of the celebration of Matins as follows:

This was the custom among Christians at the time of the apostles and should also be the custom now. We should assemble daily at four or five in the morning and have [God’s Word] read, either by pupils or priests, or whoever it may be, in the same manner as the lesson is still read at Matins. [...] The lesson should be taken from the Old Testament; one of the books should be selected and one or two chapters, or half a chapter, be read, until the book is finished. After that another book should be selected, and so on, until the entire Bible has been read through. [...] Now when the lesson and its interpretation have lasted half an hour or so, the congregation shall unite in giving thanks to God, in praising him, and in praying for the fruits of the Word, etc. For this, the Psalms should be used and some good responsories and antiphons.

It may have been Luther’s conception of Matins as an opportunity for the continual reading of the Old Testament (lectio continua) that Augusta connected with the legacy of the apostolic tradition in the form of celebrating the church year on the basis of the articles of the Apostles’ Creed. The emphasis on read-

24 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, ms. Quart. Slav. 41, f. 141r. This manuscript was discovered by Ota Halama (private communication).
25 “Also ists aber zu gangen unter den Christen zur zeyt der Apostel und sollt auch noch so zu gehen, das man teglich des morgens eyne stunde frue umb vier oder funff zu samen keme und daselbs lesen liesse, es seyen schuler oder priester, oder wer es sey, gleych wie man izt noch die Lection ynn der metten liebet. [...] Diße Lection soll aber seyn aus dem alten Testament, nemlich das man eyn buch fur sich neme und eyn Capitel oder zwey oder eyn halbes leße, bis es aus sey, dar nach eyn anders fur nemen, und so fort an, bis die ganze Biblia aus gelesen werde. [...] Wenn nu die Lection und auslegung eyn halb stund oder lenger geweret hatt, soll man drauff yn gemeyn got dancken, loben und bitten umb frucht des worts etc. Dazu soll man brauchen der psalmen und ettlicher gutten Responsoria, Antiphon.” See Martin Luther, Von Ordenung Gottis Dienst in der Gemeyne, (Wittenberg, 1523), f. A2v–A3; see D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesammtausgabe 12, (Weimar, 1891), p. 35–36. Translation by Paul Zeller Strodach; see Martin Luther, Luther’s Works (American Edition), Vol. 53, p. 12.
ing pericopes “from all of the Holy Scriptures of the whole Bible” appears nearly word for word in both Augusta’s writings from prison.26

While in the vast majority of cases the pericopes contained in “Books of the Services of God’s Word” concern only lessons within the context of the first assembly of the day, in his “The Art of Work in Service of the Lord” (Umění práce díla Páně služebného, 1560) Augusta speaks about the selection of readings for the following main worship service. He always gives priority to the pastoral needs of the assembled community (“And how is preaching to achieve anything if one does not know about the people?”),27 and only thereafter is one to choose one of the passages read in the morning:

Once you know what is needed, immediately look at what is to be read for that time from the Scriptures, whether from the Prophets, the Gospels, or the Epistles, or find for yourself something fitting to read. And look for what can be taken from it, so that by speaking about it, the listeners’ needs for salvation might be met.28

Conclusion: Fear of Breaking with Visual Tradition

There are numerous reports suggesting that during the harsh repressions after the Schmalkaldic War, the new order of biblical readings was not comprehensible to the weakened Unity of the Brethren, and it resulted primarily in chaos.29 Contemporary critics correctly perceived that a significant shift in liturgical thinking had taken place: in preparing the Roh Cantional of 1541,30 the Brethren were willing to preserve – and even capitalize on – apparent continuity with the Utraquist tradition, whereas under the influence of the rigorous commitment to the Apostles’ Creed, they subsequently and unmistakably broke that continuity. This can be seen even on the first page of the new liturgical books (see Figure 21).

In contrast, Utraquists and Czech Lutherans sought to maintain visual continuity with the traditional form of services, viewing this as legitimizing their reforms.31 Therefore, it is not difficult to understand that, given the escalation

29 Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, ms. XVII E 69, f. 1r–47r and Prague, National Archives, Herrnhut deposit, Archiv der Brüdergemeine, ms. AB II, R 1, no. 1, Vol. IX, f. 64r–101r.
30 Piesně chval božských [The Songs of Praise of God], (Prague, 1541), see Knihopis Database, no. K12856.
31 David Holeton, “The Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy: a textual study”, in The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice, (Papers from the XVIIIth World Congress of
Figure 21. Breaking the continuity: “Books of the Services of God’s Word” (Prague 1570), f. A2: The text of the whole book begins with the rubric “The first Sunday before Advent”.
of the situation after the defeat of Prince Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, on 24 April 1547, this demonstrative breach of continuity caused grave concerns amongst the Unity. This fear remains forever associated with the dispute over the reform of the church year.

Given these impressions, and with awareness of the later systematic destruction of specimens of Augusta’s “Books of the Services of God’s Word”, the tendency is to conclude that this attempt at reforming the church year was generally unsuccessful, but that is not entirely true. Matins with two or three Nocturnes, as suggested by Augusta, does not appear to have caught on, but a later postil from 1575 consistently ascribes one Old-Testament pericope (often carried over from Augusta’s conception) to the morning or generally to the first worship service. The topics for individual Sundays based on the Apostles’ Creed are also preserved, even including the association of the six weeks before Advent with a disquisition on God the Father – but in accordance with tradition, those Sundays are placed at the end of the church year. Nine invitatories (although heavily revised before publication) were newly included in the Szamotuły Cantional from 1561 and were passed on from there.

It is clear, then, that the editors of the cantional assumed a larger-scale, more traditional form for the celebration of Matins, at least on the more important feast days of the temporal calendar.

The legacy of Jan Augusta and his generation was not lost but was hidden in anonymous and altered form in later liturgical and hymnographic works. This was caused by, among other things, repeated editorial interventions in the content and structure of the cantionals, rendering the Brethren’s hymnographic material anonymous and blurring the specific features of its older phases. This fact is especially manifested in the case of the Brethren’s reform of the liturgical year, which was realised and defended in Bohemia over a period of twenty years (i.e. about 1540–1560). Nonetheless, it was almost completely forgotten because of both the losses of sources and the targeted liquidation of rejected texts by censorship. Based on the dialogue of recently found and newly interpreted sources, several previously unknown, innovative features of this reform have now been identified. However, research into Augusta’s legacy and Brethren sources has not yet been completed and promises to be very fruitful.

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32 Výklad Řečí božích [The Songs of Praise of God], (Ivančice, 1575); see Knihopis Database, no. K15953.
33 Piesně chval božských [The Songs of Praise of God], (Szamotuły, 1561); see Knihopis Database, no. K12860.
7. Learning to be Lutheran by Singing: The Pedagogy of a Communion Hymn of the Swedish Reformation

Teresia Derlén

The Swedish archbishop Haquin Spigel (1645–1714) once said that the children of God learned the Word of God through songs, a quote that indicates the importance of both religious songs and pedagogy in the Swedish Reformation and post-Reformation.¹ At the time of the Reformation, and well into the seventeenth century, Sweden was largely illiterate and rural. Without an intellectual middle-class, ideas of religious reform gained no proper foothold among the general population, which meant that the Reformation was instigated from above, by the Crown and some church leaders.² Consequently, the discussion concerning the Swedish Reformation has often focused on whether the sixteenth century was a time of great religious change or not. Some point to the gentle changes in the liturgy and in the ecclesial space, arguing that the sixteenth century only gradually transformed the religious practices of medieval times, others emphasize the perception of change that led to recurring revolts among the population.³ Be that as it may, with the Uppsala Resolution of 1593 Sweden officially declared itself a Lutheran country, and the sixteenth century saw the production of songs, liturgy and devotionals in the vernacular.⁴ The Reformation was a time of transformation, however gradual, and with it

new religious practices were adopted by the population. But the task taken on by the reformers, to change the religion of a mostly illiterate population, must have needed both persistence and ingenuity. This chapter will examine some of these instructional modes, or pedagogical tools, that were used to reform lay religiosity, from a medieval tradition to the faith of the Swedish Lutheran Church. At the forefront of these tools would have been songs, through which the children of God learnt the Word of God, not by reading, but by listening, memorising and participating. What was the place of church songs in the Swedish Reformation?

“Jesus Christus är vår helsa”: Lost in Translation

Luther’s classic communion hymn, “Jesus Christus unser Heiland”, was loosely based on the Latin “Jesus Christus, nostra salus”. This hymn is strongly connected with the Protestant Lutheran movement, and with its sacramental teaching it is a good example of both theology and instruction. In Sweden it appeared in translation as “Jesus Christus är wor helsa”. These three versions of the hymn have little in common beyond the first few lines, however. In fact, the Swedish translation compared to Luther’s original, diverges greatly after the second verse. What follows here is a discussion that explores the different modes of language, which may allow us to talk of two separate agendas for the German and the Swedish reformers, in particular concerning eucharistic instruction.

Luther’s German version of the hymn is consistently more explicit and emotive. Where Luther describes Jesus as the one “who turned God’s wrath away from us”, and helped us from the pain of Hell (Ger: Höllen Pein), the Swedish translation seemingly puts less emphasis on hellish drama, and Jesus

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5 I am referring here to the Communion hymn “Jesus Christus unser Heiland der von uns den Gotteszorn wandt”, not to be confused with Luther’s Easter hymn “Jesus Christus unser Heiland der den Tod überwand”. For the links between Luther’s hymn and the medieval versions, see “Lass uns leuchten des Lebens Wort”: Die Lieder Martin Luthers. Im Auftrag der Fränkischen Stiftungen anlässlich des Reformationsjubiläums 2017, Hans-Otto Korth (ed.), (Halle, 2017).


7 The version of the hymn used here is from, Svenska psalmboken af 1536 å nyo utgifwen, (Stockholm, 1862).

8 The attribution of this hymn has been the cause of much debate. Lars Högmarck’s reference book to Swedish hymns from 1736 mentions Laurentius Petri. See Lars Högmarck, Psalmodiographia. En utförlig beskrifning öfwer them, som hafva 1. samansatt, 2. öfwersatt och 3. förbetrat psalmarna, vit then, på kongl. maj:ts allernådigsta befallning, åhr 1695. öfwersedda swenska psalm- boken, med monga både nyttiga och nödiga anmerkningar försettd[,] sammanletad och utarbetad af Lars Högmarck, (Stockholm, 1736), p. 10. His is probably a traditional view. Sven Ingebrand’s research instead points to Olaus Petri as the author, see Ingebrand, Svenske songer, p. 103–106.

9 The hymns also differ in length, with Luther’s song “Jesus Christus unser Heiland” containing 10 verses, and the Swedish 12 verses.
is the one “who wanted to save us all”. He did so by helping us avoid the misery of death (Swe: dödzens nödh). The conclusions of this comparison must of course be tempered by the difficulty that lies in translation; there are only a few Swedish words that compare well with the three syllables of Höllen Pein. The discrepancies between the two language versions continue in the same vein, however, with the German text stressing emotion, whereas the Swedish hymn focuses on instruction.

Table 8. Stanza 1 in German and Swedish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns den Gotteszorn wandt, durch das bitter Leiden sein halber uns aus der Höllen Pein.</td>
<td>Jesus Christus är wor helsa, som oss alla wille frelsa, medh sjinn pino och bittra dödh, frelste han oss aff dödzens nödh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verse two is a good example of this difference. The German version makes it clear that Jesus gives us his body to eat (Ger: sein Leib zu essen). In the Swedish hymn, on the other hand, it is as if the writer cannot help but clarify that Jesus instituted the sacrament for Christians to partake in, not to adore, saying that Jesus gave us food to eat (Swe: gaff han oss en spijs at äta). There are several Swedish one-syllable words that could have been used that were closer to the German Leib, such as those for “body”, “life”, and “flesh” (Swe: kropp, liv, kött). Real presence is not contested, however, since the Swedish verse has a reference to Christ’s body under the bread (under bröd lekamen sin).

Table 9. Stanza 2 in German and Swedish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dass wir nimmer des vergessen, gab er uns sein’ Leib zu essen, verborgen im Brot so klein, und zu trinken sein Blut im Wein.</td>
<td>At wij honom ey förgäta, gaff han oss en spijs at äta, under bröd lekamen sin, gaff oss dricka sin blodh j wijn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The language in the Swedish hymn is directed to a collective, with a pedagogical motive to instruct and inform, much like a sermon. So far, the hymn writer has translated Luther’s hymn, but for the remainder of the verses Luther’s text seems to serve more as an inspiration, than a strict guide. This cavalier usage of Luther’s material might be seen as a dismissal of Luther’s didactic and emotive language, or that a pedagogical plan adapted to Swedish circumstances was actively carved out and put into use.

In verse three we already see how the two language versions diverge onto different paths. Luther tries to stir the user’s conscience, to wake and warn, much like the Good Friday rooster. The German verse reads in translation:

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10 Cf. v. 1, in German, “Der won uns den Gotteszorn wandt” with v. 1, in Swedish, “Som oss alla ville frälsa”.

111
Whomever wants to go to the [altar] table, should take care and seriously consider their affairs. If anyone who is unworthy approaches, they will receive death instead of life.\(^{11}\)

In the previous verse, we have been stirred and urged to regard the mysterious, heavenly life given to us in such a small piece of bread. The bread offers divine life that should lead to earnest self-examination. This is crucial, lest we eat death instead of life.

By comparison, the Swedish version delays the warning that Luther offers in verse three. A comparable text comes in verse seven. Rather than going directly from a reflection on the Real Presence to contemplating personal sins, as Luther did, the Swedish hymn writer gives further instruction on why the Real Presence is linked to personal sins. It reads in translation:

With this food he would comfort us, [to know] that our debt is paid. To firmly believe, and to this Holy Supper go.\(^{12}\)

Here Luther writes in the third person, but it is still a personal address to me, the user. Luther will continue to further personalise his message, by switching to a direct address in the coming verses: you should praise (Du sollst... preisen); your mistakes (deine Missetat);\(^{13}\) you should believe and not doubt (Du sollst glauben und nicht wanken).\(^{14}\) Luther’s verse four contains language to make me, the singer, personally invested, to rouse my conscience. It was for my mistakes that God offered the death of his son ([...] in den Tod sein' Sohn geben hat).

(Stanza 4, German:)
Du sollst Gott den Vater preisen,
dass er dich so wohl wollt speisen
und für deine Missetat
in den Tod sein' Sohn geben hat.
[Praise God the Father,
Who has given us such good food
And who for your mistakes
Gave his Son into death.]

The Swedish hymn, on the other hand, addresses a collective with instructive language. It goes from using an inclusive pronoun – we – to an impersonal third person singular – one. Verse four below sounds much like a teacher hoping to make the students listen. It is only if one firmly believes – that Christ is

\(^{11}\) Wer sich will zu dem Tisch machen, / der hab wohl acht auf sein Sachen. / Wer unwürdig hinzu geht, / für das Leben den Tod empfeht.

\(^{12}\) Medh then spijs wil han oss trösta, / At wij äre återlöste, / Ther skole wij fast tro uppå, / Oc så til thenne natuard gå.

\(^{13}\) Both examples are from the forth verse.

\(^{14}\) See verse 5.
in the bread, Christ who died for us – that any good comes from participating in the sacrament.

(Stanza 4, Swedish:)
Scal här något gott aff warda,
skal man stå j tronne harda:
at han är j thetta brödh,
som for oss haffuer lidit dödh.
[For this to lead to blessing,
one must be of strong faith.
Believe that he [Jesus] is in this bread,
who for us have suffered death.]

The verses try to catch our attention in different ways, hence the variation of pronouns. Luther wants to stir heart and mind. At the sight of the mystery in the Eucharist, we are bound to consider who we are as human beings; how I, this sinful person, may stand in the presence of my God. The Swedish translation instead uses statements and facts: this is the eternal truth we as God’s congregation should listen to and believe. Christ died for us, and God wants to comfort us with his food. He wants us to be saved with this meal. And this, we, his Church, should firmly believe, in order to find any blessing at the altar.

The hymns differ in eucharistic instruction, which comes across both in themes and language. Luther used phrases meant to revive the heart of the individual, the Spirit that lies within the human soul. The Swedish version, on the other hand, used language that would appeal to the mind, so that the Spirit would increase its understanding and thus open its heart to the right faith. It is not for nothing that the Swedish hymn is longer than Luther’s original, twelve verses instead of ten, because more instruction was added. Where Luther just stirs the Christian’s conscience, lest they received the Eucharist unworthily, the Swedish version expands the teaching over five verses. Only after crucial sacramental instruction on: the need for strong faith in God’s saving grace in verse 3,

3) With this food he would comfort us, [to know] that our debt is paid. To firmly believe, and to this Holy Supper go;

the real presence in verse 4,

4) For this to lead to blessing, one must be of strong faith. Believe that he [Jesus] is in this bread, who for us have suffered death;

that only the Word will vouchsafe proper rites and ceremonies in verse 5,

5) And for [the Church] not to fall into misuse, but to properly administer the rites of Christ’s table, then God’s holy word must be preached;

15 "Wil man ey j misbruk falla, men thet retta settet halla, när man tå går til Christi Bord, skal forkunnas gudz helga ord."
and the Christian right to partake of the chalice in verse 6,

6) And this is what Christ wanted, that we should not separate these two, no all should drink his blood, who eats this blessed Supper;\(^{16}\)

only then does the Swedish hymn pick up Luther’s warning bell on personal preparation and worthiness before the altar,

7) One should examine oneself, and consider one’s affairs, the one who comes here unworthily, will instead of life gain death.\(^{17}\)

In comparison, let us remind ourselves of the simplicity of Luther’s verse 3,

3) “Wer sich will zu dem Tisch machen, der hab wohl acht auf sein Sachen. Wer unwürdig hinzu geht, für das Leben den Tod empfeht.”

3) Whomever wants to go to the [altar] table, should take care and seriously consider their affairs. If anyone who is unworthy approaches, they will receive death instead of life.

It is true that Luther also mentions the need for faith, as in verse 5,

5) “Du sollst glauben und nicht wanken, dass’s ein Speise sei den Kranken.”

But, apart from this reminder to believe that the Eucharist is food for the unwell [by sins] (an idea that also appears in the Swedish version), Luther stays away from doctrinal instruction. He gives no explanation of real presence, nor does he link trust in the sacrament and the ritual to the Word and the Gospel, nor feel the need to spell out that everyone should have access to both bread and wine. It is as if he trusts that personal engagement in Jesus’s sacrifice and in the sacrament will keep people in the true faith. It would be a futile endeavour to speculate on Luther’s reasoning behind the construction of this hymn, and why he includes certain topics and omits others; any theory would be conjecture.\(^{18}\) One would also need to compare his song with the various medieval Latin versions that were prevalent both in Germany and Sweden, to see if he was possibly inspired by them. Regardless of his reasons, Luther is consistently personal in his writing, using relatable, human experiences. This speaks of a context where reading and spiritual reflection could be expected, because he appeals to the individual, and to personal spirituality.

\(^{16}\) “Så är thet och Christi wilie, at wij thetta ey åtskilie, utan dricke alle hans blod, som äte thenne natward godh.”

\(^{17}\) “Man skal och sich siefff betracta, och uppå sin saker acta, then owerdelig här til går, för lifftuet han här döden fär.”

\(^{18}\) Of course, Luther had already dealt with the topic in both more academic and more accessible writings. His treatise *On the Babylonian Captivity* is just one example of his examination of the Sacrament of the Altar, see e.g. Martin Luther, *Martin Luther’s basic theological writings*, 3\(^{rd}\) edition, (Minneapolis, MN, 2012).
Pedagogical Markers

The differences in pedagogy found in this communion hymn echo those Bernice Sundkvist finds in a study of Luther’s Christmas song “Vom Himmel hoch”, and its Swedish translation, “Af Himmels högd”. She talks of the recurring “pedagogical markers” in the first Swedish translation. In the original German, Luther wants the singer to experience the unfolding of the events at Bethlehem. It is not just a historical narrative, it is happening in the “here and now”. Luther attempts to make the biblical story into a personal experience, in the present, a concrete event that will transform our hearts and our faith.19 The Swedish version of the Christmas hymn instead focuses on the eternal and universal. As Sundkvist remarks, it is not enough to just see a sweet child in a manger, the message has to be doctrinally correct. The translator, Olaus Martini, thus uses Luther’s description of Jesus, the sweet baby, but he expands and defines the theme in his Swedish translation. Jesus is not just a baby in the manger, sweet and lovely to behold; he is true human and God incarnate.20 No one would be able to sing this Swedish Christmas hymn and miss the theological implication of the incarnation: that the Christ-child is also the saviour of all humankind. This is an example of what Sundkvist calls a pedagogical marker.

Both these hymns also show Luther’s appreciation for paradoxes. In the Christmas hymn he writes of “heaven in a manger,” and we find a similar trope in “Jesus Christus unser Heiland”. In the second verse Luther talks of the Eucharist as Christ’s body, manifest in the gifts of bread and wine, and he draws attention to the paradox of the experience, “sein’ Leib zu essen … im Brot so klein”. His [Christ’s divine] body in a little piece of bread is comparable to the Christmas paradox of heaven found in a manger. In the Swedish version of “Vom Himmel hoch”, the paradox remains in the lyrics, though with a doctrinal edit.21

The same cannot be said of the Swedish version of “Jesus Christus unser Heiland”; here the paradox has been removed, quite possibly to maintain the rhyme, but it also makes the doctrinal point clear and concise. The hymn writer invites the congregation to partake of both bread and wine, which is celebrated on Christ’s command and in accordance with Lutheran eucharistic ideals. This is an edit that bears resemblance to the pedagogical marker that Sundkvist writes about. Compared to Luther’s paradox, the verse is quite prosaic, “He gave us to eat, his body in bread, and to drink his blood in wine”.

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21 Ibid., p. 215.
The two versions of verse 2 are:

German:
Dass wir nimmer des vergessen,
gab er uns sein’ Leib zu essen,
verborgen im Brot so klein,
und zu trinken sein Blut im Wein.

Swedish:
At wij honom ey förgäta,
gaff han oss en spis at äta,
under bröd lekamen sin,
gaff oss dricka sin blodh j wijn.

Sundkvist’s analysis echoes Allan Arvastson’s definition of what he refers to as the “post-Reformation” hymn, from a period roughly between 1560 and 1630. The post-Reformation hymns had two dominant characteristics according to Arvastson: doctrinal correctness and humanism. The former he further explains as biblical faithfulness, and the latter an adherence to classical poetic style.22

Both these characteristics are mentioned by Sundkvist, even though she terms them “Lutheran orthodox”, rather than “post-Reformation”. She dates the Swedish Christmas hymn to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and names archbishop Olaus Martini (1557–1609) as the most probable translator. Olaus Martini is also a representative of early Lutheran Orthodoxy in Sweden. The characteristics Sundkvist points out as Orthodox in this hymn are the penchant for universal truths, doctrinal tropes and rhetorical decorum. The rhetoric was formalistic and meant to convey a certain degree of gravity.23 These rhetorical rules were something Arvastson also recognised in the post-Reformation hymn, with its classical ideal, but even more so in the high Orthodoxy of later seventeenth century hymns.24

The question then is whether the communion hymn, “Jesus Christus är wår helsa”, follows the same rhetorical rules of post-Reformation Lutheran Orthodoxy, or if the desire for doctrinal correctness and pedagogy was also of great importance in the early Protestant movement. The fact that the hymn was an earlier Swedish adaptation than the Christmas hymn, indicate the latter.25 Certainly, the high Orthodox movement stressed doctrinal tropes and rhetoric even further, but it could still be claimed that early Swedish reformers put more emphasis on teaching and correct doctrine than emotion-based spirituality. The comparison of Luther’s and the Swedish Communion hymn is one

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such example. “Jesus Christus är wår helsa” contains both universal truths, doctrine and pedagogical markers. It is not post-Reformation, nor Orthodox, but part of the early Protestant movement. This hymn would have influenced Olaus Martini in his translation of the Christmas hymn, not the other way around.

The exact origin of the Swedish adaptation has been disputed, however. One theory, proposed by Sverker Ek, claims that the hymn came to Sweden via Denmark and a Danish translation. Sven Ingebrand, on the other hand, disagrees. He finds Ek’s theory improbable since the Danish version more closely follows Luther’s hymn than the Swedish version. Ingebrand even dates the Swedish version earlier than the Danish hymn, something which has been disputed. Medieval Latin versions of the hymns may also have acted as inspiration for the Swedish hymn, but this too is unclear. The most conclusive dating evidence we have is the Swedish Mass of 1531, which references the song. Another disputed question is that of who made the Swedish adaptation. Ingebrand makes a case for the reformer Olaus Petri, a prolific writer and debater in 1520s Sweden. Based on similarities in language between Olaus Petri’s publications and those in “Jesus Christus är wår helsa”, Ingebrand reasons that Olaus Petri was the most probable hymn writer. This is all speculation, however, and there is no decisive evidence to support this theory. Early song collections did not mention song writers, and it is very tempting to attribute certain texts to known characters in a historical event. Regardless of the writer, I would propose that it is in this circle of early Swedish reformers that we find the earliest tendency to enhance the catechetical aspects of Protestant material by stressing doctrinal correctness over emotional and individual spirituality.

**Literacy and Orality**

For the Swedish context, this pedagogical tendency may well be due to illiteracy. Even if we cannot talk of a literate German society, there did exist an informed audience and market for published works. Of course, the Reformation was not just a movement among the urbanised, literate classes, a historic truth which Robert Scribner and C. Scott Dixon have discussed. We need to talk of Protestant movements both urban and rural, as well as both literary and orally transmitted; several societal layers that sometimes worked in tandem,

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26 Sverker Ek makes comparisons to a Danish version that was printed in the Malmö hymnal in 1529. Ek points to some similar lines at the very beginning and end of the two hymns, which he argues show that the Swedish author was inspired by the Danish translation. See Sverker Ek, “Våra första psalmböcker”, *Samlaren*, 39 (1918), p. 1–24, p. 18f.


The descriptions of literacy in the German states also vary, depending on what is argued for. Jon Haarberg, for example, writes about the persistence of oral culture, and highlights the lack of reading skills. In an oral culture, hymns are important; Haarberg even calls them “ear ways to heaven” for the laity. He claims too that the publication of Luther’s catechism in 1529 encouraged oral instruction, instead of putting a stop to it. According to Haarberg, the catechism was taught in similar ways all over Protestant Europe: “Standard elements included catechetical sermons on Sundays, midweek lessons for young people, and prescribed devotions led by the man of the house.”

He also quotes Luther to stress the importance of singing as a pedagogical tool for the uneducated: “In the autumn of 1523, Luther revealed his plan to write ‘vernacular psalms for the people, i.e. spiritual songs, so that the Words of God even by means of song may live among the people.”

But other descriptions show another side of lay religiosity in the German Empire. With several city states, an educated middle class, and many printing presses, the Reformation had a chance to grow from a grass-roots level. Protestant publications, pamphlets, and song sheets were picked up and spread among the population, both in literary circles and orally transmitted, which allowed for an openness to change. The Lutheran congregation in Joachimsthal, a mining town, is an example of this. Christopher Boyd Brown has studied the community and found private libraries and inventories that put prayer books, postils and hymnals at the heart of burgher family devotion. And Luther was popular; almost a fifth of the books in the inventory were by Luther. In the case of Joachimsthal, reading and singing, literacy and orality seemed to go hand in hand, as home instructions urge parents (both fathers and mothers) not only to sing with their families, but to explain the theology of the hymns, stanza by stanza.

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33 Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*, (Harmondsworth, 1990), p. 29–31. The issue of Confessionalism, on whether the Reformation was successful or not, or whether it was of the people or pushed by those in power, has been discussed vigorously over the past few decades. Most participants in the debate seem to agree that several layers have to been considered to understand the Reformation: political, religious, social and fiscal. See Heinz Schilling, *Religion, political culture and the emergence of early modern society: essays in German and Dutch history*, (Leiden, 1992), p. 216–222, Heinz Schilling, “Confessional Europe”, in *Handbook of European history: 1400–1600: late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman and James D. Tracy (eds.), (Leiden, 1994–95), p. 641–681, p. 664f. C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation*, (Malden, MA, 2012), p. 168–171. See also, Scribner, *The German Reformation*, p. 22–23.

books seemed commonplace and taken for granted. Even though the pastor Joahnn Mathesius did not recommend the Bible to his flock, due to its costliness, he did suggest they invest in an extensive list of theological works: postils, biblical commentaries, and various books by Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Books were also used as a way to safeguard the Lutheran community in a multi-denominational culture. Children were taught to read and were equipped with books, so they would not lose their Lutheran faith even when they left home for work and study. In this context – whether deliberately or not – it was possible for Luther to write to the individual. It made sense to try to engage the individual in the biblical story. It made sense to write about emotions and personal experiences. It made sense, because it was on a personal level that these words were likely to be read. From there, the songs had the power to transform a community.

Sixteenth-century Sweden, by contrast, was a very different society with an even smaller literate proportion of the population than Germany, and barely any printing presses. Except for insular centres of religious reform, such as Stockholm, Protestant pamphlets and writings would have had little reach, and it is doubtful whether the texts of the Swedish Reformation would have benefited from an individual approach. The Swedish Reformation was largely a movement from above, and in the 1520s, Protestant ideas had only gained liminal support in Stockholm and a few other coastal towns. To reform the people, the reformers needed a pedagogical plan. How else would the religious transformation of a large but sparsely populated country take place? Let alone that with a population that was averse to change.

The Wittenberg Reformation may have been the most influential for the early Swedish reformers, but just as with the hymn, Jesus Christus är vår helsa, the packaging and presentation took a Swedish twist. The church in Sweden shows evidence of this pedagogical trait in many areas, such as the need for a “gentle Reformation”, lest the people would be turned away from

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35 Brown, Singing the Gospel, p. 120.
36 Ibid., p. 109f.
37 Gustav Vasa closed the printing press in Linköping (deemed as Catholic) in 1526. At the same time he moved the remaining press from Uppsala, where it had been under the control of the cathedral chapter, to Stockholm, thus gaining full control over the printing industry in Sweden, see Erkki Ilmari Kouri, “The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland ca. 1520–1560”, in The Scandinavian Reformation: from Evangelical Movement to Institutionalization of Reform, Ole Peter Grell (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), p. 42–69, p. 50, and Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3 – Reformationstid, p. 37f.
38 Kouri makes the case that the Reformation was intricately interwoven with Gustav Vasa’s power struggle against Denmark, but also the creation of a nation state, see Kouri, “The early Reformation in Sweden and Finland”, p. 43–46.
39 For an account of critical reactions and rebellions against the mass in Swedish, see Berntson, “Popular Belief and the Disruption of Religious Practices”, p. 50–52.
the true faith.41 Sweden experienced but a few and isolated iconoclasms.42 The only letter-based decoration that exists in present-day Sweden is to be found in former Danish provinces and was acquired during Danish rule. A letter-based reredos is still in situ on the island of Gotland.43 Where neighbouring countries in the south used catechism altarpieces (“Antibild” or “Nichtbild”),44 Anna Nilsén writes about the long-lasting place of medieval and traditional iconography in Swedish churches. Images were retained, and the biblical story was retold in pictures both on walls and interior features.45 For reformers who were unable to rely on the written text, both these mediums, songs and images, would have been most effective as an educational tool. Hymns were easily memorised, and images displayed for public perusal.

The actual hymnal too, turned into a pedagogical resource. The Lutheran hymnals (here both German and Swedish) tended to follow a structure that Luther compiled, which was largely catechetical with themes on Law, Gospel, Prayers and Sacrament.46 Compared to a richly literate country, like England or the German city states, where there were several publishers and an array of devotionals and song books, however, the Swedish context may have given the hymnal scope for a greater impact on the populace, since there was little competition from other publications.47 The Swedish market was small, and

41 Even the Uppsala Resolution, written some 60 years after the hymn, emphasized the need for a “gentle Reformation”. It details the liturgical ceremonies that could be kept until the population had been sufficiently taught about proper religion, and the ceremonies counted as adiaphora – those that could be abolished without causing a “racket” (Swe: “buller”). See Lars Eckerdal and Per Erik Persson (eds.), Confessio fidei: Uppsala mötes beslut 1593 om Svenska kyrkans bekännelse, (Stockholm, 1993), p. 13.

42 For one account of iconoclasm in Stockholm in the 1520s, see Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3 – Reformationstid, p. 36f.

43 See Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4 – Enhetskyrkans tid, Ingun Montgomery (ed.), (Stockholm, 2002), p. 155. The only exception in sixteenth-century mainland Sweden is Bettna Church, which was decorated with cartouches in the 1590s, on the initiative of its rector, Abraham Petri Angermannus. Bettna was then within the duchy of duke Charles (later king Charles IX), regarded by most as a Calvinist, and of a religious persuasion that was probably shared by Angermannus. See Mereth Lindgren, “Reformationen och bilden”, in Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3 – Reformationstid, Åke Andrén (ed.), (Stockholm, 1999), p. 304–320, p. 310f.


46 For more on Luther and the catechetical hymnal, see Robin A. Leaver, Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007) p. 107–115, in particular p. 109f. Andrew Pettegree continues the discussion on catechetical hymnals in the German and Scandinavian lands, see Andrew Pettegree, Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion, (Cambridge, 2005), p. 46–47. For the Swedish context, see Sven-Åke Selander, "Luthers psalmer som katekespsalmer i svensk tradition", in Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv, Selander and Hansson (eds.), (Lund, 2008), p. 274–279.

limited by illiteracy and a poor economy. For most of the sixteenth century there was also only one publisher in Sweden. In this discussion the widespread pamphlet industry also needs to be considered, because these cheap and portable prints did travel both far and fast on the European continent. Andrew Pettegree has shown how effectively Luther’s ideas spread in the German lands and beyond, largely due to pamphlets. There are two problems with pamphlets, however, which makes it difficult to base arguments on them. The first problem is the lack of physical evidence. The simple format (a folded piece of paper) makes them ephemeral and few remain. The second problem is that it is difficult to tell what influence they had. In an illiterate society it may well have been common for those with reading skills to read aloud to a larger gathering, thus spreading news and ideas from both books and cheaper prints. But even as Pettegree writes about these theories, he also cautions his reader about the lack of evidence of this custom. There is really no way to tell definitively how well known these Protestant pamphlets and books were among the larger Swedish population and outside of the trading centres like Stockholm.

The post-Reformation era saw the publication of several diocesan hymnals, and these kept the catechetical structure of those of the previous century. The lucky few who got their hands on a hymnal in the seventeenth century found in this one book everything a Lutheran would need for private and public worship: hymns, the catechism, the lectionary, and a prayer book. In this way, the catechism and hymns may have been used in tandem to teach both actual reading and give a basic knowledge of the correct faith. And here the church had another means of instructing the population in the proper faith.

On the Benefits of Songs and Singing

What evidence might there be of an actual pedagogical agenda among Swedish reformers? As has been noted, Jesus Christus är wår helsa uses the plural first-person pronoun “we”, where Luther more often uses the singular pronoun “I”. Arvastson highlights this difference, remarking on how frequently Swedish hymns address a collective, whereas Luther seeks out the individual. Almost as an aside, Arvastson continues by describing the instructional tone in many of the hymns of the Reformation, and to such a degree that he finds

49 Pettegree, Reformation, p. 159–177.
50 Ibid., p. 117f.
the lyrics rather cumbersome. It is possible that these pedagogical stanzas are mere evidence of the Swedish hymnwriters’ personal style, more than the result of a considered agenda. Other Swedish Lutheran texts indicate, however, that instruction was indeed a priority for the reformers.

The song book, *Swenske songer* is a collection of hymns from 1536, which includes *Jesus Christus är wår helsa.* As with the hymn the author of the introduction to *Swenske songer* is not identified. The introduction offers a Protestant argument for the great benefits songs and singing have for the congregation. Songs are prayers to God, but first and foremost they are reminders of God’s good gifts (Swe: *oppåmines huad gud henne til godo giort haffuer*). Ingebrand claims that this phrase should be seen in the light of how critical the reforming brothers Olaus Petri and Laurentius Petri were of using songs as an offer to God. This criticism comes in the same breath as the censure of the sacrifice of Mass. Thus, it is not the people who bring offerings to God with their singing, but God who reminds and rouses the people to behold his benevolence through songs. However, songs are also meant to create “fruit”. And fruit, the introduction clarifies, can only come about by solid instruction in an understandable tongue. If the singer knows what they are singing, then they are able to learn about God’s remarkable works and great deeds (Swe: *opväct warda til at betracta gudz dråpeliga wreck, och oppåminas hans stora welgerningar*). With these words, the Swedish reformers seem to have known exactly what they wanted with these songs: to instruct and reform.

The key arguments here concern the benefits that should come from church songs, the “fruit”, and for this to be possible the songs need to be in the vernacular. The Swedish reformer Olaus Petri argues similarly that Mass should be celebrated in Swedish, because otherwise there will be no fruit. Again, Mass and singing are a gift of salvation from God, not a sacrifice by the people, but the gift can only be received if it is understood and explained.

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53 As examples of both pronoun use and instructional language, Arvastson uses Olaus Petri’s translation of Luther’s ”Nun freut euch”, and Olaus Petri’s “Gud av sine barmhärtighet”, ”O Jesu Krist, som mandom tog”, and ”O käre broder Kriste”. See, Arvastson, *Den svenska psalmen*, p. 52.
54 Ingebrand, *Swenska psalmboken af 1536 å nyo utgifwen*, (Stockholm, 1862).
55 *Swenska psalmboken*, p. 3.
57 *Swenska psalmboken*, p. 4.
58 Ingebrand, *Swenske songer*, p. 15.
Summary

The hymns produced during the Swedish Reformation seem to indicate that the transformation of religion was the result of a pedagogical plan. The Communion hymn, “Jesus Christus är vår helsa”, reads as if the Swedish reformers were offering a sermon, a sermon that could be memorised and sung by the entire Swedish population. Here the people learnt about correct eucharistic practice and meaning, as well as the origin and benefit of the sacrament. This tendency to pedagogy seems to be a connecting link among all the hymns of the Reformation, with language that focused on the collective, more than the individual, on eternal truths, more than the personal relationship with Jesus, and on instruction, more than the emotional experience of a biblical event. These pedagogical markers were essential in order to reach out to an illiterate populace, and still be able to transform the religious habits in a vast, rural country. With songs, reformers reached areas where the written word would have made little impact. And so, gently but steadily, the pedagogy of the reformers paved the way for the Reformation and enabled the transformation of the religion of Sweden.
8. A Vast and Unfamiliar Field: Swedish Hymnals and Hymn-Printing in the Sixteenth Century

Otfried Czaika

What do we know about Swedish Hymns and Hymnals from the Sixteenth Century?

The Swedish royal librarian and book historian Isak Collijn published a Swedish national bibliography in the 1920s and 1930s. This bibliography recorded works from the beginning of Swedish book printing up until the year 1600.\(^1\) In the subsequent years Collijn published another bibliography covering the seventeenth century. This work, however, possessed neither the same depth of description nor the same thoroughness as his previous bibliographic work.\(^2\) Nevertheless, while there is a need for scholars to undertake a thorough revision of Collijn’s work, his bibliography still remains the standard work for information on the history of early book printing in the Swedish kingdom.

Collijn’s bibliographies are not only the most significant resources for book experts and historians, they are also important aids for hymnologists. Until roughly the middle of the past century, Swedish book historians and hymnologists worked closely together. In the past half century hymnologists have continued their work with the annals of Swedish hymnody, a repository – I might add – that has been steadily growing since the sixteenth century. This work has, without question, produced a great many results relating to the heritage of Swedish hymnal printing. It should also be noted that such interest in the history of Swedish hymnody was long promoted and sponsored by the state due to the fact that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sweden was a state

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\(^2\) Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet: bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning*, (Uppsala, 1942–1946). Occasional publications such as poems, personal writing or funeral sermons may only be considered *cum grano salis* to have been completely attested up to the year 1600. In the seventeenth century bibliography such occasional publications are only sporadically recorded.
church until the end of the millennium. An example of such publicly funded work can be observed in the 1970s and 1980s. Throughout this period, a state commission dealt with the revision of the Swedish hymnal. The reports published as part of this revision were not only extensively researched, but also remain thoroughly relevant for the study of the history of Swedish hymnody.

Collijn’s bibliography lists information on a total of twenty hymnals printed in the sixteenth century. Included in this number, however, are two separate editions of the 1536 hymnal (Swenske songer). Additionally, we might note that about half (9) of the hymnals mentioned by Collijn were known to him only secondarily or as incomplete fragments of original editions.

While bibliographies sometimes give the impression of representing an established and fixed canon, this is not always the case. In the 1960s, a previously unknown Swedish hymnal from 1562 was discovered in Iceland. In more recent years, I was personally able to locate two copies of the hymnal from 1582. These were discovered in the Rogge Library in Strängnäs and the Albertina Library in Leipzig. With reference to the 1582 hymnal, the fragment of the hymnal known to Collijn consisted only of the title page and parts of the calendar. Thus, previously we lacked any knowledge regarding the actual content of this work. This is merely to point out that the state of research can and does change and even expand. We now know of some 21 printed Swedish hymnals from the sixteenth century. Thirteen of these are almost completely preserved while the remaining eight are known only fragmentarily or via secondary attestation.

When speaking about hymn prints, however, we are not speaking merely about hymnals. It is, of course, clear that this category does include hym-
nals. For example, this is what we are dealing with when referring to *Swenske songer* from 1536, its (possible) predecessor or any other works bearing the title *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* (“The Swedish Hymnal”). Yet, there also exist a large number of smaller prints containing one or more hymns or spiritual songs. These hymn publications include such works as *Några Wijsor om Antikristum* (“Songs pertaining to the Antichrist”, published in 1530 and 1536),9 *Någhra andeliga wijsor* (“Collected Spiritual Songs”, published in 1572),10 or *Een Wijsa om themna Werldennes fåfengeligheet* (“A Song about the Vanity of this World”, published in 1583).11

The bibliographic records for printed Swedish hymnals and hymn collections have, without question, laid the groundwork – in addition to the original sources themselves – for subsequent hymnological research. With respect to the sources, the text of the first fully preserved hymnal, *Swenske songer* (1536), contained some forty hymns. By the end of the sixteenth century the Swedish hymnal had grown to roughly 120 hymns. In 1695 the first “official” hymnal was produced. Notably, this hymnal bore not only the king’s imprimatur, it also contained a total of 413 hymns.12 Hymnologists such as Emil Liedgren or – in more recent decades – Per-Olof Nisser have worked from these and other similar sources in their work on the initial publication of Swedish hymns.13 Such sources have also been valuable in their discussion of topics such as original musical meter, melody and other such matters.14 Nevertheless, the research into the history of these hymnals, particularly Collijn’s bibliographic work, continues to serve as a beneficial auxiliary to ongoing hymnological research. Additionally, it provides valuable insight for other historical disciplines such as linguistics and literature.

Collijn’s bibliographic work depicts not only the “canon” of book history (to use Aleida Assmann’s terminology), but also that of hymnology.15 Yet, in

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14 It is perhaps of interest that hymnals printed in Sweden at this time were printed as text and without musical notation.
addition to the “canon” there is also the “archive” (once again referring to Assmann), the “archive” being the repository from which previously unknown material can be brought to the surface of historical memory. The existence of such a conceptual (and actual!) “archive” has already been alluded to, both through reference to the 1562 hymnal found in Iceland as well as the more recently discovered copies of the 1582 hymnal mentioned above. The relationship between canon and archive, however, is far more intricate than such finds of otherwise unknown hymnals during the past fifty years might appear to suggest.

What is not known about Swedish Hymns and Hymnals from the Sixteenth Century?

Over the past few years, research in the field of book history has increasingly turned to the question of “lost books”. This description, as the name suggests, refers to those books and editions that are not even fragmentarily known or given secondary attestation. That is to say, they are truly lost – even to society’s collective memory. Using somewhat complicated statistical calculations that factor for format, size, text-type, language, extent of transmission, and other such variables, it is estimated that less than 50% of all publications from the early modern period are still extant in at least a single copy.

Incidentally, the discussion about lost books corresponds agreeably with Aleida Assmann’s theory about canon and archive. Assmann not only takes for granted that there are known and preserved objects and texts that ground the canonical-historical narrative, but also that there is an archive from which artefacts can potentially come to the surface of collective memory. These “archived” artefacts thus retain the potential to modify the canonical boundaries of history and therefore also the historical narrative. In addition to canon and archive, however, a third sub-process exists: forgetting. This can be active, as


16 On this topic see various essays in Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe, Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), (Leiden, 2016).

is the case with destruction via *damnatio memoriae*, or passive, as when the “ravages of time” and natural processes take their toll. Both lost and forgotten books therefore belong to this third category. This group, no longer known (and thus incapable of being actively forgotten), can only be the subject of speculation. Bibliographies, on the other hand, constitute the canonical basis of the master narrative. They also carry with them a sort of imperative: that which is accounted for and ought to be remembered. This is precisely what has been implemented in the case of Collijn’s bibliography, albeit in the context of the “Swedish” national collective memory.

When it comes to book history, the “archive” is comprised of two components. The first includes those works which have been handed down to our time but have yet to make their way into the canonical narrative (often due to their valuation as “non-canonical”). The “archive,” however, also includes those books which have not yet been found. Thus, the Swedish hymnal editions mentioned above belonged to the “archive” until their relatively recent discovery.

In book history, therefore, the well-known books (i.e. those listed in catalogues, bibliographies or which are otherwise present within the historical discourse) correspond to the canon. Those books which exist *de facto* yet remain unused or unknown comprise the archive. The neglected and lost books fall into the category of “the forgotten”.

**The Archive: From Iceland to Saxony**

Collijn’s bibliography, like every bibliography, is an “as is” description of the actual situation at the time of writing. He was most certainly well aware of the fact that previously unknown prints could come to light at any time. It is precisely on account of this phenomenon that the first edition of the collected volumes of his bibliography (listing all works up to the year 1600) concludes with an appendix. This appendix identified all newly-discovered publications which were not yet known at the time the initial volumes of the bibliography were printed. With respect to our discussion, it is in this appendix that the existence of an edition of *Några Wijsor om Antikristum* (“Songs pertaining to the Antichrist” [1536]) is found. This print was first discovered in Finland when the corresponding part of the bibliography had already appeared in print.18

Since the initial publication of Collijn’s bibliography some eighty years ago, there has been a long list of rediscovered sixteenth-century publications. Most notable amongst these rediscoveries are perhaps the various occasional publications which have come to light.19 In addition to these we also have

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19 Gustaf Bernström, for example, discovered several occasional publications from the late sixteenth century, which, up until his discovery, had remained unknown. Gustaf Bernström, “Nyunna danska och svenska 1500-tals tryck”, *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteks-väsen*, 40 (1953), p. 51–63. Bernström’s discovery pertains to the following works: Lauren-
the aforementioned hymnal from 1562. Significantly, we might add this hymnal was found along with several otherwise unknown books: a catechism, a prayer book and an evangeliary. These were all rediscovered in the 1960s at the National and University Library of Iceland in Reykjavik and had all been originally printed in the same year by Amund Laurentzon in Stockholm.20

In addition to such discoveries, in more recent years we have witnessed – in relatively quick succession – the rediscovery of several early-modern hymnals as well as various occasional publications found to contain hymns. In 2010 I discovered the only (nearly) complete copy of the Swedish Hymnal of 1582 found to date, in the Wrangelschen Collection at the Roggebibliothek in Strängnäs (this collection had only been bequeathed to the library a few years earlier). The Finnish hymnologist, Suvi-Päivi Koski, also recently found a previously unknown Finnish-language edition of Martin Luther’s Small Catechism as well as a Finnish hymnal (Yxi Vähä Suomekielinen wirsikiria) in the State and University Library of Dresden.21 Both of these were printed in Rostock in 1607. The hymnal represents an edited version of Jaakko Finno’s earlier work, likely to have been published in 1583.22 The edition of 1607 is attributed to Simon Johannis Carelius († 1610), who, after his studies in Rostock (July 1605 to 1607), was Rector of the school in Finnish Viborg.23 Carelius is not known to appear elsewhere as a writer.

Only a few months after I originally published an edition of the Swedish Hymnal of 1582 (based on the copy found at the Rogge Library), I identified a second intact copy of this work in the collections of the Albertina in Leipzig. In May 2017, my analysis of this work brought further unknown Swedish prints from the 1580s to light. Namely, the Leipzig copy of the 1582 hymnal
was bound together with a further five hymn prints. These five had previously never been recorded by any bibliographical resource. The prints discovered are as follows:

1) Peder Dåleman, *Een skiön Wijse om Gudz Son* (“A Beautiful Song about God’s Son”), Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1584, 4 sheets, octavo. Collijn’s bibliography attests to a 1583 print of this song by Andreas Gutterwitz in Stockholm.24

2) *Een wijsae, om thenne Werldennes fåfengeligheet* (“A Song about the Vanity of this World”), Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1584, 4 sheets, octavo. There is likewise an older edition of this song printed by Andreas Gutterwitz in Stockholm, 1583, which is mentioned in Collijn’s bibliography.25

3) *Troon* (The Creed in Swedish and Latin), Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1584, 8 sheets, octavo, with unprinted staves. There is also an older edition of this work recorded in Collijn’s bibliography, that printed by Torbjörn Tide-mansson in Stockholm in 1578.26

4) *Een Andeligh Wijse / på nyt öfwerseet och förmeret* (“A Spiritual Song, Newly Reworked and Expanded”), s.l., s.t., s.a. [Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, ca. 1584], 4 sheets, octavo. The present print contains three sacred songs. No other edition of this print has been identified.

5) *Een skön Andeligh Wijse at tröste sigh medh på sitt yterste* (“A Beautiful Spiritual Song with which to Comfort Oneself at the End of Life”), s.l., s.t., s.a. [Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, ca. 1584], 4 sheets, octavo. This print, of which no other editions are known, likewise contains three hymns.

Of the prints mentioned above, *Een Andeligh Wijse* and *Een skön Andeligh Wijse* prove themselves to be especially important. Not only do they expand our knowledge of Swedish book history, they also add to what we know about Swedish hymnody in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although these two works give no indication as to the date of their publication, we may set the *terminus ante quem* from approximately 1582 to 1584 due to the fact that they belong to an anthology containing an additional four works which were printed in Stockholm during this time. We may furthermore accept 1585 as the likely year of the anthology’s compilation. The binding of this anthology is a typical renaissance binding in brown leather and was most likely produced around the year 1600.

The two prints contain a total of five different hymns, of which one appears in both works ( *Een skön Wijse / om Christi Födsel - Fröder idher alle / J thenna Christenheet* (“A Beautiful Song about Christ’s Birth - Rejoice All Ye in Christendom”).

Another of these songs is known only from Een Andeligh Wijse and is otherwise unattested (in Een Andeligh Wijse, A III v–A IV v: Een Wijse om Menniskionnes fäwisko och galenskap [...] ("A Song about Human Ignorance and Madness").

A further hymn, Hierta hwi gremme tu tigh ("My Heart, How You Are Troubled", A IIv–A IVr in Een skön Andeligh Wijse) was first printed in 1572 in the Några Andliga Wijser song collection and offers an adaptation of Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz, a song attributed to Hans Sachs.27

Two of the hymns from these prints appear as part of Swedish hymnals during the second half of the 1580s. När min tijd och stund kommen At iagh skal hädan fare ("When My Time and Hour Comes that I Shall Depart"), the Swedish version of Nikolaus Hermann’s Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist, first appeared in the Swedish Hymnal of 1586. Een skön Wijse / om Christ’s Födsel - Frögder idher alle / J thenna Christenheet ("A Beautiful Song about Christ’s Birth - Rejoice All Ye in Christendom", in Een Andeligh Wijse, A IIv–A IIIr and in Een skön Andeligh Wijse, A IVr–A IVv) is first found in the Swedish Hymnal of 1589.

Jag wil idher quäde aff hiertens grund ("I Long to Sing from the Depths of My Heart", in Een Andeligh Wijse, A Ir–A Iiv) has, according to Emil Liedgren, been part of the Swedish church’s hymnodic heritage since the 1680s.28

With this final hymn we can safely assume that the version of the Swedish hymn which appeared in the Leipzig anthology represents the hymn’s first print – approximately a century before the song had otherwise been recorded. Yet, the same may also be said for the three hymns which had been previously first observed in the 1586 and 1589 hymnals: the copies found in the Leipzig anthology also quite possibly present us with these hymns’ first prints. As shown above, this is the case given the likelihood – though not certainty – that the printing of Een Andeligh Wijse and Een skön Andeligh Wijse took place in the first half of the 1580s. Moreover, these two previously unknown prints provide us with otherwise unattested hymn publications.

We might further note that the three previously known works also immensely enrich our knowledge of both Swedish print history and the history of Swedish hymnody. Although these works were already known, it had never been documented that these hymns were reprinted in later editions. Thus, the picture of Swedish hymn printing changes notably around 1580. Of particular importance is the implication that there was, in fact, a demand for these works in the book market and that they provided profitable business for the Stockholm printers.

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28 Liedgren, Svensk psalm och andlig visa, p. 239.
Furthermore, the Swedish prints discovered in Leipzig offer the Swedish national bibliography of the sixteenth century an additional five titles and thus increase its total size by about 1%.  

Not least, the Leipzig discoveries emphasize once again that the archive is indeed vested with the power both to modify and expand the canonical description of both book history and hymnody. Thus, through such discoveries the question of lost books is made anything but irrelevant.

Concluding Comments – Concerning “the Forgotten”

With the exception of the 1582 Swedish Hymnal (which is also known from a fragment at the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm and a nearly complete copy at the Rogge Library in Strängnäs), all other prints in the Leipzig anthology have been transmitted uniquely (i.e. as hapax). This fact consequently also underscores the significance generally accorded to anthologies in the transmission of early modern prints.  

This situation, however, also ably illustrates the poor degree of transmission for hymnals and other occasional publications containing hymns. In this respect, it is once again instructive to pay attention to the Swedish national bibliography. As has previously been observed, many hymnals are known only in a fragmentary state while others exist solely as unique copies. It is only rarely that hymnals are preserved in multiple copies.

This most unfortunate transmission situation can be explained quite well by the fact that hymnals and other hymn prints represent a type of everyday literature. These works would have been most commonly read by many generations, used even to the point of their own disintegration. Although extensive revisions would have largely rendered older hymnals unusable for worship services (especially due to the addition of many new hymns), they could still be used for private devotions and spiritual edification. Yet, aside from the exhaustive usage many of these hymnals received, another factor further added to the general disappearance of hymnals: many hymnals followed their owners to the grave and thus never found their way into private or public libraries. The use of hymn books as funerary objects in confessional

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29 Collijn provides evidence for some 640 “Swedish” prints for the sixteenth century; among these, however, must be factored in a large number of prints which had to do with the revelations of St Bridget of Sweden. These originated from central Europe and were in various languages (e.g. Low-German, High-German and Latin). Of these, the Low- and High-German prints were almost certainly not intended for the Swedish market. The reason that Collijn included these prints was that he had the goal of including all “Swedish”-authored works, even when the author was merely born in Sweden. The works which were discovered in Leipzig comprise approximately 1% of the Swedish national bibliography in terms of titles. Nevertheless, considering that these prints are comprised of mere pages, the proportion of these works in terms of printed sheets is much lower than expected. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, Vol. 1, p. ix–xxxiv.


Lutheran culture was something of a widespread phenomenon and has been documented in Central Europe, the European Northeast, the Baltic lands and up into Scandinavia.32

The poor degree of transmission of Swedish hymnals and sixteenth-century hymn printing calls attention once again to the question of lost books. On the basis of the high number of works which are only available as fragments or hapax, it can be assumed that a high percentage of hymnals and hymn prints can be regarded as lost. We may assume, in fact, that the rate of transmission for these types of texts in the Swedish kingdom is well below 50%.

This proposition is only further supported by the findings of recent decades. When hymnals or hymn prints are found, they appear most often as fragments or unique copies and only seldom as duplicates. The Leipzig anthology, as well as the works discovered in Iceland, Dresden and Strängnäs, all give promise of treasures to come. We can assume future researchers will find still more otherwise unknown hymnals and hymn prints. At the same time, however, every discovery of each of these unique prints underscores the reality of the low degree of preservation for these types of texts. It furthermore highlights the distinct likelihood that numerous editions have not even survived to the present in a single extant copy.

The Leipzig anthology thus presents a deixis showing us how little we really know about Swedish printing history, not to mention the history of Swedish hymnody in the early modern period. The works which have been preserved have often survived only through fortunate coincidences in libraries. To some extent, this has been through collections found far outside the former borders of the Swedish kingdom, whether that be in Reykjavik, Dresden or Leipzig.

What this ultimately means is that our information about the history of Swedish hymnody and hymn printing is sorely lacking. As historians, we are therefore left with two unsatisfactory options. On the one hand, we might point out our highly fragmentary knowledge of the history of Swedish hymnody and proceed in a purely descriptive fashion. That is to say, one possibility is simply to leave gaping holes in the historical account in the hope that happenstance findings will someday begin to fill in our scanty knowledge. Yet, such descriptive accounts must be made with the full realization that we have in no way approached an approximation of the actual situation of

sixteenth-century Swedish hymnody. Instead, we have merely offered a description of the current unfortunate situation.

On the other hand, the historian might also cast aside their commitments to history “wie es eigentlich gewesen ist” – to say nothing of all academic and humanistic requirements to get back to the sources (ad fontes!) – and thus attempt to speculatively approach such realms of early modern history. Of course, such a historical approximation is entirely unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, it is presumably the only way to attempt to arrive at a minimum of certain, cautious conclusions about the history of Swedish printing and hymn writing in the sixteenth century.

There are, moreover, two variables that have a massive impact on any potential historical picture. First, we do not know the actual percentage of lost books. Second, neither do we know the volume in which Swedish hymnals were printed. Regarding this first matter and in view of the most recent scholarship, I believe that it is realistic to set the bar for lost hymnals and hymn prints at about 50%. Incidentally, this might well be too low due to the poor rate of transmission for hymnals, their everyday use, and the custom of using such objects as burial goods.

In connection with the latter variable (i.e. the question of print volume for Swedish hymnals), the book historian Erik Eriksson posited several decades ago that an early modern print of a Swedish hymnal would have consisted of perhaps some two thousand copies. Such an estimate seems likely in view of more recent scholarship given that circulation levels of less than one thousand copies would hardly have been economically viable. An exception to this general rule would be any sort of deluxe edition. These occasionally appeared but in comparatively fewer copies. Moreover, it can be deduced from Swedish customs records of the 1540s – given that they offer an indication as to the amount of paper imported for the printing of hymnals and prayer books – that the 1543 hymnal, now extant in a mere fragmentary copy, was probably originally printed in an edition of 1500 or more copies.

These same variables can now be used to help calculate the number – at least within an approximate range – of Swedish hymnals printed during the sixteenth century. If we assume that we know of all editions of the 21 hymnals and that the size of the editions was not larger than one thousand copies, we would end up with about 21,000 copies printed in Swedish (not counting Jaakko Finno’s Finnish hymnal from 1583). If, however, the 21 editions represent only 50% of the actual printed editions and the average circulation was


34 Stockholms tullböcker 18/8 1543 and Stockholms tullböcker 26/10 1543, 51309/292:1, Swedish National Archives.

some two thousand copies, the upper limit of our range ends up at around 84,000 total copies. Of course, such a figure might still be too low if we consider the possibility that significantly more than 50% of the hymnal editions have not been handed down for posterity and/or that the print volume was well over two thousand copies per print run.

Significantly, even the figure of 21,000 copies (almost certainly a considerable underestimate) bears witness to the fact that these publications were absolute bestsellers during the sixteenth century. This is especially obvious if we consider the following: the Swedish kingdom had a maximum sixteenth-century population of one million inhabitants – about 750,000 inhabitants lived in the Swedish motherland while the remaining 250,000 lived in the Finnish region of the kingdom. Cities within the kingdom were comparatively small by European standards. Stockholm had roughly five thousand inhabitants spread over several hundred households. When compared with continental Europe (e.g. with Italy, France or the Holy Roman Empire), the level of urbanization of the Swedish kingdom was very low. Moreover, not only was the total population living in cities comparatively small, but the nobility also comprised only a small percentage of the population. Thus, even if some of the printed hymnals – whether 20,000 or closer to 85,000 – were already worn out or rendered otherwise unusable during this time, the total number exceeds what was needed in the various parishes.

The number of hymnals printed in Sweden during this time would almost certainly have far exceeded the needs not only of the ecclesiastical and secular elite, but also the requirements of the urban population. Such an observation indicates that these Swedish hymnals also found a market in more rural areas, amongst the peasant population of Sweden. This realization gives rise to a whole new set of questions, which, unfortunately, can only be mentioned here. For example, what were literacy levels like for the Swedish population in the sixteenth century? Were they really so low – perhaps a mere 1–3% – as is often accepted by research? Is it true that the Reformation was, in fact, the slow, sluggish, protracted process that research has argued in recent decades? Do not the tens of thousands of Swedish hymnals in circulation (not to mention hymns contained in various occasional publications!) send a completely different message regarding the actual conditions within the Swedish kingdom?

There can be no question that the Swedish hymnals and hymn prints were among the absolute bestsellers of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, use of hymnals and hymn prints was not limited to mere quiet meditation by the individual within the home. Rather, it should be kept in mind that hymnals and hymns would have involved a larger group of listeners (even co-singers),

considering that one of their primary purposes was (semi-)public singing. Last but not least, it should not be forgotten that singing has mnemotechnical advantages. Namely, the melody makes it easier to remember the words. This once again raises the question as to whether Sweden was not in fact conquered relatively quickly by Lutheran hymnody during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, it strongly implies that the various strata of society were all permeated by the *vera doctrina lutherana*.

We might also mention here that the three editions printed in Lübeck during the 1580s and 1590s give further credence to the argument that the Swedish hymnal was a blockbuster in the sixteenth century. German book printers obviously recognized that the Swedish hymnal was a highly sought-after work and that the Stockholm printers were unable to produce sufficient copies. While it might perhaps be anachronistic to portray the Lübeck reprints of these hymnals as “pirated copies”, the existence of these new editions nonetheless demonstrates that the market was only insufficently saturated. The Lübeck printers saw earning opportunities here and therefore printed these new editions. This also suggests that we are not speaking of smaller editions of a mere few hundred copies. We are, rather, most likely dealing with high-volume printing of several thousand copies, editions large enough to ensure sufficient profit for those involved.

It is a near certainty that we will never be confident regarding the actual number of editions the Swedish hymnal underwent in the sixteenth century. We will also likely never come any closer to ascertaining the actual print volume of these hymnals than might be selectively reconstructed or estimated using more or less qualified arithmetic operations. Nevertheless, the finds of the past years – especially when combined with recent research about lost books – impressively demonstrate that this field is indeed a promising area of research. This is perhaps somewhat surprising in light of the meagre expectations first incited by the canonical or normative master list found in the Swedish national bibliography. In addition to the books that have been found since the publication of Collijn’s bibliography, there are almost certainly more books awaiting discovery in the archive. Yet there are also other editions that are forever lost, even down to the last copy. For these there will never be another edition in which they will be brought into the light of society’s collective consciousness.

There is something more, however, that the Leipzig anthology so impressively shows us. The works published in *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* are the result of a process. The ever-increasing accumulation of Swedish hymns in the sixteenth century, in addition to assuming and transforming central European hymns into Swedish renditions, also accommodated less widespread Swedish

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prints from preceding years. This is shown, for example, by the repeatedly printed Några Wijsor om Antikristum. First appearing in 1530, one of its hymns, “O Rom går thet nu så med tich” (“O Rome, Is It Now Like This with You?”), did eventually make its way into the Swedish hymnal. This phenomenon, in addition to the two hymns noted in the Leipzig anthology, is further confirmed by other hymn prints published in the 1570s. Considering that these were, in all likelihood, printed in the first half of the 1580s, the compilers of later hymnal editions could go back to these works and pull out texts for subsequent editions. This observation thus presents us with one final thought about the book market during the sixteenth century. Namely, the sales success of less widespread hymn prints might well have been the reason for accepting newly composed or newly edited hymns in subsequent editions of Then Swenska Psalmeboken. The Swedish hymnals were not fixed collections, per se. As it turns out, they often assumed older hymn prints as part of an ongoing process of canon formation.

38 The copy of Några Wijsor om Antikristum held by the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm contains hand-written notes which included, among other things, the prior and contemporary versions of these hymns, which were to be found in printed hymnals. For more on this see: Otfried Czaika, Några wijsor om Antikristum [1536] samt handskrivna tillägg. Utgåva med inledande kommentarer, (Helsinki and Skara, 2019).

39 O Rom går thet nu så med tich was first printed in Någhra nyttiga Andeliga wijsor, (Stockholm: Tidemansson, 1576). The only remaining copy of this print is bound together with the 1576 Swedish Hymnal, which is also preserved as a hapax (Then svenska psalmeboken 1576, Stockholm: Tidemansson, 1576). Collijn, Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600, Vol. 2, p. 449–454, Isak Collijn, “Nyfunna tryck av Torbjörn Tidemansson”, Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen, 17 (1930), p. 1–13, p. 5. This hymn was included in the hymnal of 1695 and was also printed in Finnish in the Finnish Hymnal from 1701. For more on this see: Fredric Cleve, “Förändringarna i tolkningen av reformationen avspeglade i en finländsk psalm”, in Krister Ståhlberg (ed.), Norden och Europa: Språk, kultur och identitet. Forskningsprogrammet Norden och Europa, (Copenhagen, 1999), p. 59–74, p. 61.
PART II

Music in Consolidated Lutheranism
In the Lutheran figural music of the seventeenth century, we can observe an interesting and ambiguous phenomenon: the increasing usage of Latin, often Catholic, devotional texts imbued with mysticism in the Protestant area. This issue raises a considerable number of different questions, which could be solved with a systematic approach. At this point of research, it is not possible to present conclusions and to provide a complete overview, but it is possible to show particular cases and to pose some questions. The first question is: when exactly did Lutheran composers begin to show their interest in such Latin texts – of which significant features are the focus on the figure of Jesus, stressing his love and love of him, seeking a mystical union with Christ – as well as on the themes disseminated in the seventeenth century, including vanitas and penitence, and how long did the usage of these texts last?\(^1\) The answer to this question can only be provided after a comprehensive analysis and search for possible concordances of Latin devotional texts in the musical repertoire of the seventeenth to the early eighteenth century both in Italy and to the North of the Alps. The starting point of the use of highly emotional devotional texts, rooted in the Catholic mystical tradition, might be set at the turn of the seventeenth century and is related to the development and dissemination of the “seconda prattica”. Mary E. Frandsen pointed out that already popular in Catholic Italy soon after 1600, texts expressive of Christocentric devotion begin to appear in musical compositions in Lutheran areas in the mid-1620s [...] As the century progressed, the popularity of devotional texts among Lutherans grew exponentially, particularly after ca. 1640\(^2\)


\(^2\) Frandsen, Crossing, p. 117.
In the 1640s and early 1650s “Italian Catholic composers had begun to move toward more affective, freely composed texts of a composite nature”\(^3\). These texts combined poetry and prose, which was often based on scriptural passages or their paraphrases. Mystically coloured, but not compound texts already appeared in numerous Catholic as well as Lutheran devotional books in Latin in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the early eighteenth century this heightened emotional religious literature – as a text source for musical compositions – was replaced by German librettos and sank into oblivion.

The wide dissemination of Catholic literature in the Lutheran territories, as well as reprinting of Catholic texts in Lutheran books, testifies to the smooth borders between Catholic and Lutheran mystical devotional texts as long as they did not touch on doctrinal differences. Book fair catalogues give a definition of Catholic printed books and shed some light on the problem of their differentiation. The theological books presented in the catalogues are divided into Protestant, Catholic and Calvinist books. The headings of the Catholic book sections varied considerably, as some examples show:

- **LIBRI THEOLOGORUM RELIGIONES PONTIFICIE (1594, autumn market)**
- Libri theologici Catholicorum, qui Romanæ Ecclesiae subijciuntur (1595, autumn market)
- Libri theologorum Pontificiorum (1598, Easter market)
- CAPVT II. Quo continentur Auctores Theologici Romanæ Ecclesiae (1600, Easter market)
- **LIBRI PONTIFICIORVM (1604, Easter market)**
- **LIBRI CATHOLICI (1617, Easter market)**

The earliest surviving catalogues – three volumes from 1594 (for the autumn market) and 1595 – contained place of issue of the books listed as marginal notes. The catalogues from 1596 to 1607 (autumn market) gave only the exact date of issue in the margin. Many Catholic books were printed in Antwerp, in Italy (Rome, Venice and Verona) and some of them in Germany – in Cologne and, in the seventeenth century, in Dillingen. Except for breviaries, Missale romanum, and new editions of the Holy Bible, the books recorded in the book fair catalogues contain writings of the Church Fathers, Catholic saints – for instance the title of the complete edition of St Bernard of Clairvaux’s writings, published by Jan van Keerberghen in Antwerp, appeared in the book-fair catalogue of 1609 (Easter) – as well as commentaries on the different books of the Bible and the writings of Jesuits and explanation of their teaching. Among the books listed in the book-fair catalogue for autumn 1593 is an illustrated book “Evangelicae historiae imagines: ex ordine euangeliorum, quae toto anno in missae sacrificio recitantur, in ordinem temporis vitae Christi digestae” by

\(^3\) Frandsen, *Crossing*, p. 102.
Gerónimo Nadal, in which a great number of the contemporary engravings by Maarten de Vos, Hieronymus, Jan and Antony II. Wierix are included.

The works of the Church Fathers were not specific to the Catholic literature, however. In the well-known anthology *Precandi formulae piae et selectae, ex veterum Ecclesiae sanctorum doctorum scriptis* (Frankfurt an der Oder [Francoforti ad Viadrum] and Szczecin [Stettin], 1553) and *Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus* (Francoforti ad Oderam, 1559) the Lutheran theologian Andreas Musculus collected passages from Pseudo-Augustine, Hugo de St Victor, St Bernard of Clairvaux, St Anselm of Canterbury, etc.\(^4\) The Bernardine works, texts which were attributed or ascribed to him and the texts inspired by him, were a rich source for devotional texts in the seventeenth century, which can be traced back to medieval Catholic mysticism represented through three themes: the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*,\(^5\) the Song of Songs, and the theme of vanitas.\(^6\) The hymn *Rhythmica oratio*, used by German composers Dietrich Buxtehude, Samuel Friedrich Capricornus and Johann Albrecht Kress, and often translated during the seventeenth century, should be considered as the other infinite supply of devotional Christocentric texts.

The Düben collection, a large collection which includes musical compositions on Latin devotional texts, as well as a catalogue of all pieces performed by Johann Philipp Krieger at Weißenfels court between 1684 and 1725, document a great interest in and continuous performance practice of such compositions.\(^7\) In addition to Buxtehude, the Düben Collection contains pieces by, for instance, Augustin Pfleger, Johann Balthasar Erben, Tobias Zeutschner, Johann Valentin Meder, not to mention Christian Geist, Kaspar Förster and Samuel Friedrich Capricornus. The compositions on devotional texts in the Düben collection are presented mostly both in parts and in organ tabulature. The idea suggests itself that Gustav Düben performed all these pieces in Sweden. Some examples from the catalogue of Johann Philipp Krieger reflect the same performance practice:

\(^{4}\) Frandsen, *Crossing*, p. 119.


Table 10. *Selected compositions on devotional texts in the catalogue of work performed by Krieger.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date of performance (as given in the catalogue)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vincenzo Albrici</td>
<td>“Amo te, laudo te”</td>
<td>Jac. 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johann Beer</td>
<td>“Amor Jesu dulcisimne”</td>
<td>Matth. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Friedrich Capricornus</td>
<td>“Ad te suspiro”</td>
<td>Paul. Bek. 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Jesu dulcis memoria”</td>
<td>Petr. u. Paul. 88 / 11. n. Trin. 92 / Rein. Mar. 00 (“auff zweymahl”) / Pf- Vesp. 15 (“auff 2 mahl”)</td>
<td>From the hymn “Jesu dulcis memoria”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Jesu nostra redemptio”</td>
<td>Himmelf. 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Jesu rex admirabilis”</td>
<td>Himmelf. 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Jesu spes poenitentibus”</td>
<td>3. n. Trin. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaspar Förster</td>
<td>“Ad arma fideles”</td>
<td>Oculi 92 / Michael.: 95 / 00 / Oculi 01 / Michael.: 08 / 09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Ah peccatores graves”</td>
<td>2. Weihn. 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Dulcis amor Jesu”</td>
<td>22. n. Trin. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“O bone Jesu”</td>
<td>19. n. Trin. 88 / 16. n. Trin. 07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“O dulcis Jesu”</td>
<td>18. n. Trin. 85 / 19. n. Trin. 93 (a 2 voc.) / 18. n. Trin. 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Peccavi super numerum”</td>
<td>3. n. Trin. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Giuseppe Peranda</td>
<td>“Languet cor meum”</td>
<td>19. n. Trin. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Si Dominus mecum”</td>
<td>Michael. 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“O Jesu mi dulcissime”</td>
<td>8. n. Trin. 94</td>
<td>From the hymn “Jesu dulcis memoria”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Si vivo mi Jesu”</td>
<td>3. n Trin.: 88 / 01 / Matth. 07 / 17. n. Trin. 07</td>
<td>Imitation of this hymn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no entries referring to the compositions of Dietrich Buxtehude in Krieger’s catalogue. Nevertheless we can observe that pieces on similar Latin devotional texts were regularly performed at the court in Middle Germany. Apart from the settings of mystical texts, plenty of common liturgical texts, as well as the Psalms and Scripture fragments are represented. This mixture of strong Lutheran, common liturgical, and mystical Latin texts corresponds with the text sources that Buxtehude and some of his Lutheran contemporaries chose for their sacred vocal works.

Using the example of Dietrich Buxtehude we can distinguish two ways of finding text sources: having access to devotional literature, and using existing musical pieces on such texts. On the one hand Buxtehude composed on the model of the solo motets by Bonifazio Graziani, as Peter Wollny has demonstrated. On the other hand he took some of his text sources from Catholic devotional books, as I have ascertained during my research on his sacred vocal music.
The first feature was a very common phenomenon at that time. There is a perhaps rhetorical question as to whether the composers to the North of the Alps took over Italian taste and imitated music which included appropriate devotional texts in a new style, or whether they adopted mystical texts and set them to suitable music like the Italian composers did. Peter Wollny has dedicated a chapter in his 2016 book to the practice of imitatio auctorum. He examined some cases of this technique, for instance Congregantes Philistei by Mario Savioni and Kaspar Förster, Quanta fecisti Domine by Giovanni Marciani and Kaspar Förster, and Surgite cum gaudio by Gasparo Casati, Johann Philipp Krieger and Georg Schmezer. Krieger imitated not only pieces by Gasparo Casati, but also by Bonifazio Graziani. As Wollny pointed out, there are 15 items on the same texts by Graziani and Krieger.\(^8\)

Table 11. *Comparison of text settings by Graziani and Krieger.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Graziani source</th>
<th>Scoring by Graziani</th>
<th>Scoring by Krieger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ad dulces amores</td>
<td>op. 7 (1656)</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>“2 voc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluja. De funere ad vitam</td>
<td>op. 10 (1665)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“3 voc. 2 viol.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascendo ad Patrem</td>
<td>op. 14 (1666)</td>
<td>CCB</td>
<td>“à 9”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendite verbum Domini</td>
<td>op. 19 (1672)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>CCB, 2 Vl., Bc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canite, filiae Sion</td>
<td>op. 10 (1665)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“5 voc., 5 instr., 2 Tromb.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crudelis infernus</td>
<td>op. 10 (1665)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>CAB, 2 Vl., Bc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exulta, jubila, accurre</td>
<td>op. 6 (1655)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>SB, 2 Vl., Bc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaudia pastores optate</td>
<td>op. 3 (1652)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“à 10: 5 voc., 5 instr.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iucundamini chori laetantes</td>
<td>op. 19 (1672)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“à 13: 5 voc., 6 instr., 2 Tromb.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnificate omnes</td>
<td>op. 16 (1669)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“2 voc. 2 viol.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O dulcis Jesu</td>
<td>op. 10 (1665)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“à 5: 3 voc. 2 viol.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per asperos mundi</td>
<td>op. 10 (1665)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“3 voc. 2 viol.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quis me territat</td>
<td>op. 19 (1672)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>CAB, 2 Vl., Bc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surge, dilecte mi</td>
<td>op. 10 (1665)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>“B, 2 viol.”, “3 voc. 2 viol.” (2 settings?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viri Galilaei</td>
<td>op. 14 (1666)</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>“2 Sopr.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dietrich Buxtehude’s two concertos *O dulcis Jesu* (BuxWV 83) and *Canite Jesu nostro* are based on a model by Graziani from his opus 10, *Libro quarto de motetti a voce sola.*

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Graziani, Bonifazio, *Del quarto libro de motetti a voce sola opera decima* (Roma 1665) RISM G3674

*Surge dilecte mi*
*Ad laudes ad carmina*
*Per asperos mundi*

*O dulcis Jesu o amor cordis*  
*Ubi est dilectus meus*

*Canite filiae Sion*
*Crudelis infernus*
*Velut palma velut rosa*

*Salve caelitum regina*

*Alleluia. De funere ad vitam*

*O anima mea suspira*

*Venite pastores ad sacros amores*

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The tablature sources of both of these works by Buxtehude are preserved in the Düben Collection and were copied by Gustav Düben himself. The date was given after the last bar in both sources. According to the comments, the copying of the first concerto was finished on 20 October 1681 and the second on 11 May 1683. Presumably, Buxtehude composed both concertos under the influence of Kaspar Förster, during or after his visit to Copenhagen. The degree of musical and textual emulation is different in both compositions.

In the concerto *O dulcis Jesu*, Buxtehude emulated Graziani’s entire motet, in the other concerto, *Canite Jesu nostro*, he merely took three opening textual sections from the prototype and changed the first text line. The slight textual modifications in the second work display not only the affinity with the Song of Songs, which prevails in the motet by Graziani, but also demonstrate a strong association with the Psalter and the Gospel according to St Matthew. In this way, Buxtehude’s text gained New Testament features and focused on Christ.

Table 12. *Comparison between the text sources for Canite filiae Sion by Graziani and Canite Jesu nostro by Buxtehude.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graziani</th>
<th>Buxtehude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canite filiae Sion, citharae, cymbala, organa sonent in die laetitiae cordis mei.</td>
<td>Canite Jesu nostro citharae, cymbala, organa! Sonant in die laetitiae cordis mei: dilectus adest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi.</td>
<td>Iam tandem inveni, quem ego quoasivi, quam ego vocavi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iam tandem inveni, quem ego quoasivi, clamantem audivi, respondit petenti, aperuit pulsanti, occurrunt quarenti, dilectus amanti.</td>
<td>Clamantem audivit, respondit petenti, aperuit pulsanti, occurrunt quaerenti, dilectus amanti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The third piece noteworthy in this context is the concerto *Salve Jesu, patris gnate unigenite* (BuxWV 94) by Buxtehude, which corresponds to compositions by Italian composers in both musical and textual features. The tablature volume gives a precise date on fol. 28r: “1685/ 1 December”. However, as in the case of the other aforementioned concertos, this might only indicate the copying date. No text source by either Graziani or by his Roman contemporaries could be found. One can only argue that this text includes the images of the Song of Songs and Christmas poetry. The diminutival forms in two hymns “Cur relinquis Deus coelum” (1) und “Dormi, Fili, dormi” (2) reflect the latter connection.

Table 13. *Textual parallels in the text sources for Salve Jesu by Buxtehude.*

| Salve Jesu, patris gnate unigenite, salve nectar lacteum, salve sponsa mi animula. Pectus meum do tibi soli. Quicquid vis en tibi cedo inter haec praeceptia. O vis amoris tui, Jesu, maxima! Cuius vel lingua illam enarrare vel mens percipere unquam valeat? Cur fasciis te involvis laceris, Jesulle, cur saeva frigora grassantur in artus tenellos? Cur alges, qui coeli culmina terres, qui fulmina dira vibras fragore tonitruum? O suavis, o grandis amor, o fortis amor, quo feror, quo trahor, quo rapior! Jesu, obstupesco, in quem amorem tui colliquesco. | Dormi, mi animule! (2) En me totum do in lectum Et cor meum do in tectum, (1) Dormi, parve pupule! (2) Jesu, qui in casa friges, Omnibusque membris riges; (1) |

The text source of this concerto by Buxtehude could possibly be found not in musical pieces, but in devotional books of that period. This is the other way in which composers were acquainted with the Latin devotional literature. Fortunately, I could identify text sources of three other compositions by Buxtehude: *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus* (BuxWV 92), *O clemens, o mitis, o coelestis Pater* (BuxwV 82), and *Fallax mundus* (BuxWV 28).

The text source for the first concerto *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus* (BuxWV 92) was taken from the 35th chapter of the *Soliloquia* of Pseudo-Augustine. All three writings attributed to St Augustine were constantly published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a complete book, *Divi Aurelii Augustini, Hippon. episcopi, Meditationes, Soliloquia et Manuale*, or as a series of quotations, by both Catholic and Lutheran authors. German Lutheran theologians and writers translated the Latin texts of Pseudo-Augustine into German and tried to adjust them to the Lutheran doctrine by omitting inappropriate text passages, rewording them or adding interpretive and explicative remarks in order to adapt the Pseuso-Augustine texts for modern Lutheran prayers.⁹ Therefore, Andreas Musculus omitted,

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⁹ Traugott Koch, in *Die Entstehung der lutherischen Frömmigkeit: die Rezeption pseud-augustinischer Gebetstexte in der Revision früher lutherischer Autoren* (Andreas Musculus, Martin Moller, Philipp Kegel, Philipp Nicolai), (Waltrop, 2004) discussed four devotional books in which the Lutheran theologian used texts of Pseudo-Augustine. A detailed
for example, a passage portraying the Holy Trinity in chapter 35. The same phrase was changed by Martin Moller, who aimed to emphasize the “dogmatically correct doctrine of the Trinity”.

A possible printed source for the concerto *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus* emerged in connection with the other concerto, *O clemens, o mitis, o coelestis Pater* (BuxwV 82). This text “O clemens, o mitis” turned out to be a part of a long prayer by Johann Faber (also Johann Fabri, 1478–1541), who was a Catholic theologian and a vigorous opponent of the Protestant Reformation. As Bishop of Vienna – he became bishop in 1530 – he published polemic writings, treatises defending Catholic belief, sermons on the Blessed Sacraments and devotional texts. Due to his lifelong friendship with Erasmus of Rotterdam he studied the works of the Church Fathers and included many texts of St Augustine along with his own prayers in his devotional book *Precationes Christiana devotione et pietate plenae ex sacris literis & D. Augustino singulari studio concinnatae & selectae* (Cologne, 1562; Dillingen, 1579).

The entire prayer, which contains the text of a strong penitential character “O Clemens, o mitis, o coelestis Pater” set by Buxtehude, was entitled “Valde pulchra oratio et confesio, saepè ad Deum dicenda” and was included in both Cologne and Dillingen editions on fols. 65r–67v and 75r–77r respectively.

Both text sources (“O Clemens, o mitis, o coelestis Pater” and “Quemadmodum desiderat cervus”) were found in several devotional books in the second half of the seventeenth century, especially in the anthologies of the Dutch humanist, theologian and teacher Simon Verrepaues or Verrept. They were published in Antwerp by Jean Bellère, the father of Balthazar Bellère, and evidently maintained in all reprints by Bellère himself, as well as by the German publishers Petrus Horst in Köln and Sebald Mayer in Dillingen, until the end of the sixteenth century. Simon Verrepaues cooperated with Bellère and let him print other devotional books, in particular *Precationum Piarum Enchiridion*, in particular *Precationes liturgiae in dies VII. digestae* and *Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion*. All the aforementioned books contain the text “O clemens, o mitis”, but only the *Enchiridions* include the text source derived from the 35th chapter of the *Soliloquy* of Pseudo-Augustine.

In the preface to the first edition of *Precationum Piarum Enchiridion*, Simon Verrepaues wrote that he had collected his prayers for four years and

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10 Koch, *Die Entstehung*, p. 53.
12 The most printed devotional book by Verrepaues was undoubtedly *Precationum Piarum Enchiridion*, of which at least 14 copies survived (1564, 1565, 1567, 1569, 1572, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1591, 1592 and 1598). *Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion* was printed at the turn of the seventeenth century (1598, 1599, 1603 and 1609). Of the third book, *Precationes liturgiae in dies VII. Digestae*, only two copies are known – from 1574 and 1599.
taken them from the church devotional books which had been in possession of his friend Jean Bellère. Then he explained the purposes of his collection and appealed to the virtues which could be awakened and cultivated with the help of the collected prayers. He supported his statements with quotations from the Holy Bible and writing by the Church Fathers. His book is divided into 15 chapters, which consist of daily prayers, liturgical texts, meditations on Christ’s Passion and prayers to God the Father. The text “O clemens, o mitis” appears in the third chapter “Precisiones propitiatoriae, quibus pro delendis peccatis Misericordiam Divinam imploremus”. The fifteenth chapter, “[Precatio] Animae ad vitam beatam & immortalem ardens desiderium”, contains the second text “Quemadmodum desiderat cervus” with information about the author.

The exact fragment of the text quoted by Andreas Musculus in his *Precisiones ex veteribus orthodoxibus doctoribus* was set by Heinrich Schütz in one of his *Kleinen geistlichen Konzerte* (SWV 336). While Verrepaeus published an entire chapter, Musculus reduced it and added the opening sentences of the next chapter without any indication. This procedure explains the differences between the text sources.

Table 14. Differences between versions of Pseudo-Augustine’s *Soliloquia* as quoted by Verrepaeus and Musculus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verrepaeus, <em>Precationem Piarum Enchiridion</em></th>
<th>Musculus, <em>Precisiones ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deum. Sitivit anima mea ad te, Deum, fontem vivum: quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem tuam?</td>
<td>Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O fons vitae, vena aquarum viventium, quando veniam ad aquas dulcedinis tuae? [...]</td>
<td>O fons vitae, vena aquarum viventium, quando veniam ad aquas dulcedinis tuae? [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sito, Domine, fons vitae es, satia me, sitio [Domine, sitio] te Deum vivum. Quando veniam et apparebo, Domine, ante faciem tuam, putas me, videbo diem illam jucunditatis et laetitiae, diem, quam fecit Dominus, exsultemus et laetemur in ea, [...][ubi est [...] certa securitas, secura tranquillitatis et tranquilla jucunditas, jucunda felicitas, felix aeternitatis, aeterna beatiutudine et beata Trinitatis et Trinitatis unitas, et unitatis Deitas, et Deitas beata visio, quod (qua) est gaudium Domini [Dei] tu.</td>
<td>[Quando veniam et apparebo, Domine, ante faciem tuam, putas me, videbo diem illam jucunditatis et laetitiae, diem, quam fecit Dominus, exsultemus et laetemur in ea, ubi est certa securitas, secura tranquillitatis et tranquilla jucunditas, jucunda felicitas, felix aeternitas, aeterna beatitudine et beata Trinitas et Trinitatis unitas, et unitatis Deitas, et Deitas beata visio, quod est gaudium Domini tu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O gaudium, super gaudium, gaudium vinces omne gaudium.</td>
<td>O gaudium, super gaudium, gaudium vinces omne gaudium.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The words from the book by Verrepaeus that were changed by Buxtehude are indicated in italics. The text used by Heinrich Schütz is indicated in bold type.
Basically, Verrepaeus quoted the original text of Pseudo-Augustine verbatim, but in the sentence “quae est gaudium Domini Dei tui” he substituted possessive pronoun “tui” for “mei” in order to give the character of a personal appeal to the otherwise contemplative text. The compiler of the text source for the Buxtehude concerto, or even the composer himself, undertook one change, which gave a new perspective to the text and transformed its meaning. A key word in Pseudo-Augustine’s text is “gaudium” which a quotation from the Gospel of St Matthew refers to: “Intra in gaudium Domini tui”. Then Pseudo-Augustine named the source of this joy and explained its qualities: “Intra in gaudium sempiternum, in domum Domini Dei tui. […] Intra in gaudium, […] ubi erit omne bonum”. In this way the author defined a specific place (“domum Domini”) and depicted what would happen in the future (“erit”). In the text source by Buxtehude this New Testament quotation was omitted, therefore the sentence “diem, quam fecit Dominus” was stressed. So, firstly, the point in time of this future joy is fixed: the Day of Resurrection. Secondly, the compiler substituted the future “erit” with the present time “est”. In this way the certain joy with Christ became present.

The fragment from the Soliloquiae of Pseudo-Augustine cannot be considered as especially Catholic, not least because of wide dissemination of Pseudo-Augustinian works among Lutherans. As the analysis above demonstrated, Buxtehude drew this fragment neither from the devotional book by Musculus nor from the concerto by Schütz, but most likely from a Catholic book. The other text source “O clemens, o mitis, o coelestis Pater”, which is based on the Parable of the Prodigal Son and included a scriptural fragment (Luke 15:18b–19) is placed in the context of penitential literature, the use of which began in the Lutheran area in the late sixteenth century and increased in the 1640s and 1650s. As Isabella van Elferen marked, “the pain and repentance” accompanied “the desire for unio mystica” and had an even “greater impact in Lutheran mysticism than in its medieval counterpart”. The theme of penitence came to light in several compositions by Guiseppe Peranda (for instance Miserere, Cor mundum crea in me, Peccavi o Domine super numerum arenae maris) and in works in the Düben collection (Domine Deus meus peccavi graviter by Henry Du Mont, Peccavi super numerum by Johann Balthasar Erben and Kaspar Förster, and O pater peccavi in coelum et coram te by Ignatius von Gnesell). However the prayer of Johann Faber was not used as a text source for musical setting except in Buxtehude’s concerto. Despite its Catholic origin this text can be seen as covering a common topic for both confessions at that time, which spread over confessional and geographic boundaries.

The text source for the third composition by Buxtehude, Fallax mundus (BuxWV 28), is based on a series of engravings by the Flemish engraver Anthony II. Wierix: Cor Iesv Amanti Sacrvm. These engravings include a Latin

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13 Isabella van Elferen, Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music, (Lanham, MD, 2009), p. 156.
poem, which Buxtehude took eight stanzas from.14 Most likely, Buxtehude used the devotional book Cor Deo devotum by Étienne Luzvic, published by Balthasar Bellère in Douai in 1627 or by Hendrik Aertssens in Antwerp in 1628.

The Latin poem, used by Buxtehude, is part of the engravings and appears exclusively unchanged in other translations of this devotional book, for instance in Daß Gott Zugeeignete Hertz Iesv Des Fridsamen Salomonis Königlicher Thron (Augsburg 1630), the devot hart or Royal throne of the pacific Salomon published in 1634 and in Het Heylich herte from 1659 (Antwerp).15 The title of the Latin translation of this devotional book was recorded in the Leipzig book-fair catalogue in autumn 1627, but it is now impossible to ascertain the location of this devotional book between 1627 and 1680 – the date of the copied musical source in the Düben collection.


15 Daß Gott Zugeeignete Hertz Iesv Des Fridsamen Salomonis Königlicher Thron (Augsburg: Schönigk, 1630), The devot hart or Royal throne of the pacific Salomon published in 1634 and in Het Heylich herte from 1659 (Antwerp). The title of the Latin translation of this devotional book was recorded in the Leipzig book-fair catalogue in autumn 1627, but it is now impossible to ascertain the location of this devotional book between 1627 and 1680 – the date of the copied musical source in the Düben collection.
Although the text sources of these three concertos by Buxtehude have been ascertained – in the devotional books by Simon Vereppaeus and in the devotional book Cor Deo devotum – the scholarly understanding of the way in which Buxtehude became acquainted with these books remains a hypothesis. Unfortunately we cannot find any traces of these books before 1594, when the first book-fair catalogue was published. Only the later editions could be traced. The Catholicum Precationum Selectissimarum Enchiridion was available for sale in the Easter markets in 1599 and 1609.

The Precationes liturgiae in dies VII. digestae appeared in the catalogue of the autumn market in 1599.

The opportunity to buy these books in Germany sheds no light on how Buxtehude came upon them a considerable period of time later. There is no evidence that Buxtehude had connections to the publishers from Köln and Dillingen. But the hypothesis immediately suggests itself that Buxtehude knew the publications of Jean Bellère in Antwerp and his son Balthazar in Douai. In that regard we can develop some hypotheses. In the Choir library of St Mary’s church in Lübeck some musical prints of Pierre Phalèse – a business partner of Bellère – are preserved. The books of Bellère could possibly have found their way to Lübeck alongside the prints of Phalèsé. The books could have been taken by Gustav Düben, by a merchant – for example Thomas Fredenhagen (1627–1709), who conducted trade with Flanders, particularly with Antwerp – or ordered by some clerics. The last hypothesis is doubtful because of the strong Lutheranism among the clergy in Lübeck.
The examples of the sacred music of Dietrich Buxtehude discussed should be considered as a piece, which would help to complete a general view of the use of Latin devotional literature among German Lutheran composers in the middle and late seventeenth century. Obviously they did not intend to use specifically Catholic sources, but were interested rather in the devotional content of such emotional texts that already existed in the Catholic literature, without a close connection to the Catholic dogmatics. Together with the stylistic shift and the rise in intense engagement with Italian music, these texts caused changes in the “Lutheran institutions in Germany and in Scandinavia”. As Frandsen points out,

it would seem from the repertoire performed in Dresden, as well as in many other Lutheran schools and court chapels, that the ‘Lutheran church music’ of the years between ca. 1650 and 1710 had a pronounced ecumenical nature. Given their acceptance by both confessions, many of the free texts set by Italians during this era might be better described as ‘culturally Catholic’ rather than actually theologically or doctrinally so.

Except for the especially Catholic themes – for instance veneration of the blessed Virgin – and despite the Catholic origins (authors, printers and places of publication), the devotional Latin texts which appeared in the musical repertoire of the second half of the seventeenth century, and particularly in compositions by Dietrich Buxtehude, might be considered transconfessional. The numerous performances attested to contributed to the image of Lutheranism, which moved towards a new public and personal devotionality with help of Catholic-inspired mystical texts.

16 Frandsen, Crossing, p. 171.
17 Ibid., p. 167.
10. Law and Gospel in Johann Sebastian Bach’s Cantata 106: A Fundamental Lutheran Theme Set to Music

Daniel Johansson

Actus Tragicus is a work of genius such as even great masters seldom achieve. [...] [It] belongs to the great musical literature of the world.¹

[It] is a piece of great spiritual literature in the treasury of the witnesses to the faith of our church.²

Both quotes above attest to a widespread admiration of Bach’s cantata 106, Gottes Zeit ist der aller beste Zeit, however, with slightly different focuses. While the former notes its musical qualities, the latter points to theological ones. On the surface cantata 106 may seem to be a rather simplistic piece of music, quite unlike most of Bach’s cantatas. But a closer look reveals Bach’s genius both as a composer and a theologian. In the present chapter, I argue that cantata 106 offers an example of the Lutheran Ars Moriendi, in which the fundamental Lutheran idea of distinguishing properly between Law and Gospel is articulated.

Date and Occasion

The date and occasion for cantata 106 is not known. It lacks recitatives and da capo-arias of some length and thus belongs to the old type of church cantata. It is commonly assigned to Bach’s Mühlhausen period (1707–08). Most scholars define it as a funeral cantata. While earlier scholarship often identified the burial of Johann Sebastian’s uncle Tobias Lämmerhirt, who died on August 10, 1707, as the occasion of the cantata,³ Markus Rathey has recently connected it to the funeral service of the mayor of Mühlhausen, Adolph

² Renate Steiger, Gnadegegenwart: Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Ordoxie und Frömmigkeit, (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2002), p. 239: Actus Tragicus “ist ein Stück geistlicher Literatur in der Schatzkammer der Glaubenszuegnisse unserer Kirche”.
³ See Dürr, Cantatas, p. 759.
Strecker, on September 16, 1708. In either case it was composed in the same period as cantatas 71, *Gott ist mein König*, and 131, *Aus der Tiefen*. However, a case can also be made that the cantata was written for a Sunday of the church year in which the topic of death was treated, as for example the 16th Sunday after Trinity (Luke 7:11–17) or the Feast *Mariae Reinigung* (Purification of Mary; Luke 2:22–35).

**Instrumentation, Structure, and Tonality**

The instrumentation is unique in Bach’s cantata production. Two recorders (usually used by Bach in music which concerns death), two violas da gambas, and continuo make up the whole orchestra. The small number of instruments creates an intimate atmosphere.

The cantata consists of four parts: a sonatina, which functions as a prelude; a second movement, which includes four brief passages, choruses, and solos; a third movement consisting of two solos; and finally a chorale and fugue for choir. Together these individual parts form a symmetrical overall structure, and carry forward and develop the theological ideas of the work. The cantata is centred around the chorus “Es ist der alte Bund” (Table 15, 2.d). This is surrounded by two solos on each side, which in turn are surrounded by choruses. The turning point in the development of the work is found in the central movement (Table 15, 2.d).

The first movement is set in E♭ major. Harmonically the work then descends, movement by movement, through flat keys down to B♭ minor and up again to E♭ major. The sequence of keys is thus ordered symmetrically around a central axis, but the central point of B♭ minor is reached at first at the end of the central movement and continues into the alto solo, “In deine Hände”. In this cantata Bach explored a tonal range and applied a harmonic language that seems to have no parallel among his predecessors or contemporaries.

**Table 15. Structure and tonality of Cantata 106.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Sonatina</th>
<th>2.a Chorus</th>
<th>2.b Solo</th>
<th>2.c Solo</th>
<th>2.d Chorus, solo, chorale</th>
<th>3.a Solo</th>
<th>3.b Solo, chorale</th>
<th>4 Chorale, fugue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E♭</td>
<td>Eb-c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c-f</td>
<td>f-b♭</td>
<td>b♭</td>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>E♭</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5 Rathey, “Zur Datierung”, also assigns BWV 150 and 233a to this period.


7 Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart*, p. 238.

The Text

The text is mainly made up of quotations, selected from various places in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and hymns, as follows:

Second movement
a) Acts 17:28
b) Psalm 90:12
c) Isaiah 38:1
d) Sirach 14:17\(^9\) and Revelation 22:20
   Instrumental quotation of the hymn “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt” (Johann Leon, 1582/9)

Third movement
b) Luke 23:43 and verse 1 of the hymn “Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin” (Martin Luther, 1524)

Fourth movement
Verse 7 of the hymn “In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr”
   (Adam Reusner, 1533)

The overall ordering of these texts seems to suggest a movement from the Old Testament to the New. With the exception of the text from Acts 17, Bach makes use of Old Testament texts up until the turning point at which he quotes the Book of Revelation. The third movement, it could be argued, is only made up of New Testament texts, especially if we identify them as sayings of Jesus at the cross recorded in the Gospel of Luke: Jesus’ quotation of Ps 31:5 and his promise to the repentant criminal.\(^11\) However, whereas Luke 23:46 only cites the first part of Ps 31: 5, Bach cites the whole of the verse. Modern editions identify the Psalm as the source of the words, but whether this goes back to Bach’s original score is unclear. The original has been lost so we cannot be sure. However, given the likely textual "Vorlage" of Bach’s cantata, in which the words are identified as Ps 31:5, and not Luke 23:46, it seems unlikely that Bach intended a textual movement from the “Alte Bund” to the new. It is rather the subject matter itself, which leads to the choice of these texts in this particular order, whether the texts are from the Old Testament or the New.\(^12\)

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\(^9\) Following the verse numbering in English Bibles. The verse numbers in some books of the Bible, particularly the Psalms, varies in different languages. Olearius, *Christliche Bet=Schule*, mentioned below, refers to Sir 14:18.

\(^10\) Olearius, *Christliche Bet=Schule*, refers to Ps 31:6.

\(^11\) As does Petzoldt, “Sterben und Tod”, p. 6, in his interpretation of the central movement.

\(^12\) As will be seen below, Luther never identified the Law with the Old Testament or the Gospel with the New. It is the content of a particular passage or a saying, and its application, which
The Compilation of the Text of the Cantata

There is general agreement that Bach compiled the text of cantata 106. The work thus offers extraordinary insights into Bach’s work as a theologian, not only as a composer but also as a compiler of theological texts. The words are, as already mentioned, based on biblical passages scattered throughout the Bible and three different hymns with a few additions. But how did he compile it?

Some would argue that Bach, with his profound theological training, was able to do this completely on his own. At the age of eight Bach had already begun to learn “the Catechism, psalms, Bible history, writing and reading, particularly the Gospels and Epistles in German and Latin”. Later he was also acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, had to learn the most well-known church hymns and studied the orthodox Lutheran dogmatic of Leonhard Hutter. Before getting a position as cantor he would have had to go through a theological examination covering basic biblical and theological knowledge as well as giving written assent to the Book of Concord twice. Furthermore as a cantor he was responsible for teaching basic theology, including Luther’s catechism, in school. With this education and the experience of Lutheran piety and liturgical life, it is likely that Bach had the ability to compile the text completely on his own. Some scholars, however, have argued that Bach made use of an already existing pattern and formed his texts according to this.

Alfred Dürr suggested that Bach found the basic pattern for the whole cantata in the hymn “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt”, which plays an important role in the central movement “Es ist der alte Bund”. In this movement the chorale is heard only in an instrumental setting, but the content of the hymn conforms well to the different parts of the cantata so that the order of themes in the hymn stanzas corresponds to the succession of ideas in the cantata.

Dürr outlines the similarities between “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt” and the text of the cantata in the following way:

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14 Stiller, Bach, p. 175.


16 Dürr, Cantatas, p. 763.
Another early cantata from Bach, cantata 4, *Christ lag in Todesbanden*, is based exclusively on the seven stanzas of the hymn “Christ lag in Todesbanden”. The hymn “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt” would thus, if Dürr’s suggestion is correct, function like “Christ lag in Todesbanden”, but instead of the specific words of hymn stanzas, bible quotations that carry the same meaning are used.

Although an attractive thesis, the similarities between the hymn and the cantata are probably a mere coincidence, which rather demonstrates reliance on a common Lutheran tradition of *Seelsorge*, particularly that which has been labelled *Ars moriendi*, the art of dying. It is now widely accepted that Bach made use of Johann Olearius’ *Christliche Bet=Schule auff unterschiedliche Zeit/Personen/Verrichtungen/Creutz/Noth und Zufälle im Leben und Sterben [...]*, published in Leipzig in 1668. Renate Steiger, who rediscovered this prayer book in 1985, has pointed out that the same sequence of bible passages which Bach uses in the cantata can be found in Olearius’ prayer book. Isa 38:1 – Sir 14:17 – Rev 22:20 – Ps 31:6 – Luke 23:43 are found in the same sequence under the heading “Tägliche Seuffzer und Gebet um ein seliges Ende” (“Daily sigh and prayer for a blessed end”) on pages 110–11.¹⁷ The only difference is

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¹⁷ Johann Olearius, *Christliche Bet=Schule*, (Leipzig, 1668). Renate Steiger, “Actus Tragicus und ars moriendi: Bachs Textvorlage für die Kantate ‘Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste...
that Bach substitutes Paul’s word in Phil 1:23 – “Ich habe lust abzuscheiden / und bey Christo zu seyn” found between Sir 14:17 and Rev 22:20 – with the Chorale “Ich hab mein Sach Gott Heimgestellt”.

Later in the book, under the heading “Prayer and sigh for a blessed end/ and in the last hour”, Ps 31:6 “In deine Hände” and Luke 23:43 “Heute wirst du mit mir” appear in the same order again. This is followed by the chorale “Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin”, Luther’s version of Simeon’s Nunc Dimittis, which is sung simultaneously with Luke 23:43 in the third movement of the cantata. After another bible passage (Acts 7:59) the sixth and seventh stanzas of “In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr” by Adam Reusner are found. Bach uses stanza seven of this hymn for the last movement, “Glorie, Lob, Ehr und Herrlichkeit”. Page references on the same page as well as in the “daily sigh and prayer” section, which directs you to a quotation of Ps 90:12 can explain the inclusion of this verse in Movement 2.b. The chorale “Ich hab mein Sach” (in 2.d) is also found in Olearius’ prayer book, in a section with prayers to be repeated by those present when a dying person is in agony (p. 652).

This particular order of bible passages has not been found in other Lutheran art-of-dying literature. It is therefore quite probable that Bach knew Olearius’ book or had at least taken a look at it. The list of Bach’s estate tells us that he was familiar with Olearius. The prayer book itself is not listed, but Olearius’ Principal Key to the Entire Holy Scriptures in three volumes belonged to Bach’s library.

Bach, however, did not follow Olearius blindly. He did omit some bible passages and he arranged them in his own way. Some texts are used in movements following each other; other texts are used in the same movement combined with each other. He also added some words of his own when he thought it was necessary.

The Message of Cantata 106

Bach’s work belongs to the art-of-dying literature, which was a common theological genre in this period. But can we be more precise about the message of the cantata? Alfred Dürr suggested that the two main parts of the cantata

\footnote{Zeit’ BWV 106”, p. 227–239 in Steiger, Gnadengegenwart. Steiger’s article is also found in Musik und Kirche, 59 (1989), p. 11–23. The 1672 edition of Olearius’ book, to which I refer, is available online: http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/78485/1/. In the 1668 edition, the sequence of bible passages is found on p. 130.}

\footnote{18 P. 635–637 in the 1672 edition and p. 714–716 in the 1668 edition.}

\footnote{19 Bach omits Luke 2:29, “Now Lord, Thou dost let Thy bondservant depart in peace, according to Thy word”, found between these two passages in Olearius’ book. Luther’s hymn, which follows immediately on Luke 23:43, is used in its place.}


\footnote{21 See the text in the appendix where the quotation marks show where a Bible quotation begins and ends.}
present death under the Law and Gospel, respectively. This view has been repeated and further developed by Eric Chafe. However, Martin Petzoldt, while agreeing with many of Dürr’s conclusions, nevertheless questions the Law and Gospel theme. Instead, in his view, the human relationship to death and dying is presented in the first part under the theme of God’s time. The second part then presents Christ’s relation to death, which, by learning about it, human beings themselves should be able to demonstrate.

It seems to me that Petzoldt rightly emphasizes the practical aspect of the cantata; it sets music to words that include both instructions on how to die and words to be used when the time of death approaches. However, it also seems to me that Petzoldt misses one important dimension in the art of dying, an underlying presupposition, namely the ability to properly distinguish between Law and Gospel. Dürr’s view on the other hand, that the first part of the cantata is death under the Law and the second death under the Gospel, is in my view a bit simplistic and does not seem to take into account the dialectic of Law and Gospel. It is my suggestion then that on one level Bach sets music to practical and comforting words for a dying person, but on another level, he displays a brilliant example of Law and Gospel at work in a human being.

The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel

The dialectic between Law and Gospel is at the very heart of the Lutheran reformation. As early as 1521 Luther wrote: “Almost all Scripture and the understanding of all theology hangs on the proper understanding of Law and Gospel.” This understanding is not limited to the theologians; every layperson who lays claim to the name “Christian” must know this. In his Sermon vom Unterschied zwischen dem Gesetz und Evangelium, 1532, Luther says that the “distinction between Law and Gospel is the highest art of Christianity which anyone who prides himself on the Christian name […] can and must know”. Without this knowledge one cannot distinguish a Christian from a pagan. A person who knows this art is repeatedly called a true doctor of the Holy Scrip-

22 Dürr, Cantatas, p. 760.
24 Petzholdt, “Sterben und Tod”, p. 6. Petzholdt interprets Ps 31:5 as the citation by Jesus in Luke 23:46. As noted above, Bach cites Ps 31:5 as a whole and his textual Vorlage, Olearius, did identify the passage as Ps 31:5.
25 Petzholdt, “Sterben und Tod”, p. 6: “Vielmehr wird unter dem Thema der Zeit Gottes des Menschen Verhältnis zum Tod bzw. zum Sterben (Sätze 2b bis 2d), um dem Menschen das Erlernen des Verhältnisses Jesu Christi zum Tod zu ermöglichen und zu zeigen (Sätze 2d, 3a und 3b).” 2.b is then a prayer for wisdom in the face of death. 2.c is about putting outward things in order before death (which belonged to the ars moriendi). 3.a is about being ready to surrender the spirit and 3.b about being ready for a blessed death. In this context the cry to Christ from Rev 22:20, two sayings from the crucified Christ, and the farewell by Simon in the words of Nunc Dimittis (Luk 2:29), (in the setting by Luther), should comfort the dying one and direct his or her eyes to the crucified one.
26 WA 7, 502, 34–35.
27 WA 38, 8–42.
tures, by Luther.\textsuperscript{28} So what is this art? The Law demands and accuses man of being sinful, under the wrath of God, and worthy of eternal damnation.\textsuperscript{29} The task of the Law is to force a human being to give up all attempts to save himself or herself. The Gospel, on the other hand, proclaims what Christ did on the cross and the forgiveness of sins, in short that the sinner is accepted by God for the sake of Christ. This theme is fundamental to Lutheran theology and given expression in sermons, hymns, and the catechism. Luther, for example, changed the order of the medieval catechism and built the idea of Law and Gospel into its very structure by placing the commandments before the creed, the Gospel. It should also be observed that Luther did not identify the Law with the Old Testament and the Gospel with the New. Law and Gospel may be found in both testaments and one and the same word can function as both Law and Gospel depending on its use and function. All that reveals sin and accuses human beings of being sinners is Law; the proclamation of Christ as the Lamb of God and the forgiveness of sins for the sake of him is Gospel.

Law and Gospel in Cantata 106

Given the centrality of Law and Gospel in Lutheran theology it is unlikely that Bach did not know the subject and had the ability to articulate it. Rather, he seems to have articulated this theme in musical forms more than once.\textsuperscript{30} Furthermore, since it was essential for a Christian to be able to distinguish between Law and Gospel, it was also an essential part of the \textit{ars moriendi}. In fact, the \textit{ars moriendi} boiled down to this one key issue, to be able to look to Christ and his forgiveness, or as Olearius puts it, “the blood and death” of Christ (p. 119), despite the terror of sin, death and the accusations of Satan.

I argue furthermore that Bach portrays the distinction between Law and Gospel in his work, indeed he let his hearers experience the work of the Law and the Gospel. This is accomplished both by musical ideas and his organization of the text.

First, the centre of the cantata (2.d) is a visualisation of the confrontation of Law and Gospel. Several layers are piled on top of each other. The three lower voices of the choir sing an old style, strict choral fugue on the words: “It is the old covenant: man you must die”. The fugue theme contains a diminished fifth, the \textit{diabolus in musica}. This dreary interval is unaltered throughout the fugue, thus communicating the severity of the Law.

\textsuperscript{28} E.g., LW 26:115.

\textsuperscript{29} On Law and Gospel in Martin Luther’s theology, see e.g., Paul Althaus, \textit{The Theology of Martin Luther}, (Philadelphia, PA, 1966), p. 251–273, Bernhard Lohse, \textit{Martin Luther’s Theology. Its Historical and Systematical Development}, (Minneapolis, MN, 1999), p. 276–276.

\textsuperscript{30} See Leaver, \textit{Luther’s Liturgical Music}, p. 290–291, referring to cantata 106, cantata 9, and St. John Passion.
The severity of the Law is furthermore suggested by the “old-style” fugue. The fugue breaks off after two expositions of the theme and suddenly, as from another world, a soprano enters and replies to the Law with the words: “Yes, come Lord Jesus”.

The melody Bach uses here is identical with the melody of the first line of the chorales “Hertzlich tut mich verlangen” and “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden”, frequently used in Bach’s Passion according to St. Matthew. After a few bars, the instruments enter the scene with a three-part arrangement of the chorale melody “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt”.

In the previous movement, “Bestelle dein Haus”, Bach depicted a person, seemingly running around, trying to put everything in order before the time of death. It seems that the person has not succeeded. The severe Law is still accusing and confronting the sinner by means of the words: “der alte Bund”. This is what is called “Anfechtung” in Lutheran theology. What does the person do now? She cries to Jesus for help: “Yes, come Lord Jesus.” This quotation from Rev 22:20 is used by Bach as a cry for salvation, for faith. When she cries for faith and salvation the chorale enters the scene to tell the congregation what is going on.

The full meaning of “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt”, the first line of the chorale, is not easy to translate into English. It is usually translated “I have left all that concerns me up to God”. This is what the soprano does in crying for Jesus. But the German phrase also tells us how she leaves all concerns to God: “Sach” is the juridical term for “case” in old German. “Ein Sach heimstellen” means “to present a case”. I argue that in using this specific chorale

31 The atonement of Christ as foundation for faith is probably implied already by the choice of melody for the cry of salvation. “Hertzlich tut mich verlangen” is also recommended by Olearius as an edifying “hymn of comfort” in the face of death. See Christliche Bet=Schule, p. 122.
33 See Deutsches Wörterbuch, Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm (eds.), available online: http://dwb.uni-trier.de/de/.
with its forensic language Bach intends to call the Lutheran understanding of justification to mind: the sinner is declared righteous for the sake of Christ by faith alone.\textsuperscript{34} Jesus’ sacrifice and death are thus emphasized as the foundation for peace with God.\textsuperscript{35}

After the first introduction of the elements of this movement, the sequence of fugue-soprano-chorale is repeated three times so that the whole movement is made up of a fourfold sequence of its three elements. But there are, however, important alterations made in the process. The individual stages become shorter and shorter. As listeners we experience an increasing intensity. After the last exposition of the fugue the tonality reaches its lowest point when the tonality changes from F minor to B♭ minor. The intensity of the conflict between the Law and the Gospel is thus increased by alteration of the tonality in the flat direction, compression of individual stages and a more and more intensive countersubject. The Law, however, has to give up when it is most aggressive. The tonality falls to the dominant of B♭ minor and the melody ends on the third of an F major chord, while the soprano ends alone, unaccompanied, on the word “Jesus”. The singer and the whole movement finally get rest and peace, but this is also a feature of a larger design – it leads into the next movement. There the newly acquired peace is expressed in the words of the psalmist: “Into Your hands I commit my spirit; you have redeemed me, Lord, You faithful God” (Ps 31:5).

According to the Augsburg Confession, art. XII, repentance is defined as contrition and faith.\textsuperscript{36} Bach depicted this fundamental Lutheran doctrine in this movement. A sinner crushed by the Law finally finds peace through trust in the Gospel, through Jesus alone. The word “Jesus” is the only thing left here in the end. All reproving fugue themes and all instruments are quiet.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35} Jesus’ sacrifice is also emphasized as the foundation for giving up all concerns to God in stanzas 11–13 of “Ich hab mein Sach”:

11. Und ob ich schon mein’ Sünd anficht, dennoch will ich verzagen nicht; ich weiss, dass mein getreuer Gott für mich in Tod sein’n lieben Sohn gegeben hat. [And even if my sins already worry me, I will nevertheless not despair; I know that my faithful God for me in death has given his dearest Son.]

12. Derselbe mein Herr Jesus Christ für all’ meine Sünd’n gestorben ist, und auferstanden mir zu gut, der Höllen Glut geläscht mit seinem teuren Blut. [My Lord Jesus Christ has died for all my sins, and risen to my benefit, the embers of hell extinguished with His precious blood.]

13. Dem leb und sterb ich allzeit, von ihm der bitt’r Tod mich nicht scheid’t: ich leb od’r sterb, so bin ich sein, er ist allein der einge Trost und Helfer mein. [With him I always live and die, from him the bitter death wills not me separate: I live or die, so I am his, he is alone my only comfort and help.]

\textsuperscript{36} The Book of Concord, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{37} One could compare the end of this movement with the “love-death” of Isolde in Wagner’s opera Tristan and Isolde, as did one of my former teachers of music history at the University of Gothenburg. Unlike Tristan and Isolde the principal character is not however dead yet. Rather the old self, the Old Adam is put to death and the believer is united with Christ.
Second, the musical visualisation of Law and Gospel is not limited to the very centre of the cantata. Bach’s choice of key for each of the movements suggests that the Law and the Gospel theme permeates the entire work. Starting out in E♭ major, the tonality descends through the first part of the cantata reaching its lowest point in B♭ minor, right after the theological turning point. It then ascends through the second part of the work, reaching E♭ major again in the final chorus. When the tonality is falling in the flat direction, the destruction of the Law is set forth, while as the tonality is restored back to the original key the restoration of the Gospel is proclaimed. The same technique is used in Bach’s cantata *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, a cantata which undoubtedly articulates the distinction between Law and Gospel throughout. Only after the work of the Law is accomplished, when the tonality has been pushed down to its lowest point, can the sinner accept the meaning of the Gospel and the tonality can be restored.

Conclusion

The basic tonality of cantata 106 is E♭ major. For a piece setting forth the theme of death one would perhaps expect a minor key, as in the majority of requiems. According to Johann Mattheson’s *Das Neueröffnete Orchester*, which was published in 1713, shortly after Bach composed Cantata 106, the key E♭ major is “pathetisch”, which should be taken in the sense of declamatory and lofty. Bach’s choice of key thus carries a sense of solemnity and

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38 Chafe, *Analyzing*, p. 10. Chafe also refers (p. 188) to cantata 77, *Du sollt Gott*.
40 Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, lists “erregend, kraft- und würdevoll, feierlich” as synonyms.
majesty, not unlike Bach’s great organ prelude and fugue in Eb major. The central idea in this *ars moriendi* is not mourning but assurance of salvation through Jesus Christ.\(^{41}\) The work Christ has accomplished at the cross is the only safe foundation in the storms of *Anfechtungen* throughout life and especially at the time of death. The Christian who can properly distinguish Law and Gospel does not need to be insecure about his or her salvation. Rather, just as Olearius finally reminds his readers at the very end of the section on how to prepare for death, Christians can be assured that they shall praise the Trinity all eternity.\(^{42}\) Bach, likewise, ends his cantata with a Trinitarian doxology in a lively and majestic movement in Eb.

In his *Preface to the Burial Hymns*, 1542 Luther wrote:

> Nor do we sing any dirges or doleful songs over our dead and at the grave, but comforting hymns of the forgiveness of sins, of rest, sleep, life, and of the resurrection of departed Christians so that our faith may be strengthened and the people be moved to true devotion.\(^{43}\)

Bach – so it seems – concurred and communicated this same idea in his cantata 106.

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\(^{41}\) Cf. the final words of the cantata: “Durch Jesum Christum, Amen”. These words are present in the *ars moriendi* section of Olearius’ prayerbook, p. 116.

\(^{42}\) Olearius, *Christliche Bet=Schule*, p. 121.

\(^{43}\) LW 53: 326.
APPENDIX:
The text of Cantata 106 in German and English.44

| 1. Sonatina
| 2. a) Chorus (SATB) |
| God’s time is the very best time. “In Him we live, move, and have our being”, as long as He wills. In Him we die at the right time, when He wills. |

| 2. b) Arioso (T) |
| Ach Herr, “lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen, auf dass wir klug werden”. |
| Ah Lord, “teach us to remember that we must die, so that we become wise”. |

| 2. c) Aria (B) |
| “Bestelle dein Haus; denn du wirst sterben und nicht lebendig bleiben!” |
| “Put your house in order, for you shall die and not remain living.” |

| 2. d) Chorus (ATB + S) |
| “Es ist der alte Bund”: Mensch, “du musst sterben”. “Ja, komm, Herre Jesu!” |
| “It is the Old Covenant”: man “you must die”. “Yes, come, Lord Jesus!” |

| 3. a) Aria (A) |
| “In deine Hände befehle ich meinen Geist; du hast mich erlöst, Herr du getreuer Gott.” |
| “Into Your hands I commit my spirit; you have redeemed me, Lord, You faithful God.” |

| 3. b) Arioso, chorale (BA) |
| “Heute wirst du mit mir in Paradies sein.” “Today you shall be with Me in Paradise.” |
| In Gottes Willen, With peace and joy I go to that place, |
| Getrost ist mir mein Herz und Sinn, According to the Will of God; |
| Sanft und stille. My heart and mind are established, |
| Wie Gott mir verheissen hat: Meek and quiet, |
| Der Tod ist mein Schlaf worden. As God has promised me; |
| Death has become my sleep. |

| 4. Chorus (SATB) |
| Gloria, Lob, Ehr und Herrlichkeit |
| Glory, praise, honour, and majesty |
| Sei dir, Gott Vater und Sohn bereit’, Be given to You, God the Father and |
| Dem Heiligen Geist mit Namen! Son and to the Holy Spirit by name! |
| Die göttlich Kraft May the power of God |
| Macht uns sieghaft Make us victorious |

44Text according to the translation in Dürr, *Cantatas*, p. 758–759. The quotation marks show where a bible quotation begins and ends.
11. The Old Testament Apocrypha in Early Modern Lutheran Musical Culture

Anders Jarlert

Apocrypha in Lutheran Tradition
In his overview of the contents of the Old Testament canon in the Lutheran Reformation, Bernhard Lohse emphasizes that Martin Luther used several quotations from the so-called Old Testament Apocrypha in his lectures on the Letter to the Hebrews (1517–18). His expression that the Bible ascribes death to the devil (“die Schrift [...] dem Teufel den Tod zu[schreibt]”) is especially important. He supports this with a verse from the Sapientia Salomonis or Wisdom (2,24).¹

The Apocrypha, or Deuterocanonical writings, are a set of texts included in the Latin Vulgate and Septuagint but not in the Hebrew Bible. According to the Luther Bible, they are Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, Jesu Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Baruch, First and Second Macabees, and parts of Esther and Daniel (including the Prayer of Manasseh according to the Greek text).

In the Leipzig disputation of 1519, 2. Macc. 12,46 was discussed because of the Roman use of it in support of purgatory (“Darumb hat er auch für diese Todten gebeten das ihnen die Sünde vergeben würde.” / “He prayed for these dead people that their sins should be forgiven.”). Luther stressed that this book was not included in the canon, and, consequently, nothing was found in the Bible on purgatory. As Lohse says, this is the first time that Luther makes a clear difference between the books of the Hebrew canon and the other scriptures handed down only in the Greek Septuagint.² This occasion was mirrored in Sweden in Olaus Petri’s disputation with Peder Galle in 1527. Peder Galle had presented the same verse, while Olaus Petri answered that the Book of the Maccabees was not regarded as Holy Scripture in such a way that one

² Lohse, “Die Entscheidung”, p. 178f. (“Damit hat Luther nun zum ersten Mal, was die kanonische Geltung betrifft, einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen den Büchern des hebräischen Kanons und den anderen, nur in der Septuaginta überlieferten Schriften gemacht.”).

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could totally or largely rely on it. Olaus Petri meant that Judas Maccabeus could not in practice have handled in the way it was described in this book.\(^3\)

It is not until the complete Luther Bible of 1534 that we encounter the famous heading “Apocrypha, books which are not considered equal to the Holy Scriptures, but are useful and good to read”.\(^4\) However, Lohse concludes that, for Luther, the limits of the canon had still not been defined in a definite way and could not be defined.\(^5\)

To a Lutheran Orthodox author such as Leonhard Hutter (1563–1616), the Apocrypha were seen as a tool to serve the edification of the congregation, but not as a foundation of articles of doctrine. This opinion was frequently repeated in the dogmatic works of Lutheran Orthodoxy.\(^6\)

In Sweden, the differences between different apocryphal books had already been emphasized by Olaus Petri (1493–1552). In his afterword to the Swedish Mass, 1537, he wrote that Ecclesiasticus (i.e. Sirach) and Wisdom could be used as Epistle readings, as they had been used in the Latin Mass. Olaus Petri also wrote the *Tobie Comedia* (1550) on the book of Tobit, for school use. It was printed in at least four editions until 1650, and is regarded as the oldest and best school drama, and even as the very first Swedish theatre play.\(^7\)

This differentiated attitude towards the Apocrypha still appeared in the Dogmatics of Carl Olof Björling in 1866, referring to Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), noting that the Lutheran Church maintained a difference between the edifying Apocrypha, which could be publicly read, and those not suitable for that purpose, since they contained false teaching.\(^8\) But in Sweden, this differentiation had already been made by Olaus Petri in the 1520s and 1530s, i.e. before Chemnitz.

In the Swedish Lutheran dioceses, the edifying Apocrypha were commended for reading by the clergy in their private devotion, alternating with the canonical books. For example, at the diocesan synod in Växjö, 1729, it was ordained that the reading of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus should now be continued alongside Genesis.\(^9\)

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\(^5\) Ibid., p. 191.

\(^6\) Ibid., p. 193f.


Apocrypha and Swedish Church Ordinances

In the church ordinance of 1571, Archbishop Laurentius Petri, the brother of Olaus Petri, referred to Baruch Ch. 6,[4-6] in his argument against the Roman Catholic custom of decorating images with gold, silver, clothes, etc.

In the proposals for church ordinances during the seventeenth century the Apocrypha were often quoted. In the proposal from the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, Ecclesiasticus especially was used, together with the Proverbs and the Psalms. The aforementioned quotation from Baruch was again used against Catholics, and Tobias and Sarah were interpreted as role models for spouses.10

In the later proposals of Bishops Olof Laurelius, 1650, and Eric Emporagrius, 1652, Ecclesiasticus was especially quoted, but also Wisdom, and even the examples of Mattathias and Jonathan (Ionathas) from the First Book of the Maccabees. Also, church Fathers such as Augustine, Eusebius and Jerome appeared.11 However, the new Ecclesiastical law of 1686 did not use any Bible quotations at all.

Until 1734, Matthias Hafenreffer’s *Compendium doctrinae coelestis* was the predominant theological reader in higher schools in Sweden. Hafenreffer explained that some books are called canonical, and others apocryphal. Even some New Testament books, such as letters 2. Peter, 2. and 3. John, Hebrews, James and Jude, as well as the Apocalypse, were labelled “Apocrypha of the New Testament.”12

The Use of Apocrypha in Sermons, Manuals, and Hymn Books

Different verses from Ecclesiasticus were often quoted in Lutheran sermons, alternating with verses from the canonical wisdom literature. Before the nineteenth century, canonical and apocryphal wisdom quotations were mixed indiscriminately. The Apocrypha were especially frequent in special sermons such as coronation sermons, judicial court sermons, funeral sermons, etc. In a printed magistrate’s sermon from 1747 the preacher says after reading Ecclesiasticus 7,6: “Holy Father, sanctify us in thy truth, thy word is truth!”, which

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implies that preachers at that time still did not make any difference between the canonical and apocryphal poetic books.13

The Apocrypha were often used in so-called manuals, together with hymnals or prayer books. The use of the apocryphal Wisdom literature along with the canonical is especially significant to the Swedish ecclesiastical context, where it was never questioned or especially explained because of the absence of both Roman Catholic and Reformed churches. However, its use seems to have been significant to Lutheran musical culture in general as well.

The church hymnal of 1695 contained hymns that were inspired by Ecclesiasticus, especially the Swedish translation of Martin Rinckart’s “Nun danket alle Gott”, built on Ecclesiasticus chapter 50. Bishop Jesper Svedberg strongly recommended Ecclesiasticus because of its admonitions to trust and fear in God, to humility and compassion.14

The books of wisdom were frequently explained and quoted in the widely-read devotional books by Johann Arndt (1555–1621) and Magnus Friedrich Roos (1727–1803). In Arndt’s Wahres Christentum (“True Christianity”) Tobit is quoted once, Judith twice, and the Prayer of Manasseh three times, but Wisdom 23 times, and Ecclesiasticus 22 times. And in Heinrich Müller’s Himmlischer Liebeskuss (“Heavenly Kiss of Love”), four percent of the bible references are taken from the Apocrypha.15 Thus, the Apocrypha kept their place in old devotional readings, even during the nineteenth century when they were omitted from most of the Protestant Bible editions. They were also recommended for homiletical use. In the German Casualtext-Lexikon of K.G. Haupt, 1836, 19 texts from Ecclesiasticus were recommended for weddings, and 39 for confirmations – the same number as from the Psalms. For funerals, about 50 texts from Ecclesiasticus were recommended, compared to only 13 from the New Testament, and 6 from the Psalms.16

As Johan Herbertsson has emphasized, both neology and pietism wanted to go directly to the biblical texts, whereas Lutheran Orthodoxy had treated dogmatics according to the Loci method, starting in doctrine and thereafter supporting their teaching with bible quotations. This method could combine the teaching of verbal inspiration with wide use of the Apocrypha, since its bible use was dogmatic, and not biblicist, while later biblicism marginalized the Apocrypha.17

The Swedish Bible edition of 1703 was only a light revision of the Gustav Vasa Bible of 1541. The Bible societies of the early nineteenth century did not

14 Johannes Lindblom, Studier till en ny provöversättning av Syraks bok, (Stockholm, 1915), p. 20 f.
16 Lindblom, Studier, p. 22.
17 Johan Herbertsson, 1689 års katekes av Olaus Swebilius, (Lund, 2017), p. 31.
produce any bible translations of their own, but the history of Swedish revivalism is to a great extent the history of popular biblical argument. The wide spread of the 1703 edition in the nineteenth century strengthened popular resistance against a forthcoming new, official translation. On an individual level, bible reading increased immensely, due to the dissemination of Bibles. When the British and Foreign Bible Society decided against the printing of the Apocrypha in 1825, because of their Reformed tradition, the Apocrypha were also omitted in their Swedish editions. From 1826, 3 million Swedish Bibles, financed from England, were printed without the Apocrypha. The use of the Apocrypha in public and private devotional life subsequently decreased during the nineteenth century, exacerbated by the criticisms of revivalists such as Anders Elfving and Peter Fjellstedt. The Apocrypha were likewise criticised in several other countries. The texts were translated as a supplement to the 1917 edition in 1921, but their parallel references in the Bible remained.

In earlier times, the Apocrypha were never formally prescribed texts for sermons, but since 2003, five apocryphal texts are again being used in the main services of the Church of Sweden, although there has been some discussion as to whether the words “Thus saith the word of the Lord” should be spoken after their reading.

Apocrypha in Johann Sebastian Bach’s Works and Others
The most outstanding quotation from the Apocrypha in evangelical musical heritage, and especially in Johann Sebastian Bach, is from “Nun danket alle Gott, der große Dinge tut an allen Enden, der uns von Mutterleib an lebendig erhält und tut uns alles Gute”, (“Now therefore bless ye the God of all, which only doeth wondrous things everywhere, which exalteth our days from the womb, and dealeth with us according to his mercy.”), which was transformed into the chorale “Nun danket alle Gott Mit Herzen Mund und Händen, Der große Dinge tut An uns und allen Enden”. In Bach’s works we find it as a chorale in BWV 79, Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild, for Reformation day. It appears also in Telemann’s Harvest Cantata (TVVV 1:1166).

Before Bach, Ecclesiasticus was used, for example, by Heinrich Schütz for his Symphoniae sacrae II, “Die so ihr den Herren fürchtet” (SWV 364), where five subsequent verses (2,7–11) are set to music.

In Bach we also find the cantata Schauet doch (BWV 46), starting in Lamentations 1,12. In the recitative for tenor immediately after the opening chorus, it says:

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Laß ganze Bäche Tränen laufen,
Weil dich betroffen hat
Ein unersetzlicher Verlust
Der allerhöchsten Huld,
So du entbehren mußt.

[Let whole streams run tears,
Because you have been affected
An irreplaceable loss
The highest kindness,
So you have to do without.]

Michael Marissen traces this back to Ecclesiasticus 3,21: “Der HERR ist der Allerhöchste, und thut doch große Dinge durch die Demütigen.” (“For the power of the Lord is great, and he is honoured of the lowly.”).

The same theme from Ecclesiasticus that often appears in the funeral sermons of Lutheran orthodoxy is approached in Bach’s cantata Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit (BWV 106), i.e. the Actus tragicus. The choir sings: “Es ist der alte Bund: Mensch, du mußt sterben!” with a responding Soprano arioso “Ja, komm, Herr Jesu!”. This chorus is founded on Ecclesiasticus 14,17–19. Another frequently used funeral text is Ecclesiasticus 10,12: “So gehets doch entlich also Heute König morgen Tod.” (“He that is to day a king, to morrow shall die.”).

Bach’s cantata 179, with its criticisms of Phariseeism among Christians, begins with Ecclesiasticus 1,34: “Siehe zu das deine Gottes Furcht nicht Heuchele sey / und diene ihm nicht mit falschem Hertzen.” (“Distrust not the fear of the Lord when thou art poor: and come not unto him with a double heart.”).

The Orthodox preacher and hymn writer Valerius Herberger (1562–1627) even wrote a postil on Ecclesiasticus in 97 sermons, the Erklärung des Haus- und Tucht-Buchs Jesus Sirach (1739).

Still more interesting is that “The Destruction of Jerusalem, as it is described by Josephus, Hegesippus and others”, was read as the epistle in Vespers on the Tenth Sunday after Trinity in the Leipzig liturgy of Bach’s time. This indicates that even post-biblical texts could be read in divine service, and that the Epistle reading was not limited either to the canonical nor to the apocryphal texts of the Bible.

In the English tradition, the Lutheran division between the edifying Apocrypha and the others was not made in such a distinct way. Handel of course used texts from Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom alternatingly with the Psalms, for example, in “This is the day which the Lord has made” (HWV 262), but his most central use of the Apocrypha is a whole oratorio, the so-called Victory oratorio Judas Maccabaeus (1747), which includes the hymn “See, the conquering Hero comes”, celebrating the victory over the Scots at the battle at

20 Marissen, Bach & God, p. 76, from Charles Sanford Terry.
Culloden, frequently sung in its transformed version as the popular Advent
hymn “Daughter of Zion”.\textsuperscript{21} However, dramatic and political considerations,
and not liturgical ones were predominant in the composition of this work.

In the nineteenth century, the Apocrypha were no longer popular in new
liturgical music, but continued to make an impression in the concert hall.
Johannes Brahms’ \textit{Ein deutsches Requiem} has one text from Ecclesiasticus
(51,27), and one from Wisdom (3,1). In Brahms’ \textit{Vier ernste Gesänge} (1896),
the third song, “O Tod, wie bitter bist du” is taken from Ecclesiasticus 41,1–2.
The very same text was also set for choir by Max Reger in his \textit{Geistliche
Gesänge}, 1912.

Conclusion

Concluding, I would state: 1) that in Early Modern Lutheran liturgical, mu-
sical, and homiletical culture no clear line was drawn between the canonical
and the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, 2) the so-called edifying
Apocrypha, i.e., Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, were used indiscriminately with
the canonical wisdom literature, although not alone, as support for doctrinal
teaching, while 3) the Books of the Maccabees were especially questioned or
often left unused.

It could be expected that so ambitious a king as Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) would consider expanding Swedish trade and influence in the Western hemisphere. By 1632 a company had been charted that would be called the *New South Company* and would trade from Europe to Africa and to the West Indies. But the king’s death on the battlefield that same year delayed the start of the plan and it was not until Peter Minuit was involved that plans crystallized around a project that focused on the Delaware Valley.

Leaving Gothenburg in November 1637, two vessels, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip*, made their way across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and arrived in the Delaware Bay on what the Dutch called the South River in March of 1638. On a shelf of rocks that extended into the Minquas Kill, now the Christina River in Wilmington, they landed and established Fort Christina, named for their new queen. This was the first permanent European settlement in the Delaware Valley.

More than 600 people on eleven different ships came to the colony between 1638 and 1655.¹ The colony became a royal venture with only Swedish investors. On the second voyage of the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640 was Torkil Reorus, who had been appointed chaplain to the detachment at Fort Christina. He was the first regularly appointed clergyman in the entire area and served until his early death in 1643.² He would have conducted regular daily prayers and high mass on Sundays according to the regulations of the Swedish Church law, although in somewhat less refined premises. He complained about the abuse he suffered from some of the Dutch whom he described as “those who confess the Calvinistic heresy”.³

² See Nils Jacobsson, *Svenska Öden vid Delaware, 1638–1831*, (Stockholm, 1938), p. 53, where he notes that according to Hjalmer Holmquist, Torkil Reorus’ name was reversed by Thomas Campanius Holm in his 1702 work, *Kort beskrifning om provincien Nya Swerige uti America, som nu förjden af den engelske kallas Pensylvania. Af lärde och trovärdige mäns skrifter och berättelser ihopaletad och sammanskrefwen, samt med åthskillige figurer utzirad*, (Stockholm, 1702). This reversal is common now in many American works on colonial history.
³ Ibid., p. 205
The most famous of the Swedish governors, Johan Printz (1643–1653) was in many ways the most concerned about Christianity. His father had been vicar in Bottnaryd, Sweden, in Småland, and he had considered the same profession, but because the family lacked funds, he instead entered the military. He had a new church built in 1646 at his new capital at Tinicum, further up the Delaware River in what is now Essington, Pennsylvania.

On the ship that brought Printz was the most famous of the early missionary priests of the Church of Sweden, Johan Campanius. Campanius diligently travelled along the waterways, visiting the sick, leading prayer, and catechizing the young. He learned to communicate with the indigenous people living in the vicinity of the colony and from his glebe in Upland (now Chester, Pennsylvania) he wrote out a version of Martin Luther’s Small Catechism. This is the first book that was transcribed into the Algonquin language and represents an attitude of respect towards and friendship with the Lenape that was unusual among European settlements. The early Dutch and English often had disastrous relationships with the American Indians but the Swedes and Finns along the Delaware experienced mostly peaceful and beneficial relations.

When governor Printz wrote to a government official in Sweden, Per Brahe, on 19 July 1644 he had this to say about religion in New Sweden:

[… ] the divine service with its ceremony are here held just as in old Sweden, in the good old Swedish language. Our priest is bedecked with chasuble and differs in all manners from the other sects hovering around us here. The great festivals and solemn prayer-days, Sundays and Apostle days are all celebrated entirely according to our old Swedish form, on Fridays and Wednesdays, sermons and on all other days prayers, evening and morning.4

It is understood from this description that hymns were being sung a cappella. Even the listing of “sermons” does not mean just a homily but a short service with Scripture reading, hymns, and prayers along with a sermon.

The colony limped along because of internal troubles in Europe with the Queen abdicating and a major war with Denmark. The Dutch finally made good on their threats and with overwhelming force demanded the capitulation of the colony in September 1655. The only person left to care for the spiritual needs of the colonists was Lars Carlsson Lock who had arrived in 1648. He would continue ministering to what had become two congregations, Tinicum, near the former governor’s estate, in the north and Christina (Wilmington) in the south, until his death in 1688.

Dutch rule turned out to be relatively benign. An oath of allegiance to the States General was necessary but when the Mercurius arrived from Sweden with 130 new settlers, it was felt best to allow the Swedes to be a semi-autonomous state, the “Swedish Nation”, which included all the lands lying north

of the Christina River. For the average person there was little change. Swedish was still the *lingua franca* of the Delaware Valley. It was the language of government, church, and home.

The settlers were allowed to manage their own affairs with a sheriff, a court at Upland (Chester), and a militia. And they were allowed “one minister of the Augsburg Confession” which meant that Lars Carlsson Lock was acknowledged. But it was impossible for one person to do the work that two or three had performed. Church services became less frequent.

The situation changed when a certain Anders Prytz visited the settlers and reported back on their conditions to the postmaster in Gothenburg, Sweden, Johan Thelin. Thelin wrote and asked the settlers what their situation was exactly and what it was that they needed. He promised to see that their petition reached king Charles XI.

The congregations quickly answered the inquiry, writing a letter back to Thelin and appending to it a list of all the members of the two congregations, which by now amounted to 972 members, 554 at Wicaco/Philadelphia and 418 at Crane Hook/Wilmington.\(^5\) This famous Census of 1693 is not only a genealogical treasure, but the enclosed letter indicates their loyalty to the faith of their native land:

> […] that there may be sent to us two Swedish priests that are well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and that may be able to defend them and us against all false opposers who can or may oppose any of us, and also one that may defend the true Lutheran faith which we do confess, that if tribulation should come amongst us, and we should suffer (for) our faith, that we are ready to seal it with our blood […]

> Further it is our humble desire that you would be pleased to send us three Sermon Books, 12 Bibles, 42 Hymnals, 100 of the lesser, (Small) with 200 Catechisms and 200 ABC books […] we will make honest pay for the same […]\(^6\)

The Swedes and Finns on the Delaware were now keenly aware of their minority status. In the years 1681–82 alone, some 23 ships had arrived with Quakers from England. They no longer had self-rule, experienced immigrants from other countries, most of whom had no sacramental theology, and their churches were without clergy.

King Charles XI was favourably inclined to answer the request but a number of difficulties presented themselves. Who would go? No Protestant monarch had ever sent ministers to another continent for the citizens of another

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\(^5\) Craig, *The 1693 Census*, p. 18.

\(^6\) Ibid., p. 159.
country. He appointed magister Andreas Rudman, from Gästrikland, who had already been ordained to lead the delegation but did nothing more.\(^7\)

The person with the answers to all of these questions was the dean of Uppsala Cathedral, one of the king’s court chaplains, Jesper Svedberg (1643–1735).\(^8\) He would continue to superbly superintend the Delaware mission after his consecration as Bishop of Skara (1702) until the end of his life in 1735. The second priest would be Erik Björck of Westmanland. The king added a third candidate, Jonas Aurén. The books needed had to be assembled and the Indian catechism that had been in manuscript ready for the printer when the colony was lost was sent to the printer and bound for the use of the missionaries. All of this meant that the three priests did not leave Sweden until 1696.

When they arrived in Elkton, Maryland on Midsummer Day in 1697 there was universal rejoicing. As Rudman wrote home: “They rejoiced over us as if they had received angels from heaven.” They proceeded immediately to Philadelphia to greet the Vice-Governor. Then Rudman took charge of the Wicaco blockhouse church, in what became Philadelphia, and Björck began work in Crane Hook/Wilmington. There was a lot to do. The church buildings were in ruinous condition, only one rectory existed, and many people were weak on the basics of the faith.

Erik Björck united his congregation in its determination to move across the Christina River to the area of the original cemetery at Fort Christina. A stone church was dedicated there on Holy Trinity Sunday 1699 that still stands as the oldest Christian church in the Delaware Valley.\(^9\) The same contractors then set to work after some initial problems deciding where to locate the building for the northern parish. Tincum was deserted, a glebe affirmed in Passyunk for the northern parish, and the new brick building, of the exact dimensions as that in Wilmington, was dedicated on 2 June 1700 in Wicaco, today’s Queen’s Village in South Philadelphia. Andreas Rudman gave it the unique name, Gloria Dei, the House of God’s Glory. Now the building was almost complete, but Rudman had discovered how very few hymns the congregation had memorized. As he later wrote back to postmaster Johan Thelin:


\(^9\) On the records for this church, see Horace Burr, *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware from 1697 to 1773*, (Wilmington, DE, 1890).
The reason I so urgently want hymnals is this. In the early days our people could sing well but in the time of Magister Fabritius, who was a German and preached in Dutch, there was little or no singing. The English sing but little, the Quakers not at all, deeming it to be a vanity, even a sin. Among such have our people lived. At our coming [in 1697], when we would begin a hymn, an old person here and there would join in, but the young people could not. They heard the glory, they saw the devotion, they tasted the sweetness, they found a longing to learn. But what misery! They had no hymnals. We brought a large number with us from Sweden, given by the late King, [Carl XI] but they went only a little way, supplying hymnals to less than half the households […] Nor will they carry their hymnals to church with them, for fear of injuring them on the way, so that although they, and I, want to use the books, they are unwilling to bring them […] The present King, Carl XII…with similar royal grace, sent books over, but as yet they lie unbound, and may well remain so for another year or two. A good, pious and learned man, Johan Kelpius, has undertaken the work, but in a whole year’s time he has succeeded in binding only the Bible. When will the rest be finished? Binding here costs as much as one would pay for the book itself in Sweden […]

Printing was now much cheaper than it had been two generations ago and there was even a Dutch printer in Philadelphia who could print pamphlets to be given to the worshippers at a reasonable cost. The dedication of Gloria Dei was probably the occasion for Rudman’s publication of the first of the two hymnals in 1700. It is even possible that he took them around on his many home visits and used them with his own portable spinet. The Cash Account kept by Rudman shows that he did not pay for them until almost a year later, on the 9th Sunday after Trinity, 1701 and that the cost was £ 1, 10 shillings.11 No payment is listed for the second hymnal since, as Rudman states on the title page, it was a gift to the congregation for New Year 1701.

With these two collections, the Swedish musical traditions were reinvigorated and the people did learn to sing. Rudman’s pastoral concern and poetic spirituality strengthened the congregation to worship for another two generations. Several future generous deliveries of books and hymnals meant that Rudman’s small publications were soon eclipsed by bound hymnals that were available to almost everyone. But Rudman’s publications had played a vital part in reviving the congregation.

We know that the years that Rudman spent at Uppsala University were a time of tremendous poetic creativity. Jacob Arrhenius (1642–1725), a history


professor with whom Rudman corresponded from America, had written several collections of hymns (1689, 1691) and had proposed a new national hymnbook. Now there was a need to tie together the newly conquered Danish provinces in the Southern part of the peninsula with the Baltic possessions. Professor Jesper Svedberg, later bishop of Skara and responsible for the congregations on the Delaware, was asked by the king to produce the first national hymnal. He completed his work in 1691 and the National Bible Committee and the Clergy Estate of the Parliament then approved it.

The controversy that erupted after the hymnal was published was related to the perennial struggle within Lutheranism between doctrinal Orthodoxy and personal renewal of faith. Svedberg described his opponents as “Orthodoxissmi”, the most orthodox. The new emphasis on personal and emotional themes was thought to be self-centred and anti-corporate by the older orthodox Lutheran priests. The ensuing political debate on ecclesiastical policy resulted in the hymnal being confiscated and stored in the Stockholm naval base at Skeppsholmen.

When Rudman, Björck, and Aurén left Stockholm to renew the work of the Delaware Mission of the Church of Sweden they took along 50 copies of the Uppsala Hymnal, and 50 copies of Soul Treasures (a combination of hymns and devotions). Svedberg also saw to it that a “private person” allowed them to take along 600 copies of the confiscated hymnal. Thus, the Swedes in America had the new book with its fascinating folk melodies before it was authorized in the homeland. Well into the nineteenth century, later Swedish immigrants to America brought along their tattered copies of the beloved “old” hymnal.

The need for hymnals in New Sweden was immense. Those that were brought over were quickly put to use both for family use and public worship. Countless shipments were made over the course of Sweden’s concern for its North American offspring. The fact that hymns were widely used testifies to the widespread literacy in Swedish that persisted among the settlers and the devotional strength of the Swedish family units. Although not everyone could afford hymnals, they had memorized hymn verses during daily home devotions and as a part of the required curriculum in school.

In fact, the use of hymns and music in worship set the Swedes apart from the surrounding Anglo culture. The Quakers prohibited all music and the Reformed/Puritans would allow only Old Testament Psalms in versified forms. It was thought profane to sing anything that was not found in the Scriptures.

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12 Bengt Wahlström, Studier over Tillkomsten av 1695 Års Psalmbok, (Uppsala, 1951), p. 53.
15 See Daniel Lindmark, Ecclesia Plantanda, Swedishness in Colonial America, (Umeå, 2005).
Anglicans were deeply suspicious of hymns even as late as the time of Bishop William White at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thus, the first American Book of Common Prayer of the newly constituted Episcopal Church in 1789 provided only 27 hymns but all 150 psalms.\(^{16}\)

The importance of national culture on the sixteenth-century Reformation cannot be underestimated. Sweden has a long musical culture and music and been a part of the life of the people at festivals, parties, and gatherings of all sorts. Hymns were not only sung in church but in home devotions. A non-musical church service would have seemed unnatural. The Swedish musicologist Harald Göransson asserts that the Swedish language itself has a natural musicality that is “[…] next to Italian the most vowel-rich and sonorous of all the languages in Europe”.\(^{17}\) Certainly, the legal provision of music schools in every Swedish community witnesses to the fact that in Sweden music-making is considered a right of citizenship and not a reward for the affluent. No Swedish liturgy since the seventeenth century has been complete without the singing of at least six congregational hymns. This tradition was shared with the German Lutherans, the German Reformed, Moravians and German Anabaptists, none of whom arrived in large numbers to Pennsylvania until later in the eighteenth century. Thus, the musical praxis at Gloria Dei in 1700 was unique in Philadelphia.

In this same year, 1700, a hymnal was published in Stockholm by Carl Gustaf Österling, and was composed of twenty-six hymns translated from German.\(^{18}\) In fact, German works translated into Swedish made up by far the largest percentage of books published in Sweden at the time, some two-thirds, and Swedes generally only edited even those by Swedish authors. Even French and English works usually came to Sweden by way of Germany.\(^{19}\) At just about two million inhabitants spread out over a huge kingdom in northern Europe, Sweden had a very small intellectual elite, that had been connected to the Hanseatic cities since the early Middle Ages. Even the famous Swedish hymn writer, bishop and later archbishop, Haquin Spiegel, mostly translated or edited German hymns.\(^{20}\)

It comes as no surprise then that Andreas Rudman would have written hymns for the use of his congregation, especially in light of the anticipated completion of the new building for Gloria Dei on 2 June 1700, for which a theosophical brotherhood called the Wissahickon hermits are assumed to have provided the musical accompaniment. The two hymnals that Pehr [Pe-

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Kalm identified as being written by Rudman deserve a special place in American history. They are not only the first Swedish imprints in the Western hemisphere but the first personally authored hymnals in any language published in the colonies. Both the collection of six hymns and the collection of two hymns should be dated to 1700. The *Bay Psalm Book* is often seen as the first book in the USA but it was a reprint of an English publication and did not have any hymns – only psalms that had been made to fit Calvinistic Psalm tones. Other hymnals used in America were printed in Europe and shipped over to American churches. Thus, the first German Lutheran hymnal had to wait until 1786 for publication in America. These hymnals kept the congregation singing until more hymnals arrived from Sweden. They are a protest against the strict Biblicism/Calvinism of the surrounding culture.

The fact that Rudman titles both collections songs ("visor"), and not hymns ("psalmer"), shows his inclination to Pietism and perhaps a sense of humility as well, a sense of not being in the same league as the classic chorales of Luther and Olaus Petri. The first pietist hymnbook published in Sweden in 1717 used the same designation, *Mose och Lambsens Wisor* ("Songs of Moses and the Lamb").

The longer hymnal, *Naogra andeliga wisor* ("Some Spiritual Songs"), lacks a title page. Arthur Renstrom theorizes that it perhaps "was a first attempt and that *Twenne andelige wisor* with a title page, was improved on and printed subsequent to it". None of the original manuscripts are preserved in the United States. Copies of both are in the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm and the best surviving copy of the longer hymnal is in Uppsala University Library. Helsinki University Library does not now have either Rudman hymnal in its collections. Neither hymnal had a hard binding but were simply stitched together. This was not unusual in Sweden where hymns were sometimes printed on small flyers for the sake of the poor, or to introduce a new hymn. In fact, such "special prints" of hymns amounted to some 550 of the 2,000 songs published before 1800.

Renstrom’s theory of composition also makes sense judging from the contents. The second collection, *Twenne andelige wisor* ("Two Spiritual Songs"), is obviously for personal reflection and devotion. On the title page, Rudman states that it is a New Year’s gift to the congregation for the year 1701, thus it would have been published around Christmas 1700. Despite British reluctance to adopt the Gregorian calendar, the Swedish priests thought of 1 January as New Year’s Day and kept their accounts in this fashion. We might call this the *New Year’s Hymnal*. The first and longer collection of six hymns seems de-

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22 Olsson, "1695 års psalmbok", p. 300.
signed for congregational worship, especially since it includes as its last entry the Gloria in excelsis versification that was sung at every Swedish High Mass, “Allenaste Gud i himmelrik” (“To God Alone on Heaven’s Throne”). It is no accident that this appears on the back page of the hymnal. Since there was no cover, this placement was easy to locate for weekly use. An alternate title for this collection might be the Gloria Dei Hymnal.

The printer identified on the title page of the smaller hymnal is Reinier [Reynier] Jansen. It is obvious that the same printer published both books since there are no Swedish or German vowels in either publication. Thus, the å is printed as “ao” or “aa”, the ö as “oe”, and the ä as “ae”. This gives the text a very peculiar look, as if the person setting the type did not understand the words, which was undoubtedly the case. Jansen was a Dutch lace-maker who arrived in Philadelphia in 1698 and settled in Germantown in 1699. He seems to have taken over the Quaker printing business of William Bradford when Bradford moved to New York. He was kept busy publishing for the Society of Friends, providing legal forms, deeds, bonds and almanacs until his death in 1706.

The fact that both hymnals are printed in Latin letters rather than the usual Gothic print style/Fraktur, as the 1695 hymnal, shows that the printer was mainly involved with English business.

Considering the major influence of German culture in Sweden, we are not surprised that only three of the eight hymns seem to be original works by Rudman. The others are translations from German originals, although Rudman often wryly notes not that they are “translated” but that they have been “improved”. The music that is suggested here, since no tunes are named, is that which was traditionally used for them or would have been available in the German hymnals of the time and in the 1691/1695 Swedish hymnal. The first hymns in each collection seem to be original works by Rudman.

Rudman’s creativity is seen in the unusual meters that are chosen. Only the second and the third hymn from the Gloria Dei Hymnal use the same tune and meter. And here he seems to want to use a familiar tune to carry the dialogue between Jesus and the believer, the Soul. Rudman could have used the easier common meters with eight syllables that are the hallmark of Swedish hymnody. He deliberately chose unusual meters.

The images are typical of German pietism with its personal intimacy. Rudman was not an excellent poet but a pious and very personable priest with a love for music. He uses all of the usual pietistic themes: a personal relationship with Jesus, a longing for heaven, a sympathy for hardship, individualism, mission, sin, prayer, and a godly life. Artistically, pietistic themes are seen in much art of the Baroque epoch. In Flanders the premier example is Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and in Sweden, court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1629–1698). The colossal paintings by Ehrenstrahl, The Crucifixition

25 Renstrom, “The Earliest Swedish Imprints in the United States”.
and *The Last Judgment*, originally in the royal palace chapel in Stockholm, and now in Stockholm main church (*Storkyrkan*), give a good idea of the sort of emotional intensity that was characteristic of the period. Rudman would have seen these paintings before he left Stockholm since they were completed in 1695 and 1696.

**Gloria Dei Hymnal**

There are six hymns in this collection. The first hymn, “Allt vad som i denne världen må vara” has the unusual meter of 11.10.11.10.8.10. Richard Hulan translated the first four and last two stanzas into English in an Elizabethan style published in 1987. The melody suggested here from the 1691/1695 hymnal is a haunting Swedish folksong that mirrors the longing of the text, especially in the ninth stanza. In the 1986 hymnal of the Church of Sweden, *Den svenska psalmboken*, the melody is number 269 set to the words, “Sorgen och glädjen”. These words have been known in Sweden since 1681.

The second hymn, “När vill du Jesu min enda vän jag besluta”, and the third, “Har du O Jesu då alldels ditt ansikte blida”, both have the exotic meter, 14.14.4.7.8. The best-known chorale tune for this comes from the *Stralsund Gesangbuch* of 1665 by the reformed composer, Joachim Neander (1650–80). Since Sweden had conquered Pomerania in the Thirty Years War there had been constant trade and interchange between this area and Sweden. In the Church of Sweden hymnal, it is number 2. The second hymn seems to be an original by Rudman, but he tells us that the third one is a translation, apparently from a German original. This eleven-stanza hymn is a highly imaginative dialogue between Jesus and the believer (the Soul). It naturally lends itself to some sort of alternation performance.

The fourth hymn, “O Jesu Christ, min Frälsar visst”, is again set to an unusual meter of 8.7.4.4.4.7. Rudman says that it is “improved”, meaning that it is also a translation of a German original. The melody suggested here is a 1589 melody by Johannes Rhau, a German pastor in Wetter. In the Church of Sweden hymnal it appears as “En blomma ut i öknen stod” and is number 347. It was also included in the 1691/1695 hymnal. The bridegroom mysticism reflected here comes originally from a christologically interpreted Song of Songs and was favoured in the Middle Ages by Bernard of Clairveaux.

One of the most famous of all the Lutheran hymns of the seventeenth century, “How brightly beams the Morning Star” (in German, “Wie schön leuchtet”, in Svedberg, “Så sköön lyser then Morgenstern”, or “Du morgon-stjärna mild och ren”, in modern Swedish) was composed by Philipp Nicolai in 1599 with such bridegroom mysticism in mind. This has been largely excised in its many English translations. It should be recalled that neither Scandinavia

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28 See Olsson, “1695 års psalmbok”.

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nor Germany had the experience of English Puritanism and were not as averse to bodily images as their compatriots were across the channel. Svedberg could even include a Latin line describing the church as the Bride of Christ as, *Gloriosa Coeli rosa*, Most Glorious Heavenly Rose.\(^{29}\)

Such allegorical visions were popular among pietist authors. Only the Soul and Jesus seem to matter. In the Swedish original, this is more apparent than in the English translation. In the third verse, the Swedish original reads that the Soul yearns so much for her Lord that it amounts to desiring physical union (“med dig para”). A hymn with similar bridegroom mysticism was included in the Svedberg Hymnal as number 411, “Eija! Mitt hierta”, and is attributed to a Danish woman, Elle Andersdatter.\(^{30}\)

Perhaps the most famous example of such an alternation between the Soul and Jesus is found in the Advent cantata of Johann Sebastian Bach, BVW 140, *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*. There the soprano and bass aria circle each other in a duet, while the Soul (soprano) yearns for her *Teil* (portion) and Jesus (bass) responds as her *Heil* (Savior). Interestingly enough, a hymn attributed to Johannes Kelpius and, according to Julius Friedrich Sachse, published by Reynier Jansen in a now lost edition in his 1700 *A Method of Prayer*, is also a dialogue between the Soul and Jesus.\(^{31}\) It is titled: “O Jesus teach me how to find you”, and seems to not be related to Rudman’s text.\(^{32}\)

The fifth hymn, “Jesu du min gamman”, is a fresh translation of the beloved “Jesu Meine Freude”. In its original form, it was a love song, *Flora, meine Freude*, written in 1641 by Christoph Caldenbach.\(^{33}\) The music was originally composed in 1653 by Johann Crüger, a Berlin church musician, to new words by Johann Franck, (1618–77) lawyer and mayor of Guben. It appeared in the famed hymn collection *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1661).\(^{34}\) The state secretary in Stockholm Johan Schmedeman had translated it into Swedish by 1694. It does not seem that Rudman had access to this alternate translation, or he may not have approved of it. Johann Sebastian Bach was likewise entranced by the strong melody and the odd meter, 6.6.5.6.6.5.7.8.6, writing a motet (BMV 227) on this same hymn tune. In the 1986 Church of Sweden hymnal it is number 354.

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\(^{29}\) Olsson, “1695 års psalmbok”, p. 294.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., p. 300.


\(^{34}\) See Olsson, “1695 års psalmbok.”
The last hymn, “Allenste Gud i himmelrik”, was probably the most frequently used. Since there was no cover on either of the small booklets, this hymn was placed on the last page to facilitate easy use. It was composed, perhaps as early as 1522, by Nicolaus Decius (1485–1546), a German monk who became a Lutheran pastor in Stettin and Königsberg. Based on a tenth-century Gregorian melody, it is a versification of the Gloria in Excelsis, the second part of the ordinary of the mass. It was often used with Martin Luther’s suggested reforms of the mass, and was widely adopted by Reformation churches so that the congregation could sing rather than listen to a choir. It was in Swedish as early as 1567 and was a normal part of the Swedish high mass until 1985. It is number 18 in the 1986 Church of Sweden hymnal. The German original reads “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr”.

At the same time, Decius also wrote a hymn version of the Agnus Dei, the fourth part of the ordinary of the mass, “Ö Lamm Gottes, unschuldig”. The hymn is “Guds rena Lamm oskyldig” in its Swedish version, according to 1986 Church of Sweden hymnal (number 143). It was a suggested alternative at every Eucharist from 1531 until the twentieth century in a version by Olaus Petri. Since everyone had no doubt memorized its hauntingly beautiful and simple words and tune, Rudman did not need to include it.

New Year’s Hymnal

Rudman tells us that both of these hymns are for private devotion. The first seems to be written by Rudman and uses the popular pietist image of Jesus the Good Shepherd searching for the lost sheep (John 10:11ff). Extensive reference is also made to the Old Testament’s 23rd Psalm. Its eleven stanzas fit well with a well-known Swedish chorale from the 1691/1695 hymnal. This chorale is found in three different places in the Church of Sweden hymnal of 1986 (numbers 34, 348, and 378). It is perhaps best known with archbishop Johan Olof Wallin’s words, “Vänligt över jorden glänser” from 1819 hymnal (number 34). It could less appropriately be sung to the more robust German tune by Samuel Rodigast, “Was Gott tut ist wohltut” from 1675. Its meter is 8.7.8.7.4.4.7.7.

The second, shorter hymn is a translation of Christian Keimann’s (1607–1662) “Meinem Jesum lass ich nicht”. Keimann was born in Bohemia and was a school principal in Zittau, Saxony. This hymn was written in honour of the Elector Johann Georg of Saxony who had died in 1656. It was written in 1658 and in the original has an acrostic in the first letters of every line in the final verse. This was a refined but not unusual way to honour a person. The German words at the beginning of each line are: Jesus, Geh, Christus, Zu, Selig, which have the same initial letters as the words Johann, Georg, Churfürst, zu, Sachsen (Johan Georg, prince-elector of Saxony).35

It is an appropriate choice for the last hymn with its sense of not abandoning or being abandoned by God. It is not by chance that the first Swedish word is *JESUS*, capitalized to make sure that we know it is an intimate hymn to God’s Son. Jacob Arrhenius had written a good many hymns stressing a personal relationship with Jesus and they almost all began with Jesus’ name.\(^{36}\)

The original melody was written by Johann Ulrich (1630–1700), a German church musician in Torgau and Wittenberg, in 1674. In the 1986 hymnal of the Church of Sweden, the music is used for number 472. The melody and text are well suited to each other, however an alternate melody from 1691 could be one of Arrhenius’ Jesus hymns, “Jesus all mitt goda är”, which was found in the 1937 hymnal of the Church of Sweden as number 122.

Unlike the longer hymnal, this one has a title page that gives its date and the reason for its printing, along with the printer, but humbly does not identify the author. Of course, we know that Gloria Dei Church was the only Swedish congregation in Philadelphia and had only one pastor in 1700, Andreas Rudman.

The Cathedral Chapter of Uppsala, which took over the administration of the Mission after the death of Bishop Svedberg, was perplexed about the increasing use of English. There seemed to be little reason to send Swedish pastors who did not know the English language if the congregations were unable to function in Swedish. They agreed to permit English when Swedish was not understood but wanted to keep Swedish as much as possible. They suggested that Carl Magnus Wrangel, dean of the mission, have translated those portions of the missal (“Handbok”) that were necessary for worship and that others translate some of “our beautiful hymns to prevent syncretism with the English Church”.\(^{37}\)

They were correct in understanding that the hymns would be the bearer of Swedish Lutheranism. Of course, it was too late. The congregations were already used to the Book of Common Prayer liturgy and no one came forward as a translator. The German Lutherans had no English services. It had been Bishop Svedberg’s intention that the congregations should work in close harmony with the English Church. They already had a history of three generations of “syncretism” and seemed to find it helpful. After the Revolution, only the rural congregation in Swedesboro had members who could still understand Swedish.

When the last pastor of the Church of Sweden, Nils Collin of Gloria Dei, died in 1831, all of the eight Old Swedish churches had become functioning members, if not official members, of their nearest diocese of the Episcopal church. They had made the cultural transition from Swedish mission to American church.

\(^{36}\) Olsson, “1695 års psalmbok”, p. 297.

Eventually hymn singing returned as the nineteenth century rolled on with the Oxford Movement and its series of revivals. Jenny Lind came to sing at Gloria Dei in mid-century and by 1905 a large Hook & Hastings Pipe Organ was installed, that in its currently restored condition is one of the treasurers of American organ building. In the twenty-first century there is now as much singing at Gloria Dei as there ever was in the eighteenth.

Andreas Rudman’s short life renewed the life of Gloria Dei Church with a new building and a renewed musical piety. When German immigrants came in the mid-eighteenth century there was a tremendous increase in singing. Lutheran Germans, Reformed Anabaptists, Moravians and the Ephrata Brethren all gave evidence of the importance of music in a hostile Anglo-environment. The Methodists and the revivalists used music extensively and eventually all Protestants began to sing hymns. In 1700 the only place in America where one could sing hymns that were not rephrased Scripture was at Gloria Dei.
13. Johan Helmich Roman’s Te Deum and Jubilate, and a Lutheran Feast

Eva Helenius

Johan Helmich Roman’s Te Deum and Jubilate

Among the vocal music by Swedish royal Kapellmeister Johan Helmich Roman (1694–1758) there are two compositions for soloists, choir and orchestra – Te Deum (HRV 405, S-Skma Ro 65b) and Jubilate (HRV 401, S-Skma Ro 63a) – of which nothing is known about their origin, when or why they were composed and copied.¹ The Te Deum belongs to a group of liturgical songs that in Swedish services, and was called “our usual song of praise” (“O Gudh wij lofwe tigh / O HErre wij tacke tig”), number 6 in the 1695 hymn book. The old and well-known Ambrosian hymn Te Deum Laudamus, Te Deum confitemur has been used and sung at important events like national feasts and coronations for centuries, and indeed became a symbol of thanksgiving services or concerts. In Sweden, the Te Deum was also associated with important church and state acts and was part of ecclesiastical feasts – for example church, bishop and organ consecrations – and at national feasts, baptisms, weddings, coronations and processional entries of the royal family.² Due to the close connection between Church and State (in which the king was superior to the archbishop), there were double reasons for praise and jubilation on these occasions.³

Works for soloists, choir and orchestra are found frequently in Roman’s musical output. They are usually designed for state and church festivals. For several of these occasions the music by Roman or compositions he adapted for them are known:

¹ “HRV” numbers refers to the list of vocal works by Roman by Anna Lena Holm and Ingmar Bengtsson in Tematisk förteckning över J.H. Romans vokalverk, (Musik i Sverige, 7), (Stockholm, 1994).
² On the use of Te Deum, see Anna Maria Forssberg, The Story of War: Church and Propaganda in France and Sweden in 1610–1710, (Lund, 2016).
³ Sven Baelter, Historiska Anmärkningar Om Kyrko=Ceemonierna, Så wäl Wid de offenteli-ga Gudstjensten, Som Andra tilfällen hos de första Christna, och i Swea Rike; I synnerhet Efte Reformationen til närwarande tid. Andra Uplagan, (Stockholm, 1783), p. 221.
• The funeral of queen Ulrika Eleonora (the younger) in 1742 (HRV 503, S-Skma Ro 73)
• The double feast divine service, celebrated on 7 October 1743, which combined the entry into Stockholm of the crown prince elect Adolph Frederick and the renewed peace after the unhappy war against Russia (1741–1742; Jubilate HRV 401, S-Skma Ro 63a)
• The joyful manifestation of the birth of the hereditary prince, the future Gustavus III in 1746 (Prints Gustafs Musique [the Music of Prince Gustaf'], HRV B 22, S-Skma Ro 64)
• The funeral music of the late king Frederick I (1751; HRV 402, S-Uu, Vok. mus. i hs 64:2)
• The coronation of king Adolph Frederick and queen Louise Ulrike in December 1751 (HRV 403, S-Skma Ro 6a)

Still, there are occasions for which Roman should have written or adapted the music but nothing seems to have been preserved, for example, the many ceremonies with which the parliamentary proceedings were opened and closed. The opposite is found in the cases of many compositions scored for one or more voices and instruments in which we have the music but do not know when and why it was composed.

When nothing is known about the immediate external circumstances of the Te Deum and Jubilate – when and why the music was written – the manuscripts themselves may help – paper, ink, watermarks and handwriting can all provide clues. According to the Roman scholar Ingmar Bengtsson, paper and handwriting indicate that the two compositions once belonged together and were copied around 1730.4

The handwriting is Roman’s, and their authenticity certified by handwriting H14 which belongs to the oldest son of the composer: “by Roman” (“af Roman”) or only the name “Roman”. Probably in 1756, Johan Helmich Roman, Jr. helped his father arrange the music library at Haraldsmåla, and the father told his son which music was written by him and sometimes for which occasions.5 The son noted “Roman” on the music manuscripts. The notations by the copyist H14 thus have the most reliable source possible, the composer himself.6

How might we continue this research in a fruitful way? Roman composed music according to the orders of his superiors, writing suitable music for the words the archbishop gave him. Around 1730 there were no obvious occasions for which the reasons for composing festal music for choir, soloists and orchestra would have been recorded. On the Jubilate autograph, Roman has

4 Author’s interview with Ingmar Bengtsson’s widow Britta Bengtsson.
5 Title pages for Golovin Music (1728), Sjukmansmusiquen ([The Sick man’s Music] 1720s), The Drottningholm Music (1744), and Coronation Music (1751).
written the year “1743” which suggests that *Jubilate* was performed at the October double feast mentioned above. If the dating of the two compositions around 1730 is correct, this music was re-used in 1743, which does not solve the origin problems. A possible method of proceeding may be an investigation of printed sources for the period around 1730, above all the Swedish State-Book (in Swedish: *Årstrycket*, nowadays *Svensk författningssamling*) containing the annual published regulations, to search for an occasion where text and music would correspond. There is a print that at first sight does not seem very sensational but yet is worth having a closer look at. Putting this print in its wider context yields highly interesting results.
Protestant Year of Jubilee 1730

In European ecclesiastical history, the year 1730 appears to be extremely important. 200 years had passed since the *Confessio Augustana* was presented. The year 1530 marked the divide when the one and only church of Rome, *unum corpus christianum*, was split up by the negotiations held at the Augsburg Parliament. The confession, *Confessio Augustana*, that bears the name of the town, written by reformer Philip Melanchthon, that summarized the evangelical church Reformation as a justification for the princes of the Habsburg empire who had already realized such a reform, was handed over to emperor Charles V on 25 June 1530.7 The vision of emperor Charles was that of one church in all the empire, thus the identification of *unum corpus christianum* with the empire. He therefore commissioned Catholic theologians to reject *Confessio Augustana* through a counter-booklet *Confutatio* (*Confutation; Vederläggandet* in Swedish). But the evangelical princes maintained their resistance. *Confessio Augustana* became a document that also united the evan-

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7 Old style-art, 14 June according to the new style-art. The purpose was to show that the church Reformation was not in opposition to the Gospel and the Church. On the contrary, it stressed solidarity with the Catholic Church as it was in the early church and pointed at the need for inner purification by freeing the church from the misuse of centuries.
gelical churches outside the Habsburg empire. The confessional unity was victorious over political borderlines.\textsuperscript{8}

The year 1530 thus saw the consolidation of Protestantism. All over the Protestant world, the year 1730 was declared a year of jubilee, as it had been in 1630 and was to be in 1830. King Frederick I proclaimed this to be a Year of Jubilee for the church of Sweden, by a “Praise and thanksgiving divine service […] to be commemorated in all congregations all over the kingdom and submitted land and gentlemen’s families”.\textsuperscript{9} This festal service of praise and thanksgiving was to be celebrated “In commemoration of the pure evangelical confession / which at the Augsburg Parliament in 1530, on 25 June, was given to emperor Charles V”. This same festal service is mentioned in the list of accomplishments that Frederick I achieved as a regent, which was read in public at his funeral in September 1751 and described by Sven Baelter in his book on Swedish church ceremonies and services through the ages.\textsuperscript{10} This year of jubilee was also brought into focus by a medal, designed by royal medallist Johann Carl Hedlingter (1691–1771).\textsuperscript{11}

Such a solemn service needed grand verbal and musical decoration. In eighteenth-century divine services, music appeared at the beginning (praeludium), before and after the sermon, during communion, and at the end (postludium).\textsuperscript{12}

In the spirit of Luther, the sermon was central and most important part of the morning service embellished by great music for soloists, choir and orchestra. There is no doubt that this is the very occasion on which Roman's Te Deum and Jubilate was performed for the first time.\textsuperscript{13} This jubilee service was de-

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\textsuperscript{8} For the impact of the Reformation on European cultural life, see Mario Biagioni, The Radical Reformation and the Making of Modern Europe: a Lasting Heritage, (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 207), (Leiden, 2017). On the use of the Gospel as a key to the Confessio Augustana, see Carl Axel Aurelius, Hjärtpunkten: evangeliets bruk som nyckel till Augsburgska bekännelsen, (Skellefteå, 2003).


\textsuperscript{12} According to the 1686 church law, music surrounded the sermon in vespers (cap. III, § VI p. 1003). The place of music in eighteenth-century services is evidenced by printed orders of service, giving the texts of the vocal music performed. National Library of Sweden, Okat. Vitt. Sv. Andl. Poesi –1771.

\textsuperscript{13} Britta Bengtsson in “Händelserna kring och första framförande av Johan Helmich Romans Te Deum”, Svensk tidsskrift för musikforskning, 80 (1998), p. 135–140 gives a valuable re-
cided upon and decreed by the king through royal letters to all the cathedral chapters, county governors, and the royal secretariat, and in leaflets sent to the universities in Uppsala and Lund, stating that orations may be held, and to the warefare office that as many gun salutations should be given in Stockholm when the *Te Deum* was sung at the royal court as was the case on the 1721 jubilee day. The place of the *Te Deum* in the service was given in the letter to the cathedral chapters and county governors: after the morning service sermon a printed booklet of praise and thanksgiving (“oration”) that had been published together with the royal decree of a year of jubilee was recited and thereafter the *Te Deum* was sung. The booklet contains many exhortations to joyful jubilation and rejoicing, which is why the *Jubilate* may have been performed in this context.

The same order – sermon – *Jubilate* – oration – *Te Deum* – seems to have been followed at the 7 October 1743 praise and thanksgiving feast, when the bishop of Visby, Georg (Jöran) Wallin (1686–1760), welcomed the new crown prince of Sweden Adolph Frederick and thereafter delivered a festal sermon on the text of the day, “Lofsiunger HERranom ty han hafwer härliga bewist sig” (“Sing unto the LORD; for he hath done excellent things”, Isaiah 12:5), after which the *Te Deum* was most probably performed. The *Te Deum* on this occasion was not by Roman but was a Swedish text adaptation of Johann Joseph Fux’ (ca. 1660–1741) *Te Deum laudamus* (K. 271, HRV B 18:4).

The date “1743” is clearly written by Roman on the *Jubilate* autograph. It may have been performed in connection to bishop Wallin’s welcome speech to the new crown prince, since the fact that Sweden then had a successor to the throne aroused general joy and jubilation all over the nation. This printed sermon by bishop Wallin also contains many invitations to rejoice, including a direct quotation of Ps. 150:3, 4, 5, “O sing unto the LORD”. Yet, the possibility that the *Jubilate* was performed at matins or vespers cannot be excluded.

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Roman and his English Musical Models

Obviously, Roman found his model for the two choir compositions in Handel’s *Utrecht Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (HWV 278 and 279) composed in 1713 to celebrate the Utrecht treaty and peace after the War of the Spanish Succession. Handel revised the *Jubilate* in 1717/18 for James Brydges, duke of Chandos. This was during the period in which Roman lived in England where, among other things, he was taught music theory and composition by Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) who was for several years in the service of the duke and responsible for music in Cannons house. Roman played the second violin in two of Handel’s opera orchestras, 1716–1717 and 1719–1721, and had opportunities to study the music kept at Cannons and other private English houses and libraries. Handel’s combination of the two liturgical texts *Te Deum* and number 100 in the Book of Psalms follows older models, but this was his first major sacred work in English. Roman’s *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* come out as his first major extant works in this genre, of course with a Swedish text.18

Roman and his Swedish Musical Resources

Of the two choir works, *Te Deum* is scored for 2 trumpets and 2 oboes, giving a brilliant sound over the violin family (violin 1 and 2, viola), four voices (canto, alto, tenor, basso) and basso continuo (organ, wind instruments), performed by 30 musicians including the singers.19 The names of the royal court musicians, the oboists of the Royal Life Guards (*Kungliga livgardet*) and the royal court trumpeters and kettle-drummers are known.20 Two female singers were permanently employed in the royal orchestra from 1727, whereas the male singers often were cantores (precentors) at Stockholm churches.21 At the
inauguration of the Drottningholm castle church almost exactly one month after the jubilee feast service, the same music was performed by – we may assume – the same musicians.

The canto part was sung by a castrato singer, Michele Albertini (called Momoletto) who, on royal order, had left Kassel for Stockholm and had quite recently arrived in Sweden. At the same occasion, the tenor part was sung by Stephan Ståhle, precentor at the main church (Storkyrkan) in Stockholm. Compared to Handel’s orchestra, this was not a large ensemble even if the royal orchestra was complemented by church musicians from Stockholm and

Figure 29. The royal orchestra at the coronation of king Frederick I, 1720. Handteckningar, Personer Fredrik I B. 1, National Library of Sweden.

\[22\text{ It has not been stated how long Momoletto was in Sweden. He followed the king’s journeys during the spring 1730, when he embellished the meals the court shared with guests from the diplomatic corps and other important people. Bengtsson, “Händelserna kring och första framförande”, p. 137.}\]

\[23\text{ Bengtsson, “Händelserna kring och första framförande”, p. 137.}\]
other Swedish towns (Västerås), good amateur musicians from among the
Stockholm civil servants and students from Uppsala University.

The musical resources Roman had at his disposal were to a large extent the
result of negotiations with the court and his own work. Shortly after his return
from London (in May 1721), Roman started re-organizing the royal orchestra
after years of war and misfortune. For Roman, returning to a small and cul-
turally poor town must have been a shaking contrast to the musically rich and
economically safe life he just left in England. He saw no future in Stockholm
and without a raise in salary he had to tender his resignation (18 December
1721). The esteem of the king and queen made him stay, convinced by the ar-
tistic possibilities of his appointment as vice conductor of the royal orchestra
(28 November 1721) and a programme for reorganizing the court music that
the king, queen and the court servants responsible agreed with. But since
still at the beginning of March 1722 no part of the agreement was fulfilled by
the court Roman once more asked for his resignation. The royal decree of 31
March 1722 may be a first answer to this request by which the salaries pay-
ing-out organization was settled, so that the musicians got their salaries, which
had failed to happen for the previous two years, “why they were in a miserable
condition” (decree of 31 March 1722). With more favourable conditions for
the life for the musicians, Roman’s second step was to permanently strengthen
the orchestra. According to an open royal decision, the conductor of the royal
court orchestra was always permitted to use the oboists of the Royal Life
Guards together with the royal court musicians when the orchestra played
at concerts or for dancing at the royal castle, including necessary rehearsals,
since “the orchestra by such a practice may obtain a deeper musical maturity’
(13 November 1722). This decision later obviously included the royal court

24 E.g. Ernst Ferdinand Pape, Västerås cathedral organist, and Tobias Westbladh, an Uppsala
University student who reinforced the royal orchestra in 1731. “I also played the bassoon at
the masque held in 1731 at the return of King Frederick from Hessen Cassel. There were 30
musicians, 15 in the round tower where I was, and 15 in the square.” [“Jag war ock med och
spelte Basson på den Masqueraden som hölts 1731 vid K. Fredriks hemkomst från Hessen
Cassel. Då war 30 Musicanter, 15 i rundelen, der jag war med, och 15 i fyrkanten.”] Letter
dated 13 April 1772 from Tobias Westbladh to A.Å:son Hülphers, Västerås City Library,
Coll. Hülphers C b 2 f. 174. For Westbladh see Gösta Hansson and Leon Herzog,
Västerås stifts herdaminne II:2, 1700-talet, (Västerås, 1990), p. 990.
25 Helenius-Öberg, Johan Helmich Roman, p. 44.
26 Ibid., p. 46f.
27 Ibid., p. 47.
28 Swedish National Archives, Royal Palace Archives, Hovexpeditionen B I:1 (drafts of letters
of attorney 1720–48, 31 March 1722 to the State Treasury and Marchal of the Realm Nico-
demus Tessin (jr). The decision about Roman’s own salary was not taken until 12 January
1723 when it was definite that he stayed in Sweden. Helenius-Öberg, Johan Helmich Roman
p. 48).
29 Swedish National Archives, Royal Palace Archives, Hovexpeditionen B I:1 (drafts of letters
trumpeters and the kettle-drummers,\textsuperscript{30} and also from 1730, musicians from Kassel where the court, including the orchestra, was being dissolved.\textsuperscript{31}

With only 12 court musicians (including himself) permanently employed, and the orchestra augmented by oboists of the Royal Life Guards, court trumpeters, unemployed musicians, church musicians and good amateurs, Roman always had to handle the ensemble with care and re-use music that had had a good reception at court. He did so with his flute sonatas (before publishing in 1727), with his wedding music (1728) and his Golovin (1728) and Drottningholm (1744) music. The rules of national feasts governed the use of the \textit{Te Deum} and \textit{Jubilate}:\textsuperscript{32}

- The Augsburg confession jubilee, 1730
- The return of king Frederick I to Sweden after his stay in his homeland of Kassel, 1731
- The entry of Adolph Frederick as the new crown prince together with the celebration of peace with Russia, 1743 (only \textit{Jubilate})
- The birth and baptism of the future king Gustavus III, 1746 (conducted by Per Brant, not Roman)
- The coronation of the new king and queen, 1751

The manuscript scores and parts can be connected with these occasions, by the handwritings.\textsuperscript{33} Roman’s autograph of the \textit{Te Deum} mirrors the state of the royal orchestra in the late 1720s in terms of both the scoring and the copyists. The manuscript of the fourth movement of the \textit{Jubilate}, \textit{Ty Herren är god} [Since the Lord is good], has the scoring presented above and may originate in the court orchestra library (S-Uu, Vok. mus. i hs 46:10), as may also the

\textsuperscript{30} At the Drottningholm castle dinner held for the parliament after finishing negotiations on 7 June 1727, king Frederick had a table in shape of a horseshoe laid with 84 dishes. At a smaller table for the members of the royal court orchestra and the oboists of the Life Guards, 7 dishes were served, and for the royal court trumpeters and kettle-drummers there were 5 dishes. Royal Palace Archives, Hovförtäringen I A:172 (1727) verification 2644.

\textsuperscript{31} For the Kassel musicians, see Britta Bengtsson, “Ferdinand Zellbells tyska hautboister”, \textit{Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning}, 82 (2000), p. 11–20, and Helenius-Öberg, “En drottningens jordafärd”.

\textsuperscript{32} In regular services, the hymn “O Gud wij loftwe sig” was prescribed as the first moment of the morning service (“Ottesången”) together with a morning hymn. 1686 Church Law Cap. II §4, Johan Schmedemann, \textit{Kongl. Stadgar, förordningar, bref och resolut-ioner, ifrån år 1528. in til 1701 angående justitiae och executions-åhrender, med een fôrteckning på stadgarne främst, och ett fulkommenlig orda-register efterst wid wercket öfwer thes: innehåld; uppå hans kongl. May:tz allernåigste befalning och privilegier, til het almänne hästas tienst, och hwars och ens särskilte nytt, sålunda med flikt sam-lade, och genom trycket i dagzliuset befordrade, (Justitiæförordningar 1528–1701) Del 1. Åhr 1706, (Stockholm, 1706), p. 1002.

\textsuperscript{33} The hand H/N 2 is Per Brant (1714–67) and H/N 5 is Carl Johan Meijer (1726–78), and the music material belongs to the performances of 1743 and 1746. There are unidentified hands, which, when they are identified, will make it possible to establish when the parts were used.
manuscript score of the whole composition in S-Uu, Vok. mus. i hs 64:1.\textsuperscript{34} Later layers of manuscripts and parts, especially of the \textit{Jubilate}, mirror the performances of the 1740s.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34}Obviously, the court gave away music manuscripts and prints that were no longer in use by the orchestra to the Uppsala University, thereby following the example of Anders von Düben 1732 (the Düben Collection) and Roman in 1749 (musical items donated to Turku University, destroyed in the 1828 town fire). The transfer of the material was most probably made at the beginning of the 1770s, in connection to the reorganization of the royal musical establishment when the opera was founded.

\textsuperscript{35}In the S-Skma Ro 63b manuscript (\textit{Jubilate}), the handwriting of Per Brant (H/N 2) is frequently found. In 1730, Brant still had his youthful hand (H/N 94). The scoring also includes cor 1 and 2 and timpani which may reflect the ducal ensemble that came to Sweden with the crown prince Adolph Frederick in 1743.
Roman’s Music for the Intercession Days

The background to the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* opens new sources for Roman’s sacred music. Maybe the Swedish State-Book decrees, and certainly the contemporary liturgical books, have more to give when approached from a similar perspective. The yearly texts for each of the three services (matins, morning service and vespers) on the four Intercession days (thanksgiving, fast, penance and prayer days) were chosen by the archbishop and confirmed by the king. Composing, adapting or arranging music for these days was part of Roman’s duties. It is worth studying whether these 28 years (1722–50) containing 112 Intercession days, each with three services, giving a total of 336 services, have left traces in the catalogue of Roman’s vocal music.\(^{36}\) A quick search and comparison confirms this theory. As things stand at present, eleven compositions by Roman are connected to Intercession days’ texts:

1726: 3\(^{rd}\) Intercession day, 15 July, Matins
*Hielp Herre! The helige äro förminskade* (Ps 12:1; HRV 505)
[Help, LORD; for the godly man ceaseth.]

1734: 2\(^{nd}\) Intercession day, 10 May, Matins
*Hör mig när jag ropar / mine rättfärdighets Gud* (Ps 4:2–9; HRV 703 and 863)\(^{37}\)
[Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness.]

1740: 3\(^{rd}\) Intercession day, 20 June, Vespers
*Smaker och seer huru liuflig Herren är* (Ps 34:9; Cantata 1732, HRV 922)
[O taste and see that the LORD is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him.]

1740: 4\(^{th}\) Intercession day, 19 September, morning divine service
*Lofwad ware Herren dageliga* (Ps. 68:20; HRV 710)
[Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits.]

1740: 4\(^{th}\) Intercession day, 19 September, Vespers
*Tacker Herranom, sjunger om honom* (Ps 105:1; HRV 511, 713)
[O give thanks unto the LORD; call upon his name; make known his deeds among the people.]

1741: 2\(^{nd}\) Intercession day, 22 May, Matins
*Min siäl wäntar allenast i stillhet efter Gud* (Ps 62:2–3; HRV 896)
[Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from him cometh my salvation.]

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\(^{36}\) Holm and Bengtsson, *Tematisk förteckning över J.H. Romans vokalverk.*

\(^{37}\) Roman lost his wife, Eva Emerentia Björck, on 26 February 1734 after she had given birth to their second son Anders Henrik (1734–80). Helenius-Öberg, *Johan Helmich Roman*, p. 90. The song to the text “Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness”, HRV 863, scored for soprano and basso continuo with many violin solo parts (“si souna”), may have been written for her.
1743: 4th Intercession day 9 September, Vespers
Blif from, och halt tig rätt (Ps 37:37; HRV 870:2)
[Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace.]

1743 7 October, Praise and Thanksgiving feast, morning divine service Lofi-
unger Herranom ty han hafwer härliga bewist sig (Isaiah 12:5; HRV B 18:4)
[Sing unto the LORD; for he hath done excellent things.]

1743 7 October, Praise and Thanksgiving feast, Vespers
Jag hafwer giordt tig löfte (Ps. 56:13) which is part of Jag vill prisa Guds ord
(Ps. 56:11–14; HRV 707)
[In God I will praise his word: in the LORD will I praise his word.]

1745: 4th Intercession day, 13 September, Vespers
Warer tröste och oförfärade (Ps. 31:25, HRV 859:4)
[Be of good courage, and he shall strengthen your heart, all ye that hope in the Lord.]

1749: 4th Intercession day, 15 September, Matins
Mitt hierta är redo, Gud (Ps. 57:8; HRV 711)
[My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed: I will sing and give praise.]

1750: 1st Intercession day, 6 April, morning divine service
Önsker Jerusalem Lycko (Ps. 122:6–7; HRV 513)
[Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.]

These compositions cover a period of 24 years from 1726 when Roman was about to enter his official role to 1750 when he was on his way to leaving it. All except three belong to matins and vespers. The praise and thanksgiving feast on 7 October 1743 at least was of national importance: when Sweden gave thanks for peace with Russia and rejoiced in the processional entry of the new crown prince, who called for musical embellishment of the morning divine service. The two other morning divine services which featured musical explanation of the message of the day – the 4th Intercession day on 19 September 1740 and the 1st Intercession day on 6 April 1750 – probably also had greater importance, although the reasons for this remain to be further researched.

With one clear exception, Smaker och seer (HRV 922), Roman most probably composed new works for these days. As far as can be seen, there is no musical borrowing from himself or others, no crossovers from profane to sacred. With this music dated it is possible to make other types of studies of his vocal music, posing new questions and thus coming to a deeper understanding of his work and musical output.

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38 The cantata was originally composed for certain divine services at the main church (Storkyrkan) in Stockholm in 1732 for which the royal orchestra was responsible for the music. Ingmar Bengtsson, J.H. Roman och hans instrumentalmusik. Käll- och stilkritiska studier, (Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia, 4), Ph.D. diss., Uppsala University, (1955), p. 31.
Of course, Roman also used adaptations and arrangements of music by other composers. In 1731, Roman opened public concert giving in Sweden with a Swedish version of Handel’s *Brookes Passion* (HRV B 20; HVW 48). The next year, 1732, he used a part of Handel’s *Jubilate* (Utrecht), *Si, nu är den behagelige tiden* (2 Cor. 6:2), for the first Intercession day of the year (28 April) which gives clear proof that he knew this music and had it in his library. In 1733, he gave three public concerts (20 October and 1 and 17 November) with Handel’s four *Coronation Anthems* (1727) in the programme, music that he had brought from London.39 Earlier this year, on the 4th Intercession day (14 September), he gave Vesper worshipers the experience of listening to Handel’s *Chandos Anthem V*, *Jag vil upphöja Tig / min Gud / Tu Konung* (*I will magnify thee*, HWV 250a, 1717–1718; Ps. 14:1, S-Uu, Vok. mus. i hs 70:15). Here is more proof that he had access to the Cannons music library.

There are no indications that he bought the *Chandos Anthems* to Stockholm from London. He brought them when returning home to Sweden in 1721. As late as 1750, Roman’s successor Per Brant used his arrangement of Angelo Ragazzi’s *Sonata a Quattro* op. 1 no. 10, first movement for vespers on the 3rd Intercession day (15 June), *Saligt är thet folk, hwilkens Gud Herren är* (Ps. 144:15; HRV B37:3). Roman himself lived at Haraldsmåla but still stayed in contact with Stockholm, composing for the royal orchestra.

While the Swedish State-Book contributes to knowledge of Roman’s vocal productions, texts regulating the services of the church year may provide the key to the origin of more sacred music by him. Stipulations concerning divine services are found in the church law of 1686: chapter 2 covers the sermon and how divine services should be celebrated, chapters 3–6 cover each Sunday, the feasts of the church year (and which hymns should be sung), and chapter 23 is about church singing.40 Although there are hymns with the same messages as found in vocal church music by Roman and there are arrangements of hymns for the royal orchestra, they do not exactly correspond to each other. The 1686 church law chapter XIII ‘About church singing’ prescribes that God be praised by ‘singing, playing and music’ but also says that music played on the organ or other instruments must not sound so long that the congregation was “obstructed to praise God with one voice”, i.e. unison hymn singing. Thus, it is logical that the royal orchestra normally did not accompany the congregation hymns in divine services.

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39 Helenius-Öberg, *Johan Helmich Roman*, p. 79 (acquisition) and p. 85 (concerts).
40 *Kyrkio-lag och ordning, som then stormächtiogte konung och herre, herr Carl then elootive, Sveriges, Göthes och Wändes konung, &c. årh 1686. hafter låtit författa, och årh 1687. af trycket utgå och publicera. Jemte ther till hörige stadgar*, (Stockholm, 1687).
Conclusion and Future Research

Even if there still are questions, there are also important answers. The Swedish State-Book corroborates what we may learn from other sources. By looking into Roman’s composing workshop, not only the _Te Deum_ and _Jubilate_ but also eleven other vocal works may be dated and their origin and purpose understood.41 The Intercession day texts are, with few exceptions, taken from the Book of Psalms, following the theological content and ethical message of the day. The musical ensembles Roman used were rather small with one to four voices, strings and basso continuo and thus easy to handle and adjust to the musical resources he had for each day. A larger ensemble with wind instruments and kettledrums was reserved for solemn feasts. With the texts as a point of research departure, new methods of understanding will make Roman’s role as a state church servant clear and maybe act as an aid to find hitherto unknown music by him. One basic conclusion is that most of Roman’s sacred vocal works (listed in the _Tematisk förteckning över J.H. Romans vokalverk_) are written _ex officio_, in the service of the king, the church and the nation.

41 Only one cantata was reused, _Smaker och seer_ (HRV 9229).
This chapter presents the results of a preliminary study for a future artistic research project. The preliminary study, and the performance prepared for and given at the Uppsala conference, focused on identifying some instrumental, vocal, and interpretive questions that reflect Christian belief and piety as expressed in devotional music in a Lutheran context, specifically the songs related to the Moravian Church. This preliminary study (combining both authors’ research interests which include organology, musical performance practice, and religious expression) looked only at repertoire for voice and clavichord that could reasonably be connected directly to the Moravian Church.

Background: New Conditions and Repertoire in the Lutheran church

Martin Luther was driven by the conviction that the congregation should be able to understand and actively participate in public worship. The introduction of the Bible in the vernacular and the publication of songbooks to enable congregational singing are concrete examples. As Frandsen points out, this helped develop a comprehensive and artistic range of church music; music intended to be performed at public worship services by trained singers and instrumentalists. Another musical consequence of the Lutheran Reformation can be seen in the repertoire created for personal spiritual development and domestic devotion.

1 The name of the Moravian Church varies according to language. Swedish congregations called themselves Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingen. Three official terms also exist in German: Brüder-Unität, Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, and Evangelische Brüdergemeine.

2 This study grows out of ideas in Christina Ekström, “Gör dig en sång uti mitt bröst”, Musikalisk gestaltning i ljuset av herrnhutisk tradition, Ph.D. diss., University of Gothenburg, (Gothenburg, 2007) and Joel Speerstra, Bach and the Pedal Clavichord, an Organist’s Guide, (Rochester, NY, 2004).

3 See Mary E. Frandsen, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profé (1589–1661) and Lutheran Spirituality”, in A Festschrift for Prof. Kerala J. Snyder, Johan Norrback, Joel Speerstra and Ralph P. Locke (eds.), (Gothenburg, 2018), published online: https://www.goart.gu.se/publications/festschrift_kjs
To understand the separate arenas – church and home – and the repertoire created for each, there are several important concepts worth highlighting. One comes from The Doctrine of the Three Estates and the other from theological-pedagogical texts. The Doctrine of the Three Estates described a division of society into three spheres: the church, the political world, and the household. Here, the home came to be described as a separate and particular environment. As Hilding Pleijel states, this triple division was not an “abstract theological construction” but related to the nature of everyday life.⁴ Among theological and educational texts of particular interest is The Small Catechism, which, as Pleijel claims, was intended for both uninformed priests [sic] and for use in the home. The catechism was accompanied by additional texts: table talks and instructions for devotional acts in the home such as morning and evening prayer, and prayers used at mealtimes.

While liturgical singing in public services was regulated on the basis of the official texts and documents of the church, devotions at home admitted a more liberal approach to appropriate musical repertoire. Gösta Morin describes the differences in a discussion of suggestions for a new church ordinance in Sweden:

In 1734, a proposal was issued for a new [church ordinance] and in its thirteenth chapter the singing in church is dealt with. In the first paragraph it was stated that during the service one should “praise God with song and music”, and that only the hymns found in the 1695 hymn book could be used. But for individual devotion, however, songs could be used that were composed by “Godly and learned men” and that were found to be in accordance with the purity of the “Word of God and Purity of Faith”.⁵

This quotation points out that the selection of repertoire was freer for individual devotion than for public worship; that it offered the opportunity for a more subjective and expressive approach to the Gospel. The rules for public, general, religious services – as opposed to individual devotions – seems to have had consequences for both repertoire and musical practice in worship in the home. As Pleijel points out, devotions at home were challenged by pietistic movements, which also developed their own extensive vocal repertoires.

⁴ Hilding Pleijel, Hustavlans värld, Kyrkligt folkliv i äldre tiders Sverige, (Stockholm, 1970), p. 34.
The Clavichord in Lutheran Areas

The clavichord is a European keyboard instrument that generates tones, not by plucking strings (like the harpsichord), or hitting them with hammers (like the piano), but by pressing a brass blade against a pair of strings. It was common in Europe from the late 1400s to the early 1800s. The blade which strikes the strings (called a tangent) stands at the back of a pivoted key lever, and on contact with the string both defines the length of the string (and so the pitch) and delivers the energy to the strings, which are stretched over a bridge on a soundboard to the right of the keyboard. This method of exciting the strings has the disadvantage of never being able to deliver enough energy into the strings to produce a dynamic level that can be heard in a concert hall. However, the clavichord action provides some unique advantages as well. It is possible to bend the pitch, and create vibrato, like a string player, and the range of dynamics possible on a good clavichord is physically larger than on the modern piano, even though the forte of the instrument is no match for even a moderately soft sound on a modern piano.

The clavichord was a popular keyboard instrument all over medieval and Renaissance Europe, but the greatest concentration of clavichord building in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was found in central and Northern European countries, and clavichords were common household instruments. Perhaps one of the reasons that clavichords continued to be built in central and northern European countries has to do with the development of the organ. The central role of psalm singing in Protestant traditions went hand in hand with the development of the pedal divisions of organs, and everywhere the organ had pedals, there seem to have been pedal clavichords made available for organists to practice on. The simpler clavichords without pedal were also so common that the instrument was often referred to in Germany as, simply, the “keyboard”. Playing the clavichord is often described as personal, because the instrument is so soft; it draws the performer into an almost meditative state purely based on its dynamic level. Singing to the clavichord was clearly something reflected in the literature and reconstructing what that tradition may have sounded like is the purpose of this study. The instrument used for this study is a copy of a large Swedish clavichord built by the Stockholm builder Pehr Lindholm and represents a clavichord type that was common in Sweden from the 1760s to at least the 1820s.

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7 See Speerstra, Bach and the Pedal Clavichord.
8 The copy was built by Joel Speerstra in the GOArt workshop at the University of Gothenburg in 2000.
A Short Introduction to the Moravian Tradition

The Moravian Church stems geographically from Herrnhut, the location in eastern Germany that developed from the 1720s on Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf’s (1700–1760) estate. The roots of the Moravian Church can be traced to the medieval Unitas Fratrum in Bohemia and Moravia, established in 1457. The Unitas Fratrum had a long tradition of valuing collective singing in services, as well as of the production of hymnbooks in the vernacular. The earliest known hymnbook dates from 1505 and was published in a revised version in 1519 by the hymn poet Luke of Prague (d. 1528), who is also known for his theological conversations with Martin Luther and other reformers.9 Music was also meaningful for the Moravian Church. As the American theologian Craig Atwood explains, these theologies were best communicated through “songs and liturgies, not through systematic theology or polemics”.10

A characteristic of Moravian piety is the stress on identification with the image of Christ crucified. This should result in an emotional experience expressed in both singing and playing. An explicitly recommended emotional state was to feel and express a blend of inner joy and gentle pain.11 Among the physical expressions of this particular feeling, the most important were crying, tears, and a broken voice. For this repertoire of emotions and desirable expressions, softness appeared to be significant. This ideal of softness influenced the kind of stops found in Moravian church organs, but there was also a special interest in the clavichord, as evidenced in Laurence Libin’s article “Keys to the Heart: The Clavichord in Moravian Life”.12 Libin expressed this as “it appears that Moravian Brethren, more than orthodox Lutherans, developed an almost cult-like affinity for this gentle little instrument”. Further, Libin emphasizes that the nature of the instrument was in line with the lofty emotional sensibility that underlies the Moravian piety.13

11 Brødremenighedens archive, Christiansfeld: RI A AF, Prediger-Archiv, Synodaltillägg 1782, §917.
13 Libin, “Keys to the Heart”, p. 233.
Earlier Research

Concerts of repertoire for song and clavichord from the period of this study are still quite rare. As far as we can determine, no artistic research project looking at repertoire for voice and clavichord has yet been carried out. Artistic research is no longer a completely new field. One of the important threads that has developed in artistic research involves using one’s own artistic practice to ask new questions of musical material, and then documenting the answers in written reflections. Systematic documentation makes tacit artistic research explicit. One earlier project focusing on singing is Katarina A. Karlsson’s artistic research dissertation, which took a well-known repertoire (lute songs from the English Renaissance) that had already been thoroughly studied using the tools of traditional musicology and history, and asked new questions by singing them.

By singing the songs, I have found that the tacit knowledge of the body contributes and adds to my understanding of the lyrics in combination with the music. By singing the songs I have also found that the songs themselves raise universal questions.

There is also new research focusing on the keyboard performer as researcher and the consequences of physically embodying music at an instrument as a performer. What seems to still be missing in this new literature is the meeting between the performer and the materiality of the instrument. This can be achieved with a more concrete organological perspective and a heightened understanding of how the affordances of individual historical instruments have affected the development of repertoire and performance practice.

Aim and Theoretical Approach

Based on previous research as well as our own research interests, this preliminary study makes a musical map of singing with the clavichord in Lutheran Europe, unpacking how the tradition focuses perhaps not on liturgical music, music and entertainment in a domestic setting, so much as a shared musical practice that reflects and performs Lutheran faith. More specifically, we aim to investigate and discuss vocal, instrumental and interpretative aspects based on a selection of songs addressed to personal devotion.

14 The first experiment the authors know of is a concert at the Weimar International Clavichord-Tage, in November, 2000.
16 Katarina A. Karlsson, “Think’st Thou to Seduce me Then?” Impersonating Songs with Female Personas by Thomas Campion (1567–1620), Ph.D. diss., University of Gothenburg, (Gothenburg, 2012), accessible online: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/27997, p. 35.
A study of musical repertoire designed to support and encourage personal devotion is in line with Frandsen, who points out that music researchers have so far focused their attention almost exclusively on music associated with public worship, especially hymnology and chorales. She further argues that this has resulted in a limited examination of music intended for spiritual development and individual devotion as it developed within the Lutheran Church.¹⁸

Embedded in the research question, there is another factor – feeling/emotional expression – which needs some unpacking in order for it to function as a robust term. For musical artistic practice and music studies, there are generally established terminologies used as designations for basic musical elements. With these you can describe and analyse both the music in itself and its relationship to a wider social and historical context. A dilemma for studies that involve feelings is that discourses and representations in this area change according to scientific paradigms and social contexts, referred to by William Reddy as “emotional regimes” and by Barbara Rosenwein as “emotional communities”.¹⁹ Leaving aside the established concepts, such as affect and emotion, and the scientific paradigms and discourses they are embedded in, the present study uses the concept of the “emotive”, as proposed by Reddy.²⁰ This is a term that acknowledges that opinions that include emotions may work performatively and that they can have impact independent of the time and context in which they occurred. Brita Planck gives examples of studies where the emotive concept is noted and applied in her research on history. She writes that the term “emotive” could lead to a new method of studying the feelings described in historical contexts, reducing some limitations that historians have previously encountered.²¹

The “emotive” as a term comes from John Langshaw Austin’s “Speech Act Theory”, where claims are divided into constative and performative.²² Reddy applies these two statements and expressions where emotions are only implied and adds a third concept, the emotive.²³ He states that emotions are a kind of speech act that is different from both performative and descriptive statements; emotives are explanatory and have an effect on both thoughts and feelings. Emotives seem to be particularly relevant to musical practice because, as Reddy points out, they can also include nonverbal signals of sen-

¹⁸ Frandsen, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe”.
²³ Reddy, “Against Constructionism”.

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timent exemplified through “expressive gestures, facial expressions, word choices, intonations”.

In accordance with Reddy’s proposal for terminology and Planck’s argument for using it, in the present study the concept of the emotive will be used for both lyrics and music. For the physical responses that the emotive can cause, or lead to, the term “emotive outcome” will be used.

Material
In selecting the material – the musical repertoire – the criteria included the instrumentation, the function of the music, the theological context, and the textual themes, as well as the musical form. Concerning the instrumentation, we looked for songs for voice and keyboard. Based on the purpose of the project, the function of the songs needed to be directly or indirectly for individual devotion or spiritual instruction of the individual. Viewed from the theological point of view, the Lutheran context was our starting point. Another consideration, not strictly a criterion, but a guide used for our repertoire search, was to look for lyrics that corresponded to themes of Moravian piety. Finally, the selection needed to include several musical forms, in order to challenge and test a range of interpretative questions under different musical conditions.

Performance Experiments
The following section presents the selected repertoire and describes the artistic choices that took place in the first musical experiments.

Songs from Andelig Dufworöst
The song “Turtur–Dufvan” (“The Turtle Dove”) originates from Andelig Dufvoröst eller en Gudelig siäls enskilda sång-andächt til egen sinnesro uptecknad och nu andre Guds barn til tjenst framgifwen, (“Spiritual Voice of the Dove, or the Divine Soul’s individual song-prayers, created to promote personal spiritual peace and now published in service to other children of God”), first published in 1734. The collection appears to have been popular and sought after as it went through fourteen additional imprints, of which the last was published in 1933. In this edition, Oscar Mannström points out in his preface that the collection is one of the most widely used teaching books of the church in Sweden. Of the 133 songs, 43 were written by the priest Olof Kolmodin the elder (1690–1753). The rest are his “independent” translations of verses by the German priest and psalmist Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737). Melodies used for the lyrics in Andelig Dufvoröst refer to the Swedish Chorale Book from 1697 as well as to the song collection Odae Sveticae (1674).

26 Mannström, “Förord”
After his University studies in Uppsala, followed by a period serving as head pastor to queen Ulrika Eleonora from 1721 (or 1723), Kolmodin became the pastor of Flo Church in Västergötland and served there until his death. Kolmodin had been influenced by Moravian piety, which he exhibited in both his personal life and in his writings. Kolmodin’s benevolent attitude towards the Moravian Church could also be seen in the way he allowed Arvid Gradin (1704–1757), the Swedish representative of the Society, to preach in the churches of the diocese. Further expressions of Kolmodin’s sympathies for Moravian piety are his texts in the 1743 songbook *Sions Sånger* (“Songs of Zion”). Several successors of Kolmodin as pastors of Flo Church, were influential in promoting Moravian piety. Among them were Thore Larsson Odhelius (1705–1777) who was one of the earliest preachers of Moravian piety in the country, as well as Lars Nyberg (1720–1792) who served as a minister and missionary in the Moravian Church in the United States, Ireland and England before finally becoming a pastor of Flo Church.

The song collection *Andelig Dufworöst* was chosen because of its orientation toward Moravian piety and the explicit wording of the vocabulary of the songs intended to awaken devotion and thereby experiences of heartfelt joy and pleasure. Kolmodin makes the purpose clear in his preface:

*Figure 31.* The first verse of “Turtur–Dufvan” from Olof Kolmodin’s 1734 book of meditations *Andelig Dufworöst.*

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However, my faithful wish is that each and every godly soul when singing these hymns is awakened to a pure devotion and therewith feel such a fervent Glamour and Pleasure in GOD, as I have found when writing them.28

The initial steps of the experiment involved deciding how to arrange the singer and clavichord player spatially. The conventional concert arrangement for a singer with piano accompaniment is for her to stand with her back to the instrument and aim her song at an imaginary audience, standing to the right of and facing away from the keyboard. The reader can certainly guess that balance and communication problems arose immediately. The singer and the keyboard player could not communicate visually, and the keyboard player could barely hear his own instrument. But the next insight involved something more subtle: because we took the step of embodying this approach, even though it could easily have been rejected out of hand as obviously historically inappropriate, it emerged that in this configuration there was no sense of communion between the two musical partners. The function of the song was clearly designed to be a dialog between the singing clavichordist and God: a devotional dialogue. The next choice was to place clavichordist and singer next to each other, and have the singer sing directly into the instrument, and there the act of embodying an experiment delivered another surprising insight. The voice not only blended with the clavichord, but also directly excited the strings through sympathetic resonance.

When a human voice sings directly onto the strings of the large Stockholm clavichords, like the Lindholm copy we used, the instrument echoes a pattern of response that sounds remarkably like the individual person singing. This phenomenon seems to be stronger with the clavichord than other keyboard instruments, probably because the strings runs perpendicular to the keyboard and all the strings are so close to the performer. A solo singer also cannot sing directly into the strings of the harpsichord or piano without creating a stage arrangement that looks extremely artificial. To increase the effect of hearing the individual voice mirrored in the strings, the lid of the clavichord was lifted and supported by a lid prop so that it stood at about a 45-degree angle to the soundboard. There is evidence of these lid props and eyelets screwed into the lids to hold them on several historical Stockholm-school clavichords. This lid position effectively increased the projection of the voice down onto the soundboard, and also increased the interplay between voice and instrument. In the practice room with only the player and the singer present, this location created no hindrance. However, the question of the location of an audience in a larger room was raised: how can an audience be included in a musical

28 Olof Kolmodin, Andelig Dufworöst eller en Gudelig siäls enskilda sång-andacht til egen sinnerso uptecknad och nu andre Guds barn til tjenst framgifwen, (Stockholm, 1734), unpagedinated preface: “Imedlertid är thet min trogna önskan at hvar och en Gudelig Siäl tå hon dessa Psalmers siunger måtte til ren andacht blifwa upwäckt och therunder kämma en så innerlig hiertans Glädie och Förnöjelse i GUDi som jag wid theras författande funnit hafwer”.

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practice involving instrument-voice interaction that represents a private interaction between the musicians and a divinity?

Emotives were identified and then given time and attention in the performance. Words in the song lyrics that describe the body and emotions were paid particular attention. Through experiment we came to the understanding that these songs were essentially text-driven; that song texts were the determining factor for tempo, dynamics, and the balance between instrument and voice. Because of the supremacy of the text the solo voice played a more central role in the interpretation than the clavichord.

**A song by Johan Helmich Roman**

One composition by Johan Helmich Roman (1684–1758), “Lät jord, titt Lof med Sång upgå” (“Let Earth rise up with Song”), was included in the study. This is a compilation of Thore Odhelius’s paraphrase of Psalm 135.29

The composition was chosen because the lyrics come from Odhelius, who has a well-documented relationship to the Moravians.30 From 1739 on, he became an avid advocate and preacher of Moravian piety in Stockholm. From 1740, Änkehuset (“The widows’ house”) was the platform from which he operated as a minister. He also contributed to the Herrnhut-related song collec-

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tion *Sions Sånger* (“Songs of Zion”) of 1743, and was the editor of the volume published in 1747.

From 1736, Odhelius was a teacher and from 1740 a principal at the Latin school (*Storskolan*) in Stockholm. Helenius points out several sources that indicate that Roman and Odhelius could have known one another personally in this context. One of the sources is the journal of the Latin school, where Roman had obligations, in part concurrently with Odhelius. Helenius also notes that Odhelius refers to Roman in a letter to Abraham Hülphers, in “warm and admiring tones”.

The song “Låt jord, titt Lof med Sång upgå” is in the form of a monody and contains a solo vocal line and a bass line with figured bass. In line with the musical form, the song text is central and significant words in the text are illustrated in the harmony, melody, and rhythm of the song.

The performance experiments with this song departed from the fact that the musical form of the song was the factor that governed the interpretation. The interpretive decisions mainly came to revolve around how the keyboardist, working in symbiosis with the singer, could reinforce the motives that were identified both in the score and in the lyrics. For the song of Roman, both performers seemed to be actors on the same terms, expressing prayer and praise.

**The Song from Lejonmark’s music book**

The song “Hvad liuf Musik och Harmonie” (“What Sweet Music and Harmony”) can be found in a bound volume in the archive of the *Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingen* in Stockholm.

On the front cover of the volume, the initials “G: A: L” are stamped in gold, probably referring to Gustaf Adolf Lejonmark (1734–1815), a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences and the Vice President of Bergsrådet (the National Mining Company). Lejonmark joined *Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingen* in 1788. The congregation’s documentation indicates his name as one of the participants in a service of special worship for the musicians of the congregation. In addition to his membership in the congregation, as well as being the first president of *Evangeliska sällskapet* (Evangelical Society), whose purpose was to spread bibles and treatises, Lejonmark’s commitment

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32 This volume is described in Christina Ekström, “Brödraförsamlingens dolda musikskatt”, in *Melos och Logos – Festskrift till Folke Bohlin*, Mattias Lundberg and Sven-Åke Selander (eds.) (Skellefteå, 2011), p. 113–126.
33 Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingens arkiv, Stockholm: Kapsel 133, Diarier och årsberättelser öfver Stockholms societen 1776–1815, 18 December 1790, p. 113.
to Christian teaching also appears in the funeral sermon that praises his “deep religious feeling”.

The volume contains thirty-three songs with five different instrumentations. Thirteen are for one voice and basso continuo, fifteen for one voice with violin/flute and basso continuo, two for two voices with strings and basso continuo, two for three voices with strings and basso continuo and one song for eight voices with strings and basso continuo. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi is represented with one song in the volume, four are by J. H. Roman, and twenty by Johan Georg Lotscher. For eight songs, there is no information about the author.

The reason for choosing a song from this volume was that its relation to the Moravian Church is clear. The volume is kept in the archive of the congregation, and is clearly connected to one of its members. We chose the song “Hvad liuf Musik och Harmonie” because themes of the text explicitly express Moravian piety.

The score of “Hvad liuf Musik och Harmonie” includes melody and text, but no bassline. There are also some grace notes, trills and signs marking melismas and marcato. A primary characteristic of the song is the distinctive rhythmic melodic motive with dotted eighths in a broken C major chord. In form, the song can be seen to comprise three parts, the first and last of which occurs in the main key of C major, while the middle part is in the parallel key, a minor. The song is a melody that can be supported by simple chords.

The form of the song and the lack of information in the score created some challenges of interpretation. Our first experiment was to perform the given tones and text of the song with a regular rhythmical pulse and no emotive outcome. This version created a kind of caricature of itself, like a melody from a music box. But applying the knowledge we have of the singing tradition

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within the Moravian Church – the importance of creating a meditative state and focusing on contact with an image of Christ – the performers tested a version focusing on the emotives. This resulted in an emotional outcome that quickly shifted between inner peace and melancholy following the content of the text. Examples of emotives formulated in the text include: “it casts out sorrow, melancholy” and “then God’s Lamb gives the blood of redemption”. In summary, the emotive outcome is the main meaning-bearing device for the interpretation. The precise emotive outcomes can be expressed in traditional musical terminology including descriptions of agogics, tempo and dynamics, which shifts depending on the varying emotional modes that the text and melody appear to communicate.

**Songs by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach**

There were also three compositions of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) within this preliminary study, from *Herrn Professor Gellerts Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien*, published in 1758. Bach’s songs are paradigmatic, creating a template for compositions for voice and clavichord, as well as serving as models for the extensive publishing of spiritual songs for the new bourgeoisie in Germany. Another reason for choosing this repertoire was that it corresponds with a period when the Moravian Church was in a formative and expansive phase. Finally, we wanted to make a comparison with the repertoire strongly connected to Herrnhutian piety, to test whether similarities existed regarding sensitivity, the spectrum of emotions and the importance of expressivity in performance.

The selected songs are “Bitten” (“Entreaty”), “Demut” (“Humility”), and “Morgengesang” (“Morning Song”).

“Bitten” expressed similarities to Moravian piety, and it was perceived to have a soft, energetic and pleasing tone – in relation to the text – but threaded through with concern: “vernimm mein Flehn” (“hear my Supplication”).

*Figure 34. “Bitten” from C. P. E. Bach’s and C. F. Gellert’s 1758 Geistliche Oden und Lieder.*
As Bach writes, it should be possible to perform the songs as keyboard repertoire without singing: as “Handstücke”.35 “Demut” was played as a solo keyboard work.

“Morgengesang” was an appropriate composition to conclude a concert programme, with its rhythmic song, inviting a fast pulse, and a text that can express happy fortune and praise. The presentation of the song is generally cheerful. Bach gives both supplementary and contradictory instructions for the performance of “Morning Song” in his preface: “The melodies and words

35 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Herrn Professor Gellert's Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien, (Berlin, 1758).
that are lively should not fall into too jaunty an atmosphere, so that one forgets one has a spiritual song before one.”

For the performance experiments, the songs of Bach were investigated like the others, by first trying to identify what units in the composition could bear meaning. The form of the songs became helpful guideposts. According to Bach, the keyboard part constitutes an independent song for clavichord and could be played without the voice. “Demut” was played this way in the programme as a solo keyboard work, but with an attempt to use the emotive content of the song’s text to guide the interpretation. We began with the assumption that both the texts per se and the compositions had a number of emotives. Our interpretation assumed that these emotives could be performative, that they encouraged both performers to emotive outcomes and that the character they created had rapid changes in terms of both dynamics and emotional modes. An interesting outcome of the study was that the emotives and emotional outcome in Bach’s songs resembled and corresponded with those explicitly related to Moravian piety.

Conclusion

This study identified and made artistic choices within the broad repertoire for individual devotion and spiritual development designed for a single voice and keyboard accompaniment. These artistic choices affected vocal, instrumental and interpretative aspects of the songs. Several problem areas were raised and a number of positions needed to be taken, but the core issues turned out to be the placement of the performers, the form of the compositions, and elaborations using emotives and emotive outcomes.

The placement of the performers: After the first experiment the performers sat next to each other, both facing the instrument, allowing both performers to see and hear each other, as well as follow one another’s breathing, gestures and facial expressions. The location also made it possible to sing with the instrument’s sound and resonance. The function of the songs, being a communication between the actor and a deity, likewise became more focused with this placement, as it was no longer relevant to visually convince or try to please an audience. To add an audience, which happened at our conference presentation, we gave the audience a participatory perspective, making them imaginary singers and clavichord players by inviting them to connect closely with the actors and sit in the same direction (literally behind the performers).

The musical form: The form of the songs was problematized through interpretation, and together they show a spectrum of different roles/relationships between voice and instrument. The selected songs from this preliminary study can be described as song-driven, form-driven, emotive- and instrument-driven. More precisely, the repertoire consisted of: a piece led by singing and

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36 Bach, Gellerts Geistliche Oden, preface: “Die Melodie, worüber man die Wörter lebhaft, munter u. d. gl. verfallen, wobey man gewißt, daß man geistliche Lieder vor sich hat.”
supported by the keyboard (Kolmodin), a song where the actors appeared as equal parts “talking” with each other (Roman), a composition appearing as a playful device where the starting point was only a melody meeting with a song text and where the focus completely defined the emotive outcome (Lejonmark) and songs, where the clavichord was perceived to be the dominant partner or even the soloist who meditated on the song text (Bach). The differences were analysed through the experiments and adapted to singing and playing. The songs appear to reveal a changed role for the clavichord that can be linked to the time frame the songs originate from.

*Emotives and emotive outcomes:* Emotives and emotive outcomes also played a prominent role. This was no surprise since the selection of songs was made by searching for repertoire that in some respects reflected Moravian piety. One issue that this study raised – though it focuses on subjective experiences – is that the emotive outcomes from songs that explicitly relate to Moravian piety was similar to the spectrum of feelings that in the repertoire of Bach is both manifested in the songs themselves and was created in the experiments. One possible explanation is that we found what we were looking for. An undisputed fact, however, is that the sensitivity and meaning of expressive feelings were prominent in both Moravian piety and in Bach’s compositions. Another issue the study raised, which was also derived from subjective experience, was that it was the actors’ emotive outcome that seemed to take the songs beyond the written text, and that this were most clear in the song for which the least information was found in the musical text. This can be seen in the light of the songs of Bach, compositions where emotional outcome already seems to be there, built into the composition. In other words, the emotional outcome of the actors seemed to shrink in direct relationship to the increased expressivity in the artefact.

Eventually this was a preliminary survey of post-Reformation European musical repertoire intended for personal devotion that took its starting point in a selection of *different* types of musical forms and genres. In the study we tested the usability of the concept of “emotives”. The process shows that the concept is relevant and contains potential for a deeper study of emotions and emotional expressions in the meeting between artefact and performance practice. From the perspective of music for voice and clavichord, this further study could take its starting point in *single* genre of repertoire: songs published in the eighteenth century for domestic use, a repertoire that was a direct predecessor of the classical Lied genre. The embodiment of this repertoire may lead to further insights into how the emotives of these texts can be performed in sounding practice.
15. The Organ’s Effect on Hymnal Singing: A Microhistory of Congregational Singing and Playing in Överselö, Stallarholmen, 1754

Hanna Drakengren

In 1754, an organ was built in Överselö Church, in central Sweden, whose purpose was to accompany congregational singing. In examining the congregational singing and playing in Överselö at the time of the new organ, I investigated how the accompaniment of hymns might have sounded in mid-eighteenth-century Sweden. The organ was built by Jonas Gren and Petter Stråhle. Several similar organs were delivered to rural parishes in 1754. The organ is of a small standard type, with one manual and a pulldown pedal. This type of organ had been well established for several generations in the Stockholm Cahman tradition: sparkling, powerful and colourful, in contrast to the broader tone that later became the norm in Sweden. On the 200th year anniversary of the organ in 1954, the Swedish organ expert Einar Erici writes:

The main reason that the organ was built at this specific time, seems to be the shortcomings of the congregational singing. In the minutes from 1 October, 1749 we can read that a balcony ought to be built in the western end, partly to create more room for chairs, but also to create room for an “organ, quite necessary for the singing”. The minutes from August 1751 further emphasize the need for an organ “for the maintenance of the singing, since quite large disharmonies occur, in that the lower parts of the congregation have their own tone in the hymns, very different from the congregation in the front, and thereby caused major annoyance”. The pastor loci, the learned provost Eric Humbla, had already talked to the organ builder Gren in Stockholm, who had declared himself willing to build an organ “at the service of the congregation”.¹

Överselö Church was built on the shore of the largest island in Lake Mälaren, Selaön. The church is built in a typical Gothic style and was richly decorated during the fifteenth century. Överselö Church is built on the foundations of an older stave church. Although today the church is geographically far from urban areas, in the medieval period the church was considered centrally positioned, between the city of Stockholm, and the region of Ekerö and Birka, Strängnäs Cathedral, Västerås Cathedral and with the royal castles of Gripsholm and several others nearby. The main mode of transport in this area, historically, was by boat, which explains the siting of the church, near the lake.

The church today is cross-shaped, but the north side, where the organ now stands, was added in 1881–82. In the eighteenth century, the church was smaller. The total area of the church today is 620 square meters, and according to the painting in Eric Humbla’s disseratation, it measures about 35 meters in length and 13 meters from north to south. Today, the north-south distance is about 20 meters. The height can be estimated to about 8 meters in the centre aisle. The acoustics are generous but not very large. The estimated reverberation time is about one and a half to two seconds, and the organ fills the whole room even with a few stops. The acoustics are well suited for singing.

The Gren & Stråhle Organ in Överselö Church

Table 17. Disposition*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manual</th>
<th>Gedact 8’</th>
<th>Principal 4’</th>
<th>Spitz Fleut 4’</th>
<th>B♭/D</th>
<th>(b/c’)</th>
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<td>Quinta 3’</td>
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<td>Octava 2’</td>
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<td>Scharf 3 ch</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Trompet 8’</td>
<td></td>
<td>B♭/D</td>
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<td>(b/c’)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Trompet 4’</td>
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<td>B♭</td>
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<td>(C-b)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vox virginia 8’</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(c’-e’’’)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pedal</th>
<th>Pulldown Pedal</th>
<th>Tremulant</th>
<th>Sperventil</th>
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In 1852 some of the stops were replaced to better suit the ideals of that time, but the main character of the organ was still intact. Some pedal stops were added, along with a Fugara and a Principal 8 only in the descant, and the Scharff and the Vox virginia were removed. In 1952 the organ was renovated and rebuilt alongside a Hammarberg organ on a new raised platform on the north side of the church. The old balcony at the back of the church was torn down. Luckily the old organ was kept intact, which is all too unusual.
In 2015 the organ was restored to its original state by Mats Arvidsson. As part of this restoration a new wind system was built and a few stops needed to be supplemented, among them the Vox virginæ, which was restored using the Nicolaus Söderström organ in Dala Husby as a model. After restoration the organ was tuned in Neidhardt at $a' = 455$ Hz at 17 degrees Celsius. This pitch is historically called *Chorton*. The contract for the organ from 1752 states that the organ should be tuned in *Chorton*. The temperament, however, is not mentioned. In Abraham Hülphers’ 1773 dissertation on the organs in Sweden, he cites a discussion of temperament by the cathedral organist in Linköping, Johan Miklin the elder (1726–1787), in which he mentions equal temperament as a theoretical but not an artistic temperament. Neidhardt is suggested as a possible temperament for the organ. Hülphers furthermore writes:

The organ should be tuned in Chorton, in part for better and livelier strength, and in part because in the whole world, chorale books are established for Chorton. If the organ were tuned in Kammerton instead, all of the chorales would have to be transposed up one tone higher … Furthermore, if the temperament is not all correct, much dissonance will exist in certain chords, which would not tolerate certain transpositions. Such a tuning on an organ would force the congregation to sing very low and soft, which would be antithetical to our greatest purpose of giving thanks and praise to God in our hymns.\(^3\)

Organ Builders in Sweden, Jonas Gren and Petter Stråhle

The distribution of organs throughout Sweden began with the great organ builder Johan Niclas Cahman (1670?–1737), also called the father of Swedish organ building. Cahman had disciples in Olof Hedlund and Daniel Stråhle. Daniel Stråhle had a very short period as an active organ builder (1741–46), due to poor health. Two of his followers, Jonas Gren and Petter Stråhle, started a firm that built a great number of organs in central Sweden. In her book *Svenskt klavikordbygge 1720–1820*, Eva Helenius-Öberg argues for a new view on what has been called the “Cahman school”.

However [Gren and Stråhle] were said to be the only organ builders in Sweden, who enjoyed the patronage of the Academy of Science. The reason for this was just not that they were close friends with Christopher Polhem’s son Gabriel, to whom they also were in debt; rather the reason is that they were the inheritors of the art of Daniel Stråhle, and therefore approached the technical problems, mainly of mechanics, temperament and probably also mensural questions, in a rational way, and “scientifically” for their time. In particular, it ought to be observed that they were among the first organ builders in Sweden who had aimed for equal temperament.\(^4\)

\(^2\) Arvidsson, *Överselö Restaureringsrapport*.
\(^4\) “Däremot angavs de vara de enda orgelbyggarna i landet som åtnjöt Vetenskapsakademins beskydd. Orsaken där till torde knappast stå att söka i att de varit personliga vänner med Christopher Polhem’s son Gabriel, till vilken de till och med häftade i skuld; snarare är förklaringen den att de var Daniel Stråhles arvtagare i konsten och således angrep de orgel-
Daniel Stråhle also studied with the Swedish inventor and scientist Christopher Polhem (1661–1751). Polhem was not a musician himself, but he was greatly interested in the mathematical aspects of music, of which temperament was one issue. This indicates that Mats Arvidsson’s decision to tune the restored Överselö organ in Neidhardt, which is very close to an equal temperament, may be historically correct.

Hymn Playing in Eighteenth-Century Sweden
In 2017–2018, I studied how hymns could have been executed on this specific instrument. The extant eighteenth-century sources are few, and mostly contain only clues to the practice of hymn accompaniment. Since accompaniment was mainly an art of improvisation, what would have been heard is hidden in several different sources. There are many advantages of entering this vast and unexplored field of research from a combined artistic and micro-historic point of view. The micro-historical perspective is not meant to cover the whole field of knowledge, but can provide important pointers to the broader field. The strength of a micro-historical perspective (focussing on one particular church and organ) is that it can shed light on the improvisational practice that was relevant for that place at that time. Hymn playing, in contrast to performing music in concert, has the unique character of being an interplay between the professional musician and amateur singers. The organist leads and follows the singers to make them sing as coherently as possible, in tempo and tune. The setting of the hymns needs to reflect, as well as to guide the congregation. My artistic method consists of accompanying congregational singing today on the Överselö organ, reflecting in a tentative way on how historical practice could possibly have been, in relation to four areas of particular interest: who was leading the hymn singing, basso continuo and chorale playing, registration, tone quality and temperament and interludes, trills and ornamentation.

The question about tempo is of course essential, but I chose to exclude it from my conclusions, since the issue was framed by the four questions above. As a result of examining these questions, the tempo naturally became slow and dignified. This however merits further artistic research.

Hymnals and How to Use Them
Sweden adopted its first common hymnal in 1695, and the chorale book two years later, in 1697. The chorale book is the first book in Sweden that indicates accompaniment for the hymns. For each hymn it gives melody and a figured bass. No research has been done on how figured bass was played in Sweden at this time, and especially not for accompanying hymns. Several books on
basso continuo playing were published in Germany in the eighteenth century, and one was translated into Swedish, David Kellner’s *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bas*.  

David Kellner (1670–1748) was a central person in the musical life of Stockholm in the early eighteenth century. Kellner joined the German Church in Stockholm as organist in 1711. He later became an organist in St Jacob’s Church. He was born in 1670 and grew up in Liberwolkwitz, near Leipzig. His father was the cantor and “Erste Lærer” in Liberwolkwitz. All Kellner’s brothers ended up in Nordic countries and had a strong impact on the development of music in Scandinavia during the eighteenth century.  

*Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bas* was widely disseminated throughout Germany and was translated into Swedish by Jonas Londée in 1739. The publication is said to be the first theoretical treatise based entirely on the major and minor tones. In his book Kellner criticizes the harmonic circle in Johann David Heinichen’s *Gründelige Anweisung* (1711) and gives his own suggestion: a suggestion we recognize as a pretty modern circle of fifths. In the book it is evident that the art of figured bass is central to his teaching.

The figured bass, which is also called Basso Continuo, is the foundation of all music, and consists of a necessary and useful science discovered by Ludovici Viadana from the Westlands, and born in 1605. This science consists of correct principles that agree with the rules of composition, teaching that from only the bass line contents for the harmony can be generated, so that by sight one can generate many voices that harmonize with the music as a whole.

The cathedral organist in Strängnäs, which is close to Överselö, Georg Londicer, was the inspector and the expert in the building of the organ in Överselö. Olof Dufberg, who was appointed organist at Överselö in 1754, was born and raised in Strängnäs, and was about 28 years old at the time of his appointment. By that time Georg Londicer had been at Strängnäs Cathedral for some years. He was also the director of music at the gymnasium in Strängnäs. The brother of Georg Londicer, Ernst Johan Londicer, was seen as a child prodigy in the musical life of eighteenth-century Stockholm. His father was an organist and a composer, and a close friend of David Kellner. Ernst Johan was a

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5 David Kellner, *Treulicher Unterricht in General-Bas* [...], (Hamburg, 1732).
student of his father and of David Kellner. So we can see a connection from David Kellner to Överselö church. It was common practice that every newly appointed organist would copy their own hymnal to play from as did Georg Londicer.\footnote{This chorale book is presently held by Lund University Library, Ämnesordnande handlingar: Musik.}

**Who was Leading Hymn Singing?**

Today it is a common practice that the organist also leads the singing. But this was not the practice in eighteenth-century Sweden. The custom was that every organist had to copy their own chorale book containing settings for their needs. These handwritten copies do not include hymn texts. It is reasonable to assume that the organist did not sing and therefore did not lead congregational singing but rather accompanied it. In 1670 the bishop of Strängnäs Erik Emporagrius states:

> In the cities, where the trivial or the children’s schools are, the Schoolmaster with the clerk, the listeners and the deacons shall keep the singing in church alive… but in the countryside it is dependent on the vicar, the chaplain and the sexton. There [in the countryside] the sexton [Klockaren] shall also stand in the middle of the church during the singing to keep the silly and unlearned on the right pitch, so that the congregation in the choir and outside it shall be held together, so that no noise and contrariness may appear.\footnote{“Uthi städerna, hwarest Trivial eller Barna Scholar äro, skola Scholumästaren genom Hörare, Notarios och Dieknar hålla kyrkiosången widh macht, och ther uppå hafwa itt noga upseende, att han gudeligen och skickeligen föreståås […] Men på landzbygden wärde thet samma Kyrkioherden, Capellanen och Klockaren. Ther skal ock Klockaren under siungandet stå på någon ort mitt uti Kyrkian, och hålle den enfaldige och olärde hopen rätt widh tonen, att församblingen i Choren och uthan före, må stämma väl öfwerens, så att sigh icke yppar något olyud och förargeligh moomsträfwigheid.” Quoted in Harald Göransson, *Koralpsalmboken 1697: Studier i svensk koralhistoria*, (Göteborg, 1992), p. 26.}

In artistic work with the hymns, this is relevant, because in practice it gives the organist more freedom to develop and alternate settings according to how the congregation actually sings.

**Basso Continuo and Chorale Playing**

From a German perspective, the task of an organ student was to make several different bass lines for every chorale, in order to vary the different stanzas. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach writes:

> In composition he [J.S. Bach] started his pupils right in with what was practical, and omitted all the dry species of counterpoint that are given in Fux and others, His pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough-bass. From this he went to chorales: first he added the basses to them himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses
themselves. He particularly insisted on the writing out of the thorough bass in [four real] parts.12

In the Swedish context, we read in a source a 1795 text for the diocese of Linköping in 1795, “ordning för kyrkobetiente”, that:

A city organist had to have the full knowledge of Chorale Theory, executed in 3 ways:

a. with usual figured bass accompaniment.

b. with the chords in the left hand and the melody in the right hand.

c. with chords in both hands; to know the art of prelude in all keys ex tempore after a given theme, and to play pieces for prelude and postlude, both in the old fugal style and in the modern mixed style.13

In the countryside, only a. and b. were necessary, and a rural musician was only expected to be able to play the chords with three notes in the right hand, and the bass in the left. In support of this we find the following statement in the Swedish translation of Kellner’s Treulicher Unterricht in General-Bas:

The one who wants to learn the figured bass deeply, must initially learn to play in four parts, as you can in the most common way play three parts in the right hand, but in the left hand only the bass, which mostly moves in octaves, should not be hindered if not too fast in movement or if the hands are too small. It is a more sophisticated art to make the four part setting, than it is to play 5, 6, 7 or more parts. But if you can also take all the notes the hand can reach in order to make a fuller accompaniment, especially if the music is richly written, although it is important not to leave a vacuum between both hands; and even though it does not come through as clean as a four part arrangement, it still covers as much liveliness, to make the ear satisfied with it. Be careful though that the outer parts, the lowest and the highest do not go in parallels. That kind of settings only fits the string instruments not the pipes.14

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14 “Den som grundligen will lära General-Basen, måste först beflita sig om, att spela honom fyrstämmtigt, då man på det vanligaste sättet merendels kan föra tre stämmor i den högra handen, men i den wänstra Basen allena, hwilken mästedels plägar gå octav-wijs, så framt icke Noternas geswindhet, eller ock hos dem som ännu intet åro wurna alt för små händer föröfalna något hinder: En det hörer mera konst til en utadelbar partiernas inrättning i fyrstämmtig Accompangement, än då man tillika slår an 5, 6 7 och flera stämmor. Imilertid kan man ock sitt Accompangement, om nödigt wore, ock i synnerhet wid en fullstämmande Musikque, förstärka och gripa alt det, som man med bågge händerna kan fatta, dock så, att det intet blifwer alt för stort vacuum emellan bågge händerna; ock fast än det icke kommer så rent fram, som wid fyrstämmtigt accompangement; så betäcker dock Partiernas myckenhet vittia således, at örat därmed kan vara tilfreds. Imilertid skal man hafwa afs cende däruppå, at de yttersta stämmorna, nemligen den aldra nedersta och den aldra öfwersta icke
Registration, Tone Quality and Temperament

The organ in Överselö Church is based on a 4-foot Principal and has only a Gedackt and reeds in the 8-foot register. On the top there are both a Quinta for the 8 foot, an Oktava 2 and a bright Scharff. The Trumpet 4 is only for the bass register and probably meant to support the bass in a plenum, a typical feature of the organs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In registration the 4-foot Principal is the foundation together with the Gedakt, and can be coupled with both the Oktava 2 and the Quinta. For a great plenum the Scharff and the Trumpet can be added.

The contrapuntal movement in the voices is still present in the period in question, and therefore, as a musician, you need to put much more effort into the polyphony and into the horizontal lines of the music when playing it, generating a sense of polyphony. This was also very important in the figured bass tradition. In the eighteenth century, figured bass was a means to build chordal textures, but not at the cost of horizontal movement in the different parts. In his biography on Johann Sebastian Bach, Joahnn Nicolaus Forkel writes:

Harmony, therefore, is not to be considered as a mere accompaniment of a simple melody, but a real means of increasing the stock of the expressions of the art, or the riches of musical language. But to do this, it must consist not in mere accompaniment, but in the interweaving of several real melodies, each of which may be, and is, heard sometimes in the upper part, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes below.\(^{15}\)

The Neidhart tuning of the organ makes it possible to play in all keys. The first circle of fifths, that was introduced in Kellner’s *Treulicher Unterricht in General-Bas*, is supported by the use of a temperament that is close to an equal temperament. Also, the 1697 hymnal mainly harmonizes the hymns in major as well as minor keys. This points to the development of settings reminiscent of the central German school of, for example, Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Böhm and Johann Pachelbel, and further to the galant music style.

Interludes, Trills and Ornamentation

In all probability, the congregation had a habit of pausing at the fermatas at the ends of phrases. As a result of these pauses, the common practice of inserting interludes between phrases appeared. These also gave the organist a greater sense of freedom in the accompaniment. Robin A. Leaver states that from the German perspective:

When the organ became the customary instrument for accompanying the congregation, the tempo remained slow […] The generally slow tempi created

lengthy pauses at the end of each melodic line. Silence was not really an option, nor was an extended chord on the organ. The solution was the Zwischenspiel, a linear interlude, described by Kauffman as “a graceful passage […] between each melodic phrase”.16

There are several written examples of the interlude tradition. Georg Kauffman’s *Harmonische Seelenlust* is the most prominent, consisting of a whole chorale book in alphabetical order, in which all chorales have written *Zwischenspiel*. Johann Sebastian Bach left a few chorales with interludes, among them BWV 715, 726 and 729. In the foreword to Kauffman’s *Seelenlust* we can read:

To complete this, a graceful passage [i.e *Zwischenspiel*, interlude] should be inserted between each melodic phrase. Music lovers, as they are described here, may not be able to fashion something between phrases. Just to remain silent, however, would be awkward. That’s why I hope to gain a few merits through these comments. Especially since I remember that there are quite a number [of amateur musicians] who earlier asked for such a discussion.17

In some of the Swedish handwritten hymnals you can find fragments of notated interludes in between the phrases of the hymn. In the two chorale book manuscripts attributed to Ferdinand Zellbell, found in the National Library of Sweden, there is a great deal of ornamentation written into the hymn melody.18

We can assume that this was a common habit in accompanying hymns. In the preface to the 1821 chorale book, we read that:

In most churches the tiring habit of playing the chorales so extremely slow, as if this was part of the very excellence, so that the congregation that has to sing it, even with the best of lungs, can’t manage these recurring suspensions. Therefore, you can hear, mostly in rural congregations, first the women finish the phrase. A bit later the men’s voices follow – and finally the organist comes unhurried after with his drills and roulades.19

During the period between the building of the Överselö organ and the introduction of the 1820 hymnal, ideals of hymn playing and registration changed radically, and most of the organs from the eighteenth century were rebuilt or replaced. In his dissertation, Anders Dillmar reviews the debate that took

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18 S 120, National Library of Sweden.
place in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. The dominant voices were very critical of the way that hymns were played in the churches of central Sweden. In 1779 an article by composer Joseph Martin Kraus was published in the newspaper *Stockholmsposten*:

Allow me to ask you, my dear Sir, in which of our churches decent and worthy music is executed upon the organ in support of and beneficial to the accompaniment of the singing? Organ accompaniment for the psalms should be simple, full-voiced, and syncopated according to the church style, but not, as you have intimated in your country, with ornamentation on every note, dissonances that are never prepared and seldom resolved, expression on various words of the psalm in the bass, which, despite the figuration, is incomprehensible, much too often for the organist himself, and other things that idiots impart to the church style as artistic, learned, moving, decent, worthy, useful, arousing, etc, etc.

![Figure 37. Ferdinand Zellbell’s chorale book. S 120, National Library of Sweden.](image)

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In my artistic work with the hymns, it felt more natural to regard the trills and the diminutions of the chorale melody as appoggiaturas to the next note. In this way the organ led the hymn forward steadily, and the trills became helpful in keeping the slow tempo flowing. This could have been the actual intent of the ornamentation of hymn tunes. However, it takes a skilled musician to realize that intent. Not every church in Sweden had such musicians, and this could have been one reason for leaving out the ornamentation in hymn playing, and later, and in the nineteenth century, moving towards the more straightforward four-part chorale.

Future Research
The way in which hymns were accompanied in the early Lutheran church is an underestimated source of knowledge about hymns and liturgy, as well as of the repertoire of each period. The interaction between the educated organist and the congregation that occurred in hymn singing must have developed new musical patterns that most probably affected the interpretation of existing music, as well as the style of new compositions. Most of the composers and musicians in European history have had a relationship to worship, and also to hymn singing and playing. One could say that hymn playing is one of the basic musical patterns, together with the patterns from dance, and the reciting of texts, to name two other examples. Hymns are cited and imitated in music composed throughout the classical era. Therefore, working with questions in the field of traditions of hymn singing and playing, like those in this study, can deepen understanding of the whole field of musical interpretation.

It would be interesting to see more studies of other congregations in Sweden in this field. There are several handwritten hymnals preserved, and every one of them could be subject to an artistic research project. Several planned digitalisation projects of manuscripts, in addition to future restorations of old organs in different parts of Sweden will be a great resource for further research.

Samuli Korkalainen

Nationalism was a significant ideology in nineteenth-century Europe and one that made a great impact on music – and on churches as well. It also had an influence on outlying regions and small nations. During the nineteenth century, the region of Ingria, located around Saint Petersburg, was inhabited by a Finnish-speaking Lutheran majority, even though the Russian Empire was principally Eastern Orthodox in religion and Russian-speaking in language. Inhabitants of the area, the Ingrian Finns, knew that their roots were in Finland and that Finland was their ethnic and linguistic homeland. Nevertheless, the goal of Ingrian nationalism was not to become a part of Finland. Nor was it to declare independence or even to seek autonomy. The idea was simply to preserve and express the ethnic pride of the Ingrian-Finnish people. The specific goal was to keep, maintain, enforce and develop Finnish culture, which was closely bound to Finnish Lutheran parishes.

In this chapter, the aim is to give a brief outline of the role of music and the Lutheran Church in the construction of the Ingrian Finns’ national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The main sources for this chapter are archival materials on Ingria in the National Archives of Finland in Helsinki, Finnish newspapers published in Saint Petersburg in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as earlier related studies. Because there are no comprehensive sources or material for researching the topic, I have used methods of microhistory; I have tried to extract information from fragmentary material and solve a jigsaw puzzle of separate pieces.

Identifying as Ingrian Finns: the Lutheran Church and the Finnish Language

Ingria is a Russian region that extends from the earlier Finnish border on the Karelian Isthmus to Saint Petersburg and beyond, continuing all the way to the Estonian border.1 Ingria was settled by Finns after the Treaty of Stolbovo

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1 *Inkeri* or *Inkerimaa* in Finnish, *Ингерия* or *Ингерманландия* in Russian, *Ingermanland* in Swedish and in German, *Ingeri* or *Ingerimaa* in Estonian.
in 1617, when the region was annexed to the kingdom of Sweden. After the battle of Poltava, in 1709, Ingria was ceded back to Russia.

Even though the city of Saint Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great in 1703, was in the middle of Ingria, Lutheranism remained the principal religion and Finnish was the language most spoken in the Ingrian countryside. From a cultural point of view, there was a strong bond between the Lutheran Church and the Finnish language – these were the most prominent features of the people identifying as Ingrian Finns. In Ingria, Lutheranism was often called *suomenusko* (“the Finnish Faith”) and Eastern Orthodoxy *venäjänusko* (“the Russian Faith”).

The Irish historian Benedict Anderson claimed that national communities are always imagined. He did not mean that these communities are fake. Anderson believed that any community so large that its members do not know each another on a face-to-face basis must be imagined to some degree. In the nineteenth century, a central question concerned what bound people together. What features created national identity? Towards the end of the eighteenth century the German-Romantic philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder declared, “Since every people is a People, it has its own national culture as it has its own language”. This combination of language, culture and nation was widely adopted, including in Ingria.

When Finland was incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1808–09, despite the close connections between Finland and Ingria, Finnish Lutheran parishes in Ingria were not a part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. The administration of these parishes was unclear until 1832, when they became part of the Saint Petersburg Consistorial district, which belonged to the Lutheran Church of Russia, along with the Baltic countries and some other Lutheran minority groups in the Russian Empire. It is important to underline that, until 1832, all the Lutheran churches of the various national groups in the Russian Empire were independent but from that year onwards, administration was concentrated in Saint Petersburg; in that process, different liturgical and ecclesiastical cultures were brought into closer contact with each other. Owing to this change, Baltic-German influences spread to Ingria. The old Swedish liturgy was replaced by the new Imperial Agenda, which was meant to be used at every Lutheran altar in the entire Russian Empire, excluding Finland, which was an Autonomous Grand Duchy of that empire and had its own Lutheran church. Most of the leaders of the new Russian church organ-

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6 Petkūnas, *Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy*, p. 169, 179.
isation were Baltic Germans. Nevertheless, all the Finnish-speaking pastors in Ingria were Finnish-born. They were educated in the only university in Finland, first located in Turku and later in Helsinki, whereas all the other pastors were educated in Dorpat (present-day Tartu) university in Livonia, within the sphere of influence of the Baltic-German tradition. From 1866 to 1917, altogether 109 new pastors began to work in Ingria. Only nineteen of them were Ingrian-born; six studied in Dorpat, twelve in Helsinki, and one in both of the universities. In the last decades of the nineteenth century especially, Finnish-born pastors brought nationalistic ideas to Ingria.

From the 1840s, there were annual pastors’ synods of the Saint Petersburg Consistorial district and in the same context meetings for the Finnish clergymen of Ingria. In those meetings, the pastors discussed questions of public education. The same kind of discussion was going on at the same time in Finland and in the Baltic countries. Traditionally, both in Finland and in Ingria, teaching children to read was a task of the churchwardens.

In the governorate of Livonia, a seminary was set up in 1839 with a mission to prepare teachers of primary schools as well as churchwardens for Lutheran parishes. At first, the seminary was located in Valmiera, but ten years later, it was moved to Valga. In Finland, the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminary was founded in 1863. Finnish clergymen hoped that churchwardens would be educated in the same institution, but neither the administration of the seminary nor the Finnish Senate favoured the proposal. That is why four separate churchwarden-organist schools were founded in Finland on the initiative of individual musicians (Turku 1878, Helsinki and Oulu 1882 as well as Viipuri 1893).

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8 Georg Luther, Herdaminne för Ingermanland II. De finska och svenska församlingarna och deras prästerskap 1704–1940, (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 620), (Helsinki, 2000), p. 77, 87.
10 Kaarlo Jalkanen, Lukkarin – ja urkurinvirka Suomessa 1809–1870, (Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran toimituksia 101), (Helsinki, 1976), p. 11–13. Murtorinne, “Inkerin kirkon suuruuden kausi”, p. 147. I am using the word “churchwarden” to mean lukkari in Finnish, klockare in Swedish, Küster in German and köster in Estonian. There is no exact English translation for this word. The words “precentor”, “cantor” and “parish clerk” have been used in earlier related studies, but I find them all problematic. “Precentor” and “cantor” are not accurate, because the post was not first and foremost that of a musician: individuals in this position had many tasks besides musical ones. "Parish clerk", on the other hand, sounds like someone who performs secretarial duties and is not a musician at all.
In Ingria, by contrast, in the same year of 1863 the Kolppana\textsuperscript{13} Churchwarden and Teacher Seminary was established for preparing both teachers and churchwardens – the same way as in the Valga seminary in Livonia.\textsuperscript{14}

Already at the end of the eighteenth century, Herder had the idea that every nation had its own national history and culture. Ordinary people had created this history and culture through folksongs, poems, stories and so on, and now all this just had to be found.\textsuperscript{15} However, this did not mean adopting the folk culture as it was, but also “improving” it, so that people could hardly recognise their own music and poetry anymore. Simple folk melodies were harmonised and arranged, for instance, for the choir or piano accompaniment, inappropriate lyrics were cleaned up, fragmentary oral poetry was pieced together and re-written to form a solid heroic history of a nation, and so on. One part of the project was also civilising, that is, educating young people as well as refining language and the arts.\textsuperscript{16}

As in many other European countries, in Finland too the educated classes – writers, teachers, pastors, lawyers, doctors – were interested in folk culture. Many journeyed to Karelia in a quest to find “the Finnish spirit” and “the soul of the nation” by collecting folk songs and oral poetry. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Finnish collectors also went to Ingria and collected large quantities of folk poems. For instance, in the collection Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot (“The Old Poems of the Finnish People”) there are about 4,600 poems from White Sea Karelia,\textsuperscript{17} but there are more than 15,000 poems from Ingria.\textsuperscript{18} Folk poems about Kullervo, one of the main characters in the Kalevala, the national epic of Finland, were collected specifically in Ingria. For that reason, many nationalistic enthusiasts often called the Ingrian Finns “the tribe of Kullervo”.

The process building a national identity for the Ingrian Finns was a bit different from the identity process of Finns in Finland. The biggest difference was that the Finns had never been serfs, whereas serfdom was a distinguishing characteristic of the Ingrian Finns’ history. Serfdom was also a common theme in Ingrian poems, songs and plays written at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. In 1861, the Emancipation Re-

\textsuperscript{13} Ingrian parishes and villages usually had Finnish, Russian, Swedish and German names. I use the Finnish names.


\textsuperscript{16} In Finnish, the word sivistys was also used very much in nationalist writings in the nineteenth century, both in Finland and in Ingria. The word has no exact equivalent in English, because in Finnish it covers education, knowledge, culture and mental development as well as civilization. It can also be used to describe either a person or a society. The word’s meaning is similar to the German word Bildung. In this chapter, I translate it in different ways depending on the context, by using words such as “culture”, “education”, “to civilise”, etc.

\textsuperscript{17} Vienan Karjala in Finnish, Беломорская Карелия in Russian, Vita Karelen in Swedish.

\textsuperscript{18} Juuso Mustonen, Inkerin suomalaiset seurakunnat, (Helsinki, 1931), p. 20.
form by Tsar Alexander II abolished serfdom throughout the Russian Empire. This meant more freedom of cultural expression among the Ingrian Finns and started a national awakening among them.\textsuperscript{19}

Constructing a national identity for the Ingrian Finns did not involve a desire to become part of Finland or to declare independence or even to establish an autonomous position. Ingrians considered it extremely important to understand their historical roots and their close connections with Finland, which was viewed as the ethnic and linguistic homeland of the Ingrian Finns. But from a national point of view, Finland was not their “fatherland”. Rather, Finland was seen as a mother and Ingria the child.\textsuperscript{20} Many people also emphasized that Ingria was part of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, the Lutheran Church and the Finnish language were still the most important factors in Ingrian national identification. Many Ingrian authors have underlined the role of the Lutheran church.\textsuperscript{21} According to Jaakko Raski, the religious, spiritual and national education of the Ingrian-Finnish people has always been the church’s duty; parish catechetical meetings have also been national awakening meetings.\textsuperscript{22} Juuso Mustonen, again, claimed that the Lutheran Church has been the principal agent in maintaining Finnish language and culture in Ingria.\textsuperscript{23}

The Ingrian Finnish intelligentsia also actively read Finnish nationalistic publications, for example, those by Johan Vilhelm Snellman and Zacharias Topelius (the younger); both of whom, like the Ingrian Finns, having no interest in leaving the Russian Empire. This is all seen clearly in the autobiography of Pietari Toikka, who was the principal of the Kolppana Seminary from 1885 to 1898:

It was thanks to Snellman that I came to Kolppana. His fiery speeches had such a rejuvenating impact on me that they evoked an irresistible desire to do something, especially for my own underprivileged tribe of Kullervo. On receiving an invitation from the seminary board, I considered it a sign from providence for my forthcoming activities. I thought I heard a voice whispering, “Go, work for your own people. Teach, raise up the children of your people. Steel them as suitable weapons in the fight against darkness, violence and oppression. Make them skilled sowers of seeds of the light for all Ingrian schools. Work, forge, steel them!”\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{20} See, for example: a poem by Aapo Iho in Mustonen, \textit{Inkerin suomalaiset seurakunnat}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{21} For instance, Paavo Räikkönen in \textit{Suomalainen Kansan-Kalenteri Wenäjällä 1893}, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{22} Raski, \textit{Inkerin kirkko}, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{23} Mustonen, \textit{Inkerin suomalaiset seurakunnat}, p. 18–19.
Music Education in the Kolppana Seminary

By the first part of the nineteenth century, in Ingria, only pastors were educated, and they were mostly Finnish-born. But in the last decades of the century, primary school teachers educated in Kolppana became the new intelligentsia of Ingria along with the clergy. It was notable that these teachers were Ingrian-born. That is why the Kolppana Seminary became both the central place and the symbol of Ingrian nationalist thought. Teachers educated in Kolppana strove to teach their pupils the Finnish language, national view of life and a solid Lutheran faith.

In the nineteenth century, churchwardens were the only professional musicians in Ingria. But few churches had an organ, and churchwardens’ ability to conduct was very limited because there were no music institutes to educate them. Most of the churchwardens were self-trained. In fact, for the most part, the office of churchwarden was hereditary, passing from father to son. In addition, the churchwardens had many other duties, which had no connection to music, such as teaching children to read and serving the clergy. When there was a shortage of pastors, churchwardens even held services, performed emergency baptisms and officiated at funerals.

At the Kolppana Seminary, the goal was first and foremost to educate teachers for primary schools; educating churchwardens was not considered important. For this reason, music education was meagre, even if the curriculum included more music than the Jyväskylä Seminary in Finland: only church singing and organ playing were taught, with figured bass added later.

Soon after the seminary opened, instruction in singing and playing began, but only in the second year of course work. Yet by 1866 these lessons were also offered from the beginning. As seminary principle, Jaakko Raski pointed out, the standard of music education at the Kolppana Seminary was modest, owing to the lack of instruments and the quality of the teachers. Most of the music teachers were churchwardens or primary school teachers who worked in Kolppana only for a short period. Moreover, most of them were also former students of the seminary. Four-part choral singing was not officially included in the curriculum until 1916, but it had been taught since at least 1908.

In comparison with Finnish churchwarden-organist schools, it is notable that in Kolppana, the singing repertoire – both solo and four-part – included only religious and nationalistic songs; there were no vocalises at all, for in-

26 Luther, Herdaminne för Ingermanland II, p. 83.
28 Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary, the National Archives of Finland, Helsinki. Irene Iho, Kolppanan seminaarin vaiheita, unprinted master’s thesis, (University of Helsinki, 1950), p. 164.
30 Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary, the National Archives of Finland, Helsinki. Iho, Kolppanan seminaarin vaiheita, p. 168–169.
Nevertheless, there is no need to underestimate the importance of the teachers and churchwardens educated in Kolppana for the Ingrian-Finnish song movement. They were the main figures who established and conducted choirs and brass bands in their various localities.

Choirs, Song Societies and Song Festivals

Pupils of the Kolppana Seminary sang in four-part harmony as well, even before this skill was included in the curriculum. The reason was the rising enthusiasm for choral singing that spread quickly and widely in Ingria in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The first choir – or song society, as these were often called – was founded in the Markkova-Järvisaari parish in 1865. The founder was a vicar, A. J. Piispanen, who purchased psalmodicons and taught people to play them. When the standard of church singing began to rise, musicians began rehearsing four-part choral singing.

Soon, following this example, many churchwardens and teachers founded choirs and brass bands. The repertoire of these choirs can be divided roughly into two categories: religious songs and Finnish nationalistic songs. Most of the choirs sang on almost every notable religious and secular occasion in their own locales. Their task was also to support congregational singing during the Divine Services on the most important feasts of the liturgical year. For this reason, they also practised unison chorale singing along with four-part singing.

Because of the close historical and cultural connections, the Ingrian Finns were also interested in the Estonian and Finnish song movements. The first Estonian national song festival was held in Tartu in the summer of 1869. In

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31 Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary.
34 Psalmodicon (virsikannel in Finnish, psalmodikon in Swedish, moldpil in Estonian) is a long, single-stringed instrument played with a bow. It was developed in Scandinavia in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it was used to support hymn singing at home or at school. When Finnish clergymen complained about the low standard of church singing, they began to buy and build psalmodicons. The aim was to improve singing and to standardise chorale melodies, because in the absence of printed books, regional and local variants of chorale melodies emerged. The psalmodicon could be played by people with little musical training, because there were numbers written over the words, corresponding to numbers painted on the fret board of the instrument. The psalmodicon was meant only for learning; it was not used as an instrument to accompany the services.
37 Raski, Inkerin kirkko, p. 79. See also choral publications by Mooses Putro (1879, 1899, 1905 and 1913).
Finland, the first song festival was organised in 1884 along the lines of the Estonian example. In 1896 Mooses Putro visited the Estonian National Song Festival in Tallinn, and in 1891, the choir of the Saint Petersburg Finnish Song Society (Pietarin Suomalainen Lauluseura), conducted by Putro, participated in the Finnish National Song Festival in Kuopio, Finland. Moreover, in 1898, the Keltto men’s choir (Kelton mieskööri) from Northern Ingria participated in the Kirvu Song Festival in the Finnish part of the Karelian Isthmus. The choir was joined by Mooses Putro, who, after the festival, announced in the newspaper Inkeri that the following summer the same kind of song festival would be held in Ingria. It is interesting that in this article Putro professed a preference for unison singing and instructed every churchwarden and teacher to practise it. According to Putro, there were only a few choirs able to sing four parts in Ingria, and for this reason there was no need to organise a choir competition in the festival.

The first Ingrian Song Festival was held in Skuoritsa in June 1899 with about 500 singers. The repertoire consisted of hymns and other religious songs, Finnish folksongs and nationalistic songs, as well as songs composed by Mooses Putro. There were 22 songs for mixed choirs and 11 for men’s choirs as well as 13 songs in unison, so that the audience was able to sing along. The Song Festival was organised by the temperance association Inkeri and local Lutheran parishes.

The next song festival took place in Tuutari in 1901 with over 600 singers and instrumentalists. In the third festival in Venjoki in 1903 about 800 singers and instrumentalists participated, but in Tyrö in 1908 only 300. At the fifth festival in Keltto in 1910, there was also a theatre play and competitions for sport associations, but singing no longer roused such enthusiasm as before; there were only about 200 singers and players. Perhaps the reason was that the Ingrian-Finnish people were politically divided, and there were many arguments between the socialist newspapers and those supporting the church. Nevertheless, both groups considered song festivals important enough from the nationalistic point of view that they wanted to organise them again and together. A natural opportunity was the fiftieth anniversary of the Kolppana Seminary in 1913. The sixth National Song Festival took place in Kolppana.

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41 Inkeri 3 July 1898.
42 Inkeri 16 October 1898, 12 June 1899, and 18 June 1899. Flink, Maaorjuuden ja vallankumouksen puristuksessa, p. 345.
44 Suomalainen Kansan-Kalenteri Wenäjällä 1911, p. 119–121.
with almost 800 singers and 80 brass instrumentalists as well as two gymnastic associations and a folkdance group. Both the socialist and the church supporting newspapers emphasized the feeling of togetherness and expressed a desire to organise new festivals with the same enthusiasm. Unfortunately, by this time the Russian government had begun to restrict the rights of national minorities, and it was impossible to organise such gatherings. The last Ingrian Song Festival was held in Tuutari in 1918, under the restrictions by the Bolshevik party.

It is important to remember that music was not the only tool used for spreading nationalistic ideas throughout the region. New primary schools were founded, Sunday schools were common in the parishes, travelling religious education teachers were educated, public libraries were established and Finnish newspapers and journals were published in Saint Petersburg. All of these were put to use in the Lutheran parishes or in close relationship with them, because the Russian rulers did not allow the Ingrian Finns to establish any kind of administration of their own for schools or culture except the church. The rise of the temperance and labour movements, volunteer fire brigades as well as numerous communal celebrations, which included lectures, plays and dancing, brought Ingrian-Finnish people together in Saint Petersburg and in the countryside.

In the nineteenth century, a very typical feature of nationalism in various European countries was a need to create and write each nation’s history. Since the 1860s, some pastors helped researchers from Finland to collect folk culture in Ingria. The first attempts to write a history of their own in Ingria had appeared in the 1880s, but the first wider discussion of Ingrian history was started by Pietari Toikka in the newspaper Inkeri on January 1889. After that, every now and then, there were articles about Ingrian history in Finnish newspapers published in Saint Petersburg. Nevertheless, as late as 1911, there was a brief article about this topic in the Christmas publication Inkerin joulu. The author “Teppo S.” claimed that research on local geography, culture and history was urgent and every Ingrian Finn should participate in collecting material.

From a musical point of view, writing own Ingrian history meant collecting old folk songs and folk melodies as well as emphasising the singing tradi-

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49 Iho, Kolppanan seminaarin vaiheita, p. 50.
51 Luther, Herdaminne för Ingermanland II, p. 88.
52 Inkeri 20 January 1889. Flink, Maaorjuuden ja vallankumouksen puristuksessa, p. 228.
tion and its ancient roots in Ingria. In 1904, in connection with the annual general meeting of the temperance association Inkeri, there was a “historical concert”. First, an old Karelian man strummed a wooden stick against the edge of the table and then performed an old melody with a flautist. They were followed by the singing of oral poetry by rune singers. After that, school children performed school songs, i.e., nationalistic and religious repertoire, accompanied on the psalmodicon, and a soloist sang folk songs accompanying herself on the kantele. Finally, there were three choirs and a brass band on the stage.

Mooses Putro and Nouse, Inkeri

A major figure in the improvement of Ingria’s music was Mooses Putro (b. 18 October 1848, d. 24 November 1919), who first obtained his degree and then taught for four years at the Kolppana Seminary. He continued his studies as an organist and composer at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory. He also studied briefly at the Valga Seminary in Livonia as well as in the Jyväskylä Seminary in Finland. Putro worked both as an organist in Saint Mary’s Church and as a teacher at the Finnish Church School in Saint Petersburg. In addition, he also edited the four-part musical setting of the Finnish-language edition of the Imperial Agenda used in the Lutheran Church of Russia after 1897. Putro was a journalist as well; he published a newspaper and wrote nationalistic articles.

In 1872, Putro founded the Saint Petersburg Finnish Song Society (Pietarin Suomalainen Lauluseura). It started as a men’s choir, but by 1874 there were separate men’s, women’s and mixed choirs. They practised four-part singing as well as unison chorale singing. At its height, there were over eighty singers in the song society. The mixed choir was the most well-known as well as being the choir of the highest standard in Ingria. It participated in the Finnish National Song Festivals in Kuopio in 1891 as well as in Viipuri in 1889 and 1908, when it won the choir competition. Naturally, the choir also participated in all the Ingrian Song Festivals. Mooses Putro conducted the choir until his death in 1919, 47 years altogether.

Putro edited four choral collections for Ingrian-Finnish choirs. The first was published in 1879 and included his own songs (see Figure 38) as well as the classical choir repertoire, some Finnish nationalistic songs and two

54 Inkerin joulu 1911, p. 13.
The three other publications were meant for the song festivals, and they were published by the temperance association Inkeri. The first of these, published in 1899, included hymns and other religious songs, Putro’s own songs, folksongs and nationalistic songs from Finland as well as the national anthem of Russia in Russian. In the second part, published in 1905, the repertoire was quite similar, but there were not as many religious songs as before. Yet significantly, there were two Ingrian folk melodies. The third part, pub-

60 Raittiusyhdistys Inkerin Laulukokoelma I, Mooses Putro (ed.), (Saint Petersburg, 1899).
61 Raittiusyhdistys Inkerin Laulukokoelma II, Mooses Putro (ed.), (Saint Petersburg, 1905).
Figure 39. Mooses Putro’s song *Nousė, Inkeri* in *Raittiushdistys Inkerin Laulukokoelma* [“Song Collection for the temperance association Inkeri”], Mooses Putro (ed.), (Saint Petersburg, 1899). The word *Inkeri* (Ingria) is blackened out and replaced by the word *kansani* (“my people”).
lished not later than 1913, included only compositions by Ingrian composers: two by Putro himself and eight by others.62

Putro was also the author and composer of the song *Nouse, Inkeri* (“Arise, Ingria”), which was considered the national hymn of Ingria. The song was performed for the first time at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Kolppana Seminary in 1888.63 It was first published in 1899 in the choral collection put out by the temperance association *Inkeri*, but, due to censorship by Russian authorities, the word *Inkeri* (Ingria) was blackened out and replaced by the word *kansani* (“my people”); see Figure 39).64 That is how the song was sung until the 1918 song festival. In 1888, there was only one stanza and the lyrics written by Putro himself. Later, in 1905, Paavo Rääkkönen wrote a second stanza. Since that time, the song has been sung with two stanzas.65

**Russification Policy and Socialism as a Threat to Nationalist Aims**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the bond between the Lutheran Church and Ingrian-Finnish national identity started to fray. Even though the Kolppana Seminary was still maintained by the Lutheran Church of Russia, many teachers who had been educated there began to be critical of the church. In their view, the main spirit of the church was so narrow-minded and old-fashioned that it was no longer suitable for educating well-informed future citizens.66 Some of these teachers also became members of the social democratic labour movement. In 1907, the socialists founded their own Finnish newspaper, *Neva*, and tried to spread their critical views about the Lutheran Church, but most of the Ingrian people stayed loyal. Still the people remained divided. Most of the Ingrian socialists were not Bolsheviks, but Mensheviks, i.e. social democrats.67

It is also important to know that the gap between socialists and other Ingrian intelligentsia was not as deep as it was in many other countries. Both sides largely had the same goals and the same tools, the main thing being to maintain and improve the Ingrian-Finnish culture and inculcate a sense of nationality. And on both sides, singing was considered an efficient tool to infuse the minds of the common people with nationalist goals.68

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There was also a common enemy; at the end of the nineteenth century the Russian government started a Russification policy, whose aim was to abolish the cultural and administrative autonomy of non-Russian minorities throughout the entire empire. It meant difficult times for all the national minority groups, including the Ingrian Finns. During the First World War this also meant difficulties for the Lutheran Church, because Lutheranism in Russia had always been identified predominantly with Germany, and now Germany was the enemy. To have a German surname or to be a Lutheran was enough to be suspected as a traitor, spy or saboteur. Pastors, parishes and consistories faced being barred or disbanded.

After the February Revolution in 1917, the situation looked much better. Many Ingrian Finns began to entertain the hope that things would return to normal and even improve, because, for instance, the new government cancelled all national and religious restrictions. There were also dreams that Ingrian Finns could have a right to establish their own administration for educational and cultural life. But the new era lasted only about half a year, because with the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks took power. The Lutheran Church was permitted to exist, but the Christian faith was declared to be unscientific, superstitious nonsense, and was to be replaced by faith in communist ideals and Communist Party programmes. In 1918, the Bolsheviks started to restrict ecclesiastical life as well as the cultural activities of non-Russian minority groups. The church separated from the state, and schools from the church.

The Kolppana Seminary was able to operate normally until January 1918, when it was officially removed from the control of the Lutheran Church to the control of the Soviet government. Teaching religion and educating churchwardens and organists was no longer allowed. Many pupils left the seminary to battle against the Bolsheviks, who arrested many of the remaining pupils. In spring 1919, the last remaining pupils escaped to Estonia and the seminary did not exist in Kolppana anymore. Along with that, all the nationalist aims of the Ingrian Finns received their final deathblow. Seminary principal

70 Petkūnas, *Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy*, p. 551–552.
Kaapre Tynni, who was a Menshevik, moved to Finland and organised one semester for about twenty pupils of Kolppana in Helsinki in spring 1920.\footnote{The Archives of Kolppana Teacher Seminary, the National Archives of Finland, Helsinki. Luther, \textit{Herdaminne för Ingermanland}, p. 92.}

During the 1920s and 1930s, many Christian worshippers were intimidated, and pastors were murdered or sent to gulags in Siberia.\footnote{Petkūnas, \textit{Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy}, p. 558.} In 1937, all the Lutheran churches and Finnish schools in Ingria were closed down, and publications and radio broadcasting in Finnish were suspended. In 1931 and 1935, Soviet authorities deported about 60,000 Ingrian Finns from Ingria.\footnote{Metiäinen and Kurko, \textit{350-vuotismuistojulkaisu}, p. 122.} Finally, in 1938, the Lutheran Church in Russia was officially closed and all its property was taken over by the state.\footnote{Luther, \textit{Herdaminne för Ingermanland}, p. 114. Petkūnas, \textit{Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy}, p. 558–559.}

Conclusion

Ingrian-Finnish nationalism had its own peculiar features. Nevertheless, it was part of a much wider movement going on across the whole of Europe. Even though nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries always appeared in a local context, the phenomenon itself was transnational. The Ingrian Finns often felt that they were only a small group of people located in an outlying region, speaking a foreign language and following a different religion from the majority of people in their country. Still, they were not isolated from the Lutheran Church in Europe, nor from the nationalist ideas and movements on the continent.

As many other nations and countries did, Ingrian Finns created their own national symbols to portray themselves to the world as a national community. They had their own flag and a coat of arms, a national anthem (\textit{Nouse, Inkeri}) and a personification of the nation (\textit{Kullervo}) as well as their own history, geography and culture.\footnote{List of typical national symbols: Saukkonen, \textit{Kansallinen identiteetti}, p. 96.} They also recognised the power of music and used it, similar to many other nations. But the peculiar feature of the Ingrian-Finnish nationalist movement was how closely it was bound to the Lutheran Church. In Ingria, Herder’s idea of the combination of language, culture and nation was instead language, church, culture and nation.
17. Luther’s Significance for the Swedish Chorale Book Editors Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner and Harald Göransson

Anders Dillmar

This text is about the significance of Martin Luther (1483–1546) for two important Swedish chorale books printed in 1820–21 and 1987, the latter still in use today. A chorale book contains melodies and accompaniments to the hymns in a church hymnal (in Swedish: Psalmbok). The chorale books under discussion here contained music for the Swedish hymnals of 1819 – with Johan Olof Wallin as editor – and that of 1986, which was the largely ecumenical product of cooperation between 14 different churches and denominations.¹

In connection with the growing criticism of the Enlightenment hymnals of the late eighteenth century, the nineteenth century saw an increasing historical interest in the authors and composers of old hymns. In Sweden, one very active person in this sense was Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner, whose interest was in Luther’s ideas about music, as well as in his actual chorale melodies. Luther had played a strong part in Hæffner’s German upbringing. Hæffner was appointed organist to the German parish in Stockholm at 22 years old, and later director of the royal court orchestra, director of music at the University of Uppsala and cathedral organist in the same city. Since traditional Swedish folk music also interested him, he became editor of the music appendix to the first edition of Swedish folk melodies (1814).

With his 1820 chorale book Hæffner wanted to contribute to a “melodic song”, unlike “the mess [‘oreda’] previously heard in most churches”.² Many old Lutheran hymn melodies had become distorted over time in Sweden and Hæffner considered music to be insufficiently valued in Swedish worship. Not even the priests fully realized its potential in the liturgy.

¹ I have previously studied different aspects of the works of Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner (1759–1833) in my dissertation “Dödshugget mot vår nationella tonkonst”. Hæffner-tidens koralreform i historisk, etnohymnologisk och musikteologisk belysning, (Lund, 2001). See also my study on Harald Göransson (1917–2004) and his comprehensive work on Swedish church music in the late twentieth century, presented in (1) Harald Göranssons studietid och verksamhet som kyrkomusiker, (2) Harald Göransson som musikpedagog och folkbildare, (3) Harald Göransson och gudstjänstmusikens omvandling, (4) Harald Göransson och psalmsångens förnyelse – all published in 2015 by Artos, Skellefteå, Sweden.

² J. C. F. Hæffner, “Något om nya Svenska Choralboken”, in StockholmsPosten no 93, 21 April 1821.
At the Reformation jubilee in 1817, Luther was, of course, very much at the center of celebrations and described as something of a hero. The Cathedral of Uppsala was filled to its limit, all hymns were “composed by Luther” and sung by “chosen voices” led by Hæffner. Interestingly, this was a mixed choir with women singing the soprano part, which must be understood as rather revolutionary in Sweden at that time.³

For several years, Hæffner had been working on chorales, making use of different principles related to Luther’s practice and thinking. Hæffner had also become rather well known in Sweden, as well as in Finland after 1808, through the widespread dissemination of his first printed chorale book. Ten years later he announced a new chorale book in the press with at least 600 melodies, also intended for use in Germany. It was described as “a Universal collection” with “all good chorale melodies” from Luther’s era up to 1700, reproduced according to their oldest version, given in four-part settings with pure harmonies and quite often in church modes.⁴ This was something special at this time, since the major/minor system was well established. Quite soon after this, he was contacted by the Swedish Hymn Committee to “adjust some melodies to the manner of singing in the Swedish Church”.⁵ Within a matter of months, he was able to submit his manuscript, and this chorale book remained largely in use for nearly 150 years after 1820. A second part was printed in 1821 but was not so widely used. Still, it was very important since it contained the preface and other valuable information about the first volume.

165 years later, in 1986, the current Swedish chorale book was compiled with Harald Göransson as music editor, and after some revisions it was printed in 1987. In addition to parish work as organist, Harald Göransson was a teacher (eventually professor) of music theory and liturgical music at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm and a prominent voice in debates on church music. Besides the chorale book, he was also responsible for the music of the Swedish church manual of 1986, which, after tough discussions, was replaced in late 2017. Later he wrote a dissertation in musicology on the Swedish chorale book of 1697. It should be noticed that nobody in Swedish church music history has ever held the same overall central position. Although chorales were Göransson’s main focus of interest, by the 1940s he had studied Gregorian chant in Paris and at the Monastery of Solesmes and later edited several


collections of Gregorian Introits intended for use in the Lutheran Church of Sweden. He also became famous, and in some sense notorious, for his support of more popular music styles in the church service around 1970. Luther was also an important figure in Göransson’s world view.

Comparison – Five Similarities

When comparing the statements of Hæffner with those of Göransson, I have found some interesting connections. There are coincident statements, and some that reveal a kind of development of thought. There are also unique and dissimilar statements, which perhaps are most telling about the different times and contexts of these two chorale book editors in relation to Luther’s thought and practice.

1. Luther’s Liturgical Songs

In 1817, Luther’s liturgical songs were actualized by Hæffner, who later also intended to present Luther’s Litany (from one of the Klug hymnals) and liturgical music “in the original”, to prevent some “unfortunate Swedish melodic attempts” which he had heard, and to give “connoisseurs and art lovers” the opportunity to hear these musical pieces “in their purity”.

In 1942, Gregorian Introits had been reinstated in the Swedish worship service after 300 years of silence. Because everything named “Catholic” was suspect at that time in Sweden, these songs were called “Old Church songs” (“Gammalkyrkliga melodier”). Göransson pointed out that Luther never wanted to get rid of this treasure and that it represented a very long tradition of singing in Swedish worship. Thus, perhaps a little unexpectedly, Luther’s views became a strong argument for the use of these old songs. But, unlike Hæffner, Göransson (in the 1970s) only accepted a Litany loosely based on that of Luther after some revisions of the text.

2. Luther’s own Chorale Tunes

Hæffner viewed the chorale melodies from the time of Luther (and until 1650) as a treasure that would remain “in Eternity”. He changed many melodies already well-known in Sweden to those he believed had closer similarity with the “originals” of Luther. Some Lutheran melodies previously unknown in Sweden also found their way into Hæffner’s chorale book edition of 1808 – some even without text. His marking “DML” (Doctor Martin Luther) did not suggest that Luther himself had “originally” composed all these melodies. But Luther was seen as the creator of “the modern chorale music” and all “good” composers until the 1650s had followed his ideas. Sacred music was separated

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6 J. C. F. Hæffner, Svenska Messan, (Uppsala, 1817).
from profane music by its “high, serious, devotional and worthy” character, and the chorale possessed a “greatness” that lay “in its simplicity”.

For Göransson and others in the 1950s the Lutheran chorales represented a common tradition that could become a unifying factor, if they were arranged musically similarly in different countries. Owing to increased tourism, it was seen as important to have common melodies so that people travelling could take part in services in different countries. This was explicitly mentioned in the preface of the Nordic chorale book of 1961, developed as a result of the Nordic Musicological Congress of 1954 in Uppsala and Stockholm. The oldest melodies were “restored” both rhythmically and melodically. In 1957, Göransson and some colleagues published a Swedish edition called Koral musik, which in 1964 became an officially accepted supplement to the Swedish chorale book.

3. Tonality

As early as the end of the eighteenth century Hæffner held a deep respect for the tonality of the old Gregorian melodies – the so-called “church modes” – in spite of the fact that his contemporaries mostly rejected them in favour of music in major and minor tonalities. From a modern understanding of the church modes, Hæffner might be criticized, but his early and strong assertion of them was important, although this gave him plenty of critics already in his lifetime. His conviction of the beauty of these old modes only increased when he found related tonality in old Swedish folk tunes. He argued that anyone who had heard “Old Swedish Folk Song in its authenticity”, directly from the lips of ordinary people, realized that it could not be adapted to “modern form” – major and minor tonalities – without being destroyed. He described the result as “an old Nordic fighter (“Viking”) dressed in a dress suit”. The same he suggested was true of the Lutheran chorales, their “true genius” (“sanna genius”) could not be adequately expressed in terms of major and minor. The church modes struck “a special string of the soul” and could put an audience “in a mood of serious solemnity”.

In the mind-set of the 1940s there also was a special character to the old Lutheran chorales that did not fit well with music from the Romantic period, for example with Max Reger’s organ chorale works. Göransson described the

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Lutheran chorale as having a “simple harshness” (“enkel kärvhet”) that was in accordance with the “strictly objective” (“strängt objektiv”) touch the liturgy needed to constitute collective expression. The Lutheran era was seen as characterized by the same “objectivity” and “community ideals” that were found in Igor Stravinsky’s Mass (1948) with its text from the Nicene Creed. Göransson himself found the same expression in Luther’s Credo hymn.¹¹

4. Lutheran Way of Singing

Hæffner, with explicit reference to Luther, recommended that chorales be sung in “a powerful and loud manner”, in order “not to be ashamed of bearing your inner wishes to God”. He perceived silent hymn singing as an expression of doubt. Weak congregational singing only occurred among German Pietists and Quakers, not in any Lutheran congregation, he insisted. In contrast, other contemporaries – such as Pehr Frigel, the secretary of the Royal Academy of Music – preferred the weaker German sound, which he described as “half-voice”. The singing of well-known chorales often sounded like a “scream” (“skrik”), he thought.¹²

In the 1950s, Göransson often described the original Lutheran chorale as expressing a rhythmical and melodic “intense joy”. Later church hymns had developed into “rather sleepy and shuffling” (“sömniga och släpiga”) songs. In his lifetime Hæffner had improved the situation “to some extent”, but still his chorales were built on “peculiar rules” and “all sorts of speculation about the dignity of church music”. Göransson concluded: “There is something wrong about our inherited chorale form from Hæffner!” At least half of all chorales could be described as “caricatures of what they once had been”.

Göransson insisted that “the chorale singing must be happy and catching” (“glad och smittsam/medryckande”) and strived towards what Luther had called “singing with pleasure and joy”, a “happy and joyful” singing with “easterly joy”. This he thought could be found in “airy” (“luftig”) and polyphonic organ settings of the hymns, as well as in Neue Sachlichkeit compositions. Of course this joy, motivated by the praise of the glory of God, could not be forced onto people, rather it “grew in a mysterious way” within powerful and living spiritual movements. But at the same time, the duty of the church musician was to promote this joyful singing through different musical means. According to Göransson, the ideal of Luther and his self-esteem (“självbékän-


nelse”) could be found in the melody *Nun freut euch lieben Christen G’mein*, starting with a fanfare and ending with an effective rhythmic prolongation.13

5. Each Hymn Text should have its own Melody
Hæffner referred to Luther’s wish that each hymn text should have its own melody. In practice, he knew that this was impossible, and the many melodies – 289 for 500 different hymn texts – in his chorale book of 1820 were thus recommended to be used “whenever possible”. Not all melodies were intended to be sung by congregations; more often schools and choirs used them. The availability of many good melodies in the chorale book probably stimulated singing in schools.14

Göransson also claimed that each text should have its own melody and at the same time he knew that this was impossible in practice. Göransson did not relate this idea specifically to the thought of Luther.15

Comparison – Three Developments

1. Four-part Settings and Counterpoint
Hæffner was convinced that Luther had proposed that the chorales be sung in four parts and that this had been the normal way of singing until around 1650 – and also the old original Christian practice. This practice had created “reverence in the worship service”, provided that the voices sounded balanced. Thus Hæffner’s own arrangements were primarily intended for four-part singing, but they could also be played on the organ. He questioned chorale books intended only for instruments, since from this notation the melodies could not be written out “in four parts for the song”. This also required good “counterpoint” in the settings and consequently a thorough bass notation was insufficient. For cost reasons alone, Hæffner claimed, he had refrained from printing his own chorale book of 1820 as a full four-part score, which for him was the optimal way to notate music.


Hæffner also believed that church music could only develop if women’s voices ("fruntimmers röster") were allowed to take part in the singing. The descant and alto parts of his chorale settings should thus be sung explicitly "by young boys or women" ("gossar eller fruntimmer") – the last word might also refer to adolescent girls – and the tenor and basso parts "by grown-up youths or men".\(^{16}\)

In the twentieth century, Göransson also strongly argued that the whole congregation should sing in worship. Luther had motivated this by his idea of the "priesthood of all believers". In the same way, Göransson interpreted the church pews as an extension of the choir’s seats in the church choir – everyone should actively participate in the liturgy. "It cannot be displayed more clearly", he said and described this as a move towards "ancient church practice". But, according to Göransson, this participation was not related to the four-part settings of the chorales, even though he often gave the traditional chorales this form. But he also experimented with more contrapuntal three-part organ settings to make the playing easier for the organist. He also pointed out that Luther did not create hymn singing; he only contributed to its renewal and strong growth. The purpose was to put the word of God “swinging” in the midst of the congregation.

In practice, both Hæffner and Göransson saw the four-part chorale as the main model, but the latter did not explicitly relate this to Luther’s thought.\(^{17}\)

2. Liberating Inspiration on Contemporary Thoughts

Hæffner believed that the time for writing good chorale melodies was over. Still, he wrote six melodies of his own and printed them in the 1820 chorale book, and a year later presented three more of his own melodies. This was inspired by the praxis of Luther himself, but the melodies were not appreciated by all and were seen rather as some sort of inconsistent emergency solution even by Hæffner himself.\(^{18}\)

In the 1950s, Göransson was well aware of the uncertainty about the oldest notation of the Lutheran chorales and how they should be interpreted rhythmically. Still he thought that the old chorale settings could free up contem-


porary obsessions about how a chorale “must” look, and inspire innovation, with great respect to the legacy of Luther’s time. In part, he was here in debt to future professor of musicology Ingmar Bengtsson, who believed that present-day hymns needed the inspiration of older “aesthetically complete and core-fresh” (“estetiskt fullvärdiga och kärnfriskt levande”) melodies. In the sixteenth century, Göransson also observed a “unity” worth following – a unity between liturgy and music, between folk song and art music, between the individual and the communal.

Others were more sceptical. In 1956, Carl-Allan Moberg (first Swedish professor of musicology) argued that the attempts to “sharpen our worship service in harmony with the Lutheran era” reflected most of all a hope that “the religious exaltation of the Reformation” would give the present a “much needed spiritual injection”. Despite this protest he was “principally” positive about the publication of a booklet of sixteenth century chorales with “certain archaic transformation” [“viss arkaiserande omformning”] of the now customary rhythm, harmony and form.19

3. Musical Richness and Alternating Singing

According to Göransson, the Lutheran era had shown a surprising musical richness in the service, with a mixture of simple congregational singing and polyphonic settings for the choir, with or without instruments, as well as pure instrumental music and Gregorian chant. This “effective and stimulating unity and cooperation” was summarized in the Latin term “alternatim” and became something Göransson promoted intensively. He repeatedly described the Swedish liturgy of the 1950s as musically “far below what could be called the ‘normal’ level”. He suspected that Luther, if he had participated in “a ‘normal’ service in today’s Sweden”, would have thought he was attending a Reformed Church, “at least as far as the music was concerned”.

A divine service in Wittenberg in the sixteenth century would have amazed people of the 1950s with its musical richness. Then there was “a serious consideration of how music could best be used in worship in a critical time”. It was a delicate problem to “coordinate the artistic and the popular, art music and folk songs”, as well as choir and instruments. In Wittenberg, Göransson believed, a balance was created, which unfortunately did not last. Luther had identified the positive aspect of St. Augustine’s musical thought: all art, especially music, should be used in the service of the Creator. In line with

this, the Swedish Hymnal of 1986 was characterized by an increased stylistic plurality.\textsuperscript{20}

No discussions of alternatim have been found in Hæffner’s context, but as mentioned, in his chorale book of 1808 he wanted to enrich the Swedish Church with some Lutheran chorale melodies that were not in use in Sweden – as well as with Luther’s Litany.\textsuperscript{21}

Comparison – Seven differences

1. Syllabic, Non-melismatic Melodies

Even though some old Gregorian melodies had been preserved in a melismatic form, Luther’s main intention, according to Hæffner, had been to give them a syllabic form. The rationale for this was that the chorale should be sung “at once by a large crowd of people”. Thus Luther had simplified some of the tunes of the Catholic Church and removed the melismas and the artistic from them. This method justified Hæffner in making both “additions and abbreviations” to some melodies, but these changes were not understood to affect the status of a melody as “original”. In some cases, he even went further than Luther on this point. Overall, his melodic and rhythmic versions of melodies in the chorale book of 1808 are closer to Luther’s versions than they became twelve years later. The 1820 edition was not a private enterprise as the previous one had been; rather it was commissioned and approved by the Hymn Committee as well as by the Swedish king.\textsuperscript{22}

Göransson also mostly used a syllabic form of chorale melodies, but this was never argued to be a guiding Lutheran principle. Overall, there are many melismas in the hymnal and chorale book of 1986–87.


\textsuperscript{21}J. C. F. Hæffner, Svenska Messan 1817, Hæffner, Svensk Choralbok 1821 part II nr 35 (Luther’s litany with organ accompaniment). This Litania was sung in Uppsala at the Reformation jubilee 1817.

2. Three-four Time

Hæffner rejected the use of three-four time in chorales. His main argument was that Luther had never used it. A chorale in “minuet time” could also never be as “simple” and “sublime” as it should be – filled with “seriousness” and “solemnity”. After 1808 he seems fully convinced that dactyls and three-four time belong “exclusively to the cheerful (“glättig”) music”. Earlier he just used it sparingly; indeed, one chorale in 1808 is given in two versions with both even and uneven time signatures. Different discussions in his lifetime reveal a rather similar view on the chorale’s rhythm, as well as the syllabic character and tempo. For his own part, Hæffner primarily referred to Luther, but also argued that no man should approach the Heavenly King dancing a minuet.23

As expected, in the chorale book of 1987 there are no such limitations.

3. Luther’s Method of Notation

In Sweden, during Hæffner’s time, it seems that the widespread notation of chorales in mainly minims (half notes) was traced back to Luther. One noted source using this notation was the 1784 Moravian chorale book by Christian Friedrich Gregor. This notational method has at times been misinterpreted as a tempo indication, but seems more likely to show links with Luther. It must be observed that Hæffner, among others, thought that chorales were sung too slowly. Hæffner’s own use of minims might also be influenced by his visit to German Moravian congregations in his youth – during the 1770s.24

Of course, there were no such discussions in 1986–87, when the crotchet (quarter note) and quaver (eighth note) were also used in many melodies.

4. Luther and the Organ

Luther was sometimes critical towards the organ, but Hæffner never referred to Luther in his own critical remarks on the organists’ ways of playing. It must be noted that organs were not common in Swedish country churches before 1850.25

Göransson thought that Luther had been critical towards the organ because organists played non-liturgical music in the worship services or prevented/delayed congregational singing. According to Göransson, the choir should


lead chorale singing, rather than the organ. Placing the choir near to the congregation, and not in the west gallery, could also decrease the critical attitude towards the music performed in the service. Göransson was fascinated that even difficult songs like Luther’s Credo hymn had been sung without organ accompaniment in Sweden in the past. He suspected that the organ had become the music leader when choirs began to disappear from the church in the seventeenth century, although he knew that in Musae Sioniae, Michael Praetorius had described the combination of congregational singing and organ playing as early as 1606. Since early chorale settings had often been artistic polyphonic arrangements for choir, in the chorale book of 1986/87 the oldest Lutheran chorales were given settings by Hassler, Praetorius and Vulpius.26

5. “Contemporary” Church Art Music and Liturgical Dance

According to Göransson, writing and talking in the 1950s, the richness of the Lutheran musical spirit implied that contemporary music should also be given space in church services. Using only older musical language could lead to the perception of the church as a museum. In contrast “modern music” could emphasize the actuality of the gospel, “the sound of our own time must also proclaim the gospel”.27 Modern music had the advantage of being “unloaded as a religious language”, and thus possessed great opportunities to be filled with associative “content”. Newly composed music was described as proof that the church was “living”.28

In the 1960s Göransson argued that “modern” music was no “uniform concept” and that the attitudes of the audience were always “lagging behind”. The crucial criterion for church music was “truth and timeliness” (“sanning och aktualitet”). However, churches in the 1960s could not follow the practice of the seventeenth century, when the mass had sometimes become a “concert mass” or “mass concert”. The challenge was to create varied musical interplay, but without abrupt changes and stylistic breaks between Gregorian chant, choral singing and polyphonic music.

Luther had regarded music as the highest of all arts, because of its ability to “swing or sweep the gospel” and to promote praise and worship. Other artistic expressions could also be used for that purpose. When the Norwegian


composer Egil Hovland used liturgical dance in his *Vigilance Mass* in 1968, Göransson and others reminded us that Luther had not opposed dance.29

As already mentioned, Hæffner’s ideal for chorales was more rooted in Luther’s time than in his own. At the same time, especially in 1820, he was rather tied to how the chorale tradition had developed in Sweden.

6. Luther and Popular Music

From around 1970, Göransson emphatically stressed that no music style was un-churchly or secular in itself; everything depended on “the use of the music”. This was strongly influenced by contemporary so-called “secular theology”, which denied the division of this world into secular and profane, arguing that Christ had sanctified the world. In the 1950s Göransson had already referred to the old power of the church to “sanctify any music” for its purposes and “to sharpen and embrace all social life”. At the same time – even when rooted in popular songs and “vernacular simplicity” – the songs of Luther had been “at a high artistic level” and chosen “with exceptionally selective taste”, since they were motivated by the praise of the glory of God.

Later, around the year 2000, Göransson strongly criticized the often-repeated claim that Luther had taken a variety of worldly songs and made them chorales. According to Göransson, this was a myth of later date with “the one and only purpose to distinguish between secular and sacred” and such thoughts had hardly been relevant in Luther’s time. No “sharp boundary” between spiritual and secular was noticeable in Luther’s thinking.

Lutherans, Moravians, Reformed and Catholics had used “worldly melodies in their songbooks”. Göransson referred to Babst’s songbook of 1545, which Luther had highly appreciated and to which he wrote a preface. Thus a church musician must not be narrow minded, “a Lutheran or Crügerian chorale is not everything”, Göransson said. There were occasions when other types of songs – at least temporarily – might be the right thing and offer “a new and easily-trampled path for the Divine Message”. It was hardly forbidden to use popular music, not least when no other music was at hand.30

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As we have seen, at the beginning of the nineteenth century Hæffner had no similar thoughts, rather he exhibited a clear division between sacred and profane music.

7. Luther’s Thinking as a Criticism of Lutheran Tradition

Göransson, together with the Finnish theologian Helge Nyman, considered it important to work ecumenically to avoid ending up in a failed “Lutheran isolation”. Like his own twentieth century, the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century had sought for “real innovation” in the forms of worship, a purpose which “matched very well with Luther’s own intentions”. Hæffner in contrast, criticized the development started by the Enlightenment period.

According to Göransson the “ideal of the future” could not be formulated as a “uniformed worship service, adapted to an imaginary average of Lutheran Christians”. Hymns could not be limited to the Lutheran chorale. Other traditions such as the French Calvinistic melodies to the book of Psalms were important since they showed distinctive musical features. Luther’s practical liturgical solutions had been characterized by strong adaptation to the tradition, so that changes were hardly observed in relation to the previous Mass tradition. Likewise Göransson was convinced that “the mainstream will remain in the traditional”, both in terms of worship forms and music.

However, some differentiation was required. The church ought to “open the door a bit further”, so that people with both more or less developed musicality could absorb the message. The Uppsala Synod of 1593, according to Göransson, had been disorientated on certain points, but the twentieth century had eventually grasped the more ecumenical intentions of the Swedish king Johan III. Now Mary had returned to the hymnal. Both the new liturgy of the Church of Sweden and its new hymnal were described as “contemporary ecumenical”.

Thus, it can be seen how Luther, long after his death, has had a great theoretical influence on the design of the music and singing in the Swedish Church. The way this happened could be described as “a use of” Luther’s thinking and practice, where the perceived needs and wishes for change in each period ruled and partly resulted in different selections of Luther’s texts and musical practices. Where Hæffner saw the chorale as a uniform genre, Göransson held it as an umbrella term for different types of songs. To be sure, both Hæff-

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ner and Göransson wanted to restore the traditional chorale to its Lutheran origins, but the latter editor had the advantage of knowing more about music in the sixteenth century than the former. Hæffner was more bound to where tradition had taken the chorales in his time, not least by external pressure from his contemporaries. In his choral book 1808 he was freer. In the end, this examination tells us more about the time and the research situation when the two Swedish chorale books discussed were printed, than about Luther and his own thinking in the early sixteenth century.
PART III

Systematic and Contemporary Perspectives
A distinctive Lutheran musical culture developed during the Reformation and through the era of Lutheran Orthodoxy. It began with Luther’s own liturgical reforms and chorales and continued with the chorales of Paul Gerhardt and the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. The milieu in which this culture developed needs to be explored from many different perspectives, including that of systematic theology. As Robin A. Leaver has emphasized, the development of liturgy and worship often results from theological shifts in ecclesiastical history. The fundamental theological reorientation in the sixteenth century led to different kinds of liturgy and worship, and it can be demonstrated that the Lutheran tradition has a character of its own. In this chapter, I will suggest from a theological perspective, why the chorale developed and flourished within the Lutheran tradition.

God’s Word – Greater than Heaven and Earth

Luther’s theology is multifaceted and thus, the chorale can be explored from different facets of his theology. Many aspects must of course be omitted in a short chapter, but whichever parts of Luther’s theology one chooses to explore, the point of departure should be his understanding of God’s Word. His activity in Wittenberg can be seen as an ongoing effort to bring the Word into motion (“im Schwang gehen”).

When the authors of the *Formula of Concord*, some 30 years after Luther’s death, summarized his impact on the church, they stated that God “through a special grace” had used Luther to bring his Word to light. They had of course Luther’s re-discovery of the gospel in mind but one can also think of his Bible translation and its astonishing spread. Already during Luther’s lifetime, more than a half million copies of the Bible – as a whole or in parts – were printed. The dictum *Verbum Dei manet in aeternum* (“God’s Word remains forever”)

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2 E.g., “Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne” (1523), WA 12, 35–37, LW 53, 11–14.
was printed on the title page of Luther’s translation of the Bible (1534). The saying expresses what Luther wished to accomplish with his translation of the Bible, namely that the Word of God should be set free. To accomplish this, in addition to translating the Bible, he also preached and taught the Word of God, reformed the divine service and wrote hymns. All these undertakings are expressions of Luther’s wish to let Christ, the Word of God, do his work through his Word.

The formula sola scriptura normally refers to the position that the Holy Scripture is “the only rule and guiding principle” for Christian doctrine. But sola scriptura can also be a reminder of the reformer’s understanding of God’s dealing with his creation. God, according to Luther, deals with human beings through his Word. He acts and accomplishes his salvation through his Word. Later in the Lutheran tradition, in the period of the Baroque and the Orthodoxy, the Word of God was treated under two different headings, first the Holy Scripture as the sole norm for theology, and second, the Holy Scripture as means of grace. The second aspect of the Word of God, as means of grace, is important when the theological motivations of the chorale are explored.

In order to show the position of the Word of God in Luther’s thinking, I will initially present some of his statements. I shall structure them according to the three articles of the Creed and Luther’s exposition of them in the Small Catechism.

I. The first Article. On God the Father and the Creation

Luther’s doctrine of creation is, of course, fundamental for his understanding of the chorale and of music per se. Reflecting on music, he does not start in the eternal harmony of the spheres but with creation. Fundamental for Luther’s theological reflections on creation is his understanding of God as Deus loquens, a God who talks. This understanding goes back to Luther’s reading of the creation in Genesis and forward in Israel’s history when God calls prophets to speak his Word. “The idols are wordless, but Israel’s God is a God of words.” To use Robert Kolb’s expression, according to Luther the Word of God “determines the reality.” In order to understand the reasons for the development of the chorale, it is important, first of all, to consider it in the light of Luther’s understanding of the Word of God.

In his Lecture on Genesis (1535) Luther gives expression to his belief in the power of the Word of God. “By speaking, God created all things and worked through the Word. All his works are some words of God, created by the uncre-
ated Word.”8 This “uncreated Word” is Jesus Christ. All other created things are “words of God.” God does not create in the same way as the gods of the creation stories of the neighbors of Israel. They used some earlier raw material, but Israel’s God creates ex nihilo through his word. “But God speaks a mere Word, and immediately the birds are brought forth from the water. If the Word is spoken, all things are possible.”9 God has “talked forth” the creation and in every moment; he still does.

A crucial point concerning the chorale is that according to Luther this mysterious creative word is still working within human words. Through the words of the Holy Scripture God is re-creating the world. Luther expresses the connection between God’s creative word and the word in the mouth of a preacher in a table talk (1532): “A person’s word is a little sound that disappears into the air and quickly vanishes. God’s Word is greater than heaven and earth, even death and hell, for it is the power of God and remains forever. If it is God’s Word, a person should hold it fast and believe that God himself is talking with us.”10 God talked forth life in creation. And now, through his word, he talks forth spiritual life in the act of re-creation and re-birth of man.

II. Concerning the Son of God and Redemption

The second article of faith treats the Son of God, who is the Logos, the Word of God. In a famous description of what a sermon is, Luther writes in the preface to his Wartburg Postil, that to preach the Gospel is nothing else “than Christ coming to us, or we being brought to him”.11 A sermon is, according to Luther, not just facts about Christ, but actually Christ coming to the congregation through his word. Luther’s understanding of Christ coming through the gospel is informed by Bible passages such as Rom 10:7-8: “Do not say in your heart, ‘Who will ascend into heaven?’ (that is, to bring Christ down) or ‘Who will descend into the abyss?’ (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what does it say? ‘The word is near you, in your mouth and in your heart’, that is, the word of faith that we proclaim.”12

Luther’s understanding of Christ coming in his Word means that he breaks with the Augustinian theory of signum-res (sign-thing). According to this theory a word, taken as a sign, points towards a thing which is somewhere else. The sign only demonstrates the thing. According to Luther, in contrast, when it comes to the Word of God, the sign brings with it the thing. Staying within the sign discourse, Luther’s view of God’s words can be described as “effec-

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9 WA 42, 37. LW 1, 49.
10 WA TR 1, 70, 20–23. Cf. Kolb, Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God, p. 47.
12 English Standard Version of the Bible.
tive signs”, words that accomplish what they say.13 This way of describing God’s word has clear parallels with Luther’s understanding of the sacraments. In the later teaching of Lutheran Orthodoxy, the Word of God as law and gospel and the sacraments (i.e. baptism and the Lord’s supper) are treated together under the heading De mediis salutis (On the means of salvation).

III. Concerning the Holy Spirit and Sanctification

In the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (381), included in the Book of Concord, it is stated that the Holy Spirit is “Lord and Life-giver”. In his explanation of the third article in the Small Catechism (1529) Luther also describes the Holy Spirit as the giver of life. Luther expresses the work of the Holy Spirit in a characteristic way, since he uses the I-form and unites the confession to the Holy Spirit with a confession of his sin. In this way Luther – and also Melanchthon in Confessio Augustana – integrates the Apostolic confession with statements concerning theological anthropology which were being discussed in their times. “I believe that by my own understanding or strength I cannot believe in Jesus Christ my LORD or come to him.”14 This is the anthropological background of the confession to the Holy Spirit, who Luther says has called him through the gospel, enlightened him, made him holy and kept him in true faith. In light of the present questions, it is worth noticing the expression “called by the Gospel”. Luther is of the conviction that the Holy Spirit uses God’s Word when dealing with human beings. This is most clearly articulated in the Smalcald articles. Here Luther states that “[...] God gives no one his Spirit or grace apart from the external Word which goes before”.15 When Luther writes a preface to an edition of his German writings (1539) he repeats the idea that the Holy Spirit is not given without the external Word. “His command to write, preach, read, hear, sing, speak, etc. outwardly [eusserlich] was not given in vain.”16 The context of the quotation is Luther’s exposition of Psalm 119 where he states the three things that make a theologian: oratio, meditatio and tentatio. Under the heading of meditatio he places “singing” in the same category as reading, preaching, etc., which means he here considers singing as a way to integrate the verbum externum with the

13 Cf. Alexander Jensen, Theological Hermeneutics, (London, 2007), p. 70–74. Jensen argues that there is a difference between Calvin and Luther on this point. What Jensen fails to make clear is that this understanding of signum-res cannot be used as a general hermeneutic for Luther but is applicable to the holy Word of God. Later in Lutheran Orthodoxy, it was commonly made clear that the effect of the Holy Scripture is caused by a supernatural, spiritual effect, not a natural one. See Torbjörn Johansson, “Die Vernunft vor den Mysterien der Heiligen Schrift. Anthropologische Erwägungen zur Bibelhermeneutik der evangelisch-lutherischen Theologie des 17. Jahrhunderts und der Bibelhermeneutik Spinozas”, in Hebraistik – Hermeneutik – Homiletik. “Die Philologia Sacra” im frühneuzeitlichen Bibelstudium, Christoph Bultmann and Lutz Danneberg (eds.), (Berlin and New York, 2011), p. 413–440.
14 The Book of Concord, p. 355.
15 Ibid., p. 322.
16 WA 50, 659, 33–35. LW 34, 286
personality. Meditare means for Luther not that the human being goes into himself, but rather that he or she is opened to the external word.\textsuperscript{17} Luther had a deep theological motivation to let God’s Word be \textit{im Schwang}. In order to bring Christ, the Word of God, to the people, Luther started to produce chorales. In a letter to Georg Spalatin, Luther writes: “I intend to make German Psalms for the people, i.e., spiritual songs so that the Word of God even by means of song may live among the people.”\textsuperscript{18}

Luther’s understanding of the Word of God matches a certain way of listening. His understanding of \textit{man as listening} is directly related to his understanding of God as talking.

\section*{Theological Anthropology, the Act of Listening and Justification}

The Lutheran way of listening gets its character not least from Luther’s theological anthropology. With an expression borrowed from Augustine, Luther describes sin as \textit{man incurvatus in se}, curved inward on oneself.\textsuperscript{19} The human being cannot help seeking himself, also when it comes to religion. The human being is caught up in the self.

From the perspective of Luther’s theological anthropology, it is important that the self is approached by something coming \textit{from the outside}. The Word of God, as noted above, comes as a \textit{verbum externum}. In the act of listening, man is depicted as receptive. When the ear and the attention are directed towards what is outside, the self is opened up. Through the word and the listener, a \textit{relationship} is established. From the human side this relationship should be, according to Luther, characterized by faith, that is, by trust. This is what this word creates through a \textit{re-creative} act of the Holy Spirit, and the human being should listen.

If we consider “hearing” from a phenomenological point of view, it is something that at one level we can describe as a \textit{passive act}: We cannot open and close our ears as we can do with our eyes and with our mouth. Through hearing there is a passage to the interior of the personality. From another perspective, hearing can be described as an \textit{active act}. The many biblical admonitions to hear are built on this presupposition: “Hear, you who have ears.”\textsuperscript{20}

At the very heart of Luther’s theology is the question of justification by faith alone. Hearing the word is deeply integrated in Luther’s understanding of justification. In an exposition of the letter to the Hebrews, Luther treats “hearing” and “believing” as juxtaposed and more or less like synonyms.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Cf. Oswald Bayer, \textit{Theologie}, (Gütersloh, 1994), p. 86.
\item \textsuperscript{18} LW 53, 221.
\item \textsuperscript{19} See Matt Jenson, \textit{The Gravity of Sin. Augustine, Luther and Barth on homo incurvatus in se}, (London and New York, 2006).
\item \textsuperscript{20} For theological aspects on the act of listening, see Bernd Wannenwetsch, “‘Take Heed What Ye Hear’: Listening as a Moral, Transcendental and Sacramental Act”, \textit{Journal of the Royal Musical Association}, 135:1 (2010), p. 91–102.
\end{itemize}
God no longer requires the feet or the hands or any other member; He requires only the ears. To such an extent has everything been reduced to an easy way of life. For if you ask a Christian what the work is by which he becomes worthy of the name “Christian,” he will be able to give absolutely no other answer than that it is the hearing of the Word of God, that is, faith [italics mine]. Therefore the ears alone are the organs of a Christian man, for he is justified and declared to be a Christian not because of the works of any member [of the body] but because of faith.  

The close connection between faith and hearing is found in Rom 10:17. The verse is often translated, that “faith comes through preaching” but more literally, Paul says that faith comes from “the things heard”, which are built on the Word of Christ. In one of Luther’s expositions of Rom 10:17 he stresses the hearing aspect and links it to the Old Testament exhortation to hear God’s Word. “One should note that this is the one, and the greatest, thing God requires of the Jews, yes, of all men, namely, that they hear His voice.” Luther then refers to the Shemá Israel in Deut. 6:4 and other Old Testament passages.  

Luther re-discovered the gospel through an intense study of Rom 1:16–17 (“The righteous shall live by faith”). These verses were for him the porta paradisi, the gates to paradise. This faith of the heart is created by God and the Holy Spirit and it is done by means of the Word. Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen argues that Luther’s understanding of the relationship between the verbum externum and the verbum internum has its own characteristic stamp, not only in relation to the medieval scholasticism, but also in relation to Augustine. One of the differences means a new understanding of words, in that the verbum externum becomes more important and more central in Luther’s theology. The externally preached Word comes through the ears to the heart, and through faith, it becomes a word of the heart, a verbum cordis. From all of this follows that hearing is central in the theology of Luther. Hearing belongs to the sphere of creation but has a crucial role in the work of salvation.

21 WA 57, III, 222. LW 29, 224.
22 WA 57, III, 142f. LW 29, 148.
23 WA 54, 186. LW 34, 337.
The Intellect, the Affects and the Music

Although this chapter is focusing on systematic aspects of Luther’s theology, a word about his view of music should be said.\textsuperscript{25} I would like to draw attention to the role anthropology plays when it comes to evaluation of music. An important aspect of Luther’s theological anthropology is his holistic view of man. Luther’s studies of the Scriptures, not least the Book of Psalms, led him to understand the close relationship and interplay between intellect and affects. In an exposition of Psalm 119:10, ”With my whole heart I seek you”, Luther writes that he seeks God with his whole heart, not just with half of it as the philosophers do when they seek only with the intellect and not the affects.\textsuperscript{26} Music moves the affects, and Luther’s holistic approach is an important reason why his theology provided such fertile ground for the development of the chorale.

The reformers of Wittenberg formulated an early sharp polemic against an anthropology which emphasizes reason at the expense of the affects. In \textit{Loci Communes} 1521 Melanchthon criticizes the view that the intellect is able to govern the affects. In contrast to this view, he argues that man does not have the power to change the inner affects.\textsuperscript{27} Melanchthon’s discussion is part of his polemic against the idea of a free will. From our perspective, it is interesting to notice that affects are considered to have such a dominating role in man. They belong to the “heart”, the very center of the personality. In an exposition of Psalm 51:12, “Create in me, o God, a clean heart”, Luther writes that the normal use of the word “heart” (\textit{cor}) includes many Latin terms: “Latine dicimus Animam, Intellectum, Voluntatem, Affectum [‘soul, intellect, will, feeling/affect’]”.\textsuperscript{28} The intellect and the affects function together with each other. In a commentary to another Psalm (number 27) Luther says that the Lord can only be sought “through the thought and the affects [per intellectum et affectum] turned toward Him”.\textsuperscript{29} Given the central position and the positive role Luther gives to the affects, it not surprising that he also has such a high estimation of music.

Due to Luther’s affirmation of the affects as part of man’s inner disposition and his own experience of music’s ability to move the heart, Luther finds it perfectly fitting to join word and music in the hymn to bring the gospel to the heart and to formulate the human answer.\textsuperscript{30} When text and music are kept to-

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{25} On this theme, see e.g. Mikka Anttila, \textit{Luther’s Theology of Music. Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure}, (Berlin and Boston, 2013), for previous studies on Luther and music, p. 9–13.
\item\textsuperscript{27} Philip Melanchthon, \textit{Loci Communes 1521, Lateinisch – Deutsch. Übersetzt und mit kommentierenden Anmerkungen versehen von Horst Georg Pöhlmann}, (Gütersloh, 1997), p. 36.
\item\textsuperscript{29} WA 3, 151, 9–12. LW 10, 126.
\item\textsuperscript{30} The difference between the early Lutheran and Reformed tradition, when it comes to use of music in the service, can to some extent be explained by their different anthropology.
\end{itemize}
gether it forms a most beautiful and powerful expression of proclamation and of thanksgiving and confession as answer. The Christian congregation has in this way a holy call to “sing and speak ['singen und sagen']”.

Again, Luther uses thoughts and words from the Psalter to formulate his own theology. In the exposition of Ps 119 he writes: “Thus you see in this same Psalm how David constantly boasts that he will talk, meditate, speak, sing, hear, read, by day and night and always, about nothing except God’s Word and commandments.” Luther emphasizes the many different forms of the word – write, read, sing, and speak – but also the external character of the word. The word comes as *verbum externum* and is a means of grace.

**The Means of Grace as External Instruments**

As shown above, Luther connects the work of the Holy Spirit with the *verbum externum* and his understanding of the sacraments is in line with this understanding. Luther’s view is expressed in the documents belonging to the Lutheran Confessions. In *Confessio Augustana*, Article V, Philip Melanchthon states that God has “instituted the office of preaching, giving the gospel and the sacraments. Through these, as through means, he gives the Holy Spirit who produces faith, where and when he wills, in those who hear the gospel.”

In the fifth article those are condemned who teach that man obtains the Holy Spirit without the external Word of the Gospel. The word for “external” is in German “leiblich”, which literally means “physical”. This explains why Melanchthon sees such a close connection between the Word of God and the sacraments.

Later in the Lutheran tradition, still within the *Book of Concord*, the *Formula of Concord* states that God does not draw men apart from means. The *Formula* reinforces that God has instituted his Word and sacraments as the regular means and instruments for drawing people to himself.

Later, in the seventeenth century, the Word of God and the sacraments were treated together under the heading *De medii gratiae* (“means of grace”). Central to the question of the hymn is that the spiritual side is so tightly interwoven with the external and material side of the means of grace.

Luther labels the notion that the Holy Spirit comes to man without means *Schwärmerei* (“enthusiasm”). The emphasis Luther and the following Lutheran tradition places upon the fact that God uses external means, and that he deals with men most concretely through these means, distinguishes the Lutheran from the Reformed tradition. Considering the hymn from the per-

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Mark C. Mattes has called attention to this aspect in *Martin Luther’s Theology of Beauty: A Reappraisal*, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017), p. 113–132.

31 For this characteristic expression, see e.g. WA, DB 6, 3, 23–25.

32 WA 50, 659, 30–32. LW 34, 286.

33 The *Book of Concord*, p. 40.

34 Ibid., p. 40, note 49.

pective of the means of grace, Lutheran theology emphasizes the external and material side of the means, which – according to the theses I propose here – promotes the development of the hymn. The expression that the hymn means “singing the gospel in” is from a theological point of view an example of how spiritual gifts are connected with material signs (word and melodies) and bring the gospel through the ears to the heart. In a preface to a collection of funeral hymns, 1542, Luther extolls the role of music and singing. When these gifts are properly used, the Creator is praised and honored and the human being is made better and stronger in faith. It is done through God’s holy Word which “is driven into the heart through sweet song”.36

Regarding the listening, it is important to notice how Luther emphasizes the spoken word. Jesus Christ is truly coming to the congregation and to the world through the message that is proclaimed and heard. With the famous expression viva vox evangelii he underlines that the gospel is primarily an oral form. The Gospel is “an oral sermon and a living voice”. This sermon should be heard in the whole world.37

Bringing together Luther’s theological anthropology and his view of the externality of the means of grace, a certain movement can be discerned, where the human being is opened up towards something outside himself. Thus, there are several reasons, rooted in a distinct theological paradigm, for using the chorale to bring the Word of God to the congregation.

The “Promeity” of the Gospel and the Human Answer

An important central theme for Martin Luther was the question of the assurance of salvation (Heilsgewissheit). In his Lectures on the Galatians (1535) he criticizes the Roman theology because of the “monster of uncertainty” (monstrum incertitudinis) which Luther considers worse than all other monsters.38 This goes to the heart of Luther’s theology. “Moreover, the chief point of all Scripture is that we should not doubt but hope, trust, and believe in the certainty that God is merciful, kind, and patient, that He does not lie and deceive but is faithful and true.”39 According to Luther, the core problem of the human being is that he or she is full of distrust towards God. Believing that the gospel is not meant for me, that I am not worthy, might look like a pious attitude; but Luther thought this was the way of the devil, leading people into despair.40

37 WA 12, 259. This theme is explored e.g. by Johannes Block in his monograph, Verste- hen durch Musik: Das gesungene Wort in der Theologie. Ein hermeneutischer Beitrag zur Hymnologie am Beispiel Martin Luthers, (Tübingen and Basel, 2002), chapter II: “Das gesungene Wort als verbum theologiae und vox musiceae”.
38 WA 40, I, 588, 32.
39 WA 40, I, 588, 12–14. LW 26, 386.
40 Kolb, Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God, p. 67. “That trust in God constitutes the core of humanity in Luther’s thinking is clear from his account of the fall into sin.”
Therefore Luther considered it an important part of proclaiming the gospel to give people the courage to believe that God’s salvation is intended for them. A distinct character of Luther’s theology is therefore the pro me (for me) aspect, sometimes called the “promeity”.

It is through his stress on the gospel, what Christ has done and what he gives for free, that such trust can be awakened. Trust cannot be accomplished by force and commandment, but only through the gospel.

The Lutheran hymn often has the function of transforming a theological “high” truth into a personal application. As a result, it helps the singer to adopt the truth in his heart. An example of this is Luther’s hymn “Vom Him mel hoch” (1535). It starts with a strong emphasized externum: from the very outside, “from heaven above” (“vom Himmel hoch”), comes the angel with the most joyful message and it is to you. The hymn ends with shifting the perspective and the believer is invited to make this prayer his or her own:

Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein,
Mach dir ein rein, sanft Bettelein,
Zu ruhen in meins Herzens Schrein,
Daß ich nimmer vergesse dein.

[Dear little Jesus! In my shed,
Make thee a soft, white little bed,
And rest thee in my heart’s low shrine,
That so my heart be always thine.] 42

By singing, the gospel is received through an act of internalisation, by which it goes deeper into the personality. In this way Luther’s hymns of confession and of trust serve to convey trust and faith to the singing congregation by laying the word of faith in their mouths.

In his chorales, Luther shifts from proclamation to answering and confessing. This is a way of communicating the gospel in which the chorale can be seen as a concentrate of the service, a drama like Bach’s cantatas with its call and response – its proclamation of law and gospel, expressions of repentance and of praise and thanksgiving. Through the chorale, Luther creates an act of reciprocity and mutuality. The chorale proclaims and can apply the gospel and at the same time communicate a formula for the “yes” of faith. There is in faith an element which is stated in the Psalter thus: I will proclaim and tell of God’s wondrous deeds (Ps 40:5). The chorale helps the congregation to formulate that proclamation. When the monstrum incertitudinis is defeated and assurance of salvation is at hand, the human being wishes to sing. 43

42 LW 53, 291.
43 Cf. Johann Mattheson says, that without assurance about the eternal joy, no one can rejoice within their heart. Only those who have this assurance can give praise and thanks.
in God leads to a spiritual freedom. The theme of freedom and singing is important in the Psalter, as can be seen in Psalm 137: “For there our captors required of us songs, and our tormentors, mirth, saying, ‘Sing us one of the songs of Zion!’ How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a foreign land?” In On the Freedom of a Christian (1520) Luther distinguishes between an inner freedom and an external freedom. When the “inner man” is set free from the dominance of sin and evil, he can sing again. Luther’s “Nun freut euch, lieben Christen G’mein” (probably 1523) has been called “Luther’s song of liberty”.44

When Luther started to write chorales, he had been singing the Psalter for many years. After his many years in the monastery, he was deeply familiar with the Psalter.45 In addition, he had lectured extensively on the Psalter, and he considered it a summary of the Holy Scripture.46 How his experiences came to expression can be seen in his “Nun freut euch lieb Christ G’mein” that reminds one of the thanksgiving psalms in the Psalter. An early title of the chorale is “Ein Danklied für die höchsten Wohltaten, so uns Gott in Christo erzeigt hat”.47 The doxological content interwoven with a narrative about the despair of the people and the mighty salvation of God.

The Priesthood of all Believers

As is often mentioned, Luther’s understanding of the priesthood of all believers had a profound effect on the service.48 From early on, Luther criticized the idea that the pope, the bishops, the priests and monks belonged to “the spiritual estate” while princes, craftsmen and farmers belonged to “the temporal estate”. Luther describes the wall which the church had built between these two estates and he wishes to overthrow it. From certain scripture passages, e.g. 1 Pet 2:9 and Rev 5:9f, Luther argued that all Christians are priests and kings, stressing that all Christians belong to the spiritual estate since there is only one body of Christ.49 The Old Testament priesthood has been fulfilled in Christ and now all Christians are made priests with the task to pray, to sacrifice and to teach God’s Word. The most important thing is that all have the right and duty to teach the Word of God. The sacrifice is a sacrifice

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45 This aspect of Luther’s theology is explored by Günter Bader in Psalterium affectuum palaestra. Prolegomena zu einer Theologie des Psalters, (Tübingen, 1996), p. 155–186. See also the chapter “Der Psalter als Wurzelboden für Martin Luthers Liedschaffen”, in Johannes Block, Verstehen durch Musik, p. 81–87.
46 WA DB 10, I, 99–100.
47 WA 35, 422–425. For a theological analysis of this chorale, see Oswald Bayer, Martin Luthers Theologie, p. 193–203.
48 E.g., Leaver, The Reformation and Music, p. 388.
of thanksgiving and praise. However, this does not mean that all are called to preach in public. For this task God has given the church pastors and teachers who should teach the Word of God and administer the sacraments.\footnote{Cf. Confessio Augustana, article V. On Luther, see Reinhard Schwartz, Martin Luther – Lehrer der christlichen Religion, 2. Auflage (Tübingen, 2016), p. 443–494.}

Luther’s doctrine of the priesthood of all believers had, of course, profound effects on the service. Most clearly, it can be seen in the new interpretation of the Lord’s supper. This can be described in terms of a new understanding of the divine service. Melanchthon uses the terms \textit{sacrificium} and \textit{sacramentum} to describe the Lutheran understanding of the service.\footnote{The Book of Concord, p. 260.} The \textit{sacramentum} has the direction from God to the congregation. At the very center of the sacrifice of the mass, the most profound change can be seen when Luther changes the direction and, in doing this, is stressing the importance of \textit{hearing}. Instead of a whispered canon of the mass, as a sacrifice in the direction from the altar to God, Luther uses a tonal melody, the same as for the gospel, in order to make clear that the \textit{verba institutionis} is gospel in the direction from the altar to the people.\footnote{See Ulrich Leupold, “Introduction”, The German Mass and Order of Service (1526), LW 53, p. 59.} They should hear this gospel with their ears. This transformation can be described as a shift from the visible to the audible.\footnote{Kolb, Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God, p. 37–40.} The response is praise and thanksgiving and in this way also the \textit{sacrificium} takes place in the service. When it comes to the singing of the congregation, Robin Leaver describes it thus: “The whole church, rather than the choir alone, was to sing parts of the ordinary of the mass, such as the Kyrie and the German Agnus Dei (“Christe, du Lamm Gottes”), as well as the newly introduced hymns at appropriate places throughout the liturgical order.”\footnote{Robin A. Leaver, “Luther and Bach, the ‘Deutsche Messe’ and the Music of Worship”, in Lutheran Quarterly, 15 (2001), p. 317–335, p. 317.}

Luther’s criticism of the idea of the two estates has far-reaching effects. The congregation and its individual members have not just the right but the duty to proclaim the Word, to pray and to bring the sacrifice of praise. This means, of course, a strong theological motivation for the development of the chorale. Through the flexibility of the chorale, it can have the different direction – God’s Word to the congregation, or prayers and praise from the congregation to God – and it includes all these three duties of the priesthood of all believers.
The Spiritual Struggle

One obvious approach to the question of the development of the chorale is Luther’s high estimation of music. “I have always loved music,” he says in a table talk.55 This argument can also be explored from a theological point of view. One of the motivations for Luther’s high estimation of music is, according to Luther himself, that music brings joy which he considers an important weapon in the spiritual struggle. When Luther reflects on the effects of music, he considers it, among other aspects, in the context of the spiritual struggle.56 Luther writes that the devil is a gloomy spirit (spiritus tristiae), who is an enemy of joy.57 The devil also hates music, but the joy of music can dispel the devil.58

Another well-known fact is that Luther considers the Word of God an effective instrument to dispel the devil.59 Therefore, when these two are joined together, music and the Word of God, it is an extraordinarily strong weapon in the spiritual struggle. In Luther’s most famous chorale “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott” (1529) he confesses “ein Wörtlein kann ihn fallen” (“one little word can overturn him”) (v. 3). Another of Luther’s most well-known texts can shed light on how he integrated the Word and singing in the daily struggle against the spiritual enemy. “Without doubt, you will offer up no more powerful incense or savor against the devil than to occupy yourself with God’s commandment and words and to speak, sing, and think about them” [italics mine].60

As motivation, in the preface of the Small Catechism Luther says that it can be of help against the devil. The Catechism is basically a collection of verba from the Holy Scriptures. At the end of the Catechism, after Luther has given instruction in how to offer a morning prayer, he concludes with the words: “then go to your work after singing a hymn”.61 Many of Luther’s chorales are written according to the structure of his catechisms and can be seen as “musical catechesis”.62 The singing of chorales has a broader use than the service in the church. The chorale is part of the daily liturgy of the catechism,

55 WA TR 5, 557 (Nr. 6248).
56 For this dimension of understanding Luther, see Heiko Oberman, Luther. Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel, (Berlin, 1982), p. 109–110: “Es gibt keinen Zugang zu Luthers Glaubenserfahrung, wenn man diese Situation der christlichen Existenz zwischen Gott und Teufel nicht wahrnimmt.”
58 WA TR 2, 441 (Nr. 2387b).
59 See e.g., his preface to the Large Catechism. “Nothing is so powerfully effective against the devil, the world, the flesh, and all evil thoughts as to occupy one’s self with God’s Word, to speak about it and meditate upon it [...]”, The Book of Concord, p. 381.
60 Large Cathecism, Preface, see The Book of Concord, p. 381.
61 The Book of Concord, p. 363.
of reading, praying, singing the Word of God and so conducting the spiritual struggle.

Conclusion

The question about the development of the chorale within Lutheran church life needs a multifaceted answer. From a systematic theological point of view, one can notice how the singing of the chorale springs from the very heart of Luther’s theology. The exposition of various traits in his theology forms a cumulative argument for the conclusion that the development and use of the chorale are deeply rooted in a Lutheran theological pattern. Eight aspects of Luther’s theology – his understanding of (1) the Word of God, (2) the theological anthropology and the act of listening, (3) the doctrine of justification by faith, (4) the means of grace as external instruments, (5) the promeity of the gospel and the question about assurance of salvation, (6) the individual’s answer to the Gospel, (7) the priesthood of all believers, and (8) the struggle against the spiritual enemy – all coalesce into such a cumulative argument. These characteristics in Luther’s theology formed the fertile ground in which the chorale could be developed and could flourish for centuries to come.63

63 I would like to thank Christopher C. Barnekov, Ph.D., for helpful comments on the draft.
19. The Vitality of Lutheran Liturgy: Sacramentum and Sacrificium in Swedish Liturgical Renewal

Tomas Appelqvist

Many attempts have been made to formulate a theoretical framework that can be used to discuss Lutheran church music and liturgy as a whole. In this chapter I will, from a systematic theological perspective, use one of the most common frameworks in Lutheran theology – the distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* – and study sources from three very different, but still important, periods in the history of Lutheran music and liturgical renewal in Sweden.1 My purpose is to present a conclusion that can be further examined and discussed not only by systematical theologians but also by musicologists and people professionally engaged in practical church life. At the end of the chapter, I will discuss how the Swedish Lutheran liturgical heritage and especially its theological understanding of music contains important resources for a number of fields related to Lutheran musical culture.

The traditional distinction in Lutheran theology is to talk about “Law” and “Gospel”. Indeed, the formulation of this distinction and the consequences it led to is in itself a way of expressing the actual Reformation break-through and the essence of Lutheran faith. The “Law” refers to the demands that God has on all human beings and it is summarized in the Decalogue. The “Gospel” refers to God’s gift, the forgiveness of sins, made possible and actualized in the death and resurrection of Christ.2

One way of making this distinction applicable to liturgy is to talk about *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. Since this distinction serves as an interpretation tool throughout the text, we will undertake an in-depth analysis of how it is interpreted and used by the bishop of Strängnäs, Uddo Lechard Ullman (1837–1930), who was the first to bring this distinction into the Swedish context.

*Sacramentum* means almost the same as the Gospel, since it refers to parts of the liturgy that are purely actions of God, and where human actions, nor-

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1 The focus is on ecclesiology, but at the end of the chapter, I will discuss the findings in the light of some of the most central concerns in Lutheran faith, like justification and Christology.

2 Art 5 in the “Formula of Concord” describes this distinction in detail, see p. 790–792 in “Konkordienformel”, in *Die Bekenntnis-Schriften der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche*, (Göttingen, 1982).
mally performed by the clergy, are only a way of giving voice to what God has already established. As examples, the reading of the Gospel and the distribution of the elements in the Eucharist can be mentioned as “sacramental” aspects of the Liturgy. Already in his doctoral dissertation on the Swedish hymnbook from 1871, Ullman used the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium in order to state that the content of church life is life, movement and energetic activity. Oloph Bexell claims that Ullman reacts against a one-sided Lutheranism that only gives room to the sacramental aspects of faith and leaves no room for doxology, the sacrificial praise and offering.³

The distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium is better than that between “Law” and “Gospel” when it comes to analysing practical phenomena in church life, such as music, since it helps us to focus on what actually happens – visibly and audibly.

Ullman writes that the hymns that are sung in the liturgy express both sacramentum and sacrificium. They are means both for gifts of God to the congregation and for the congregation to be permeated by the godly objects and react with confession to the gifts of God. For the beauty of the liturgy, the participation of a choir has a special role, both sacrificially when a song of highest possible quality is “offered”, and sacramentally, when the edification of a special theme of the celebration is highlighted and the devotion is made more intense. Bexell mentions that the general rise of choirs in Sweden occurred with the service book (Swe: Kyrkohandbok) from year 1894 and that Ullman emphasizes that the choir shall co-operate with the rest of the congregation and be an integrated part of the liturgy.⁴

By studying the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium we will get a deeper understanding of the purpose of the music in the Lutheran liturgy and the way that music can help to enrich the interpretation of Christian faith and life. The concepts sacramentum and sacrificium already exist in article 24 the Apology of the Augsburg confession from 1531 and the main concern of that article is to give arguments against the Roman-Catholic teaching ex opere operato that the mere performance of a liturgical act brings about salvific faith. In this text, Melanchthon defines two sorts of sacrifice that illustrate the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium, a reconciling sacrifice that Christ has made once and for all, and a sacrifice of praise that is made by already reconciled human believers.⁵

This introduction is very much in line with a recently reprinted doctoral thesis by the Norwegian-Japanese-American theologian Naomichi Masaki. He studies the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium by the German neo-orthodox churchman Theodor Kliefoth (1810–1895) and the heavy influence he had on Swedish liturgical thinking for more than half a century, until the establishment of the 1942 service book within the Church of Sweden. Nowadays, Kliefoth’s way of combining a strict Lutheran confessional dogma with a high-church view on liturgy appeals only to small groups of theologians and in Sweden he is not a well-known theologian anymore.

Masaki’s dissertation can be recommended to everyone who wants to understand Lutheran liturgy from its historical roots. With his global outlook, Masaki is fully aware that the neo-orthodox distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium is not the only way of talking about liturgy. For example, he refers to Vilmos Vajta’s important study Luther on Worship: An Interpretation and states that Vajta talked more often about beneficium and sacrificium. Masaki underlines that the tradition of Swedish Lutheranism has several resources that are unique from a world-wide perspective. He is also impressed by the skillful creativity of Swedish liturgists during the period 1890–1990, which have helped the church to administer the legacy of the Swedish Reformation in a fruitful way so that it has given palpable-inspiration to Lutheran liturgies and affected the content in many service books worldwide.

6 Vilmos Vajta, Luther on Worship: An Interpretation, (Eugene, OR, 2004[1958]).
7 Naomichi Masaki, He Alone is Worthy! – The Vitality of the Lord’s Supper in Theodor Kliefoth and in the Swedish Liturgy of the Nineteenth Century, (Gothenburg, 2013).

In this chapter, I will use the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium to study three sources within this tradition of world-wide importance. The three sources represent three very different epochs, the pre-modern (or early-modern) period, modernity and the post-modern (or late-modern) period. From the pre-modern period, I will study Kyrkoordning 1571, a church ordinance composed by the first Evangelical archbishop of Sweden, Laurentius Petri, which still has a confessional status in Swedish church tradition with regard to its theological content. I will also study an example from the modern period and take a look at one example from the famous Swedish theologian Gustaf Aulén (1879–1977). Finally, I will investigate how this heritage is interpreted in our own time and highlight some examples from a recent process within the Church of Sweden to create a new service book for all types of liturgical acts within the church.

My purpose is not to compare the three texts. The genres and epochs they represent are too different for a comparative analysis. But they are representative of three different ages in Swedish Lutheran history of liturgy in a way that even has significance for other fields of academic research.

A special focus will of course be placed on music, but in order to understand the different views on music, we need a short introduction to the main concerns of the three different positions as a whole. At the end of each section,
I will summarize the approach studied using the distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, thereby using a framework that will make comparisons between different epochs possible.

**Church Ordinance (Kyrkoordning) 1571**

On the title page, the church ordinance of Laurentius Petri refers to the words of Paul in 1 Cor 14:40 “Let all things be done decently and in order”. References to this chapter in the Bible occur several times in the text of Laurentius Petri. He uses this Pauline passage to underline the aspect of “order” in the service and this means two key things for him. Firstly, he claims that changes to the liturgy have to be properly prepared and only made in necessary cases. Secondly, he advocates a view that makes the liturgy an aid for the congregation to “improve” in its Christian faith.

The improvement means that the person who is praying has to be penitent and leave his sins behind if his prayer is to be successful (the Swedish word *fruchtsamma* used is closer to “fruitful”). A rightful faith in Jesus Christ as a Mediator is also underlined. This “improvement” has a clear connection to the music used in the liturgy. With reference to Col 3:16, Laurentius Petri claims that it is an old tradition to sing psalms, hymns and songs of praise to practice the word of God, and the people in the congregation improve more if some of the songs used in the liturgy are sung in Swedish. In addition, the litany has this role. At the same time, he wants everything that is sung to be in accordance with the scripture. By this he does not mean that all texts have to come directly from the scripture, but he states that the old malpractice of singing in order to gain grace and forgiveness of sins has now been put to an end. Another consequence of the liturgical changes is that the number of sung liturgies of the daily office might have to be reduced.

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8 Laurentius Petri, *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning av år 1571 utgiven av Samfundet Pro fide et christianismo; med historisk inledning av Emil Färnström*, (Stockholm, 1932), p. 1. Laurentius Petri (1499–1573) was the first Lutheran Archbishop in Sweden. Consecrated by the Roman Catholic bishop Petrus Magni, he emphasized the importance of the Ministry and ancient traditions in the new Evangelical church that developed under him and his older brother Olaus Petri (1493–1552) who also had an important role in the Swedish Reformation. Laurentius Petri had to deal with three different kings (Gustav Vasa, Erik XIV and John III) with very different service books for the church in Sweden. For example, John wanted to form an Evangelical-Catholic church based on the five first Christian centuries. For a further analysis of Laurentius Petri and his liturgical reforms, see Masaki, *He Alone is Worthy!*, p. 45–50 and 364–367.


10 Col 3:16: “Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.” When Martin Luther in WA DB 7:224 summarizes the content of Col. 3, he states that Paul exhorts the Christians in Colosse to be “fruitful” (compare with the word used by Laurentius Petri! The German word used by Luther is *fruchtbar* and the word used by Laurentius Petri is *fruchtsamma*) in pure faith, doing all sorts of good works for one another. Luther also states that Paul describes the works that belong to each station in life.

The church ordinance claims that the pastoral office (German: Predigtamt, Swedish: Predikoämbetet) is an order of God and the Lord Jesus Christ. The pastoral office is not created by humans, but something that God upholds and continues to work through. He says that people in this position have to be “sensible and learned persons” and here, also, the motivation is that the congregation shall gain as much comfort and improvement as possible. Like the pastoral office, the Lord’s Supper is also pictured as an institution of God. This requires that the receiver knows that he gets the true body and blood of Jesus Christ. As a part of the true use of this gift, Laurentius Petri states that the eating and drinking as a remembrance of the Lord shall be made in an honest and obvious unity with other Christian believers. This public and communal aspect of the Lord’s Supper means that it is a good thing if many people can celebrate the mass at the same time. It demands that the congregation as a whole receives the sacrament in “godliness” and proclaims the death of the Lord. For this reason, there must always be a sermon in the service when the Lord’s Supper is celebrated. The consequence of this thinking is that private Masses of different kinds, where the focus is on the sacrifice made by humans, are put to an end by the church ordinance. The argument for this is that they do not help people to see their sins and the comfort that the sacrament gives.\(^{12}\)

Before making an analysis of the church ordinance presented above, I would like to highlight an important text on Lutheran liturgy that Laurentius Petri most surely had in mind and wanted to associate himself with when he wrote his text. In the Augsburg Confession, article 24, Philip Melanchthon explains how the Lutherans themselves viewed the changes in liturgy that had been made in congregations influenced by the Lutheran reform agenda. He writes that almost all ceremonies have been preserved and parts sung in Latin have been interspersed with a few German hymns, which have been added to “teach the people”.\(^ {13}\)

The arguments in the church ordinance are close to positions advocated by Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Early Lutheranism had a strong focus on the forgiveness of sins and wanted to form liturgies that served the purpose of distributing this forgiveness in words, sacrament and music. Using the terminology used in the introduction of this text, we can say that the sacramentum plays the major role when the liturgy is (re)shaped. We find a clear example of this sacramental view in the way the pastoral office was described as a pure act of God. Words such as “comfort” and “forgiveness (of sins)” play an important role in the argument for the Lutheran liturgy.

At the same time, we see clear examples of sacrificial thinking in the church ordinance. Laurentius Petri combines his emphasis on “improvement” with a view that believers shall be “fruitful”, an idea that we also found in a text about liturgical singing by Luther. In the church ordinance we saw that

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\(^ {12}\) Laurentius Petri, *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning av år 1571*, p. 34, 85–89.

\(^ {13}\) “Confessio Augustana”, art. 24, in *Die Bekenntnis-Schriften der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche*, (Göttingen, 1982).
the people who received the Lord’s Supper should proclaim the death of the Lord. In the passage where the word “fruitful” is used, the sacrificial character is described as a willingness to confess and abandon one’s sins, improve one’s way of living and invite the name of God with a rightful faith in the mediator, Jesus Christ. Even if the *sacrificium* plays a minor role in the liturgical thinking than the *sacramentum*, we see very clearly that Laurentius Petri uses both parts of the distinction when he explains the early Lutheran church life in Sweden. A much more detailed and concrete description of the sacrificial aspects of faith can be found in parts of the church ordinance that have not been analysed in this essay.

**Gustaf Aulén on Liturgical Renewal**

Bishop Gustaf Aulén (1879–1977) is one of the most well-known Swedish theologians outside Sweden. His book *Christus Victor* on Christian concepts of atonement is still being discussed today.\(^{14}\) He was engaged in ecumenical discussions and also wrote the book *Reformation and Catholicity* in which he defines “Catholicity” in a way that is both in line with Lutheran positions from the Reformation era and contains insights from the ecumenical breakthrough at the beginning of the twentieth century. He wanted “renewal” of the liturgy even before he was consecrated bishop. In an article about Aulén, Carl-Gustaf Andrén states that few people have been active in liturgical renewal for such a long time as Aulén.\(^ {15}\)

Aulén was also a composer and chairman of the hymn book committee of 1939. In this chapter, I will focus on Aulén’s book on liturgical renewal, *Högmässans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt* (“The renewal of the High Mass, liturgically and musically”) from 1961. Unfortunately, this book has not been translated into English.\(^ {16}\)

Aulén pictures the service book of 1811 as the absolute low point in Swedish history of liturgy. The 1894 service book is, according to Aulén, much better than its precursor, in terms of both music and theology. He writes that those working with the 1811 service book claimed that it was a Lutheran one, but with this, they meant that it was a further step on the path away from the

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\(^{15}\) Gustaf Aulén, *Reformation and Catholicity*, (Philadelphia, PA, 1961), see especially chapter 4 and 5, and Carl-Gustaf Andrén, *Renewal – A Central Concept in Gustaf Aulén’s Work with the Liturgy in Theory and Practice*, (Lund, 1979), p. 4f., 8. Andrén mentions that Aulén defines “liturgy” in a narrow sense, as referring only to the fixed textual order in the ritual of the divine service. Thereby he deviates from the general opinion that was established internationally during the twentieth century; that liturgy should be defined broadly, as referring to the whole service. When I talk about Aulén’s views on “liturgy”, I use the concept in its international use, which means that I use it in a broader way than Aulén himself advocated.

“papist darkness” that the service books from the Reformation were only able to take the first step. Aulén therefore calls the 1811 service book “reductionist” and claims that it is heavily influenced by Enlightenment ideas. During this era, “reformation” was thought to be about cutting out parts of the liturgy that do not belong to the indispensable message of the faith. The 1811 service book was a compromise and a strive for “simplicity”.

Aulén contrasts the mistakes from 1811 against some important and internally connected principles from the Reformation era. In the conclusion of this chapter, we will come back to these principles and contrast them with present day liturgical thinking within the Church of Sweden. Concerning the liturgy as a whole, Aulén claims that early Lutheranism promoted a freedom in the forms of liturgy, but also a firmness in the proclamation of the Gospel. When liturgical reforms are discussed within Lutheran churches, a useful touchstone is to investigate whether the proposals have an internal affinity with the pure Gospel, the salvation that Christ fulfilled in his death and resurrection, as proclaimed during the Reformation. He also finds that the reforms of the 1890s explicitly returned to the first century of Lutheran theology. The 1894 service book and the music that was added in 1897 contained several alternative melodies for each part of the mass during the liturgical year. Many of the melodies originated from the medieval or Reformation eras.

The order of the liturgy is according to Aulén a coherent whole with its own distinct constitution. With reference to Luke 5:36, he warns of regarding the service as a patchwork with different pieces of different quality. This requirement regards the liturgy as a whole and in his book, Aulén applies it to both the texts and the music that are used in the service. He says that the liturgical renewal that had been made so far (his book is from 1961) has been firmly grounded in both the Reformation and the Ancient church.

A second Reformation principle that Aulén uses as a touchstone in his own time is that the whole congregation shall take active part in the service,

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17 Gustaf Aulén, Högmässans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt, p. 13f., 31, 68. What Aulén writes here is heavily influenced by the liturgical works of Yngve Brilioth from 1926 and onward.
18 In his book Christus Victor, Aulén explains in detail this understanding of the Gospel, which he claims was changed into a more “latin” understanding just one generation after the death of Martin Luther.
19 Aulén, Högmässans förnyelse, p. 31–35, 87f. This evaluation is very much in line with Masaki’s conclusion. See Masaki, He Alone is worthy!, p. 297. In his article about Aulén, Carl-Gustaf Andrén states that Aulén often repeated that “renewal” has to have a clear connection to the pure Gospel that was preached by the Reformers and used as a ground for liturgical renewal during the Reformation era. According to Aulén, the church ordinance by Laurentius Petri was at the same time marked by both firmness and freedom, since it was determined throughout by the Gospel’s own spirit and it was also the demand for freedom by the same church. Andrén, Renewal, p. 14.
20 Luke 5:36: “No man puts a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new makes a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agrees not with the old.”
21 Aulén, Högmässans förnyelse, p. 33.
especially in confession, prayer and praise. He says this in a context where he refers to Luther, who highlighted prayer/praise as one of the seven visible marks of the Church. The seven marks Luther uses to convince people that the church, understood in a Lutheran way, can be seen and experienced concretely. The background for making songs such an absolute sign of the presence of the Christian people is that the redemption is the power in what goes on in the service. The believer thereby admits that he has been under the forces of the satanic powers, but has also been liberated by the salvific deed of Christ. The song of prayer and praise – the thanksgiving – that in this way is inextricably connected to the Gospel and its absolution is rightly called the keynote of the whole liturgy.22

Human and divine activities are not opposites, but complement each other. Aulén specifically promotes the notion that if a choir has a major liturgical responsibility in the service, it will underline this co-operation between God and humans. It is the reception of what God gives that constitutes the meaning of the prayers, confessions and songs of praise that the people in the congregation offer. The choir was seen by the Reformers as a part of the congregation, and its activity was an integral part of the service, not as a rival to the lay songs but as a support. Also more “artistic” songs were seen as natural and good for the choir to perform in the liturgy in order to make the singing of the congregation stronger.23

We now turn to the third of Aulén’s touchstones – the ecumenical one. Luther loved the music of Josquin de Pre and this shows, according to Aulén, both that Luther had good taste concerning music and that music is an ecumenical matter. The early Lutherans valued the liturgies from the Ancient church very highly and Aulén believed that such an appreciation should also guide present day liturgical renewal. The music of the undivided church should therefore be seen as a resource.24 Chant is objective and allows the text to control the interpretation.25 By this, Aulén is eager to clarify, he does not mean that the music is “neutral” – of course even objective music proclaims the text. But the advantage of objective music is that it does so without “rul-

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22 Gustaf Aulén, Högmässans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt, p. 117f.
23 Ibid., p. 147f., 205–207.
24 Aulén does not define “the undivided church”, but from his text we can understand that it is primarily music composed before the break between Eastern and Western Christianity in 1054 that he wants to promote. We also understand that music with a clear connection to the implementation of the Gregorian reform around the year 800 is extra highly regarded by Aulén.
25 Aulén is fully aware of problems in differentiating “objective” music, like the Gregorian, from the “subjective” music that had its high point in the “Romantic” period. He still thinks that these concepts can work as a pedagogical tool in the discussion of what sort of music Christian liturgy should use and exhort. It would be an interesting task for musicological research to evaluate liturgical music from the last 50 years with this distinction. This topic could also be an arena for interdisciplinary studies, since the interpretation of the texts written in the same process as the music could both help and complicate the discussion of the new liturgical music.
ing” the interpretation of it. In his conclusion, Aulén writes that a typical Lutheran melody is joyful, resilient and with internal power. At the same time, it also has to withstand a fight, which reminds us of the conditions of human life, under the tyranny of sin.

As a fourth touchstone, closely connected to the first two, Aulén proposes a view of music that serves both sacramentum and sacrificium. The service as a whole is both the proclamation of the Word and the response from the congregation in prayer, confession and praise. Therefore the congregation has to be a united and interpretative community in order to form a liturgical answer to the message given by the Word of God. Precisely this interaction in the duality between the divine and the human is a fruitful guide for liturgical renewal and the music should serve both the divine and the human acts. The praise should be fundamental, but it must not be corrected and free from problems. This is especially true for the music that should describe what Christian life is about. Aulén often comes back to the notion that the “Christ-event” is something that continues in what takes place in the mass.

Aulén himself does not speak explicitly about requisites or touchstones, but he clearly wants to give some specific and well-thought-out pieces of advice to people working with liturgical renewal and church music in general. The four touchstones we have highlighted are 1) the definition of Gospel as the salvation Christ fulfilled in his death and resurrection, 2) that the congregation takes active part in the praise as an expression of the salvific act of Christ, 3) that music is an ecumenical matter and Gregorian music – and early music in general – shall be valued, and 4) that music shall serve the duality of the two forces in liturgy, both the acts of God and the acts of the congregation.

As a summary, we have very clearly seen that Aulén refers to the Lutheranism during the Reformation era as a resource that he wants to accede to. At the same time, he develops an understanding of music that transcends the rather sparse and loose ideas we could find in the text by Laurentius Petri. Aulén gives concrete expressions of music as a servant to the two forces of liturgy that form the distinction behind sacramentum and sacrificium. With this, he develops ideas that are of great relevance when the role of music in church life is discussed on a more general level.

The emphasis on sacramentum, what God does, is in one sense even stronger in Aulén’s text compared to the concept we found by Laurentius Petri. The sacrifice and victory won by God in Christ is very strongly emphasized by Aulén. This is of course fully in line with his theological view in general that he develops in Christus Victor. We do not get any clear picture of what the

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28 Andrén expresses this conclusion by referring to a debate article that Aulén wrote 1937, in which he states that renewal always depends upon factors over which people have no dominion, since it is achieved if, and to the extent that the Spirit of God is able to renew the human beings that have a wish for liturgical renewal. Andrén, Renewal, p. 17.
sacrificial aspects of faith means for Aulén. The text mentions the need for a “wrestling”, a reminder that human life is always – at least partly – lived under the tyranny of sin. This should characterize the music and liturgy as a whole. At the same time, the question remains how this aspect shall be practiced in the everyday life of believers. Of course, Aulén writes about this in other contexts, but compared to the Reformation texts we studied previously, we have to conclude that Aulén does not connect the liturgical life that is practiced in the church-building as closely with Christian everyday life.

Contemporary Service Book Renewal within the Church of Sweden

Our third source of liturgical thinking is found in a recent revision process within the Church of Sweden, one of the largest Lutheran churches in the world with almost six million members. At the same time, Sweden is one of the most secularized countries in the world and most members of the church do not take part in the liturgical life of the church on a regular basis. This will be clear in some of the ideas we meet in the texts studied below. The two texts that are referred to are part of the background material for a proposal that was – with some minor revisions – accepted as a new service book by the General Church Assembly, the highest organ within the Church of Sweden, in November 2017. The reason for studying two background texts and not the final result of the process is that the background texts explicitly give theological arguments for the tendency that has guided the work and the choices that have been made by the group behind the proposal that was accepted in November 2017.

In a volume from 2012 that aimed to give explanations for the proposed changes in the liturgy, the committee says that a demand for simplicity is motivated by a theological perspective and that this is an Evangelical-Lutheran concern. In this text, “simplicity” and “recognizability” are often used to picture what is regarded as the Reformation insight and the result of the changes in the sixteenth century that made people actively involved in the service.29

A third concept with a clear connection to the use of music in the proposal is “liberation”, often called “Evangelical liberation”. As examples of this Evangelical liberation, the text mentions occasions when the patterns that make people invisible and diminished are broken, and when a social process is occurring, in which marginalized people can see their circumstances being changed, also from a gender perspective. As a fourth major concept, “participation” is used as a goal for liturgical reforms. Participation is mostly about having the service in a vernacular language with a high factor of recognizability which also means that all people shall feel that they are respected.30

30 Ibid., p. 24, 42.
This “Lutheran recognizability” demands a musical breadth with a focus on contemporary music and a claim that traditional church music has to take one step back. In the theological principles behind the proposal, it is claimed that people have different preferences about music and that also the music has to be in “vernacular language” in order to make it possible for as many people as possible to recognize their own experiences and images of God in the music.\(^{31}\)

To summarize, we see that this present work in Sweden – at least at a surface level – wants to link to the early Lutheran insights at least as much as Laurentius Petri and Gustaf Aulén. At the same time we have to conclude that it is impossible to use the distinction *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* on this material. If we ask for the sacramental aspect, what God gives (or does in a more general sense) in the liturgy, we do not get any clear answer from the studied texts. The closest we get to an answer is in the passages that talk about “Evangelical liberation”. If we were able to pose additional questions to the authors of these texts, we might have got an explanation of this liberation that talks about God’s acts in history and liturgy. Breaking patterns that make people invisible and broken can easily be seen as areas for divine activity. But if we just read the texts, the focus is much more on what humans can and ought to achieve, since the only things discussed are the believers’ responsibility to design a liturgy that helps people with problems in their social circumstances.

When a clear understanding of *sacramentum* is missing, it is not possible to talk about a sacrificial aspect of faith in a traditional sense. In a more general sense, we can of course repeat the exhortations to strive for “simplicity”, “recognizability”, “Evangelical liberation” and “participation” as important parts of what constitutes Christian life. Since these concepts are never put in relation to God’s acts, it is not a surprise that there is no discussion about the relation between text and music. From the background texts as a whole, we can understand that liturgical texts and music are treated in the same way, since they should both be composed in order to appeal to the preferences of the people in the congregation. This also explains why traditional church music is still accepted, even though present-day music better serves the need to enable people to recognize their “own experiences and images of God in the music”.\(^{32}\)

Two more short reflections can be made. First, here we can locate a point where musicologists could continue to evaluate my preliminary conclusions on present-day church music. From a theological point of view, it is reasonable to fear that church musicians will find themselves in an unmanageable situation when the expectation of liturgical music is to help people find God and recognize their own experiences with the help of a certain sort of music,


\(^{32}\) *Kyrkohandbok för Svenska kyrkan, Del I. Förklaringar*, p. 36.
especially when there is no unifying understanding of God’s actions in the texts that places these high expectations on music. Rather, we might fear that congregations could become fragmented, both internally and in relation to other congregations, if the ideas in the text are broadly implemented in Swedish church life. Secondly, we can notice that the present day thinking within the Church of Sweden seems to almost totally contradict the four touchstones that Aulén expressed in his book on the liturgy. In the last section of this essay I will elaborate on this theme a bit more.

Conclusion: Swedish Lutheranism as a Resource for Future Church Music

If we express the development from Pre-modernity to Post-modernity in Swedish liturgical thinking with the help of the distinction sacramentum and sacrificium, we can summarize our findings like this: in Pre-modernity – the church ordinance of Laurentius Petri – the whole of Christian life can be interpreted with the help of this distinction. Also, the Christian everyday life is determined by what God has said and done and acts of the believers are regarded “fruitful” answers to this initiative by God. In modernity – Gustaf Aulén – the distinction has a more precise connection to the liturgical music, where the distinction continues to work according to the original principles formulated by the Reformers. At the same time, Christian life outside the Sunday liturgy does not receive the same attention from Aulén. This opens up for a possibility of a secularization of the Christian faith, even if this is most probably not Aulén’s intention. In post-modernity, we see that the distinction does not work anymore and the Christian life is interpreted as a striving for something that has its background in societal injustice and no clear distinction between divine and human actions is made. This can be interpreted as a consequence of the openness for secularization that we found in Aulén – as a second step that also secularizes the liturgy. If this is a correct observation, it can explain why only a minority within the Church of Sweden have protested against the theology guiding the principles behind the contemporary liturgical renewal. When only a minority within a church takes active part in its liturgical life, there are no grounds for “renewal” since there are not enough “renewed” persons in the congregations.33

If we want to use Aulén’s deep understanding of music and liturgy and avoid the weakness in his argument that opens up for a development like the one pictured above, we can recall a statement by Theodor Kliefoth, that the clearer an understanding of sacramentum you have, the more richer an understanding of sacrificium you will get.34

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33 The verbal expressions for this thought I have borrowed from Aulén, see footnote 26.
34 Masaki, *He Alone is worthy!*, p. 236, 266. Masaki clams that Kliefoth’s interpretation in this matter is received and brought into a Swedish context by Ullman. That this view about sacramentum and sacrificium is also held and often repeated by Ullman is clear in for
From the perspective of a systematic theologian, I would like to highlight that Ullman, the person who brought the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium to Sweden, emphasized that the content of the sung hymns should not be abstract; talking about God’s essence disengaged from the revelation of God in Christ. The hymns have to talk about Christ “for us” and “in us”, about the objective salvific grace and the subjective appropriation by a congregation that reproduces the word of God when it takes the words and tones of the hymn in its mouth. For Ullman, this is an event with aesthetic significance. The highest possible experience according to Ullman occurs when a faithful congregation lives in love and peace with God in Christ, and this requires an “elevated” melody which is distant from our everyday experiences.35

In his recent book about Lutheran aesthetics, the American theologian Mark C. Mattes states that Luther, contrary to the Reformed theologians during the Reformation, strove for a balance between the intellectual and affective aspects of Christian art. Where the Reformed theology only highlighted the intellectual aspect of faith in a Platonic way, the Lutheran theologians held the conviction that God’s Word comes through earthly, physical, and bodily means. Mattes uses this in his own interpretation of Luther that places significant weight on justification by grace alone. Mattes claims that Luther’s view on music (and art in general) shows a Christological approach that is also extremely useful in our contemporary discussions about art, since Luther thinks that bodily and earthly things can be channels of grace when appropriated by the word.36 Essentially, this view was also held by Laurentius Petri and Aulén. It was also held by Ullman who stated that the creation of new hymns requires a certain state in the church. If this state is not at hand, as in the Church of Sweden in the middle of the nineteenth century when Ullman was young and wrote his doctoral dissertation, it is not possible to write hymns that will stay in use for several generations ahead.37

The sketchy exposition Aulén gives on music deserves to be developed in interdisciplinary studies by theologians and musicologists. Today we know more details about how music and theology was taught as a unity in Lutheran schools from the Reformation until the Enlightenment and that Martin Luther and for example Johann Sebastian Bach had fundamentally the same education in this area. The Lutheran conception that music existed before human

36 Mark C. Mattes, Martin Luther’s Theology of Beauty: A Reappraisal, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017), p. 120, 132.
37 Ullman, Om den kyrkliga psalmboken, p. 80. History can be said to give Ullman right, at least to a certain degree, about the state of the official church of the nineteenth century. During the period 1820–1900 there were only a few hymns written in Sweden that continued to be used for a long time. The ones which became popular often had their background in the spiritual revivalist movement or the free churches that started to establish themselves in Sweden during the nineteenth century.
beings existed is of course a speculative thought. But the way music interacts with human behaviour and virtues can be investigated with normal research methods and at least in theory it is possible to investigate what sort of music is the most adequate in order to promote the life-view that the early Lutherans wanted to pursue. Methodologically, such investigations would of course have to work with circular arguments, but these problems can be reduced in the interdisciplinary dialogue between theologians and musicologists.

Generally, I would like to conclude that our study in this chapter shows that the distinction between sacramentum and sacrificium serves the interdisciplinary field between systematic, biblical and practical theologians and musicologists well, since it clearly helps us to focus on what is actually and empirically done in the liturgical life of the Church and the important role that music has. This role was recognized by the first generation of Lutheran theologians and clearly used in order to make the Christian life more “fruitful”. In order to formulate more detailed results than the ones in this study, I would like to suggest much broader empirical sources, since explicit formulations with a clear reference to our concepts are often very few. Nevertheless, I think this “pilot study” shows that it is both possible and productive to initiate collaborative interdisciplinary studies of the use of music with this framework. Also from a strictly historical point of view it helps us to understand why communal singing is often described as the main reason for the successful spread of Luther’s Reformation concerns.

The tendency for theologians to decide, before such collaborative work has been done, what is “indispensable” in Christian faith and start to cut pieces out of the liturgy in order to make it more “simple”, seems to be a serious mistake. The work with a new service book within the Church of Sweden breaks with all four touchstones that Aulén highlights and many of his critical remarks on the 1811 service book can be transferred to the material in present-day Sweden. When a clear definition of the Gospel is lacking, it is impossible to get a congregation actively involved in the praise of God’s acts. In one sense, the committee sees music as an ecumenical matter and influences from other Protestant churches are evident in the preparations for the new service book.

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39 In an essay on Luther and J. C. F. Hæffner (1759–1833), editor of the 1820–21 choral book, Anders Dillmar demonstrates that Hæffner was deeply impressed by Martin Luther’s views on music and how he wanted to implement these ideas in Sweden. See Anders Dillmar, “Luther och Hæffners koralarbete”, in *Hjärtats tillit – Trosförmedlingen i luthersk tradition*, (Årsbok för svenskt gudstjänstliv, 82), Sven-Åke Selander (ed.), (Skellefteå, 2007), p. 157–187. Another argument for re-reading Aulén as a critic against the present development within the Church of Sweden is found in Oloph Bexell’s reading of U. L. Ullman. Bexell states that the congregation was regarded as an “audience” during the Enlightenment. Typical for this reductionist thinking is that the purpose with the service is to give moral education and that liturgy and hymns are seen only as tools for this goal and not given any intrinsic value of their own. Bexell, *Liturgins teologi*, p. 147. This reductionist “Enlightenment” view is almost literally expressed in the recent texts from the Church of Sweden.
Aulén talks about older music, but of course newly composed music can also serve ecumenical purposes. However, the concept of two different actions, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, that is typical for traditional Lutheran music does not exist at all in the recent Swedish process. This is shown in the fact that the salvific act of Christ is hardly mentioned and that it is definitely not related to the music used in the liturgy.

The way music is used to interact with perceptions of sacrifice and thanksgiving has to be shaped in dialogue with present-day concerns.\(^{40}\) The drastic re-interpretations of traditional Lutheran themes made by the Church of Sweden seem to be premature and the societal concerns expressed in the material should have been more deeply analyzed within a theological framework before they were allowed to act as guidelines for choices concerning music. It is common knowledge that church service books always get more critically examined after they are put into use than during the preparation process.\(^{41}\) We can definitely not expect a global reception of the results from present day Swedish liturgical renewal that could be compared with the 1942 service book in Sweden that made such impact on so many Lutheran liturgies worldwide.

On the other hand, going back to Reformation principles is in itself an ecumenical task for Lutheran theologians and musicians, since it is in this tradition that they have the resources that the church as a whole can benefit from. The way the first generation of Reformation theologians and especially Luther himself exalted music and made it a tool for Christians to serve their neighbours has today, perhaps more than ever before, far-reaching heuristic potential. It helps us to interpret Christian faith with a clear focus on the sacramental aspects, the death and resurrection of Christ, with the help of how music expresses God’s gifts in their fullness. Furthermore, it makes it possible for the believers to make use of their own voices, both individually and together with other Christians, and offer thanksgiving as a response to God’s salvation.

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\(^{40}\) The Finnish theologian Risto Saarinen has brilliantly shown how traditional Lutheran ideas can be reshaped and used in concrete churchlife in an ecumenical context. See Risto Saarinen, *God and the Gift – An Ecumenical Theology of Giving*, (Collegeville, MN, 2005), p. 45–58 and chapter 4, on sacrifice and thanksgiving.

\(^{41}\) Masaki, *He Alone is worthy!*, p. 297.
“Go outside and play.” Mere minutes had passed since giving this directive to my four young children, when I began to perceive the sounds of singing. Peering out the window, I observed four-year-old David holding a large stick aloft and parading around the backyard, with his three sisters following in close procession, blocks of wood in hand. I strained my ears to listen. It was the hymn “Lift High the Cross”, to the tune CRUCIFER. David, who acted as such, led them to the porch, where the two older girls (both age 9) directed him and their six-year-old sister to sit. They opened up their blocks of wood (hymnals) and sang Martin Franzmann’s “Thy Strong Word”. It had abundant “alleluias”, which was a perfect fallback word when they didn’t know all the actual text.1

It is no surprise that what the church does in worship – its liturgy – has been likened unto the play of children, especially when the play of children can, in turn, imitate the liturgy of the church.2 But the bigger question lies in how these children came to play at such a “serious” matter as “church”, although at the time they were simply having fun. The most ready answer to this question is that they had experienced the rituals of procession and song enacted every Sunday of their lives in worship, and this repeated action had worked to form their own tendencies toward play.

The study of how the faith of children is formed has been of increasing interest to scholars since Bushnell’s landmark work in the nineteenth century.3 While the bulk of studies on faith formation reside in the disciplines of sociology, education, and theology, the goal of this chapter is to bring the field of church music – with a special emphasis on singing – into the discourse,

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1 Incidents of children re-enacting the liturgy of the church while playing are documented even in the early centuries of Christianity. A well-known example involves the boy Athanasius (later bishop of Alexandria) and his friends play-acting the roles of bishops and deacons, even baptizing and celebrating the “mysteries” in their game. Cornelia B. Horn and John W. Martens, “Let the Little Children Come to Me”: Childhood and Children in Early Christianity, (Washington, DC, 2009), p. 205–211.


3 Bushnell was one of the first to give attention to the subject of children’s faith formation, and since then a windfall of literature on the topic has appeared, much of which will be referenced in the course of this study. Horace Bushnell, Views of Christian Nurture, and of Subjects Adjacent Thereto (1847), (Delmar, NY, 1975).
arguing that it possesses three characteristics vital to our understanding of a child’s faith development: it is embodied, formative, and crossgenerational.4

Methodology
Following a research method utilized by Edward Robinson this study provides research from interviews with sixteen people (8 men, 8 women), ages 25–42, all of whom grew up in Lutheran liturgical congregations in the United States.5 Those interviewed were chosen as a result of their regular attendance at services at Zion Lutheran Church in Dallas, Texas and were asked to recollect their childhood experiences particularly in the realm of church music.6 Although a critique of this method includes the possibility of selective or faulty memory, I believe that interviewing younger adults – most of them still in their twenties – captures them at a time when they are still close enough to childhood to remember with a high degree of accuracy while at the same time possessing maturity to reflect upon and express their experiences intelligently.7 A focus on the experiences themselves provides a window into the foundations of their faith development through music, and the fact that they are now adults allows them to reflect upon the impact of those experiences on their current lives.

4 Ratcliff highlights the “importance of interdisciplinary study in children’s spirituality […] All aspects of children are important in understanding their spirituality, including the emotional, verbal, social, behavioral, and perhaps most important, the imaginative, creative, and inner aspects of life.” Donald Ratcliff, “‘The Spirit of Children Past’: A Century of Children’s Spirituality Research”, in Nurturing Children’s Spirituality: Christian Perspectives and Best Practices, Holly Catterton Allen (ed.), (Eugene, OR, 2008), p. 37.
5 Edward Robinson, The Original Vision: A Study of the Religious Experience of Childhood, (Oxford, 1977). Ratcliff notes that prior to Robinson the majority of research on childhood faith formation followed the cognitive development stages of Piaget. The innovation Robinson introduced into his study was his interviewing of adults about their childhood religious experiences. Ratcliff, “‘The Spirit of Children Past’”, p. 30. An approach that takes into consideration aspects of faith formation that cannot be easily described in purely intellectual terms was brought to the forefront by the research of Hay and Nye, intellectual successors to Robinson. David Hay and Rebecca Nye, The Spirit of the Child, (London, 2006).
6 As the Minister of Music at Zion Lutheran Church and School, Dallas, Texas, USA, I was in a position to select young adults who I saw attending church regularly and fully participating in the hymns and sung liturgy of the services. Except for one, all the participants were known to me personally, and they were asked questions regarding their earliest childhood memories regarding church music. Their responses included memories prior to age 12, with most focusing on the early elementary school years (ages 5 to 10).
7 This is not to assume that children themselves cannot reflect intelligently upon their musical experiences in church; as an educator of elementary-age children in Lutheran schools for almost 20 years, I considered the worth of asking some of my child students’ questions about their church music experiences. However, discovering the impact of childhood experiences upon the lives of young adults became the more engaging question explored in this study. A discussion of research techniques for studies of childhood can be found in Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout, Theorizing Childhood, (New York, 1998).
Embodied Church Music, Part I: Emotion

Music helps us connect emotionally with the truth of who God is, what the gospel is, and what our place with God is now. It reminds us of the depths of our darkness and sin, it allows us to cry out when we are hurting or in grief or anger, and it directs our emotions to God. It uplifts the spirit and reminds us of the goodness and mercy of our God. And it proclaims God’s love in more than just words.⁸

Faith involves the whole person – not just the intellect. Here one’s definition of faith becomes essential to the discourse. If faith hinges upon understanding a certain amount of information, then anyone who has not reached a certain level of intellectual ability could not be said to have faith. However, if faith is seen as God’s action of grace, then this is critical to the discussion of children, since a child does not have the cognitive powers of an adult. Reformed scholar Hwarang Moon’s book Engraved Upon the Heart goes a long way toward establishing the experiential component as being as integral to faith as the cognitive. Moon adopts Yust’s definition of faith as “not a set of beliefs; or [...] a well-developed cognitive understanding of all things spiritual. It is an act of grace, in which God chooses to be in relationship with humanity”.⁹ The fact that faith involves not only intellect but the body is demonstrated in the singing of the hymns and liturgy of the church.¹⁰ Each person’s voice is unique and holds a central place in one’s concept of self-identity. When one uses her own voice to sing, the action brings together mind, spirit, and body in a way that is personal to each individual. The involvement of the entire body that takes place in singing gives it the characteristic of “embodiment”, that is, a deeply felt physical act that emanates from both cognitive and emotive realms. Although Moon does not elaborate on the specificities of music, his insistence on and well laid argument for experiential learning as a valuable part of faith formation can be extrapolated to encompass the experience of music.

The close tie between body and spirit in regard to faith can be seen in neurological studies as well. Andrew Newberg, a leading scientist in the fields of neuropsychology and neurotheology, performed brain imaging tests on

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¹⁰ It would do well here to note that Luther himself was aware of music’s link to the emotions and the Spirit’s work of faith. “For whether you wish to comfort the sad, to terrify the happy, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud to calm the passionate, or to appease those full of hate – and who could number all these masters of the human heart, namely, the emotions, inclinations, and affections that impel men to evil or good? – what more effective means than music could you find? The Holy Ghost himself honors her as an instrument for his proper work [...]” See “Preface to Georg Rhau’s Symphoniae iucundae”, in Luther’s Works (American Edition), Vol. 53, p. 323.
Tibetan Buddhist monks, Franciscan nuns, and Pentecostals, discovering that regular patterns of bodily worship strengthen neural pathways. His findings assert that “body, brain, and spirit are undeniably integrally interconnected”.  

Narrowing from Newberg’s more general ritual study to one specifically musical in nature are the observations of neuroscientist Daniel Levitin. His studies have encompassed not only scholarly publications but popularly written books weaving together the areas of music and science. In a brief discussion of religious music, he states that music is able to “tie an aesthetic knot” between emotional and motor systems, binding our thoughts “to movement, memory, hopes, and desires”.  

In a Christian context, the word “body” also refers to something larger than our simple individual persons. It refers to the Body of Christ Himself – that is, His own people, with each member doing its work on behalf of and in conjunction with the whole (Ephesians 4). Levitin speaks of the corporate nature of song as an ancient memory aid for the transmission of oral history, citing epic poems such as the Iliad and the information contained in the first five books of the Old Testament. The Body-of-Christ-song is a macrocosm of the embodiment mentioned earlier; it is a “big picture” song containing its own power for the community that sings, and this occurrence is mentioned by several interviewees. The following example was chosen as representative because it describes both the personal embodiment of singing, often seated in the emotions, and the corporate “in-Body-ment”.

Throughout Scripture there is this poetic response to God when people are shown or given great things. Just like in Scripture, it is a joyful response to what God has done for us and singing is a very visceral action. […] it achieves a unique unity in the present body of Christ. We are creating beauty together as a corporate offering to God through song, and we are participating in literally centuries-worth of global tradition when we sing and make music for God.

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13 Levitin points out the phenomenon of “collective memory.” When the entire assembly is singing the words, the likelihood that every person will remember every word of the oral history is slim; however, with many people singing, it is equally likely that not everyone will forget the same words, and thus the entire story remains intact. Levitin, The World in Six Songs, p. 182–183. From an anthropological viewpoint, Lynn Kelley has written on the importance of songlines – that is, songs that correspond with mental or physical spaces – in recollecting vast amounts of information integral to transmission of cultural history and basic survival knowledge in societies. See Lynne Kelly, Knowledge and Power in Prehistoric Societies: Orality, Memory and the Transmission of Culture, (New York, NY, 2015).

14 Author’s email interview with Erin Dunk, age 25, 17 March 2017.
This sacred character that music takes on when coupled with religious thought or ritual is noted by Levitin as a deeply embedded human activity.\textsuperscript{15} The very nature of music connotes the mystery of a higher power. Joseph Gelineau describes the ability of music to raise words and emotion to an extraordinary level. He states, “The complete word, the fully developed word, the sacred word, has the nature of song”.\textsuperscript{16}

Embodied Church Music, Part II: the Word

Gelineau alludes to the fact that in addition to the emotion inherent in music, when used in the church, music most always is paired with text, or content—the “sacred word”. The result of this match has often been described as greater than the sum of the parts, with poetry and music combining to touch and inform a person in a way that mere words or melody alone could not. Lutheran theologians have typically followed Martin Luther’s thought that music is a gift of God that can serve to proclaim His Word.\textsuperscript{17} Indeed, many of those interviewed spoke of music as inseparable from the words conveyed, as represented in the following response.

Music allows another way for the congregation to consider and reflect on doctrine. Music provides many with a way to participate and speak God’s Word. There is a poetry to music that elevates worship as an experience and resonates with many.\textsuperscript{18}

Such remarks point out the reality that texts in worship are often bound up intimately with the music itself. It is not merely the music that is significant; it is music coupled with words. Aside from music’s emotive quality, the ability of music to assist memory is commonly attested.\textsuperscript{19} Learning the multiplication

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\textsuperscript{15} Levitin, \textit{The World in Six Songs}, p. 196–199.

\textsuperscript{16} Joseph Gelineau, \textit{Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship}, Clifford Howell (transl.), (Collegeville, PA, 1964), p. 44. Gelineau’s complete statement preceding the one above is, “The word which is merely spoken is a somewhat incomplete form of human language. It suffices for ordinary utilitarian communications. But as soon as the word becomes charged with emotion, as soon as it is filled with power, as soon as it tends to identify itself with the content of its message – when, in fine, it has to signify the sacredness of actions being performed – then it calls imperatively for number and melos, that is, for a musical form […]”.

\textsuperscript{17} “After all, the gift of language combined with the gift of song was only given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music, namely, by proclaiming [the Word of God] through music and by providing sweet melodies with words.”, “Preface to Georg Rhau’s Symphoniae iucundae”, in \textit{Luther’s Works}, Vol. 53, p. 323–324.

\textsuperscript{18} Author’s email interview with Matthew Boyer, age 26, 30 March 2017.

\textsuperscript{19} “When music is added to words of a hymn and to the words of the liturgy the impact is even more profound. The memory weaves words and music together and links them with experiences of God’s comfort, strength and grace. The repetition of such hymns on a variety of occasions, linked to key life events, inserts those feelings deeper and deeper in the memory.” Peter Atkins, \textit{Memory and Liturgy: The Place of Memory in the Composition and Practice of Liturgy}, (Aldershot, 2004), p. 122.
tables, the alphabet, or even the catechism becomes much easier when set to music.\textsuperscript{20} Levitin calls these “knowledge songs” and says that

[...] we write them to encode lessons that we’ve learned and don’t want to forget, often using metaphor or devices to raise the message up to the level at which art meets science (rather than simple observation), making it at once more memorable and more inspiring.\textsuperscript{21}

He does not specifically refer to religious songs such as hymnody, but his remarks could easily be applied to them. Interviewees in this study cited multiple hymns and portions of sung liturgy that they said they learned when they were children – often before they could read – that they still recall and sing today. The power of song to convey important information as an ancient use of music is evident in such instances as the chanted transmission of biblical psalms and the rise of Latin hymnody.\textsuperscript{22} This power of music to communicate a message causes Levitin to regard knowledge songs as “perhaps the crowning triumph of art, science, culture, and mind, encoding important life lessons in an artistic form that is ideally adapted to the structure and function of the human brain”.\textsuperscript{23}

**Formative Church Music**

The work of John H. Westerhoff was foundational in children’s faith formation studies. Building upon the earlier work of his friend and colleague, James Fowler, Westerhoff described four stages in faith development in his 1976 book, *Will Our Children Have Faith?* Notable at that time was his insistence that educators (and scholars) recognize the non-cognitive ways in which faith is nurtured in children and the power of the Christian community to inculcate them into that faith. For him, being Christian described a way of life, and intentional formation by the community was essential. His contention was that children will be formed as they go through childhood, whether by good or evil influences. As Christians, it is our job to ask, “\textit{How} will they be formed in our faith community?” Philip Pfatteicher states that “Christian formation begins

\textsuperscript{20} Concordia Publishing House has produced a setting of Luther’s Small Catechism to music composed by Philip Magness, titled Sing the Faith, 2008. Elizabeth Hellmuth Margulis cites studies showing that verbatim memory is significantly better when the text is expressed in song rather than as spoken sentences. On Repeat: How Music Plays the Mind, (Oxford, 2014), p. 86.


\textsuperscript{22} The fourth century church father Ambrose is commonly regarded as the Father of Latin Hymnody. Ambrose’s Trinitarian hymns were reportedly written to counter the doctrines in the popular Arian hymnody already being sung by his adherents.

in worship, for the liturgy is the church’s school.” In order to be formed by worship that occurs only once a week, it is imperative that one experiences it on a regular basis. All interviewees indicated that they attended church every Sunday except for rare instances such as illness. As mentioned before, most of them recalled learning musical settings of the liturgy at very young ages – even pre-reading.

To approach the concept of how the music of liturgy and hymnody formed them, they were asked to reflect on the question, “How do your childhood church music experiences still impact you today?” Responses by Molsberry, Erixon, and Dunk all spoke of particular sung worship texts that they remembered from their elementary school years but did not begin to understand until much later. As children, they were occasionally “bored” with the repetition. However, a fuller appreciation of the textual meaning revealed itself when they reached adulthood. Reflections such as these support the premise that sometimes it is not until later in life that adults come to understand what they had internalized as children.

According to several respondents, one function of music is to assist in understanding – or experiencing – Scripture, doctrine, or the nature of God. Pfatteicher points out that the liturgy “rehearses and renews and deepens our understanding of the content of the faith, leading us ever more profoundly into the depths and heights and widest reaches of its mystery and power.” He emphasizes that, with repetition, the potential exists for new insights to be realized and new applications to be made with ancient words. “What has been made familiar by rote unexpectedly opens upon new and exciting meaning, and old words throb with new life and vigor.” The regular use of sung liturgy and hymnody in the Lutheran churches of those interviewed served to convey meaning through Scripture, the Psalms and Introits, the Kyrie Eleison, and the Hymn of Praise. Indeed, one respondent remarked, “Much of my core theology is based on the music of worship that I learned growing up, which

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25 “For many children, the presence of familiar versicles and responses sung by the congregation is an opportunity for participation. For the non-reading child, the opportunity to participate in liturgy is solely dependent on the presence of those predictable elements.” Shirley K. Morgenthaler, Peter M. Becker, and Gary L. Bertels, *Children in Worship: Lessons from Research*, (River Forest, IL, 1999), p. 53.
27 Pfatteicher, *The School of the Church*, p. 93.
28 Ibid.
29 Author’s email interview with Geoffrey Adams, age 23, 13 March 2017.
30 Author’s email interview with Sarah Swor, age 25, 14 March 2017.
31 Author’s email interview with Leslie Roberts, age 25, 25 March 2017.
has given me lasting faith that has carried me through many difficulties and trials.”32

Interviewees also commented on the way church music impacts their daily lives. Several remarked that they hum, whistle, or sing church music at various times throughout the week. “It’s the only way to bring sanity to my workdays.”33 One respondent noted that he found himself humming a melody and could not determine what it was for several days; he finally realized it was part of the Venite (Psalm 95) from the Matins service he had learned as a young child in his Lutheran School.34 A 26-year-old mother of two children under the age of three remarked that she appreciates knowing the liturgy by heart, as she is able to sing it while having both hands free to manage her young ones in the pew.35 The fact that she is singing with her family in the pew week after week will work to etch those sounds and feelings of music into the subconscious of her young children. This is what Moon dubs “tacit knowledge”, or knowledge that is experienced and becomes a part of a child, and this cultivates what Keeley calls a “landscape of faith”, that is, experiences that over time help to shape one’s relationship with God. It is this concept of gradual formation within the context of parents and others in the community that we now consider.36

Crossgenerational Church Music, Part I: Parents

Much has been made of the idea of generational worship in recent times, and it has borne a number of different monikers including “intergenerational”, “transgenerational”, and “cross-generational”.37 I have chosen the term “crossgenerational” for the obvious double meaning: the music of the church reaches across differences in age, pulling people together in corporate song; and its ultimate worth is centred in Christ himself. Following Allen, this definition includes the concept that children learn best in “authentic, complex communities” from “more experienced members of the culture” as they are able to identify with the worshipping culture by inclusive participation with

32 Ibid.
33 Author’s email interview with Kyle Schemmer, age 30, 23 March 2017. The occurrence of “earworms”, that is, songs that go through a person’s mind, is explored by Margulis. She points out that the most frequent earworms are song choruses and that the music people imagine best is the music they can reproduce bodily. On Repeat, p. 82.
34 Author’s email interview with Trey Krause, age 31, 22 March 2017. He recalls being five or six years old when first learning to sing the Matins service.
35 Author’s email interview with Sarah Jensen, age 29, 18 March 2017.
36 Moon, Engraved Upon the Heart, 70. See also Robert J. Keeley, Helping Our Children Grow in Faith: How the Church Can Nurture the Spiritual Development of Kids, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2008).
them. My research highlights two important aspects of this description: the influence of parents and the influence of the congregation’s musical culture on the embracing of the church’s music by children.

First, it will be helpful to consider children and parents from the viewpoint of theology, in this case that of Martin Luther, considering his enormous impact on Western thought and on Lutheran churches in particular. Luther’s praise of music as “next to theology” has been well documented but his views on children and the family are, perhaps, less known. Luther states,

Most certainly father and mother are apostles, bishops, and priests to their children, for it is they who make them acquainted with the gospel. In short, there is no greater or nobler authority on earth than that of parents over their children, for this authority is both spiritual and temporal.

Luther points out what may seem obvious to some: parents are the single greatest influence in a child’s spiritual formation. In his studies on psychosocial development, Erik Erikson noted that “the faith of parents, or their lack of it, impacts children. The parents’ ability to trust and their sense of meaning influence the child’s sense of trust, meaning, and worth.” Their position as the authority figures in the household requires them to exercise their spiritual guidance with care as the primary witnesses of the gospel message to their children.

As much as churches bear a responsibility for creating an environment for children to participate in worship, the main force of responsibility falls to their parents. No one else is in a better position to encourage and nurture

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39 I am using the term “parents” to denote the primary care givers in a child’s life, not limited to biological parents.
40 One of the best studies in English on Luther’s thoughts on music is Carl Schalk’s Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise, (St. Louis, MO, 1988). Luther’s full comment referred to above is, “[…] next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise”. See Martin Luther, “Preface to Georg Rhau’s Symphoniae iucundae”, Martin Luther, Luther’s Works (American Edition), Vol. 53, p. 53, 323.
41 Martin Luther, Luther’s Works (American Edition), Vol. 45, p. 46. Lutheran scholars and educators have produced a number of writings in the area of children’s faith formation. The work of Shirley Morgenthaler and her colleagues at Concordia University – Chicago is significant in this regard. See also Kenneth T. Kosche, “The Role of Music in Teaching the Faith”, in The Pedagogy of Faith: Essays on Lutheran Education, Bernard Dean Bull (ed.), (St. Louis, MO, 2016), p. 146–151.
42 “This influence is due, in part, to the fact that children cannot see the invisible God, but they can see their parents who they may understand to live in God’s presence. Children learn the reality of God through their parents’ practice of the presence of God.” Sungwon Kim, “Parenting Styles and Children’s Spiritual Development”, in Nurturing Children’s Spirituality: Christian Perspectives and Best Practices, Holly Catterton Allen (ed.), (Eugene, OR, 2008), p. 242.
44 See Morgenthaler, et. al., Children in Worship: Lessons from Research.
the worship of children than their own primary caregivers worshipping side by side with them. Parents also have the opportunity to reinforce attitudes about worship and music in the home. This influence is evident in the value those interviewed placed in their parents’ attitudes toward singing and music in both places.

“Create in Me a Clean Heart” is one of my mom’s favorite parts of the liturgy, so that really stands out as a memory from my childhood. My parents were very faithful in attending worship and emphasized the importance of it to all four of us kids. Neither was very musically inclined but always sang in church and encouraged us to as well.45

Yes, they sang, but I think like I am now, they are both rather self-conscious of their singing. I remember listening to them sing at church.46

These responses of Jensen and Hengeveld are remarkable in that neither regarded their parents as “musical”, yet they sang in worship and encouraged their children to do the same. Hengeveld goes on to note that his parents even bought a piano for their home for their children to take lessons on. Through these actions they taught their children that music was important in home and church.

Kim summarizes the research regarding correlations between church attendance, parenting, and strong relationships, with a particular emphasis on fathers. She cites studies that suggest “a positive relationship between the fathers’ religiosity and the high quality relationship with their children”.47 The responses of those interviewed reflected the importance parents – and fathers in particular – placed upon spiritual matters and singing. The following is representative:

My mom did sing hymns and church songs at home, and my sister would play hymns on the piano as well. My dad sang in church, too, but not as loud. I remember a few times my dad would tell me when he really liked a certain hymn we sang, and that meant a lot because he didn’t share his opinions about the services very much. One time he even copied “Entrust Your Days and Burdens” from the hymnal and stuck it in his work briefcase.48

Children are intensely observant, especially regarding the actions of their primary caregivers; they often soak up knowledge and sensory experiences without realizing it. The active participation of parents in singing at church and in the home seems to be a strong indicator that their children will also

45 Author’s email interview with Sarah Jensen, age 28, 18 March 2017.
46 Author’s email interview with Adam Hengeveld, age 30, 25 March 2017.
48 Author’s email interview with Kendall Molsberry, age 25, 15 March 2017. Authored by Lutheran hymn writer Paul Gerhardt, “Entrust Your Days and Burdens” (“Befiehl du deine Wege”) has long held a place in German, Scandinavian, and English Lutheran hymnals.
place value on singing; and regularity of worship, in turn, works to mould their children through whatever consistent rituals and music are practiced therein.

Crossgenerational Church Music, Part II: Community

Westerhoff describes the necessity of three generations in a church community: the youngest being the “generation of vision”, the middle being the “generation of the present”, and the third, which he contends is most often forgotten, being the “generation of memory”. Without the third, the other two generations are “locked into the existential present”, and “without interaction between and among the generations, each making its own unique contribution, Christian community is difficult to maintain”.49 The combination and interaction of the various generations in a congregation help to create its own unique culture.50

One important aspect of congregational culture is a congregation’s musical culture. This culture has to do with the question, “What does a congregation consider as normal musical life?” Congregational musical culture encompasses the kinds of instruments or choirs heard in worship, whether or not the church utilizes sung liturgies, if and what hymnody is sung on a regular basis, and the like. A child’s immersion in her church’s musical culture, with participation by a wide variety of ages, assists that child’s faith formation.51

Attending a Lutheran school, historically an integral extension of its Lutheran church, impacted the musical formation of several respondents.52 They described a culture in which music served an important role through chapel services, choir rehearsals, memorization of hymns, and religion classes. Other interviewees remembered the instruments and musicians of the church, not-

50 “Each local congregation has built a world of belief and value of its own, which each has fashioned itself out of a particular amalgam of personal stories, denomination heritages, local community history, and larger cultural happenings.” James P. Wind, “Discovering Congregational Culture”, in Exploring Children’s Spiritual Formation: Foundational Issues, Shirley K. Morgenthaler (ed.), (River Forest, IL, 1999), p. 203.
51 Atkins states that the influence of the group exerts tremendous influence upon the individual in a corporate setting like worship. One of the ways it does this is through music and song: “Each new generation is helped, by participation rather than by formal instruction, to learn the group’s own songs and wisdom sayings. Song is an especially powerful means of stating and restating a group’s identity.” Atkins, Memory and Liturgy, p. 70.
52 “He [Luther] saw the family as the natural locus of education: parents catechizing their children and household dependents, joining them in prayers, teaching them their proper duties, and administering discipline.” Jane E. Strohl, “The Child in Luther’s Theology”, in The Child in Christian Thought, Marcia J. Bunge (ed.), (Grand Rapids, MI, 2011), p. 145–146. But Luther also saw this responsibility to educate as residing in the schools: they were to teach the young, especially since many parents were not competent to do so. Luther advocated the teaching of singing and music with a complete liberal arts program in schools. Also see Luther’s, “To the Councilmen of All Cities in German […]”, in Martin Luther’s Basic Theological Writings, Timothy F. Lull (ed.), (Minneapolis, MN, 1989), p. 726.
ing their special functions in worship. Organs and organists, handbell choirs and hymnody, and singers and instrumentalists all contributed to leaving indelible marks upon the minds of children, now worshiping as adults. The musical culture created and lived by a worshiping community impacts children by working itself into their minds and bodies even without their being cognitively aware of it. It becomes a normal way of thinking, acting, and “doing church”. This musical culture contributes to the crossgenerational influence in faith formation in which primary caregivers and others of various ages are in a position to actively engage.

Conclusion

The very act of singing is one of significant embodiment and can be instilled in children from a very young age. This process is realized through the influence of parents and others who are older, who make up the worship milieu of the congregation. These songs of both the individual body and the corporate body of Christ work to form children into mature believers, passing on the faith from one generation to the next.

The text and its accompanying music are often inseparable in the minds of children, aiding in recall and allowing for deeper reflection over time. This suggests to worship leaders the importance of considering carefully the music they choose to assist in the faith formation of our children. As revealed in this study, parts of sung worship can become embedded in the singer over time and continue to be meaningful faith expressions into adulthood. Although children may not comprehend all the words they sing, music’s unique ability to establish words in the mind helps to preserve a host of images and sensations that can be recalled later in life. Furthermore, music’s bond with the human body’s emotional capacity helps to nurture faith through positive and regular worship experiences, quite apart from any closely defined cognitive manifestation.

Lastly, the significance of excellent teaching cannot be ignored. While a teacher can teach specific songs in an educational setting, much musical teaching occurs inadvertently through the worship experience. If singing is treated with intentional care and respect within the church’s worship, children will likely grow to adopt a similar regard for the church’s music. Music that is poorly executed or not well-planned – or simply seen as a time-filler – will be absorbed by children who may come to see the church’s music as trite or worthless. Those responsible for worship will do well to realize the power with which they are entrusted in handling the church’s music as they seek to inculcate the faith into the church’s children.

53 Author’s email interview with Kristen Erixon, age 27, 20 March 2017.
54 Author’s email interview with Daniel Jensen, age 29, 16 March 2017.
55 Author’s email interview with Trey Krause, age 31, 22 March 2017.
21. Brass Ensembles as a Process of Community Building: Participatory Performance and the *Posaunenchor*

*Ryoto Akiyama*

This chapter examines the structure and music-making of German brass ensembles known as *Posaunenchor* (singular *Posaunenchor*). Generally, *Posaunenchor* comprise congregational brass ensembles in Protestant (mainly Lutheran) congregations in German-speaking areas. Among Lutheran congregations in Germany, they are the most popular and vigorous music groups apart from choirs. According to the latest statistics from the Evangelical Church in Germany (*Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*), there are currently approximately 6,000 *Posaunenchor* comprising more than 90,000 brass players. In 2016, *Posaunenchor* were registered by the German Commission of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Germany and described as “a trademark of the Protestant Church”.

Because of their close relationship with the Protestant Church, most previous studies on *Posaunenchor* have been conducted in the field of theology. In a recent study, for example, based on her empirical study in northern Germany, Julia Koll examined the socio-religious implications of the collective music-making of the *Posaunenchor* in terms of practical theology. Due to the dominance of theological research on the *Posaunenchor*, they have received little attention and detailed investigations in the field of wind and brass music.

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1 This chapter is based on the master’s thesis of the author accepted at the Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University (2016).
2 While Protestant congregations other than the Lutheran, namely the Reformed, Methodist, Seventh-day Adventist, and even some Roman-Catholic congregations also have *Posaunenchor*, this chapter focuses on the Lutheran case.
research. However, they are one of the forms of local brass and wind band that originate in the cultural conditions of the nineteenth century, and can be characterized as a form of local community-based music-making. Seen from this perspective, rather than defining *Posaunenchöre* only as a Christian musical practice or a theological research object, it is significant to consider how these local bands are framing their musical practice that could be interpreted as a Christian one, and to investigate how a particular form of the brass ensemble is practised as *Posaunenchor* in a particular cultural setting, namely, in the current secular and multi-religious environment in Germany.

This approach can contribute to cultural consideration not only of the musical practises of brass and wind bands, but also of Lutheran musical practice.

From this perspective, I approach the *Posaunenchöre* from an (ethno)musicological perspective and investigate them as cultural practice. I will focus on the musical performance of the brass players of *Posaunenchöre*, regarding music as performance and social interaction, and, in Small’s term, “musicking”. In order to observe their music-making closely, with a particular focus on the musical and social activities of their brass players, and referring to Finnegan’s fieldwork on the case study of amateur music-making, which includes personal participation in the events, I have been conducting ethnographical fieldwork, including participant observation, since 2014. My fieldwork has comprised my own musical participation – mainly in three *Posaunenchöre* in Göttingen as a trombonist and some other *Posaunenchöre* – semi-structured.
interviews, and questionnaires among these three *Posaunenchöre* to explore the musical experience of the brass players of the *Posaunenchöre* in their musical performance.

As Koll’s empirical study shows, I also found that the specific communal experience of the musical ensemble is significant among the brass players in *Posaunenchöre* in my field observation. Through their involvement in these groups, they experience a particular sense of togetherness and belonging, which is the most important objective of their ensembles and constitutes the specific communal relationship. The aim of this chapter is to provide more insight into the music-making of the *Posaunenchöre*, focusing on the musical and social interactions between the brass players. Based on my fieldwork, which was mainly conducted in 2014–15, I focus on the specific mode of involvement in *Posaunenchöre* brass ensembles, and investigate how the individual heterogeneous brass players generate their communal relationship and build their particular community, referring to the concept of “participatory performance”, as coined by ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino. Closer consideration of these points merits further investigation of the brass players’ musical experience and the musical meanings that are attributed to their ensemble.

In the following section, I will first introduce general information regarding *Posaunenchöre*, including their historical background and unique ensemble formation. I will then describe the method of musical involvement of the brass players, noting Thomas Turino’s concept of “participatory performance”. Finally, based on my ethnographical research, I will describe the music-making of current *Posaunenchöre* as a case study, and describe their rehearsal process. My argument is that the brass ensemble is inseparable from the social interaction that occurs in the communal relationship between the brass players, while the musical form of participation, which is specific to *Posaunenchöre*, makes such groups unique communities for the brass players who participate.

**Posaunenchöre**

The literal meaning of “Posaunenchor” is a trombone choir, but the concept goes beyond mere instrumentation. It has been adopted to specify a mixed brass ensemble in the context of the Protestant Church in Germany. While the practice of instrumental trombone music in the church in German-speaking areas can be traced back to the tradition of town musicians (*Stadtpfeifer*) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the contemporary concept of “Posaunenchöre” first emerged in the Moravian Church (*Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*) in Saxony in the mid-eighteenth century. However, the musical

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15 I am grateful to Dr. Julia Koll for her advice on the research of *Posaunenchöre*. I referred her questionnaire that she distributed also in my cases of *Posaunenchöre*, and cited some questions in order to compare my cases and my own field observation with her results.

16 See Davidson, “Music as Social Behavior”.

17 Ben van den Bosch, “Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Posaunenarbeit der Brüdergemeinen in Deutschland und in aller Welt”, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte evangelischer Po*
practice of the *Posaunenchöre* as it exists today arguably originated in the Protestant pietistic revival movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*) that occurred in the early nineteenth century.\(^{18}\) Under the influence of this movement, Lutheran working-class males from Christian youth clubs (mainly around eastern Westphalia) or local congregations (mainly around Hanover) organized brass ensembles.\(^{19}\) Following this movement, many *Posaunenchöre* were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is still unclear why such brass ensembles were called *Posaunenchöre*, but it could be that the preachers of the Moravian Church popularized this term, or that the male youth of the revival movement, who tended to be biblicists, coined the term with reference to the biblical term for brass instrument, which Martin Luther translated as “Posaune”.\(^{20}\)

The innovation, production, and distribution of modern brass instruments in German society due to the development of military bands and the industrial revolution enabled Lutheran working-class male youths to establish brass ensembles. Military bands made music with brass instruments that incorporated innovative valve systems, which were relatively popular during the nineteenth century. Even non-specialists could play these instruments and they were widely available due to mass production and the attendant lower prices. Furthermore, the popularization of military bands contributed to the development of amateur civic brass and wind bands in the late nineteenth century, where the musically educated military musicians played significant roles in their instruction and organization.\(^{21}\) It was in this cultural context that *Posaunenchöre* emerged.

As well as those established in the late nineteenth century, a number of *Posaunenchöre* were established during the second half of the twentieth century. In this period, *Posaunenchöre* became integral to local Lutheran congregations in Germany, which welcomed female participants.\(^{22}\)

Early leaders strove to frame the musical performance of *Posaunenchor* as a Lutheran practice, differentiating it from other vernacular brass and wind bands. Johannes Kuhlo (1856–1941), a pastor who was born in the vortex of the revival movement in eastern Westphalia, remains one of the most influ-

\(^{21}\) Achim Hofer, *Blasmusikforschung*, p. 158–185, 201–204.
ential leaders of *Posaunenchöre*. He oriented the musical practice and theological ideas of these brass ensembles and, inspired by the phrase from Psalm 150 “Lobet den HERRN mit Posaunen” (“Praise the LORD with trumpet sound”), he formulated the objective of the *Posaunenchöre* as follows: “to the glory of God, to the edification of the congregation, and to the joy of its (i.e., *Posaunenchörer’s*) companions (zur Ehre Gottes, zur Erbauung der Gemeinde und zur Freunde seiner Mitglieder)”, and enthusiastically conducted *Posaunenchöre*. The leaders and brass players that came after him expounded his ideas through their musical and devotional practices and even today, his ideas are often mentioned and are regarded as the basic tenet of *Posaunenchörer’s* musical practice, particularly in the ecclesiastical context.

Among Kuhlo’s contributions, his notation and ensemble formation continue to shape the unique musical practice of *Posaunenchöre* today. Whereas military bands and other popular brass and wind bands usually play from transposed parts for each individual instrument, *Posaunenchöre* use a four-part score, which Johannes Kuhlo introduced as “piano-like notation” (*Klavierschreibweise*), (see Figure 40). Thus, the instrumentation of the *Posaunenchöre* is not divided by instrument, but into four parts like a vocal chorus (namely, soprano, alto, tenor, and bass) according to the tessitura of the instruments. In the current praxis, the soprano part is played by trumpets, the alto by trumpets, flugelhorns, or French horns, the tenor by trombones, tenor horns, or other low brass instruments, and the bass by trombones or other low brass instruments, supported by the tuba. Several players occupy each part and, while brass instruments are preferred, the instrumentation is not so strictly defined. That is to say, in *Posaunenchöre*, the participants share the four chorus-like parts amongst several players and everyone reads the same score. This ensemble formation contributes to the particular mode of musical participation that I will describe in the next section.

While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss the repertoire of the *Posaunenchöre* in detail, in summary, it largely comprises German chorales with their arrangements, including choral preludes whose compositional idioms range from baroque to contemporary popular music like jazz, pop, or rock. The current trend amongst *Posaunenchöre* is to perform secular popular tunes like the songs of The Beatles or film scores such as “Pirates of the Caribbean”.

*Posaunenchöre* give official musical performances in church and their performance is regarded as an integral part of Lutheran church music today. They may also play on occasions related to the local congregation. In the ecclesiastical context, they play instrumental music to open and close the service, as well as providing the intonation and accompaniment to congregational singing. Their performances are particularly required when the ser-

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vice is held outdoors. *Posaunenchöre* also give concerts in the church, which characteristically incorporate short prayers, readings of Bible passages, and edifying speeches. *Posaunenchöre* also famously perform Advent and Christmas songs and hymns, not only in church, but also on the street and at Christmas markets. They may also play for charity in hospitals or welfare facilities (*diakonisches Blasen*), and for the birthday celebrations of members of the *Posaunenchor* or the congregation. *Posaunenchöre* also perform at local traditional events held by the congregation, such as the St. Martin’s day procession.24

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Posaunenchor as a Participatory Brass Ensemble

As such, the musical performance of Posaunenchöre can be characterized within the framework of the church service and Christian rituals. However, from my observation, the way in which Posaunenchor brass players partake in this brass ensemble is rather unique, and they do not only meet for the performance occasions described above. As mentioned above, the particular ensemble formation promotes a specific mode of musical participation in Posaunenchöre. That is, while in normal wind or brass bands, the parts are divided by instrument, the Posaunenchöre characteristically comprise four parts, like a vocal chorus, and usually, several brass players share each part. By reducing the technical challenge of brass playing, this ensemble formation means that players of various musical abilities can participate in the ensemble and this promotes their experience of the particular sense of being and belonging together.

Due to the ambiguous instrumentation (even though it restricted to brass instruments), the size of the ensemble is rather flexible and open, and can easily accommodate whoever wants to join. Brass players can thus become involved in the ensemble without the limitation of the seats in each part. Since several players share each part, the burden of technical responsibility on individual players is lessened and immature players can also participate without stress or encountering the higher technical responsibility of, for example, soloing. Most brass players in Posaunenchöre are amateur musicians who have not had expert musical training and who learn to play their brass instruments during the musical rehearsals of the Posaunenchor to which they belong. In general, it is not easy for immature players to produce sounds using well-trained techniques of stable breathing and lip vibration or to play phrases on brass instruments, but the support of the other players can reduce this technical difficulty and uncertainty, and thus they can comfortably engage in the ensemble. The result of participants’ varying musical abilities is, however, that these ensembles tend to be rather out of tune and noisy. Nevertheless, despite the near impossibility of achieving technical perfection, each participant pays keen attention to the other participants and to the unity of sound of the whole ensemble. The particular attention paid to ensemble formation means that the players can sound amazingly good together and fosters in them a unique sense of being and belonging together. How can we understand this ensemble? Might it be a mere poor performance?

The concept of “participatory performance”, as coined by ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino, can facilitate better understanding of Posaunenchöre, although his concept must be extended to include this case. He suggests four different fields of distinctive types of musical activity: participatory (live) performance, presentational (live) performance, high-fidelity recorded music, and studio audio art, and he argues that “each field has its own positive

potentials and limitations for artistic activity and human interaction and experience26, and that the music-making in a field should not be evaluated by the criteria of other fields.26 With regard to musical form, texture, and timbre, the choral and instrumental music of Posaunenchöre is far from the music that he characterizes as participatory; namely, that which is fuzzily structured, repetitive, and improvisatory, and has a dense texture and timbre.

Rather, the formal, textual, and timbral features of Posaunenchöre music may more suitably be described as “presentational performance” in Turino’s terms.27 However, in the course of my field research, which focused on how brass players participate in the ensemble, I found that Posaunenchöre are rather participatory in regard to their musical objectives, values, and roles. The participatory frame is indispensable to their musical ensembles in which the quality of performance is evaluated by how intensively the participants can partake in the sound and motion they create, and not by their technical or aesthetic finesse. The goal of Posaunenchöre is not technical perfection or established aesthetic quality, but the inclusion of all the brass players present in the whole body of sound. From the players’ perspective, the sense of being and belonging together is their primary concern, rather than technical perfection or high-class aesthetic quality, whereas, according to Turino, presentational value demands higher technical and aesthetic quality. In this aspect, the Posaunenchöre are fairly different from, for example, professional brass ensembles or symphonic bands.

Furthermore, I think that the core of Turino’s thinking is that he regards participatory performance as a “heightened social interaction” that facilitates strong “social bonding”. Importantly, in the case of Posaunenchöre, the participatory brass ensemble and social interaction are inseparable, and music-making is interwoven in the “social process” of the brass players.28 In the next section, I focus on this point, and describe how brass players involve themselves in their musical and social interaction.

Constitution of Communal Relationship through Participatory Brass Ensemble

While the early Posaunenchöre were comprised of the distinct social cohort of working-class Lutheran males, this is no longer the case today. Although most of the brass players belong to the local Lutheran congregation, their social background with regard to age, gender, and occupation is rather heterogeneous.29 Additionally, the Christian faith has become individualized, so that it is not really a decisive factor in tightly connecting the group. Although the organizational structure of Posaunenchöre is closely related to the Protestant

26 Turino, Music as Social Life, p. 89.
28 Ibid., p. 87.
29 See Koll, Kirchenmusik, p. 73–79.
Church and congregation, some brass players are not strictly anchored to this organizational structure. Rather, it is the particular manner of musical participation that entices brass players to become involved in the *Posaunenchöre*, and significantly, their involvement is deeply embedded in their communal relationship. Moreover, their particular mode of musical and communal involvement makes of the *Posaunenchöre* a distinct community.

Ethnomusicologist Gregory Barz's notion of community can be relevant to the consideration of community building in the case of the *Posaunenchöre*. Based on his observation of the Tanzanian Lutheran chorus, he noted that a community is not a static object but a fluid social structure, and that “it is a process by which people come together for a particular cause or purpose”.

Like his case, the communal relationship of the *Posaunenchöre* is not pre-established or static. Rather, brass players come together to participate in a brass ensemble. *Posaunenchöre* are participatory brass ensembles that constitute a particular kind of communal relationship among brass players and a specific community. Here, I will describe one case of the process of involving themselves into the participatory ensemble of the *Posaunenchöre*, focusing on the regular rehearsals that the players regard as indispensable to their musical activities. The following observations are based on my participation in *Posaunenchöre* in Göttingen, Germany, specifically in *Posaunenchor St. Johannis*, *Posaunenchor Christuskirche*, *Posaunenchor Groß Ellershausen*, and some other *Posaunenchöre* in Göttingen and some other regions.

**Rehearsals**

Although *Posaunenchöre* officially perform at church services and other performances related to the activities of the congregation, the musicians deem it of utmost importance to attend the “Probe”, or regular rehearsal.

In my observation, such rehearsals are not only an occasion for the musical ensemble to practise, but also for social interaction among the brass players. Many of them regard the rehearsal as the most significant activity, and some even regard it as more important than playing at services or in concert. The rehearsal is important not simply because they enjoy playing their instruments, but because they foster familiar social relationships.

Usually, *Posaunenchöre* have their regular rehearsals one evening per week in the parish hall, beginning at approximately at 7 pm and lasting for one and a half hours. The rehearsal begins with the warm welcome of each member. When the brass players arrive at the rehearsal space, they greet each other amicably and prepare their instruments, chairs, and music stands while

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making conversation. Each time I visited a Posaunenchor, I immediately perceived that the space had a positive and harmonious atmosphere, which the members describe as follows: “Very harmonious. A fantastic community where everyone is welcome. A retreat to forget worries in everyday life” (K. E., a young male trumpeter/conductor) and “Relaxed, but at the same time concentrated, and always very humorous and a very friendly community” (S. T., an elderly male tubist).32

As mentioned above, the current Posaunenchöre are made up of heterogeneous individuals. The age group, occupational cohort, and musical abilities of the brass players are diverse. For example, one Posaunenchor is composed of a 12-year-old male student who is a beginner on trumpet, a professor who loves playing the trumpet as his hobby, a middle-aged electrical engineer who likes to play chorals of J.S. Bach with his trumpet, a student of electronics who can play the trumpet skilfully, a women who grew up in the Posaunenchor and has just begun her occupational career in the city, an 80-year-old woman who has played the trombone in the Posaunenchor for more than 30 years, a middle-aged woman from the parochial church council, who dedicates herself to playing the trombone and conduction another Posaunenchor, and another male engineer, who also plays the trombone and loves to play his base part with the colleagues. A middle-aged male trumpeter who has an administrative post in a company in the city conducts the group. Despite their diverse backgrounds, they gather together like a family.33

When the musical ensemble begins and the brass players focus on the music, the relaxed and familiar atmosphere remains. The content of the rehearsal differs slightly between Posaunenchöre, but there are structural similarities between them. For example, at the beginning of the rehearsal in Posaunenchor Groß Ellershausen, they warm up by playing a long F tone in unison, which is, for them, the beginning of their intensive sonic and emotional involvement in the ensemble, followed by a simple scale exercise. They then rehearse the musical pieces that they will play at the service or other performance occasions.

The conductor directs the rehearsal in a relatively friendly manner. They rehearse to improve their performance, but “improved performance” does not mean technical and aesthetic excellence and achievement. Rather, they strive to sound cohesive, regardless of their level of musical ability. The conductor is not only concerned with technical improvement, but also with how all the brass players can be well amalgamated in the ensemble. During the practice, the players try to contribute to the construction of a unified body of sound.

32 Citation from the answers to a questionnaire conducted by the author with the Posaunenchor St. Johannis, Christuskirche, and Groß Ellershausen in Göttingen in January and February 2015. In the following citations from the questionnaire and interviews, the informants’ initials are used to preserve anonymity. See also Koll, Kirchenmusik, p. 85–87.
They pay intense attention to other players’ sounds and to the ensemble as a whole. If the performance succeeds, they fully immerse themselves in the sound, achieving a particular sense of togetherness and connection with the other participants. The brass players describe this particular moment as follows. 34

I feel I am in the middle of the sound. I enjoy making music with many friends. I am pleased to belong to it. 35 (E. R., middle-aged female trombonist)

I feel I am connected with the other brass players. 36 (G. H., young female trumpeter)

The fine sound is [produced with] the sense of being together. 37 (B. S., middle-aged trumpeter/conductor)

However, the brass ensemble does not always work well. Sometimes, brass players who have not yet acquired sufficient musical skill are unable to play particular passages, and consequently, the ensemble does not work, which causes irritation and frustration amongst the players. Nevertheless, they accept mistakes and errors, and they deliberately avoid conflict. Their concern is that all players are well involved, and regardless of their individual musical skills, that they feel responsible for contributing to sound creation and prioritize the overall sound, rather than personal technical achievement or aesthetic expression. They welcome new participants, and emphasize inclusion rather than exclusion. The relationship between members is egalitarian one, and there is no competition or hierarchy, which Turino considers to be a participatory value. To achieve connection through music, the members carefully strive to maintain this ethos of participation, and maintain a harmonious mood, which corresponds to their mode of social interaction.

While the end of the rehearsal also varies, it is common for *Posaunenchöre* to conclude by playing a choral or evening song. For example, *Posaunenchor Groß Ellershausen* likes to play their favourite choral piece, “Abide with Me” (“Bleib bei mir, Herr”). At this moment, they feel intensely the particular sense of togetherness and solid connection with other participants. Some brass players describe this moment symbolically as “Gemeinschaft”, namely, a profound sense of being together and belonging together.

After the rehearsal, it is customary for the musicians to continue their conversation over a bottle of beer, sometimes with food, or to go to a pub or restaurant near the parish hall. 38 They also like to have seasonal parties and often

35 Citation from the questionnaire responses.
36 Citation from the questionnaire responses.
37 Author’s interview with “B. S.”, 29 January 2015.
38 According to Koll’s survey, most of the *Posaunenchöre* regard this kind of social activity as an integral part of the activity. See Koll, *Gemeinsam. Musik. Machen.*, p. 18.
gather together even outside their musical activities. Thus, sociability is an integral part of the Posaunenchöre. As such, the social communication among members is deep and they keep in close communication with each other.\textsuperscript{39} Thus, the musical ensemble of the Posaunenchöre is intertwined with their social interaction. The brass players are distinctively gratified by this musical and social involvement, which is what motivates them to participate. Recent studies on local wind and brass bands have demonstrated that music-making and social interaction in communal relationships are closely interwoven, and that musicians learn both musical ability and sociability through their music-making as a means to integrate into the community.\textsuperscript{40} Posaunenchöre are also an example of this, but what is specific to the Posaunenchöre is the particular form of the participatory brass ensemble. Most of the brass players play instruments for the first time in their Posaunenchöre, and usually learn instrumental and musical skills there as well. This does not simply mean, however, that they accomplish individual instrumental and musical skills, but that they learn how to participate in a brass ensemble; namely, how to listen to the sound of other brass players, how to accept them, and how to sound well together. In this process, they learn the skills of social interaction, which are inseparable from the musical ensemble, as described above. Becoming a brass player in a Posaunenchor is a process of acquiring this specific mode of participation.

In addition, this participatory brass ensemble also has a huge capacity for mass participation and a large Posaunenchor, made up of various smaller groups, can be formed. In such mass participation, the brass players feel a sense of belonging to the larger community of the Posaunenchor beyond their own local ensemble. At Posaunenchor festivals, called Posaunentag or Posaunenfest, which are regularly held at the regional level, several thousand brass players play together, thus experiencing solidarity and a strong sense of community. Moreover, national level festivals were held in 2008 in Leipzig and in 2016 in Dresden. In Dresden, approximately 18,000 brass players played together and celebrated the service in a football stadium. A trombonist from Göttingen who participated in this event was very impressed that a space normally used for a competitive and aggressive sport was filled with the very friendly atmosphere of the Posaunenchor through their participatory mass brass ensemble.

\textsuperscript{39} Koll, \textit{Kirchenmusik}, p. 117f.
Concluding Remarks

The participatory nature of the brass ensemble is just one of several factors that frame the practice of the Posaunenchöre, but it is a crucial one. Although the current Posaunenchöre have a close organizational connection with the Protestant Church and congregation, it is the inseparability of the brass ensemble from familiar social interaction that motivates participants’ engagement, and this process renders the Posaunenchör a specific community. This investigation of this ensemble formation offers key insights into why brass players participate in Posaunenchöre—not simply to belong to a specific social cohort or due to their solid Christian faith, but because of how they ascribe musical meaning to their brass music. While not every brass player participates in Posaunenchöre for religious reasons and some prefer to play secular pieces, it is notable that these specific types of participatory brass ensemble can make space for brass players to interpret the music-making and musical experience as a Christian one and to ascribe Christian meaning to them. For example, some religious brass players describe their experience as being near to God or feeling the existence of God, while others understand the inclusion and acceptance of diverse participants as the Christian sense of charity, in reference to the biblical phrase “Accept one another, then, just as Christ accepted you, in order to bring praise to God” (Rom 15:7). 41

In this chapter, I focused on describing the particular mode of musical and communal involvement of the brass players, focusing on the case study. Further detailed research is required to examine how participants describe their participatory performance and the musical experience thereof, as well as to more comprehensively compare other forms of brass and wind ensembles. Furthermore, as many of the brass players emphasized, and Turino also suggests in his thinking on participatory performance, the emotional experience of taking part in this participatory brass ensemble is very intense, and it is a significant factor in forging players’ emotional engagement in the Posaunenchöre. Further research requires more close analysis and phenomenological consideration of the bodily and emotional experiences that occur through the sound and motion experienced during participation in this particular brass ensemble.

22. Lutheran Musical Culture and its Influence on South African Liturgical Organ Music

Theo van Wyk

The aim of this chapter is to answer pertinent questions pertaining to Lutheran musical culture in relation to South African liturgical organ music. Is there such a concept as a Lutheran musical influence on South African liturgical organ music? If so, to what extent is this evident in this genre of music? In what manner did this culture influence selected South African composers of liturgical organ music – Richard Behrens, Jacobus (Kobie) Kloppers and Winfried Lüdemann – who aligned themselves with this particular style of writing? In addition, I will focus briefly on a concise history of the development and influence of Lutheranism and its music in South Africa, particularly in the Cape area. I will succinctly present historically relevant organs and significant organ builders, in order to highlight their impact on the expansion of liturgical organ music in South Africa. Moreover, I will determine how the works of the three selected composers, which are mainly based on existing chorales, exhibit Lutheran musical influences and trends. Short biographies of these composers will enhance this research and serve to illustrate the influence of Lutheran musical culture on liturgical organ music in South Africa.

A Brief History of Lutheranism in South Africa

Martin Luther (1483–1546) was an accomplished musician in his own right, using music to inform his sound understanding of its role within a theological framework and examining ways in which to spread Christian belief. His message eventually reached the southern shores of the African continent, albeit a century after Europe. Luther, recognising the impact of music as an influential tool to spread the Gospel of Christ and its theological meaning, afforded the concept of community singing a new and functional purpose, thereby allowing his congregation not only to gather as spectators to the liturgy, but to participate as musically cognisant believers.1 Robin A. Leaver emphasizes that through this visionary strategy, Luther in essence had a “positive, theological understanding of music”.2 Fervently endeavouring to make this possible spiritual experience a reality for his fellow believers and to enable them

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to sing in their mother tongue, Luther collected hymns for this purpose.\(^3\) This unique initiative was already manifest during the early period of settlement in the Cape in the mid-seventeenth century and later had an influence on how indigenous African societies incorporated communal singing into their Christian way of worship.\(^4\)

There were two divergent trajectories in the growth of Lutheranism in South Africa, i.e., the settler strand and the mission strand. There were perceptible differences between them, but there were also two commonalities between the two groups. The first group of believers consisted of a rather disparate church of German and Scandinavian Lutheran missionaries from Europe and America, a trait that is still evident to this day. In the second group realistic independence and indigenisation in South Africa were extremely slow and only manifested here in the latter part of the twentieth century.\(^5\)

The arrival at the Cape of Jan van Riebeeck (1619–1677) and his entourage of mainly Dutch- and German-origin settlers, under the command of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (or VOC), in 1652 heralded a new era in the history of South Africa. Most of the Germans who came with van Riebeeck were born into the Lutheran tradition. During this period Lutheran preachers from passing ships would occasionally deliver sermons in the Cape and they preferred that hymns would be sung in German during the Gottesdienst. In 1779, after years of relentless effort, the administrative committee of the VOC in the Netherlands officially declared that the Lutherans in the Cape had approval to form their own congregations.\(^6\) By this time they already had a church building in Strand Street, a structure converted from a barn in 1774.\(^7\) This building is considered to be one of the best examples of eighteenth-century South African structural and architectural design and it was officially declared a national heritage monument in 1949.\(^8\)

On 10 December 1780, the Lutherans in the Cape celebrated their first inaugural service, given by their newly-appointed pastor. Archival documentation proves that this celebratory occurrence had both vocal and instrumental music at the commencement and at the end of the service, interspersed with congregational hymn singing and performances of the German Te Deum by


\(^7\) Ottermann, *History*, p. 2–3.

a boys’ choir, accompanied by the organ and other instruments. At this service the members of the congregation sang from specific hymnals that were used in the respective churches of their own neighbouring cities and towns in South Africa, including hymnbooks that were published, among others, in Hannover (1712), Darmstadt (1718), Leipzig (1726) and Rostock (1728). The issue of different hymnals being used in combined services ultimately created confusion and prompted the idea of introducing a uniform hymnal for similar future gatherings. The final decision was made to adopt the hymnbook of Bremen Cathedral (Bremen Dom) for this purpose and it was used in services for over a century, until 1908. However, in 1830 the new Dutch Lutheran hymnal, published in 1826, was introduced to be used in conjunction with the Bremen Dom hymnbook. It was made clear to the accompanying organist that they should perform exclusively from the corresponding organ book for both German and Dutch hymns during these services. This eventually led to confusion on the part of both the organist and the congregation as to what the correct versions of tunes to be played and sung were. However, the leadership corps of the church stood firm in their decision, and this perplexing scenario lasted 129 years until 1959.

The early settlers from the Netherlands were mainly Calvinistic in their belief. Only psalms and canticles from Geneva were utilised in these divine services until the nineteenth century. As a result of discord between the Afrikaners and the British authorities, the Afrikaners began to trek to the northern parts of South Africa, a movement that later became known as the Great Trek. Two separate churches were formed during this period, i.e., the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk in 1853 and the Gereformeerde Kerk in 1859. The Hervormde Kerk in the Netherlands began incorporating a number of Lutheran chorales in their hymnbook, which in due course led to a schism in the South African Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk. Only the Hervormde Kerk in South Africa continued to make use of these additional Lutheran hymns, which were later translated into Afrikaans, a local language derived from Dutch and still spoken today by the Afrikaans section of the population. Nonetheless, the rearranged hymns found in the nineteenth-century Dutch hymnbook differed significantly from the original German versions in terms of meter and were occasionally applied to a completely different text than the original. This is the reason why numerous German hymn tunes were coupled with a totally different text in Afrikaans. It follows therefore that many of the Lutheran chorales well-known in Europe were not familiar to congregants in the South African Dutch Reformed Church, resulting in an uninformed perception of traditional Lutheran chorales.

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9 Ottermann, *History*, p. 4.
10 Ibid.
12 Author’s email correspondence with Jacobus Kloppers on the influence of Lutheran hymns and hymn settings on South African chorale preludes, 10 April 2018.
Lutheranism and its related musical principles spread to the rest of South Africa in the early nineteenth century, particularly to some indigenous nations who combined these principles with their own traditional rituals and ceremonies. An African-Lutheran culture ensued which remains true to both Lutheran theology and African culture to this day.  

A Brief History of Organs in South Africa

The first attempt to build an organ in South Africa was the futile effort to build a Dutch organ for the Groote Kerk in Cape Town in 1720. Nonetheless, as a direct result of the complexities and impact of the Reformation in Europe, there were no organs in South Africa before 1735.  

The first known organ builder was Johann Jacob Posse (Poosen) from Eisleben in Germany, who landed in the Cape in 1735. He was commissioned to build a small organ of ten to twenty registers for a musically gifted daughter of governor Jan de la Fontaine (1684–1743). It was in all probability a type of cabinet organ, but it is definitely the very first organ that was ever successfully built in South Africa. This instrument also later became the first church organ in the country when the governor sold it to the Stellenbosch Church Council in 1737.

The English colonisation of the Cape from 1795 to 1803 prompted an inflow of missionaries from various societies, including the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1799, and the Rhenish Missionary Society in 1829. This period also witnessed the arrival of Scottish Presbyterian preachers in South Africa, after the association with the Netherlands had been discontinued by the British. Several Scottish missionaries were also members of the LMS.

Initially the English colonialists in the Cape mainly consisted of the armed forces whose presence had no influence on organ development in South Africa. However, from 1806 until the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1912 and the Anglicization of society, there was a plethora of organs that were built by English firms, bringing about the proliferation and installation of these instruments in South Africa.

The oldest extant functional organ in South Africa is the instrument in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Grahamstown (Eastern Cape Province), built

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16 Donald G. McIntyre, *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*, (Cape Town, 1934), p. 11.
by W. Hill & Sons ca. 1832. It has one manual with 7 registers, and pedal. (The stop names are given precisely as they appear on the organ console):\textsuperscript{21}

Manual-Treble (GG-f3)
Open Diapas. [8] – 58 pipes (bottom 16 stopped wood)
Stop. Diapason Treble. [8] – Only 30 pipes (stopped wood)
Flute 4ft – Only 42 pipes (stopped wood)
Hautboy [8] – Only 30 open metal pipes (no reed)

Manual-Bass (GG-f3)
Stop. Diapas. [8] – Only 42 pipes (stopped wood)
Princ. [4] – 58 pipes (open metal)
Cornet Sw [2] – 58 pipes (open metal)

Pedals
Pedals – coupled to activate bottom 16 notes of the Open Diapason 8

Mechanical key and stop action
Slider chest

This instrument is the oldest unaltered Hill organ in the world and was declared a national monument in 1960. It was the first movable object in South Africa to be acknowledged in this way.\textsuperscript{22}

The largest church organ in South Africa is found in the Dutch Reformed Church or the Grote Kerk in Cape Town.\textsuperscript{23} It was built by the firm Pels & Zoon from Alkmaar (Holland) and was installed in the building in 1957 by the company R. Müller (Pty) Ltd. Richard Müller Sr (1853–1937), the founder of the firm, originally acted as an agent in South Africa for international organ building companies such as Schlag, Walcker, Ladegast, Rieger and Laukhuff. The Grote Kerk organ consists of four manuals, electro-pneumatic action, 74 registers and a total of 5,426 pipes. A noteworthy feature is the Pedal Bombarde 32ft stop that is made of copper. In 1973 the church’s gallery was altered and the firm Cape Organ Builders were commissioned to move the Rugposi
tief in front of the Hoofwerk to almost function as a Kroonpositief.\textsuperscript{24}

The biggest English Romantic organ is housed in St Mary’s Cathedral in Johannesburg (Gauteng Province). The first instrument for this Anglican cathedral was built in 1894 by the British firm Brindley & Foster. It was later replaced with a much larger organ by another British firm, Rushworth & Dreaper, in 1929. This organ is considered to be the latter firm’s most iconic and important instrument in South Africa. The organ itself was installed in the cathedral by Cooper, Gill & Tomkins and it became the very first organ to utilise electro-pneumatic action in this country. The famous city organist

\textsuperscript{21}Troskie, \textit{The Pipe Organ Heritage}, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 53.
\textsuperscript{23}Busch and Kassel, \textit{The Organ}, p. 527.
of Johannesburg, John Connell (1891–1955), served as advisor. Since 1929, the organ has been enlarged four times. In 1969 a fourth manual (a Choir division), a new Laukhuff mobile console and extra registers were added. The organ currently has 103 draw stops and 4,606 pipes.25

The Dutch Reformed Church in Summerstrand, Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape Province) is home to the largest tracker-action church organ in South Africa. It was designed by Prof. Albert Troskie and built by the South African organ-building firm Zielman & De Bruyne in 1988. The intonation was carried out by the Frenchman Jean-Pascal Villard. It comprises three manuals and Pedal, 52 registers and 3,591 pipes. Notable features of this unique South African organ include a Trompet en chamade, Simbelstêr, and Glockenspiel.26

The organs of the Strand Street Lutheran Church (Cape)

Very scant evidence exists of the Strand Street Lutheran Church’s first two organs. The first mention made of a “klijn orgel” (small organ) in the church was as early as 1776. However, soon a larger organ was required for the Gottesdienst. It was purchased in 1778 from a widow, a certain Ms la Febre and was installed in the building by Gregorius Pentz (born ca. 1747), who was probably a handyman for the VOC. It is not clear who the builder of this particular organ was.27 The first organ in the Strand Street church included a façade built by the sculptor Anton Anreith (1754–1822), dating to 1783/4.28 These wood carvings are the only extant parts of the original instrument.29

During the years 1787 to 1793, the instrument was maintained by a carpenter named Joachem Pieter Leopold.30 Remarkably, the organ was later enlarged and maintained by a soldier and organ builder named Johannes Ludewig Hodderson who arrived in the Cape in 1779. Archival evidence reveals that the last time that Hodderson was paid for work performed on the instrument in the Strand Street church before returning to Europe, was on 31 July 1809.31 The church had a brand new organ installed in 1814. The organ-building contract was awarded to the London-based firm of Thomas Simpson & Co. It became the first British organ to be installed in South Africa.

The actual structure of the organ was erected by Edward Knolles Green (1787–1828) who had arrived with the organ by boat on 16 April 1814. It is curious to note that the church council requested to be exempted from having to pay for the import customs duty on the organ, a request that was declined by

26 Ibid., p. 89–90.
27 Ibid., p. 2.
28 Ottermann, History, p. 5.
30 Ibid., p. 2.
31 Ibid.
the authorities. An organ builder, J.G. Reich, was responsible for the tuning and maintenance of the Strand Street organ from about 1842. In 1859, Reich was replaced by another builder named Adam Bredell (1821–1893), the owner of the famous Cape Town firm, Adam Bredell & Sons, Piano Warehousemen, Organ Builders and Tuners. The organ was eventually replaced with the current Rushworth & Dreaper instrument in 1936. Numerous organists appointed to this congregation who played prominent roles in the musical life of Cape Town include performers such as C. F. Lemming (from 1814 to 1817), Wilhelm Brandt (from 1820 to 1838), Frederick Logier (from 1838 to 1847) and Ludwig Beil (from 1839 to 1847).

The influence of the Orgelbewegung

The genesis of the Organ Reform Movement or Orgelbewegung (a movement that focused on the ideal of returning to Baroque principles of organ building and design in Germany from the mid-1920s to about 1980), had a direct influence on the construction of organs in South Africa. From about 1806 until the 1950s South African organs were largely built in English Romantic style. However, the impact of the Orgelbewegung was soon evident in the dispositions of newly-constructed instruments, favoured by many composers and organists who pursued the Neo-Baroque ideals. Liturgical music of the Reformation has always played an essential and defining role in South African worship and liturgy. This has evidently been inspiration for numerous prominent South African musicians influenced by the Orgelbewegung. A number of organists went abroad to study in Frankfurt under Helmut Walcha (1907–1991) in the 1960s. During their studies, they were all deeply absorbed in the revival of Protestant music in Germany and subsequently ploughed this knowledge and experience back into their work upon their return to South Africa. These include personalities such as Chris Swanepoel, Reino Ottermann, Jacobus Kloppers and Leonore Kloppers. They were also regarded as sought-after advisors for newly-built church organs based on the ideals of the Orgelbewegung in South Africa.

Paul Ott (1903–1991), an avid exponent of the Orgelbewegung, was one of the prominent organ builders in the revitalization and renewal of tracker-action organs in Germany and South Africa. He is specifically known for the reassessment and implementation of the slider chest with mechanical traction. Ott’s impact on the South African organ-building industry cannot be overestimated. His instruments, with their typical bright sound, form a pivotal

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34 Ottermann, *History*, p. 5.
35 Author’s email correspondence with Winfried Lüdemann on the influence of Lutheran Music Culture on South African Organ Music, 6 June 2018.
part of the South African organ scene. Between 1960 and 1980, Ott built 14 tracker-action organs in South Africa, ranging from a small one-manual instrument to the large three-manual in the Dutch Reformed Church Stellenbosch-Welgelegen built in 1973.\(^{36}\) A noteworthy aspect of the latter instrument is the fact that it has an extra manual built underneath the *Rugpositief*, which can be used to play continuo parts. Ott, interestingly enough, also built a house organ for Hugo Distler (1908–1942), who was held in high regard in South Africa, in 1938.\(^{37}\)

**Selected South African Composers of Liturgical Organ Music**

The Organ Reform Movement instruments’ clarity, transparency of sound and timbre, and independent manual and pedal divisions for polyphonic compositions, among other features, directly influenced the compositional methodology of South African chorale preludes.\(^{38}\) Arguably, the three most important South African organ composers in the Lutheran style influenced by this trend are Richard Behrens, Jacobus Kloppers and Winfried Lüdemann.

*Richard Behrens (1925–2014)*

Richard Hermann Behrens was born in Kroondal, a small German-speaking settlement near Rustenburg in the northern part of South Africa, where societal activities revolved around the local Evangelical Lutheran Church. His parents were descendants of German Hermannsburger missionaries who emigrated to South Africa in the nineteenth century. After completing a BMus degree at the University of Stellenbosch, he started teaching at the very same university. He subsequently spent the year 1960 on sabbatical in Germany to study under Walcha and Kurt Hessenberg (1908–1994) at the Hochschule für Musik in Frankfurt-am-Main. During this time he also deputised for Walcha in a teaching and assistant organist capacity, absorbing Walcha’s approach to Lutheran music, particularly the organ works of Johann Sebastian Bach.

Upon his return to South Africa in 1948, when he became part of the professoriate at the University of Stellenbosch, Behrens was appointed as organist of the Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in the same town.\(^{39}\)

Behrens’s style of composition was mostly influenced by Walcha and Hessenberg, composers who were closely linked to the revival of Protestant sacred music in the twentieth century. Behrens experienced this influence mainly from the perspective of a performing artist. His compositions are basically an expression of his philosophy of teaching tonal harmony in the typical

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\(^{36}\) Troskie, *Pyporrels*, p. 130.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 38.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 124.

English tradition to his undergraduate students at the University of Stellenbosch. However, the organ as choice of instrument and compositional genre was entirely informed by his association with Lutheran musical culture. He is chiefly known as a composer of chorale preludes for the organ and these works were not generally performed in the Afrikaans churches at the time. They were normally heard in the context of concerts, outside the environs of the traditional Dutch Reformed Church service.  

According to the principles of the Orgelbewegung, the organ is best suited for the performance of polyphonic music, often evident in the organ works of J. S. Bach. Being exposed to this school of thought, Behrens’s visible methodology of chorale prelude composition is akin to this approach, an aspect that performers of his works should be cognisant of in terms of registration, articulation and tempi. By selecting the best registration combination for a specific work, perfect clarity is realised. These are rules that Behrens actively implemented in his own chorale preludes. One of his important rules was to choose stops from within one of the different families of stops, rather than a combination of stops from dissimilar families. This exact system of registration underpinned many of Behrens’ chorale preludes and, as organ advisor, informed numerous specifications for new instruments in the Orgelbewegung style that are to be found in many Lutheran Churches across South Africa.

Behrens never considered himself to be a composer, yet he had a deep understanding of the Lutheran chorale. His mother’s death in 1980 was the catalyst that inspired him to compose for organ by setting three of her favourite hymns in the genre of chorale preludes. Behrens wrote a total of 106 chorale preludes, 47 settings for the accompaniment of hymns, as well as a number of introductions. They have never formally been published, since he did not make them public until shortly before his death. These works are currently available in digital manuscript form on the website of the University of Pretoria. The influence of J. S. Bach’s style as found in the Orgelbüchlein (BWV 599–644) is unmistakable in the works of Behrens. Whatever form of chorale prelude Behrens selected as a basis, all of them endeavour to render the inherent essence of the original Lutheran hymn text.

Behrens was the advisor for the only organ (II/P/13) in South Africa by Emil Hammer Orgelbau (Hannover, Germany), built in 1965 for the Lutheran Church in Stellenbosch where he became organist in the same year. It is interesting to note here that, following the tradition of the Lutheran Church, he played a minimum of five chorale preludes before each hymn per service, and up to eight for a communion service. He was aware of how the organ could

40 Author’s email correspondence with Lüdemann, 2018.
41 Melck, Richard Behrens, p. 37–38.
42 Troskie, Pyporrels, p. 106.
43 https://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/17226.
44 Melck, Richard Behrens, p. 37.
45 Troskie, Pyporrels, p. 39.
complement and add an additional dimension to the conceptualisation of religious texts. Like Bach, Behrens wrote his preludes as visceral illustrations of the text that he chose for particular persons or events. The compositional technique is decisively conventional to identify with the old chorale tunes, as well as to make these works pragmatically beneficial for use in a church.\textsuperscript{46}

\textit{Jacobus Kloppers (1937–)}

Jacobus (Kobie) Kloppers was born in Krugersdorp, South Africa. From 1979, he was Professor of Organ and Musicology, and Chair of the Music Department at King’s University College in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada (until 2008).\textsuperscript{47} His compositions, amounting to almost 70, include solo organ works for both liturgical and concert use.\textsuperscript{48}

After completing his undergraduate studies and licentiates in South Africa, Kloppers subsequently went on to study Organ with Helmut Walcha at the Hochschule für Musik in Frankfurt-am-Main from 1961–1965. Under the supervision of Wilhelm Stauder (1903–1981), he completed his doctoral dissertation at the same institution, which was published and distributed by Bärenreiter Antiquariat, and focused on the performance practice ideology of J.S. Bach’s organ music. During this period of study, Kloppers’s involvement with the German Lutheran liturgy was quite restricted, since he was mostly active as organist in the German Reformed Church where only a select number of Lutheran chorales were sung by the congregation. However, as part of his personal development, he often attended German Vespers in the Lutheran Dreikönigskirche where Walcha himself was organist. Like Richard Behrens, Kloppers also had to substitute for Walcha on numerous occasions, thereby being even more exposed to the Lutheran music tradition. In addition, he was directly influenced by this musical culture in implementing it in his improvisations and written-out arrangements and preludes to the chorales. These early chorale-based compositions for organ later lead to his compositional work as organist in the Dutch Reformed Church, Universitas in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Kloppers’s composition of chorale preludes, in particular those based on melodies found in the Afrikaans psalms and hymns of which there were a dearth, was merely a pragmatic approach. He therefore regards himself more as an arranger of chorale melodies rather than as a composer in the true sense of the word. In this he credits J. S. Bach’s \textit{Orgelbüchlein} as his main prototype and inspiration.\textsuperscript{49}

Kloppers’s compositional techniques were mainly influenced by his organ teachers Willem Mathlener (1909–1996) and Walcha. The latter’s colourful employment of organ registration, unique counterpoint, ostinato patterns and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[46]{Melck, Richard Behrens, p. 37.}
\item[47]{John Henderson, \textit{A Directory of Composers for the Organ}, (Swindon, 1999), p. 326.}
\item[48]{Jacobus Kloppers, \textit{Jacobus Kloppers – Musicologist, Composer, Organist, Teacher}, https://jacobuskloppers.ca/biography/, (accessed 7 June 2018).}
\item[49]{Author’s email correspondence with Kloppers, 2018.}
\end{footnotes}
neo-classic idiom had a particular seminal influence on Kloppers’s manner of writing, especially during the period 1969–1976. Another prominent influence on his chorale prelude compositions was the legendary Belgian Flor Peeters (1903–1986). Around the year 1974, Kloppers’ creativity began escalating through his encounters with the neo-classical chorale preludes of Dutch composers like Cor Kee (1900–1997) and Willem Mudde (1909–1984), which have a typical harmonic language idiomatically written for the organ. At the same time, the metrically free writing style of Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) also had an impact on Kloppers’s style of liturgical organ composition that is principally apparent in the latter’s Toccata on Psalm 84. Kloppers’s eventual emigration to Canada expanded his organ idiom under the influence of neo-classical composers such as Paul Hindemith (1895–1963) and Béla Bartók (1881–1945). These two composers’ influence is acutely evident in Klopper’s Partita on Psalm 116.50

In South Africa, Kloppers served on the Committee for the Revision of the Afrikaans Hymnal, Psalm- en Gesangboek, from 1969 to 1978. It consisted of representatives of both the Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk and the Hervormde Kerk of South Africa. One of the suggestions from his side was to include a number of German chorales in the envisaged new collection of hymns, of which many were agreed upon. A sizeable number of Lutheran hymns were eventually included, mainly taken from the Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch. However, proposals to adopt these chorales to the revised Afrikaans hymnbook in their original form and rhythm, as well as with translations, were met with resistance by some committee members. This opposition by said committee members is in itself opposed to one of the criteria set out by Luther himself, i.e., that chorales chosen should have attractiveness, which appeals to both the singer and listener in an accessible format through “melodic rhymes, the art of word painting and the interplay between stressed and unstressed syllables”, traits that form the foundation of most Lutheran chorales.51 In a later revision of the Afrikaans Liedboek in 2006 (of which Kloppers was not part), numerous of these Lutheran chorales were ultimately omitted again.52 It is noteworthy that the mission of “Africanisation” of the liturgy and music of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa has been expressed by the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) since the 1970s.53

Kloppers has always been attracted to the French Romantic School of organ composition, especially to the work of Louis Vierne (1870–1937), Marcel Dupré (1886–1971) and Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992). For Kloppers, the utilisation of Gregorian chant, the sense of transcendence and the mysticism of Catholicism that played an important role in the organ works of these composers...

50 Author’s email correspondence with Kloppers, 2018.
51 Steinert and Karecki, Lutheran Mission in SOUTH AFRICA, p. 474.
52 Author’s email correspondence with Kloppers, 2018.
53 Steinert and Karecki, Lutheran Mission in SOUTH AFRICA, p. 481.
ers had an indelible influence on his own writing style. Dupré’s appreciation of the German chorale, manifested in his 79 Chorales for the Organ (Op. 28), amalgamated the structural style of J. S. Bach’s Orgelbüchlein with his own unique French neo-classical idiom. Similarly, Kloppers’s style became a blend of German-Lutheran formal discipline with a measure of French tone palettes that included employing tone clusters. This characteristic of his organ works is particularly poignant in compositions like Dialectic Fantasy, which was written as a commissioned work in 1992. In this piece, Kloppers juxtaposes two well-known Lutheran hymns, “Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir” and “Mit meinem Gott geh ich zur Ruhe”, to form a coherent unity.54 In Canada, his later compositions for organ were written more in line with the Anglican style, influenced by Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) and Gregorian chant. However, numerous of these new works were still based on Lutheran hymns, particularly those known in Canada and South Africa. Examples are Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the partita on “Der Tag hat sich geneiget”, and Psalm 100. A number of these chorale preludes were incorporated into South African liturgical organ music publications.55

Winfried Lüdemann (1951–)

Winfried Lüdemann is an Emeritus Professor of Musicology and former Chair of the Music Department at the University of Stellenbosch.56 He succeeded Richard Behrens as Head of the Department of Music. He completed his undergraduate studies at the University of the Free State, where his teachers included Jacobus Kloppers. Lüdemann further pursued his studies under the auspices of the University of Hamburg. Unlike Kloppers, for example, Lüdemann does not regard himself as a concert organist. He also did not study the organ overseas. His experience as a performing organist is basically limited to that of a church musician. However, all his teachers studied in Germany and he was therefore influenced by repertoire that they were familiar with. His teachers included Rolf Rohwer, a student of Werner Immelmann in Hannover, Germany, and Walther Dehnhardt.57

Initially, Lüdemann’s compositional orientation was towards the atonal and serial school of Pierre Boulez (1925–2016), Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928–2007) and Bruno Maderna (1920–1973), and his first attempts at composition were in this style. He later realised that he was more confident writing in the style to which he was exposed to by his organ teachers. Distler, Hindemith and Ernest Pepping (1901–1981) played prominent roles in this newfound route of composition. His comprehension of this type of music grew exponentially

55 Author’s email correspondence with Kloppers, 2018.
57 Author’s email correspondence with Lüdemann, 2018.
when he started doing analyses of Distler’s works for his two postgraduate qualifications. He eventually went on to write the book *Hugo Distler. Eine musikalische Biographie*.\(^{58}\) Hence, Lüdemann’s earliest works for organ are basically copies of Distler’s style, not only in terms of stylistic and harmonic language, but also in the chosen genres, such as chorale partita, biconium, trio, fugue, and chorale harmonisation. He is the first South African composer for organ to have written partitas and not merely sets of variations. Only after his discovery of the oeuvre of the South African composer Roelof Temmingh (1946–2012) did Lüdemann eventually move away from the influence of Distler and his circle. Lüdemann was also enthused by the *Orgelbewegung*, not only by virtue of his own Lutheran background, but by the existence of Neo-Baroque organs built by Paul Ott in places such as Bloemfontein and Stellenbosch in South Africa. These instruments had a lasting impact on his chorale compositions for organ.\(^{59}\)

**Conclusion**

The arrival of the settlers at the Cape in the mid-seventeenth century was to have an indelible impact on the religious milieu of South Africa. By establishing Lutheran congregations, among other denominations, they brought about a different way of worship in the occupied society with its associated traditions, including its musical culture. This subsequently led to a direct influence on the religious life of many South African musicians, composers and even organ builders. This musical culture certainly had an impact on how composers of liturgical organ music approached their style of writing for this instrument, especially on the genesis of the chorale prelude as genre wherein the Lutheran chorale formed the basis for individual compositional techniques. By focusing on their formative years, influences, teachers and instruments, the three South African composers selected demonstrated how Lutheran musical culture became an indisputable part of their compositional ideology and its functionality in a religious and concert environment. Their particular collections of chorale-based works are manifestations of an embedded Lutheran tradition that continues to provide excellent models of craftsmanship that inspire innumerable devotees of this culture to this day.

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\(^{59}\) Author’s email correspondence with Lüdemann, 2018.
23. “Come, All You People”: Lutheran Influences on the Spread of Global Hymnody

Martin V. Clarke

The increased use of global hymnody is among the many ways in which the diversification of congregational music in numerous Christian traditions has burgeoned in recent decades. This chapter adopts the definition of global hymnody given by Michael Hawn in the *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*: “Christian songs originating beyond Euro-North American cultural contexts”. In that article, Hawn acknowledges that this term, like others associated with the same repertoire, is problematic. While global hymnody consciously attempts to avoid the judgmental pitfalls of ethnocentrism, Hawn’s definition shows that it is nonetheless a term with some geographical and geopolitical boundaries, contrary to the literal meaning of global. These boundaries emphasize that it is a Western construction for the description of hymnody from other cultures. The geographical boundaries also create implicit temporal boundaries. As Hawn notes,

> the first wave of global song in recent centuries was from Europe and North America during the missionary movement of the 19th and 20th centuries. Mission hymnody during this era became the global musical currency. Late in the 20th century, European and North American churches have become aware of music produced by Christians from non-western cultures.  

He is also careful to separate the term from the concept of globalisation, often understood as the spread of Western economic ideas and cultural values to other parts of the world, instead arguing that the growth of interest in global hymnody is founded on a desire for diversity rather than homogeneity. This chapter explores the repertoire and associated practices covered by Hawn’s definition. It problematizes the growth of interest in such repertoire among Western Protestant churches, using Lutheran theological principles about the nature and purposes of music in the context of worship to explore issues of linguistic plurality, rhythm and the embodied nature of performance practice, and music’s liturgical functions. It argues that Lutheran principles and thought about congregational participation, divine and human creativity, and

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2 Hawn, “Global hymnody”.

music’s affective potential provide a framework for interpreting the advocacy of global hymnody in Protestantism. However, acknowledging that such a framework has limitations, it also examines differences between institutional and individual attitudes, and the relationships between the originating and receiving religious cultures. The chapter does not attempt to address examples of western hymnody being adopted in non-western countries; the liturgical and socio-political frameworks for assessing such instances in both historical and contemporary contexts are substantially different from those considered here, and have been addressed by other scholars.3

Global and Ecumenical

This chapter considers global hymnody as being explicitly ecumenical in nature, both in terms of the origins and destinations of the repertoire itself and the impetus behind its dissemination in Western contexts. The concept of global hymnody represents a recognition of churches from around the world as ecumenical partners, with their own liturgical and cultural practices and points of reference. While this development has particular resonances with Lutheran notions of congregational music, it also reflects the ecumenical impact of the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council.

Erik Routley was among the first to articulate a clear conceptual change; in his *Ecumenical Hymnody*, he challenged the distinction between ecumenism as an institutional endeavour between Western churches and mission as engagement between Western and non-Western cultures. With particular reference to hymnody, he argued that the church should

> attend to the need for a truly ecumenical hymnody which will have little to do, perhaps, with the processes of missionary work, but will provide a vehicle for the growing praises of a growing world-church.4

Routley’s comments represent a broader shift in attitude towards global relations that gathered momentum in Western churches in the second half of the twentieth century. The language of “partnership” and “world church” gradually replaced older terms like “mission” and “overseas” in a period also marked by significant geopolitical upheaval and challenge, and changes in terms of attitudes to race, history, and cultural expression. Routley argues that in terms of hymnody:

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churches should begin to discard whatever seems to contradict the notion of partnership; and although partnership is yet a thing of the future in many places, and hymns of conquest and achievement are still in place, if we insist on a large vision, a strictly biblical and scriptural doctrine in our hymns as now chosen and sung, we cannot begin too early to set the right tone.\(^5\)

Attempts to change Christian thought and practice were theologically underpinned by emphasis on the universality of the Body of Christ, and on the church’s commitment to social justice.

In liturgical terms, the Second Vatican Council, and its *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963) in particular, radically altered not only Roman Catholic practice but also the shape and content of worship in many Protestant traditions. The use of vernacular languages and cultural expression is fundamental to the document as a whole, founded on the imperative of active liturgical participation by the faithful: “In the restoration and promotion of the sacred liturgy, this full and active participation by all the people is the aim to be considered before all else.”\(^6\) This statement has been seized upon in many different ways as the practical implications of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* have been explored within and beyond Roman Catholicism. The productivity of Catholic composers in providing new congregational music in a range of styles influenced by popular and folk music traditions, and the deliberate reinvestment in plainchant as a congregational medium are but two of the many and varied ways in which this phrase has borne fruit within Roman Catholic churches.

The permission to use a congregation’s “mother tongue” in the liturgy extends beyond texts to other forms of cultural expression, including music, which is dealt with in chapter VI of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. After affirming the artistic pre-eminence of music in liturgical terms, and upholding the unique role and value of Gregorian chant, paragraph 119 explicitly addresses the use of musical styles and repertoires from local cultures:

In certain parts of the world […] there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason due importance is to be attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius […].

Therefore, when missionaries are being given training in music, every effort should be made to see that they become competent in promoting the traditional music of these peoples, both in schools and in sacred services, as far as may be practicable.\(^7\)

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5 Routley, *Ecumenical Hymnody*, p. 17.


7 *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, paragraph 119.
In terms of the growth of global hymnody, two key points emerge from this paragraph. First, the emphasis is on liturgical inculturation, that is, the use of local musical styles in Roman Catholic worship in a particular cultural context. Exporting this music to other cultures is not a stated concern. However, the affirmation of the continued role of missionaries in developing liturgical practice implicitly encourages the wider dissemination of localised musical expression, not least through the acquisition of knowledge and skills incumbent upon missionaries. Although this would inevitably lead to wider knowledge and use of global hymnody in Roman Catholic contexts, it is important to note that this was not the intention of Sacrosanctum Concilium, unlike the publication of global hymnody in hymnals discussed hereafter. Thus, while Vatican II is undoubtedly an important factor in explaining the spread of global hymnody, it does not provide a theological rationale for its spread among Western churches, particularly within Protestantism. Nonetheless, some important points that have a wider ecumenical dimension can be observed in the statements concerning the use of indigenous musics. First, music’s power in affecting worshippers is clearly acknowledged, along with its potential to connect religious devotion with other aspects of life. Secondly, the reference to “native genius” implicitly recognises human creativity irrespective of cultural origins, which is closely aligned with the wider purpose of encouraging liturgical inculturation.

The period since the Second Vatican Council has coincided with global migration patterns that have resulted in considerably greater ethnic diversity within many Western churches, both Catholic and Protestant, compared with the earlier twentieth century. This has undoubtedly played a part in the increased presence of global hymnody in recent Western hymnals, as part of broader efforts to show awareness of and responsiveness to the multicultural nature of congregations. However, as a practical response, the increased presence of global hymnody is necessarily limited, as a single hymnal could never cater for the almost limitless variety of cultures and languages that might be found in local congregations. The total number of global hymns in most denominational hymnals remains small, and while there is a large geographical and linguistic spread, it is by no means comprehensive; even those cultures and languages that do feature are usually represented by only one or two items. This is also true of books wholly dedicated to global hymnody, many of which aim to represent as many different cultures as possible. It is apparent that the selections of global hymnody in both mainstream hymnals and more specialist collections are predominantly aimed at congregations for whom the material is culturally unfamiliar, rather than those for whom the songs represent part of their heritage. While such endeavours can be regarded as gestures in recognition of multicultural congregations, if this is considered their primary aim, they can never be considered as more than a tokenistic gesture, albeit well-intentioned.
If the presence of global hymnody in such hymnals is therefore regarded as being aimed at individuals and congregations for whom the linguistic and musical qualities of the hymns are conspicuously different from the repertoire they regard as normative, other motivations need to be considered. This chapter contends that three aspects of Lutheran theology and liturgical principles offer profitable ways of interpreting the aims and rationale behind the spread of global hymnody. First, Luther’s understanding of music as an expression of God’s work as creator is connected to the embodied nature of performance in much global hymnody through its emphasis on rhythm. While Western hymnody is also governed by rhythmic devices, the close association between music and dance in many of the cultures most prominently represented in selections of global hymnody may heighten Western congregations’ awareness of the rhythmic elements of this repertoire. Second, the relationship between music’s capacity to engender emotional responses and the Lutheran emphasis on the proclamation of the Gospel is considered in relation to structural aspects of much global hymnody that has gained popularity. Third, global hymnody’s role in encouraging the singing of liturgical texts is aligned with Luther’s emphasis on the benefits of musical participation in the liturgy by the whole congregation.

Creativity, Embodiment and Rhythm

The physicality of some global hymnody, especially from parts of Africa and South America, is commonly highlighted by advocates of its use in Western contexts. In his preface to Freedom is in your hand: Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa, Anders Nyberg stresses the importance of wholeness in understanding songs from South Africa:

> In contrast to the Western world, where we love to divide life into body and soul, politics and religion, song and dance etc., the Africans see these entities as united. Ngoma in Swahili not only means drum but also music, dance and culture.\(^8\)

Similarly, in the “Notes on the Songs” in Agape: Songs of Hope and Reconciliation, compiled for the Luther World Federation Assembly of 2003, Maggie Hamilton and Päivi Jussila indicate that “The rhythmic impetus of songs from Africa and Latin America especially means that the singing of them is commonly accompanied by dance and other body movements.”\(^9\) Both statements are made as part of prefatory remarks to collections of global hymnody, and attempt to articulate essential characteristics of the repertoire and its performance. Nyberg especially emphasizes the unity of music and movement and

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\(^8\) Anders Nyberg, Freedom is in your hand: Songs of Protest and Praise from South Africa, ([Chicago, IL.], 2003), p. [2].

establishes this as a point of contrast with Western hymnody. There is a clear sense, shared by Hamilton and Jussila, that rhythm and movement are key to understanding global hymnody as a creative expression of worship originating in a particular culture. In her overview of twentieth-century interpretations of Luther’s views on music, Joyce Irwin explores the notion of music as a “gift of creation”, as argued by Friedhelm Krummacher. In this interpretation, faithful living expresses God’s gift of musical creativity:

The ability to recognize music as a gift of creation comes from the faith that it is made possible through the person and work of Jesus Christ. Accordingly, an individual of faith will make use of the gifts of creation in a manner than honors the Creator, whereas a person without faith will abuse those gifts.

The emphasis that proponents of global hymnody place on it as an expression of cultural creativity and the guidance they provide for receiving congregations to embrace and embody this creativity thus affirms it, and, by implication, its creators and practitioners, as utilising God-given gifts in ways that befit Christian worship. In keeping with Sacrosanctum Concilium’s focus on liturgical inculturation, stories such as that recounted by John Bell concerning the Xhosa song “Amen Siakudumisa” indicate that such affirmation has been necessary at a local as well as a global level. Bell reports an account shared with him by South African choral conductor George Mxadana:

this song was sung at the enthronement of Desmond Tutu as Archbishop of Capetown. When the song […] was taken up by the congregation, Tutu began to move in time to the music. This, for black South Africans, was a great sign that their music and culture was being recognised as integral to the worship of God.

Rhythm and movement also play an important part in attempts to introduce global hymnody to Western congregations. These aspects are often positively accentuated in an effort to promote global hymnody as a way of revitalising worship, and freeing it from ingrained cultural practices that some may regard as inhibiting. Syncopation often features in global hymns included in Western hymnals, and stands as an obvious audible marker of difference. As a rhythmic device, it draws attention to the pulse of the music, itself the primary impetus for bodily movement. The emphasis placed on such features helps advocates such as Bell champion global hymnody as a way of challenging the

11 Irwin, ““So Faith Comes from What Is Heard””, p. 67.
12 Many and Great: Songs of the World Church, John L. Bell and Graham Maule (eds.), (Glasgow, 1990), p. 49.
cultural norms of Western churches and to re-invigorate them as worshipping communities, as he argues in *Many and Great: Songs of the World Church*:

It will be evident that not all these songs could be substituted for the third or fourth hymn at a ‘normal’ morning service. That is not a disadvantage; it is a gift. The worship patterns of non-European churches challenge us to break with our too convenient moulds.\(^\text{13}\)

Congregations and individual worshippers are thus encouraged to recognise the creativity of Christians from other cultures and to embody it as part of their own offering of worship to God. It affirms that creativity is a gift offered to all humankind, and not restricted to a particular form of cultural expression. This is cogently expressed by Hawn in an extended exploration of the nature of global hymnody:

it is the alterity or ‘otherness’ of ecumenical global hymnody that displays the manifold face of Christ not bound by one culture or one age, but for all cultures and ages.\(^\text{14}\)

Hawn’s emphasis on such hymnody as both global and ecumenical is important here, as it indicates that despite the stylistic features that emphasize diversity, the sharing and advocacy of such hymns through recent Western hymnals is underpinned by a recognition of the place that they and their creators have in the universal church.

**Emotion, Proclamation and Musical Structure**

Music’s ability to engender emotional responses is central to the championing of congregational hymnody by many of its practitioners and advocates, and also to its popularity with individuals and congregations. Western hymnody, including in Lutheran-influenced traditions, has tended to prioritise the through-composed hymn text consisting of multiple stanzas; in such hymns, emotional reaction is often encouraged through the intensification of the theme or message as the stanzas progress towards a point of culmination. By contrast, many of the selections of global hymnody most widely disseminated in Western hymnals utilise cyclical structures, in which a short text, often consisting of a single stanza, is sung repeatedly. Call-and-response structures also feature prominently, sometimes in conjunction with cyclical structures, in another marked point of difference. In keeping with the common aim of using global hymnody to re-enliven worship, the prominence of cyclical structures and call-and-response deliberately emphasize a different type of emotional engagement from that encountered in through-composed hymn texts of multiple stanzas.

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\(^\text{13}\) Bell and Maule, *Many and Great*, p. 8.

Hawn links the nature of the form to the mode of engagement, drawing out a further contrast with the traditional reliance on text and print in Western hymnody:

Books are not necessary for the performance of cyclic structures in the same way that they facilitate sequential musical forms. In fact, books may impede the embodiment of cyclic song. [...] Regardless of mood, cyclic structures encourage a physical response, either toward the ecstatic or toward the meditative, and the use of books ultimately hampers the successful performance of these songs.15

The promotion of global song with cyclical structures may encourage an immersive and affective experience of worship, in which participants embody the meaning of the songs by singing and, in line with the rhythmic emphasis described above, moving together, thus shaping their whole attitude towards the environment and liturgical context in which they find themselves. Irwin notes that while Luther’s attitude to music as a means of preaching is open to differing interpretations, “there can be no doubt that he believed music could prepare the heart to receive the Word”.16 This view, set out in Luther’s Table Talk, acknowledges and affirms music’s capacity to evoke an emotional response; Irwin refers to the ways in which seventeenth-century Lutheran theologians expanded upon this understanding by drawing attention to the process of sharing in congregational music as well as the textual content of hymns:

Music does not simply communicate doctrinal truths in a way that reinforces memory of them, as if it affected only the mental faculties; nor does music simply appeal to the senses, which would lead to an insistence that the hearer rise above the aural appeal. Rather, music combines the emotional power of sound with the spiritual power of God’s Word in such a way as to affect the soul. For music to convey this power, both the singer and the listener must be in tune with God.17

Mark Wynn’s articulation of the relationship between artistic objects, including musical works, and religious emotion indicates the complex interdependency of experience and meaning:

An artwork may represent an object by engendering feelings of the kind that befit the object; and it may project a ‘world’ which we may come to inhabit by taking on a correlative propensity for affectively toned perception and bodily responsiveness.18

16 Irwin, “‘So Faith Comes from What Is Heard’”, p. 68–69.
17 Ibid., p. 71.
In the context of a Lutheran understanding of congregational hymnody, the “object” may be regarded as the proclaimed Word of God, so central to Luther’s understanding of corporate worship. Hymns, including global song, as participative elements of liturgy aligned with the scriptures, stimulate engagement and thus may become closely associated with an individual’s understanding and ownership of the object itself, although attitudes will inevitably be different according to cultural and liturgical contexts.

The song “Stand Firm” from Cameroon, included in many British and North American hymnals, exemplifies the call-and-response structure and its relationship to the proclamation of the Word. It is a song of solidarity intended to inspire confidence in God’s faithfulness; the cantor addresses each iteration of the song to a particular constituency within the congregation or society at large, for example, “brothers”, “sisters”, “children”, or “elders”, encouraging them to “stand very firm”. The congregation responds by echoing this encouragement in a simple and unchanging refrain. The brevity, structure and content of the text preclude its use in the manner of a narrative hymn with multiple stanzas, and it is obviously not a didactic hymn. Instead, it might be used as a response to scripture or a sermon, in the context of prayer, or to commission a congregation. As such, it has the potential to consolidate the message proclaimed through reading and preaching, and to embolden a congregation by emphasising their connectedness as a community of faith. Such feelings arise from the combination of words and music; the cantor’s phrase combines challenge and encouragement, and ends with implied dominant harmony, demanding resolution that arrives both musically with the refrain’s firm final perfect cadence, and emotionally through the refrain’s statement of trust in God.

Similarly, Alexander Gondo’s Shona hymn “Uyai mose” (“Come, all you people”, from which the title of this chapter is borrowed), is intended as a call to worship. Through repetition, its insistent rhythm, purposeful melody and the cantor’s declamations, it seeks to build a sense of anticipation and unity among the congregation at the opening of a worship gathering. The musical setting and its performance have the potential to transform the simple text into a heartfelt expression of communal emotion and openness to God’s Word. Such use of music, combined with texts containing appropriate sentiments and expressions, can be seen to align with the understanding of music’s emotional power found in many religious cultures, especially in Lutheranism, and in particular its effectiveness in readying, assisting, and deepening individual and communal reception of the Gospel.

Congregational Music in the Liturgy

While much attention has been given to the Lutheran legacy of congregational hymn singing in Protestant churches, Luther’s advocacy of congregational participation in liturgical chant, though limited in practice until the seventeenth century, has sometimes been overlooked. Robin A. Leaver describes
how musical provision was made for the congregation to participate in various elements of the *Deutsche Messe*, and points out particular connections through the use of versions of Tone I for the Introit, the threefold Kyrie, and the German Agnus Dei, “Christe, du Lamm Gottes”.\(^{19}\) He argues that,

In singing the “German” Kyrie and the German Agnus Dei members of the singing congregation would quickly recognize that both melodic incipits are identical, thus making an aural link between the two liturgical prayers for mercy.\(^{20}\)

Despite this sophisticated use of music to reinforce the meanings and emotional states associated with particular parts of the liturgy, the practice of congregational singing beyond hymns, although firmly embedded in some traditions such as the Nordic hymn services that typically include congregational singing of the ordinary, has not been uniformly adopted or maintained in many Western Protestant traditions. While in some traditions, liturgical music has continued to flourish through choral services, as in traditions in which choirs have not played a significant role, congregational music has largely been confined to hymnody.\(^{21}\) Free Church denominations in Britain, for instance, despite championing congregational hymnody in the Lutheran tradition, have often eschewed the use of chanted liturgical music, whether congregational or choral, in what may historically have been a marker of distinction from the Church of England's Catholic and Reformed heritage.\(^{22}\)

Both the ecumenical impact of the Second Vatican Council and the spread of global hymnody have contributed to changes in this regard in recent decades. Many Methodist churches, for instance, moved to more regular and frequent celebrations of Holy Communion in the decades following Vatican II, typically settling on a monthly celebration in place of the previously common quarterly eucharistic services. This trend can also be observed in the liturgical books used by denominations; in British Methodism, the *Methodist Service Book* (1975) included just two orders for Holy Communion, whereas its successor, the *Methodist Worship Book* (1999) contained three services for use in Ordinary time plus full services specific to each of the major liturgical seasons. Significantly, one of the orders for Ordinary time included congregational musical settings for several parts of the service, including a Peruvian Gloria and part of a translated Urdu hymn set to a response within

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\(^{20}\) Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, p. 198.

\(^{21}\) The history of these divergent traditions is more complex than can be properly addressed here. Influences of the Lutheran Reformed tradition have coexisted alongside other significant historic practices, for example in choral foundations such as Church of England cathedrals, which have been profoundly shaped by monastic liturgical and musical traditions.

\(^{22}\) Exceptions to this trend have always existed, such as the provision of pointed psalms and canticles set to Anglican chants in several British Methodist hymnals. The presence of such repertoire cannot, however, be interpreted as evidence for its widespread use.
the eucharistic prayer. The former utilises a call-and-response structure, and has gained considerable ecumenical popularity. Many more recent hymnals have also included a version of the Sanctus of Argentinian origin, commonly with both Spanish and English lyrics. The texts of both the Peruvian Gloria and the Argentinian Sanctus vary from the versions agreed by the English Language Liturgical Consultation; the Gloria is significantly abridged, while the Sanctus interpolates an expression of the singer’s devotion with the customary recitation of “Holy, holy, holy”.

Settings such as these draw on the musical characteristics outlined in the previous sections of this chapter, and additionally provide different ways for worshippers to engage with the liturgical texts that might customarily be spoken. Such practice clearly aligns with Luther’s advocacy of sung liturgy; Leaver notes how, in devising the *Deutsche Messe*, “Luther concluded that music was fundamental to the new liturgy and that it should therefore include musical notation.”23 The levels of musical sophistication and integration Luther sought are not replicated by the compilation of individual pieces from different places and contexts into a composite whole. However, they do reopen possibilities for deeper spiritual engagement through sung liturgy, which can nonetheless be interpreted as a reclamation of part of the broader Lutheran musical heritage.

Challenging Perspectives: Language, Representation and Reception

While the aspects considered above establish connections between Lutheran principles and practices concerning liturgical music and the growth of global hymnody, three elements associated with its spread present challenges to a full alignment with Lutheran values. These concern the use of non-vernacular languages in worship, the risk of stereotyping and misrepresentation in the selection and dissemination of global hymnody, and its reception among Western congregations.

Advocates of global song typically promote the use of original languages rather than translations, arguing that this deepens the awareness of cultural diversity that itself emphasizes the universality of the ecumenical church. Such an approach aligns with Hawn’s argument that “The transcultural message of the gospel and the historical shape of Christian liturgy require myriad cultural means to express the reality of *logos* made flesh for all people.”24 However, an insistence on the use of unfamiliar languages does seem to contradict the high premium Luther placed on vernacular liturgy. Those who object to singing global hymnody because they cannot understand the words they are singing might therefore be equally drawing on Lutheran heritage. However, in an age of increased global awareness, facilitated by the online availability

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24 Hawn, *Gather into one*, p. 15
of repertoire and recordings of worship music from around the world, others may regard such linguistic plurality as an affirmation of the interconnectedness of the global church. Leaver’s insistence that multiculturalism must embrace both temporal and geographical diversity may be useful here. While his argument focuses on the spiritual and pedagogical value of preserving historical Lutheran hymns, his appeal to congregations to sing “such expressions of theological praise that are more concerned with the timelessness of the substance of what we believe” provides a useful basis for the incorporation of global hymnody as well as historical repertoire.25 Nonetheless, linguistic plurality represents a tension that, while not necessarily contrary to a Lutheran-influenced understanding of the present context of Western Christianity, cannot be straightforwardly reconciled with a Lutheran approach to inculcated worship.

While some hymnals devoted solely to global hymnody, such as Agape, make a deliberate attempt to represent as many different places and cultures as possible, this tends not to be the case in the selections made by the compilers of denominational hymnals. The origins of Agape in the Lutheran World Federation Assembly demanded a conscious attempt at global representativeness; this is demonstrated through the selection of hymns, drawn from every continent and with no discernible prioritisation of particular cultures or geographical locations, the provision of several translations alongside original languages, and transcriptions and interpretative notes to assist those learning the hymns. Denominational hymnals, by contrast, are naturally dominated by hymns of the cultures and places to which they belong. Selections of global hymnody are made with different parameters, and while aiming to represent other cultures, approachability and usefulness for the receiving community are naturally foregrounded in decision-making processes. This has sometimes led to a narrow range of places and cultures being represented, with musical styles that bear most similarity to Western hymnody, such as from parts of Africa, the Caribbean and South America, being prioritised over hymnody from many Asian cultures, for instance. Primarily, this seems to indicate a cautious or conservative attitude on the parts of compilers, although the historical depth of Western influences on Christian worship and musical practice in some of those countries most popularly represented may also be an indirect factor.

While such decisions are made on pragmatic grounds, they risk reinforcing cultural stereotypes as well as marginalising some cultures and their expressions of worship, thus making them seem insignificant to Western congregations. Gerardo Marti observes that Black Gospel music is often given an elevated status, which is commonly connected to preconceived ideas about Black spirituality: “The experience of ‘true worship’ is consistently viewed as

25 Leaver, Luther’s Liturgical Music, p. 127.
one of the distinctive markers of the Black Church experience.” While this appears to indicate a positive attitude towards Black Christianity, it can easily assume a dominance that denies the complexities of religious experience and its relationship to daily life that Black worshippers share in common with believers of all cultures. Marti goes on to argue that such stereotyping can actually affect the ways in which believers from particular cultural backgrounds experience and engage in worship, especially in multicultural contexts:

Presumed racial distinctions are essentialized such that supposed differences affect the actual experience of worship. Blacks and Hispanics are passionate; whites and Asians are calmer and quieter. Blacks and Hispanics require louder, deeply rhythmic music while whites and Asians favor smooth melodies and moments of quiet. In other words, the assumed differences between races are believed to have real implications for how racial and ethnic groups experience worship.

Marti’s critique challenges the way in which the connections between rhythmic vitality, global hymnody, and the Lutheran emphasis on embodied worship, outlined above, are understood. While the possibilities they offer for encouraging different modes of engagement in worship through music are not invalidated, Marti’s observations indicate the importance of contextualisation in the use of global hymnody. If Lutheran ideas about hymnody’s potential for enabling embodied worship and its usefulness in shaping emotional responses to worship and the scriptures are to be taken seriously, it is vital that misrepresentation of any culture’s hymnody is avoided. Such misrepresentation denies that culture’s ability to use hymns to respond to or to encourage the gamut of emotions expressed within the scriptures. Furthermore, a Lutheran approach to global hymnody must seek out repertoire that reflects the emotional diversity of any particular culture’s hymnody. This approach has been attempted in specialist collections such as *Agape*, but in the denominational hymnals through which most worshippers will encounter global hymnody, there remains a need for further careful consideration of the intentions behind its inclusion, as well as a more systematic process of evaluation and dissemination.

Assessing the effectiveness of global hymnody in enlivening the worship of Western congregations on the basis of selections made by hymnal committees or presented in specialist volumes risks giving an uncritically positive impression of its adoption and reception. Given the emotional significance many believers attach to hymns and the practice of hymn-singing, global hymnody, like all other genres, can provoke strong opinions, both positive and negative. While some congregations and individuals may appreciate the greater musical diversity in worship, perhaps because of sensitive contextual

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work done by church musicians or worship leaders, others find the stylistic differences or linguistic challenges unappealing or even alienating. In terms of global hymnody’s ability to express aspects of Lutheran musical culture and theology, it must therefore be acknowledged that the opportunities presented by the interpretations explored above may not be realised, depending upon the reaction of participants. Such a limitation, however, is by no means confined to global hymnody, but is a broader source of possible divergence between intention and realisation, or principles and practices.

**Conclusion**

Although the challenges outlined in the previous section have real implications concerning the dissemination and practice of global hymnody, a framework drawing on Lutheran principles for congregational song is still a useful and important tool for evaluating the growth of interest in this repertoire. Although global hymnody has been used in Western contexts for several decades, it remains a very small part of the repertoire contained in mainstream denominational hymnals, and may therefore be infrequently encountered by many worshippers. As participants and advocates continue to engage with global hymnody and its place in the worship of Western churches, consideration of its alignment with the areas explored above offers a fruitful way for interpreting its intentions, finding possibilities for its use, devising methods for integrating it into worship, and prompting broader reflection on the role of congregational singing in encouraging, shaping and sharing faith, especially in the context of corporate worship.

Global hymnody offers worshippers accustomed to Western hymnody the opportunity to engage with text and music in ways that affirm the global nature of the church and that encourage and instil emotions and concepts consistent with the scriptures, and to explore different ways in which music can illuminate both the scriptures and the liturgy. While none of these factors associated with global hymnody should be accepted uncritically, engagement with repertoire that may be linguistically, musically and culturally unfamiliar offers a clear opportunity for individual believers, congregations and churches in the broad Lutheran-influenced tradition to renew their engagement with the principles that lie behind their rich heritage of congregational singing.

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28 A discussion thread on a Facebook group for Methodists in the UK provides one insight into the diversity of views on this matter; some contributors understood and appreciated both the repertoire and the intention behind it, while others were more critical, arguing that theological standards were less rigorously applied to global hymnody than other genres. Some found pronunciation challenges off-putting, while others acknowledged concerns about cultural misrepresentation. While such a forum cannot be regarded as representative of views within British Methodism at large, let alone other traditions, it nonetheless reveals that this is a matter of interest and concern to worshippers. See UK Methodists Facebook Group, 2 February 2014 (https://www.facebook.com/groups/221562545/permalink/10151905339497546/, (accessed 1 March 2018).
A Kaleidoscope of Church Music

The music of the church has never been as diverse and interconnected as it is today. Diasporas, migration, virtual and mass communication channels all contribute to a complex network of repertories, influences, and negotiations of increasing order and intensity.\(^1\) How can the theological and aesthetic genealogical threads of these repertoires be traced? The task becomes even more challenging when one seeks to understand the dynamics that regulate what musics are used in local contexts, especially amidst the generous offer of musics previously not accessible to local curators.

This chapter seeks to trace a line within this labyrinth: the musical thought of Luther, as it crosses the divide between historical and contemporary repertoires, in the context of the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (ECLCB).\(^2\) I try to tease out how traces of Luther’s thoughts on music are preserved, modified, or eliminated in the music of the ECLCB today. This chapter couples literature with ethnographic research that focuses on music makers working within the denomination, in order to understand certain dynamics that regulate the development of these repertoires. The goal is to contribute towards interdisciplinary investigations of how church music is experienced by participants in a world in which boundaries of many kinds are challenged and complicated by demographic, cultural, and religious flows.

Many scholars have done comprehensive work in concentrating specifically on Luther’s writings on music.\(^3\) Therefore, my considerations here are general in nature, because I am primarily interested in the manner in which general consensus about Luther has shaped music-making environments in

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\(^2\) I write from a participant-observer standpoint, and do not offer an exhaustive historiography of Brazilian Lutheran hymnody. This task would require a broader perspective, encompassing the work of other Lutheran denominations in Brazil.

\(^3\) Such as Carl Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise*, (St. Louis, MO, 1988), and Robin A. Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007).
the church. Furthermore, customary approaches to the study of church music repertoires have focused either on musical objects (musicology) or on hymn texts (theology/hymnology).\textsuperscript{4} I propose an ethnographic approach that, in asking questions related to performance contexts, seeks to interact with the bibliography on Luther’s life and thoughts on music. I argue that recognizing the multiplicity of texts involved in music-making is imperative; while lyrics and musical form are crucial, it is impossible to reduce the experience of music to these two components. Thus, the case studies serve as floodlights into particular realities, emphasizing the convergence and/or divergence of these texts as they coalesce into Lutheran musical cultures in Brazil. Each case study is like a snapshot, a cutout of reality, that represents a lattice of intertwined texts in a given place and time. No one portrait can be considered a final verdict on Luther’s ideas about music in the ECLCB; but taken together, these images form a broader picture that furthers our comprehension of church music through time and in space.

Luther’s Thoughts on Music: Musical and Theological Legacy

Luther was musically educated, and counted a number of musicians as personal friends. More than thirty hymns are attributed to him and, while this number may pale when compared to his theological output, it has been argued that these hymns have had an even broader impact than his writings.\textsuperscript{4} In any case, the ferociousness with which Luther defends music and encourages composition (especially in connection with his defense of the vernacular), points to his interest in using it to further the goals of the Reformation. The basic directives Luther proposes concerning music can be found in different sources: texts on liturgy, such as the Wittenberg liturgy of 1523, hymnal prefaces, passages in texts that deal with adjacent topics such as baptisms and matrimony, as well as his vast correspondence with collaborators.\textsuperscript{6} His interest in music goes beyond propaganda, even if Luther did recognize, from early in the Reformation, the potential of music in defending theological positions.\textsuperscript{7}

It is important to emphasize as well that Luther was not an enemy of musical tradition; neither Catholic nor secular. His emphasis lay on the issue of the vernacular. Music should be available as a means of devotion and ministry


\textsuperscript{5} Hans Schwarz, True Faith in the True God: An Introduction to Luther’s Life and Thought, Revised and Expanded, (Minneapolis, MN, 2015), p. 265.

\textsuperscript{6} The majority of these texts can be found grouped together in Luther’s edited works. My source is Luther’s Works, vol. 53, Liturgy and Hymns, Ulrich S. Leupold (ed.), (Philadelphia, PA, 1965). Throughout this chapter, I have chosen to group these issues into topics instead of referencing each one separately.

\textsuperscript{7} Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation. St. Andrews studies in Reformation history, (Aldershot, 2001).
in one’s native language. In other words, Luther did not think in the binary terms of “traditional” or “contemporary” adopted by more recent advocates of the church. Furthermore, this availability should not be restricted to simple musical forms. Luther asked Johann Walter, for instance, to supply a counterpoint-based repertoire for the Wittenberg church, and was an enthusiast of the work of Josquin des Prez. In this sense, another common binary in church music today, that sets complexity and simplicity in opposition to each other, would make little sense for Luther.

These divisions between old or new, simple or sophisticated, are common in recent church music literature, and would have been considered artificial by Luther.8 While he encouraged the composition of new vernacular compositions, Luther appreciated chant and the church music repertoire of his time. For him, creation is a gift of God; therefore, it makes little sense to consider only a minuscule portion of the music in that creation as worthy of use by Christians and/or the church. The matter-of-factness (but not lack of care) with which Luther and his cohort dealt with musical materials is an important characteristic. Revision, adaptation, and editing of musical materials (contra-facta) were common practice in Luther’s time, and authorship was not dealt with in terms we would recognize today. Luther’s agenda in relation to music is diverse and hybrid: preserving some aspects while reforming others. The goal was to integrate repertoire into the life of the church, even if this meant altering improper materials. Implicit in this stance is the principle of Christian freedom, essential to Luther’s thought. In music, this principle opens possibilities of experimentation that might be less vehemently regulated than in other traditions.

For Luther, music – and art, in a broader sense – does not stand in opposition to scripture. On the contrary, art is part of God’s creation and is available for the furthering of God’s kingdom. It is a gift, to be embraced on the path to a full life.9 In addition, the connection between lyric and melody, between word and music, is central to Luther’s understanding of music. This gift of God exists so that humanity may worship with word and sound. The gift of the word is given to articulate melodies, and is what distinguishes humankind from the rest of creation. The word, itself, is not enough, because it is music that confers life to the text.10 This connection between word and music is central to Luther’s definition of worship. In fact, speaking of Josquin des Prez, Luther claims that his music is the preaching of the gospel in musical form.11

Another fundamental aspect of Luther’s thoughts on music refers to the implementation of changes in the liturgical life of the church. Luther systematically emphasized his preference for gradual change, and worked to avoid conflicts caused by over-eager liturgical reforms. The aggressiveness with

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8 See, for instance, Terry W York, America’s Worship Wars, (Peabody, MA, 2003).
9 Schwarz, True Faith, p. 274–275.
10 On the dedication of the church at Torgay, 1544.
11 Schwarz, True Faith, p. 276.
which Andreas Karlstadt, Luther’s colleague at the university of Wittenberg, implemented liturgical reforms during Luther’s stay at Wartburg, caused the reformer considerable agony, and was one of the reasons why he returned to Wittenberg earlier than originally intended. In fact, Luther was criticized by other reformers because of this preference for gradual change:

> Compared to other reformers, Luther innovated little in terms of the service. The Lutheran service preserved many aspects of Catholic mass, and Maxwell […] criticizes him, saying that, in his *Formula Missae* of 1523, Luther presented ‘a mere version of the Roman mass’ as a substitute. ¹²

In any case, Luther’s thoughts on music can be broadly summarized as follows: reform when necessary, avoid polarization, and beware of aggressive oversimplification. It is a position that recognizes the role of music-making in God’s creation with freedom, celebrates possibilities, and strives for inclusion through the vernacular aided by the combination of tradition and innovation. Luther did, of course, enter into conflict with the Catholic liturgy of his time, but it is important to reiterate that it was not the liturgy itself that sparked his concern. While Luther’s central disagreements with Catholic tradition and theology were not primarily related to music, the consequences of how these new theologies developed also shaped a new environment for making music. The foundation for a Lutheran musical legacy lies at this intersection.

**The Contemporary Hymnody of the Lutheran Church in Brazil**

This musical and theological legacy was brought to Brazil by Lutheran immigrants in the first half of the nineteenth century. At first, immigrant musical practices were focused towards community life. Synods coalesced slowly over time, and the Synodal Federation – which later became the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (ECLCB) – was eventually established. Although initially almost forty hymnals (all in German) were used in these congregations, use of the *Hinário Evangélico Alemão* (German Evangelical Hymnal) became common. Around the time the Federation was established in 1950, the *Hinos da Igreja Evangélica* (Hymns of the Evangelical Church) edited by Hans Müller, was a frequent source of hymnody. Finally, in

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1981, *Hinos do Povo de Deus* (Hymns of the People of God, hereafter HPG), the denomination’s own hymnal, was released.

When *HPG* was released, signs of change in the hymnody of the ECLCB were already apparent. If, on the one hand, the *HPG* does include works by Latin American composers and young Lutheran pastors, the vast majority of its more than three hundred hymns are sourced from the German tradition. But during the seventies a number of factors, such as the rise of revival movements inside the ECLCB, Lutheran engagement with student ministries and para-ecclesiastical organizations, such as *Aliança Bíblia Universitária*, and the visibility of other denominational ministries, such as *Vencedores Por Cristo*, were already influencing the hymnological diet of Lutherans. Later, with the rise of the *gospel* market and the availability of virtual offerings on platforms such as Youtube, this diet became even more varied.

These movements reflected, with some delay, developments in Christian music in the United States. Since the end of the sixties, the North American church saw an explosion of what has come to be known as Contemporary Christian Music, or CCM. This phenomenon gave rise to “worship wars”: disputes between traditionalists and contemporanists, each defending the use of a certain repertoire. In Brazil, the rise of these repertoires led to the organization of worship bands in local congregations. These groups would often mix rearrangements of older materials into their setlists, and would include their own compositions as well. An example of this strategy in the Lutheran context was a group called Atalaia, a ministry developed at São João congregation in Pelotas, in Rio Grande do Sul state, during the early nineties. In addition, other groups based their own projects on outreach ministries that were

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13 Evidently, other hymnals were also used and edited during these years that are not mentioned here. An excellent source for a historical account of all these materials is, Leonhard Creutzberg, *Estou Pronto Para Cantar: Subsídios Para a Hinariologia Da IECLB*, (São Leopoldo, RS 2001).


15 “University Biblical Alliance, the Brazilian branch of IFES”.

16 “Winners in Christ”.

17 It is important to note that the term “gospel” is not used, in Brazilian Christian culture, in the same sense that it is used in American music history. It is not connected to African-American musics, and is simply a market label. I will use the term italicized throughout (*gospel*) when referring to this phenomenon.


19 I have adopted the term “contemporanist” from the work of Harold M. Best in *Unceasing Worship: Biblical Perspective on Worship and the Arts*, (Downers Grove, IL., 2003).

beginning to gain visibility thanks to the public relations work of labels such as Renascer and Gospel Records.\textsuperscript{21} Influenced by groups like Katsbarnéia and Kadosh, bands emerged within the Lutheran context, leading congregational music as well as focusing on the composition and performance of their own material; in many congregations, writing songs for congregational use was also encouraged. Attempts were made to compile this new hymnody, which mixed sources from outside the ECLCB with traditional hymns and material that developed indigenously within the context of the movement’s gatherings, giving birth to a variety of unofficial hymnals.

The Gap: Traces of Luther Cross the Divide

Even if the “worship wars” strategy mentioned here, that pits traditionalists and contemporarists against each other, might be considered outdated, there are corners of the church in which it persists.\textsuperscript{22} It is important to identify this gap where it exists, and understand how it has impacted the flow of traditions between opposing camps. This configuration begs the question: amidst these shifts, and especially within the complex web of influences that configure the congregational music practices of ECLCB congregations today, what traces of Luther’s thoughts on music are to be found?

It must be emphasized that this gap has rarely been absolute. Hymnological mixture is an inherent feature of church music. In most ECLCB congregations, contemporary repertoires and historical materials coexist. Two ethno-graphic case studies are examined here in order to trace Luther’s thoughts on music across these divides. One is the work of two rock bands, Castelo Forte and Golgotha.\textsuperscript{23} The other is the work of the Worship and Arts Ministry (WAM) at Redeemer Lutheran Church, a congregation of the ECLCB in Curitiba, capital of Paraná state.

Castelo Forte and Golgotha started in the mid-nineties in the south of Brazil, where the ECLCB is deeply ingrained in the immigrant culture.\textsuperscript{24} Both


\textsuperscript{22} More recent scholarship, especially that which has been developed during the last ten years or so in the field of congregational music studies by authors such as Monique M. Ingalls, Anna Nekola, Mark Porter, Tom Wagner, and others, recognizes that these polarizations are counterproductive to understanding the tensions that characterize these disputes after the turn of the century, and that they do not aptly describe the contemporary scene of global Christian musics.

\textsuperscript{23} “Strong Castle”, a direct reference to Luther’s most famous hymn.

\textsuperscript{24} These two bands were chosen for two reasons. I function as a participant-observer in the case of Golgotha, a band I helped found in 1996. This gives me access to the band’s materi-
bands are from ECLCB congregations: Golgotha from Redeemer Lutheran Church in Curitiba (PR), and Castelo Forte from Holy Spirit, a congregation in Novo Hamburgo (RS). Over two decades, these bands released albums, toured many parts of Brazil, and influenced a generation of Lutheran youth and musicians. In the work of both groups, Lutheran identity is a central theme. Golgotha recorded a version of “A Mighty Fortress” on their debut album, *ID* (2003), and Castelo Forte rearranged the same hymn on *Castelo Forte* (1999). In later work, both groups deal with the main themes of Lutheran theology, such as the issue of grace, even as they develop unique styles.

One of the ministries that developed under the WAM umbrella at Redeemer was the Redeemer Composer’s Nucleus (RCN). The group still exists, and its aims are twofold: writing new music for liturgical and concert use, and writing music for congregational use. The group’s composers wrote approximately twenty songs that are in use; some at Redeemer, and others, such as “Tua Vontade” and “Reina Sobre Nós,” that are played in congregations and gatherings throughout the ECLCB.

These two case studies were chosen for the ethnography for several reasons. First, their focus on developing new material was tempered by their involvement with the practical work of leading worship on a congregational level, a balance that pushed these ministries towards the center of Lutheran conversations about the relationship between traditional and contemporary repertoires. Moreover, these groups are “contemporary” in more than one sense of the word; while in church music this term usually refers to pop-rock styles, in this case it also refers to highly elaborate compositions that use contemporary compositional techniques such as spectralism and atonalism (in the case of the RCN).

In interviews with band members and RCN participants, Luther’s perspectives on music are a central theme. Members of all groups mentioned the Lutheran practice of confirmation classes, as well as the influence of mentors and pastors as formative in their lives. One of the members of the RCN, Fernando Berwig Silva, describes how “our processes of formation, as well as our experience in the Lutheran environment, gave us important theological tools for the development of our concerts and compositions, in which we have

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25 The group was established by me along with Márcio Steuernagel and Lucas Frühlauf in 2005. As in the case of the WMA, I am a participant-observer; I was worship and arts pastor at Redeemer between 2005 and 2015.

26 This initiative at Redeemer was not the only one to develop in the denomination. Another example was the antiphon project led by Louis Marcelo Ilenseer, also geared towards congregational materials, and the research work of the denomination’s New Hymnal Committee, that sent out a call for compositions to be included in the denomination’s new hymnal, *Livro de Canto* (2017).
always prioritized central themes of Lutheran theology”.27 Other members recognized this pattern as well. Taking into account these influences, formal as well as informal, conscious and unconscious, a series of characteristic configurations come to the fore. It is to these that we now turn.

Resonances: Encounters, (Dis)encounters, and (Re)combinations

An analysis of the ethnography displays traces of Luther’s thoughts on music. These traces will be grouped here into three sets. “Encounters” refer to convergences between Luther’s ideas, musical artifacts, and narratives. “(Dis) encounters” refer to conflicts, disintegrations, or instances in which Luther’s thoughts are resisted, deflected, or otherwise rejected. Finally, “(Re)combinations” refer to instances in which the integration of one or more of Luther’s directives with specific situations and/or artifacts gives birth to developments that integrate tradition into new musical manifestations. These sets stem from the following perspectives (in order): the importance of the vernacular for Lutheran music-making, arrangements and rearrangements that make use of traditional repertoires, new compositions, and finally, the lyrical content of these materials through the perspective of Luther’s theology.

The emphasis of scholarship about the use of the vernacular in liturgical music has customarily been the lyrics. More recently, Lester Ruth and Swee Hong Lim have identified how, in the literature surrounding church music since the sixties, this relationship between contemporary language and contemporary time might point to concern in churches fifty years ago with a style of music and lyrics that “fit” with its time and place.28 In the ethnography, this preference for what is “contemporary” appears in different ways. The music of Golgotha and Castelo Forte demonstrates how these groups wrote using colloquial language, avoiding the more formal style of traditional repertoires. Filipe Müller of Castelo Forte remembers: “we chose to write songs focusing on people outside the church, and we tried to use a language with less ecclesiastical jargon. I think this converges with Luther’s idea of a language that is closer to the public, that allows comprehension, identification, and participation.”29 Tarso de Biasi describes how “Golgotha was a pioneer, at least in Curitiba or even the south, with our songs that avoided jargons, fewer “alleluias”, thinking more of the world around us!”30 In both commentaries, this preference for colloquial language is equated with being more attuned to the surrounding world.

27 Author’s interview with Fernando Berwig Silva, 16 June 2017.
29 Author’s interview with Filipe Müller, 16 June 2017.
30 Author’s interview with Tarso de Biasi, 28 May 2017
In the case of RCN, other considerations surface in connection to the lyrics, among them the issue of language appropriate for congregational music-making, instead of language for “outside the church.” Thus, citations from scripture, poetic versions of Jesus’ parables, and lyrics that deal with issues encountered in the context of congregational life, are addressed and responded to in the lyrics. Examples of this would be “Salmo 23,” a paraphrase of Psalm 23; “Vida Eterna,” written after a death in the family of one composer; and “Filho Pródigo,” based on Jesus’ parable of the prodigal son in Luke 11.31

Furthermore, I argue that the principle of the vernacular must be expanded to include questions of style. If this principle constitutes the adaptation of content to context, it is not limited to lyrics (although this was certainly the focus of Luther and his collaborators). It can be connected to the musical style chosen for congregational song and for composition, as the comments of Müller and de Biasi demonstrate. Therefore, if in the oeuvre of Castelo Forte and Golgotha pop, rock, and metal are amply utilized, the work of the RNC demonstrates the use of stylistic formulas characteristic of international pop and Brazilian musics (especially in relation to rhythmic syncopations).32

The principle of the vernacular unfolds into various iterations. If there is change, slow albeit continuous, towards a hymnody that uses contemporary language and styles, instead of what can be broadly described as Germanic music traditionally considered “Lutheran,” this shift represents an encounter between the principle of the vernacular and the context in which it takes root. In this sense, instead of speaking of “replacing” one repertoire for another, integration between historical legacy and new compositions might be a more adequate description of the cases examined here. On the other hand, the difficulties faced by a traditionally Germanic church in dealing with certain elements of Brazilian musics (especially those associated with the music of African-Brazilian and indigenous native cults), creates resistances – or (dis)

31 This issue of the vernacular also applies to the translation of foreign repertoires for congregational use. With the rise of worship ministries with transnational projects that aim at “creating global communities of worshipers”, (Hillsong’s own website description) such as the Hillsong Music label based in Australia, this practice became more common and less subject to denominational curation. In this sense, if in the past translations were usually made by committees appointed by church leadership, with the rise of digital communication mediums and the facility of translation tools such as Google Translator, grassroots translations became possible and frequent. In other contexts, these songs are being played in their original languages; a phenomenon that merits further scholarship, due to the challenges inherent to translation in relation to theology, phonetics, and prosody, which are rarely considered in connection with this practice but which are intimately connected to the principle of the vernacular for congregational singing. In other words, once other languages become part of a congregation’s “vocabulary of worship”, how is the vernacular to be defined?

32 I am aware of the complexities inherent to using typologies such as this. In any case, I believe the basic premise is not devalued by these complexities. Moreover, I resist equating “popular Brazilian music” exclusively with styles traditionally considered “Brazilian”, such as samba and xote, for example, to include elements like Brazilian rock, funk, and other cultural manifestations.
encounters – to the use of these vernacular expressions. In any case, (re)combinations are continuously created at this intersection/tension between legacy and context.

Associated with the vernacular is the manner in which the Brazilian Lutheran church “arranges” or “rearranges” its repertoire at this intersection, tracing a parallel with the practice, common in Luther’s time, of adapting known materials to spread ideas and opinions. Thus, if every arrangement is a rearrangement that negotiates the tension between tradition and context, this is not a self-exhausting process; rather, the very existence of these tensions demands constant musical negotiations. This is described in different ways in the ethnography. Carlos Eduardo da Costa describes the goals of Golgotha’s music: “to make the old new. Adapt what does not seem adaptable to a public, and value lyrics and songs that had impact, and have not lost their impact; they were just not suited to contemporary ears. This makes us a bridge, re-claiming the essence”. It suffices to say that in all these cases, this is an important component of practice. In the use of “A Mighty Fortress”, the central hymn of the Lutheran tradition, by Golgotha and Castelo Forte, this intention becomes clear. In the case of the RCN, musical references to classic Lutheran hymnody, the insertion of melodic fragments by famed composers within this tradition, such as J. S. Bach, point to a similar intention. New flavours, (re)combinations, are created by these negotiations, and serve as evidence of the vitality behind the principle that the church must be constantly reforming.

This idea of rearranging leads to two intersections. The first is the intersection between the German Lutheran heritage and Brazilian Evangelicalism. While it might be more convenient to look at different Christian traditions as “islands” that do not communicate amongst themselves, I argue that it is more realistic to view these groups as living organisms with porous membranes, engaged in a constant process of appropriation of (and resistance to) musical materials from other ecclesiological and theological sources. In many cases, these interactions give birth to materials that celebrate theological confluences, help to articulate the local reality in song form, and speak to the local and regional context of these congregations. On the other hand, resistances to these integrations are common and are frequently based on the idea of “diluting” Lutheran theologies. Besides the problems inherent in this affirmation – among them, the very proposition that there might be a “pure” Lutheran theology to be inherited – reservations such as this do not effectively counter the porousness of these interactions. It is important to acknowledge this complex formula of connections with the theological and cultural Lutheran legacy, on the one hand, and the need to revitalize these principles within the

33 Author’s interview with Carlos Eduardo da Costa, 28 May 2017. Based on the practices at Redeemer Lutheran, I specifically examine the practical developments that arise in the process of adapting “traditional” materials, updating the musical language for a contemporary membership (Steuernagel, 2020, forthcoming).
life of the church. In this context, rearranging and composing are ways of talking about these themes, of “theologizing” – performing theology – as a living process of thought and survival in the life of the church.

This process of reflection expands beyond Brazil’s borders, especially in relation to the strong influence that CCM has on a global stage in which cultural flows are constant. If these repertoires sprout from different sources and converge with the facility of access offered by virtual platforms, this convergence leaks into local congregations. The influences are truly multifocal. There is no “point of origin” for these influences, because they are kaleidoscopic and range from the influence of labels and radio stations associated with gospel, to the work of para-ecclesiastical organizations, student ministries, and international conferences such as Passion. At the convergence between these influences and Lutheran musical practices in Brazil, between the (dis)encounters and tensions that arise due to ecclesiological and theological divergences, traces of these interactions can be found. At least part of the production of these groups is related to these negotiations. In other words, one is dealing with Joachim Neander, Katy Perry, Pablo Sosa, and Coldplay in the same brew.

Moreover, this is a process that moves towards new compositions. While it is important to recognize that the line between rearrangement and original composition is diffuse, an analysis of the musical production of these groups supplies a variety of musical artifacts on this spectrum: adaptations of classics like “A Mighty Fortress”, the use of melodic fragments and harmonic progressions from Lutheran chorales merged with new materials, the adaptation of these materials to Brazilian rhythms, and using techniques such as twelve-tone rows and other strategies to create music for the liturgy as well as sacred music for concert settings. All of these examples attest to the creation of new musical flavours. While it might be difficult to establish stylistic parallels between all of these materials, it is possible to point to two of Luther’s stances in this regard: the first relating to Christian freedom, and the second connected to the issue of quality.

In the ethnography, the issue of freedom appears in connection to music-making. Márcio Steuernagel describes this ethic as “liturgy as creative form: a reading of liturgy made flexible by a Lutheran view of the world; a reading that leverages the creative and transgressive possibilities that are

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34 Even when challenges such as that of prosperity theology, widespread by the mass communication media outlets of Neopentecostal denominations, clash with this theology.


36 From Calvary Chapel Costa Mesa, in California, to different Pentecostal groups in the United States; Lim and Ruth describe how there is no one origin, but many: Lovin’ on Jesus, p. 16–23.

37 There are newer developments, such as the establishment of a Hillsong church in São Paulo (2016).
embedded in the DNA of the Lutheran tradition”.\footnote{Author’s interview with Márcio Steuernagel, 16 June 2017.} I suggest that, in a way, Luther’s thoughts on music as connected to Christian freedom give rise to what approaches a “punk ethic” (the term itself appears in more than one interview). There is a resonance between certain tenets of punk ideology, such as a DIY (do-it-yourself) mentality and the horizontality of artistic production, and the environment described by the groups examined here. At the same time, this liberty would be tempered precisely by Luther’s preference for gradual change, instead of open conflict or rupture. The environment created by the application of these principles is described by interviewees. Guilherme Stumm believes that “Lutheran theology inspires us to freedom. It opens the horizon for our lyrics and sound to speak about our lives, feelings, and emotions”.\footnote{Author’s interview with Guilherme Stumm, 27 May 2017.} Carlos Eduardo says that

the question of Golgotha’s independence is also the result of a chain... first, that we were born into a Protestant church; that we have an appreciation for Luther and his posture in relation to issues he did not deem in concordance with the concept he had of what was right (really, a punk attitude... grunge).\footnote{Author’s interview with Carlos Eduardo, 28 May 2017.}

The parallel between Luther’s posture, these descriptions, and the environment in which these groups developed is unique in this regard:

Just as Luther did, “secular” music was never prohibited in our midst. They never made us burn cassettes or compact discs. On the contrary, we would bring these influences into church.\footnote{Author’s interview with Tarso de Biasi, 28 May 2017.}

Today I realize that this “creative freedom” that comes from Lutheran principles impelled us all [...] we had this impulse and we had support from the community, even if our elders thought our music was a bit noisy for regular service standards. [...] In a nutshell, our musical posture was influenced a lot more by the music scene at the time (very rock n’ roll) than by the fact that we were Lutherans, I believe.\footnote{Author’s interview with Alexandre Ramos (Xandão), 15 June, 2017.}

Nevertheless, this celebration of freedom appears to be connected to a second principle: that of excellence in making music. A survey of Luther’s ideas on music makes clear his preoccupation with quality. I suggest that this inclination is reinforced by the “hagiography” of Lutheran music history, in which composers of the caliber of J. S. Bach and poets like Paul Gerhardt are quality benchmarks. Implicit in the ethnography is the suggestion that this legacy needs to be stewarded into new music (consciously or unconsciously). In the work of Castelo Forte and Golgotha, this expectation is further qualified by the production value of the influences cited by band members: groups as var-
ied as Van Halen, Red Hot Chilli Peppers, and U2, and Brazilian artists like Oficina G3. The drive to produce quality music demands a specific engagement with recording and production processes.

The same pattern appears in the work of RCN. Its members frequently reinforce the need to compose “quality music” that can serve as a viable choice for congregational use. Márcio Steuernagel traces a narrative that stems from the centrality of scripture (*sola scriptura*). In his opinion, music-making requires theological reflection, “be it in the content of the lyrics or in the aesthetic reflection about what one is doing”. Fernando Berwig says that “deep research has always seemed to me a characteristic of the RCN that brings its work close to Luther’s thoughts, independent of these thoughts being about music or theology”.

Finally, the issue of the theological content of these new repertoires needs to be investigated. To this end, I propose the concept of lyrical content as a platform for proposition, contestation, and other theological and ideological negotiations. If the space of artistic creativity is open to these negotiations, it becomes necessary to identify the ways in which Luther’s principles have been preserved, contested, or modified in relation to lyrics, especially when faced with the challenge of adaptation for different contexts. One possibility is to approach this issue from the Reformation *solas*: *sola fide, sola gratia, sola scriptura*. In which way do these theological principles appear in the work of the groups examined here?

A cursory reading of the lyrics from the work of these groups presents clear traces of all three. Even so, it is possible to categorize these traces in two clusters: direct references and tangential, or indirect, references. Overall, direct references are found more frequently in material designed for congregational use. Possibly, functional requirements seem to favor direct references. In the case of the two bands, the opposite seems to be the case, with preference being given to language less associated with Christian worship. Both Golgotha and Castelo Forte decided to focus their efforts outside the church, playing in schools, city parks, and other public places in which liturgical requirements are diluted. In these contexts, language that avoids at one time the jargon of worship music and a preference for pop-rock stylistic choices (poetic descriptions, personal narratives, suggestion versus description) facilitate the use of indirect references.

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43 Author’s interview with Márcio Steuernagel, 16 June 2017.
44 Author’s interview with Fernando Berwig, 16 June 2017.
45 The number of *solas* diverges between traditions. While a broad selection of five *solas* would represent Reformed theology as a whole, including the perspectives of Calvin and Zwingli, I constrain myself to the three *solas* more commonly associated with Luther: *sola gratia, sola fide, sola scriptura*. The other two would be *sola Christus and soli deo Gloria*, not addressed here.
46 Especially later in their careers.
Based on this analysis, what encounters, (dis)encounters, and (re)combinations come to the fore? The first encounter appears in an acknowledgement of the importance of music as a tool for theological broadcasting. If this was clear for Luther in his time, today this continues to be important. In any case, there is no pretense of suggesting that “the lyrics are the most important.” Musical artifacts are a tapestry of lyrics, style, performance choices, and context, and this broad configuration is always complex. A song is, in other words, a bundle of texts. If singing and composing around the solas means, in practical terms, continued digestion of these theologies into context, this practice will always mirror the shock – in the Brazilian case – between typically Reformed ideas, such as the primacy of scripture, and a Catholic-synchretic culture. In any case, the moment when the museological instinct to crystallize this tradition as something immutable is legitimized, this theology is removed from the mouth of the congregation. The via media between encounters and (dis)encounters is more than an issue of curation. It is an issue of creation, and it is from this process that the new flavours of (re)combinations are born. It becomes necessary, therefore, to create in order to preserve. This is one of the tenets of this ethnography that resonates with Luther’s theology.

**Semper Reformanda: A Call to Creativity**

An exhaustive analysis of the congregational music of the Brazilian church, even if only in its Lutheran iterations, is a complex and daunting task. It is not the goal of this essay to explore all the possibilities (and conflicts) raised in this brief attempt to trace Luther’s thoughts on music in the trajectory of these repertoires that mix together, change, and find new life as they are adopted and performed by congregations that are in constant transformation. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary nature of this analysis, that recognizes the multimodal nature of congregational repertoires, attests to the gap between theoretical categories and the messiness of church musics. Even so, this investigation does point to the fact that if the church is constantly changing, it must be constantly reforming. The idea of ecclesia semper reformanda, specifically in relation to congregational musics, holds a place in this investigation precisely because it reflects this constant transformational dynamic inherent to the church. The concluding remarks of this essay are given in this spirit of constant reform, and connect the ethnography with broader aspects of Luther’s work ethic and theological perspectives.

The first remark emphasizes the essentially collaborative nature of Luther’s enterprise and, by proxy, of the Reformation. Luther was a collabo-

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48 A number of scholars emphasize this collaborative ethos, among them Timothy F. Lull and Derek R. Nelson, *Resilient Reformer: The Life and Thought of Martin Luther*, (Minneapo-
erator, and he drew energy from interactions with colleagues and friends. His correspondence was frequent and extensive, and attests to his understanding of the gregarious nature of creation (God creates us for each other), as well as his reliance on this other to accomplish change.\(^4^9\) This need to see the other remains important as new hymnodies develop. In the ethnography, this communal trace appears clearly. Castelo Forte, while born in a Lutheran congregation, featured one member of the Assemblies of God, one Baptist, one Lutheran. Golgotha, composed exclusively of Lutherans, collaborated systematically with para-ecclesiastical organizations, student ministries, and played regularly at events organized by other denominations. The RCN, today, creates a space for dialogue between, to name one example, Catholics and Lutherans.

Second, Luther’s theology of incarnation is essential to understand this flow of Lutheran traces across the traditional/contemporary gap. The Reformation happened amidst a social and political maelstrom. Luther’s Europe appears in his writings. He is negotiating tensions between Pope and king; Muslim, Jew, and Christian; local jurisprudence (that of the princes) and imperial lordship. All these negotiations appear at Worms, Augsburg, Marburg, Wartburg, and other places and people with whom Luther interacted, and whose lives were impacted by the Reformation. In similar ways, church music today is negotiated amidst a multiplicity of global and local cultural flows and performances of social, political, and religious identity.

Luther’s theology of creation, and the place of humanity within creation, is also reflected in these ethnographies. If not necessarily in the texts or sounds of hymns, certainly in the ethos that drives the music-making of these groups and initiatives. In this sense, the Lutheran tradition is very much alive not only “across the divide,” or in hymn texts from the Lutheran tradition, but in the way Luther’s ideas about the place of music in creation, in combination with the traditional narrative of the Lutheran “saga” itself, influence and justify certain aspects of behavior and performance in music-making in the context of South Brazilian Lutheranism.

\(^4^9\) Luther’s perspective on the Eucharist, for instance, is vertical to the extent in which it is essentially an operation of God, but it is horizontal as well, to the degree in which it emphasizes congregational participation – the recognition of the other – in the liturgy of the table.
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