TUNES, TEXTURES, AND TRENDS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF
JOHANN WALTHER'S *GEISTLICHES GESANGBÜCHLEIN*
(1524, 1525, 1537, 1544, 1551)

by

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
School of Music
Western Michigan University
April 2014

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This thesis examines the contents of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, a sixteenth-century German Lutheran hymnal by Johann Walther, published in five editions between 1524 and 1551, the contents of which were substantially augmented, particularly between the 1525 and 1537 editions. Specifically, this project focuses on the twelve hymns with multiple settings, one or more of which were published in the first two editions and replaced by one or more settings in the last three editions, while assessing the characteristics across the original and removed settings and noting discernable trends of revision employed by Walther. Observable revision trends include length increase and a greater level of independence in the melodic lines, among others. This research concludes that, while there are some noticeable patterns of revision, it is not apparent that Walther used a rigid method in creating revised settings, as indicated by a few hymns with unique characteristics that diverge from the revision trends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin by thanking my thesis committee chair, Dr. Matthew Steel, for his continuous guidance and wisdom. His support, not only of this thesis, but also of my other academic and musical endeavors, has been unparalleled. Furthermore, I would like to thank other members of my committee, Dr. Paul Maier and Dr. Alexander Cannon, for their commitment to this project.

I am thoroughly indebted to my dear friend Brenna Frandsen, whose logical approach and valuable advice mitigated many thesis-related crises. Finally, I must thank my mother, Claudia, father, Joel, and sister, Merritt, for their boundless love and encouragement, without which this project would have been impossible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Project Intent

The Lutheran church enjoys a rich musical tradition, which extends from

before the Reformation era to the present. The year 1524 marked the beginning

of an explosion in hymnal publications.[1] Johann Walther's *Geistliches*

Gesangbüchlein (Spiritual Songbook) is one of the most prominent and important

from that period. All five editions of his hymnal were crucial in the development

of the singing tradition within the church. This thesis illumines a curious trend

within a small percentage of this hymnal's contents and is in no way intended to

be a definitive study of either *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* or Reformation-era

hymnody as a whole.[2]

Intended for scholars studying early Lutheran hymnody with background

in music who are interested in Walther and his musical output, this research

project analyzes twelve of the many hymns that were included in *Geistliches*

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[1] See glossary for definition of hymnal.
[2] See glossary for definition of hymnody.

Gesangbüchlein throughout the five editions.[3] The first two editions were of the

same size with forty-three hymns in each edition. There was a significant

expansion between the 1524 and 1525 editions. The 1537 edition contains fifty-

two hymns. Sixty-three hymns appear in the 1544 edition and the final 1551

edition is the largest of them all with 121 hymns. The twelve hymns in this study

were selected using the following criteria: 1) one or more settings were included

in the 1524 and 1525 editions, but removed before the 1537 edition, or 2) one or

more settings were either present in all five editions while others were removed

or were only added in 1537 or 1544 after the removal of previous settings. The

contents of this hymnal could be analyzed in many different and equally

fascinating ways through variants of the selection criteria. However, these

twelve hymns were specifically selected using the concept of original settings

being replaced in subsequent editions. The hymns are analyzed with the aim of

determining any trends of revision that Walther employed when composing

replacement settings for the later editions of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.*

Observable trends of revision include the following: increases in length;

number of voices; distance between the initial entrances of the voices; and

independence of each voice. The hymns are then grouped into two categories,

based upon their specific characteristics: 1) hymns that fit the revision patterns

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[3] See glossary for definition of hymn.

and 2) outliers to those patterns. Extensive investigation has not uncovered any

previous research that examines the contents of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* in this

manner. Some sources mention that *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* was published in

five editions, and a couple of sources mention that some hymns were removed at

some point before the final edition.[4] However, no known sources deal with the

fact that not only were hymn settings removed, but also that revised settings

were substituted in their place. This indicates that Walther did not merely

intend to augment the contents of his hymnal across the five editions, but rather

revise settings that he found to be inadequate through their removal and

replacement. Secondly, the observed revision trends described in this thesis

indicate that Walther typically aimed to create new settings that were apparently

more complex than the original settings. Several notable outliers to these trends

imply that Walther did not approach the revised settings with a strict formula,

but rather he would adapt his compositional procedure according to what was

best suited in each individual setting. Examining these trends and patterns of

hymn settings in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* is important as scholars constantly

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[4] Katherine Joan Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther: Theology and Music in the Early Lutheran Church" (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1998), ProQuest (MQ28907); 51; Max Schneider, forward to *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, trans. Walter E. Buszin, ed. Otto Schröder and Max Schneider (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), xii.

strive towards a more thorough understanding of how Lutheran hymnody developed.

Methodology

All scores examined in this research are taken from Johann Walther's *Sämtliche Werke*.[5] While this thesis bears no reference to what may found in facsimiles of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, an expansion of this project would necessarily include an examination of the original hymnal.

As is common with many antiquated words, there is a wide range of difference in the spelling of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, including *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*. For consistency, *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* has been chosen as the spelling for all references to this hymnal in this thesis. Those who are interested in examining this hymnal are encouraged to be aware of the multiple spellings that may be encountered.

Because there are multiple settings of each hymn that was selected for this thesis, a naming system has been applied to avoid confusion. Each hymn setting is referred to by a truncated version of its title with a capital letter. For example, "Christ lag in Todesbanden" ("Christ lay in death's bonds") is shortened to simply Christ lag. Since there are three settings of this hymn, they are referred to

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[5] Johann Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Otto Schröder, 6 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

as Christ lag A, B, and C. This type of naming system is applied to all hymn settings in this thesis and is used both in the text and for the names of the figures for consistency and clarity. The English translation of the hymn titles is given in parentheses directly following the German hymn name in the text.

The words 'hymn,' 'setting,' and 'tune' (which may also be interchangeably referred to as a 'hymn tune') all have different meanings and refer to specific musical elements within this thesis.[6] However, this is not to say that the use of these terms is universally standardized across all academic research. It is not uncommon for these terms to have slightly different connotations in different circumstances. In this context, the term 'hymn' is used to refer to a set of musical examples with the same text and, in many cases, the same tune. Each hymn in this project has multiple settings. A 'setting' of a hymn typically utilizes the same text and tune, but with distinctive musical material in the surrounding voices. For example, there are two settings of the hymn "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet" ("May God be praised and blessed") (Gott sei gelobet A and Gott sei gelobet B) in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* Each setting uses the same text and tune, but 'sets' them with unique musical material in the surrounding three voices. The tune is the melodic material around which the remainder of the setting is created.

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[6] See glossary for definitions of setting, tune, and hymn tune.

Hymn tunes can develop from a variety of origins. Some hymn tunes are uniquely composed for use in a hymnal. Some originate from Latin chant, while others are adapted from popular song, each of which is known as *contrafactum*.[7] [8] Perhaps the most notable example of this process is the conversion of the tune from Heinrich Isaac's (1450–1517) secular song "Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen" ("Innsbruck, I now must leave thee") for use in the Lutheran hymn, "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" ("O world, I now must leave thee"). When available, information regarding the origins of the tunes seen in these twelve hymns is provided.

With some of the twelve hymns, the hymn tune is not readily verifiable through supplemental resources, such as Walther's *Sämtliche Werke*, hymnology encyclopedias, or modern hymnals. In these cases, an hypothesis is made regarding the nature and location of the tune based on important general characteristics. Although a few settings in this thesis feature tunes located in the *discantus* or *bassus*, the majority of hymn tunes are located in the tenor, which makes it a logical starting place for tracing unfamiliar tunes.[9] Additionally, when the initial entrance of the voices is not simultaneous, the tune is typically the last voice to enter. Finally, the location of the hymn tune often can be distinguished

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[7] Johannes Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale: Its Basic Traditions* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967), 98.
[8] See glossary for definition of *contrafactum*.
[9] See glossary for definitions of *discantus, bassus,* and tenor.

from the other voices because it typically presents the tune in a slow and unembellished fashion with one syllable of text to each pitch. Unverified tunes are described by incipit (initial pitches), providing that the modal/tonal center has been reliably ascertained. If there is any question about the modal/tonal center of the setting, the tune is described by an opening interval sequence (ascending major third, descending minor second, etc.).[10]

When available and applicable, incipits are used in the description of hymn tunes. In this context, incipits appear as a series of numbers. The numbers, which range from one to seven, correspond to the seven degrees of a scale. To identify an incipit, the modal/tonal center of the setting must first be ascertained. The number 1 represents the first scale degree and each subsequent scale degree is assigned the numbers 2–7. As seen in Figure 1 in Ionian mode (C Major), the *finalis* is 1, the forth scale degree is 4, the fifth or "reciting tone" is 5, and so on. The incipit of this tune would be 14576531.[11] [12]

Figure 1. Example of an Incipit

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[10] See glossary for definition of incipit.
[11] Figure 1 was produced by the author using www.noteflight.com.
[12] See glossary for definition of *finalis*.

Measure numbers will be used often in reference to the total length of each hymn setting. These measures numbers are taken from transcriptions in the collected works and have no bearing on what may be found in the original facsimile. In this instance, the measure numbers are only used to give the reader a sense of the overall length of each setting in comparison to each other, tempo notwithstanding.

Musical examples of the hymn settings are inserted within the text to give the reader a context through which the visualization of the analysis may be easier. Only the first line of each setting is given to keep the examples from becoming cumbersome. Two lines are provided only when the first line of a setting does not adequately display the entrance of the tune or another aspect discussed in the text.

Some of the hymns from *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* exist in modern settings of a contemporary hymnal. When available, this information is given so that a reader who may not have access to Walther's *Sämtliche Werke* might be able to more readily obtain an example of the tune in a recent setting. This information also serves to highlight the enduring tradition of Lutheran hymnody. The sixteenth century hymns in this study are not frozen in time, but rather are part of a vibrant custom that has relevance to modern congregants. The modern hymnal referenced herein is the Lutheran Service Book, in which eight of the

twelve hymns can be found. Published in 2006, the Lutheran Service Book is the

most recent hymnal and liturgical book compiled for use within the Lutheran

Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS).[13] This is not to say that these hymns cannot

be found in other contemporary hymnals. In fact, many of them may also be

located in other LCMS hymnals that were predecessors to the Lutheran Service

Book, such as The Lutheran Hymnal, which was published in 1941 and the

Lutheran Worship, published in 1982.[14]

The information provided in hymnals can be used as a valid tool for

research. However, many congregants are either not aware of this information

or are unsure of how to decipher it. Likewise, many congregants are also

unacquainted with the origins of these modern hymns. A more thorough

understanding of the material provided with each hymn can help to alleviate this

problem. The following example is taken from the hymn "In Peace and Joy I

Now Depart" and is found in the Lutheran Service Book (See Figure 2).[15] This

hymn is a setting of the tune, "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin," which is

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[13] The Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, *Lutheran Service Book* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006).

[14] Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941); The Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, *Lutheran Worship* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982).

[15] Lutheran Service Book, 938.

discussed in Chapter 3. This example shows only the bottom of the hymn, but the full score can be found in Appendix B.

Figure 2. Example of Information Found in a Modern Hymnal

This hymn is based on the Nunc Dimittis. **6**

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Text: Martin Luther, 1483–1546; tr. F. Samuel Janzow, 1913–2001, st. 1, alt.; tr. *Christian Worship*, 1993, sts. 2–4, alt.   MIT FRIED UND FREUD
Tune: *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, Wittenberg, 1524, ed. Johann Walter;   85 84 77
    setting: *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary*, St. Louis, 1996 **4**   **2**

Text (st. 1): © 1978 Concordia Publishing House **7**
Text (sts. 2–4) and music: Public domain   **5** *Luke 2:29–32; Is. 42:6–7; 52:10; Is. 49:6*

1. This is where one can find the name of the hymn tune. Hymn tunes can be named in a myriad of ways. In this instance, the hymn tune is a shorted version of the original German title.

2. These numbers indicate the meter of the hymn text. If the texts of two different hymns use the same meter, one could also use the melodies interchangeably. An index of hymn meters can typically be found in the back of a hymnal.

3. Information about the origins of the text, as well as the translators, can always be found beneath a hymn.

4. Likewise, information about the origins of the tune can also be found beneath each hymn. In this case, the entry indicates that this hymn was first published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* Although this information might initially seem daunting or confusing to a congregant who may be unfamiliar with early

Lutheran sources, it is nevertheless a valuable starting point for anyone interested in the origins of hymn tunes.

5. These references show what Scripture the hymn text draws upon.

6. Occasionally, additional information is given about the hymn. Here, the congregant is informed that the hymn uses text that is associated with the *Nunc Dimittis*, or Song of Simeon.

7. Copyright information about the hymn is also provided.

To locate the hymns examined in this thesis in a modern hymnal, it is best to search for them in the tune name index, which can typically be found in the back of every hymnal. When provided in this thesis, the hymn tunes from modern sources are presented in small capital letters. Searching for these hymns by their English translation could prove problematic, since there are either slight differences in translation or tunes are often paired with completely different text. In the case of the hymns in this thesis, the tune name will correspond with all or part of the German title. For example, the hymn "Christ lag in Todesbanden" ("Christ lay in death's bonds") is also the tune name in the Lutheran Service Book, while "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" ("Now rejoice, all Christian men") is shortened to simply NU FREUT EUCH for the tune name. Although only the Lutheran Service Book is referenced in this thesis, it is suggested that the reader might like to explore the existence of these tunes in the modern hymnal of

their choice. Doing so displays the continuity of the hymn tradition and strengthens the reader's connection to the musical heritage of the church. Quite a few of these tunes are still widely used today and one cannot help but feel the increased relevance of the tunes when they are found within modern hymnals of divers traditions.

Literature Review

Although no known sources examine specifically the issue of these substituted and original settings, there are a few core resources that address Walther's life and work. For those fluent in German, Walter Blankenburg's *Johann Walter: Leben und Werk* is arguably the most comprehensive biography of Walther.[16] Roland Bainton's *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* is highly recommend for those interested in a detailed biography of Martin Luther, although his relationship with Walther does not factor heavily into the text.[17] Johann Walther's *Sämtliche Werke,* which was edited by Otto Schröder and published in six volumes, provides an all-encompassing musical resource for Walther's compositional output.[18] It contains not only the complete contents of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* from all five editions, but also Walther's settings of the

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[16] Walter Blankenburg, *Johann Walter: Leben und Werk* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1991).
[17] Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Abingdon–Cokesbury Press, 1950).
[18] Johann Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Otto Schröder, 6 vols. (Kassel: Baärenreiter, 1953).

Magnificat, Latin motets, and all miscellaneous compositions. *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied* is an index of all German hymn tunes and texts until 1800.[19] It is published in five editions and while it is a principal resource for those working with early German church music, it is notoriously difficult to navigate.

There are not nearly as many extensive sources in English. However, there are a couple of substantial theses and dissertations that focus solely on Walther. Katherine Joan Sander's thesis, "Johann Walther and Martin Luther: Theology and Music in the Early Lutheran Church" and Larry Ray Warkentin's dissertation, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein* of Johann Walther and its Historical Environment" are two prominent examples. Both are thoroughly researched and well presented, but do not address the issue of the removed and replaced settings in depth.[20] In Sander's thesis, she places an emphasis on Lutheran theology, rather than Walther's music. A notable article on Walther is Walter E. Buszin's "Johann Walther: Composer, Pioneer, and Luther's Musical

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[19] Philipp Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis du Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: B.G. Tübner, 1990).

[20] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther: Theology and Music in the Early Lutheran Church" (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1998), ProQuest (MQ28907); Larry Ray Warkentin, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein* of Johann Walther and its Historical Environment" (D.M.A diss., University of Southern California, 1967).

Consultant."[21] While valuable, this source, like many others, deals more broadly

with Walther's life, rather than with just *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.*

Beyond these academic monographs, the majority of remaining sources

that focus on Walther and *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* are less extensive and

directed more towards practical issues of concern to Lutheran congregations

rather than to concerned scholars. Carl Schalk's *Johann Walther: First Cantor of the*

Lutheran Church is a diminutive, but informative pamphlet that would be

accessible to a casual reader.[22] While the scholarly study of Walther is not devoid

of resources, there are not nearly as many as would be found with a less

provincial composer. Of the available sources, few of them mention the content

details of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein,* let alone elaborate on them*.*

Organizational Summary

Chapter 2 explores Walther's life and compositional style, as well as the

hymnal developments of the early Lutheran church. The information in this

chapter creates the necessary background and context for the subsequent

chapters. Chapters 3 and 4 address the hymns that follow the revision trends

and the outliers to those trends, respectively. In Chapter 3, eight of the twelve

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[21] Walter E. Buszin, "Johann Walther: Composer, Pioneer, and Luther's Musical Consultant." *The Musical Heritage of the Church,* 3 vols. (Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1946), 73–129.
[22] Carl Schalk, *Johann Walther: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992).

hymns are examined. These hymns follow the revision trends of increased

length, increased number of voices, and increased space between the initial

entrances of each voice. These revision trends indicate that Walther aimed to

make many of the substituted settings more complex than the original settings.

In Chapter 4, four of the twelve hymns are examined. These hymns are

significant outliers from the revision trends. Most of the revised settings are not

considerably more complex than the original settings. Through this, it is

surmised that, while Walther generally followed a particular set of characteristics

while creating new settings, he did not employ a strict formula to the twelve

hymns. Both in Chapters 3 and 4, a musical excerpt from the score is provided

for each hymn setting. Additionally, the origins of the tunes and texts are

explained and the revision trends are highlighted for each hymn. Chapter 5

reviews the conclusions found throughout the course of this study.

CHAPTER II

WALTHER AND EARLY REFORMATION HYMNODY

The Life of Johann Walther

Johann Walther was born in 1496 in Kahla, Thuringia under the name Johann Blanckenmüller, a name that appears to have been associated with his mother's family.[23] Several sources suggest that Walther went by that name until he was adopted by a wealthy townsman in Kahla by the name of Walther, most likely because his biological family would not have been able to finance an education for young Walther.[24] However, other sources assert that his family was quite wealthy and do not reference any such adoption.[25] Not only is little known about Walther's early life and musical training, but also it is not uncommon for those details to be disputed. Although little is known regarding Walter's early music training, it is presumed that he was a member of the local choir at the Latin school in Kahla, where he was also an exceptional student.[26]

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[23] Warkentin, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein*, 53.
[24] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 6.
[25] Warkentin, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein*," 55.
[26] Warkentin, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein*," 57.

After the school in Kahla, Walther also studied at the Latin school in Rochlitz.[27]

Additionally, Walter received a portion of his education from the University of

Leipzig. However, there is variation once again: 1517, 1525, and 1527 are among

the suggested dates of matriculation.[28] From all indications, Walther's

educational opportunities quite sufficiently gave him the intellectual and musical

background that would serve as the basis for his career.[29] See Appendix C for a

map of important locations in Walther's life.

Walther joined the Elector of Saxony Frederick the Wise's *Hofkapelle* (court

ensemble) as a bass singer. It is unclear when exactly Walther began his

involvement with the *Hofkapelle,* but it was likely sometime between 1517 and

1521.[30] Walter became the composer for the *Hofkapelle* when the previous

composer, Adam Rener, died in 1520. Through this position, Walter became well

acquainted with the works of major composers, such as Josquin des Prez (ca.

1440–1521), Jacob Obrecht (ca. 1450-1505), Ludwig Senfl (ca. 1486–1542/3), and

Heinrich Isaac (1450–1517), among others.[31] In 1524, Walther travelled to

Wittenberg at Luther's request for assistance in creating his *Deutsche Messe*

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[27] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 6.
[28] Warkentin, *"The Geistliches Gesangbuechlein,"* 58; Theodore Baker and Nicolas
Slonimsky, *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians,* 7th ed. (New York: Schirmer
Books, 1984), 3840; Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and
Musicians.* 2nd ed. (New York: Grove, 2001), 27:55.
[29] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 6.
[30] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 7–8.
[31] Warkentin, "The *Geistliches Gesangbuechlein,"* 61–63.

(German Mass). The following year, the *Hofkapelle* was dissolved after the death of Frederick the Wise.[32] The new elector John the Steadfast subsidized a new church choir in Torgau in place of the previous court choir. Walther was selected as the director of this new *Kantorei,* which was the first municipal choir of the Protestant church. The work with the *Kantorei*, which provided music for three churches in Torgau, as well as his teaching at the local Latin school provided a full schedule for Walther. He also served as the director for the Dresden *Hofkapelle* from 1548 to 1553; although he returned to Torgau after that brief assignment. [33]

Johann Walther's compositional legacy rests heavily with his *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*. Even though it is unlikely that it can be called the first Protestant hymnbook, it was certainly one of the first to emerge during the Protestant Reformation and one of the most influential. In addition to his substantial contributions to hymnody, Walter also aimed to stretch his composition skills by writing several settings of the *Magnificat*, which he dedicated to Elector John the Steadfast, two German Passions, and a variety of miscellaneous sacred compositions.[34] Walther died in 1570 in Torgau, leaving behind his wife Anna

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[32] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 9.
[33] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 9–13.
[34] Schalk, *Johann Walther,"*10.

and son Johann Walther, Jr. [35] Although Walther is not widely known today

among musicians, he is frequently regarded as the "father of Lutheran church

music."[36]

Early Lutheran Hymnody

When prominent German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) declared

his charges against church corruption and the church's divergence from

Scripture by posting his ninety-five theses on the church door in Wittenberg in

1517, he set the changes of the Reformation era in motion.[37] A revision of the

liturgy and augmentation of hymns were part of his numerous reforms. In the

pre-Reformation church, congregational singing was not emphasized, but Luther

wanted to increase congregational involvement by the singing of hymns,

particularly in the vernacular.[38] In 1523, Luther acknowledged the lack of

suitable hymns, saying, "For few are found that are written in a proper

devotional style. I mention this to encourage any German poets to compose

evangelical hymns for us," as translated from the original German by Paul Zeller

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[35] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 14.

[36] Schalk, *Johann Walther*, 11–13.

[37] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 79.

[38] Edwin Liemohn, *The Chorale: Through Four Hundred Years of Musical Development as a Congregational Hymn* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1953), 6–7.

Strodach.[39] Luther's plea was certainly heard because the next year marked a

rapid expansion of hymnal resources for the growing Lutheran church. See

Appendix C for a map of important locations in early Lutheran hymnody.

There were two chief categories of hymns, and therefore hymnal

publications, in the Reformation era. The first and more popular category is that

of the hymnals with only text and melody that were intended for congregation

and home use. The second category consisted of a few publications with

complicated multi-voiced settings intended for choirs.[40] The simple, melody-

only hymnals were necessary to facilitate participation of the largely musically

illiterate congregation in the emerging church. While Luther advocated

congregational participation, the incorporation of new hymns was,

understandably, a gradual one.[41] Basic hymnals, through which congregants

could be taught the new tunes by rote, were essential. *Etlich Christlich Lieder* (A

Few Christian Songs), which is more commonly referred to as *Das Achtliederbuch*

because it contained only eight hymns, is an early example of this type of

hymnal.[42] *Das Achtliederbuch* was published in 1524 in Nürnberg as a

collaboration between Martin Luther and Paul Speratus (1484–1551) and is often

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[39] Martin Luther, *Liturgy and Hymns,* ed. Ulrich S. Leupold, vol. 53 of *Luther's Works,* ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 37.
[40] Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale,* 92.
[41] Liemohn, *The Chorale,* 23.
[42] Henceforth referred to as *Das Achtliederbuch.*

regarded as the first Lutheran hymnal.[43] Born in Swabia, Speratus was a

preacher in Bavaria, Würzburg, Salzburg, Wittenberg, and Königsberg. Speratus

also played a role in the assembly of liturgy for the Prussian church

(*Kirchenordung)* in 1526.[44] Two other melody–only hymnals appeared in 1524,

presumably after *Das Achtliederbuch.* While both hymnals are titled *Enchiridion*

(Handbook) and were published in Erfurt, the hymnals were likely organized

and produced by different individuals. Both books contain approximately 25

melody–only hymn tunes.[45]

   Walther's *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* resides in the second category of

Reformation-era hymnal publications. Its complex, multi-voiced settings were

not intended for the congregation, but rather for a trained choir. These settings

would also have been sung by young schoolboys, as a wholesome alternative to

raucous secular tunes.[46] Like *Das Achtliederbuch* and the two Erfurt *Enchiridion,*

Geistliches Gesangbüchlein was also first published in 1524, although the specific

date is unknown. Paul Nettl refers to *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* as the "first and

most important hymnbook of the Lutheran church."[47] While its importance is

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[43] Liemohn, *The Chorale,* 24; Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale,* 90.

[44] William Gustave Polack, *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), 582.

[45] Liemohn, *The Chorale,* 24; Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale,* 93.

[46] Liemohn, *The Chorale,* 20, 25.

[47] Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music,* trans. Frida Best and Ralph Wood (New York: Russell & Russell, 1948), 86.

undeniable, it was most likely preceded by *Das Achtliederbuch,* but published

before the two *Enchiridion,* as many *Enchiridion* hymn tunes appear to have been

taken from *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.*[48] Other nearly contemporaneous multi-

voiced hymnals include Johann Kugelmann's *Concentus novi trium vocum* (New

Collection for Three Voices) in 1540 and Georg Rhau's *Deutsche geistliche Gesenge*

für die gemeinen Schulen (New German Sacred Songs for the Church Schools) in

1544.[49] Altogether these few hymnals mentioned here represent a mere fraction

of the hymnals published in the early Lutheran church. Many more exist both

within the German tradition and in other regional practices.

The Compositional Style of Johann Walther

As with many matters, Luther, an accomplished musician in his own

right, had very strong opinions on music. He acknowledged and praised

composers whom he deemed outstanding. The most notable of these is Josquin

des Prez. Known for his many motets and masses, Josquin served as the *maestro*

di cappella (choir master) for the Sforza family in Milan and the Este family in

Ferrara, served in the papal chapel, and enjoyed considerable success during his

lifetime. He was also arguably Luther's favorite composer. Luther sings the

praises of Josquin and refers to him in the often-quoted phrase as, "the master of

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[48] Liemohn, *The Chorale,* 25.
[49] Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale,* 92–93.

the notes."[50] Luther also appreciated the music of Ludwig Senfl (ca. 1486–

1542/3), who also composed *Lieder,* motets, and masses, but in a more

conservative German style.[51] Luther was particularly impressed with the quality

of Senfl's motets.[52] Both composers use imitative polyphony where a melodic

motive is imitated in each of the other voices, but Josquin and Senfl applied it in

different ways. In Josquin's "Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, Virgo

serena," a sequence of melodic motives is imitated in each voice (See Figure 3).[53]

This is different from Senfl, who exemplified the tradition of the German

Tenorlied, where the tune is placed unadorned in the tenor as a *cantus firmus* (pre-

existing melody) (See Figure 4 and 5).[54] [55]

The two settings of "Ich stuend an einem Morgen," which is based on a

simple German folktune of the same name, are markedly similar to the settings

of Walther's hymns that appear in Chapters 3 and 4. Ich stuend an einem

Morgen A is similar to some of Walther's earlier settings from the 1524 and 1525

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[50] Johannes Mathesius, *Dr. Martin Luthers Leben* (Dresden, 1883 [originally pub. Eisleben, 1566]), 227–28.

[51] Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music,* 4th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), 243.

[52] Sander, "Johann Walter and Martin Luther," 20.

[53] Peter J. Burkholder and Claude V. Palisca, *Ancient to Baroque,* vol. 1 of *Norton Anthology of Western Music,* 6th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 208.

[54] Grout, *A History of Western Music,* 253; Ludwig Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Arnold Geering and Wilhelm Altwegg, vol. 4, *Deutsche Lieder* (Druck: Möseler und Wolfenbüttel, 1962), 5–6.

[55] See the glossary for a definition of *cantus firmus.*

editions because the tune is presented in the tenor while the remaining voices

start simultaneously.

Ich stuend an einem Morgen B is comparable to Walter's later settings.

The tune still appears in the tenor in Ich stuend an einem Morgen B, but after a

considerable number of measures.

Figure 3. Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, Virgo serena
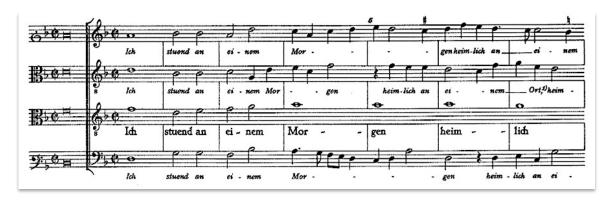
Figure 4. Ich stuend an einem Morgen A

Figure 5. Ich stuend an einem Morgen B

Meanwhile, the surrounding voices are moving more independently around the tenor than in Ich stuend an einem Morgen A. This places Walther securely within the German *Tenorlied* tradition. Although Luther approved of the music of both Josquin and Senfl and admired many of Walther's attributes,

there may be reason to doubt that Luther always approved of Walther's

compositional style. Luther was quick to praise many of Walther's other

attributes, but was conspicuously terse in his praise of Walther's conservative

compositional style. [56] Regardless, Senfl and the German *Tenorlied* provided the

compositional foundation and musical model for the hymns of the Lutheran

church.[57]

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[56] Buszin, *Johann Walther*, 89.

[57] Grout, *A History of Western Music*, 253.

CHAPTER III

HYMNS THAT FOLLOW REVISION TRENDS

Introduction

The hymns detailed in this chapter fit all or the majority of the revision

trends. Therefore, eight of the twelve hymns point to an increase in length,

number of voices, and amount of measures between the initial entrances of each

voice. The differences between the original and substituted settings of these

eight hymns indicate that Walther hoped to increase the complexity of the

substituted settings instead of make them simpler than the original settings. For

each hymn, musical excerpts from the score are provided, the origin of the tunes

and texts are explained, and the details of the revision trends are illuminated.

The following hymns are discussed in this chapter:

"Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt" ("Through Adam's Fall, all is corrupt")

"Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" ("May God unto us gracious be")

"Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" ("With peace and joy I depart")

"Mitten wir im Leben sind" ("Though in the midst of life we be")

"Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" ("Now rejoice, all Christian men")

"Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit" ("Were Got not with us at this time")

"Wir glauben all an einem Gott" ("We all believe in one true God")

"Christ lag in Todesbanden" ("Christ lay in death's bonds")

Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt

Two settings of "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt" ("Through Adam's Fall, all is corrupt") appeared in the 1524 edition of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*. One of them was removed after the 1525 edition and the other remained until the last edition in 1551. Henceforth, they will be referred to as Durch Adams Fall A (1524–1525) and Durch Adams Fall B (1524–1551). "Christ lag in Todesbanden" ("Now rejoice, all Christan men") is the only other hymn among the twelve in which all settings were present in the initial edition.

The text of this hymn was written by Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534) and is one of only two hymn texts ascribed to him. Born in Nürnberg, Spengler was involved with the Reformation and became a close friend of Luther. "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt" was first published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* and was a popular hymn in the Reformation.[58] With this hymn, the tune proves to be problematic, but could potentially point to why one setting was favored over the other. Both tunes were probably written by Walther.[59] Reasonably

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[58] John Julian. *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations,* vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 1072; Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied,* vol. 3, 48–50.

[59] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 92, 97.

assuming that the tune is in the tenor in both settings, the tunes do not appear to

be even remotely related. The tune in Durch Adams Fall A begins with an

ascending minor second, descending minor third, ascending major second

pattern, while the tune of Durch Adams Fall B opens with an ascending perfect

fourth, repeated note, descending major second pattern (See Figure 6 and 7).[60] In

both instances, the melodic opening of the tune is mimicked by the other voices.

Likewise, neither tune bears enough similarity to the tune that Johann Sebastian

Bach refers to as "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt" in Cantata BWV 18, the

score of which can be found in the appendix.[61]

Figure 6. Durch Adams Fall A (1524–1525)

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[60]Johann Walther, *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Otto Schröder, vol. 3, *Lieder und Motetten die nur 1524, 1525 und 1544 im Wittenbergischen Gesangbüchlein enthalten oder in Handschriften und Drucken verstreut sind* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 10–11; Johann Walther, *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Otto Schröder, vol. 1, *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein, Wittenberg, 1551: Deutsche Gesänge* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 62–63.

[61] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, ed. Moritz Hauptmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891, reprint, New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1933), accessed March 1, 2014, International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/Gleichwie_der_Regen_und_Schnee_vom_Himmel_fällt,_BWV_18_ (Bach,_Johann_Sebastian).

Figure 7. Durch Adam Fall B (1524–1551)

Both Durch Adams Fall A and B have staggered initial entrances and are only somewhat homophonic. Durch Adams Fall B has five voices, while Durch Adams Fall A has only four. In both settings, the tenor is the last voice to enter: after four measures in Durch Adams Fall A and after seven measures in Durch Adams Fall B. Despite this, both settings are of a similar length. Durch Adams Fall A is thirty-six measures, while Durch Adams Fall B is thirty-eight measures.

Durch Adams Fall A can be seen as in E Minor, while Durch Adams Fall B can be seen as in D Minor.

Durch Adams Fall B can been seen as more complex than Durch Adams Fall A due to the fact that Durch Adams Fall B has a five voices and the initial entrance of the voices are staggered at a greater rate. The tunes are also significantly different. It is likely that the difference in complexity and tunes were at least two of the reasons Walther chose to remove Durch Adams Fall A after the 1525 edition, but keep Durch Adams Fall B throughout all five editions.

Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein

Three settings of "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" ("May God unto us gracious be") appeared in the *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*. Es wollt uns Gott A was present in the first edition, but removed after 1525 (See Figure 8).[62] Es wollt uns Gott B was the replacement in the 1537 edition and remained until the last edition in 1551 (See Figure 9).[63] Es wollt uns Gott C appeared in both the 1544 and 1551 editions (See Figure 10).[64] Martin Luther was the text author of "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein," which is modeled after Psalm 67. [65] The tunes for Es wollt uns Gott B and Es wollt uns Gott C appear to have come from *Deutsch*

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[62] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 1.
[63] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 12–14.
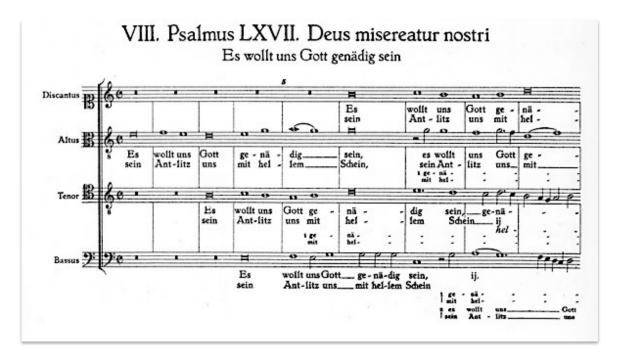[64] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 14–15.
[65] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 97.

Kirchenamt, which was published in Strassburg in 1525, while the tune of Es wollt

uns Gott A was first published by Walther.[66]

Figure 8. Es wollt uns Gott A (1524–1525)

Figure 9. Es wollt uns Gott B (1537–1551)

[66] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 88, 97.

Figure 10. Es wollt uns Gott C (1544–1551)

IX. Der LXVII. Psalm. Auf ein ander Weis
Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein

The tunes in Es wollt uns Gott B and C are identical and correspond with

a modern source of the hymn tune in the Lutheran Service Book, ES WOLLE GOTT

UND GNÄDIG SEIN.[67] In Es wollt uns Gott B the tune is located in the *discantus*,

while in Es wollt uns Gott C the tune is in the tenor. Because of their similarity to

the hymn tune in the Lutheran Service Book, the tunes of Es wollt uns Gott B and

C were easy to identify. However, the tune of Es wollt uns Gott A presented

more of an initial challenge because it is completely different from the other two

settings. Upon further investigation, the incipit of the tune from Es wollt uns

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[67] *Lutheran Service Book*, 823.

Gott A (4671732113217564) matches that of "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam"

("Christ our Lord came to the Jordan"), another well-known Reformation-era

hymn tune. A setting of "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam" also appears in the

Geistliches Gesangbüchlein, but not until the 1551 edition. The tunes of both

settings are in the tenor and are identical. A modern setting of the tune "Christ

unser Herr zum Jordan kam" can be found in the Lutheran Service Book.[68] The

settings of Es wollt uns Gott A and "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam" are not

identical, but they do share some motivic similarities, particularly in the opening

motion of each of the voices, as well as the cadence points. For reference, the

score of "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam" is provided in the appendix. These

two settings are more similar than they are different. Therefore, Walther

removed Es wollt uns Gott A after 1525 and replaced it with two settings that

had a completely different tune and more complex settings. But yet, in the 1551

edition, Walther brought back a slight variation of a setting that he had once

removed with completely different text. Naturally, one wonders why a setting

that had once been deemed inadequate essentially reappeared later in a modified

form. The very existence of such a striking anomaly points to Walther's

flexibility in his revision process.

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[68] *Lutheran Service Book*, 406.

Besides the notable complexities of the hymn tunes, the other characteristics of the three "Es wollt uns Gott" settings correspond with the same patterns found among the twelve hymn settings. All three settings have four voices. In Es wollt uns Gott A, all three voices start simultaneously, but the tune entrance in the other two settings is delayed. The tunes in Es wollt uns Gott B and Es wollt uns Gott C enter after five and four measures, respectively.

In Es wollt uns Gott A and Es wollt uns Gott C, the tunes are in the tenor, but in Es wollt uns Gott B, the tune is in the *discantus*, which is unusual among the hymns in question. Both Es wollt uns Gott B and C are considerably longer than Es wollt uns Gott A. Es wollt uns Gott A has only twenty-nine measures, while Es wollt uns Gott B has forty-eight measures and Es wollt uns Gott C has forty-six measures. This is one of the largest length discrepancies among the hymns in this thesis. While the three settings "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" fit the patterns of revision in terms of setting length and staggered initial entrances of the voices, the existence of "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam" in the 1551 edition is still a somewhat puzzling anomaly because of its similarities to Es wollt uns Gott A.

Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin

Two settings of "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" ("With peace and joy I depart") appeared in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* Mit Fried und Freud A was

published 1524–1525 and replaced with Mit Fried und Freud B in the 1537–1551
editions (See Figure 11 and 12).[69] This hymn is a setting of the Song of Simeon
(also known as the *Nunc Dimittis*), the text of which comes from Scripture (Luke
2:29–32). Opinion is divided on whether the tune was composed by Walther or
Luther.[70]

Figure 11. Mit Fried und Freud A (1524–1525)

These settings fit many characteristics of the removed and replaced
settings and are perhaps the most straightforward of all twelve hymns. The tune
is located in the tenor (tenor I in Mit Fried und Freud B). A modern example of
this hymn can be found in the Lutheran Service Book (In Peace and Joy I Now
Depart).[71]

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[69] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 13–14; Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 65–66.
[70] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 92.
[71] *Lutheran Service Book,* 938.

Figure 12. Mit Fried und Freud B (1537–1551)

Mit Fried und Freud B is slightly longer than Mit Fried und Freud A with

thirty-one measures and twenty-five measures, respectively. Mit Fried und

Freud A has four voices, while Mit Fried und Freud B expands to five. In Mit

Fried und Freud A, all voices enter simultaneously, while in Mit Fried und Freud

B, the entrances are staggered and the tenor enters last after six measures. Both

settings can be seen as in G Minor. "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" is an

excellent example of the revision trends discussed in this thesis. Mit Fried und Freud B is longer, has a fifth voice, and has more independent and staggered lines than its predecessor, Mit Fried und Freud A. When creating a new setting of "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin," it is easily conceivable that Walther desired a more intricate setting than his initial composition.

Mitten wir im Leben sind

Three settings of "Mitten wir im Leben sind" ("Though in the midst of life we be") were published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* For the text, Martin Luther adapted the first stanza from a pre-Reformation source and added additional verses. Walther composed the tune, but may have taken inspiration from an unknown pre-Reformation source.[72] Mitten wir A was published in the 1524 and 1525 editions (See Figure 13).[73] Mitten wir B was published 1537–1551 and Mitten wir C was published 1544–1551 (See Figure 14 and 15).[74]

The tune is plainly stated across all three settings and follows the incipit 33456654. The tune is located in the tenor in Mitten wir A and in the tenor I of Mitten wir B. In Mitten wir C, the tune is located in the *primus bassus*, which is unusual among the settings of the twelve hymns.[75]

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[72] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 92, 96.
[73] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 3–4.
[74] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 67–72.
[75] See glossary for definition of *primus bassus.*

Figure 13. Mitten wir A (1524–1525)

Figure 14. Mitten wir B (1537–1551)

Figure 15. Mitten wir C (1544–1551)

The tune is showcased in a modern setting found in the Lutheran Service

Book (In the Very Midst of Life).[76] Each setting becomes increasingly longer,

which corresponds with the revision trends. Mitten wir A is fifty-nine measures

long, Mitten wir B is sixty-four measures long, and Mitten wir C is sixty-eight

measures long. The number of voices in each setting also agrees with the

revision patterns. Mitten wir A is four voices, while both Mitten wir B and C

[76] *Lutheran Service Book,* 755.

have five voices. The tune enters last in Mitten wir A after five measures, while in Mitten wir B, the tune is the penultimate voice to enter after five measures. The tune in Mitten wir C enters after seven measures. The three settings of "Mitten wir im Leben sind" essentially follow the characteristic trends of the removed and inserted settings. Although Mitten wir A is certainly not as simplistic as some of the other first edition settings, the replacement settings are more complex than the original. Both Mitten wir B and C expand, both in the number of voices and the overall length. The distance between the initial entrances of each voice also increases between the original Mitten wir A and its replacements, Mitten wir B and C. The three settings of "Mitten wir im Leben sind" align with Walther's hypothetical tendency to replace original settings with ones that are more intricate in subsequent editions.

Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein

Three settings of "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" ("Now rejoice, all Christian men") appeared in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* with text by Martin Luther.[77] Nu freut euch A and B were removed after 1525 and replaced with Nu freut euch C in 1537 (See Figure 16, 17, and 18).[78] The hymn was first published

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[77] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 97.
[78] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 9–10; Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 17–18.

in *Das Achtliederbuch*.[79] A modern setting of this hymn can be found in the

Lutheran Service Book (Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice).[80]
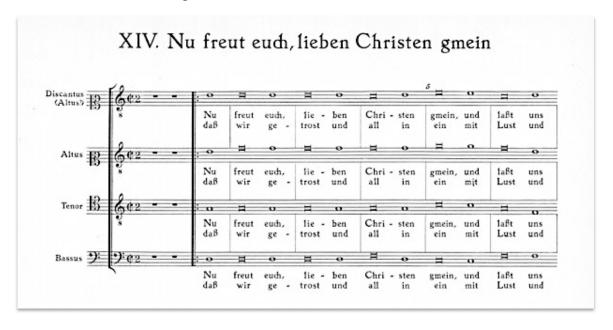
Figure 16. Nu freut euch A (1524–1525)

Figure 17. Nu freut euch B (1524–1525)

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[79] Konrad Ameln, ed., *Das Achtliederbuch: Nürnberg 1523/24.* (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter–Verlag, 1957).

[80] *Lutheran Service Book,* 556.

Figure 18. Nu freut euch C (1537–1551)

XI. Ein Danklied für die höchste Wohltat Christi
Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein

Nu freut euch A is interesting because while the tune of Nu freut euch B

and C come from the hymn of the same name in *Das Achtliederbuch* with the

incipit 11514 32112 43267 1, Nu freut euch A has no cantus firmus.[81] It has the

simplest texture of not only the "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" settings,

but of all settings of the twelve hymns. As seen by the first line, there is no

independence of movement between the four voices.

Unlike Nu freut euch A, Nu freut euch B has a clearly discernable tune. It

is the only setting of the twelve hymns that has only three voices (*discantus I, II*

and III). The tune is in the middle voice (*discantus II*) and is clearly stated for the

most part, but it is embellished at cadence points. In the last six measures, the

tune does not completely match the tune of Nu freut euch C and the modern LSB

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[81] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* 88.

setting, although the explanation is presently unknown. In Nu freut euch C, the tune is in the *discantus* and is clearly stated.

The initial entrance of the voices occur simultaneously in all three settings, while their overall length varies slightly. Nu freut euch A is the shortest of the three at twenty-one measures, while Nu freut euch B is the longest with thirty measures. Nu freut euch C sits in between Nu freut euch A and B at twenty-three measures. Nu freut euch C is the most complex of the three settings, which fits with the revision patterns found across *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*. Yet, even though it is more complex than its two predecessors, it is relatively simple compared to many of the substituted settings of other hymns in this thesis. This could potentially be connected to this hymn's origins in *Das Achtliederbuch.* Seven of the eight hymns from *Das Achtliederbuch* were included in the 1524 edition of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* Of those seven, five of them were only featured in one setting and were included in all five editions. "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" is one of the other two settings (the other is "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß," "God help us, as the people are in distress") that had more than one setting, one or more of which was removed in favor of a new setting. In both instances, the differences between the original and substituted settings are significantly less extreme than the differences seen in many of the other hymns in this thesis. Since the majority of *Das Achtliederbuch*

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hymns were included without substituted settings in all five editions of

Geistliches Gesangbüchlein, it is possible that there was a deliberate attempt to

include the tunes from *Das Achtliederbuch* in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* with

minimal modifications, perhaps as sort of tribute to what was arguably the first

Lutheran hymnal.

Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit

    The hymn "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit" ("Were God not with us at

this time") was first published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* in two settings with

text by Martin Luther.[82] Wär Gott nicht A was included in the 1524 and 1525

editions and was replaced with Wär Gott nicht B from 1537 to 1551 (See Figure

19 and 20).[83] There is no modern reference to this hymn tune in the Lutheran

Service Book. While the tune of Wär Gott nicht B was created by Walther, the

origins of the Wär Gott nicht A tune are not known.[84]

    These two settings have multiple variances, yet they are not without

similarities: both settings have four voices, twenty-one measures, and can be seen

as in D Minor. While all voices enter simultaneously in Wär Gott nicht A, only

three of four voices enter simultaneously in Wär Gott nicht B. The tenor enters

half a measure later. The tune of this hymn follows the incipit 15524 32115 67176

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[82] Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology,* vol. 2, 1232.

[83] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 14; Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 23–24.

[84] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* 89, 97.

5.[85] Following this incipit, the tune is clearly located in the tenor in Wär Gott

nicht B.

Figure 19. Wär Gott nicht A (1524–1525)

Figure 20. Wär Gott nicht B (1537–1551)

In Wär Gott nicht A, it initially appears likely that the tune is in the

discantus. However, the discantus quickly diverges from the incipit. Although

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[85] "WÄR GOTT NICHT MIT UNS," Hymnary.org, accessed February 12, 2014,
http://www.hymnary.org/tune/wr_gott_nicht_mit_uns.

the *discantus* seemed to be a promising location for the tune, the unembellished

nature of the tenor line makes it a more likely vehicle for the tune. If the tune is,

in fact, in the tenor, it would follow the incipit 13345434. It is yet to be

determined whether or not Wär Gott nicht A is using a completely different tune

or a modified version of the tune found in Wär Gott nicht B.

Although the length of the two settings is the same, the voices are more

autonomous of each other in Wär Gott nicht B. Walther may have also felt the

need to create a new setting in order to use a different tune from the one he

originally used in Wär Gott nicht A. The differences between the two settings,

while not as striking as other examples in this thesis, are present nonetheless.

Because of these differences, "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit" ultimately

corresponds with most of the revision trends.

Wir glauben all an einem Gott

Five settings of "Wir glauben all an einem Gott" ("We all believe in one

true God") appeared in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* with text by Martin Luther and

a from a 1417 manuscript by Nicolaus von Cosel.[86] No other hymn in *Geistliches*

Gesangbüchlein has as many settings as "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," with the

possible exception of "Christ ist erstanden" ("Christ is risen").[87] Only the first of

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[86] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 90–91.

[87] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 99, 101.

these five settings, Wir glauben A, was included in the 1524 and 1525 editions

(See Figure 21).[88] This first edition was replaced with three new settings in 1537:

Wir glauben B, C, and D (See Figure 22, 23, and 24).[89] All three of these settings

remained present through the final edition of 1551. The fifth and final setting,

Wir glauben E, was included in the 1544 and 1551 editions (See Figure 25).[90] This

hymn is a setting of the text from the Nicene Creed and typically was sung after

the sermon.[91] This hymn was first published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*.[92] A

modern setting of this hymn tune can be found in the Lutheran Service Book.[93]

Figure 21. Wir glauben A (1524–1525)

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[88] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3, 19–21.

[89] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 28–33, 91–96.

[90] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 33-35.

[91] Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, vol. 2, 1287.

[92] Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, vol. 2, 1287.

[93] *Lutheran Service Book*, 954.

Figure 22. Wir glauben B (1537–1551)

Figure 23. Wir glauben C (1537–1551)

Figure 24. Wir glauben D (1537–1551)

Figure 25. Wir glauben E (1544–1551)

Wir glauben A, the only removed setting, is the shortest of all five settings

with fifty-nine measures, while the four other settings are longer. Wir glauben B,

C, and D are very close in length, with sixty-nine, seventy-two, and seventy-one

measures, respectively. Wir glauben E is shorter than the previous three settings,

but longer than Wir glauben A with sixty-five measures. Four of the five settings

have four voices, while Wir glauben D has six voices and is the only six-voice

setting among the twelve hymns analyzed in this thesis. The voices enter

simultaneously in Wir glauben A, D, and E. In Wir glauben B, the tune, located

in the *discantus*, is the last voice to enter. The tune is also in the *discantus* in Wir

glauben C, but it is the first voice to enter. In Wir glauben A and E, the tune is

located in the *tenor*, while in Wir galuben D, the tune is in the *primus discantus*.[94]

Wir glauben B, C, and D are appear to be logical replacements of Wir glauben A.

The length of Wir glauben B, C, and D are considerably longer than that of Wir

glauben A. The initial entrance of the voices in Wir glauben B and C are

staggered, while Wir glauben D has an elaborate six-voice texture.

While Wir glauben B, C, and D definitely agree with the revision patterns,

Wir glauben E is a slight anomaly from the other Wir glauben settings. Wir

glauben E is longer than the original Wir glauben A, but not nearly as much so as

the other substituted settings, Wir glauben B, C, and D. While the movement of

the voices in Wir glauben E is more rapid than that of Wir glauben A, it still is

not as elaborate as the other substituted Wir glauben settings. It is curious that

Walther chose to add an additional, but slightly less impressive setting of "Wir

glauben all an einen Gott" in 1544 after including three new settings of the same

hymn in the previous 1537 edition. Despite the mildly perplexing characteristics

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[94] See glossary for definition of *primus discantus*.

of Wir glauben E, the settings of "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" ultimately

follow all the revision patterns discussed in this thesis.

Christ lag in Todesbanden

Three settings of "Christ lag in Todesbanden" ("Christ lay in death's

bonds") appear in the *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*. This hymn is unique among the

twelve because all three settings were included in the first edition of 1524. Two

of the editions were removed after the 1525 edition, but one remained until the

last edition of 1551. Of the twelve hymns, only one other has similar

circumstances. All settings of "Christ lag in Todesbanden" and "Durch Adams

Fall ist ganz verderbt" ("Through Adam's Fall, all is corrupt") were included in

the 1524 edition. Therefore, no new settings were added in later editions, but

rather original settings were removed. This means that instead of exchanging a

setting for a new one, Walther decided to keep only one of the three original

settings when he created the 1537 edition. These three settings will be referred to

as Christ lag A, Christ lag B, and Christ lag C (See Figure 26, 27, and 28).[95]

Of the three settings, Christ lag B and C are more similar to each other

than to Christ lag A. Christ lag A is the shortest of the three settings with only

twenty-two measures, while Christ lag B and C are closer in length: twenty-nine

and twenty–eight measures, respectively.

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[95] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 6–7; Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 11–12.

Figure 26. Christ lag A (1524–1525)

Figure 27. Christ lag B (1524–1525)

Figure 28. Christ lag C (1524–1551)

All three settings can be seen as in D Minor. In all three settings, the tune

is in the tenor (tenor I in Christ lag B). Christ lag A and C both have four voices,

while Christ lag B has five voices. Christ lag A is also the most homophonic of

the three settings.

All voices begin simultaneously and move together with relatively little

embellishment. In Christ lag B and C, the initial entrances of the voices are

staggered. In both instances, the tune (in the tenor) is the last voice to enter after five measures.

The tune is easily distinguishable in both Christ lag B and Christ lag C. The tune is fairly common and follows the incipit 54571 76553 45432. As a modern reference, the tune can be found in the Lutheran Service Book (Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands).[96] The tune in Christ lag A is slightly problematic, however. The first half of the tune matches both Christ lag B and C, as well as the modern sources. However, the second half of the tune diverges and is quite indistinguishable. The source of the second half of Christ lag A's tune is possibly due to a difference in interpretations between the editions.[97] The tune is an adaptation of one of the earliest German hymns, "Christ ist erstanden" ("Christ is risen").[98] The tune of "Christ ist erstanden" was derived from the Latin Easter sequence "Victimae paschali laudes," which can be found in *Liber Usualis.* Sequences are the many extensions of the Alleluia from the Mass Proper, which serve as the basis for numerous hymn tunes.[99]

The text for this hymn was written by Martin Luther and, as the title suggests, is used as part of the Easter celebration.[100] Furthermore, Christ lag C

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[96] *Lutheran Service Book,* 458.

[97] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* 88.

[98] Pollack, *Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal,* 142–143.

[99] Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale,* 18–19.

[100] Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied,* vol. 3, 12.

reads 'Von der Auferstehung Christi' (Of the resurrection of Christ) above the title. The text of this hymn was included in *Eyn Enchiridion,* which was published in 1524 in Erfurt.[101]

In many ways, "Christ lag in Todesbanden" simultaneously follows and diverges from the revision patterns. Three settings of the same hymn were included in the first edition of the *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*. No new settings were composed for later editions. Further research may reveal Walther's motives for not revising the settings. It is also interesting that there were multiple settings of the same hymn in the first edition, which was comparatively much smaller than the others. Of the hymns in the 1524 edition, only six were featured in multiple settings. Assuming that Walther generally favored more complex hymns in his later editions, it is not difficult to see why Christ lag A might have been removed. It is s a relatively simple, short, and straightforward setting of the tune and is much less complex than Christ lag B or C.

Additionally, the differences in the second half of the tune may have been a reason for removal. It does not require much imagination to see why Christ lag A did not meet Walther's standards in subsequent editions. However, it is not as apparent why Christ lag B was removed or why Christ lag C was favored over Christ lag B. Both settings are of nearly the same length. The tune is clearly

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[101] John Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology,* vol. 1, 225.

stated in the tenor of both settings and is the last voice to enter after six

measures. It is clear that both settings are significantly less homophonic than

Christ lag A. However, Christ lag B has five voices, while Christ lag C has only

four. Many of the settings in the later editions of the *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*

have four voices, so there is nothing particularly strange that the retained Christ

lag C has four voices. Rather, what is strange is that the four voice Christ lag C

was favored over the five voice Christ lag B. While both are fairly complex, the

case can reasonably be made that Christ lag B is more complex than Christ lag C.

It is unclear at this time why Christ lag C became the preferred setting of this

tune. The three settings of "Christ lag in Todesbanden," while they do follow

some of the patterns of the other hymns, also deviate from the overall trends of

revision.

CHAPTER IV

OUTLIERS TO THE REVISION TRENDS

Introduction

The hymns described in this chapter are significant outliers to the revision

trends, which include an increase in length, an increase in the number of voices,

and the amount of space between the initial entrances of each voice. Four of the

twelve hymns diverge from these patterns. As outliers to the revision trends,

many of the substituted settings are not significantly different from the original

setting. In most cases, the substituted settings are not considerably more

complex than the original settings that they replaced. This suggests that Walther

did not use a rigid formula when creating the revised settings. Although

Walther typically increased the complexity of the substituted settings, he was not

opposed to occasionally retaining elements of the original settings, the supposed

reasons of which are surmised in each applicable section. The description of

each hymn includes a musical excerpt from the score, the origins of the tune and

text, and a description of the characteristics than run contrary to the revision

trends seen in Chapter 3.

The following hymns are included in this chapter:

"Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet" ("May God be praised and blessed")

"Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß" ("God help us, as the people are in distress")

"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand" ("Jesus Christ, our Savior, who overcame death")

"Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchte steht" ("Happy is he who stands in God's fear")

Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet

The hymn "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet," ("May God be praised and blessed") was first published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* in two settings with text by Martin Luther. Gott sei gelobet A, the first of these two settings, was published 1524–1525 (See Figure 29).[102] Gott sei gelobet B replaced the original Gott sei gelobet from 1537–1551 (See Figure 30).[103] The tune, which is common to both settings, is quite familiar to modern Lutheran congregants and follows the incipit 55565 12176 56153. A modern instance of this hymn can be found in the Lutheran Service Book ("O Lord, We Praise Thee").[104]

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[102] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 5.
[103] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 7–8.
[104] *Lutheran Service Book,* 617.

Figure 29. Gott sei gelobet A (1524–1525)

Figure 30. Gott sei gelobet B (1537–1551)

Compared to many of the other settings discussed in this thesis, the two

settings are remarkably similar. Both settings have four voices, with all voices

initially entering simultaneously; the settings are almost exactly the same length,

as well. The tunes are clearly identifiable in both settings; although they are not

in the same voice. While the tune is in the tenor in Gott sei gelobet A, it is

relocated to the *discantus* in Gott sei gelobet B. This tune originates from the

Latin sequence *Lauda Sion Salvatorum,* found in *Liber Usualis,* a Catholic service

book.[105] As a hymn, it typically would have been sung during the distribution of

the Lord's Supper.[106] "Vom hochwürdigen Sacrament" is listed above the title of

Gott sei gelobet B and translates as "from the reverend Sacrament."

While the lines of Gott sei gelobet B can be seen as more independent than

those of Gott sei gelobet A, both settings are fairly homophonic in nature. The

changes in texture between the two settings are not nearly as distinct as those

found between other hymn settings. In the case of Gott sei gelobet A and B, it is

not readily apparent why one setting was favored over the other, which is why

the settings of this hymn are considered to be divergences from the patterns of

revision that are found prominently throughout the hymns in this thesis.

Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß

Two settings of "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß" ("God help

us, as the people are in distress") were published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.*

Hilf Gott A was only included in the 1524 and 1525 editions and was replaced

with Hilf Gott B in editions 1537–1551 (See Figure 31 and 32).[107] Paul Speratus

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[105] Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale,* 19.
[106] Liehmohn, *The Chorale,* 15.
[107] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 17–18. Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 38–40.

wrote the text for this hymn, while it appears that the tune originated with

Walther.[108]

Figure 31. Hilf Gott A (1524–1525)

Figure 32. Hilf Gott B (1537–1551)

In both settings, the tune appears to be in the tenor, although the incipit of

the tune cannot be verified at this point. The initial entrances of the voices are

staggered in both Hilf Gott A and Hilf Gott B, although the voices do not enter in

the same order in both settings. The tenor is the first voice to enter in Hilf Gott

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[108] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 97.

A. In Hilf Gott B, the tenor is the penultimate voice to enter after three measures.

The entrance points of the tune in the tenor seem to be unique in both of these

settings. In the majority of settings analyzed for this project that have clearly

identifiable tunes, the tune is typically the last voice to enter when the initial

entrances are staggered.

Hilf Gott A and B both have four voices and forty-nine measures. In

addition to the identical tunes, the other three voices share many similarities

between the two settings. Although the entrances and placement of the lines

vary, many segments of each line are identical. It is not common among the

other hymns analyzed in this thesis to model the new setting after the old one so

closely. The endings of the settings present a peculiar difference. In Hilf Gott A,

the last text syllable/note of the tune is embellished for five measures, while the

last text syllable/note of Hilf Gott B is only tied over two measures.

The copious similarities between the two settings make it difficult to

determine why the original setting was replaced with a nearly identical one. It is

possible that answer might be found in the origins of this hymn. "Hilf Gott, wie

ist der Menschen Not so groß" was originally published in *Das Achtliederbuch.* Of

those seven hymns, five hymns appear in a single setting, which was present

across all five editions. "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß" is one of

two hymns from *Das Achtliederbuch* that had multiple settings in *Geistliches*

Gesangbüchlein (the other is "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," "Now rejoice, all Christian men"). Many hymns in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* developed over the years, both in the number of settings offered and between the many editions. It seems significant that the majority of *Das Achtliederbuch* was included in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* in a single setting and without change across all editions. In this hypothetical context, it is not too surprising that the substituted setting of "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß" is quite similar to the original setting.

Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand

Three settings of "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand" ("Jesus Christ, our Savior, who overcame death") appear in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* Two of the three appeared in the first two editions and will be called Jesus Christus A and Jesus Christus B (See Figure 33 and 34).[109] The third setting, which appeared in 1537–1551, will be referred to as Jesus Christus C (See Figure 35).[110]

While the tunes of Jesus Christus B and C are the identical, the tune of Jesus Christus A is dissimilar enough to necessitate further study.

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[109] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 15–17.
[110] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 64–65.

Figure 33. Jesus Christus A (1524–1525)

Figure 34. Jesus Christus B (1524–1525)

Figure 35. Jesus Christus C (1537–1551)

The tune of Jesus Christus A begins with a possible incipit of 5513, while

the tune of Jesus Christus B begins with three repeated notes, followed by a

descending minor third. The melodic contours of the both tunes are somewhat

similar, so it is conceivable that the tune of Jesus Christus A served as the basis

for the tune of Jesus Christus B and C. Neither tune matches a modern source in

the Lutheran Service Book, which has the same tune name (JESUS CHRISTUS,

UNSER HEILAND).[111] However, other hymn texts begin with the same four words,

like "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, unser uns den Gottes Zornwandt," ("Jesus

Christ, our Savior, to thee we pray from us") which could explain the

discrepancy. The initial entrances of the voices do not begin simultaneously in

any of the settings. The entrance of the tune (presumably in the tenor) occurs

last: after two measures in Jesus Christus A, after five measures in Jesus Christus

B, and after five measures in Jesus Christus C. Jesus Christus A has four voices,

while both Jesus Christus B and C have five voices. Jesus Christus A, B, and C

are of similar lengths, twenty-six, twenty-nine, and twenty-seven measures,

respectively.

When comparing the differences between Jesus Christus A and Jesus

Christus C, many of the revision patterns are present. Jesus Christus A has one

less voice and more closely spaced initial entrances compared to its replacement.

However, it is the lack of differences between Jesus Christus B and C, which

qualify this hymn as an outlier from the revision patterns. While Jesus Christus

C replaced Jesus Christus B in 1537, the similarities between the two settings

abound. In fact, the beginning of each voice is nearly identical between the two

settings. Jesus Christus B and C are certainly are not exact copies of each other,

but the similarities are striking. Extensive analysis would be necessary to

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[111] *Lutheran Service Book,* 627.

determine the specific compositional techniques used to makes the two settings

slightly different. Nevertheless, the differences between Jesus Christus A and C

fit the revision patterns, but it is the similarities between Jesus Christus B and C

that make this hymn an anomaly.

Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchte steht

Two settings of "Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchte steht" ("Happy is he

who stands in God's fear") were published in *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein.* The text

of this hymn is by Martin Luther, which he adapted from Psalm 128.[112] The first

setting, Wohl dem A, was published 1524–1525 (See Figure 36).[113] The second

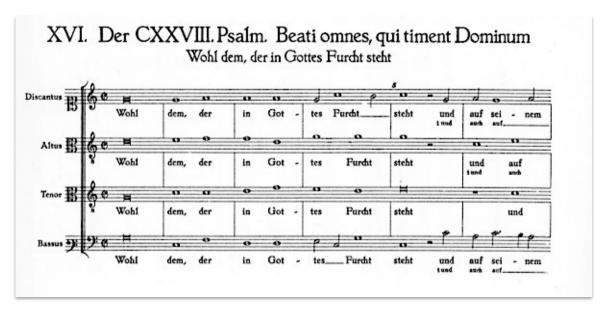setting, Wohl dem B, replaced the first setting from 1537–1551 (See Figure 37).[114]

Figure 36. Wohl dem A (1524–1525)

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[112] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 97.

[113] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 3, 12–13.

[114] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 21–22.

Figure 37: Wohl dem B (1537–1551)

Both settings have four voices and are nearly the same length. Wohl dem A has twenty measures, while Wohl dem B has only nineteen measures. In both settings, all voices enter simultaneously. In many ways, Wohl dem B appears less complex than Wohl dem A, particularly in the first lines of each setting. However, the two are rather comparable in terms of complexity in the remainder of the setting.

Present research reveals little about the tunes, although it is supposed that either Luther or Walther composed them.[115] Making the reasonable assumption that the tunes of both settings are located in the tenor, the tunes in Wohl dem A and B are not the same. Supposing that both settings can be seen as in C Major, a possible incipit for Wohl dem A would be 411612434, while a possible incipit for

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[115] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* 89.

Wohl dem B would be 51124323. The settings of "Wohl dem, der in Gottes

furchte steht" are anomalies because Wohl dem B does not seem to be drastically

different from Wohl dem A. The issues surrounding the tunes are interesting

and could potentially play a large role in the need for revision. Despite the tune

issues, however, the settings themselves do not differ greatly from each other in

complexity, length, or initial entrance of voices, which qualifies "Wohl dem, der

in Gottes Furchte steht" as a deviant from the revision patterns seen the majority

of hymns analyzed in this thesis.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Each set of hymns discussed in this thesis presents a distinctive, if not

sometimes challenging, puzzle. While their defining characteristics are abundant

and varied, most of these settings point towards general trends of revisions

employed by Walther. Many of the substituted settings have the same

characteristics: 1) either a preservation of the same number or an increase in the

number of voices of the original setting; 2) either the same amount of measures

or an increase in the amount of measures of the original setting; and 3) initial

entrances of the voices are more staggered in the substituted setting than in the

original setting.

Most hymns either maintain the same number of voices or increase the

number of voices among the original and substituted settings. "Durch Adams

fall ist ganz verderbt" ("Through Adam's Fall, all is corrupt"), "Mit Fried und

Freud ich fahr dahin" ("With peace and joy I depart"), "Mitten wir im Leben

sind" ("Though in the midst of life we be"), and "Wir glauben all an einen Gott"

("We all believe in one true God") all expand the original four-voice texture to a

five-voice texture or more, while "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein" ("May God

unto us gracious be"), "Gott sei gelobet und gebendeiet" ("May God be praised and blessed"), "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß" ("God help us, as the people are in distress"), "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein" ("Now rejoice, all Christian men"), "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit" ("Were Got not with us at this time"), and "Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchte steht" ("Happy is he who stands in God's fear") maintain the four-voice texture throughout the substituted settings. There are only two exceptions to this pattern. In "Christ lag in Todesbanden" ("Christ lay in death's bonds") a four-voice (Christ lag A) and a five-voice setting (Christ lag B) are abandoned in favor of a separate four-voice setting (Christ lag C) that is present in all five editions. "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand" ("Jesus Christ, our Savior, who overcame death") also diverges from the pattern, but in a slightly different fashion. Both the four-voice (Jesus Christus A) and the five-voice (Jesus Christus B) settings that appeared in the first two editions were abandoned in favor of a new five-voice setting. Therefore, ten of the twelve settings either maintain or augment the number of voices across the five editions.

Using the measure numbers given in the *Sämtliche Werke* as a guideline, many of the substituted settings are the same length or longer than their original counterparts. The substituted settings of "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt," "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein," "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß,"

"Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin," "Mitten wir im Leben sind," "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit," and "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" all fit that trend.

Both settings of "Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not so groß" and "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit" are the same length, but the second settings of the five other hymns mentioned above are longer than the original settings. Conversely, few are shorter than their predecessors. The substituted settings of "Christ lag in Todesbanden," "Gott sei gelobet und gebendeiet," and "Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchte steht" are no more than one measure shorter than the longest original setting. However, in "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," the substituted setting (Nu freut euch C) is only twenty–three measures, while the two earlier settings, Nu freut euch A and B, are twenty–one and thirty measures, respectively. In "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand, the substituted setting (Jesus Christus C) is only twenty–seven measures, while the two earlier settings, Jesus Christus A and B, are twenty–six and twenty–nine measures, respectively. Seven of the twelve settings fit the revision trend of same or increased length, while five diverge only slightly.

In many of the original editions, all voices begin the hymn simultaneously, but the entrances become more staggered in subsequent editions. This typically delays the entrance of the tune and makes the setting more complex than the settings with simultaneous entrances. For example, in Es

wollt uns Gott A, the four voices enter simultaneously. However, in the two

settings that replaced it, Es wollt uns Gott B and C, the initial entrances of the

voices are staggered. In Es wollt uns Gott B, the tune enters in the *discantus* after

five measures, while in Es wollt uns Gott C, the tune enters in the tenor after

seven measures. Another example is "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin." All

voices enter simultaneously in Mit Fried und Freud A, while the initial entrances

of the voices are staggered in the substituted setting, Mit Fried und Freud B. In

Mit Fried und Freud B, the tune, located in tenor I, does not enter until after six

measures. Thus, the pattern holds true with all twelve hymns: the number of

measures before the tune entrance is either the same or larger than the original

settings. This revision trend coincides with a general increase in complexity

across the editions. Unfortunately, this is more difficult to define and gauge

specifically with quantitative figures. A cursory scan of the settings, without

regard for any specific rules of sixteenth–century counterpoint, still reveals that

the substituted settings tend to have more independent and complex voice parts.

This is exemplified by "Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein." In the first setting, Es

wollt uns Gott A, the voices enter simultaneously and the setting is rather short

with a moderate degree of complexity between the four parts. In addition to

staggered initial entrances, the replacement settings (Es wollt uns Gott B and C)

also have more complex individual parts. While this holds true for many of the

twelve settings, it is not always the case. A prime example is "Gott sei gelobet

und gebenedeiet" because the original and substituted settings are very similar.

In both Gott sei gelobet A and B, the voices enter simultaneously and the

complexity of the individual voices is comparable. It is unclear why some

substituted settings do not show a marked difference in complexity from their

predecessor, but those instances are few and in the minority of the hymns

examined in this thesis.

As demonstrated through the above examples, there are identifiable

general revision trends present in the twelve hymns. However, the anomalies

and divergences from these patters indicate that Walther may not have

conformed to a specific rubric in the creation of his revised settings. Rather, one

can reasonably surmise that Walther used a general set of guidelines when he

revised *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein,* but was willing to abandon them when other

goals took precedence.[116] The outliers to the revision trends, as detailed in

Chapter 4, provide the basis for speculation as to these goals. It may have been

that the original settings found favor with choirs and congregations, presented

the text in a clear manner, or possessed some other characteristics that led

Walther to apply only minimal revisions when creating the revised settings. The

nature of these guidelines suggests that Walther did not simply want to augment

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[116] With regard to these goals, refer to the discussions on pages 44 and 63.

the number of hymns with each edition of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein,* but rather also aimed to revise and refine the musical content of some settings. At this point, it is impossible to determine what specifically constituted a compositional improvement to Walther, but it appears that he typically favored an increase in complexity in the substituted settings through the use of additional voices, longer settings, and more independent lines and staggered entrances in each voice. The motivation behind these changes is likewise unverified, although several suppositions can be made. It is possible that Walther may have been influenced by changes in popular compositional style, characteristics of hymn settings in contemporary hymnals, the preferences of Luther, or a personal dissatisfaction with some of the original settings in 1524–25, which ultimately led him to remove the hymns from subsequent editions and replace them with substitutions that he evidently deemed to be more adequate. The *Tenorlied* tradition of the fifteenth century, as seen in the *Glogauer Liederbuch* and the *Lochamer Liederbuch,* tends to conform to the Walther's earlier settings in the 1524 and 1525 *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein. Tenorlied* became more elaborate with the use of imitative polyphony and staggered entries in the High Renaissance with settings such as the *lieder* of Ludwig Senfl, Walther's apparent model. Therefore, to appeal to the tastes of contemporary singers and music enthusiasts such as Luther, Walther may have felt the need to adapt to the changing compositional

standards. Walther's *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* was influential in the

development of church music, specifically within the Lutheran tradition, the

effects of which can still be felt today. This alone validates the importance and

relevance of the analysis of its contents. As an important part of the

development of Lutheran music, the changes over a short period of time to

Walther's *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, as clearly demonstrated in this thesis

through carefully selected examples of the trends and patterns within, should be

a matter of substantial concern to the faithful, for whom the hymnal serves the

sacred liturgy, as well as to musicologists, who can benefit from an

understanding of the transformation of a significant portion of its musical

content.

Appendix A

Glossary of Musical Terms

Bassus: the lowest voice in the ensemble, directly below the tenor; abbreviated form of *contratenor bassus*

Cantus firmus: pre-existing tune upon which the "setting" (see below) is based.

Contrafactum: the use of existing melodies with different text; most commonly, secular melodies were reused with sacred text

Discantus: in this context, the highest voice in the ensemble

Finalis: the ending pitch of a church mode

Hymn: a religious song with Scriptural text

Hymnal: a collection of hymns

Hymnody: used to refer to hymns collectively; may be used in reference to a specific group of hymns, whether denominational, regional, or otherwise (e.g. Lutheran hymnody)

Hymn tune: the melody of a hymn; typically placed in the tenor, although may also be found in the *discantus* or *bassus;* may be derived from a variety of places, including medieval chant and folk song, or newly composed for the hymn

Incipit: the initial pitches of a tune; in this context, a series of numbers (1 through 7) through which the beginning of a hymn tune can be identified; this type of incipit is based on the modal/tonal center, or *finalis,* of the musical example

Primus Bassus: the lowest voice when two *bassus* voices are present; directly below *secundus bassus;* see *bassus*

Primus Discantus: the highest voice when two *discantus* voices are present; directly above *secundus discantus*; see *discantus*

Setting; the unique manner in which a composer harmonizes a hymn tune; a hymn tune can be 'set' in any number of ways; in this context, Walther composes multiple settings based on each hymn tune by creating new material in the surrounding voices
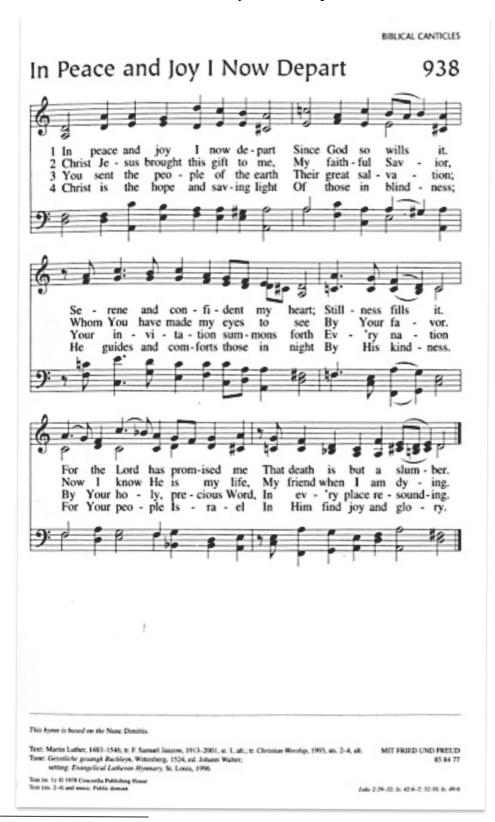
Tenor: the voice part that typically contains the hymn tune; located directly above the *bassus*

Tune: see hymn tune
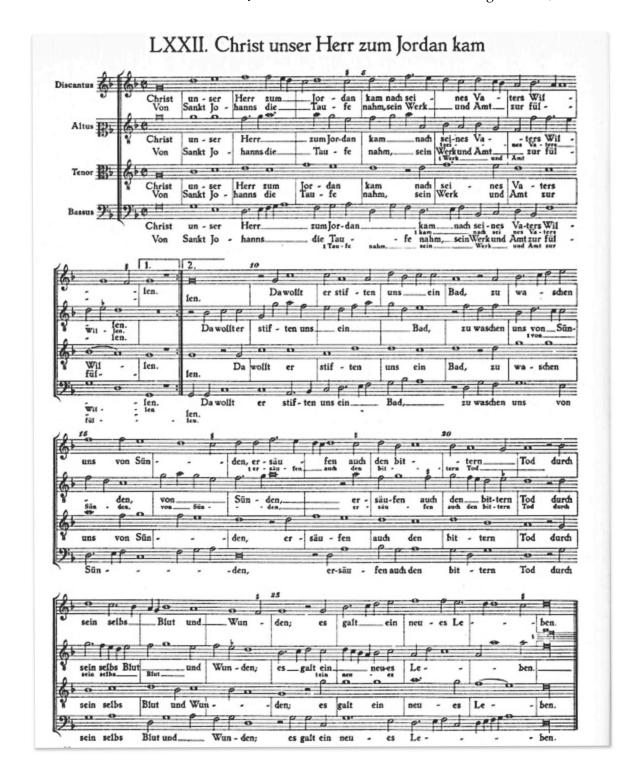
Appendix B

Supplemental Scores

Choral from *Gleich wie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt* BWV 18 [118]

[118] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt,* BWV 18, ed. Moritz Hauptmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891, reprint, New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1933), accessed March 1, 2014, International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/Gleichwie_der_Regen_und_Schnee_vom_Himmel_fällt,_BWV_18_ (Bach,_Johann_Sebastian).

Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam from *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, 1551 [119]

LXXII. Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam

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[119] Walther, *Sämtliche Werke,* vol. 1, 130.

Appendix C

Maps

1. Approximate location of Kahla
2. Leipzig
3. Approximate location of Torgau

"Map of Coburg, Germany," Coburg, the birthplace of Felix Draeseke, accessed March 19, 2014,
http://www.draeseke.org/pix/places/coburg/map-germany-coburg.jpg

1. Wittenberg (publication location of *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*)
2. Nürnberg (publication location of *Das Achliederbuch*)
3. Erfurt (publication location of the two *Enchiridion*)

"Map of Coburg, Germany," Coburg, the birthplace of Felix Draeseke, accessed March 19, 2014,
http://www.draeseke.org/pix/places/coburg/map-germany-coburg.jpg

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