

## *Luther on Music*

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Luther's comments on music are many and varied. One, however, he repeated at different times and in different contexts: "Music is next to theology."<sup>1</sup> His letter to composer Ludwig Senfl, dated 4 October 1530, contains his most extended statement:

I plainly judge, and do not hesitate to affirm, that except for theology there is no art that could be put on the same level with music, since except for theology [music] alone produces what otherwise only theology can do, namely, a calm and joyful disposition . . . This is the reason why the prophets did not make use of any art except music; when setting forth their theology they did it not as geometry, not as arithmetic, not as astronomy, but as music, so that they held theology and music most tightly connected, and proclaimed truth through Psalms and songs.<sup>2</sup>

It is this distinctive statement—"music is next to theology"—that distinguishes Luther from his predecessors, as well as from many of his contemporaries, and has therefore been continuously quoted and commented upon. But it is a dictum that should not be considered in isolation: in order to understand what Luther meant, it needs to be set against the context of medieval views concerning music, compared with his other comments about music, and examined with regard to the way in which music was incorporated into his theological thinking. These issues are explored in my forthcoming book, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007). What follows here is a slightly revised form of a section from one of the chapters (Chapter 3, "Luther's Theological Understanding of Music") in which a primary document concerning Luther's understanding of music is discussed within the context of some of his other writings.

### *A Proposed Treatise on Music*

The doctrine of justification is central to Luther's theological thought and yet when one examines his tremendous literary output

it is surprising to find that there is not one work devoted to a full-scale presentation of the doctrine.<sup>3</sup> From a comment he made in his open letter *On Translating* (1530), he did, however, plan to write one;<sup>4</sup> nevertheless, although there are a few notes and outlines for such a work, it was never written. Similarly, there is no fully worked-out treatise from his pen on the subject of music, only prefaces and letters, together with many scattered references throughout his voluminous writings. But, like the doctrine of justification, he did propose to write a treatise on music, though again, apart from a draft also dating from the same year (1530), it was another unfulfilled intention.<sup>5</sup>

The draft is partially in Greek, *Περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς* (*Concerning Music*), in essence a summary of the primary headings of the proposed study that reflects some of the medieval thinking Luther inherited, as well as his own distinctive perspectives, statements that were echoed many times in his various writings. In content it has many parallels with his letter to the composer Ludwig Senfl of October 1530, cited above, which suggests that this draft outline was written around the same time:

I love music.

Its censure by fanatics does not please me

For

1. [Music] is a gift of God and not of man
2. For it creates joyful hearts
3. For it drives away the devil
4. For it creates innocent delight, destroying wrath, unchastity, and pride.

I place music next to theology.

This is well known from the example of

David and all the prophets, who all  
produced poetry and songs.

5. For [music] reigns in times of peace.

It will be difficult to keep these delightful skills after us, for they are of peace. The Dukes of Bavaria are to be praised in this, that they honor music. Among our Saxon [Dukes] weapons and cannons are esteemed.<sup>6</sup>

The following is in the form of a commentary on the points raised in Luther's outline of a treatise on music.

### *Introduction*

Luther's opening statement, "I love music,"<sup>7</sup> underscores his personal attachment and commitment to music, not just in theory but also in practice. For Luther is not here expressing an intellectual appreciation of the structures and forms of music but rather an experiential response to music as performed and heard. Many medieval treatises on music were primarily concerned with theory; Luther's proposed treatise would by contrast stress the fundamental practice of music.<sup>8</sup> In the same way that Luther discovered the doctrine of justification after an intensely personal struggle, by asking the biblical question, "What must I do to be saved?" and receiving the answer, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ" (see Acts 16: 30–31), so Luther's theological understanding of music began with his personal involvement in and attachment to music. The doctrine of justification and music both can—and must—be objectively defined, but both are subjective in their effects. A purely intellectual appreciation of the doctrine—which Luther consistently dismissed as "historic faith"—is not enough; justifying faith is both practical and personal: "Oh, it is a living, busy, active, mighty thing, this faith . . . Faith is a living, daring confidence in God's grace, so sure and so certain that the believer would stake his life on it a thousand times."<sup>9</sup> Similarly, an intellectual appreciation of music, its forms and structures as expressed in written notation on the page, is insufficient, for it cannot be experienced as music until its vibrations have excited the air and entered the outer ear. But even that is not enough, for the outward sound needs to be perceived within and move the inner heart:

But to chant (*cantare*) means to praise with the mouth only, to jubilate (*iubilare*) is to do it in the heart, etc. [on Psalm 68:25].<sup>10</sup>

Wherever the word "song" (*canticum*) is used in psalm titles, it must always be understood that such a psalm is one of joy and dancing and is to be sung with a feeling of rejoicing. For a song and singing spring from the fullness of a rejoicing heart. But a spiritual song, or spiritual melody, is the very jubilation of the heart [on Psalm 45].<sup>11</sup>

Some people confess with their lips only. They are the ones who say one

thing in the heart and another with the mouth, like the sinner who has evil intentions and sings to God nevertheless [on Psalm 9: 1].<sup>12</sup>

Note that there is a difference between singing and saying, as there is between chanting or saying a psalm and only knowing and teaching with the understanding. But by adding the voice it becomes a song, and the voice is the feeling. Therefore, as the word is the understanding, so the [singing] voice is its feeling (on Psalm 101: 8).<sup>13</sup>

Luther can even make the extravagant correlation that if faith is real it will involve music, and the believer must needs sing. He therefore employs the same kind of language he used to describe justifying faith in his Preface to the Epistle to the Romans (cited above) and applied it to the music of faith:

For faith does not rest and declare a holiday; it bursts into action, speaks and preaches of this promise and grace of God, so that other people may also come up and partake of it. Yes, his great delight impels him [David] to compose beautiful and sweet psalms and to sing lovely and joyous songs, both to praise and to thank God in his happiness and to serve his fellowmen by stimulating and teaching them.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, in his preface to the Bapst *Gesangbuch* of 1545 he wrote:

For God has cheered our hearts and minds through his dear Son, whom he gave for us to redeem us from sin, death, and the devil. He who believes this earnestly cannot be quiet about it. But he must gladly and willingly sing and speak about it so that others also may come and hear it. And whoever does not want to sing and speak of it shows that he does not believe and that he does not belong under the new and joyful testament, but under the old, lazy, and tedious testament.<sup>15</sup>

Luther's love for music, therefore, is undergirded by theology, and his second premise in his draft outline of a treatise on music is the logical consequence of the first: "[Music's] censure by fanatics does not please me." Here a polarity of opposites is established: "I love music; fanatics hate it." The reason for Luther's displeasure is that for such *Schwärmerei* (Enthusiasts) music is inherently biased towards evil, and must therefore be kept within strict limits. But nothing could be further from Luther's mind. If music is the creation and gift of God then it should be cherished rather than despised, and Luther could not bring himself to undervalue such a

precious gift. He already had to deal with Karlstadt who had expounded a negative attitude towards music in Wittenberg with his *De cantu Gregoriano disputatio* (Disputation on Gregorian Chant) of 1521.<sup>16</sup> Thus when Johann Walter's set of part-books, known as the *Chorgesangbuch*, was published in 1524, Luther provided a preface in which he took aim against such negative views of music. He knew that music could be misused<sup>17</sup> and put to base ends, but would not concede that music itself was the problem—how could it be, if it is the gift from God?

These songs were arranged in four [to five] parts to give the young—who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts—something to wean them from love ballads and carnal songs and to teach them something of value in their place, thus combining the good with the pleasing, as is proper for youth. Nor am I of the opinion that the Gospel should destroy and blight all the arts, as some of the pseudo-religious claim.<sup>18</sup>

### 1. *Music is a Gift of God*

Having stated his positive against the negative of the “pseudo-religious” enthusiasts Luther then enumerates a sequence of statements concerning music, several of which sound very similar to the aphorisms of Johannes Tinctoris, or the poetic expressions of Jean Gerson.<sup>19</sup> Luther begins, however, with a categorical statement that is not found in either of the earlier writers, a statement that conditions the meaning of those that follow: “1. [Music] is a gift of God and not of man.” Here again is the repeated antiphon of Luther's thinking about music. Variant forms of the statement can be found scattered throughout his writings but here in this outline of the proposed treatise on music it takes on a special significance: its context underscores its content. Here it is not just a pithy saying that can be found elsewhere in Luther's literary output, it is the foundation stone on which his views of music are based. It is because music comes from God as a gift means that it has dimensions of meaning, power and effectiveness that far exceed any human art or science. Music is not an *inventio*, a work of humankind, but a *creatura*,<sup>20</sup> a work of God. Again there are parallels

here with the doctrine of justification. In the same way as justification is God's gift of grace rather than the reward for human effort, so music is in essence God's gift of creation rather than a human achievement. Oskar Söhngen rightly points out that Luther's personification of music as "Frau Musica" in his vernacular poem is no mere allegory but rather the expression of the ontological reality that from the beginning of the world music has been an essential element within God's creation, and it—"she"—continues to inspire and influence human lives.<sup>21</sup> Thus, Luther wrote in the Preface to *Symphoniae iuncundae*:

Next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise. She is a mistress and governess (*domina et gubernatrix*) of those human emotions . . . which as masters govern men or more often overwhelm them. No greater commendation than this can be found—at least not by us.<sup>22</sup>

The following headings in Luther's sketch are in a sense consequences of the first numbered statement. This is demonstrated by the fact that when one attempts to find illustrative citations in Luther's writings, what are distinct in his draft outline are frequently found overlapping and complimenting each other in his commentaries and other writings.

## 2. Music Creates Joyful Hearts

Luther's second point in the draft is: "[Music] creates joyful hearts" (*facit letos animos*). Although this is a distant echo of Tincitoris's 13th aphorism (*Musica homines letificat*), Luther is not simply making an arbitrary list of attributes but rather creating a sequential and inter-related structure for a proposed treatise. Thus the primary reason why music creates joyful hearts is because it is the gift from God. Thus commenting on Psalm 4: 1 in his first lectures on the Psalms, he wrote:

It is the function of music to arouse the sad, sluggish, and dull spirit. Thus Elisha summoned a minstrel so that he might be stirred up to prophesy [2 Kings 3:15]. Hence מַבְצָה properly means stimulus, incitement, challenge, and, as it were, a spur of the spirit, a goad, and an exhortation . . . . For in all

these the listless mind is sharpened and kindled, so that it may be alert and vigorous as it proceeds to the task. But when these are at the same time sung to artistic music, they kindle the mind more intensely and sharply. And in this manner David here composed this psalm לְמִנְצֵחַ, that is, as something inciting, stirring, and inflaming, so that he might have something to arouse him to stir up the devotion and inclination of his heart, and in order that this might be done more sharply, he did it with musical instruments. Thus in ancient times the church used to read psalms before Mass as an incentive. To the present day some verses remain in the Introit. And to the present day the church has the invitatory psalm in Matins, namely, “O come, let us sing to the Lord” [Ps. 95:1], whereby the people invite each other to praise God. And the psalm is rightly called “invitatory,” because the psalmist summoned not only himself but also others to praise God. This is what St. Ambrose did with a chant, by means of which he dispelled the sadness of the Milanese, so that they might bear the weariness of the time more lightly. But it can, not without sense, also be called “invitatory” for the reason that the Holy Spirit is invited in the same way. For when we are challenged, God is soon aroused also. And therefore we learn from these words that whoever wants to arouse himself to devotion should take up the Psalms.<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, almost twenty years later, he wrote on Psalm 118:16–18:

A good song is worth singing twice. It is customary for people, when they are really happy or joyful, to repeat a word two or three times. They cannot say it often enough, and whoever meets them must hear it. This is the case here, that the dear saints are so happy and joyful over the miracles God does for them when He delivers them from sin and death, that is, from every evil of body and soul, that out of sheer joy they sing their song over and over again.<sup>24</sup>

At the beginning of his poem on music “*Frau Musica*” says:

Of all the joys upon this earth  
 none has for men a greater worth  
 than what I give with my ringing  
 and with voices sweetly singing.<sup>25</sup>

In his letter to Ludwig Senfl (1530) Luther states that “except for theology [music] alone produces what otherwise only theology can do, namely, a calm and joyful disposition.”<sup>26</sup> But this joyful disposition is brought about by music that is more than just the human voice, individually or combined with others. Therefore in 1541 he

could write in much the same way as he did in commenting on Psalm 4 in 1513–1516 (see above):

The stringed instruments of the . . . Psalms are to help in the singing of this new song; and Wolff Heinz<sup>27</sup> and all pious, Christian musicians should let their singing and playing to the praise of the Father of all grace sound forth with joy from their organs, symphonias,<sup>28</sup> virginals, regals, and whatever other beloved instruments there are (recently invented and given by God), of which neither David nor Solomon, neither Persia, Greece, nor Rome, knew anything.<sup>29</sup>

Observe Luther's parenthetical comment: the development of new and wonderful musical instruments is due to human skill, but the raw materials used to make them, together with music itself, are the prior gift of God in creation.

For Luther, therefore, musical instruments have a fundamental part to play in the praise of God. The many references to Luther's practice of singing at table should not be thought of as primarily an *a capella* performance practice. Johann Matthesius reports in his autobiography that in the early 1540s Luther's regular after-dinner *Kantorei* was accompanied by instruments:

It is an authentic "Musica" and Kantorei, in which one can sing and play to praise God with honorable people, and sing good Psalms, as David did with harps, a good Swiss hymn,<sup>30</sup> or a Josquin psalm, fine and gentle, together with the text, and also sung with instruments.<sup>31</sup>

The use of instruments in Wittenberg is confirmed by Martin Agricola, who wrote in 1545:

I have been astonished to see, when boys come to Wittenberg and especially to the university, how they fare with their fellow students, who when they sit down at table or get up from it, joyfully engage in singing and playing instruments such as lutes, fiddles and winds; or they pick up harps and other instruments.<sup>32</sup>

For Calvin instrumental music presented a theological problem, because it was so closely intertwined with the sacrificial cultus of the Temple, a cultus that was abrogated by the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Commenting on Psalm 92:4 Calvin wrote:



. . . the Levites who were appointed . . . singers . . . employ their instruments of music—not as if this were in itself necessary, only it was useful as an elementary aid to the people of God in these ancient times . . . now that Christ has appeared . . . it were only to bury the light of the Gospel, should we introduce the shadows of a departed dispensation.<sup>33</sup>

Luther has a different perspective, for him voices and instruments sounding together are a theological opportunity, the sound of joy of the redeemed as they glorify the God of grace. Commenting on Isaiah 5:11 Luther wrote: “Elisha says: [2 Kings 3:15] ‘Bring me a minstrel, etc.’ Amos 6:5 says: ‘Like David [they] invent for themselves instruments of music.’ Certainly if you make use of music as David did, you will not sin.”<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in a letter to Prince Joachim of Anhalt, 16 June 1534, Luther wrote:

So Elisha was awakened by his minstrel [2 Kings 3:15] and David himself declares in Psalm 57[:8] that his harp was his pride and joy: “Awake up, my glory; awake psaltery and harp.” And all the saints made themselves joyful with psalms and stringed instruments.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. *Music Drives Away the Devil*

Luther’s third numbered point in the draft is “[music] drives away the devil” (*Quia fugat diabolum*), a sequence of words that is almost identical with Tinctoris’s 9th aphorism (*Musica diabolum fugat*). The concept was a general one that Luther inherited, but it was a matter of great personal concern to him since his letters, table talks, and other writings contain frequent references to the personal onslaughts of the devil. But for Luther music was more than a means of distraction, in the hope that temptation would be forgotten. From his point of view the corollary of music being the gift of God is that the devil, being opposed to God, must therefore abhor music. Thus this third heading is a logical consequence of the first, but it also follows on naturally from the second, since the devil is antagonistic to pure joy. In his table talks are recorded a number of similar statements, such as: “Satan is a spirit of sadness; therefore he cannot bear joy, and that is why he stays very much

away from music.”<sup>36</sup> In his letter to composer Ludwig Senfl, 4 October 1530, he wrote:

For we know that music, too, is odious and unbearable to the demons. Indeed I plainly judge, and do not hesitate to affirm, that except for theology there is no art that could be put on the same level with music, since except for theology [music] alone produces what otherwise only theology can do, namely, a calm and joyful disposition. Manifest proof [of this is the fact] that the devil, the creator of saddening cares and disquieting worries, takes flight at the sound of music almost as he takes flight at the word of theology.<sup>37</sup>

Here Luther makes the profound connection between “the sound of music” and the “word of theology”: both repel the devil. Thus Luther’s view that “music is next to theology” is not just a formula of words but an important fundamental working principle: music is next to theology because both accomplish similar results. Like theology, music “serves to cast out Satan, the instigator of all sins, as is shown in Saul, the king of Israel [I Sam. 16:23].”<sup>38</sup> Thus in Luther’s poem in praise of music “*Frau Musica*” is heard to say:

But God in me more pleasure finds  
than in all joys of earthly minds.  
Through my bright power the devil shirks  
his sinful, murderous, evil works.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4. *Music Creates Innocent Delight*

Luther’s fourth heading in his outline for a treatise on music is the logical consequence of the third. If the devil is thwarted by music, then the evil he fosters must similarly be destroyed by means of music and good promoted instead: “[Music] creates innocent delight, destroying wrath, unchastity, and pride.” So he can write in his treatise on the Last Words of David (1543): “For the evil spirit is ill at ease wherever God’s Word is sung or preached in true faith. He is a spirit of gloom and cannot abide where he finds a spiritually happy heart, that is, where the heart rejoices in God and in His Word.”<sup>40</sup> In the draft outline the fourth point is elaborated

further. Luther adds: "I place music next to theology. This is well known from the example of David and all the prophets, who all produced poetry and songs." This parallels what Luther wrote in his letter to Senfl:

Manifest proof [of this is the fact] that the devil, the creator of saddening cares and disquieting worries, takes flight at the sound of music almost as he takes flight at the word of theology. This is the reason why the prophets did not make use of any art except music; when setting forth their theology they did it not as geometry, not as arithmetic, not as astronomy, but as music, so that they held theology and music most tightly connected, and proclaimed truth through Psalms and songs.<sup>41</sup>

As passages already cited make clear, Luther makes frequent references to David banishing Saul's evil mood through music, Elisha's call for a musician to play so that he could prophesy, as well as general comments on the use of musical forms by various prophets. The following are other examples:

The Holy Ghost himself honors her [music] as an instrument for his proper work when in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through her his gifts were instilled in the prophets, namely, the inclination to all virtues, as can be seen in Elisha [2 Kings 3:15]. On the other hand, she serves to cast out Satan, the instigator of all sins, as is shown in Saul, the king of Israel [1 Sam. 16:23]. Thus it was not without reason that the fathers and prophets wanted nothing else to be associated as closely with the Word of God as music.<sup>42</sup>

For by it [music] also the evil spirit of Saul was driven off [1 Samuel 1: 23], and the prophetic spirit was given to Elisha [2 Kings 3: 15].<sup>43</sup>

And as David initiated the writing of psalms and made this a vogue, many others were inspired by his example and became prophets. These followed in David's footsteps and also contributed beautiful psalms; for example, the Sons of Korah, Heman, Asaph, etc.<sup>44</sup>

That it is good and God pleasing to sing hymns is, I think, known to every Christian; for everyone is aware not only of the example of the prophets and kings in the Old Testament who praised God with song and sound, with poetry and psaltery, but also of the common and ancient custom of the Christian church to sing Psalms. St. Paul himself instituted this in 1 Corinthians 14 [15] and exhorted the Colossians [3:16] to sing spiritual songs and Psalms heartily unto the Lord so that God's Word and Christian teaching might be instilled and implanted in many ways.<sup>45</sup>

### 5. *Music Reigns in Times of Peace*

Luther's fifth heading is: "[Music] reigns in times of peace." To this he adds the observation: "It will be difficult to keep these delightful skills after us, for they are of peace. The Dukes of Bavaria are to be praised in this, that they honor music. Among our Saxon [Dukes] weapons and cannons are praised." Here Luther registers the irony that the Catholic Bavarian Dukes, who opposed evangelical reforms, richly support music while the Lutheran Dukes of Saxony, patrons of Luther in other respects, had actually disbanded their musical foundations, refused to give financial support to the teaching of music in their university of Wittenberg,<sup>46</sup> and who seem more prepared for war rather than peace. He made much the same point in his letter to Senfl, who was, of course, composer to the Bavarian court:

Even though my name is detested, so much that I am forced to fear that this letter I am sending may not be safely received and read by you, excellent Louis, yet the love for music, with which I see you adorned and gifted by God, has conquered this fear. This love also has given me hope that my letter will not bring danger to you. For who, even among the Turks, would censure him who loves art and praises the artist? Because they encourage and honor music so much, I, at least, nevertheless very much praise and respect above all others your Dukes of Bavaria, much as they are unfavorably inclined toward me.<sup>47</sup>

The previous statements in Luther's draft outline for a treatise on music are easily amplified by his comments in other writings, but on this last point<sup>48</sup> it is not exactly clear how he would have expounded it in the study had he completed it. The comparative reference to the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony would suggest that his primary thought was of civil peace rather than theological peace, that music tempers the war-like spirit. But does this mean that this fifth proposition is merely a continuation of the fourth, that Luther was simply illustrating music's power over one of the most significant "other excesses" by stating in effect that "music creates peace and destroys war"? That is possible, except that Luther will often link civil peace and theological peace. For example, in 1541 his response to the threat of the advancing Ottoman empire

across Europe was to call the people to prayer in public worship that had a significant musical content.

The people need to be challenged to earnest devotion through public prayer in the churches. It has been my practice, with permission of the pastors and the congregation, to chant alternately with the choir, as is customary, Psalm 79 after the sermon on Sunday, either at the morning or at the evening service. Then a choirboy with a good voice, from his place in the choir, sings on his own the antiphon or tract, "Lord, not according to our sins" [*Domine, non secundum, Psalm 103:10*]. After that, a second choirboy may chant the other tract, "Lord do not remember the iniquities of our forefathers" [*Domine ne memineras, Psalm 79:8*]. Following that the whole choir, kneeling, may sing, "Help us, O God" [*Adiuva nos, Deus, Psalm 79:9*] . . . Thereupon, when desired, the congregation may sing, "Grant us peace" [*Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*] or the Lord's Prayer in German [*Vater unser im Himmelreich*].<sup>49</sup>

Luther had created a German version of the Latin antiphon *Da pacem domine in diebus nostris* (Grant us peace, Lord, in our time), *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*, some years earlier, probably first appearing in the no-longer-extant 1529 edition of Klug's Wittenberg *Geistlicher lieder*.<sup>50</sup> Instead of the traditional melody Luther created a new one, closely related to *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* and *Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*. *Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort* was written around the same time as his Appeal for Prayer Against the Turks (1541), though probably after he had penned the sentences cited above, because instead of the Latin antiphons Luther originally suggested, these two hymns based on the same melodic material, *Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*<sup>51</sup> and *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*, were soon sung together at the end of Sunday services.<sup>52</sup> But even before this both Luther's *Formula missae* (1523) and *Deutsche Messe* (1526) made significant use of chanted forms of prayer for peace with strong theological overtones. In their provisions for the Lord's Supper both liturgical orders indicate that the *Agnus Dei*, or its German version, with the final prayer, "*dona nobis pacem/gib uns deinen Frieden*" (grant us your peace), could be sung during the distribution of Communion,<sup>53</sup> and both orders include the (chanted) Aaronic blessing (Numbers 6), with its final words, ". . . and grant you peace."<sup>54</sup> In the *Formula missae* Luther directs that the distribution of Communion is to be introduced by "*Pax Dom-*

ini," and in his explanation of its meaning equates peace with forgiveness:

"The peace of the Lord," etc., which is, so to speak, a public absolution of the sins of the communicants, the true voice of the Gospel announcing remission of sins, and therefore the one and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table, if faith holds to these words as coming from the mouth of Christ himself.<sup>55</sup>

For Luther, the liturgical greeting "the peace of the Lord be always with you" carries within it the proclamation of the gospel, the declaration of forgiveness. Given this understanding it seems likely that in his exposition of the fifth point of his projected treatise on music he would have included some thoughts about music and peace, both theological as well as civil. Although we cannot be certain that he would have done so, it must be observed that there is a strong connection between Luther's words in the *Formula missae* about the *Pax Domini* being "the true voice of the Gospel announcing remission of sins," and his statements concerning the proclamatory function of music, such as "God has preached the Gospel through music."<sup>56</sup>

## NOTES

1. *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, eds. J.F.K. Knaake et al (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883) [hereafter cited as WA] *Tischreden* [hereafter cited as TR] No. 968: "Die Musik ist . . . nahe der Theologie"; WA TR No. 3815: "Musica est . . . theologiae proxima" (see *What Luther Says: An Anthology*, trans. & ed. Ewald M Plass (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959) [hereafter cited as WLS] No. 3090); WA TR No. 7034: "Ich gebe nach der Theologia der Musica den nächsten *Locum* und höchste Ehre." (I place music next to theology and give it the highest praise; WLS No. 3091); WA 50: 370, Preface to Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538): "Experientia testis est, Musicam esse unam, quae post verbum Dei merito celebeat . . ." ("experience confirms that next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise"; *Luther's Works: American Edition*, 55 vols. eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehman (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia and Fortress, 1955) [hereafter cited as LW] 53: 323).

2. LW 49: 427-28; WA BR 5: 639: "Et plane iudico nec pudet asserere, post theologiam esse nullam artem, quae musicae possit aequari, cum ipsa sola post theologiam id praestet, quod alioqui sola theologia praestat, scilicet quietem at animum laetum . . . Hinc factum est, ut prophetae nulla sic arte sint usi ut musica, dum suam theologiam non in geometriam, non in arithmetica, non in astronomiam, sed in musicam digesserunt, ut theologiam at musicam haberent coniunctissimas, veritatem psalmis et canticis dicen-

tes." See also WA 50: 371, Preface to Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538): "Unde non frustra Patres et Prophetæ verbo Dei nihil voluerunt esse coniunctius quam Musicam" ("the fathers and prophets wanted nothing else to be associated as closely with the Word of God as music"; LW 53: 323).

3. See Robin A. Leaver, *Luther on Justification* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1975), 9.

4. "If God gives me grace, I shall have more to say about it in the tract 'On Justification,'" LW 35: 198; WA 30<sup>m</sup>: 643: "Weiter wil ich (so Gott gnade gibt) davon reden ym buchlin de iustificatione." See WA 30<sup>m</sup>: 657–676.

5. It is interesting to note that the evidence for Luther's intention to write a treatise on justification and another on music date from year 1530. It therefore seems likely that both these ideas germinated during the six months he was in Coburg castle, during the Diet of Augsburg. Being removed from his day-to-day pressures in Wittenberg gave him the opportunity to think and write; see Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985–1993), [1:] 379–384. In his correspondence between Coburg and Augsburg there was much preoccupation with the doctrine of justification—Luther was concerned that Melancthon would concede too much. But he also wrote letters to Senfl and Johann Agricola in which music was the primary topic, including references to chant melodies that were important to him, as was the song of the birds; see Robin A. Leaver, "Luther as Musician," *Lutheran Quarterly* 18 (2004): 125–183, now (revised) Chapter 2 of *Luther's Liturgical Music*.

6. WA 30<sup>m</sup>: 696:

Περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς

μουσικὴν ἐράω

Eciam damnantes non placent Schwermerii

Quia

1. Dei donum non hominum est

2. Quia facit letos animos

3. Quia fugat diabolium

4. Quia innocens gaudium facit

irae

Interim pereunt < libidines

Superbia

Proximum locum do Musicae post Theologiam. Hoc patet ex exemplo David et omnium prophetarum, qui[a] omnia sua metris at cantibus mandaverunt.

5. Quia pacis tempore regnat.

Durate ergo et erit melius arti huic post nos, Quia pacis sunt.

Duces Bavariae laudo in hoc, quia Musicam colunt. Apud nos Saxones arma et Bombardae praedicantur.

For a German version, see WA TR No. 7034 (= WA 30<sup>m</sup>: 695), translated in Walter Buszin, "Luther and Music," *Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946): 88.

7. See also WA TR No. 6248 (uncertain date): Musicam semper amavi; "Music I have always loved," WLS No. 3092.

8. See the discussion in the Leaver article (cited in note 5 above) dealing with the similar shift in emphasis in the teaching of music among the teachers and alumnae of Wittenberg University.

9. LW 35: 370, Preface to Romans, 1522, WA DB 7: "O es ist eyn lebendig, scheff-tig, thettig, mechtig ding umb den glawben . . . Glawb ist eyn lebendige erwegene zuuer-sicht auff Gottes gnade, so gewis, das er tausent mal druber sturbe."

10. LW 10: 344; *Dicata super Psalterium* (1513-1516); WA 3: 405: "Cantare autem est ore tantum laudare, iubilare corde &c."

11. LW 10: 208; WA 3: 253: "Ubicunque 'Canticum' in titulis habetur, semper debet intelligi, talem psalmum esse gaudii et tripudii et cum affectu exultandi cantandum. Nam Canticum et cantus ex abundantia gaudentis cordis oritur. Est autem Canticum spirituale seu mlodia spiritualis ipse iubilus cordis."

12. LW 10: 92; WA 3: 89: "Aliqui confitentur in labiis tantum. Hii sunt, qui aliud in corde, aliud in ore loquuntur, ut qui peccator est in proposito malo, psallens nihilominus deo."

13. LW 11: 294; WA 4:139: "Nota, quod cantare et dicere differunt, quod psallere vel psalmum dicere et tantummodo intellectu agnoscere et docere. Sed vocem addendo fit cantus, que vox est affectus. Sicut ergo verbum est intellectus, sic vox ipsius affectus."

14. LW 15: 273. Treatise on the Last Words of David (1543). WA 54: 33: "Denn der glaub ruget und feiret nicht, Er feret heraus, redet und prediget von solcher verheissung und gnade Gottes, das ander Leute auch dazu komen, und der telhafftig werden, Ja fur grosser freude fehert er an, tichtet schöne susse Psalmen, singet liebliche lustige Lieder, damit zu gleich Gotte frölich zu loben und zu dancken, Und auch die menschen nützlich zu reitzen und zu lernen."

15. LW 53: 333. WA 35: 477: "Denn Gott hat unser hertz und mut frölich gemacht, durch seinen lieben Son, welchen er für uns gegeben hat zur erlösung von sunden, tod und Teuffel. Wer solchs mit ernst gleubet, der kans nicht lassen, er mus frölich und mit lust davon singen und sagen, das es andere auch hören und herzu komen. Wer aber nicht davon singen und sagen wil, das ist ein zeichen, das ers nicht gleubet und nicht ins new fröliche Testament, Sondern unter das alte, faule, unlustige Testament gehöret."

16. See the material cited in note 5 above.

17. Luther's approach to the use and abuse of music is discussed at some length in Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, Chapter 1.

18. LW 53: 316. WA 35: 474-475: "Und sind dazu auch ynn vier stymme bracht, nicht aus anderer ursach, denn das ich gerne wollte, die iugent, die doch sonst soll und mus ynn der Musica und andern rechten künsten ersogen werden, ettwas hette, damit sie der bul lieder und fleyschlichen gesenge los werde und an derselben stat ettwas heyl-sames lernet, und also das guete mit lust, wie den iungen gepürt, eyngienge. Auch das ich nicht der meynung byn, das durchs Evangelion sollten alle künste zu boden geschlagen werden und vergehen, wie etliche abergeystlichen fur geben."

19. Johannes Tinctoris (1445-1511) was a music theorist whose writings were widely studied in the late medieval period, such as *Complexus viginti effectuum nobilis artis musices* that includes twenty aphorisms on the use of music with commentary. The French theologian Jean Gerson (1363-1429) made a significant impact on Luther especially during his early theological studies, but the Reformer continued to refer to Gerson throughout his life. Gerson was also the author of a significant number of treatises on music, as well as a poem in praise of music in the second part of *De cantibus* (written between 1424 and 1426): *Carmen de laude musicae*.

20. Preface to *Symphoniae iuncundae* 1538, WA 50: 373.

21. Oskar Söhnngen, *Theologie der Musik* (Kassel: Stauda, 1967), 84-85. The poem "Frau Musica" is discussed in Chapter 3 of *Luther's Liturgical Music*.



22. WA 50: 371: "Musicam esse unam, quae post verbum Dei merito celebrari debeat, domina et gubernatrix affectuum humanorum . . . quibus tamen ipsi homines, ceu a suis dominis, gubernantur et saepius rapiuntur. Hermann Finck," who matriculated at Wittenberg University in 1545, reported some ten years after Luther's death: "Inter caeteras praeclaras artes quae uere DEI dona sunt, non infimum locum tenet Musica . . . Et reuerendus pater dominus Martinus Lutherus piae memoriae saepe dicere solitus est, multa semina bonarum virtutum inesse animis ijs, qui Musica afficerentur" ["Among all the other excellent arts that are indeed gifts of God, music is by no means the least . . . the reverend father Herr Martin Luther, of pious memory, often used to say that many seeds of the finest virtues are sown in souls affected by music"]; Hermann Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1556; facsimile, Bologna: Forni, 1969), Aj<sup>r</sup>.

23. LW 10: 43. *Dictata super psalterium* (1513-1516); WA 3: 40: "Habet enim natura Musice, excitare tristem, pilgrum et stupidum animum. Sic Helizeus vocavit psalten, ut excitaretur ad prophetiam. Quare Mnazeah esr proprie incitabulum, invitatorium, provocatorium ac velut calcar spiritus, stimulus et hortatorium . . . Quia in hiis omnibus acuitur et accenditur animus ignavus, ut vigil et strenuus eat ad opus. Quod si ista simul cantentur in Musica artificiali, vehementius et acrius accendunt animum. Et hoc modo hic David fecit hunc psalmum la mnazeah, i.e. pro invitatorio, excitatorio et inflammatorio, ut scilicet haberet, quo seipsum excitaret ad devotionem et affectionem cordis, et ut acrius hoc fieret, fecit in musicalibus. Sic olim Ecclesia solebat psalmos ante missam legere, scilicet pro incitatorio, cuius adhuc versus restant de introitu. Et adhuc in matutinis habet invitatorium psalmum, scilicet 'venite exaltemus,' quo sese mutuo invitant ad laudem dei. Et recte vocatur psalmus sic invitatorium, quia non solum se, sed etiam alios invitavit ad laudem Dei. Sicut Sanctus Ambrosius fecit cum cantu, quo Mediolanensium tristitiam depulit, ut levius ferrent tedium temporis. Sed et non vane potest invitatorium dici eo quod isto modo etiam spiritus sanctus invitetur. Quia cum nos sumus provocati, mox etiam deus excitatur. Ex istis igitur discimus, quod qui vult seipsum ad devotionem excitare, apprehendat psalmos."

24. LW 14: 83, *Das schöne Confitemini, an der Zahl der 118. Psalm* (1530); WA 31:145. "Denn ein gut liedlin mag man wol zwey mal singen, So ists auch aller menschen weise, wenn sie von herten frolich odder lustig sind, das sie ein wort, zwey, drey mal wider holen und konnen nicht gnug das selbige sagen, Was yhn begegnet, mus es horen. Also laut es hie auch, das die lieben heiligen so hertzlich fro und lustig sind uber den grossen wunder werckenm so Gott an yhn thut, das er sie von sunden und tod (das ist von allem ubel, beide leibs und seelen) erloset, das sie für freuden yhr lied ymer widder forne anfahren." "We often sing a good song over again from the beginning, especially one we have sung with pleasure and joy" (on Psalm 118:29); LW 14: 105; WA 31:181: "So pflegt man die guten lieder, wenn sie aus sind, widder forn an zu heben, sonderlich wo sie mit lust und liebe gesungen sind."

25. LW 53: 319, A Preface to All Good Hymns. Frau Musica, 1528; WA 35: 483:

"Für allen freuden auff erden  
Kan niemand keine feiner werden,  
Denn die ich geb mit meim singen  
Und mit manchem süssen klingen."

26. LW 49: 428; WA BR 5: 639: ". . . quae musicae possit aequari, cum ipsa sola post theologiam id praestet, quod alioqui sola theologia praestat, scilicet quietem et animum laetum."

27. Organist in Halle.

28. In medieval literature "symphonia" was used to designate a number of different instruments, usually those that produced more than one sound simultaneously, such as the bagpipe and hurdy-gurdy. Praetorius employs "symphonia" for all string keyboard instruments, which, given the context, seems to be Luther's meaning here; see Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II; De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1619; facsimile, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 62.

29. WLS No. 3100 (slightly altered). Dedication in a Bible presented to Wolf Heinz, 1541. WA 48: 85-86: "Solch new Lied sollen auch des folgenden psalms Seitenspiel helfen singen. Und Wolff Heintz auch beide mit seiner Orgeln, Symphonien, Virginal, Regal, und was der lieden Musica mher ist, Davon (als seer newer kunst und Gottes gaben) weder David noch Salomon, noch Persia, Grecia noch Roma ichts gewust, sein singen und spielen mit freuden gehen lassen, zu lob den Vater all gnaden."

30. A composition by Senfl is meant.

31. *Hrn. M. Joh. Mathesii . . . Lebens-Beschreibung/ so da Seine Geburth/ Auferziehung/ Studia, Beförderung/ Tugenden/ Ehestand/ Priesterlich-Exemplarisches Ende/ und was sonst zu seinem Lebens-Wandel gehört*, ed. Johann Balthasar Mathesius (Dresden: Zimmermann, 1705), 32-33; cited Wolfram Steude, *Untersuchungen zur mitteldeutschen Musiküberlieferung und Musikpflege im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Peters, 1978), 90: ". . . eine ehrliche Musica und Cantorey, darinnen man von von ehrlichen Leuten singet und klinget, Gott preiset, gute Psalmen singet, wie David in die Harffen, einen guten Schweitzersichen Choral oder Josquinschen Psalm, fein leise und gelinde, sammt den Text, auch in die Instrumenta singet."

32. *The "Musica instrumentalis deudsche" of Martin Agricola: A Treatise on Musical Instruments, 1529 and 1545*, trans. & ed. William E. Hettrick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 71; Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1545; facsimile, New York: Broude, 1966), sig. Bii<sup>j</sup>:

Ich habe wunder vernomen  
 Wenn sie gen Wittemberg kommen  
 Und sonst zur Universitet  
 Wie es jhn bey der Burse geht/  
 Welche/ wenn sie zu Tische gan  
 Odder widder dar von auffstan/  
 Sich üben frölich im singen  
 Auch auff Instrumenten klingen  
 Als Lauten/ Geigen/ und Pfeiffen  
 Odder die Harffen angreifen  
 Und ander Instrumenta zwar . . .

33. John Calvin, *Commentary on Psalms*, trans. James Anderson (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845-1849; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 3: 494-5; Johannes Calvin, *In librum psalms commentarius*, ed. August Tholuck (Berlin: Eichler, 1836), 2: 153: "Levitas, quibus iniunctum erat canendi munus, porprie compellat, ut musica etiam instrumenta adhibeant: non quia per se hoc necessarium foret, sed quia utile erat rudimentum veteri populo . . . quia quum exhibito Christo . . . Evangelii lucem suffocant qui adhuc Ecclesiam involvunt veteribus umbris." For further representative examples see Calvin's comments on Psalm 71:22, Psalm 81: 3, Psalm 149:1; *Commentary on the Psalms* 3: 98 & 312, 5: 312 respectively = *In librum psalms* 1: 529-530, 2: 76 & 522.

34. LW 16: 62; Lectures on Isaiah (1528); WA 31<sup>n</sup>: 43: "Helizeus: 'adduc,' inquit, 'mihī psalten' etc. Amos 6. Sicut David putaverunt se etc. Certe si usus fueris musica ut David, non peccabis."

35. *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, trans & ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 94; WA BR 7: 78: ". . . wie Elisäus sich ließ durch seinen Psalter erwecken, 2 Kön. 3, und David im Psalter selbs sagt Ps. 57, seine Harfe sei seine Ehre und Freude: *Excurge, gloria mea, excurge, Psalterium et Cithera*, und aller Heiligen machen sich fröhlich mit Psalmen und Saitenspielen."

36. WLS 3: 983, n. 8; WA TR No. 194 (1532): "Satan est Spiritus tristitiae. Ideo non potest ferre laetitiam, ideo longissime abest musica." See also WA TR Nos. 968, 2387 and 2545.

37. LW 49: 427-428; WA Br. 5: 639: "Scimus enim musicen daemonibus etiam invisam et intolerabilem esse. Et plane iudico, nec pudet asserere, post theologiam esse nullam artem, quae musicae possit aequari, cum ipsa sola post theologiam id praestet, quod alioqui sola theologia praestat, scilicet quietem et animum laetum, manifesto argumento, quod diabolus, curarum tristium et turbarum inquietarum autor, ad vocem musicae paene similiter fugit ad verbum theologiae."

38. WA 50: 371. Preface to *Symphoniae iuncundae* 1538: "Rursus per eandem expelli Satanam, id est omnium vitiorum impulsorem, ut in Saule rege Israel monstratur." "So you too must turn to your regal or gather some good companions about you and sing with them until you learn how to defy the devil." Letter to Matthias Weller (7 October 1534). *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1955), 97. WA Br 7: 106: "also greift Ihr auch ins Regal, oder nehmet gute Gesellen und singet dafür, bis Ihr lernet ihn spotten."

39. LW 53: 320, A Preface to All Good Hymnals. Frau Musica, 1528; WA 35: 483-484:

"Sondern auch Gott viel bas gefelt  
Denn alle freud der gantzen welt.  
Dem Teuffel sie sein werck zerstört  
Und verhindert viel böser mörd."

40. LW 15: 274. WA 54: 34: "Denn dem bösen geist ist nicht wol dabey, wo man Gottes wort im rechten glauben singet oder predigt. Er ist ein geist der traurigkeit, und kan nicht bleiben, wo ein hertz Geistlich (das ist, in Gott und seinem wort)."

41. LW 49: 428; WA Br. 5: 639: "Manifesto argumento, quod diabolus, curarum tristium et turbarum inquietarum autor, ad vocem musi dem cae paene similiter fugit ad verbum theologiae. Hinc factum est, ut prophetae nulla sic arte sint usi ut musica, dum suam theologiam non in geometriam, non in arithmetiam, non in astronomiam, sed in musicam digesserunt, ut theologiam et musicam haberent coniunctissimas, veritatem psalmis et canticis dicentes."

42. WA 50: 371: "Honorat eam ipse Spiritus sanctus, ceu sui proprii officii organum, dum in scripturis suis sanctis testatur, dona sua per eam Prophetis illabi, id est omnium virtutum affectus, ut in Eliseo videre est. Rursus per eandem expelli Satanam, id est omnium vitiorum impulsorem, ut in Saule rege Israel monstratur. Unde non frustra, Patres et Prophetae, verbo Dei nihil voluerunt esse coniunctius quam Musicam."

43. WLS No. 3094. *Operationes in psalmos* (1518-1521). WA 5: 98 "Nam hinc et spiritus malus Saul pellebatur . . . et Heliseo spiritus propheticus dabatur" (on the superscription of Psalm 4).

44. LW 15: 273. Treatise on the Last Words of David (1543). WA 54: 33: "Und da solch tichten den Psalmen David anfieng, und in schwanck bracht, wurden dadurch viel andere erleucht und zu Propheten erweckt, die auch da zu hiffen, und schöne Psalmen machten, als die kinder Korah, Heman, Assaph etc."

45. LW 53: 315-316. Preface to Walter's *Chorgesangbuch* (1524). WA 35: 474: "Das geystliche lieder singen gut und Gott angenehme sey, acht ich, sey keynem Christen verborgen, die wehl yderman nicht alleyn das Exempel der propheten und könige ym allten testament (die mit singen und klingen, mit tichten und allerley seyten spiel Gott gelobt haben) sondern auch solcher brauch, sonderlich mit psalmen gemeyner Christenheyt von anfang kund ist. Ja auch S. Paulus solchs 1. Cor. 14 eynfetzt und zu den Collossern gepeut, von hertzen dem Herrn singen geystliche lieder und Psalmen, Auff das da durch Gottes wort und Christliche leere auff allerley weyse getrieben und geübt werden."

46. On the Saxon fiscal policy that denied financial support to music foundation and the large amounts spent on other concerns, see WA TR Nos. 968, 2545a and 2545b.

47. LW 49: 427; WA Br. 5: 639: "Quamvis nomen meum sit invisum, adeo ut vereri cogar, ne satis tuto recipiantur a te et legantur, optime Ludovice, quas mitto literas, vicit tamen hanc formidinem amor musicae, qua te video ornatum et donatum a Deo meo. Qui amor spem quoque fecit, fore ut nihil periculi sint tibi allaturae literae meae; quis enim vel in Turca vituperet, si amet artem et laudet artificem? Ego sane ipsos tuos Duces Bavariae, ut maxime mihi parum propitii sint, vehementer tamen laudo et colo prae caeteris, quod musicam ita fovent et honorant."

48. Since the document is fragmentary it is an open question whether this was the last point in his intended treatise, or whether he intended further sections.

49. LW 43: 231, slightly altered. Appeal for Prayer Against the Turks (1541). WA 51: 606-607: "Damit aber das Volck zur andacht und ernst gereitzt würde durch öffentliche Gebet in der Kirchen, Leisse ich mir gefallen, wo es den Pfarherrn und Kirchen auch gefeile, das man am Feiertage nach der Predigt (Es sey morgens oder abends) den Lxxviiiij psalm sunge ein Chor umb einander, wie gewonet. Darnach tret ein wol gestimpter knabe für den pült ynn yhrem Chor, und sunge allein die Antiphon oder tract, Domine Non secundum. Nach dem selben ein ander knabe, den andern tract, Domine ne Meminaris Und darauff der ganze Chor knyend, Adjüüa nos Deus . . . Darauff (wo man wil) mag der Leye singen, Verleyhe uns frieden oder das deutsche Vater Unser etc."

50. In the 1533 edition of the Wittenberg hymnal following *Verleih uns Frieden* is a prayer for peace and good government, Luther's translation of the collect from the *Missa pro pace*; *Geistliche lieder* (Wittenberg: Klug, 1533; facsimile, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), fol. 51<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>r</sup>; see WA 35: 233; LW 53: 138.

51. On *Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*, see Robin A. Leaver, "Luther's Catechism Hymns. I. 'Lord Keep Us Steadfast in Your Word,'" *Lutheran Quarterly* 11 (1997): 397-410, now Chapter 4 of *Luther's Liturgical Music*.

52. See, for example, Johannes Spangenberg, *Kirchengesenge Deudsche* (Magdeburg: Lotter, 1545), fol. 26<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>, the sequence being, Benediction, *Verleih uns Frieden*, Collect, *Erhalt uns, Herr*. Later practice was to sing the two hymns one after the other, *Erhalt uns, Herr*, then *Verleih uns Frieden*, following the Benediction. Singing a prayer for peace at this juncture may have been suggested by the earlier practice of singing the *Nunc dimittis* . . . in *pace* at the end of the Roman Mass. Luther had created his vernacular version of the *Nunc dimittis* in 1524: *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*.

53. LW 53: 29 and 82; WA 12: 213 and WA 19: 99.

54. LW 53: 30 and 84; WA 12: 213 and WA 19; 102.

55. LW 53: 28–29; WA 12: 213: “Pax domini etce., quae est publica quaedam absolutio a peccatis communicantium, Vox plane Evangelica, annuncians remissionem peccatorum, unica illa et dignissima ad mensam domini preparatio, si fide apprehendatur, non secus atque ex ore Christi prolata.”

56. LW 54: 129. WA TR 1258 (1531): “So hat Gott das Evangelium auch durch die Musik gepredigt.” For further material, see the complete Chapter 3, “Luther’s Theological Understanding of Music,” in *Luther’s Liturgical Music*.



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