

Lutheran Alternatim Practices in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries:  
A Narrative of Liturgical Artistry and Accessibility

By

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## Abstract

The musical and liturgical life of the church has always contained a great variety of performance practices. With the advent of the organ in the Middle Ages, a collaboration between organ and voice began, which eventually resulted in a rich vocabulary of musical practices known as *alternatim*. In this discussion, we will examine the history of Lutheran *alternatim* practices in the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Recent scholars have begun to question the romanticized view of early Lutheranism as the great cultivator of congregational song. Joseph Herl argues that the development of congregational singing within the Lutheran church took 150 to 200 years to develop. As a result of this, we see the continuation of pre-Reformation liturgical-musical practices in early Lutheranism, including the *alternatim* tradition between choir and organ. Evidence for the development of this tradition includes Luther's theological and liturgical writings, musical sources, church orders, and ecclesiastical visitations. Built on the foundation laid by the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* and the *Augsburger Orgelbuch*, composers like Michael Praetorius began to combine organ, choir, and congregation into a single musical entity. The alternation possibilities this presented are best illustrated through the *cantional* genre of the period. Through this genre, composers were finally able to reconcile the artistic differences between choir, organ, and congregation, enabling the Lutheran *alternatim* tradition to reach its fullest potential.

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## Introduction

Early Lutheranism is often viewed as the vessel for the cultivation of congregational singing. James F. White articulates this traditionally held concept of the Reformation by stating that “the congregation participated fully and vigorously in the singing of hymns as well as the rest of the liturgy.”<sup>1</sup> This seems to be supported by Martin Luther’s own theology of music which viewed music as a means of proclamation and praise. Luther states that “music had its highest purpose when it was joined with God’s Word for the proclamation of the gospel.”<sup>2</sup>

In recent times, the notion of 16<sup>th</sup> century Lutheranism as the cauldron of vernacular congregational hymn singing has been challenged by Joseph Herl who believes that this practice developed over the course of 150 to 200 years. He suggests a musical narrative within the liturgy that was primarily choral at the beginning of the Reformation and gradually moved to incorporate congregational singing during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Herl says,

The emphasis on congregational singing as an essential part of the liturgy, frequently ascribed to Luther, was actually more representative of the reformers in Switzerland and southern Germany and of the Pietists of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>4</sup>

This revisionist view of history is based in part on the relative absence of commentary by Martin Luther about the practice of congregational hymn singing. Christopher Brown notes that the

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<sup>1</sup> James F. White, *A Brief History of Christian Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 137.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Boyd Brown, "Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer," In *Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition: Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture 1550-1675*, edited by Robert Kolb (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008), 213-214.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

prevalent view of German Lutheran 16<sup>th</sup> century congregational singing has been projected back onto Luther by later scholars and does not conform to the realities of the period.<sup>5</sup>

Likewise, traditional definitions of Lutheran *alternatim* are founded upon the assumption that the congregation was singing and singing often. For example, David Poultney states that Lutheran *alternatim* practice consisted of “the congregation taking a role by singing verses of a chorale tune in unison, while the choir, or perhaps organ, supplied verses in polyphony.”<sup>6</sup> What these definitions fail to account for is the rather slow adoption of congregational singing on a wider scale. Furthermore, they do not acknowledge the conservative theological perspectives that allowed for the retention of pre-Reformation *alternatim* practices. This study will attempt to show that early *alternatim* practices in Lutheranism were conservative and similar to Roman Catholic practices prior to the Reformation. It will also demonstrate that alongside an increase in congregational participation during the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries came an *alternatim* practice that integrated choir, congregation, and organ into a unified whole.

### **A Brief History of *Alternatim***

*Alternatim* practices date back to early monasticism when the singing of psalms could have been done in both antiphonal and responsorial forms. Vocal *alternatim* continued into the

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<sup>5</sup> Brown, 223.

<sup>6</sup> David Poultney, *Dictionary of Western Church Music* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1991), 3-4. Carl Schalk, "Alternation Practice," In *Key Words in Church Music: Definition Essays on Concepts, Practices, and Movements of Thought in Church Music*, edited by Carl Schalk (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 16. Schalk describes *alternatim* in the following fashion: “the congregation, singing the unison chorales unaccompanied, alternated with a unison-singing choir, a choir singing polyphonic settings of the chorales, or the organ playing chorale settings.” James Robert Davidson, *A Dictionary of Protestant Church Music* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975), 229. Davidson states that “the congregation and organ would alternate in the presentation of stanzas or portions of the service.” It is unclear whether Davidson knowingly left out the choral aspect from this definition, but its reliance on the assumption of congregational singing, like the other definitions, is notable.

Gothic period through the alternation of solo polyphony and choral chant.<sup>7</sup> Poultney defines *alternatim* as “the singing of a liturgical text alternately by soloist and choir, or by choir and organ, or by other contrasting means.”<sup>8</sup> The dominance of vocal elements within *alternatim* began to give way to a tradition that involved choral and organ participation during the late Gothic era. This is evident through sources such as the *Faenza Codex*, the *Sagan Manuscript*, and the *Winsem Manuscript*. For more information about these sources, which ultimately paved the way for the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* and *Augsburger Orgelbuch*, please see Appendix One.

### **The *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* and *Augsburger Orgelbuch***

The importance of the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* stems from the fact that it is the largest extant collection of 15<sup>th</sup> century organ music.<sup>9</sup> In this collection we find a *Kyrieleyson* based upon Mass IX (*Cum Jubilo*), a *Kyrieleyson* based upon Mass IV (*Cunctipotens Genitor Deus*), a *Kyrieleyson pascale*, a *Kyrieleyson de Apostolis*, a *Kyrieleyson Angelicum*, a *Gloria* based upon Mass IX, the *Patrem omnipotentem*, and the *Sanctus Angelicum*.<sup>10</sup> Based upon Leo Schrade’s work, we are able to reconstruct the *alternatim* practice of some of these settings.<sup>11</sup> The first reconstruction is the *Kyrieleyson* from Mass IX. Given the material presented in the organ settings and the chant upon which it is based, the most probable performance model for this *Kyrie* is illustrated in the following table:

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<sup>7</sup> Schalk, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Poultney, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Sutherland Lord, "The Buxheim Organ Book: A Study in the History of Organ Music in Southern Germany During the Fifteenth Century." (PhD diss., Yale University, 1960), 86.

<sup>10</sup> Leo Schrade, "Organ Music in the Mass of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century: Part 2," *The Musical Quarterly* (Oxford University Press) 28, no. 4 (October 1942), 477. The Mass numbers that are cited in the text are derived from Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis: with introduction and rubrics in English*, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée & Co, 1961), 25 and 40.

<sup>11</sup> Although Leo Schrade is not considered a modern source by today’s standards, it is noteworthy that Robert Sutherland Lord reached the same conclusion in "The Buxheim Organ Book: A Study in the History of Organ Music in Southern Germany During the Fifteenth Century," (PhD Diss., Yale University, 1960).

*Table 1: Alternatim Performance of the Kyrieleyson based upon Mass IX*<sup>12</sup>

<i>Portion of the Kyrie</i>	<i>Alternation Performance</i>
First <i>Kyrie</i> section	Organ-Choir-Organ
<i>Christe</i> section	Choir-Organ-Choir
Final <i>Kyrie</i> section	Choir-Choir-Organ

The *Gloria* of the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* also illustrates the use of *alternatim*, but in this case, the organ would have performed most of the *Gloria*. The pattern of alternation can be seen in the following table:

*Table 2: Alternatim Performance of the Gloria based upon Mass IX from the Buxheimer Orgelbuch*<sup>13</sup>

<i>Section of the Gloria</i>	<i>Organ and Choir Designation</i>
Gloria in Excelsis Deo	Intoned by the priest
Et in terra pax	Organ
Gratias agimus	Choir
Domine deus rex coelestis	Organ
Domine Fili unigenite	Choir
Domine deus agnus dei	Organ
Qui tollis peccata mundi	Organ
Qui sedes ad dexteram	Organ
Quoniam tu solus sanctus	Organ
Tu solus dominus	Organ
Tu solus altissimus	Organ
Jesu Christe and final words of altissimus	Choir
Cum sancto spiritu	Organ
Amen	Organ

<sup>12</sup> Table information adopted from Schrade, 478.

<sup>13</sup> Table information adopted from Lord, 210-211.

The *Augsburger Orgelbuch* of 1511 was compiled by Hans Rems between May 1510 and February 1511 for the Carmelite Church of St. Anna in Augsburg.<sup>14</sup> This collection includes monophonic organ versions of chant. According to Douglas Bush, “this leads to the conclusion that the chants were either played monophonically in alternation with plainsong or that the chant melodies served as cantus firmi upon which the organist improvised during the service.”<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, we can look at this collection and see that the compiler consistently omits the portions of the chants that would have been taken up by the choir. This suggests that alternation between choir and organ was in force at St. Anna in Augsburg immediately preceding the Reformation.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Theology Behind the Music**

We can now begin to look at the theological views that underlie early Lutheran practice. Robin Leaver notes,

The Reformation movement as a whole was not simply the replacement of the old by the new, but rather a complex process of connection and disconnection in which the old and the new were combined. Much of the music of the Reformation was thus a synthesis of continuity from the past with the discontinuity of the present.<sup>17</sup>

As we approach the theological doctrine of Martin Luther, it is important to understand what aspects of his theology contributed to the continuity and discontinuity described by Leaver. The *Formula Missae*, the conservative Latin liturgy written by Luther in 1523, illustrates the value he places on the past. This order originated in Wittenberg and later became influential in areas like

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<sup>14</sup> Douglas Earl Bush, “The Liturgical Use of the Organ in German Regions Prior to the Protestant Reformation: Contracts, Consuetudinaries, and Musical Repertoires.” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1982), 91.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>17</sup> Robin A. Leaver, “The Reformation and Music,” In *European Music 1520-1640*, edited by James Haar, 371-400 (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press, 2006), 372.

Augsburg and Strasbourg.<sup>18</sup> In the preface to this liturgy, Luther discusses what he sees as abuses in the Mass, while clearly articulating his desire for retention at a broader level.

We assert, it is not now, nor has it ever been, in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use.<sup>19</sup>

Luther was attempting to retain as much of the Medieval heritage as his theology would allow. Christopher Brown states that “the Latin *Formula Missae* of 1523, though it criticized excesses of Medieval church music and ceremonial, nonetheless advocated the preservation of most of the traditional liturgy and its music, to be sung by the priest and choir.”<sup>20</sup> Yet despite this conservative strain in the *Formula Missae*, we do find instances of innovation, including Luther’s advocacy for congregational singing.

I also wish as many of the songs as possible to be in the vernacular, which the people should sing during Mass...immediately after the Gradual, and immediately after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei.<sup>21</sup>

It is important to note that the basic elements of the Mass were retained and not designated as congregational with the creed being an important exception. Luther added the congregational elements around the form of the Mass practiced by the Medieval church. For Luther, there was no conflict between the goal of congregational participation through vernacular hymnody and choral performance of the liturgy. This allowed Luther to keep the choral Mass in Latin as the main service in Wittenberg throughout much of his life.<sup>22</sup> The retention of the Ordinary of the

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<sup>18</sup> Herl, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961), 107.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, 208-209.

<sup>21</sup> Thompson, 119. This is an excerpt from a translation of the *Formula Missae* that is presented by Thompson.

<sup>22</sup> Herl, 22.

Mass in the *Formulae Missae* allowed for continued use of pre-Reformation sources such as the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* and *Augsburger Orgelbuch*.

Many scholars begin to see a movement away from pre-Reformation practices in the *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass) of 1526, but Herl argues that the *Deutsche Messe*, much like the *Formula Missae* before it, was still predominately choral in its performance. He notes that the *Deutsche Messe* “did not explicitly state that the entire congregation sing anything but the creed.”<sup>23</sup> As a result of this interpretation, one could conclude that the continuation of pre-Reformation practices was likely and that the remaining items would have been sung by the choir.<sup>24</sup>

*Table 3: Deutsche Mess of 1526* <sup>25</sup>

<i>Portion of the Mass</i>	<i>Designation</i>
Latin Introit or German Psalm	None
Kyrie	None
Collect de tempore	Priest
Epistle	Priest
Gradual Hymn	None (likely choral)
Gospel	Priest
Credo and Patrem	None (likely congregational)
Sermon with Prayers	Priest
Exhortation to the communicants	Priest
Words of Institution	Priest
Agnus Dei	None
Hymns during Communion	None (likely congregational)

<sup>23</sup> Herl, 9.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>25</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 218.

Thanksgiving Collect	Priest
Benediction	Priest

However, the *Deutsche Messe* did allow for the inclusion of German chorales as substitutes for portions of the Ordinary. Luther himself wrote some of the versifications for these chorales. They include *Wir glauben all an einen Gott* (1524) for the *Credo*, *Jesaja dem Propheten* (1526) for the *Sanctus*, and *Christe du Lamm Gottes* (1528) for the *Agnus Dei*.<sup>26</sup> The inclusion of such chorales would have certainly helped promote congregational singing, but with a subsequent description of worship in Wittenberg provided by Wolfgang Musculus depicting a Latin service, the continued use of such chorales, at least in Wittenberg, can be questioned.<sup>27</sup>

### ***Alternatim* Practices through the *Kirchenordnungen* and Ecclesiastical Reports**

Documents known as *Kirchenordnungen* provide us with the clearest view of the liturgical practices in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Church orders were issued by those involved in the governance of the church. This could include the territorial leader for a geographical region or municipality, the church consistory, or the superintendents that were appointed by the consistory or territorial ruler.<sup>28</sup> These church orders contain detailed directions regarding the overall form of early Lutheran worship, what was to be sung, and who was to sing certain items in the liturgy.<sup>29</sup> These documents are prescriptive rather than descriptive.<sup>30</sup> They suggest what they

<sup>26</sup> *Grove Music Online*. "Martin Luther: Works," (by Robin A. Leaver), [http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article\\_works/grove/music/17219](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article_works/grove/music/17219) (accessed Jan. 9, 2017).

<sup>27</sup> Herl, 11. In Musculus's description of the service he attended on May 28, 1536, he details the use of *alternatim* practices for the *Kyrie eleison* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*. Only four portions of the Mass were done in German. These sections were the Gradual Hymn *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*, the Creed, and the hymns that were sung during communion. The rest of the Mass according to Musculus's account was done in Latin.

<sup>28</sup> Herl, 36.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

hoped would occur rather than what actually occurred on a day-to-day basis. This is where ecclesiastical visitations and the resulting edicts and reports provide additional information. They allow us to compare the descriptive realities of liturgical life with the prescriptive ideals of the orders. However, even these documents have their own bias; they are designed to illustrate what was in need of improvement, not what was going well.<sup>31</sup> Separately, the church orders and the visitation documents provide two different lenses through which we can view the liturgical life of early Lutherans. By including both forms of documentation we may gain better insight into how the prescriptive ideals of the orders were put into practice.

### *The Ordinary of the Mass*

Approximately 250 church orders appeared between 1523 and 1750, including ca. 134 from the 16<sup>th</sup> century alone.<sup>32</sup> Directions regarding the movements of the Ordinary in the church orders should point to a choral performance in Latin if the continuation of an organ and choral *alternatim* plan in early Lutheranism really occurred. When analyzing the church orders, we find that the choral performance of movements from the Ordinary was the dominant method during the period of time between 1523 and 1540. The only exception to this was the creed. The data compiled by Herl continues to support this conclusion through the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> With the exception of the *Agnus Dei* and *Credo*, Latin was largely the language of choice in the liturgical life of early Lutheranism. All of this allows us to reasonably conclude that the

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<sup>31</sup> Scott H. Hendrix, "Luther's Impact on the Sixteenth Century," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16, no. 1 (1985): 6. Scott H. Hendrix demonstrates that the questions which were posed to the church leaders were often formulated in a way to "elicit the special mention of immoral behavior, superstition, and laxity."

<sup>32</sup> Herl, 54.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 209-214. In the information provided by Herl in Appendix Three, we can see that the trends of choral performances are largely retained throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, as we saw in the period from 1523 to 1540, some language flexibility continues throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In addition to items relating to the Ordinary of the Mass, Herl's Appendix Three contains information regarding the Propers of the Mass.

*alternatim* tradition in early Lutheranism was likely a continuation of the organ and choral *alternatim* plan that was found in Germany prior to the Reformation. Appendix Two provides an in-depth analysis of the church orders and the individual movements of the Ordinary.

### *The Propers of the Mass*

A brief examination of the *Introit*, *Alleluia* or *Gradual Hymn*, and *Sequence* continues to illustrate the flexibility between German and Latin in early Lutheran worship while also confirming the dominance of choral performances. The performance preferences illustrated in the following tables set a precedent that continues throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The numbers represent the total number of church orders discovered that indicate a particular language and performance designation.

Table 4: Performance and Language Preference of the Introit in Church Orders from 1523-1540<sup>34</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin or German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
7	10	13	0	5	4	4	1	3

Table 5: Performance and Language Preference of the Alleluia/Gradual Hymn in Church Orders from 1523-1540<sup>35</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin or German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
6	11	5	4	4	6	5	2	2

<sup>34</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 209.

<sup>35</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 210.

*Table 6: Performance and Language Preference of the Sequence in Church Orders from 1523-1540*<sup>36</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin or German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
11	1	1	0	1	1	9	0	0

### *Ecclesiastical Visitations and Reports*

The supremacy of choral singing throughout the Lutheran church in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is corroborated by remarks found in visitation documents from the period. The church orders for County Hohenlohe of 1553, 1558, 1571, and 1578 direct that the entire church should sing certain parts of the liturgy; however, we find reports dating from 1582 that indicate that “in virtually all parishes only the schoolboys sing and no one from the congregation sings along.”<sup>37</sup> In Oschatz, we find a report from 1555 that directed the superintendent to have some German hymns sung in the church alongside the “Latin singing, figural music, and organ playing.”<sup>38</sup> Through this report, we can see that Latin hymns, figural music, and organ were already well established while German hymns were the exception. Reports from Torgau in 1575, Meissen in 1589, and Merseburg in 1595 indicate similar musical environments to that of Oschatz because they also call for the addition of German hymns alongside the Latin hymns, figural music, and organ music which were already in place.<sup>39</sup> Such pre-existing musical environments favor the choir and organ over the congregation, and therefore instances of *alternatim* in these locations prior to the dates of the reports would have likely been between choir and organ only.

<sup>36</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 211.

<sup>37</sup> Herl, 69.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

## The Role of the Organ in Early Lutheran *Alternatim*

Carl Schalk notes that the “use of the organ in the liturgical service of the early Lutheran Reformation differed in no significant way from its use in the Roman service of the same period.” He continues by stating that the organ within the Lutheran church “participated in the *Introit* and alternated with the singing at least in the *Kyrie* and *Gloria in Excelsis*.”<sup>40</sup> Blume echoes this view in his text on Protestant church music. He remarks that one of the primary functions of the organ during the 16<sup>th</sup> century was to substitute for the choir and give the choir the necessary pitches for the performance of the liturgical music. For Blume, this aspect of substitution commonly took the form of playing alternate verses of liturgical chant or intabulations.<sup>41</sup> Blume also notes that Lutheran church regulations typically did not pay much attention to the organ. In many cases, church regulations of the early Reformation left the organ as *adiaphorous*, meaning that it was neither forbidden nor required.<sup>42</sup>

However, the statement by Schalk does lead to some complications when one considers Martin Luther’s relationship with the organ. Robin Leaver notes that Luther’s more critical comments about the instrument date from the early Reformation period and could be connected to its perceived misuse in Roman Catholic liturgies. During the later years of his life, Luther’s attitude toward the organ changed. Leaver notes that “the reformer appears even to have stimulated good use of the organ in the liturgy.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Schalk, 17.

<sup>41</sup> Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1974), 130.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>43</sup> Robin A. Leaver, "Martin Luther and the Organ," *Het Orgel*, no. 3 (2010): 4-11. Although Luther did express some negativity towards the instrument, Robin Leaver casts doubt on the idea that the reformer objected to the instrument solely due to liturgical or theological reasons. Instead, Leaver notes that “some negative remarks about the sound of the organ should perhaps be ascribed to the imperfect development of the instrument in the area of Germany where Luther lived, rather than to a principled rejection of organs.” Leaver also remarks that some

## Lutheran *Alternatim* in Practice

As we look at examples of *alternatim* in the Lutheran tradition, we will examine the practice in locations such as Rostock in Mecklenburg, Halle-Neumark, Lauenburg, and Wittenberg.

### *Mecklenburg*

A church order dating from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century describes *alternatim* taking place in Mecklenburg in the following ways:

After the *Introit*, the *Kyrie* ought to be sung and played. The *Gloria in Excelsis* ought to be intoned by a preacher, whereupon the organist should play and the choir should sing: All Glory be to God on High or *Et in terra pax hominibus*.<sup>44</sup>

After the Epistle, the sequence hymns or other psalms should on occasion be sung and the organist should join in the music making.<sup>45</sup>

Herbert Gotsch suggests that the phrase “join in the music making” could allude to *alternatim* practice, since accompanying hymns would have been unknown throughout much of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup>

The order also provides guidelines for the use of both a Latin sequence and a German chorale in *alternatim* style with choir and organ. This illustrates the continued use of the pre-Reformation practice of combining a Latin sequence with a German hymn of related content.

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negative comments were likely directed at the misuse of the instrument within Roman Catholic liturgies and not necessarily at the instrument itself.

<sup>44</sup> Herbert Gotsch, “The Organ in the Lutheran Service of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.” *Church Music* 67, no. 1 (1967), 8. The translations that are provided by Gotsch are given within the footnotes with much of the original Latin language being given in the main body of text.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

*Table 7: The Alternatim Performance of a Latin sequence with a German Chorale*<sup>47</sup>

Organ	Sequence, <i>Grates</i>
Choir	Hymn, verse 1, Gelavet sistu Hymn, verse 2, Des ewigen vaders Sequence, <i>Grates nunc omnes</i>
Organ	Sequence, <i>Grates</i>
Choir	Hymn, verse 3, Den aller werlt kreis Hymn, verse 4, Dat ewige licht Sequence, <i>Grates nunc omnes</i>
Organ	Sequence, <i>Grates</i>
Choir	Hymn, verse 5, De söne des vaders Hymn, verse 6, He is up erden kamen arm Sequence, <i>Grates nunc omnes</i>
Organ	Sequence, verse 2, <i>Huic oportet</i>
Choir	Hymn, verse 7, Dat heft he alle uns gedan Sequence, <i>Huic oportet</i>

We can also outline a similar choir and organ *alternatim* performance between a *sequence* and German chorale for the Easter season at Mecklenburg. Despite the use of a German chorale, it is important to highlight that the congregation in Mecklenburg was not involved in this musical-liturgical practice.

*Table 8: The Alternatim Performance of a Sequence with a Chorale for the Easter Season*<sup>48</sup>

Organ	Sequence, <i>Victimae</i>
Choir	Hymn, verse 1, Christ lag in Todesbanden

<sup>47</sup> Table information adopted from Gotsch, 9.

<sup>48</sup> Table information adopted from Gotsch, 10.

	Hymn, verse 2, <i>Den dodt</i> Sequence, <i>Victimae</i>
Organ	Sequence, <i>Agnus redemit</i>
Choir	Hymn, verses 3 and 4 Sequence, <i>Mors et vita</i>
Organ	Sequence, <i>Dic nobis, Maria</i>
Choir	Hymn, verses 5 and 6 Sequence, <i>Angelicos teste</i>
Organ	Sequence, <i>Credendum est magis</i>
Choir	Hymn, last verse, <i>Wi eten unde leven wal</i> Sequence, <i>Scimus Christum surrexisse</i>

As these outlines from Mecklenburg demonstrate, we see the dominance of the choir and organ in *alternatim* persisting well into the 16<sup>th</sup> century despite the gradual increase of congregational participation.

#### *Laurentiuskirche in Halle-Neumark*

Toward the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century a document titled *Ordo cantionum in templo: S. Laurenti usitatus* was created when a cantor from the *Laurentiuskirche* detailed the congregational, choral, and organ music found within the services in Halle-Neumark.<sup>49</sup> This document continues to illustrate the use of *alternatim* in the fairly conservative organ and choral format without any additional input from the congregation. This *Ordo cantionum* describes the performance of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* as being done in *alternatim* style:

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<sup>49</sup> Gotsch, 8. Gotsch obtained this document from the *Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, Band I: *Der Altargesang*, edited by Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenholz, and Wilhelm Thomas. This work was published in 1941.

After this the organist should begin the Sunday *Kyrie* which, like the *Et in terra* should be sung to its completion alternately and closed by the organist with a motet.<sup>50</sup>

### *Lauenburg*

Further evidence of *alternatim* practices strictly between the organ and the choir can be found in church orders from 1585 for Lauenburg. This church order outlines the alternation between the organ and a choir of school boys.

The cantor should begin the *Introit*, and the organist should play it. Then the school boys should sing the Verse and half of the *Gloria patri*, and the organist should play it to its end.<sup>51</sup>

### *Wittenberg*

A description provided by an Augsburg pastor by the name of Wolfgang Musculus details a Mass that he attended on May 28, 1536. The date of this description is important because it comes a full decade after the inauguration of the *Deutsche Messe* by Martin Luther. Herl argued that the experiment with Luther's *Deutsche Messe* was effectively finished in Wittenberg by the early 1530s when we see a shift back to Latin for some of the liturgical items.<sup>52</sup> This shift, along with *alternatim* practices in Latin, can be extracted from Musculus's description:

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<sup>50</sup> Gotsch, 8. The translation provided by Gotsch of the original church order appears in the footnotes of the text.

<sup>51</sup> Gotsch, 9. The translation provided by Gotsch of the original church order appears in the footnotes of the text. Gotsch also clarifies that the cantor begins the *Introit* with the appropriate antiphon and it is this antiphon that the organist should play.

<sup>52</sup> Herl, 11. Herl states that "by the 1530s the Latin mass had returned to Wittenberg in full force, and if the above letters are trustworthy, then the experiment with the entire mass in German had already ended by 1528." One of the letters being referenced by Herl is one written by Luther's colleague Philipp Melanchthon to Balthasar Thuring in Coburg. In this letter, Melanchthon indicates the preference to not abandon the Latin mass. Herl provides us with a translation of a small portion of this letter on page 11 of his text. It states: "Therefore I wish that the ceremonies among you not be greatly unlike those of old. If the Latin mass has not been abolished, do not abolish it completely. It is enough to insert German songs somewhere, as we have done..."

After the introit, the organ was played and the *Kyrie eleison* sung in alternation by the boys. When it was done, the minister sang *Gloria in Excelsis*, which was completed in alternation by the organ and the choir.<sup>53</sup>

Such documentation throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century clearly provides support for the retention and cultivation of *alternatim* practices between choir and organ.

### **Laying the Foundation for Congregational Involvement in *Alternatim***

Three separate reports from 1542 articulate the desire for churches to incorporate the congregation into *alternatim* practices. Reports from Alfeld state that “the psalms and songs are to be sung according to Luther’s hymnal, with the choir and congregation singing verses in alternation.”<sup>54</sup> A report from Gandersheim in 1542 states that “the schoolmaster and schoolboys with the canons are to sing the psalms and songs from it in alternation with the congregation.”<sup>55</sup> A visitation report from Wolfenbüttel in 1542 discusses an educational approach while also commenting upon *alternatim* practices.

The schoolmaster, with the schoolboys and other capable people, is to teach the German psalms and other songs from Luther’s hymnal in the congregation and church, and the schoolmaster and schoolboys are to sing verses in alternation with the congregation.<sup>56</sup>

Visitation reports from Henneberg in 1566 and Kapellendorf in 1569 continue to highlight the call for alternation between choir, organ, and congregation.<sup>57</sup> The report from Kapellendorf in

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<sup>53</sup> Herl, 195. This translated excerpt from Musculus’s travel diary is provided in Appendix Two of his text. This appendix also includes additional translated passages from the early Reformation period ranging from works by Martin Luther to later writings by Großgebauer and Christian Gerber.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Herl, 80-81. The report from Henneberg states that “on high feasts, the organist or schoolmaster introduces the hymn *de festo* figurally after the Epistle, and the people sing alternating stanzas.” Similarly, the report from Kapellendorf in 1569 states that “on high feasts the liturgy is sung alternating verses between polyphony and unison singing so that both the schoolboys and the people can participate.”

1569 also discusses textural shifts between polyphonic and choraliter styles that coincide with the *alternatim*.<sup>58</sup> Herbert Gotsch discusses this incorporation of the congregation into the *alternatim* tradition by referencing an order from Pomerania.

The pastor should see to it...that the appointed hymns be sung in alternation, that the choir and the people alternately sing one stanza after the other...wherefore the organist should play once at the beginning, once at the middle, as occasion demands, and once at the end before the Collect.<sup>59</sup>

The previous material drawn from 1542 and onward shows the seeds of change being sown through the visitation reports. However, any attempt to combine the organist, the choir, and the congregation in the *alternatim* tradition would require a musical repertoire that was accessible for the congregation. This accessibility is best demonstrated through the *cantional*.

### **Lutheran *Alternatim* in the Late 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

For Michael Praetorius, the inclusion of the congregation in worship reflects an eschatological perspective. Praetorius outlines this view in the *Megalynodia*:

It is very lovely and charming to hear when the complete assembly is joined by choirs and organ, dramatizing, as it were, how it will be in Heaven when all the angels and saints of God will join with us in intoning and singing the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Gloria in Excelsis Deo*.<sup>60</sup>

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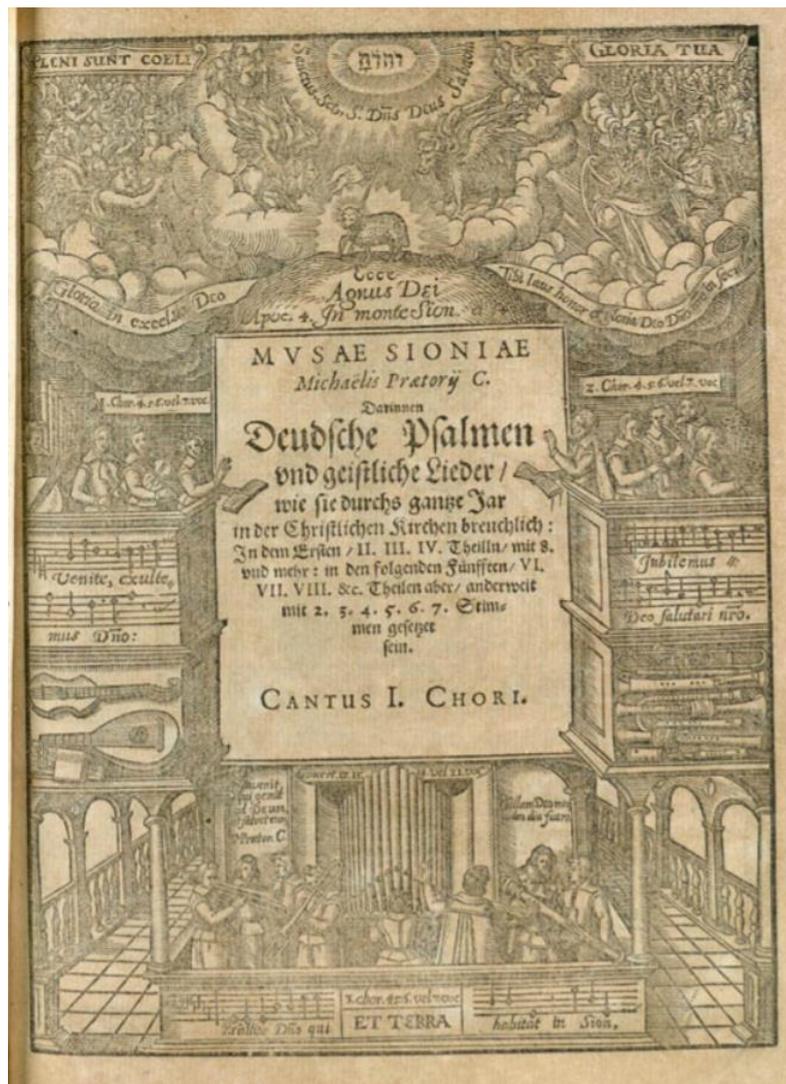
<sup>58</sup> Herl, 80-81 and Leonora Kathleen Wagner, "The Collaboration of Choir and Congregation in the Performance of the Music of Michael Praetorius." PhD diss. (University of Southern California, 2012), 92. Wagner also highlights this alternation of polyphony and unison singing through the following statement: "Likewise, a 1569 visitation report on Kapellendorf, a town in Saxony, recorded that chorales were performed alternating choraliter verses with polyphonic ones. Alternatively, the first verse of a hymn might be sung in polyphony, with the subsequent verses sung choraliter with the congregation." This ultimately provides a foundation for the continued use of choir and congregation through the cantional settings of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The term choraliter refers to a musical style and practice in which a choir or congregation sings a chant or chorale melody in unison.

<sup>59</sup> Gotsch, 10.

<sup>60</sup> Wagner, 73.

Similar sentiments are also expressed in the preface to *Musae Sioniae V*. In addition, we continue to see this idea of Christian worship on earth as a reflection, or foretaste, of worship in heaven through the elaborate title pages of both the *Musae Sioniae I* and *Polyhymnia panegyrica*. One can see the illustration of this “complete assembly” consisting of choirs, organ, angels, and saints in the following iconographic examples.<sup>61</sup>

Title Page of *Musae Sioniae I*



Michael Praetorius, “Musae Sioniae, Theil 1,” The Royal Library: National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library, <http://img.kb.dk/ma/pre1700/praetorius/mus-sin-02m.pdf> (accessed Nov. 7, 2016).

<sup>61</sup> Wagner, 73-75.

*Title Page of the Secundus Partbook from Polyhymnia panegyrica*

SECUNDUS.  
Venite aD nVptlas agni ab InItIo MaCtatl.

III.  
POLYHYMNIA  
PANEGRICA  
Michaëlis Praetorii, C.  
Darmmen  
XL

Solemnische Friedt, vnd  
Freydens-Concert:  
Mit  
I. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.  
12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21.  
vnd mehr Stimmen/  
Auf  
II. III. IV. V. vnd VI.  
Chor.  
Cum BASSO GENERALI  
seu Continuo.

FINIS  
Amor meus ceu  
cifixus est

Mihi in agone mortis. Mitho Vado & Cetero

Mihi Patria Caelum  
16 18

Gaudeamus & exultemus, quia venerunt NuPTIAE AGNI,

Michael Praetorius, "Polyhymnia Panegyrica," The Royal Library: National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library, [http://img.kb.dk/ma/pre1700/praetorius/poly\\_panegy\\_02-m.pdf](http://img.kb.dk/ma/pre1700/praetorius/poly_panegy_02-m.pdf) (accessed Nov. 7, 2016).

As a result of this theological foundation, composers like Praetorius went to great lengths to include the congregation, choir, and organist into one musical entity. Leonora Wagner states that Praetorius took on this task because of the importance he placed on this view of worship:

For Praetorius, who believed that the end of man is to know God and to worship him, providing a means to facilitate the realization of this end for laypeople and trained musicians while promoting the unity of the body of Christ was of incalculable importance and worth.<sup>62</sup>

The work of composers like Praetorius allowed for the evolution of the *alternatim* tradition in 17<sup>th</sup> century Lutheranism.

### *The Cantional Genre*

The *cantional* genre came about through the work of Lucas Osiander in 1586 when he published *Fünffzig geistlich Lieder und Psalmen*.<sup>63</sup> The most important feature of the *cantional* is that the melody of the hymn in question was placed in the top voice. In addition, the counterpoint below that melody was simplistic almost to the point of homorhythm.<sup>64</sup> Osiander writes:

I know well that as a rule, the composer usually places the chorale in the tenor. But when that is done, the chorale is unrecognizable under the other voices...therefore, I have placed the chorale in the discant so that it is truly recognizable and every amateur can sing along.<sup>65</sup>

This attribute paves the way for greater congregational participation. Praetorius composed around 750 settings of chorales that can be classified as *cantionales* throughout the fifth, sixth,

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<sup>62</sup> Wagner, 266.

<sup>63</sup> Herl, 113. The full title of Osiander's collection translated from German is *Fifty Spiritual Songs and Psalms in Four Voices, Set in Contrapuntal Style for the Schools and Churches in the Honorable Principality of Württemberg, so that an Entire Christian Congregation is Able to Sing Along Throughout*.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>65</sup> Wagner, 94-95.

seventh, and eighth volumes of the *Musae Sioniae*. His output of *cantionales* is so vast that Wagner states they “form a complete hymn book for the 17<sup>th</sup> century Lutheran choir to use in accompanying congregational singing.”<sup>66</sup>

#### *Alternatim and the Cationales of Michael Praetorius*

The first option in Praetorius’ *cantionales* utilizes unison singing paired with a chorale set in *cantional* style.<sup>67</sup> In the preface to *Urania*, Praetorius writes that by beginning the setting in unison, the congregation is able to successfully sing the chorale.<sup>68</sup> This tendency is articulated in the *Megalynodia X* and the *Musae Sioniae V*:

In the German psalms, however, I like to begin the first line choraliter and then continue the following line and further up to the end in cantional style. The reason for this is that one can both entice and incite the common people to sing along...<sup>69</sup>

As the excerpt from Praetorius’ writing demonstrates, *alternatim* was not necessarily the simple practice of the congregation alternating with choir. Instead, the congregation remained a constant musical force throughout while the shifts of musical ensemble were carried out by the choirs. This is accompanied by shifts of musical texture. These shifts of ensemble and musical texture are outlined in the *Musae Sioniae V*.

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<sup>66</sup> Wagner, 102.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 111. Starting at this point in Wagner’s text, we are shown three different options for the performance of some selections within Praetorius’ *cantional* output. Two of the options are included in this discussion to highlight how the musical entities of choir, organ, and congregation came together. This unity of course greatly impacted the *alternatim* practices of the Lutheran church.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

*Table 9: Examples of Ensemble and Musical Texture Shifts in the Musae Sioniae V*<sup>70</sup>

<b>Verse</b>	<b>Line</b>	<b>Performers</b>	<b>Number of Parts</b>	<b>Setting Type</b>
Verse 1	Line 1	Boys Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
	Line 2 to the end	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Verse 2	Line 1	Boys Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
	Line 2 to the end	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Verse 3	Line 1	Boys Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
	Line 2 to the end	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Verse 4	Line 1	Boys Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
	Line 2 to the end	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional

<b>Verse</b>	<b>Line</b>	<b>Performers</b>	<b>Number of Parts</b>	<b>Setting Type</b>
Verse 1	Line 1	Boys Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
	Line 2 to the end	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Verse 2	All Lines	Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
Verse 3	All Lines	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Verse 4	All Lines	Choir and Congregation	1	Unison
Verse 5	All Lines	Full Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional

<sup>70</sup> Table information adopted from Wagner, 113-114.

To see the simplicity of some of Praetorius' *cantional* settings, we can reference No. 53 from the *Musae Sioniae V*. This simple form of counterpoint forms the foundation for congregational singing in these settings.

Example 1: Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland (No. 53) from Musae Sioniae V<sup>71</sup>

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system contains the first two lines of the hymn, and the second system contains the next two lines. The lyrics are: "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland, der Jungfrauen Kinder kannt, des sich wundert alle Welt, Gott solch Geburt ihm be stellt." The score is in G major and common time, with a soprano line that is particularly prominent.

The melody of this chorale is featured without ornamentation in the upper voice. The text alignment throughout the setting is another quality that contributes to congregational involvement. The syllables of the text generally line up between the voices with small variations found in the middle voices at the beginnings and endings of phrases. The rhythmic and textual alignment between the bass and soprano voices would have also provided additional support for congregational singing. The prominent melody of the soprano might have been carried by the

<sup>71</sup> Musical example adopted from Michael Praetorius, *Nun Komm, der Heiden Heiland (No. 53): Musae Sioniae, Theil 5*, edited by Ross Jallo, [http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/images/2/2d/Praetorius\\_-\\_Nun\\_Komm\\_%2853%29.pdf](http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/images/2/2d/Praetorius_-_Nun_Komm_%2853%29.pdf) (access Nov. 11, 2016).

boy choir with the congregation on select verses while the full choir sang the full four-part texture with the congregation on the remaining verses.<sup>72</sup>

The musical entity that is notably absent so far in this discussion on *cantionales* and *alternatim* is the organ. In the *Urania*, Praetorius writes the following instructions that include the use of the organ alongside the choir and congregation.

Firstly then, after an organ introduction, the first verse can be sung with the entire congregation choraliter...the second verse can be sung figuraliter in simple counterpoint, together with the congregation; the third verse could be sung choraliter, the fourth figuraliter and so forth...<sup>73</sup>

This quotation can be synthesized into the following performance outline:

*Table 10: Performance of the cantionales which include alternation and organ*<sup>74</sup>

Verse	Performance Ensemble	Number of Parts	Setting Type
Organ Introduction	Organ	--	Contrapuntal
Verse 1	Congregation (choir implied)	1	Unison
Verse 2	Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Verse 3	Congregation (choir implied)	1	Unison
Verse 4	Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional
Final Verse	Choir and Congregation	4	Cantional

<sup>72</sup> Wagner, 167. The attributes that were listed were part of a discussion that allowed Wagner to provide musical evidence for the *cantionales* that could have included the congregation. Through simple textures and counterpoint, textual alignment, and rhythmic alignment, Wagner is able to demonstrate which of the *cantionales* in Praetorius' output would have been utilized in the performance methods outlined in this text.

<sup>73</sup> Wagner, 117.

<sup>74</sup> Table information adopted from Wagner, 117.

What is missing from this equation is whether or not the organ was only to play the introduction. Praetorius does not comment upon whether the organ was utilized in accompanying either the choral singing or the congregational singing.<sup>75</sup> Based upon evidence from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is entirely plausible that the organ would have played a larger role. The *Melodeyen Gesangbuch*, which originates from Hamburg in 1604, illustrates that organ accompaniment of congregational singing was done in some regions early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> The earliest reference to possible organ accompaniment of congregational singing comes from Danzig in 1591. This reference was primarily focused upon the choir; however, as the performance outlines have so far indicated, with the rise of the *cantional* genre, the choir and congregation frequently sang together.<sup>77</sup> This would mean any organ accompaniment of the choir would have also taken place with the congregation. Therefore, it is entirely possible that the organ's utilization went far beyond the introduction that Praetorius discusses.

Further evidence that supports this view comes from *Urania* and the *Kleine und Grosse Litany*. Praetorius was open to the organ serving as a substitute for other instruments. This is important because it allows us to assert the possibility of the organ being considered its own ensemble. The importance of the organ as an ensemble in its own right in *alternatim* practice is also demonstrated by looking at the overall length and number of German chorales. Blume highlights the expansion of pre-Reformation lieder into structures that contained many stanzas.<sup>78</sup> The custom was to sing the chorale in its totality due to the theological unity that all the stanzas represented. Blume writes that "a Lutheran lied represented a unified thought."<sup>79</sup> Therefore, the

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<sup>75</sup> Wagner, 117.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 117-118.

<sup>77</sup> Herl, 131-133.

<sup>78</sup> Blume, 106.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 105.

various stanzas could not be performed *ad libitum* as it would destroy this theological unity. Because of the number of stanzas, Blume suggests that it would have been quite rare for the congregation to sing all of the stanzas. As a result, the different stanzas of the lied were eventually divided amongst the congregation, the choir, and the organist.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, the possibility of the performance of additional versets alongside *cantionales* would be desirable.

### *Organ Versets and Introductions*

To find examples of the type of organ music that would have been available, we can turn to the *Tablature of Celle* that was compiled ca. 1601. In this collection of chorale-based organ works, we find multiple settings of different chorales. Such settings could have served as organ versets used in alternation with the choir and congregation as highlighted by Blume. One such example is the *Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehr*.

### Example 2: Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehr examples from the Tablature of Celle<sup>81</sup>

#### *Setting One, mm. 1-13*



<sup>80</sup> Blume, 105. In addition to Blume's comments, one could also offer another reason for such a division of labor amongst the congregation, choir, and organist when it comes to the singing of German chorales. It is often noted that German chorales of this period were frequently sung to extraordinarily slow tempos. Such tempos would have required incredible stamina not only by the choir but also from the congregation. Therefore, such alternation could have easily taken on the very practical function of providing some time for the congregation or choir to recuperate and retain some stamina for the remaining stanzas.

<sup>81</sup> Musical examples transcribed from Willi Apel, ed. *The Tablature of Celle: 1601* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 4-10.

8

Musical score for measures 8-13 of Setting Two. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

*Setting Two, mm. 1-18*

Musical score for measures 1-9 of Setting Two. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a melodic line, and the left hand has a bass line with some rests.

10

Musical score for measures 10-17 of Setting Two. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a melodic line with some rests, and the left hand has a bass line with some rests.

18

Musical score for measures 18-19 of Setting Two. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a melodic line, and the left hand has a bass line with some rests.

*Setting Three, mm. 1-17*

Musical score for measures 1-17 of Setting Three. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, and the left hand has a bass line with some rests.



Setting Four, mm. 1-13



Settings two and three illustrate the use of imitation while using a small incipit of the melody. This can be seen in the soprano, tenor, and bass of setting two, while all four parts of setting three open with a small incipit of the chorale melody set imitatively. Setting four demonstrates a “*cantional-like*” setting for the organ with the discant containing the chorale melody while the other parts generally move in a homorhythmic fashion in relation to the melody.

The settings based upon *Vater Unser im Himmelreich* could have also served as organ versets in alternation with a choir and congregation. Furthermore, each setting concludes with either a D minor or D major chord which would have allowed the choir or congregation to

maintain the proper pitch from one stanza to the next despite the organist's versets. Similar to the *Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehr* settings, these settings also feature the use of the chorale tune in an imitative fashion. In addition, the first two settings make use of the chorale tune as a cantus firmus alongside the imitative use of melodic incipits.

Example 3: Select Vater Unser im Himmelreich settings from the Tablature of Celle <sup>82</sup>

Setting One, mm. 1-19

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (mm. 1-9) shows a vocal line in the treble clef and a lute line in the bass clef. The second system (mm. 10-17) continues the vocal and lute parts. The third system (mm. 18-19) shows the final two measures. The lute line is marked with an '8' at the beginning of each system, indicating the lute tablature. The vocal line features a cantus firmus of the chorale tune.

<sup>82</sup> Musical examples transcribed from Willi Apel, ed. *The Tablature of Celle: 1601* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 56-65.

Setting Two, mm. 1-22

Musical score for measures 1-10 and 11-20. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of three systems. The first system (measures 1-10) features a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a bass line. The second system (measures 11-20) continues the melodic and bass lines. The third system (measures 21-22) shows the final notes of the piece. A small '8' is visible below the first bass staff.

Musical score for measures 21-22. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two systems. The first system (measures 21-22) features a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a bass line. A small '8' is visible below the first bass staff.

Setting Three, mm. 1-22

Musical score for Setting Three, measures 1-9. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The treble staff contains whole rests for the first six measures, followed by a half note G4 in measure 7, a quarter note F4 in measure 8, and a quarter note E4 in measure 9. The bass staff contains a half note G2 in measure 1, a half note F2 in measure 2, a quarter note E2 in measure 3, a quarter note D2 in measure 4, a quarter note C2 in measure 5, a quarter note B1 in measure 6, a quarter note A1 in measure 7, a quarter note G1 in measure 8, and a quarter note F1 in measure 9.

10

Musical score for Setting Three, measures 10-17. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two staves. The treble staff contains a half note G4 in measure 10, a quarter note F4 in measure 11, a quarter note E4 in measure 12, a quarter note D4 in measure 13, a quarter note C4 in measure 14, a quarter note B3 in measure 15, a quarter note A3 in measure 16, and a quarter note G3 in measure 17. The bass staff contains a half note G2 in measure 10, a half note F2 in measure 11, a quarter note E2 in measure 12, a quarter note D2 in measure 13, a quarter note C2 in measure 14, a quarter note B1 in measure 15, a quarter note A1 in measure 16, and a quarter note G1 in measure 17.

18

Musical score for Setting Three, measures 18-22. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two staves. The treble staff contains a half note G4 in measure 18, a half note F4 in measure 19, a half note E4 in measure 20, a half note D4 in measure 21, and a half note C4 in measure 22. The bass staff contains a half note G2 in measure 18, a half note F2 in measure 19, a half note E2 in measure 20, a half note D2 in measure 21, and a half note C2 in measure 22.

Setting Four, mm. 1-19

Musical score for Setting Four, measures 1-19. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two staves. The treble staff contains whole rests for the first six measures, followed by a half note G4 in measure 7, a quarter note F4 in measure 8, a quarter note E4 in measure 9, a quarter note D4 in measure 10, a quarter note C4 in measure 11, a quarter note B3 in measure 12, a quarter note A3 in measure 13, a quarter note G3 in measure 14, a quarter note F3 in measure 15, a quarter note E3 in measure 16, a quarter note D3 in measure 17, a quarter note C3 in measure 18, and a quarter note B2 in measure 19. The bass staff contains a half note G2 in measure 1, a half note F2 in measure 2, a quarter note E2 in measure 3, a quarter note D2 in measure 4, a quarter note C2 in measure 5, a quarter note B1 in measure 6, a quarter note A1 in measure 7, a quarter note G1 in measure 8, a quarter note F1 in measure 9, a quarter note E1 in measure 10, a quarter note D1 in measure 11, a quarter note C1 in measure 12, a quarter note B0 in measure 13, a quarter note A0 in measure 14, a quarter note G0 in measure 15, a quarter note F0 in measure 16, a quarter note E0 in measure 17, a quarter note D0 in measure 18, and a quarter note C0 in measure 19.



The likelihood of such settings functioning in alternation with choir, congregation, and organ is seemingly confirmed in 1624 with the publication of Samuel Scheidt’s *Tabulatura Nova*. According to Harald Vogel, the liturgical works of this collection were intended for inclusion in the Lutheran Mass and Vespers service.<sup>83</sup> When we examine the chorale variations it is evident that such settings may have been intended to be performed in alternation since each variation provides a single statement of the entire chorale melody. Vogel believes that these variations would have “made it possible for individual verses to be suitably inserted into a liturgical context as needed.”<sup>84</sup>

Example 4: Opening Measures of the Versus on Veni Redemptor Gentium<sup>85</sup>

*Versus One, mm. 1-8*



<sup>83</sup> Samuel Scheidt, *Tabulatura Nova*, Edited by Harald Vogel. Vol. 3. 3 vol (Leipzig: Edition Breitkopf, 1994), 6.

<sup>84</sup> Scheidt, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Musical examples transcribed from Samuel Scheidt, *Tabulatura Nova*, Edited by Harald Vogel. Vol. 3, 3 vols (Leipzig: Edition Breitkopf, 1994), 96-103. It is important to note that although the title of this work recalls Latin chant, this work could have also been paired with the German chorale *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*. This is the result of the German chorale melody being based upon the Latin chant *Veni Redemptor Gentium*.

6

*Versus Two, mm. 1-7*

5

*Versus Three, mm. 1-8*

5

Versus Four, mm. 1-8

Musical notation for measures 1-4 of Versus Four. The piece is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation is presented in grand staff format, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The melody in the treble clef begins with a whole rest in measure 1, followed by a series of quarter and eighth notes. The bass clef provides a steady accompaniment of quarter notes.

5

Musical notation for measures 5-8 of Versus Four. The notation continues in the same grand staff format. Measure 5 is marked with a '5' above the treble clef. The melody in the treble clef features a mix of quarter and eighth notes, while the bass clef continues with a consistent accompaniment.

Versus Five mm. 1-9

Musical notation for measures 1-4 of Versus Five. The piece is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation is presented in grand staff format. The melody in the treble clef starts with a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note, then continues with quarter and eighth notes. The bass clef accompaniment consists of quarter notes.

5

Musical notation for measures 5-8 of Versus Five. The notation continues in the same grand staff format. Measure 5 is marked with a '5' above the treble clef. The melody in the treble clef features a mix of quarter and eighth notes, while the bass clef continues with a consistent accompaniment.

9

Musical notation for measure 9 of Versus Five. The notation is presented in grand staff format. The melody in the treble clef consists of a few notes, and the bass clef has a single chord.

Versus one sets the various melodic phrases imitatively. In the remainder of the settings, we find a straightforward presentation of the melody as a cantus firmus that shifts from one voice to the next as one progresses through the variations. The melody is presented in the discant in the second versus, the alto in the third versus, the tenor in the fourth versus, and finally the bass in the fifth versus.

## Conclusion

The narrative of Lutheran *alternatim* ranges from conservative roots in the early Reformation to a fully-formed tradition in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century that incorporates congregation, choir, and organ into an integrated whole. The narrative of Lutheran *alternatim* parallels the gradual development of congregational participation, for it was through the cantional that we find an attempt to reconcile the figural music of the choir and the choraliter music of the congregation.<sup>86</sup> However, as congregational singing continued to permeate the musical life of the church throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the liturgical role of the choir began to shift to a performance role while organ accompaniment of the congregation became far more common.<sup>87</sup> As a result, the unity of choir, organ, and congregation began to fade.<sup>88</sup> Still, at its height, Lutheran *alternatim* was an impressive liturgical-musical tradition that attempted to achieve a foretaste of the heavenly worship to come.

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<sup>86</sup> Herl, 129.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>88</sup> Some discussion has taken place regarding whether or not German cantatas and passions would have presented future opportunities for the participation of choir, congregation, soloists, and orchestra into a single integrated whole. Such a notion would certainly take the idea of Lutheran *alternatim* to even greater heights. In the article on congregational singing in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG)*, Walter Blankenburg references the work of Wustmann when discussing markings in the *St. Mark Passion* of both Kuhnau from 1722 and Telemann of 1725. According to Wustmann, such markings call for the inclusion of the congregation in the singing of the chorales. However, it is important to note that many factors would have determined the congregation's ability to join in on the chorales. Blankenburg demonstrates a basic relationship between the simplicity of a chorale and the likelihood of congregational participation.

## Appendix One

### Early Sources of *Alternatim* Practice

#### The *Codex Faenza*

Edward Higginbottom argues that evidence for the cultivation of the organ within *alternatim* practices in the Roman church is best illustrated through the *Faenza Codex*. This codex contains one of the first extant settings for the organ of a *Kyrie* and *Gloria* of the Mass. By examining these settings, Higginbottom is able to demonstrate that the musical features of these works clearly point to their use in *alternatim* traditions.<sup>89</sup>

#### Example 1: Tenor from the Kyrie Organ Verset from the Codex Faenza<sup>90</sup>

The image displays a musical score for the Organ Tenor part of the First Kyrie from the Codex Faenza. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has two staves: the top staff is labeled "Organ Tenor - First Kyrie" and the bottom staff is labeled "Corresponding Chant Pitches". Both staves are in 6/8 time and show a sequence of notes. The second system also has two staves, with the top staff continuing the organ tenor part and the bottom staff showing the corresponding chant pitches. The notation includes various note values and rests, with a double bar line at the end of each system.

<sup>89</sup> Edward Higginbottom, "Organ Music and the Liturgy," In *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, edited by Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 131-132. Higginbottom states that "the left hand carries a plainchant line (the setting *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*) against which a florid right-hand provides an elaborate discantus." The portions of the plainchant utilized in the organ settings show how the organ would have alternated with the plainchant.

<sup>90</sup> Tenor parts and chant melody transcribed from Dragan Plamenac, ed. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae: Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 1-3.

Organ Tenor - Christe

Corresponding Chant Pitches

15

Organ Tenor - Last Kyrie

Corresponding Chant Pitches

12

### Germanic Sources for *Alternatim* Practice

During the late Middle Ages, we find the alternating performance of Latin sequence chants with vernacular hymns. Carl Schalk states that “many popular vernacular hymns of the later Middle Ages were sung in alternating fashion, the stanzas of the vernacular hymns sung by the people alternating with the traditional Latin sequence chants sung by the choir.”<sup>91</sup> The time frame of such alternation between choir and congregation is varied. Anthony Ruff cites

<sup>91</sup> Schalk, 15.

instances of this practice ranging from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>92</sup> Joseph Herl illustrates this practice by referencing the pairing of *Christ ist erstanden* and the Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*.<sup>93</sup> In this pairing, we can see the melodic similarities between the Latin chant and the German vernacular hymn. Such a practice would be retained by Lutherans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>94</sup>

Example 2: Comparison of Melody between *Victimae paschali laudes* and *Christ ist erstanden*<sup>95</sup>

*Chant*

Seq. 1.  
**V** *Victimae paschali laudes* immolent Christi-áni.  
 Agnus redémit óves : Christus innocens Pátri reconci-  
 li-ávit peccatóres. Mors et ví-ta du-élo conflixére mirán-  
 do : dux ví-tae mórtu-us, régnat vívus. Dic nóbis Marí- a,

*Chorale Melody*

<sup>92</sup> Herl, 27.

<sup>93</sup> Herl, 27-28.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>95</sup> Chant adopted from Catholic Church, *The Liber Usualis: with introduction and rubrics in English*, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée & Co, 1961), 780.



Benedicimus te

Organ Tenor

Chant from Vatican Edition

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is labeled 'Organ Tenor' and contains a melodic line in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chant from Vatican Edition' and contains a similar melodic line in bass clef with a common time signature. The two staves are aligned to show the relationship between the organ tenor and the original chant.

Glorificamus te

Organ Tenor

Chant from Vatican Edition

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is labeled 'Organ Tenor' and contains a melodic line in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature. The bottom staff is labeled 'Chant from Vatican Edition' and contains a similar melodic line in bass clef with a common time signature. The two staves are aligned to show the relationship between the organ tenor and the original chant.

The second manuscript is the *Winsem Manuscript*, which dates from 1430 to 1431. It contains a *Sanctus* that is divided into the following sections: *Sanctus*, *Dominus*, and *In Excelsis*.<sup>99</sup> These portions of the *Sanctus* borrow material from the corresponding Gregorian chant that provides the foundation for these versets to be used in alternation. Schrade states that the “relation of the tenor to the Gregorian chant shows how the organ and choir alternated in the performance of this *Sanctus*.”<sup>100</sup> The most likely *alternatim* performance of this material would have included the organ playing the first and third *Sanctus* while the choir would have sung the second *Sanctus*. The entire *Sanctus* would have concluded with the organ verset based upon the chant melody from the *In Excelsis* section. Robert Sutherland Lord comes to the same conclusion with regards to the *alternatim* performance of this *Sanctus*.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Schrade, 331.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>101</sup> Lord, 201.

## Appendix Two

### Additional Analysis of Church Orders from 1523 to 1540

#### *The Kyrie*

From 1523 to 1540 we find ten church orders that highlight a Latin *Kyrie* with five more allowing for either a Latin or German performance.<sup>102</sup> In those five church orders, the indication of Latin appears first.<sup>103</sup> There are nine additional church orders from this period in which the language preference cannot be determined.<sup>104</sup> When analyzing the question of choral versus congregational performance, we find the church orders from 1523 to 1540 favoring choral renditions of the *Kyrie* on each occasion. One church order explicitly calls for a choral performance while nine others would most likely be choral because of their Latin indications.<sup>105</sup> Since organ versets like those in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* are based on chant, they could have been used in *alternatim* during the Latin *Kyries*.

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<sup>102</sup> Herl, 209. It is at this point in Herl's text that he analyzes the distribution of Latin versus German and choral versus congregational settings within the church orders. It is from this discussion and his subsequent tables highlighting church orders from 1523 to 1780 that the information in the tables found in this discussion are obtained.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 216. Within Appendix Four of the Herl text, Joseph Herl discusses his symbols that serve as abbreviations for what he finds in the church orders throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this appendix we learn of his use of L/G or G/L for the church orders that indicates both German and Latin as possibilities; however, it is also important because the order of languages represented in the abbreviation is the sequence in which the indications are given in the church order.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

*Table 1: Performance and Language Preference of the Kyrie in Church Orders from 1523-1540*<sup>106</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin/German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
10	5	5	1	9	1	9	0	0

### *The Gloria*

From 1523 to 1540, we find six church orders that highlight a Latin rendition while eleven allow the flexibility of either Latin or German; however, Latin is listed first within the wording of the church order in each instance.<sup>107</sup> Four church orders call for a German rendering of the *Gloria* while one allows for a Latin and German performance.<sup>108</sup> This evidence once again shows that Latin was the dominant language in early *Glorias*. Two church orders from this period call for choral performance while five lean in that direction because of the Latin indication given within the order. Two church orders allow for either a congregational performance or choral performance.<sup>109</sup>

*Table 2: Performance and Language Preference of the Gloria in Church Orders from 1523-1540*<sup>110</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin/German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
6	4	11	1	8	2	5	0	2

<sup>106</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 209.

<sup>107</sup> Herl, 210 and 216. This statement once again calls upon the abbreviation system utilized by Joseph Herl in Appendix Four.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* The statistical analysis stems from information provided by tables given in Appendix Three of Joseph Herl's text.

<sup>110</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 210.

*The Credo*

The *Credo* is the exception to this pattern. As we have seen from Luther’s own liturgical writings, he called for the congregation to participate in the performance of the *Credo*. As a result of this, we clearly find that many of the church orders from the period between 1523 and 1540 call for both a German and congregational rendering of this portion of the Lutheran service. As a result, *alternatim* practice during this portion of the Lutheran service would likely not have occurred. Seven church orders from this period of time call for a congregational performance of the creed while four additional orders call for either choir or congregational.<sup>111</sup>

*Table 3: Performance and Language Preference of the Credo in Church Orders from 1523-1540*<sup>112</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin/German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
2	21	3	5	2	1	2	7	4

*The Sanctus*

For the *Sanctus*, thirteen church orders from 1523 to 1540 indicate Latin as the preferred language while only five call for German. Three church orders make allowances for either Latin or German.<sup>113</sup> Seven church orders explicitly indicate a choral performance while seven additional orders likely call for a choral performance because of the indication of Latin. None of the church orders from the period mention a congregational performance of the *Sanctus*.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Herl, 211.

<sup>112</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 211.

<sup>113</sup> Herl, 213.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

*Table 4: Performance and Language Preference of the Sanctus in Church Orders from 1523-1540*<sup>115</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin/German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
13	5	3	0	3	7	7	0	0

### *The Agnus Dei*

Only six church orders from this period call for Latin while eleven church orders called for German. Fourteen church orders provide some flexibility by allowing either language, but in such instances the Latin language is listed first in the overall wording of the church order.<sup>116</sup> From a choral perspective, we find that six church orders call for a choral performance of the *Agnus Dei* while only three church orders indicate a congregational rendition. The gap between congregational versus choral widens farther when we consider that four church orders lean towards a choral performance due to the indication of Latin.

*Table 5: Performance and Language Preference of the Agnus Dei in Church Orders from 1523-1540*<sup>117</sup>

Latin versus German					Choral versus Congregational			
Latin	German	Latin/German	Latin by Choir and German by Congregation	Not Specified	Choir	Choir through Latin designation	Congregational	Congregation or Choir
6	11	14	1	1	6	4	3	1

As we can see from this overview, with the exception of the creed, the choral performance of movements from the Ordinary was the dominant method during the period of

<sup>115</sup> Table information adopted from Herl, 213.

<sup>116</sup> Herl, 213.

<sup>117</sup> Table information adopted from Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 213.

time between 1523 and 1540. The data compiled by Herl continues to support this conclusion through the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Herl, 209-214. In the information provided by Herl in Appendix Three, we can see that the trends of choral performances are largely retained throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, beginning in the period from 1523 through 1540 we do see language flexibility, which continues through the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In addition to items relating to the Ordinary of the Mass, Herl's Appendix Three contains information regarding the Propers of the Mass as well.

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