

Music in Martin Luther's Theology

To my beloved wife and daughter, Jo and Ode, who have taught me to persevere.

Musica maximum, immo divinum est donum, ideo satanae summe contrarium, quia per eam multae et magnae tentationes pelluntur. Diabolus non expectat, cum ea exercetur.

— Martin Luther, WATr 1: no. 968, 1-3.

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Preface

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Yakub E. Kartawidjaja

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Abbreviations

- BC The Book of Concord. The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert. Minneapolis. Fortress.
- LW Luther's Works. American Edition. 55 vols. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann. St Louis: Concordia and Philadelphia: Fortress.
- StA Martin Luther Studienausgabe. Herausgegeben von Hans-Ulrich Delius. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt GmbH, Berlin/Leipzig.
- WA Martin Luther. Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. 66 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1883-1993.
- WABr Briefwechsel
- WADB Deutsche Bibel.
- WATr Tischreden

1 Introduction

1.1 Prologue

Before we begin to undertake this study, first, I would like to pose one simple question: why examine this topic: *Music in Martin Luther's Theology*? The answer is that I was a musician who made a life-changing decision to leave this career in order to pursue God's calling into ministry. And in my theological study in recent years I have become fascinated by Reformation history, especially by the life and work of Luther, who propagated the doctrine of justification through faith alone, and who dared to write and publish the 95 theses that changed the course of world history. Moreover, I was also interested in Luther's *Anfechtung*, especially in his personal encounter with the devil, which in his case explains why he valued music more highly than some of the other reformers did. It is, therefore this combined interest in Luther's theology and my passion for music which have strongly influenced my decision to integrate both subjects into the present study. My interest soon grew as I saw that the research centered on Luther's thoughts about music have developed and flourished recently. For instance, to note but a few of the most recent studies, from the first academic dissertation on Luther and music by the Lutheran scholar Karl Honemeyer's *Luthers Musikanschauung* (1941), to an extensive work by Robin A. Leaver titled *Luther's Liturgical Music* (2007), to insightful books by Miikka Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure* (2013) and Robin A. Leaver's *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (2017). However, most of these previous studies examined Luther's musical thoughts without much investigation of the relationship between his theology of gift, the devil, and joy and their relationship with music.¹ This present study thus seeks to fill that gap by interpreting Luther's theology of music in the light of his theology of the devil, focusing principally on his *Anfechtung*.

1.2 Outline of the Study

1.2.1 Object

The present study aims to analyse the impact of Luther's theology on his thoughts about music. I am aware of the complexity and broad literature on Luther and music, therefore this

¹ See details of previous studies in chapter 1.2.3.

study limits itself to an analysis of the topic by focusing on the three most important statements of Luther about music in his unfinished treatise Περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς [*On Music*].² The first statement is that music is “a gift of God and not of man” [*Dei donum hominum est*], second, music “creates a joyful soul” [*facit letos animos*], and third, music “drives away the devil” [*fugat diabolum*].³

This approach is prompted by the fact that Luther’s understanding of music cannot be separated from his theological concepts. He makes the correlation between real faith and music in the preface to the *Babst* hymnal:

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.⁴

This writing clearly suggests that Luther’s understanding of music was undergirded by his theology. Therefore a solid understanding of Luther’s theology is necessary for understanding his thoughts on music.

1.2.2 Method

This research examines Luther’s theology of music from an interdisciplinary method which combines a historical analysis with a theological interpretation. The focus of this study is not liturgical nor hymnological but strictly theological, so there will be no discussion with regard to the theoretical nor practical aspects of music, such as concerning rhythm, modes, or the melodies of Luther’s hymns. I will approach the analysis from the basis of the following questions: How do his statements that music is a gift of God, that it drives away the devil, and that it creates a joyful soul relate to each other and to his theology in general? What is the impact of his theology of the devil on his thoughts about music? Was he the originator of these three statements that music is a gift of God, that it drives away the devil, and that it creates a joyful soul, or was he influenced to adopt that view by others? What is the uniqueness of Luther’s thoughts about music?

To answer the questions, the second chapter begins with a broad view which examines the history of musical theology in the early church to the late medieval view from the most

² WA 30.2:696.

³ WATr 6: no. 7034, “Denn die Musica ist ein Gabe und Geschenke Gottes, nicht ein Menschen Geschenk. So vertreibt sie auch den teuffel, und machet die Leut fröhlich.”

⁴ WA 35:477, 6-9, “Denn Gott hat unser hertz und mut fröhlich 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 fröhlich und mit lust dauon singen und sagen, das es andere auch hören und herzu komen.”

important ecclesiastical authorities, and evaluates their influences on Luther's musical viewpoint. Followed by investigating a more specific view where Luther was born and raised, that is, his life in connection with music in different educational settings, from his childhood to university level, to show how music played an important role in his life. Moreover, I also present a systematic survey of Luther's musical reform in the area of pedagogy, performance and production, in the university, church and society.⁵ Luther's standing in his time and his musical background described how music played an important role in his life. They serve as an essential starting point in this study for further discussions of his thoughts on music.

The third chapter analyses Luther's thoughts that music is a gift of God whose primary function is to expel the devil. I will begin to evaluate Luther's writings about gift in his theological writings (3.1). As for Luther's theology of music, I will examine his most systematic account of music, *Encomium musices*, which will be analysed according to the following schema: sound and harmony, art of birdsong, human voice, the power of music, the Holy Spirit's instrument, and artistic music (3.2). I then analyse the relationship of Luther's theology of gift and his thoughts about music as gift of God (3.3).

In the fourth chapter, this study examines Luther's statement that music drives away the devil. I investigate Luther's theology of the devil in its relation to his *Anfechtung* (4.1). For Luther's thoughts on music in relation with the devil, I will investigate his letter to Ludwig Senfl (1530), his poem *Fraw Musica* (1538), and the *Tischreden* (4.2). Finally, in the last section, I will analyse the relationship of Luther's theology of the devil and his thoughts about music in relation with exorcism in his hymn *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* (4.3).

The fifth chapter examines Luther's statement that music creates a joyful soul, which is a logical consequence of exorcism. First, I will evaluate Luther's understanding of joy in his theological writings (5.1). In the following section, I examine Luther's thoughts about music in: *The Last Words of David* (1543), the *Babst* hymnal (1545), and his interpretation of Ps 4:1 (5.2). Then in the last section, I will analyse the connection between Luther's theology of joy with his understanding of music in his hymn *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn* (5.3).

In the sixth chapter, this study presents a comparison between Luther and his contemporaries' view of music.

In the final chapter, I will conclude the investigation of the impact of Luther's theology of the devil on his thoughts about music.

⁵ The detailed discussion of Luther's literary texts productions on music will be presented in each chapters from 3-5. Only Luther's related works will be analysed in the study.

1.2.3 Sources

This study focuses on two elements of Luther's writings: First, his theological writings of gift, the devil, and joy; and second, his writings about music. There is much information about his theology and music in his writings which offer sufficient materials for a complete study. I will present all of Luther's writings that are used in this study.⁶ Luther's theological writings collected in the *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [WA], the *Studienausgabe* [StA], and the English edition of Luther's Works [LW]. His thoughts about music are collected in the following sources: *Formula Missae* (1523), his preface to Johann Walter (1524), *Deutsche Messe* (1525), treatise *Against the Heavenly Prophets* (1525), Luther's unfinished draft treatise *On Music* (1530).⁷ *Praefatio zu den Symphoniae iucundae* (1538), the poem *Fraw Musica* (1538), Burial hymnal (1542), treatise of *The Last Words of David* (1543), preface to the *Babst* hymnal (1545), in his commentaries on Genesis and psalms, the *Tischreden*, Luther's letters to Spalatin (1523), Agricola (1530), Ludwig Senfl (1530), Matthias Weller (1534), and Marcus Crodel (1542), and in Luther's hymn works *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* and *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn*. All of these writings served as the most important sources for this study.

1.3 History of Research

There was a growing tendency to treat Luther and music in a more independent manner throughout the nineteenth century. From German Lutheran churches, liturgical traditions to England in the later eighteenth century which interest in Lutheran hymnody and music, then to North America. Thus I present here briefly articles on Luther and music that were published in Germany (1825), *Berliner allegemeine musikalische Zeitung*; in France (1830), *Revue musicale*; in the USA (1820), *The Euterpeiad, or Musical Intelligencer 1*; and finally in England (1837), *The Musical World* 7. Then in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries various studies also appeared: Johannes Rautenstrauch (1907), Karl Anton (1916), Hermann Abert (1924), Hans Joachim Moser (1925), Friedrich Blume (1931), and Christhard Mahrenholz (1937).⁸

⁶ For complete information on Luther's literal and musical works, see chapter 2.3.3.

⁷ WA 30.2:696.

⁸ For more detail see Leaver 2007, 4-5.

In the decades following the Second World War, when a significant number of church music institutions were created, numerous journals and short articles about Luther's thoughts on music were written. Here I present briefly the most noteworthy scholarship: In 1941, the first academic dissertation on Luther and music, *Luthers Musikanschauung* by Karl Honemeyer appeared, with a focus on Luther's thoughts in its historical background. One of Honemeyer's most interesting findings is the school book of an unknown boy in Chemnitz (1506-1508) that contains a *laus musica*, a musical poem exhibiting a close reminiscence of some of Luther's texts. He discusses the view of music in scholastic theology, monastic education and humanism. He makes the assertion that the musical theology of German mysticism could have influenced Luther.⁹

In 1946 Walter Buszin wrote a most influential article titled *Luther on Music* containing a compilation of Luther's writings on music. It contains more of historical account of Luther's involvement with music, and therefore it helps to established his position in the history of music. He concluded that Luther's whole approach to music ultimately helped substantially to produce not only great hymns, but also great choral and instrumental music.

In 1948, a book with the title *Luther and Music* was published by Paul Nettl and although dependent on the translations of Buszin it nonetheless includes wider research. It provides useful insights into Luther's understanding of music and about J.S. Bach's understanding of theology. He ascertains that by the time of Bach, Germans and their culture were the dominant force in European music; before that, it had been the Italians. And it was Martin Luther's understanding of music that put Bach on the road to musical greatness, especially in vocal music. And he may well be right to say that the songs of Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, and Hugo Wolf would have been impossible without Luther.

In 1954, Christoph Wetzel defended his unprinted German dissertation about Luther and music, *Die theologische Bedeutung der Musik im Leben und Denken Martin Luthers*. It consists of three parts: the historical backdrop, music in Luther's life, and a systematic examination of the purpose of music. Wetzel sees Luther's conception of the purpose of

⁹ In his opinion the German mystics may have taught Luther about the connection between singing with one's heart [*corde*] and one's mouth [*ore*]. Johann Tauler sees three ways to praise God, of which the highest is complete silence. "Wenn solche Gedanken von Luther bei Tauler gefunden wurden, so mochten sie ihn wohl in den frühen Kampffahren um 1520 bei seinem Urteil über die veräusserlichte Kirchenmusik, bei welcher der von religiösen Glut erfüllte Mönch die innere Kraft des Glaubens vermisste, mitbestimmen. In der späteren Zeit verstummen solche Äusserungen, und nichts wäre verkehrter, als in ihnen den massgeblichen Zug in Luthers grundsätzlicher Haltung gegenüber der Musik zu sehen" [p. 79]. Honemeyer, 1985, 75-79. Later, Wetzel (1954, viii) sees Honemeyer's idea of the possible influence of German mysticism in Luther's theology of music as poorly substantiated. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 3.

music as a helpful device to make people more receptive to the Word of God.¹⁰ Wetzel subsequently developed two basic convictions in his dissertation: First, music is a part of the temporal realm [*weltliches Regiment*] and second, its office in the church is to praise God.¹¹ In 1961, Wetzel continued to develop his ideas in his *Die Träger des liturgischen Amtes im evangelischen Gottesdienst bei dem Apostel Paulus und bei Martin Luther*. He tries to find an appropriate place for music in the worship of the Lutheran church. Wetzel's specific point of view is the office of the church, in which he distinguishes between the preaching office [*das Predigtamt*] and the praising office [*das Lobamt*], as the office of church music. Wetzel's intention is to guard the primacy of the Word in relationship to music, thus he suggests that the purpose of music is not to proclaim the gospel, but to praise God.¹²

In 1967 Oskar Söhnngen wrote a book on the topic as well, his *Theologie der Musik*, which serves as a general introduction to the theology of music, which provides a basis for a Protestant theology of music.¹³ Söhnngen discusses the history of music from the New Testament through the Reformation, highlighting the various manifestations of musical forms.¹⁴ An expansive segment of the work is committed to church music. Söhnngen provides a tentative Trinitarian account of music at the conclusion of the book.¹⁵ Many articles on Luther and music have been based on Söhnngen's study, as it also contains a separate chapter on the musical views of the young Luther.¹⁶ In 1971, Winfried Kurzschinkel published an exhaustive account on the theology of music from a Catholic point of view, *Die theologische*

¹⁰ "Der Musik kommt hier also keine weitere Aufgabe zu auf die Menschen einen natürlich-sinnlichen Reiz auszuüben und gewisse in der Natur des Menschen liegende Hemmnisse beiseite zu räumen: so z. B. die Trägheit des Herzens und Willens sich aufzumachen, um dem Wort zu begegnen. Und dann erfüllt die Musik ihren Zweck darin, dass sie es durch ihre, Süßigkeit' menschlich angenehmer macht sich täglich unter das Wort zu stellen. So ist die Musik geradezu cooperator Evangelii, weil sie *domina et gubernatrix affectuum humanorum* ist." Wetzel 1954, 185. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 3-4.

¹¹ Anttila 2013, 4.

¹² "Es ist nicht sachgemäss, wenn innerhalb der lutherischen Theologie vom Verkündigungsauftrag der liturgischen Musik geredet wird. Viel angemessener findet der Sachverhalt in dem Begriff, Lobamt seinen Ausdruck. Überall, wo betont vom Verkündigungs-charakter der Kirchenmusik geredet wird, ist man in der Gefahr, Luthers Anschauung zu verkennen und Chor und Orgelempore zur zweiten Kanzel zu befördern." Wetzel 1961, 316. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 5-6.

¹³ "So dürfte deutlich geworden sein, dass für den Versuch einer Theologie der Musik auf evangelischem Boden nur bei Martin Luther Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten gegeben sind. Das schliesst nicht aus, das sich auch von den anderen Reformatoren, Huldreich Zwingli und Johannes Calvin, manches Wichtige für die Erkenntnis des Phänomens der Musik und für die Beantwortung der Fragen nach der Möglichkeit und den Voraussetzungen ihrer gottesdienstlichen Verwendung lernen lässt. Aber zu einer theologischen Bewertung der Musik, geschweige denn zu einem *Topos de musica* im System der evangelischen Dogmatik kann man von ihren Positionen aus nicht vorstossen." Söhnngen 1967, 260.

¹⁴ "Die Stellung des Neuen Testaments und der Reformatoren zur Musik;" 113-66, "Erscheinungsweisen und Bedeutungsgestalten der Musik." The account on the history of theology is often lacking in the studies on Luther and music. Although Söhnngen later comments on the views of Augustine, Boethius, etc., the historical part itself switches from the New Testament to the Reformation. Söhnngen 1967, 11-112.

¹⁵ "Versuch einer trinitarischen Begründung der Musik." Söhnngen 1967, 261-340.

¹⁶ Söhnngen 1967, 100-12. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 4-5.

Bestimmung der Musik, which is in many regards is indebted to Söhngen. Kurzschenkel considers Luther to be the most preeminent theologian of music since Augustine. In addition, he recognizes the ecumenical potential of Luther's ideas, arguing that they need not be restricted to any particularly Protestant point of view.¹⁷

In 1985, Brian L. Horne wrote an article titled *A Civitas of Sound* related to Luther's theology of music on the order of creation. He affirms that, for Luther, the creation of the world is the revelation of a divine order which is in the mind of the Creator. Music and theology are subsequently the two sole survivors after the tragedy of the Fall. Since music also represents the divine order it is a sure indication of the stability of God in a pliable and unstable world. Horne is conscious of Luther being terrified of disorder, noting that the reformer turned to the most formal of all arts, "The most remote from the untidiness of life; that which is least susceptible to false interpretation; that which . . . does not 'mean', but only 'is.'"¹⁸

In 1988, Carl Schalk, a composer of church music, published the book *Luther on Music*, one of the first academically rigorous studies of the subject. His approach is different than Buszin's in the way that he elaborately presents Luther's thoughts about music in a wider context: First, to establish the importance of music in Luther's early life. Second, to show how Luther's developing an understanding of music in the Christian life and worship led him to practical and many faceted involvement in a variety of music's aspects. Third, to bring several different thoughts that dominated Luther's theological understanding of the role of music in the church's life and ministry.

In 1993, the book *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone* by Joyce L. Irwin was published. It tells the story of the later development of a Lutheran theology of music, up to Johann Sebastian Bach. Irwin asserts that Luther's positive attitude to music was cherished in Lutheran orthodoxy and pietism. As a matter of fact, future generations went to the extreme. In contrast to Calvinism, it was even maintained that music is not an *adiaphora*, but an obligation in the church. Criticizing Lutheran scholars broadly and Söhngen in particular,

¹⁷ "Zugegeben, die einseitige Hervorhebung von im Laufe der Zeit entstellten, abgesunkenen oder verdunkelten Wahrheiten bot Luther dazu fruchtbare Anregungen, und es ist sein bleibendes Verdienst, in seiner geschichtlichen Stunde die theologische Sicht der Musik vertieft und das Musizieren als eine treibende Kraft im christlichen Leben entdeckt zu haben. Jedoch scheint es nicht so zu sein, die gewonnenen Einsichten unablässig evangelisch-lutherisches Sondergut wären oder bleiben müssten . . . Obwohl nun manche Gesichtspunkte lutherischer Musikauffassung eng mit spezifisch reformatorischen Lehren verknüpft erscheinen . . . so scheint doch der wesentliche Gehalt von Luthers Musiktheologie nicht angetastet zu werden, wenn wir darauf verzichten müssen, in unsere Darstellung die betreffenden Gebiete lutherischer Theologie mit einzubeziehen." Kurzschenkel 1971, 153-54. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 5.

¹⁸ Horne 1985, 28. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 8.

Irwin argues that it is not plausible that Luther assigned a kerygmatic function to music. This view is based on insufficient sources and a selective reading of Luther. That music can proclaim the gospel is, according to Irwin, a thought first uttered by Johann Mattheson, an eighteenth century composer and music theorist.¹⁹

In 1994, a book by Christoph Krummacher, *Musik als praxis pietatis. Zum Selbstverständnis evangelischer Kirchenmusik* appeared. He took a critical stance towards the previous studies. He was anxious to show that when Luther speaks about music, he means music as singing, not just as related to the spoken word. He criticizes Söhnngen by noting that although he expressly wants to safeguard the theological significance of music, he speaks exclusively about vocal music. Against Wetzel, Krummacher points out the distinction between proclamation and praise does not work. If a musician should abstain from proclaiming the gospel, should the preacher abstain from praising God? His own emphasis on the significance of music in Luther's thinking is the freedom to make music. As a consequence, Krummacher argues, music in the church is not based on the doctrine of the two realms [as in Wetzel] or on it being instituted in the New Testament [as Söhnngen sees], but on the Christian freedom to sing.²⁰

And in 1995, Hubert Guicharrousse wrote a book with the title *Les Musiques de Luther* that takes into account the musical environment at the beginning of sixteenth century, the theological background and musical agenda of the Wittenberg Reformation. Luther's Bible translation and its musical implications, and nearly all discussions in Luther's works regarding music, musical instruments, or singing.²¹

In 2002, Johannes Block published *Verstehen durch Musik: Das gesungene Wort in der Theologie* that approaches Luther's thoughts on music through the hermeneutical perspective of Gerhard Ebeling. In his hermeneutics, the reader tries not only to understand the text, but

¹⁹ "In spite of all that has been said about music as the *viva vox evangelii* in Lutheranism, there is indeed no evidence that anyone prior to Mattheson dared to suggest that music could serve as well as the sermon for proclaiming the gospel. Söhnngen's evidence that Luther regarded music as a means of proclaiming the Word rests on two brief passages from the *Tischreden* which are hardly explicit on this topic and on the Smalcald Articles which specify the various means by which the gospel is made available: preaching, baptism, the sacrament of the altar, the power of the keys and '*mutuum colloquium et consolatio fratrum*.' Only by connecting this phrase with the words of Col 3:16 and Eph 5:18 is it possible to understand music as included in this mode of proclamation. A recent article by Matthias Viertel points out that Söhnngen's translation of Col 3:16 connects Word and singing in a way that Luther's does not. Placing more importance on the critical comments by Luther which Söhnngen attributes to an earlier phrase of Luther's development, Viertel calls into question the view of Söhnngen and others that Luther assigned music a kerygmatic function." Irwin 1993, 147. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 7-8.

²⁰ "Kirchenmusik ist nicht da, weil sie von Gott gefördert wäre, sondern weil der Glaube an Artikulationsmöglichkeiten verlöre, wenn er sich nicht auch der Musik bediente." Krummacher 1994, 51-52. For details see Anttila 2013, 6.

²¹ Anttila 2013, 7.

also becomes understood by the text.²² Accordingly, Block emphasized the existential nature of music according to Luther. From this perspective, understanding music occurs only when one is understood through music, that is, touched and moved by it. The larger context to which Block's study is associated is the self-understanding of practical theology. He aims to define what he calls *hermeneutical hymnology*, in which singing a text requires something more than analysing and explaining it. The singer is personally involved in the song, leading to an existentialist redefinition of practical theology.²³

In 2007, Robin A. Leaver wrote *Luther's Liturgical Music*, which is much more elaborate and insightful than Buszin's, Schalk's, and Nettle's works, as it contains a balanced view of Luther and music. He discusses the theological significance of music. And he presents Luther's theological understanding of music in general, however, dismissing the notion that Luther was a dilettante as a musician. He argues that Luther's liturgical songs must be understood theologically. His book is replete with tables, figures, and musical examples, so that the volume can arguably be called one of the most extensive sources of Luther and music.

In 2009, an article by Paul Helmer, *The Catholic Luther and Worship Music* appeared which defines Luther's theology of music in cosmological terms. Grounded in the medieval theory of music and well-versed in the numerical symbolism in fifteenth century polyphony, Helmer posits that music was, for Luther, first and foremost *numerus sonans*, a sounding number. Luther's idea of music therefore fell in the continuum of the mathematical discipline of music in medieval universities.²⁴

In 2013 a book *Luther's Theology of Music* by Miikka Anttila was published which explores Luther's understanding of music with an emphasis on aesthetics, in particular the pleasures of music. He emphasizes the relationship between the Word and music, which is to delight human hearts. There is a long discussion on a historical theology of music in relation with the delights of music from Antiquity to the late medieval period, in which it has been an

²² "Was Verstehen im tiefsten Sinne bedeutet, nämlich dass es nicht nur zu einem Begreifen des Textes, sondern auch zu einem Ergriffenwerden kommt, dass das comprehendere von der Schrift ausgeht und nicht vom Ausleger, dass das Verstehen etwas Passives ist und alle Aktivität beim Text liegt, dass der Text zum Subjekt und der Verstehende zum Objekt wird, zum Gefangenen des Textes, das wird wohl an kaum einen anderen christlichen Exegeten so eindrücklich wie an Luther. Denn: Scripture virtus est hec, quod non mutatur in eum, qui eam studet, sed transmutat suum amatorem in sese ac suas virtutes . . . Quia non tu me mutabis in te . . . sed tu mutaberis in me." Ebeling 1971, 3. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 6-7.

²³ Block employs the words "theologisieren," which means the traditional, objective way of practising theology, and "theologieren" by which he refers to personal, existential encounter with the issue in text. Block 2002, 178-89. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 7.

²⁴ Helmer 2009. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 8.

object of praise and suspicion. He relates delight with affectivity in Christian life, so that Anttila sees music as a gift of God, to respond to his goodness through thankfulness and praise. In particular, singing which express the feelings that display this affective character shows in Luther's theology. In the relation with the exercise of the Word, music in its sweetness has the ability to move human hearts to joy. Thus, the pleasure of music is the greatest and purest joy on earth. For Antilla, the most important features of music in Luther's theology are pleasure and joy.

In 2017 Chiara Bertoglio wrote the book, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*. The book introduces sixteenth century church music without a confessional bias. It begins with four topical chapters: on the sixteenth century, music, sacred music, and the views of various reformers and church leaders about music. Separate chapters follow on Luther, Calvin, the Church of England, the Council of Trent, and Catholic music after Trent. Then comes a chapter on how the different confessions used music to air their disagreements, followed by one that identifies similarities and traces borrowings among confessions. The final chapter on women's music is interesting, although the paucity of sources renders its conclusions tentative, as the author admits.²⁵ The contributions of women to several Lutheran hymns is well known, but her assertions that the very role of mothers as the catechists of their family was likely to stimulate their creativity is unwarranted. This book is well done; especially its research on Catholicism, as it shows how the study of music in the context of the sixteenth century Reformation can even have influence on today's believers.

Most recently, in 2017 Robin Leaver wrote a book with the optimistic title of *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* related to the origin of congregational hymnody in Wittenberg under the leadership of Luther. It discusses the situation and condition of worship in Wittenberg and the vernacular folk songs used in Luther's time as well as the liturgies that developed in Wittenberg, from traditional masses to congregational singing.

In addition to this, Luther's views of music has been mentioned in numerous articles,²⁶ dictionary entries,²⁷ and accounts on church music history.²⁸ With all this scholarship it might

²⁵ Bertoglio 2017, 631-32.

²⁶ The most important articles are: Grew 1938, Spelman 1951, Blankenburg 1957, Hoelty-Nickel 1960, Schneider 1997, Mannermaa 1991, and Anttila 2010. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 9.

²⁷ Blankenburg 1960, 1961b, Joncas 2002, Leaver 2001b, Stalman 2004, and Schilling 2005. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 9.

²⁸ Blume 1975, 5-14. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 9.

be argued that there is hardly the need for yet another study on Luther and music. However, the previous literary productions contain no works that analytically deal extensively about the relationship and impact of Luther's theology of gift, the devil and joy on his thoughts about music. With this in mind, I hope that this study can bring progress to scholarship on the Reformation.

2 Luther as Musician

This chapter analyses the historical background to Luther's thoughts on music in two respects: First, a broad view on how Christian authorities evaluated music beginning from the early church until the fifteenth century, which might have influenced Luther.²⁹ And second, a narrower viewpoint focusing on Luther's musical background. This long history of musical theology culminates in certain figures from the late medieval era, notably Gerson and Tinctoris, which may have had a direct impact on Luther's thoughts about music. Thus, the first section aims at providing a broad overview of the mixed receptions of music from the church fathers to the late medieval era (2.1). The next section investigates Luther's musical background from early childhood to his monastery education (2.2). The last examines Luther's musical reform in the areas of pedagogy, performance and production for the school, church and society in his active life as a reformer (2.3).

2.1 Music: From Antiquity to the Medieval Era

Influential church fathers interpreted the Bible and set down principles to guide the church. Most church fathers rejected the idea of cultivating music simply for enjoyment and held to Plato's principle that beautiful things exist to remind us of divine beauty. This view underlay many pronouncements about music by church leaders and by later theologians of the Reformation. For early church leaders, music was a servant of religion, and only music that opened the mind to Christian teachings and practices was worthy of hearing in church. Believing that music without words cannot do this, most church fathers condemned instrumental music. Although Christians may have used lyres to accompany hymns and psalms in their homes, musical instruments were not used in church. For this reason, the entire tradition of Christian music for over a thousand years was one of unaccompanied singing.³⁰

The reason most early church fathers harbored doubts about music was due to the prominence of music in the pagan cults, which was directed particularly towards musical instruments. Justin Martyr (*ca.* 100-165), criticised music performed for Roman holidays as lascivious, "Your pagan public assemblies I have come to hate. For there are excessive

²⁹ As this study is strictly theological, so the discussion of music focuses on its theological value, instead of its theoretical, philosophical, and practical aspects.

³⁰ Burkholder 2006, 28-29.

banquets and subtle flutes that provoke people to lustful movements.”³¹ Clement of Alexandria (*ca.* 150-215), like Justin, says that the pipes, psalteries, choirs, dances, Egyptian clapping of hands, and such disorderly frivolities could influence people to become immodest. But in spite of these reservations, Clement is able to put a charitable construction on the use of instrumental music, if even only metaphorically, for instance, to praise God on the psaltery as the tongue is the psaltery of the Lord. For Clement, the criterion of distinguishing permissible from impermissible music is temperance, “Temperate harmonies are to be allowed. But we are to banish as far as possible from our robust mind those liquid harmonies. For, through pernicious arts in the modulations of tones, they lead persons to effeminacy and indecency.”³² Justin and Clement differed from Luther on their views towards musical instrumental in which Luther is promoting their use as it helps singing and praising God [chapter 5.2.3]. Clement’s view of “harmony” was similar to Luther’s in relation to carnal music [chapter 4.2.1].

On singing, Cyprian (*ca.* 200-258), had reservations about music as the instrument of the devil, and he says, “God also gave man a voice. Yet, love songs and indecent things are not to be sung merely on that account.” Indeed, quite differently from Luther’s positive view, music for Cyprian can primarily be an instrument of the devil leading people away from disciplined Christian living, “[satan] presents to the eyes seductive forms and easy pleasures, by the sight of which he might destroy chastity. He tempts the ears with harmonious music, so that by the hearing of sweet sounds, he may relax and weaken Christian vigor.”³³ Luther clearly disagreed with Cyprian since he relaxed with his table companions, singing not only motets of Josquin des Prez but also on occasion popular love songs.³⁴ So, in contrast to Cyprian, for Luther, music expels the devil and changes the heart of the people from sadness to joyfulness.

Basil of Caesarea (*ca.* 329-379), lists several functions of psalmody, among which are its power against evil forces, “a psalm drives away the devil.” He argued that the delight of psalmody had been devised by the Holy Spirit in order to draw the human race towards virtue. For Basil, psalms are the delightful means by which people are led to virtue and they are particularly efficacious for the young, as they are easily retained in the memory and can be disseminated by singing. They also calm and comfort and create communion and love in a

³¹ Justin Martyr. Quoted from Mattes 2017, 116.

³² Clement of Alexandria. Quoted from Mattes 2017, 116.

³³ Cyprian. Quoted from Mattes 2017, 117.

³⁴ Nettl 1948, 13-14.

community. As music has a capacity to restore, its suitability for people of both sexes and all ages, its educational value [particularly in matters of faith], and its power to move by stirring good emotions [“it gladdens feast days; it creates the grief which is in accord with God’s will, for a psalm brings a tear even from a heart of stone”].³⁵ For Basil, therefore, psalm singing is an instrument of the Holy Spirit that helps the children of God to retain doctrine in their memory and thus benefit the growth of their faith. The view of Basil might have influenced Luther’s views that music is the Holy Spirit’s instrument that encourages virtue and drives away the devil [chapter 3.2.5].

Ambrose (*ca.* 340-397), the fourth century bishop of Milan, was a musical leader in the early church. He is credited with promoting the singing of hymns as a means of strengthening faith and fortifying belief in true doctrines.³⁶ Ambrose believed that a psalm softens anger, offers a release from anxiety, and alleviates sorrow. He also pointed out that a child who refuses to learn other things takes pleasure in contemplating a psalm. In other words, it is a kind of play that advances learning more than stern discipline. Like Basil, Ambrose believes that other benefits of music concern social virtues.³⁷ Luther has similarities with Ambrose in “*sonora praedicatione*” that singing hymns to strengthen faith, even for Luther it grows faith and educates Christians in doctrinal teaching [chapter 3.2.5].

Augustine (354-430), in the tenth book of his *Confessions*, sums up the problem with regards to the power of music. On the one hand, the sensuous pleasure derived from music threatened to distract him from the words being sung and turned his attention away from the contemplation of God. Nevertheless, Augustine recognized the power of music to move the emotions, and enhanced desire to devotion, especially that of the newer and weaker minds among the faithful:

So I waver between the danger that lies in gratifying the senses and the benefits which, as I know from experience, can accrue from singing. Without committing myself to an irrevocable opinion, I am inclined to approve of the custom of singing in church, in order that by indulging the ears weaker spirits may be inspired with feelings of devotion. Yet when I find the singing itself more moving than the truth which it conveys, I confess that this is a grievous sin, and at those times I would prefer not to hear the singer.³⁸

He recalled “the tears that I shed on hearing the songs of the church in the early days, soon after I had recovered my faith.” Thus Augustine wavered “between the danger that lies in

³⁵ Basil of Caesarea. Quoted from Bertoglio 2017, 67-68.

³⁶ Seaton 2007, 20.

³⁷ Anttila 2013, 23-24.

³⁸ Augustine. Quoted from Mattes 2017, 117-18.

gratifying the senses and the benefits which . . . can accrue from singing.”³⁹ Augustine’s reservations, similar to those of Justin, Clement, and Cyprian, that is, “I ought not to allow my mind to be paralyzed by the gratification of my senses, which often leads it astray. For the senses are not content to take second place. Simply because I allow them their due, as adjuncts to reason, they attempt to take precedence and forge ahead of it, with the result that I sometimes sin in this way but am not aware of it until later.”⁴⁰ Luther reads this and views it in the best possible light to remove this obstacle from the path of his philosophy of music. This can be seen in the following excerpts, “Music is a beautiful and lovely gift of God which has often moved and inspired me to preach with joy. St Augustine was afflicted with scruples of conscience whenever he discovered that he had derived pleasure from music and had been made happy thereby; he was of the opinion that such joy is unrighteous and sinful. He was a fine pious man; however, if he were living today, he would hold with us.”⁴¹ Luther differs from Augustine in that he did not want to minimize the use of music in worship due to its power [chapter 3.2.5], rather, he uses music for its proper aim, that is, to cast away the devil, or combat his *Anfechtung* [chapter 4.2.1], and arouse the joyful spirit to praise and glorify God [chapter 5.2.3].

In sum, the views of music from the church fathers were similar to Luther’s in that they admit music’s power over human minds and hearts, although Luther did not share their inclination towards the negative effects of music. Luther’s view is similar to theirs in recognizing its benefits against the devil, although they did not boldly state the capacity of music to cast out the devil. Further similarities were that singing hymns fosters unity, and grows faith.

Early Medieval Views of Music

The history of music in medieval Europe is intertwined with the history of the Christian church, which was the dominant social institution during most of the Middle Ages.⁴² In the Middle Ages, music was part of the *quadrivium* of mathematical sciences; and that belongs to the tradition of *musica speculativa*. For the writers of the *musica speculativa*, the word music does not signify merely the music we hear in our daily life; it connotes harmony conceived broadly enough to encompass the relationships obtaining in the human body and psyche and

³⁹ Seaton 2007, 14.

⁴⁰ Mattes 2017, 117.

⁴¹ E, LXII, 111. Quoted from Buszin 1946, 89.

⁴² Burkholder 2006, 24.

governing the motions of planets.⁴³ Thus, the *musica speculativa* tradition treats music not as an activity to be practiced but as an object of contemplation [*speculatio*], contemplation that serves the moral edification of the soul as well as the intellectual edification of the mind. This appears clearly in the seminal treatise of the *musica speculativa* tradition, the *De musica* of Boethius, the first chapter of which is titled *Music Forms a Part of Us Through Nature, and Can Ennoble or Debase Character*.⁴⁴ Boethius (ca. 480-525) was the author of *De institutione Musica* [*On the Organization of Music*], and in it he codified many of the ancient ideas about music. He was concerned only with what he called *musica speculativa* [“speculative” or “reflective” music, from the Latin *speculum*, meaning mirror] because by its harmonic proportions music reflects mathematical principles. He addressed the *musicus* [the true musician], who understood the principles of music. Boethius saw no place in the liberal education for *musica practica*, the domain of the mere *cantor* [literally “singer,” but including all performing musicians], who had the talent to make beautiful sounds but no understanding of the principles of the art.⁴⁵ Boethius, like Plato, noted the ability of music to work great wonders on the affections. The therapeutic aspect of music fascinated Boethius, but since the whole structure of our soul and body has been joined by means of musical coalescence, some modes can disturb the body and soul, just as others bring tranquility.⁴⁶ More than anyone else, Boethius formed the musical mind of medieval culture.⁴⁷ His textbook became even more influential than Augustine in the Middle Ages as a university textbook for music. Moreover, it served as a basis for Luther’s textbooks, extending to the fourteenth century’s *Musica speculativa secundum Boethium* by Johannes de Muris. The latter may still have been used for musical education at Erfurt university where Luther studied.⁴⁸

Cassiodorus (ca. 485-585) saw music as being connected to Christian doctrine. Besides the movements of the stars and the pulsation of our veins, upright moral behavior is musical. The Scripture itself is musically arranged, the Ten Commandments make a “decachord” and the psalter is named after a musical instrument [psalterion] since “the exceedingly sweet and grateful melody of celestial virtues is contained within it.” Cassiodorus’ definition of music is overtly mathematical, reiterating that of Boethius’s *De Arithmetica*, “Musical science is the

⁴³ Strohm 2001, 293.

⁴⁴ Strohm 2001, 293.

⁴⁵ Seaton 2007, 10.

⁴⁶ Crockford 2017, 47.

⁴⁷ Begbie 2007, 87.

⁴⁸ Anttila 2013, 32.

discipline which treats of numbers in their relation to those things which are found in sounds, such as duple, triple, quadruple, and others called relative that are similar to these. Music therefore has a therapeutic value, as when David expelled the unclean spirit from Saul and Asclepiades restored a madman to his sanity by using music.”⁴⁹ The idea of Cassiodorus that music expelled unclean spirit might be similar to Luther’s, but it is different in substance as there was no indication of the Word of Christ that drives the devil away as maintained by Luther [chapter 3.2.5].

Isidore of Seville (560-636) wrote his encyclopedic *Etymologiae* in the seventh century. This set of works encompasses nearly everything inherited in the civilization. In the third book, Isidore deals with the liberal sciences. Although representative of the Boethian mathematical understanding of music, Isidore concedes the sensuous character of music when he defines music as *peritia modulationis sono cantuque consistens*. Isidore acknowledges both the cosmic dimensions and psychological power of music and argues that no science can be perfect without music because it pertains to everything.⁵⁰ This attitude is similar to Luther’s, and it places music in between mathematics in its rational proportions and rhetoric in its affective character [chapter 3.2.5].

High Medieval View of Music

In the high medieval era a slow development began towards a more practical understanding of music which implied that music is more about sounds than numbers. The move to understand music less in speculative terms and more as an art was clearly influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), who was a theologian influential for Luther. He emphasized experience and emotion; experience is, according to him, the way to attain the knowledge of God. Bernard devoted most of his literary output to the Song of Songs, which is primarily a book of experience. At first sight, in his comment on the Song of Songs, Bernard seems to promote the idea of singing “in the heart” instead of “with all the heart.” He states that this nuptial music is not heard outwardly. However, the experiential nature of his theology does not allow music to remain within the heart, and he was actively reforming the chant of the Cistercian Order. In a letter reflecting on the music of the Order, Bernard observes that the reason music should please the ear is that it could move the heart [*sic mulceat aures, ut moveat corda*]. Moreover Bernard did not adhere to the scruples of

⁴⁹ Anttila 2013, 36-37.

⁵⁰ Antilla 2013, 37.

Augustine concerning the relation between words and music. To Bernard, music does not annul the word but makes it fruitful [*sensum litterae non evacuet, sed fecundet*].⁵¹ Music is the language of experience, and so for Bernard the definition of music is *scientia recte canendi*. This definition involves no speculation on musical cosmology, but an expression of the joy of a loving heart. All of Bernard's theology applies to what he said about the Song of Songs; *sola quae cantat, audit* [only the voice that sings can understand].⁵² For Bernard, music is the language of experience. His idea is similar to Luther's in the sense that he has a positive attitude towards music, in particular, that the melodies help the text in the relation between words and music, however Luther took the point even further to state that the notes carry the beauty of its Creator that the words cannot express and enunciating praise to him [chapter 3.2.5].

Similarly for Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), music could help to move human *affectus* toward God. Aquinas summarizes most of his thoughts about theology and music in his *Summa Theologiae* [IIa Iiae, *quaestio 91*]. The latter part of *quaestio 91* is dedicated to music, posing the question: Is God to be praised with song? Col 3:16 speaks about *cantica spiritualia*, and Aquinas quotes Jerome's commentary on Eph 5:19, where he says that the voice is needed [*necessaria est*] to arouse human devotion towards God. Everything that can help the human *affectus* to move towards God is useful to Christian worship and most importantly, "it is evident that the human soul is moved in various ways according to the various melodies of sound."⁵³ Aquinas admits that singing is not good for mere pleasure [*propter delectationem*]. Hence, the use of music is meant *ad excitandam devotionem*. He emphasizes the fact that the songs of the church are aimed at inciting our inner devotion [*ut mens nostra incitetur ad devotionem interiorem*]. There is no doubt about the possibility of abusing music, but the basic intention of church music is to arouse devotion, especially that of the uneducated. For him, good music has three characteristic: joy [*hilariter*], attention [*attentive*], and devotion [*devote*]. That joy is a characteristic of true music is obvious, and praising God is an expression of joy, and gratitude of the heart turns to the *jubilus* of the mouth, that is, singing praise without words.⁵⁴ Thus, for Aquinas, it is also an expression of

⁵¹ "Cantus ipse, si fuerit, plenus sit gravitate; nec lasciviam resonet, nec rusticitatem. Sic suavis, ut non sit levis; sic mulceat aures, ut moveat corda. Tristitiam levet, iram mitiget; sensum litterae non evacuet, sed fecundet." PL 182, 610-11. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 38.

⁵² Anttila 2013, 38-39.

⁵³ "Manifestum est autem quod secundum diversas melodias sonorum animi hominum diversimode disponuntur." *Summa Theologiae* II-II, q.91, a.2. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 40.

⁵⁴ Augustine, on *jubilus* [rejoicing], "One who rejoices [*jubilat*] does not speak words, but it is rather a sort of sound of joy without words, since it is the voice of a soul poured out in joy and expressing, as best as it can, the

ineffable joy, with no words but only the voice. Attention means to be attentive both to the words of the chant and to the reason for singing, that is, the praise of God. Devotion is the feature that can make music a tool for God even when the words are not understood. In short, music has to move the whole being of a person: emotion [*hilariter*], intellect [*attentive*], and the will [*devote*].⁵⁵

Concerning musical instruments, Aquinas maintains that doctrine should not be conveyed with instrumental accompaniment, which is likely to produce mere enjoyment and which is not suited to spiritual people. With regards worship with musical instruments, he asserts that Old Testament worship has been replaced by the New Testament.⁵⁶ Aquinas might have indirect influence on Luther's concept of music as "next to theology," inasmuch as both theology and music are "subalternated sciences" taking their principles from higher sciences [revelation and arithmetic respectively]. Although for Luther the connection between theology and music is not just a matter of principle, as music is capable of proclaiming truth.⁵⁷ Aquinas is similar to Luther in understanding that singing is needed, and is an expression of joy [chapter 5.2.3; cf. chapters 5.2.1, and 5.2.2]. Though Aquinas is different than Luther in what benefit music has for all, not just for the uneducated. Also in their view on musical instruments, Luther clearly differs from Aquinas, who rejected its use in the church [like Zwingli and Calvin]. Instead, Luther promotes the use of musical instruments in the church to aid the singing [chapter 5.2.3].

Late Medieval View of Music

There were two early late medieval music theorists who combined *musica speculativa* with *musica practica*. First, Johannes de Muris (ca. 1290-1355) acknowledged that music had been at the heart of creation from the time before the first substances were separated. Music belonged to transcendental matters. Luther developed these insights further; the testimony of the psalmists to the creative gift of music was not only evidence for its essential nature but proof that the gifts of the Spirit were communicated through music itself.⁵⁸ The second is Marchetto da Padova; through the *Lucidarium* of 1318, dealing with plainchant broadly defined, and the *Pomerium*, dealing with mensuration, are certainly works of *musica*

feeling, though not grasping the sense . . . Filled with too much joy, he cannot explain in words what it is in which he delights . . . and whom does jubilation benefit but the ineffable God?" Quoted from Dickson 1996, 45.

⁵⁵ Anttila 2013, 41-42.

⁵⁶ Bertoglio 2017, 72.

⁵⁷ Bertoglio 2017, 205.

⁵⁸ Loewe 2013, 21-22.

practica, and both have a markedly speculative cast. This, indeed, is the model of the *musicus-cantor* that was to become the ideal of the Renaissance [compared with Boethius' view which saw no place for a *cantor*].⁵⁹ The history of musical theology saw a broader movement in the late medieval period which redefined music as a practical art and no longer saw it as a speculative science, advocated by Jean Gerson and Johannes Tinctoris. Though of course this does not mean that no science is involved in music. Instead, it is to note that for these thinkers, music is no longer tied to a cosmological ["harmony of the spheres"] or mathematical basis ["sounding number"] to ground its truth. Instead, the tendency of music theorists in the later Middle Ages was to honor the power of music to touch human affectivity. Thus, music is seen primarily as an art and not as a science in itself.⁶⁰ Luther's focus on the power of music on human emotions shows that he is in step with the movement, and even he still acknowledges its rational proportions [chapter 3.2.5].

There is scholarly consensus concerning Gerson's poem *De laude musice*, Tinctoris' treatise *Complexus effectuum musices*, and Herbenus's *De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis* that these volumes are of special importance for investigating the sources of Luther's thoughts about music. Jean Gerson (1363-1429) was a theologian, church politician, and chancellor of the University of Paris. For him, the method of true theology is to be more of penitential affection than intellectual investigation; so theology is an affective and practical science. Gerson wrote three treatises on music which are referred to under the title *Tractatus de Cantibus*. The last treatise *Carmina et centilogium de canticis* is a compilation of poems [*carmina*] and regulations about music. The second poem *De laude musice* is the best known of Gerson's musical works.⁶¹ This poem was used in the University of Erfurt where Luther studied and it also had a certain resonance in Wittenberg, since it was cited at some length in Adam von Fulda's *De musica* (1490), used by the author in his teaching in the university in the early sixteenth century.⁶² In this poem *De laude musice*, Gerson begins with the effects of music on the human spirit and soul. There is a striking resemblance with the second poem of the first book of *Consolatio Theologiae*, which speaks about the power of theology. Theology makes cares flee and gladdens the mind [*cure fugiunt mens hilarescit*]. Gerson also employs musical imagery on the same occasion. Theology is said to "lighten life's boredom and gloom and comfort by echoing Zion's songs" [*ac vite relevat tedia mente / dolat resonans*

⁵⁹ Strohm 2001, 295-300.

⁶⁰ Vainio 2010, 124.

⁶¹ Anttila 2013, 43.

⁶² Leaver 2007, 71-72.

cantica Syon]. Music is also present with the figures of Orpheus and David, who used their songs to conquer death and to expel demons, and Gerson praises theology and music as having the same manner. David and Orpheus also play a part in *De laude musicae*:

On encountering the string players Saul is turned as it were into another man, he plays the strings and becomes a new prophet. While the evil spirit torments him the shepherd David who sings to the cithara forces it to depart through song.⁶³

The first sentence refers to Saul's prophetic ecstasy in 1 Sam 10 and the latter to the well-known incident in 1 Sam 16. Gerson relates the biblical figures to Greek mythology in describing the power of music: Amphion, Arion, Pythagoras, and Pan are mentioned, together with Elisha, who was filled with the Spirit with the help of music. Music is beneficial in many ways: it can heal bodies, it rejoices, soothes, and relieves the spirit.⁶⁴ Gerson's thoughts on music had little impact on posterity. This is due to the inconsistency of Gerson's thought. Gerson did not scorn outward music, but oriented himself nevertheless towards inward, inaudible music. Although appreciating church music, he did not provide a theological basis for cultivating elaborate polyphonic music. That music can arouse emotions was not sufficient for him, since it cannot penetrate further than the exterior senses, meaning that the interior senses must generate their own music. Without a stronger theological basis for music, later thinkers who emphasized the interior at the expense of the exterior [e.g., Zwingli] drew the logical conclusion that they must abandon church music.⁶⁵ Luther, in his expression of the *usus* of music, is much closer to the opinion of Gerson, who made a significant impact on Luther especially during his early theological studies,⁶⁶ and Luther continued to refer to Gerson throughout his life. Gerson might have direct influence on Luther, in particular the writings wherein he suggests that music and theology have the same manner [chapter 4.2.1], and also the benefits of music, in particular to expel demons and relieve the spirit [chapter 3.2.5].

Johannes Tinctoris (ca. 1435-1511) was a master of the choirboys at Chartres Cathedral, and a singer of Ferdinand I, king of Naples. He had very little interest in speculative music [aspects of it are treated in his last treatise, *De inventione et usu musicae*]. His orientation was not just towards practical music, but to polyphony.⁶⁷ In other words, Tinctoris redefined

⁶³ "Vertitur occursu psallentum Saul velut alter. / Factus homo psallit fitque propheta nouus. / Exagitat nequam dum spiritus hunc, cytharedus / Pastor per numeros cogit abire David." TC III, 1, II, 10-13. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 47.

⁶⁴ Anttila 2013, 48.

⁶⁵ Anttila 2013, 49.

⁶⁶ Leaver 2007, 71.

⁶⁷ Strohm 2001, 325-27.

music as a practical art and no longer saw it as a speculative science. This was a significant shift from an emphasis on *musica speculativa* to *musica practica*, and this shift was taught at the University of Erfurt where Luther studied [chapter 2.2.2]. Tinctoris argued that instead of looking at the stars and meditating on *musica mundana*, one should listen to *musica instrumentalis*, which is the only way to learn music, through one's ears, not through one's reasoning. It is the earthly instruments that produces the concords of sounds and melodies, not heavenly bodies.⁶⁸ Tinctoris wrote a treatise praising music titled *Complexus effectuum musices* which resembles more a compilation of authoritative quotations about the power of music than an actual treatise: quotes from the Bible, from Augustine, Isidor, Bernard, and Aquinas, as well as from Aristotle, Quintilian, Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero festoon its pages. All of the classical figures are presented: Pythagoras, Orpheus, Saul, David, Elisha, Asclepios, the tears of Augustine, and the hymns of Ambrose. It details twenty effects of music, which according to Tinctoris are:

Music delights God. 2. Music embellishes the praises of God. 3. Music intensifies the joys of the blessed. 4. Music joins the militant church to the triumphant church. 5. Music prepares for the reception of the Lord's blessing. 6. Music encourages souls to piety. 7. Music drives away sadness. 8. Music releases the anxiety of the heart. 9. Music puts the devil to flight. 10. Music causes ecstasy. 11. Music elevates the earth-bound mind. 12. Music revokes the evil will. 13. Music delights humans. 14. Music heals the sick. 15. Music tempers work. 16. Music incites the soul to combat. 17. Music encourages love. 18. Music increases the joy of conviviality. 19. Music glorifies those skilled in it. 20. Music makes the soul blessed.⁶⁹

The treatise reveals a clear shift of emphasis away from the speculative Boethian tradition. The cosmic dimensions of music are not mentioned at all. The treatise concentrates on the effect that music has on humans, notably the psychological and emotional effects (no. 7, 8, 12, 13). In addition to the therapeutic value of music (no. 14), the military use of music (no. 16) is also appreciated, not to mention the erotic dimension (no. 17). Music even has a meaning for social cohesion (no. 18) and the professional integrity of musicians (no. 19).⁷⁰ Tinctoris' twenty effects of music might have a direct influence on Luther, in particular number 7, "Music drives away sadness," for Luther, especially to have joy in his *Anfechtung* [chapter 5.3; cf. chapter 5.2.3], and number 9, "Music puts the devil to flight." [chapter 3.2.5; cf. chapter 4.2.1]. Tinctoris was still alive when Luther supposedly used his musical treatise at the University of Erfurt in 1501.

⁶⁸ Anttila 2013, 50.

⁶⁹ Tinctoris [ed. Seay] 2, 165-66. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 50.

⁷⁰ Anttila 2013, 51.

Matthäus Herbenus (*ca.* 1445-1538) wrote *De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis* in 1496. It had very concrete practical implications for voice building and voice production [a characteristic that may well have been attractive to Luther]. He was instrumental in shaping the understanding of the interdependence of rhetoric and music in later humanist writings on music. Herbenus also makes use of de Muris' philosophical framework. Luther's focus on the value of music both as rhetorical support to the word, and as an emotional force with the power to move was close to Herbenus.⁷¹ This suggests some influence by Herbenus on Luther's preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* [chapter 3.2].

In sum, the extended period of time from Antiquity to the late medieval understanding of music shows a shift from speculative science towards practical art. Although this is not to say that no "science" is involved in music. Instead, it is to be noted that for the thinkers in the late medieval era music is no longer tied to a cosmological or mathematical basis to ground its truth.⁷² In the sixteenth century there was a waning of confidence in the grand Pythagorean scenario that had sustained so much of medieval thought about music.⁷³ The result was that a different understanding of the virtues of music echoed a more practical view; the psychological effects of music gained theological prominence.⁷⁴ Therefore the emphasis was more on the experience of how music influences human affections, and this might have a direct influence on Luther's thoughts about music which emphasizes the power of music in human affections.

2.2 Luther's Musical Background

2.2.1 Eisleben to Erfurt

Luther was born on 10 November 1483, in the small Saxon town of Eisleben, in east-central Germany. Music came to him first, undoubtedly from his parents, especially his mother. In the preface to a book by Urban Regius,⁷⁵ he wrote the folk song that his mother loved to sing *Mir und Dir ist Niemand huld, das ist unser eigene Schuld* [*No One Loves You and I, but That Is Our Own Fault*].⁷⁶ He also noted that, during his early years, his father would relax

⁷¹ Bertoglio 2017, 188.

⁷² Mattes 2017, 124.

⁷³ Begbie 2007, 97.

⁷⁴ Anttila 2013, 32.

⁷⁵ WA 38:336-38. Preface to Urban Regius (1535), *Vorrede zu Urbanus Rhegius, Widerlegung des Bekenntnisses der Münsterischen neuen Valentinianer und Donatisten* (1535). Regius was a superintendent of Lüneburg at the time, who would later produce one of the most important collections of chant for Lutheran use.

⁷⁶ Leaver 2007, 125. cf. Nettl 1948, 7.

with a beer and would break into song. One of the songs he must have heard his parents sing, since it was intended to be sung on his name day, 11 November, was the song celebrating St Martin of Tours, a song that was apparently popular at the end of the fifteenth century; indeed, it is most likely that it was one of the earliest vernacular songs that the young Luther learned to sing. His father was a copper miner. The miners of Thuringia and Saxony had created, fostered, and promoted the so-called *Bergreihen* [mountain dances], also known as *Bergmannslieder* [miner's songs]. It seems likely that Luther heard his father sing some of the early *Bergreihen* and possibly even joined in singing some of these songs, not a few of which were religious in content.⁷⁷

In the summer of 1484, when Luther was about six months old, his family moved from Eisleben to Mansfeld, the region characterized by rural life. On 12 March 1491, Luther began his formal education at the age of seven. The Mansfeld Latin school⁷⁸ was a *trivialschule* in which grammar, logic and rhetoric was taught.⁷⁹ In the morning the school normally opened with prayer and the singing of a Latin hymn, usually the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* or the *Veni Creator*. During the day the sessions were varied with a few minutes of prayer and a song. The students had to memorize materials that were selected largely from the hymns, prayers, and versicles commonly encountered in the mass. They were taught the Catholic liturgy, hymns, versicles, responses, and psalms together with participation in colorful processions, and all the regular and special services held during the church year. Students also learned music theory and the psalm tones. The young Luther was introduced to the rudiments of singing under the direction of teachers who understood the Catholic liturgy and helped prepare him for participation in worship. The instruction was religious in nature, led by a cantor who understood the Latin liturgy and was well versed in music. In Mansfeld, music seems to have played an important part in the student's training, it is very likely that Luther's musical talent was awakened and developed, and consequently his understanding and experience of liturgical music started.⁸⁰

In 1497, Luther, at the age of fourteen, was sent to Magdeburg to continue his school life. He attended the Latin cathedral school and it appears that he lived with the local community of the Brethren of the Common Life, a community of the *Devotio Moderna*, the movement

⁷⁷ Leaver 2017, 28-29.

⁷⁸ The school was divided into three groups: the youngest, middle and upper groups. In the upper division, students could serve as choir boys and assisted in the Sunday service. Schalk 1988, 12. cf. The boys were expected to sing in St George's Church on Sundays and major festivals; therefore they must have had some instruction in the rudiments of chant and music theory. Leaver 2007, 22.

⁷⁹ Leaver 2008, 22.

⁸⁰ Schalk 1988, 12-13. cf. Brecht 1985, 15.

for simplicity in faith and life that was fostered among the Brethren, who were also strongly committed to education.⁸¹ Here, Luther would have experienced devotional music, which may have influenced his development as a composer. A distinctive feature of the devotional songs in the Dutch manuscripts is that many of them are *contrafacta*, that is, new texts, usually Latin but some in the vernacular, set to pre-existing melodies in the familiar songs of the church: hymns, antiphons, sequences and responses.⁸² The school in Magdeburg was a continuation of what Luther received in Mansfeld: Latin grammar, logic, rhetoric, and music which would have included singing within the liturgical services of the cathedral. And he would also sing at the funeral rites, since the boys of the school customarily sang at funerals.⁸³ Singing was a primary means for spiritual formation among the Brethren of the Common Life, and especially for the pupils in their schools. Although much of the singing was in Latin texts, vernacular singing was also encouraged. The goal was singing for blessedness, the intensification of personal spirituality, a concern that was clearly evident in the young Luther. It would seem that if this was indeed Luther's experience in Magdeburg, it would have been a major influence on his thinking when he was later contemplating the extent and use of vernacular congregational song.⁸⁴

In 1498, just one year later, his parents send him to Eisenach, where he attended the Georgeschule, another *trivialschule*,⁸⁵ where the education he had received in Mansfeld and Magdeburg was continued. Luther joined one of the school choirs, the *Kurrende*.⁸⁶ This is the involvement Luther had in extracurricular singing for bread, a practice he refers to from time to time. They went from house to house singing and begging for alms and also sang at the weddings and funerals of rich burghers for a small stipend. This practice provided a financial support and was done without incurring any disgrace, even by the children of respectable people, if they were attending a school away from home. Luther later referred to this experience in his *Sermon on Keeping Children in School* (1530):

⁸¹ Leaver 2017, 29.

⁸² The information comes from two late fifteenth century musical manuscripts associated with *Devotio Moderna* in the Netherlands, by Ulrike Hascher-Burger. The manuscripts demonstrate that for the Brothers of the Common Life, the followers of the *Devotio Moderna*, music was fundamental for spirituality. By the end of the fifteenth century the influence of the Brethren of the Common Life had spread beyond the Netherlands far into Germany. Leaver 2007, 22. cf. Leaver 2008, 389.

⁸³ Leaver 2007, 24.

⁸⁴ Leaver 2017, 29.

⁸⁵ Leaver 2007, 22-25.

⁸⁶ This group, "kurrende,"'s main function was to raise money for school tuition for its members; they did this by walking the streets and singing in front of houses in anticipation of a financial reward. For detail see Herl 2004, 45. cf. Nettl 1948, 8-9. Leaver 2007, 26.

They say, and rightly so, that the pope too was once a schoolboy. Therefore do not look down on the fellows who come to your door, saying, “Bread for the love of God,” and singing for a morsel of bread; you are listening . . . I too was such a crumb collector once, begging from door to door, especially in my beloved city of Eisenach – though afterward my dear father lovingly and faithfully kept me at the University of Erfurt . . . Nevertheless, “I was once a crumb collector . . .”⁸⁷

Whereas singing in Magdeburg and Mansfeld had been primarily monodic, Luther reports that a feature of this extra-curricular past-time in Eisenach was that it was polyphonic:

The same thing happens to us that formerly happened to me in my boyhood and to my companions with whom I used to gather contributions for our support during our student days. For when at the time of the celebration of Christ’s birthday in the church we were singing in four voices from door to door in the villages the usual songs about the boy Jesus who was born in Bethlehem.⁸⁸

During his time in Eisenach, Luther was among the inner circle of students associated with one of the priests, Johannes Braun, a connection that was continued by correspondence for at least the next twenty years. In letters, it is revealed that in Braun’s circle of pupils in Eisenach music-making was a frequent activity, especially polyphonic motets.⁸⁹ Therefore it is very likely that Luther’s musical skill developed during his Eisenach years. According to Johann Mathesius, one of Luther’s early biographers, it was Luther’s singing and devout prayers in church, that persuaded a pious matron to provide him with food and lodging in Eisenach.⁹⁰ After three years in his beloved town of Eisenach, Luther set off for the University of Erfurt. It was obvious that by the time he matriculated at the university, his musical accomplishments had significantly progressed, both in theory and practice.

2.2.2 Erfurt to Wittenberg

In the spring of 1501, Luther, not quite eighteen years old, matriculated at the University of Erfurt, entering the department of liberal arts. The medieval pattern of education was that the

⁸⁷ WA 30.2:576, 8-16, “Man spricht vnd ist die warheit, der Bapst ist auch ein schuler gewest. Darumb verachte mir nicht die gesellen, die fur der thür panem propter Deum sagen vnd den brot reigen singen Du horest (wie diese psalm sagt), grosse fursten vnd herrn singen Ich bin auch ein solcher parteken hengst gewest vnd hab das brot fur den heusern genomen sonderlich zu Eisenach ynn meiner lieben stad, wie wol mich hernach mein lieder Vater mit aller lieb vnd trew, ynn der hohen schulen zu Erffort hielt, vnd durch seinen saurenschweis vnd erbeit, dahin geholffen hat, da ich hin komen bin, Aber dennoch bin ich ein parteckenhengst gewest.”

⁸⁸ WA 44:548, 16-20, “Atque idem nobis accidit, quod olim puero mihi et sodalibus meis, cum quibus stipem colligere solebam, unde nos et studia nostra sustentaremus. Cum enim eo tempore, quo in Ecclesia natalis Christi celebratur, in pagis ostiatim decantaremus quatuor vocibus carmina usitata de puero Iesu nato in Bethlehem.”

⁸⁹ Leaver 2007, 26. cf. Schalk 1988, 14.

⁹⁰ Leaver 2007, 26. Luther apparently very much impressed a well-to-do woman from a family of merchants named Schalbe. Kittelson 1986, 20

trivium [grammar, logic, rhetoric] of the Latin school, was augmented by the *quadrivium* [arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy] of the baccalaureate curriculum of the university, thus together encompassing the *septem artes liberales*.⁹¹ For Luther, music is supreme over all seven of the liberal arts.⁹² Luther was introduced to the prescribed courses of music according to the teachings of Johannes de Muris (*ca.* 1290-1355), Jean Gerson (1363-1429),⁹³ and Johannes Tinctoris (*ca.* 1435-1511).⁹⁴ The Erfurt university statutes directed that baccalaureate students should study the *Musica speculativa secundum Boetium* of Johannes de Muris for at least a month.⁹⁵ But it is clear that around the time Luther attended the university (1501-1505), music was not confined to theoretical studies since a good number of his contemporaries in Erfurt were also known for their musical skills, which strongly suggests that music was lived among the students. Thus, Luther was not the only one who was good at playing musical instruments or composing songs, as there were others who also possessed good musical skills such as, Johannes Weinmann, George Spalatin, Justus Jonas, Wolfgang Dachstein, Georg Rhau, and Johannes Spangenberg.⁹⁶

In Erfurt, singing included study of polyphony [*musica figuralis*] and composition [*musica poetica*], although it is possible that these had begun for Luther in his final years in Eisenach. Students sang homophonic settings of the poetry of Virgil, Ovid, and Horace, and were encouraged to compose musical settings for them. Such exercises must have made a deep impression on Luther since Mathesius reports that years later Luther and his friends sang a setting of the last words of Dido, *Dulces exuviae*, from Virgil's *The Aeneid*, which may have been Luther's composition;⁹⁷ and around the time that the *Deutsche Messe* was being prepared Walter reports that when he asked Luther who taught him the skill of setting words to music he replied, "The poet Virgil taught me this, who is also able to apply his poetry and vocabulary so artfully to the story he is writing. So should music arrange all its note and songs in accordance with the text."⁹⁸ Luther was not only involved in singing, but he also had

⁹¹ Leaver 2007, 27.

⁹² Bertoglio 2017, 205.

⁹³ Leaver 2007, 27.

⁹⁴ Schalk 1988, 14 [See footnote].

⁹⁵ The university statutes of 1412 and reaffirmed in 1449. This is a requirement that presumably continued in effect until the reform of 1519. Leaver 2007, 27 [See footnote].

⁹⁶ For detail information see Leaver 2007, 27-29.

⁹⁷ The composition has not survived, though an anonymous four-part setting of the words appeared in two Rhau imprints in 1538 and 1542 that could be Luther's composition, especially since he contributed the preface to the 1538 imprint, *Symphoniae iucundae*. The last words of Dido were set by numerous composers, including Josquin, Mouton, Willaert, and Lassus. Leaver 2007, 29 [See footnote].

⁹⁸ Leaver 2007, 29 [See footnote for discussion].

an ability to play the lute quite well. Crotus Rubeanus⁹⁹ wrote in this regard to Luther reminiscing about their time together in Erfurt, “With the closest intimacy we together devoted our toil at Erfurt to the noble arts in the days of our youth,”¹⁰⁰ and in a later letter dated 28 April 1520 declared, “You were the musician and erudite philosopher of our old circle [of students].”¹⁰¹ This suggests that Luther’s musical abilities and his skills as lutenist were advanced during his student days in Erfurt,¹⁰² so much so that an eyewitness of the musical evening that preceded his entry into the monastery commented on his skill in playing the instrument. Significantly, that eyewitness was Justus Jonas, who passed on the account to an anonymous scribe:¹⁰³

It happened some thirty-two years ago . . . in Erfurt . . . Luther sold all his law books secretly and ordered a grand banquet, an evening repast in Porta Celi [the name of a bourse at Erfurt], invited several scholars, some virtuous, chaste young ladies and women, and dined with them in an unusually cheerful spirit, playing on the lute [which he by now was able to do quite well]. All were in happy mood. When the time for departure had arrived, all thanked him heartily, but they did not know what Luther had in mind, and left in happy spirits. Martin Luther, however, went immediately into Augustinian monastery at Erfurt during the night, for he had also made arrangements for that, and became a monk.¹⁰⁴

Similarly, Matthäus Ratzeberger¹⁰⁵ recorded that, around the time Luther entered the monastery, his friends recognized his musical accomplishments and declared that he was *ein guter Musicus*.¹⁰⁶

On 17 July 1505 Luther applied for admission to the Black Cloister in Erfurt, the house of the Hermits of St Augustine. The decision made to seek refuge in the monastic life was his fright from a near miss by a thunderbolt on the road near Erfurt, a fright so great that he cried out in terror, “Help, dear Anne, I will become a monk.” Towards the end of 1505, after a

⁹⁹ Crotus Rubeanus, humanist and satirical poet, was Luther’s fellow student in Erfurt. He was later rector of the university and as such, in 1521, welcomed Luther, who was on his way to make his appearance at the Diet of Worms. He wrote the letter on October 16, 1519. Brecht 1985, 448-49.

¹⁰⁰ WABr 1:541, 4-5, “Quod summa familiaritate Erffordiae bonis artibus simul operam dedimus aetate juvenili.”

¹⁰¹ WABr 2:91, 141-42, “Eras in nostro quondam contubernio musicus et philosophus eruditus.”

¹⁰² In addition to learning the *quadrivium*, Luther developed his musical skills, learning to play the lute rather expertly. Grindal 1983, 374.

¹⁰³ The manuscript narrative in German was written on the verso of the title page of a 1530 imprint of the *Confessio Augustana*. Appended in Latin is the following declaration, “Jonas related this narrative to me [unidentified] in the home of Christopher Seßen, the treasurer of Zerbst, at a light breakfast on January 28, 1538.” Leaver 2007, 30.

¹⁰⁴ Leaver 2007, 30.

¹⁰⁵ Luther’s Wittenberg physician (1538-1546).

¹⁰⁶ Leaver 2007, 30.

probationary period,¹⁰⁷ Luther became a monk in a ceremony that had a specific musical content. Immediately following Luther's declaration that he was ready to accept the way of life of a monk the whole community joined in singing *Magne pater Augustine*, the office hymn for St Augustine's day, which was also in effect the hymn of the Augustinian Order.¹⁰⁸

As a monk, Luther was probably aware of Augustine's writings on music, such as *Confessions* Book 10, and *De musica* chapter 6,¹⁰⁹ in the 9th book of *De musica*, Augustine defines music as a *donum Dei* or a gift of God. This point of view pervades Luther's discussion of music.¹¹⁰ Luther's thought about music was imbued with Augustine's teaching and was shaped by his spiritual perspective. Thus, Luther is also defined as the greatest writer on music in the Western church since Augustine himself.¹¹¹ It has been noted that Luther also would have been aware of the musical treatise of Boethius, and the same musical theorists as in Erfurt university: Johannes de Muris, Jean Gerson, and Johannes Tinctoris.¹¹²

Not only was Luther influenced by these great medieval masters in the monastery, he was also completely immersed in the daily patterns of worship of the monastic community, which involved the extensive singing of Gregorian chants. He was now exposed to the full extent of the daily offices throughout the church year; as a schoolboy he had taken part in the chanting of the offices of *Matins* and *Lauds*, but now as a monk he had to sing all the offices every day, with their specific antiphons, hymns, and responsories, appropriate to the time and season, as well as singing through the whole of the psalter every week. Similarly, after his ordination (1506-1507) his experience of the chants of the mass was intensified because now he had to sing the biblical lections and other parts of the liturgy assigned to the priest.¹¹³ On 2 May 1507, Cantate Sunday, almost two years after entering the monastery, Luther later recalled, "I sang my first mass."¹¹⁴ Luther celebrated his first mass on the fourth Sunday after

¹⁰⁷ Young Luther spent more than a month as the monks's guest, so they could assist him in examining his soul and the reasons why he had decided to join them. Only after he had passed this rigorous time of testing was he allowed to take the vows. Kittelson 1986, 52.

¹⁰⁸ Leaver 2007, 31.

¹⁰⁹ Leaver 2007, 66.

¹¹⁰ Riedel 1967, 35.

¹¹¹ Bertoglio 2017, 170.

¹¹² Even if Luther was not aware of all the names of such music theorists he would nevertheless have been familiar with the substance of their treatises since all of these authors by and large shared the same basic perspectives. Leaver 2007, 66.

¹¹³ On the different parts of the mass assigned to the clergy as opposed to the schoolboys, for example, the following: ". . . the psalm was to be sung under the leadership of the chief singers or Levites, much as in the cathedral churches the epistle and gospel are not read by the students but by the ministers." Leaver 2007, 31 [See footnote].

¹¹⁴ Luther admitted that he became so nervous that he could hardly continue; that in saying the sacred words, "This is my body," he almost dropped the bread; and that saying, "This is the new testament of my blood," he almost dropped the cup. Kittelson 1986, 54.

Easter – which began with the Introit that must have had special significance for him, *Cantate Domino canticum novum* [*Sing to the Lord a New Song*]. And among the invited guests was Johannes Braun, the Eisenach priest who encouraged Luther in his music-making, and perhaps some of his former fellow pupils from the Braun circle also attended since he gave them an open invitation through the Eisenach priest.¹¹⁵

In celebrating mass Luther, like many German priests of the time, was carefully observant of the specific details as well as the devotional nature of the rite. Care in celebrating the mass underlines a later reminiscence when Luther recalled an occasion during his Erfurt monastery days. His hymns were often revised texts of medieval hymns that the monks had written and sung in their monastic choirs. Luther transformed doctrines with which he strongly disagreed [such as Mariolatry and the adoration of the saints] into material his congregations would sing.¹¹⁶ He was vested at the altar of a village church when the sexton surprised him by accompanying parts of the mass, such as *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Creed*, on a lute. When the sexton began Luther could hardly keep from laughing, “For I was not accustomed to such an ‘organ’¹¹⁷ playing and had to adjust my *Gloria* to his *Kyrie*.”¹¹⁸ It is understandable that a lutenist monk, experienced in Gregorian chant and fascinated by music, should recall such an event.¹¹⁹

Luther’s spiritual advisor, Johann von Staupitz¹²⁰ suggested that he should teach theology in Wittenberg, but in order to do that he would have to study until he obtained a doctorate. In 1508 Luther was sent to the Augustinian priory in Wittenberg to achieve his doctorate.¹²¹ In

¹¹⁵ Leaver 2007, 31.

¹¹⁶ Asimakoupoulos 1998, 27.

¹¹⁷ This is to convey Luther’s irony in comparing the sexton’s lute to an organ.

¹¹⁸ WATr 4: no. 3926, 12-17: “Recitavit quendam historiam sibi contigisse, cum esset Erfurdiae iuvenis monachus et exisset terminatum in villam quandam, et cum ad celebrandam missam se apparasset, tunc custodem incepisse canere in testudine: Kyrie eleyson, et: Patrem. Ibi ego cogebam canere missam, qui vix a risu me continere potui, den ich solcher orgeln nicht gewonnet war; must mein Gloria in excelsis nach seinem Kyrie richten!”

¹¹⁹ The reminiscence might also suggest that chant was customarily accompanied at that time. Quoted from Leaver 2007, 31.

¹²⁰ Vicar general of the Augustinian Order, and dean of the theological faculty of the newly founded Wittenberg university.

¹²¹ After Luther’s ordination to the priesthood, his supervisor assigned him to the study of theology, at first *studium generale* of the Erfurt monastery. In the winter semester of 1508/09 he was transferred to the monastery in Wittenberg. While pursuing his studies in the Theological Faculty of the University of Wittenberg, which had just been founded, he taught some philosophical courses on the Faculty of Liberal Arts. On 9 March 1509, Luther was graduated as Bachelor in Biblical Studies and was then recalled to the monastery in Erfurt. In the fall of 1509 he was graduated from the University of Erfurt as Master of the Sentences; following that he had to lecture on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the standard theological work of that period. At the same time he continued his studies, concentrating especially on the works of St Augustine. Transferred permanently to Wittenberg in 1511 by von Staupitz, the vicar general of the Order, Luther was directed to complete the steps leading to the Doctorate in Biblical Theology. LW 48:5.

the university, the daily masses and offices were extensive and included many polyphonic settings of propers.¹²² Music included the study of the treatise by Adam von Fulda's *De musica* 1490 [this suggests an influence on Luther's thoughts about music, see chapter 3.2], the duke's former *Kapellmeister*, who had taught music in the university in its early years and who would have used his own text. Luther quoted a widely known saying in Latin from Fulda's treatise, *in fine videbitur, cuius toni* [at the end it will be seen which Tone].¹²³ It is the statement that deals with Gregorian chants; how to establish the Tone [mode] of a particular chant by going to the end of the *Gloria Patri*, where the vowels [euouae] from *seculorum amen* will be found with the notation of the particular ending, from which the specific Tone can be established. Then this is followed by *in fine videbitur, cuius toni* which is quoted as an established proverb. This means that at that time the statement became well-known in Wittenberg circles, which was then used by Luther. Other music theories used in Wittenberg were Michael Koswick's *Compendaria musicae artis editio* which contains the church modes, intonation *formulae*, and counterpoint. Another text was Andreas Ornithoparchus's *Musicae activae micrologus*, who taught *musica practica* rather than *musica theoretica*.¹²⁴ The integration of *intellectus* and *affectus* grew out of Luther's experiences both in the monastery with its focus on the affects and in the university with its focus on the intellect.¹²⁵

In 1510, Luther was sent on a journey to Rome, which took him through such important cities that had cathedrals or large churches where there were significant musical foundations and thus Luther might well have been exposed to a wide variety of music.¹²⁶ He probably heard the music of Josquin des Prez (1440-1521), who had served in the churches of both cities and whose compositions continued in the repertory of these ecclesiastical foundations.¹²⁷ Luther's comment that God preaches the gospel through music is proved by Josquin's compositions which flow happily, easily, spontaneously, gently, and like the song of the finches, and are not forced or strained by rules.¹²⁸ In Innsbruck, where the music of

¹²² Leaver 2007, 33.

¹²³ WATr 1: no. 76, 28, 6-8, "Also haben wir in der Welt gefunden, wir müßens auch also bleiben lassen; im Auskehrich [wie man saget] wird sichs aber wol finden, denn in fine videbitur, cuius toni."

¹²⁴ Leaver 2007, 35.

¹²⁵ Mattes 2017, 121.

¹²⁶ The journey to Rome proved most significant for both his theological and musical development. Nettl 1948, 11.

¹²⁷ Josquin was intermittently connected with the cathedral of Milan between 1459 and 1476, and with the papal chapel in Rome between 1489 and 1502. Leaver 2007, 32 [See footnote]. cf. Perhaps Luther came into personal contact with Josquin, and heard many of his compositions. From that time on, Josquin was always Luther's favorite composer. Nettl 1948, 11.

¹²⁸ WATr 2: no. 1258, 11, 24-12, 2, "Was lex ist, gett nicht von stad; was euangelium ist, das gett von stadt. Sic Deus praedicavit euangelium etiam per musicam, ut videtur in Iosquin, des alles composition frolich, willig, milde heraus fleust, ist nitt zwungen vnd gnedigt per regulas, sicut des fincken gesang."

Josquin was frequently performed in the court of Maximilian, he probably heard the impressive organ in St Jakob's church,¹²⁹ and his experience in the massive cathedral in Ulm and in St Peter's in Rome.¹³⁰

Over 18-19 October 1512, Luther was conferred to the degree of Doctor of Theology.¹³¹ He did not begin teaching until a year later, during the winter semester of 1513-1514, and his first lectures were on the psalms; *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513-1515).¹³² He continued with the book of Romans (1515-1516), Galatians (1516-1517), and Hebrews (1517-1518), before returning to psalms; *Operationes in Psalmos* (1518-1521).¹³³ These lectures were given during the period when he was simultaneously coming to terms with his own personal beliefs and emerging in public as a reformer.

When Luther entered his great struggle on 31 October 1517, by writing his famous 95 Theses, music became his sweet comforter, his solace, joy and balm in difficult hours.¹³⁴ At that time, the Reformation debate heated up. Luther's protest concerning indulgences brought him under enormous pressure but he continued to find solace in music. Mathesius reports that in the period immediately following the papal ban in 1521, he was found alone in the garden of the Augustinian cloister in Wittenberg singing with a great sense of joy. When asked if he had heard some special news he replied, "Nothing, except our Lord Christ, who will come in power from the right hand of his Father to subjugate his church, he will see to it."¹³⁵ Three months later, Luther was summoned to appear at the Diet of Worms in 1521, and he would not recant and was taken to the Wartburg castle in Eisenach. There, isolated from Wittenberg, he translated the New Testament, wrote other important works, and took solace in the songs of birds. Luther's letter from the Wartburg were often signed "from the kingdom of the birds."¹³⁶

¹²⁹ "In the chief church [St Jakob's] there is an organ which, while not particularly large, is most beautiful, with many stops which produce the purest tone representing trumpets, fifes, flutes, cornets, crumhorns, bagpipes, drums, and the choruses and spring songs of various birds . . . ; indeed, of all the many other organs we saw in the course of the whole journey, this was pronounced the most perfect." Quoted from Leaver 2007, 32 [See footnote].

¹³⁰ Leaver 2007, 32.

¹³¹ This degree would enable Luther eventually to occupy the Chair of Biblical Theology, then held by von Staupitz but unavoidably neglected by him due to the pressure of his administrative duties in the Order. LW 48:5.

¹³² WA 3-4. LW 10-11.

¹³³ WA 5, the commentary on the first two psalms is given in LW 14:279-349.

¹³⁴ Nettl 1948, 12.

¹³⁵ Leaver 2007, 32.

¹³⁶ See for example, his letter to Philipp Melanchthon, May 12, 1521. WABr 2:333, 43-44, "Dominica Exaudi 1521, in regione avium."

Luther's love and enthusiasm for music remained constant. In 1524, during his final year as a member of the monastery of the Order of Hermits of St Augustine, he wrote:

If I had children and could manage it, I would have them study not only languages and history, but also singing and music together with the whole of mathematics. For what is all this but mere child's play? The ancient Greeks trained their children in these disciplines; yet they grew up to be people of wondrous ability, subsequently fit for everything.¹³⁷

Luther's love of music was deeply rooted in his nature and in the vivid impressions of his childhood.¹³⁸ And his hope that the children should learn music alongside the whole of mathematics, strongly suggests that Luther's understanding of music continued to be informed by late medieval philosophy, in which music belongs to the *quadrivium*.¹³⁹ His experience with music at home, at schools, and in his life in the monastery formed an important part of the background and context from which he developed his understanding of music.

2.3 Luther's Musical Reform

In the previous section we have looked briefly into Luther's musical background which is important to show how music played a significant role in his life. In the following we will look into Luther's musical reform,¹⁴⁰ which means that we will investigate how Luther strives to elevate music's significance for didactic purposes, in his public performances, and in his production of influential works. This subsection provides a colorful picture on how he, as a reformer, sought to make a contribution to university, church and society so that music can be lived in the heart of the people in order to praise God.

2.3.1 Pedagogy

It has been suggested that from the late 1520s there was an intensification of the teaching of music in Wittenberg university, with a significant shift from an emphasis on *musica speculativa* to *musica practica*. The many eminent Wittenberg teachers of music were abreast

¹³⁷ WA 15:46, 13-18, "Wenn ich kinder hette und vermöchts, Sie müsten mir nicht alleyn die sprachen und historien hören, sondern auch singen und die musica mit der gantzen mathematica lernen. Denn was ist dis alles denn eyttel kinder spiel? Darynnen die Kriechen yhre kinder vor zeytten zogen, da durch doch wunder geschickte leut aus worden zu allerley hernach tüchtig."

¹³⁸ Nettl 1948, 17.

¹³⁹ Loewe 2013, 12.

¹⁴⁰ In the Middle Ages the most far reaching changes in the liturgy were with regard to the music, and those at three points: the chants intoned by the priest, the chorales rendered by the choir, and the hymns sung by the congregation. Luther set himself to revise all three. Bainton 2002, 266.

of modern theories of composition, and the music performed was similarly up-to-date. But practical music in the schools was the primary goal, for they supplied the choirs to lead congregations in worship, and from which university students could be drawn. Thus music formed an important part of the studies at Wittenberg because eventually some of these students in their turn would become teachers of music in the schools. This was a clearly defined policy that owes much to the leadership of Luther, but he was fully supported by such colleagues as Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Jonas, who wrote prefaces to musical publications and compiled Lutheran church orders in which the role of music was carefully prescribed. All of the theoretical books promoted singing, the continuation of older chant forms, the understanding of ecclesiastical modes, and the development and promotion of polyphony.¹⁴¹

Luther's conception of music as closest to theology on the one hand stresses his belief in the semantic and rational value of music, and on the other suggests an alliance between music and theology, both of which are at the service of the Word.¹⁴² Moreover, Luther not only assigns music the preeminent position as theology's handmaid with its role of praising God and edifying humanity, but also a didactic purpose. Rather than being a human invention developed for the purposes of entertainment, recreation, and self-expression, God's gift of music could impart divine truth both to those who heard it and to those who performed or studied it.¹⁴³ Luther states that music has a crucial pedagogical value, since it may help in giving [religious and human] education to the young in a pleasurable fashion "and so the good with pleasure" [*und also das guete mit lust*].¹⁴⁴ Thus, the youth in particular were to be trained in the musical discipline Luther repeatedly pointed out the crucial pedagogical value of music. But the first problem arises when, in Luther's absence, Karlstadt rejected the use of singing elaborate polyphony and playing musical instruments [on the differences between Luther and Karlstadt see chapter 6]. The second pedagogical issue arose when Frederick the Wise died on 5 May 1525 and was succeeded by his brother, Johann the Steadfast, who disbanded both the *Hofkapelle* and the *Allerheiligenstift* on the grounds that they were too

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of the role of the schools in the establishments and development of Lutheran church music in Saxony in the 16th century see Leaver 2007, 42 [footnote].

¹⁴² Bertoglio 2017, 188.

¹⁴³ Bartel 1997, 6.

¹⁴⁴ WA 35:474, 18-475, 2, "Und sind dazu zuch 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 erzogen werden, ettwas hette, damit sie der bul lieder und fleyschlichen gesenge los werde und an derselben stat ettwas heylsames lernete, und also das guete mit lust, wie den iungen gepürt, eyngienge."

costly to be continued.¹⁴⁵ The disbanding of these musical establishments had serious consequences for the university as well as for church reform. When the *Allerheiligenstift* was dissolved, the choral stipends for university students were naturally withdrawn.¹⁴⁶ In consternation Luther wrote to the Duke on 20 June 1526:

Finally, gracious Lord, I request that Your Electoral Grace will not permit the *Kantorei* [*Hofkapelle*] to pass out of existence, especially since its current members have been trained for such work; in addition, the art [of music] is worthy of being supported and maintained by princes and lords, much more so than many other endeavors and enterprises for which there is not nearly so much need. . . The goods and possessions of the monasteries could be well used to take care of these people. God would derive pleasure from such a transfer.¹⁴⁷

Luther also commented negatively on these cost-cutting actions that diminished the experience of music:

Some notables have cut and saved our gracious Lord the annual sum of 3,000 gulden by doing away with his musical organizations, while at the same time squander 30,000 gulden. Kings and princes must support music. Monarchs should work to preserve and promote the arts. Private citizens who love the arts, are not able to do so. Duke George, the Landgrave of Hesse, and our Elector Frederick maintained music, as does the Emperor, Ferdinand of Bavaria. One reads of David who supported male and female singers.¹⁴⁸

The cumulative loss stimulated Luther and his colleagues to accelerate their educational program for schools to become centers of learning music as well as for music leadership in the church.¹⁴⁹ All this was in accord with Luther's deep concern for the role of music in schools where it was both an art to be learned and appreciated, and also a vehicle for praise and spiritual formation:

¹⁴⁵ *Allerheiligenstift* [All Saints Foundation] based in the Castle Church, which served as both Frederick's court chapel and the university's church and aula. In 1520 the foundation comprised around ninety people, including the provost, canons, vicars, chaplains, musicians, singers, and choirboys, who together were responsible each year for 1,138 sung masses and 7,856 spoken masses, and who were also the custodians of Frederick's many relics. Leaver 2017, 37.

¹⁴⁶ Leaver 2007, 39.

¹⁴⁷ WABr 4:90, 33-39, "Zu letzt, gnedigster herr, bitte ich fur mich, wie vor mals, das E. C. f. g. die Cantorey nicht wolt lassen so zugehen, sonderlich weil die itzige personen drauff erwachsen, Vnd sonst auch die Kunst werd ist, von fursten vnd herrn zu erhalten, vnd doch sonst wol nicht, denn so viel anders, wo villeicht nicht so wol nott, gewand wird. Sie kundten zu Wittemberg wol sein. An Solche vnd der gleichen person weren der Closter guter nützlich gewand, vnd geschehe gott gefallen dran."

¹⁴⁸ WATr 2: no. 2545b, 8-14, "Nobiles putant, sie haben unserm gnedigen herrn 3000 fl. ersparet an der musica, et interim dilapidant 30000 fl. Konig und fursten mussn musicam erhalten. Monarcharum opera sunt, artes conservare et leges; privati, utcunque illas amant, tamen conservare illas non possunt. Dux Georgius, Comes Hassiae et Fridericus noster elector habuerunt musicam, iam habent caesar, Ferdinandus Bauari. Ideo legitur de Dauide: Fecit cantores et cantrices."

¹⁴⁹ Walter, Rhau, and other musicians were active promoting the idea that music should be learned in the schools and performed in the churches, they teach, compose and publish music. For detail information see Leaver 2007, 39-42.

Necessity demands that music be kept in the schools. A schoolmaster must know how to sing; otherwise I do not look at him. And before a youth is ordained into the ministry, he should practice music in school.¹⁵⁰

Another issue was Luther's wish that there would have been a professor of music at the university, but every attempt to create and endow such a position was thwarted by Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, who had succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his father, Johann the Steadfast in 1532.¹⁵¹ Luther's position was clearly spelled out in a letter to the duke, dated 20 March 1541, which includes a thinly veiled reference to the dissolution of the *Allerheiligenstift* and *Hofkapelle* by the duke's father some 15 years earlier:

We have to this day great need for a capable musician [in Wittenberg]. However, since no funds were available, we have disdained to trouble Your Electoral Grace with many petitions. Now that it has been decided to expend the funds supplied by *Licentiate Blanken*, it seems to me a good idea to use some of these to engage a first-rate musician. For there was a time when we, like others, were supplied with such as could sing by the papacy. Now that the day has come in which we must train our own singers, we are not in a position to do so.¹⁵²

Luther was indeed very concerned with the music education for youth, thus music became an integral part of the Lutheran *Lateinschule* curriculum. In his letter *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* (1524), Luther wrote:

Now since the young must always be hopping and skipping, or at least doing something that they enjoy, and since one cannot very well forbid this – nor would it be wise to forbid them everything – why then should we not set up such schools for them and introduce them to such studies? . . . If I had children and could manage it, I would have them study not only languages and history, but also singing and music together with the whole of mathematics.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ WATr 5: no. 6248, 19-21, "Man muß musicam necessario in der schulen behaltnen. Ein schulmeister muß singen können, sonst sehe ich ihn nicht an. Et adolescens, antequam ad ministerum ordinetur, exerceat se in schola." cf. WA 50:651, 23-27, "Über das, wo der Schulmeister Gottfürchtig ist, und die knaben Gottes wort rechten glauben leret verstehen, singen und uben, und zu Christlicher zucht helt, Da sind die Schulen, wie droben gesagt, eitel junge, ewige Concilia, die wol mehr nutz schaffen, weder viel andere grosse Concilia."

¹⁵¹ Also there were other attempts made, such as: the humanist composer Sixt Dietrich was in Wittenberg in 1540-1541 when an attempt was made to create a professorship for him, but the duke refused to spend the required annual sum of 100 gulden. Similarly, in 1545-1546 twenty students of Coclico signed a petition to the elector that their teacher be made a public professor of the university, an action that had the support of the university officials. But again, Duke Johann Friedrich refused to supply the necessary stipend. Leaver 2007, 43.

¹⁵² WABr 9:340, 7-13, "Wir haben bis her grossen mangel gehabt an einem Musico, Aber weil nichts furhanden gewest, haben wir E. k. f. g. nicht mugen mit viel suppliciern bemuhen. Nü aber das einkomen Licentiat Blanckens verledigt, dunckt michs wol gut, das dauon ein stattlicher Musicus wurde gehalten. Denn zu der zeit hatten wir noch vorrhat aus dem Bapstum [wie andere personen auch], die singen kundten. Nu wir aber selbs eigene erzihen sollen, wills mangelnn."

¹⁵³ WA 15:46, 1-15, "Weyl denn das junge volck mus lecken und springen odder yhe was zu schaffen haben, da es lust ynne hat, und yhm darynn nicht zu weren ist, auch nicht gut were, das mans alles weret; Warumb sollt man denn yhm nicht solche schulen zurichten und solche kunst furlegen? . . . Wenn ich kinder hette und vermöchts, Sie müsten mir nicht alleyn die sprachen und historien hören, sondern auch singen und die musica mit der gantzen mathematica lernen."

2.3.2 Performance

Luther, however, was not only reforming music in the university, but he also performed music for public, whether singing or playing the lute, because Luther believed that music has power to drive away the devil and bring joy to the soul. Ratzeberger noted of Luther's experience from the early days of his reforming movement:

Dr Luther at the beginning of his struggle against papal abuses . . . had to withstand in private great attacks by satan, that often happened when he was in his study reading and writing, disturbing him in many ways. At one time Lucas Edemberger [preceptor of Duke Johann Ernst of Saxony – presumably Frederick the Wise's nephew] came with his company, all good musicians, including Georg Rhau, to visit him. He found that Luther was shut up in his study and that he had been there for some time without eating or drinking and would not respond to anyone. Lucas thought that this could not be right and so came and stood [outside the door], knocked, but there was no answer. So he looked via the keyhole through the door into the room and saw Luther lying face-down on the floor, unconscious with arms outstretched. He opened the door by force, roused him and brought him out somewhat disheveled, gave him a little something to eat, tidied him up, and stood him among his companions to make music. Dr Luther gradually regained consciousness, his melancholy and sadness left him, and before long he began to sing with them. He thus became full of joy and diligently begged them to visit him often, especially when they desired to make music. They should not allow themselves to be turned away; for he would want to join them, because he believed that immediately he heard music then his attacks and melancholy would be terminated.¹⁵⁴

This experience confirmed his need to join with others to make music on a regular basis, a policy he hinted at in the *Smalcald Articles* (1537) and encouraged others to follow. For example, he wrote to Matthias Weller, organist in Freiberg, Saxony, 7 October 1534:

Dear Matthias, do not well on your own thoughts, but listen to what other people have to say to you . . . Listen, then, to what we are saying to you in God's name . . . When you are sad, therefore, and melancholy threatens to get the upper hand, say, "Arise! I must play a song unto the Lord Christ a song on my regal [be it the *Te Deum laudamus*¹⁵⁵ or the *Benedictus*], for Scripture teaches me that it pleases him to hear a joyful song and the music of stringed instruments." Then begin striking the keys and singing in accompaniment, as David and Elisha did, until you sad thoughts vanish . . . Act like that man who, whenever his wife began to nag and snap at him, drew out his flute from under his belt and played merrily until she was exhausted and let him alone. 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.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ For translation see footnote on Leaver 2007, 45.

¹⁵⁵ The *Te Deum* is one of the grandest hymns of Christendom. It combines a confession of faith with a song of praise and a prayer for help. It was tremendously popular in the Middle Ages. Luther loved the *Te Deum*, and he wanted the two groups singing it to alternate half-verse by half-verse instead of verse by verse as done in other antiphonal chants. Luther's German *Te Deum* became as popular in the Lutheran church as the Latin version had been before. It was sung not only at Matins but also in the service for festival days and occasional services such as confirmation and marriage. LW 53:171-73.

¹⁵⁶ WABr 7:104, 4-105, 41, "Aber, lieber Matthia, folget hierin nicht Euren Gedanken, sondern höret, was Euch ander Leute sagen! . . . So höret nu, was wir in Gottes Namen zu Euch sagen, . . . Darumb, wenn Ihr traurig seid, und will uberhand nehmen, so sprecht, Auf! Ich muß unserm Herrn Christo ein Lied schlagen auf dem Regal [es

There are numerous references to his singing at table in the writings of his colleagues. Among them Johann Mathesius, a close associate of Luther between 1540 and 1542, who recorded such a music-making gathering during this period. For example, “The Doctor sang from time to time during and after meals, for he was also a lutenist, [and] I have sung with him; now when Doctor Luther was weary and exhausted by work, he was joyful at table when from time to time a *Kantorei* [group of singers] was created.”¹⁵⁷ Similarly the composer Johann Walter reported:

I know and bear true witness that the holy man of God, Luther, the Prophet and Apostle to the German nation, had a great love for music in plainsong¹⁵⁸ and polyphony [choral and figural]. Many precious hours have I sung with him, and have often seen how the dear man became so merry and joyful in spirit from singing, that he could hardly become tired and weary of singing and speaking so splendidly about music.¹⁵⁹

2.3.3 Production

In addition to singing and playing the lute, Luther also wrote texts, treatises, prefaces, lectures, commentaries, *Tischreden*, letters, pamphlets, and hymn texts;¹⁶⁰ and his production on musical notes. The following are the chronological collections of his most significant works:

In 1523, Luther set forth his first outline for celebrating the mass in *An Order of the Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg*. This short treatise provided guidance for evangelical worship which did not intend to dispense with the old liturgy but to restore it to its rightful use. This liturgical outline was amplified and developed in his two later liturgical proposals: *Formula Missae* (1523) and *Deutsche Messe* (1526).

In the same year, Luther wrote the *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensi*.¹⁶¹ This *Form of the Mass* was aimed at university or city churches with trained choirs [the service was choral, and worshippers participated by receiving the Word

sei Te Deum laudamus oder Benedictus etc.]; denn die Schrift lehret mich, er höre gern fröhlichen Gesang und Saitenspiel. Und greift frisch in die Claves und singet drein, bis die Gedanken vergehen, wie David und Elisäus taten. Kommet der teufel wieder und gibt Euch ein Sorge oder traurige Gedanken ein, . . . Und wie jener Ehemann tät, wenn seine Ehefrau anfing zu nagen und beißen, nahm er die Pfeifen unter dem Gürtel herfür und pfiß getrost, da ward sie zuletzt so müde, daß sie ihn zufriedien ließe, also greift Ihrauch ins Regal, oder nehmet gute Gefellen und singet dafür, bis Ihr lernet ihn spotten.”

¹⁵⁷ Leaver 2007, 46.

¹⁵⁸ For seven hundred years, from the ninth to the sixteenth century, church musicians all over Europe were composing and adapting plainsong for the services of the Roman Catholic church. Strohm 2001, 31.

¹⁵⁹ For the details see Leaver 2007, 333-34.

¹⁶⁰ Luther’s literary works which used in this study are mentioned briefly in chapter 1, source section.

¹⁶¹ WA 12:197-220.

and sacrament]. It was forged in the aftermath of Karlstadt's radical innovations and had a local focus that sought conservative reform and pastoral sensitivity. And here was expressed Luther's desire to see the youth trained in Latin, German, Greek, and Hebrew in order to know the Scriptures better.¹⁶² He expressed the desire for many German songs that could be sung by the congregation during worship. He complained that qualified poets and musicians who could create useful Christian and spiritual hymns were lacking.¹⁶³ And Luther also expressed his appreciation for some of the older German hymns from the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁴

In 1524, Luther wrote his first hymnal preface for Johann Walter, entitled *Die Vorrede des Wittenberger Gesangbuches von 1524*,¹⁶⁵ which contained thirty eight German chorales of Walter's collection and twenty four of which were by Luther. This is a collection of polyphonic motets, based on Lutheran chorales. There were four main sources for chorales: (1) adaptations of Gregorian chants, (2) existing German devotional songs, (3) secular songs given new words, a practice called *contrafacta*, so that these works might offer a spiritual alternative to secular songs,¹⁶⁶ and (4) new compositions.¹⁶⁷ Although Luther recognizes secular music, it cannot be said with certainty that Luther adopted any popular music that would work quickly and get the message across. Of all the hymn which can be attributed to Luther, only one is secular in origin, *Vom Himmel Hoch*, an adaptation of a popular song. But he wrote this for the use of a children's pageant, not in church worship.¹⁶⁸ This chorale was designed primarily not for the congregation, but for the choir to make the congregation familiar with the songs. In the short preface, Luther discusses the importance of singing spiritual songs and the educational usefulness of learning hymns for the young, and expresses his wish to see all arts, particularly music used to praise God. Luther viewed music as the art that should be studied rather than merely enjoyed, so studying music must start early, and it should be a mandatory part of the school curriculum. Thus, Luther's Wittenberg hymnal was

¹⁶² Gibson 2018, 77-78.

¹⁶³ WA 12:218, 15-23, "Cantica velim etiam nobis esse vernacula quam plurima, quae populus sub missa cantaret, vel iuxta gradualia, item iuxta Sanctus et Agnus dei. Quis enim dubitat, eas olim fuisse voces totius populi, quae nunc solus Chorus cantat vel respondet Episcopo benedicenti? Possent vero ista cantica sic per Episcopum ordinari, ut vel simul post latinas cantiones, vel per vices dierum nunc latine, nunc vernacula cantarentur, donec tota Missa vernacula fieret. Sed poetae nobis desunt, aut nondum cogniti sunt, qui pias et spirituales cantilenas (ut Paulus vocat Col 3:16) nobis concinent, quae dignae sint in Ecclesia dei frequentari."

¹⁶⁴ LW 53:191.

¹⁶⁵ WA 35:474-75.

¹⁶⁶ Bertoglio 2017, 282.

¹⁶⁷ Burkholder 2006, 214.

¹⁶⁸ Begbie 2007, 105.

published especially to serve the needs of the school and its choir and accordingly contained Walter's four-part settings of the hymns.¹⁶⁹

In 1525, Luther wrote a short treatise *Against the Heavenly Prophets*. He wrote about the musical implications of vernacular worship, so that it has a true German character. In this writing Luther was critical of Müntzer, although he does not name him, in his use of Latin chant melodies without adjusting them to accommodate the different characteristics of the German language. The differences between Müntzer and Luther, is that Müntzer's chant corresponds strictly to the Gregorian model and in the focus of their hymnody [chapter 6.2.1].

In 1526, Luther introduced a German Mass [*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gotesdiensts zu Wittemberg fürgenommen*] in Wittenberg.¹⁷⁰ This was modeled on the Gregorian liturgy and music, but it was simplified and translated into the vernacular. Even this was intended not as a replacement for the Latin mass, but only as an alternative to it for use in smaller churches.¹⁷¹ *Deutsche Messe* is one of the most important liturgical documents of the Reformation era. Luther gave the traditional form a radically new theological interpretation. The role of each member of the congregation was no longer to be one of mute spectators but rather one of active participants.¹⁷² The *Deutsche Messe* was not aimed specifically at Wittenberg but was intended for churches throughout the region because of the widespread demand for German masses and services and the general dissatisfaction and offense that has been caused by the great variety of new masses, for everyone makes his own order of service. This *Deutsche Messe* had a wider focus than the *Formula Missae*, and encouraged territories to have a single liturgical order rather than a confusing multiplicity of forms.¹⁷³ The priest sang the prayer of the day [collect], the Epistle lesson, the gospel, the Words of Institution, the post-communion prayer, and the final blessing. The congregation sang an opening hymn, *the Kyrie*, a hymn between the readings, *the Creed*, and hymns during the distribution of the Lord's Supper. In the *Deutsche Messe* Luther involved the congregation in an active way to an extent that was unknown in the Middle Ages.¹⁷⁴

In 1530, Luther wrote a short draft with the Greek title of Περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς [*On Music*] which is among the most important sources and oft-quoted documents related to Luther and

¹⁶⁹ WA 35:474, 1-475, 10. For the emergence of the first Lutheran hymnal see Brecht 1990, 132-38. cf. Brown 2005, 8.

¹⁷⁰ WA 19:72-113.

¹⁷¹ Seaton 2007, 152.

¹⁷² Leaver 2001, 317.

¹⁷³ Gibson 2018, 78.

¹⁷⁴ Wengert 2004, 220-21.

music.¹⁷⁵ Leaver suggested that it is a draft for a larger treatise on music that was never completed by Luther. The date of the draft suggests that Luther planned to work on it during his sojourn in Coburg at the time of the Diet of Augsburg. The lines of the draft would have served as subtitles for separate chapters.¹⁷⁶ It is 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. The content has many parallels with his letter to the composer Ludwig Senfl of 4 October 1530, which suggests that this draft outline was written around the same time.

In 1538, Luther wrote the largest single text concerning music in his *Praefatio zu den Symphoniae iucundae*,¹⁷⁷ a preface for the motet collections of musician and composer Georg Rhau (1488-1548). This text is also called the *Encomium musices*. It contained fifty two motets, one for each Sunday of the church year. Rhau was an early predecessor of J.S. Bach at St Thomas church in Leipzig and had contributed a mass for twelve voices for the opening of the disputation between Luther and Eck in 1519.¹⁷⁸ At this time, or soon after, he became an adherent of Luther. He moved to Wittenberg in 1523 and opened a printing firm that produced volume after volume of liturgical music for the Lutheran church service. Between 1538 and 1545 he published twelve carefully edited collections in which he offered a complete repertory of masses, vespers, antiphons, responsories, and hymns, in both Latin and German and by the best composers of his day. The initial two volumes of this ambitious series were the *Symphoniae iucundae*¹⁷⁹ and the *Selectae Harmoniae quatuor vocum de passione Domini*.¹⁸⁰ The first contained fifty two motets for the Sundays of the church year, the second motets and other choral works for Lent. The prefaces for these two collections were written by Luther and Melancthon respectively.¹⁸¹

In the same year, 1538, another praise of music in the form of a poem was written, *A Preface for All Good Hymnals* [*Vorrhede auff alle gute Gesangbücher*], which is better known by its subtitle, *Fraw Musica*.¹⁸² It is Luther's introduction, intended to accompany the first edition of Johann Walter's rhymed *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica*,¹⁸³ a

¹⁷⁵ WA 30.2:696.

¹⁷⁶ Leaver 2007, 85-97. For the texts see WA 30.2:695-96.

¹⁷⁷ WA 50:368-74.

¹⁷⁸ cf. LW 31:309-25.

¹⁷⁹ "Delightful symphonies." The word "symphony" had none of its present meaning. It signified any piece of music for several parts, whether instrumental, vocal, or both. LW 53:321 [See footnote].

¹⁸⁰ "Selected harmonies of the passion of our Lord for four voices."

¹⁸¹ LW 53:321.

¹⁸² WA 35:483-84.

¹⁸³ WA 35:482, 12-484.

didactic poem of 335 verses in which Walter developed a whole system concerning music along the lines of Luther's scattered remarks on music.¹⁸⁴

In 1542, another preface to Joseph Klug's *Die Vorrede zu der Sammlung der Begräbnislieder* [Burial hymnal]¹⁸⁵ contained eight Latin chants and six German chorales. Luther supplied the preface, in which he outlined the guiding principles of the reform of the burial service. Here as elsewhere he did not condemn pomp and ceremony as such. He was able to interpret proper behavior at a burial as an expression of Christian hope. Luther deplored the doleful character of traditional funerals and wanted the whole funeral rite to be an expression of confident trust. Here, Luther gives an account of funeral music, and he explains the importance of keeping the use of chants and other songs that he was accustomed to in his youth, which other reformers claimed that they should be banished as it was popish.

In 1543, Luther's treatise of *The Last Words of David* highlighted his mature defence of the psalter as a proclamation of Christian truth.¹⁸⁶ Luther's writings were based on his interpretation of 2 Sam 23:1-7. It describes the words of David with which he is determined to die and depart this life, and Luther's concept of music only appeared in his commentary on verse 1.

In 1545, Luther wrote a hymnal preface for Valentin Babst's *Die Vorrede zum Babstschen Gesangbuch*.¹⁸⁷ It was his last contribution to hymnody. Luther does not seem to have been actively involved in editing this hymnal, for the two mistakes he points out in the preface appear uncorrected in the hymnal. The points Luther makes are as follows: If we are Christian, we ourselves must gladly sing and also the printers must publish good songs to move the people in faith and singing.

Luther's lectures and commentaries provide some important materials for this study. His thoughts on music are also found in the *Tischreden* [Table Talk], a collection of reports of the reformer's conversations at table and elsewhere, recorded by various students and colleagues, mostly during the last twenty years of his life. The following are excerpts of statements related to music that is recorded in the *Tischreden*:

1. *Satan est spiritus tristitiae, ideo non potest ferre laetitiam, ideo longissime abest a musica.*¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ In 1538 Johann Walter, Luther's friend and musical advisor, and *Kantor* of the Saxon court chapel, expanded the poem to 335 verses, as a way to organize all of Luther's scattered comments. Reuning 1984, 17.

¹⁸⁵ WA 35:478-83.

¹⁸⁶ WA 54:33-34.

¹⁸⁷ WA 35:476-77.

¹⁸⁸ WATr 1: no. 194.

2. *Musica maximum, immo divinum est donum.*¹⁸⁹
3. *Sic Deus praedicavit euangelium etiam per musicam.*¹⁹⁰
4. *Optimum et divinum donum est musica.*¹⁹¹
5. *Musica est optima ars.*¹⁹²
6. *In musica b f a b m i est euangelium.*¹⁹³
7. *Interrogavit quendam, an etiam esset musicus.*¹⁹⁴
8. *Musica est insigne donum Dei et theologiae proxima.*¹⁹⁵
9. *Musica est optimum refrigerium turbato homini.*¹⁹⁶
10. *Musicae admiratio.*¹⁹⁷
11. *Musica optimum Dei donum.*¹⁹⁸
12. *De Musica.*¹⁹⁹
13. *Musica laut nicht.*²⁰⁰
14. *De musica Davidis ad citharoedum dicebat.*²⁰¹
15. *Musicam semper amavi.*²⁰²
16. *Die musicam soll man nicht verachten.*²⁰³

Luther's collection of letters in which music is touched upon are as follows: A letter to George Spalatin (1523),²⁰⁴ which was written with his attempts to improve the form of worship by writing psalm hymns in German; in letter to Johann Agricola (1530),²⁰⁵ he speaks of composing and arranging; letter to the composer Ludwig Senfl (1530)²⁰⁶ contains Luther's view on the spiritual value of music, serves as one of the most important sources for Luther's thoughts about music as he says that music and theology have the same function in

¹⁸⁹ WATr 1: no. 968.

¹⁹⁰ WATr 2: no. 1258.

¹⁹¹ WATr 2: no. 2387a. WATr 2 no. 2387b.

¹⁹² WATr 2: no. 2545a. WATr 2 no. 2545b.

¹⁹³ WATr 3: no. 2996.

¹⁹⁴ WATr 3: no. 3633.

¹⁹⁵ WATr 3: no. 3815.

¹⁹⁶ WATr 4: no. 3955.

¹⁹⁷ WATr 4: no. 4192.

¹⁹⁸ WATr 4: no. 4441.

¹⁹⁹ WATr 4: no. 4897.

²⁰⁰ WATr 5: no. 5408.

²⁰¹ WATr 5: no. 5603.

²⁰² WATr 5: no. 6248.

²⁰³ WATr 6: no. 7034.

²⁰⁴ WABr 3:220.

²⁰⁵ WABr 5:320.

²⁰⁶ WABr 5:639. The letter was written at Coburg on October 4, 1530. This serves as one of the most important documents from Luther on music.

proclaiming the truth that chase away the devil; pastoral letter to Matthias Weller (1534),²⁰⁷ contains also Luther's view on power of music to combat *Anfechtung*; and letter to Marcus Crodel (1542),²⁰⁸ contains Luther's view of the significant of music.

Besides his letters on music, Luther also understood enough about composition to be able to write modest pieces in several parts. As mentioned earlier, there is a report that Luther composed a setting of the last words of Dido, *Dulces exuviae*, from *The Aeneid*,²⁰⁹ and there are other references to his compositional efforts. While in Coburg castle during the period of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, Luther describes the place, "out of the kingdom of the birds."²¹⁰ He corresponded with numerous people, and one of these correspondents was Johann Agricola, then in Augsburg for the Diet. In one of his Coburg letters dated 15 May 1530 to Agricola, Luther speaks of his composing and arranging at that time:

I am herewith sending you a song for you to practice. Being unable to read or write for four days,²¹¹ spiritually exhausted,²¹² I chanced to find a piece of paper on which was written this old song arranged for three voices. I cleansed, corrected, and improved it, added a fourth voice, and also quickly prepared a text for the music.²¹³

Luther's most important production in music is the hymn and Lutheran chorale is one of the most thrilling chapters in the history of the Reformation. In December 1523, Luther's *Formula Missae* appeared in print, in which Luther expressed the need for evangelical hymns. Luther expressed his appreciation for some of the older German hymns from the Middle Ages and his desire to find poets who would write new hymns in a proper devotional style.²¹⁴ The problems in the Middle Ages that concerned him are as follows: First, the chants intoned only by the priest, including the epistle and gospel. Luther was so desirous that every word of Scripture should be distinctly heard and understood. He wanted Scripture to inspire songs in the vernacular "so that the Word of God may be among the people also in the form

²⁰⁷ WABr 7:105.

²⁰⁸ WABr 10:134.

²⁰⁹ WA 35:538-42.

²¹⁰ Loescher 2018, 332.

²¹¹ From May 10 Luther was incapacitated by exhaustion for several days. See his letter to Melancthon, dated May 12, 1530. WABr 5:316.

²¹² Luther used the term *in cloaca*, "in the toilet," but almost certainly did not mean it to be taken literally; *in cloaca* was a term known to medieval monks who used it to convey the state of being under attack from the devil. The *cloaca* being the most vulnerable and degrading place for a human to be and therefore the natural habitat for the devil. Oberman 1989, 155.

²¹³ WABr 5:320, 6-321, 10, "Verum mitto hic ad vos materiam exercitii vestri cantionem quandam. Cum enim quatruiduo neque legere neque scribere mihi liceret, forte in cloaca inveni chartam, in qua vetus haec cantilena tribus vocibus erat comosita, quam ego expurgavi, correxi et emendavi, adiecta voce quarta, et textum subito finxi."

²¹⁴ For more detail see LW 53:191.

of music,”²¹⁵ as a *sonora praedicatio*,²¹⁶ which would allow all the faithful to have a direct experience of and contact with the Word, which was to be spread and applied not only through sermons preached by pastors but through the hymns sung by the laity.²¹⁷ Therefore for Luther, all hymns, whether sung at home, school, or church, had a pedagogical and catechetical character [chapter 3.2.5]. Whether they were songs of praise and thanksgiving, or of repentance and faith, they had a double function. The people sang them to express their faith and theology but found as they sang them their hearts and minds were being formed by what they sang.²¹⁸ Luther was convinced that the principal function of Christian hymnody is to proclaim the Word of God, to serve as a vehicle for human response to divine goodness. It is to proclaim divine goodness. By that proclamation – by that spiritual food – we live, not by man’s thankfulness for it. Luther stated that Christian hymnody should serve primarily as a downward-moving vehicle bringing manna from heaven to feed the receptive souls of churchgoers.²¹⁹ In this way, Luther uses hymns for pastoral purposes, to instruct and train his flocks correctly in evangelical doctrines.²²⁰ Therefore, hymns were to convey the Word of God in German verses so that everyone could understand. Thus, Luther used music which was already familiar to the majority of people in Germany²²¹ so that it could make the common people in the churches sing chorale tunes. He also made them as simple, plain and popular as possible. At the same time Luther knew how to give them a dignified spiritual character, with no trace of vulgarity, of cheap popularity, emptiness, or insignificance.²²² In short, Luther wanted hymns to be simple enough so that the singers could educate others in the faith and theological dogmas by proclaiming them, as a German Jesuit Adam Contzen testified that “the hymns of Luther killed more souls than his writings and sermons.”²²³ And at the same time, the singers could understand them, so be moved by them, and be brought to faith by them. Thus, hymn singing became the musical and aural expression of the congregation’s unity in receiving, accepting, spreading, and praising the Word of God.

²¹⁵ WABr 3:220, 3, “Quo verbum dei vel cantu inter populos maneat.”

²¹⁶ WA 50:372, 3-5, “Se Deum laudare oportere verbo et Musica, scilicet sonora praedicatione et mixtis verbis suavi melodiae.”

²¹⁷ Brown 2005, 14.

²¹⁸ Leaver 2007, 168.

²¹⁹ Rupprecht 1983, 128-29.

²²⁰ Sessions 1965, 206.

²²¹ For more detail see Riedel 1967, 38.

²²² Leichtentritt 1940, 105.

²²³ Brown 2005, 1. cf. Bainton 2002, 271.

Consequently, congregational participation could be seen as a “homogeneous among different communities.”²²⁴

By the end of 1523, Luther wrote hymns to be set to music. He employed only one note for one syllable, and the organ accompaniment should not obscure the words. Throughout the service the organ was used only antiphonally. The gospel texts should not be conflated, and the seven words of Christ from the cross were not to be blended from all four gospels. Second, the liturgy was almost entirely restricted to the celebrant and the choir. The congregation joined in a few responses in the vernacular. Luther wonderfully developed this element that he may be considered the father of congregational song. This was the point at which his doctrine of the priesthood of all believers received its most concrete realization.²²⁵ To solve the problems Luther wrote the texts for hymns. In *Formula Missae* (1523) Luther expressed the need for “as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass.”²²⁶ Luther production of hymns, in all, wrote or translated thirty six hymn texts,²²⁷ and of the thirty six hymns he wrote, only a few were truly his own compositions. Two thirds of these were written in less than one year, from the autumn of 1523 to the summer of 1524.²²⁸ The only hymn for which we know with certainty that Luther wrote both words and music is *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*, which appeared in 1528.²²⁹ For the rest, he translated Latin hymns, such as Ambrose’s *Savior of the Nations, Come*. Also Luther improved many of these single stanza medieval hymns by adding additional stanzas that flesh out key Reformation insights. And statistically, thirty two of thirty six hymns Luther wrote derived from scriptural material. Six of Luther’s earliest hymns, written toward the end of 1523 and early 1524, were psalm paraphrases, cf. Ps 12, 14, 67, 124, 128, and 130.²³⁰ It was, after all, a psalm paraphrase that Luther gave as an example of how to write a hymn when he urged Georg Spalatin, the chaplain at the court of Frederick of Saxony, to take up the task in a letter he sent to Spalatin in late 1523.²³¹ Most of the hymns, however, were not derived

²²⁴ Bertoglio 2017, 209.

²²⁵ For more information see Bainton 2002, 266-70.

²²⁶ LW 53:36.

²²⁷ Luther’s first hymnbook was completed in 1524 and contained 8 hymns. His last hymnal, issued in 1545, contained 101 hymns [only 35 were Luther’s]. See Asimakoupoulos 1998, 27-28. Later that year (1524), an expanded collection contained 24 hymns, 16 by Luther. He wrote only the words, leaving to others the task of setting the words to music. Marius 1999, 386. cf. Luther completed 23 hymns within the space of 12 months. Riedel 1967, 37. cf. The close relationship between Luther and Walter may be seen in the fact that 23 of the German lieder employ texts by Luther. Pankratz 1984, 4.

²²⁸ Østrem 2003, 19.

²²⁹ Marius 1999, 386.

²³⁰ Grime 2016, 46-47.

²³¹ LW 49:68-70.

directly from Scripture. For example, he drew upon the religious folk music of German people. Using Luther's own considerable creative ability and poetic sense of sound, rhythm, and rhyme, he modified his subjects so as to pivot consistently on the figure of Christ. In addition to non-liturgical religious music, Luther knew and admired the existing body of hymns in the Roman Catholic church. In his admonition to the assemblage at Augsburg he listed as one point of agreement with Rome its many fine Latin hymns which he treasured.²³² For example, Luther recommended two ancient hymns, *Rex Christe, factor omnium*, attributed to Gregory the Great, and *Inventor rutili* by Prudentius.²³³ Thus in relation to music, Luther did not abolish the whole tradition from the Roman church, but modified existing liturgical chant tunes and texts to fit his new theology. As a result, the congregations recognized familiar hymns and chants and felt at home in the new church.

The following are Luther's hymns: *A New Song Here Shall Be Begun* (1523);²³⁴ *Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice* (1523);²³⁵ *From Trouble Deep I Cry to Thee* (1523);²³⁶ *Ah God, from Heaven Look Down* (1523);²³⁷ *Although the Fools Say with Their Mouth* (1523);²³⁸ *Would That the Lord Would Grant Us Grace* (1523);²³⁹ *Come, the Heathen's Healing Light* (1523);²⁴⁰ *Jesus We Now Must Laud and Sing* (1523);²⁴¹ *All Praise to Thee, O Jesus Christ* (1523);²⁴² *Happy Who in God's Fear Doth Stay* (1524);²⁴³ *Were God Not with Us at This Time* (1524);²⁴⁴ *In Peace and Joy I Now Depart* (1524);²⁴⁵ *Jesus Christ, Our God and Savior*

²³² Sessions 1965, 206-10.

²³³ WATr 2: no. 1403, "Optimi sunt hymni: Rex Christe, factor omnium, et; Inventor rutili etc.."

²³⁴ The text *Eyn newes lyed wyr heben an*, is given in WA 35:411-15; the music is given in WA 35:487-88. Luther's authorship can be taken for granted.

²³⁵ The text *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmeyn*, is given in WA 35:422-25; all three melodies are given in WA 35:493-95.

²³⁶ The text *Aus tieffer not schrey ich zu dyr*, is given in WA 35:419-20; both tunes are given in WA 35:492-93. Its plaintive character gives forceful expression to the words, and it may well be the work of Luther.

²³⁷ The text *Ach Gott von hymel sich dar eyn*, is given in WA 35:415-17; all four melodies are given in WA 35:488-90. The proper melody for this hymn is uncertain. But the Hypo-phrygian tune has a better claim to being Luther's.

²³⁸ The text *Es spricht der unweysen mund wol*, is given in WA 35:441-43; the Walter melody is given in WA 35:505.

²³⁹ The text *Es wollt uns Gott genedig seyn*, is given in WA 35:418-19. The Phrygian tune in the version of Knappe's broadsheet; for a slightly different rhythmical version, see WA 35:491-92.

²⁴⁰ The text *Nu kom der heyden Heyland*, is given in WA 35:430-31; the melody is given in WA 35:497. The title also known as *Savior of the Nations, Come*.

²⁴¹ The text *Christum wyr sollen loben schon*, is given in WA 35:431-33; all three forms of the melody are given in WA 35:498-99. The title also known as *Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One*.

²⁴² The text *Gelobet seystu Jhesu Christ*, is given in WA 35:434-35; the music is given in WA 35:499. The title also known as *We Praise You, Jesus, at Your Birth*.

²⁴³ The text *Wol dem der ynn Gottes furcht steht*, is given in WA 35:437-38; all four melodies are given in WA 35:501-02. The hymnals of the sixteenth century offer four different melodies for this hymn.

²⁴⁴ The text *Wer Gott nicht mit uns diese zeyt*, is given in WA 35:440-41; the three melodies are given in WA 35:504-05.

²⁴⁵ The text *Myt frid und freud ich far do hyn*, is given in WA 35:438-39; the melody in Walter's version is given in WA 35:503-04.

(1524);²⁴⁶ *Let God Be Blest* (1524);²⁴⁷ *Death Held Our Lord in Prison* (1524);²⁴⁸ *Jesus Christ, Our Savior True* (1524);²⁴⁹ *Come, God Creator Holy Spirit* (1524);²⁵⁰ *Now Let Us Pray to the Holy Spirit* (1524);²⁵¹ *Come, Holy Spirit Lord and God* (1524);²⁵² *God the Father with Us Be* (1524);²⁵³ *In One True God We All Believe* (1524);²⁵⁴ *In the Midst of Life We Are* (1524);²⁵⁵ *These Are the Holy Ten Commands* (1524);²⁵⁶ *Man, Wouldst Thou Live All Blissfully* (1524);²⁵⁷ *Isaiah 'Twas the Prophet* (1526);²⁵⁸ *Our God He Is a Castle Strong* (1527/28);²⁵⁹ *Grant Peace in Mercy, Lord, We Pray* (1528/29);²⁶⁰ *Lord God, Thy Praise We Sing* (1531);²⁶¹ *From Heaven on High I Come to You* (1534/35);²⁶² *To Me She's Dear, the Worthy Maid* (1535/45);²⁶³ *Our Father in the Heaven Who Art* (1539);²⁶⁴ *To Jordan When Our Lord Had Gone* (1541);²⁶⁵ *Herod, Why Dreadest Thou a Foe* (1541);²⁶⁶ *Lord, Keep Us*

²⁴⁶ The text *Jhesus Christus unser Heyland*, is given in WA 35:435-37; the music is given in WA 35:500-01.

²⁴⁷ The text *Gott sey gelobet*, is given in WA 35:452-53; the melody is given in WA 35:514-15. The title also known as *O Lord, We Praise You*.

²⁴⁸ The text *Christ lag ynn todes banden*, is given in WA 35:443-45; the two versions of the melody are given in WA 35:506-07. No other tune was ever associated with this hymn.

²⁴⁹ The text *Jhesus Christus unser Heyland*, is given in WA 35:445; all three tunes are given in WA 35:507-08.

²⁵⁰ The text *Kom Gott schepfer heyliger geyst*, is given in WA 35:446-47; all three versions of the melody are given in WA 35:508-09. The title also known as *Come, Holy Spirit, Our Souls Inspire*.

²⁵¹ The text *Nun bitten wyr den heyligen geyst*, is given in WA 35:447-48; the melody in Walter's version is given in WA 35:510.

²⁵² The text *Kom heyliger geyst herre Gott*, is given in WA 35:448-49; the melody is given in WA 35:510-12.

²⁵³ The text *Gott der vater won uns bey*, is given in WA 35:450; the melody is given in WA 35:512.

²⁵⁴ The text *Wyr gleuben all an eynen Gott*, is given in WA 35:451-52; the melody is given in WA 35:513.

²⁵⁵ The text *Mitten wyr im leben sind*, is given in WA 35:453-54; the melody is given in WA 35:515-16.

²⁵⁶ The text *Dis sind die heylgen zehn gebott*, is given in WA 35:426-28; all three melodies are given in WA 35:495-97.

²⁵⁷ The text *Mensch wiltu leben seliglich*, is given in WA 35:428-29; the melody is given in WA 35:497. The title also known as *Wilt Thou, O Man, Live Happily*.

²⁵⁸ The text of the original Wittenberg print, *Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts*, is given in WA 19:72-113. The title also known as *Jesaia, dem Propheten, das geschah / Isaiah in a Vision Did [Mighty Seer, in Days] of Old*.

²⁵⁹ The text *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*, is given in WA 35:455-57; the music is given in WA 35:518. The title also known as *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God*.

²⁶⁰ The text *Verley uns frieden gnediglich*, is given in WA 35:458, the melody is given in WA 35:521.

²⁶¹ The text *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*, is given in WA 35:458-59.

²⁶² The text *Vom himel hoch da kom ich her*, is given in WA 35:459, the melody is given in WA 35:524.

²⁶³ The text *Sie ist mir lieb die werde magd*, is given in WA 35:462-63, the original melody is given in WA 35:525.

²⁶⁴ The text *Vater unser im Himelreich*, is given in WA 35:463-67; both melodies are given in WA 35:527. The title also known as *Our Father, Who [Thou] in Heaven Above*.

²⁶⁵ The text *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*, is given in WA 35:468-70; the melody is given in WA 35:490-91. The Dorian tune, with its vigorous fourth in the first, third, fifth, and sixth lines, is strongly reminiscent of *Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice* and may well be an original Luther melody.

²⁶⁶ The text *Was furchstu, Feind Herodes, seer*, is given in WA 35:470-71. The melody is given in Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, I, No. 361.

Steadfast in Thy Word (1541/42);²⁶⁷ *From Heaven the Angel Troop Came Near* (1543);²⁶⁸ *Thou Who Art Three in Unity* (1543).²⁶⁹

From these thirty six hymns of Luther's, I compared and selected only two of his hymns as probably the most representative of Luther's thought and spirit in relation to the devil and the joyful soul. The first hymn is *Our God He Is a Castle Strong* [*Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*] and the second hymn, *Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice* [*Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn*]. These two hymns are chosen as the most important hymns' texts for this study for two reasons: First, because not all the texts from other hymns are related to this study, and from the other related hymns also there is not as strong relation to the topic as is the case with these two. So they might be the best representative texts in relation to the devil and joy. And second, Luther believes that music is given by God to defy the devil and creates a joyful soul. In the text of *Ein feste burg*, Luther expressed his personal experience of *Anfechtung* against the temptation of the devil with a strong faith in the Lord [see detail in chapter 4.3], and they perfectly represent the comfort found in Christ for church's battle against the devil, sin and darkness. Luther also expressed his most clear description of the inner experience of believers and their struggle in the texts of *Nun frewt euch*, and again he finds a joyful soul in Christ [see the details in chapter 5.3]. Therefore these hymns might be the most suitable to represent Luther's thoughts about music in relation to the devil and joyful soul.

We can see in all his prodigious output that music was the constant companion of his life. Luther never ceased to wonder at its profound effects on him as a performer and listener, and he was certain that the finest music he had heard in this life would be surpassed in the life to come. On December 1538, after various motets had been sung, he said as follows, "If our Lord God has given us such noble gifts in the latrine of this life, what [music] will there be in eternal life where everything is perfect and joyful?"²⁷⁰ In 1540, Luther reminisced that his father advised him that one should avoid the intoxication of drink and instead sing and rejoice.²⁷¹ It is reported that the last thing he uttered before retiring to his bed for the last time were the words from Ps 31:5, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, for you have

²⁶⁷ The text *Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem Wort*, is given in WA 35:467-68; the music is given in WA 35:528.

²⁶⁸ The text *Vom Himmel kam der Engel schar*, is given in WA 35:471-72; the melody is given in WA 35:524.

²⁶⁹ The text *Der du bist drey in einigkeit*, is given in WA 35:473; the melodies are given in WA 35:529. The title also known as *O lux beata Trinitas*.

²⁷⁰ WATr 4: no. 4192, 30-33: "Cantores quidam aderant canantes egregias mutetas. Quas cum Lutherus miraretur, dixit: So unser Her Gott in diesem leben in das scheidhauß solche edle gaben gegeben hat, was wirdt in ihenem ewigen leben geschehen, ubi omni erunt perfectissima et iucundissima?" cf. WATr 1: no. 968.

²⁷¹ WATr 4: no. 5050, 16-18: "Reliqui ebrii sunt laeti et suaves ut pater meus, cantant, iocantur, at tu totus in furorem converteris."

redeemed me, O God of truth.”²⁷² There are numerous reports and accounts of Luther’s death, the most important of which are the ones offered by the eyewitnesses Justus Jonas and the Mansfeld castle preacher, Michael Coelius, “Finally, he repeated Ps 31:5 three more times, and then became silent.”²⁷³ These are among the words that Jesus uttered from the cross (Luke 23:46), but they were also words that Luther had sung almost everyday for much of his life; the words of the short *Response* following the Scripture reading at *Compline*. It is significant that Jonas informs us that Luther repeated them three times, since the principal text occurs three times in the *Compline Response*, which suggests that this was the last thing he sang this side of eternity. After his death, as his body was being transported back to Wittenberg from Eisleben where he had died, the people in Halle appropriately marked his passing by singing one of the hymns he created *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*.²⁷⁴

2.4 Conclusion

Luther’s view of music cannot be compared with the church fathers who were highly suspicious towards the power of music. He viewed music as an instrument to combat *Anfechtungen* caused by the devil, and to change sad hearts into joyful ones. Luther’s viewpoint followed the tradition of Gerson and Tinctoris, in which they understand music as practical art. Although Luther acknowledges *musica speculativa*, he never grounds and develops his thoughts about music in terms of that theory. Instead he focuses on the music as a gift of God which affects human emotions, in particular expels the devil and thus creates joyful soul.

Luther’s musical background had been formed from childhood up to his monastery experience. The exploration in singing at schools and education in university from medieval music masters shaped his personal attitude and made deep impact on his thoughts on music. Luther’s productions were not only confined to theory, but also practical in his musical reformational works in pedagogy, performance, and production in the university, church, and society. All these exposures and experiences brought him to the position as a theologian and also a musico-theologian, in which his understanding of music cannot be separated from his theological concept.

²⁷² According to Justus Jonas and others Luther uttered the text in Latin, “In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, Redemisti me Domine DEVS veritatis.” Leaver 2007, 64.

²⁷³ For detail accounts on Luther’s death see Brecht 1993, 375-77.

²⁷⁴ Leaver 2007, 64.

3 Luther on Music as a Gift of God

Having explored Luther's musical background, this chapter can now turn its attention to his theology. The aim of this present chapter is to analyse Luther's theology of music as a gift of God.²⁷⁵ The first section deals with Luther's thoughts on gift, examining it from his theological writings (3.1). The second analyses concerns Luther's thoughts on music in his *Encomium musices* (3.2). Finally, the section expounds the relationship between Luther's understanding of gift and his thoughts about music (3.3).

3.1 A Theology of Gift

This investigation of Luther's understanding of gift is indispensable in view of the study of his thoughts about music as a gift of God. Luther's most recurrent statements about music is that it is a gift of God. In *On Music* Luther writes that music is "a gift of God, not of men" [*Dei donum non hominum est*].²⁷⁶ In *Encomium musices* Luther states that music is the "excellent gift of God" [*donum illud divinum et excellentissimum Musicam*].²⁷⁷ In the *Tischreden* Luther asserts that music is a "great gift and divine indeed" [*Musica maximum, immo divinum est donum*],²⁷⁸ and music is a "distinctive gift of God and close to theology" [*Musica est insigne donum Dei et theologia proxima*],²⁷⁹ and finally, music is the "greatest gift of God" [*Musica optimum Dei donum*].²⁸⁰ For Luther, as a theologian, the notion of gift undoubtedly contains special meaning to him. Before turning to the investigation of Luther's ideas of music as a gift of God, the following subsection summarizes his understanding of gift, collected from his commentaries, lectures, treatises and catechisms. They serve as the basis of any investigation of Luther's thought on music as a gift of God.

Luther's view of gift is based on his perspective that God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit has given himself to us. This trinitarian concept is also reflected in his view of music as a gift of God:

These are the three persons and one God, who has given himself to us all wholly and completely, with all that he is and has. The Father gives himself to us, with heaven and earth and all the creatures, in order that they may serve us and benefit us. But this gift has become obscured and

²⁷⁵ This chapter draws upon the work of Anttila 2013, 70-84.

²⁷⁶ WA 30.2:696, 5.

²⁷⁷ WA 50:368, 4-5.

²⁷⁸ WATr 1: no. 968.

²⁷⁹ WATr 3: no. 3815.

²⁸⁰ WATr 4: no. 4441.

useless through Adam's fall. Therefore the Son himself subsequently gave himself and bestowed all his works, sufferings, wisdom, and righteousness, and reconciled us to the Father, in order that restored to life and righteousness, we might also know and have the Father and his gifts. But because this grace would benefit no one if it remained so profoundly hidden and could not come to us, the Holy Spirit comes and gives himself to us also, wholly and completely.²⁸¹

Luther's understanding of gift in trinitarian faith is as follows: that the Father gives himself to us, with "heaven and earth," indicates all things, and with "creatures" means all living things. It means that all creation may "serve and benefit us." He sees this not in the fact that we become the master of other creatures that have to serve us, but in the perspective of the gift for us, a gift that we have to receive humbly. And then, sin polluted the gifts, which subsequently the Son and the Holy Spirit give themselves to help us become receivers and preservers of God's gifts. With the help of the Holy Spirit we understand "this deed of Christ," which means not only what Christ has done for us, but that "we might also know and have the Father and his gifts," that is, all things which have already given in creation. Then, the Holy Spirit gives us the ability to "use it to our advantage" and "impart it to others, increase, and extend it." Thus, in this understanding of gift, I present its exposition in the following schema: (1) Gift for us, (2) Gift for others, and (3) Gift for God.

3.1.1 Gift for Us

Luther asserts that God is good, and does not demand anything from us, but only wants to give his gifts to us. He asserts that, "For he is good and merciful . . . He [God] proves himself to be true God, who wants to give his gifts to us." God is the One who "does not take what is ours" [*et non nostra accipere*],²⁸² as Luther expresses that to be God is not to take good but to give it and therefore to give good for evil.²⁸³ Thus, in this understanding, God the Father,

²⁸¹ WA 26:505, 38-506, 5, "Das sind die drey person und ein Gott, der sich uns allen selbs gantz und gar gegeben hat mit allem, das er ist und hat. Der Vater gibt sich uns mit hymel und erden sampt allen creaturen, das sie dienen und nütze sein müssen. Aber solche gabe ist durch Adams fal verfinstert und unnütze worden, Darumb hat darnach der son sich selbs auch uns gegeben, alle sein werck, Leiden, weisheit und gerechtigkeit geschenckt und uns dem Vater versunet, damit wir widder lebendig und gerecht, auch den Vater mit seinen gaben erkennen und haben möchten. Weil aber solche gnade niemand nütze were, wo sie so heymlich verborgen bliebe, und zu uns nicht komen kündte, So kompt der heilige geist und gibt sich auch uns gantz und gar."

²⁸² WA 4:278, 7-26, "'Quoniam bonus: quoniam in seculum misericordia eius'. . . . Utique optimus, quia hoc ipso, ut dixi, se verum deum probat, qui vult sua dare nobis et noster deus esse, nobis benefacere, nos ipsius egere, et non nostra accipere, non nos habere suos benefactores et velut deos ac nostri indigere."

²⁸³ WA 4:269, 25-26, "Sed hoc est esse deum: non accipere bona, sed dare, ergo pro malis bona retribuere."

in his goodness, created all things to “serve and benefit” us [*das sie dienen und nütze sein müssen*].²⁸⁴

In *The Large Catechism*, in the exposition of the Creed, Luther expounds the idea that to believe in God the Father means that God “has given me and constantly sustains my body, soul, and life.” God “gives all temporal and physical blessings – good government, peace, security.”²⁸⁵ Also similarly *The Small Catechism* explains more, in the first sentence of the Apostles Creed is summarized as follows: “I believe that God has created me together with all that exists.” This summary consists of three circles of divine giving: (1) Body and soul, “God has given me and still preserves my body and soul; eyes, ears, and all limbs and senses; reason and all mental faculties;” (2) Daily bread and human needs, “God daily provides shoes and clothing, food and drink, house and farm, spouse and children, fields, livestock, and all property;” (3) Protection, “God protects me against all danger and shields and preserves me from all evil.”²⁸⁶ In the language of giving, Luther wrote in the first stanza of his hymn *In One True God We All Believe*,²⁸⁷ that “he both soul and body feedeth / all we need he doth provide us / he through snares and perils leadeth / watching that no harm betide us. / He careth for us day and night / all things are governed by his might.” This text carries the most important point that God blesses us with his care, protection and he provides us with his gift as the Father. Thus, God is the giver who also takes care of the continuation of his creation. He never leaves his creation alone, but he constantly cares and provides it with his gifts.

Still in the language of giving, the importance here is God, as the Father, who gives the gift of goodness in the expression of blessing [*benedictio*] for us, which gives all living things the ability to grow and procreate,²⁸⁸ and that all species produce appropriate descendants is possible due to God’s creating and conserving activity.²⁸⁹ And also the Holy Spirit gives himself to teach us the deed of Christ, so that he enables us to “receive and preserve”

²⁸⁴ WA 26:505, 39-41, “Der Vater gibt sich uns mit hymel und erden sampt allen creaturen, das sie dienen und nütze sein müssen.”

²⁸⁵ Saarinen 2005, 47.

²⁸⁶ cf. Oswald Bayer, *Schöpfung als Anrede* 1990, 89-108. Quoted from Saarinen 2005, 49.

²⁸⁷ The German text, *Wyr gleuben all an eynen Gott*, is given in WA 35:451-52.

²⁸⁸ WA 14:108, 13-109, 4, “Hic dat benedictionem quod antea non fecit, hoc est: hanc naturam dedit piscibus et volucris ut crescant. Primum opus est, ut ex aqua fecit volucres et pisces. Ultra hoc adiecit, ut multiplicarentur, sicut supra item fecit: primum creavit, postea iubet, ut fructum ferat, quod ita multiplicantur, est opus maiestatis divinae.”

²⁸⁹ WA 42:27, 31-40, “Quod igitur terra profert frumentum, arbores et omnis generis herbas huius diei opus est. Nunc quidem omnia nascuntur ex sui generis semine. Sed prima creatio sine semine simpliciter ex virtute verbi est facta. Quod autem nunc semina proveniunt, Id quoque est creationis opus plenum admiratione. Nam singularis virtus est, quod granum in terram cadens suo tempore surgit, et fert fructum secundum speciem suam. Illud autem certum est indicium non fortuitam creationem, sed praecipuum divinae providentiae opus esse, quod similia a similibus perpetuo ordine enascuntur. Sic ex tritico non fit nisi triticum, ex ordeo non nisi ordeum, ex siligine siligo. Perpetuo eadem singularum specierum ratio, ordo, conditio servatur.”

[*empfangen und behalten*] the gifts in this imperfect and sinful world.²⁹⁰ Therefore, Luther also understands the danger of having such gifts. Because we are so polluted by sin, we are in danger of losing humility and becoming proud, or we feel the lack of them and then we despair.²⁹¹ The danger of the gifts also makes us feel that we are better than they who do not have such gifts, and then the gifts turn to produce “self complacent hearts” [*eygengesellige hertzen*].²⁹² Therefore, we must differentiate the gifts from the Giver, so that we can hold him higher than the gifts.²⁹³ And we also need “to know and acknowledge the gifts,” which is a greater gift.²⁹⁴

3.1.2 Gift for Others

Luther also noted that the Holy Spirit teaches us about the process of giving and receiving. That we are given the ability to use the gift to “our own advantage.” But this means also to enjoy it, but at the same time the gift needs to be shared with others, so that it will increase and spread.²⁹⁵ Luther wrote that everything we have is not ours but the gift of God, therefore we owe it to others and must serve them with it.²⁹⁶ So that God gives us the principle that one who has already been served must serve others also. In doing so, we are already given to God.²⁹⁷ For Luther, this act of giving benefits “to another is divine” [*benefacere enim alteri divinum est*].²⁹⁸ Thus, according to Luther, we must serve others in giving to them, as though

²⁹⁰ WA 26:506, 4-12, “So kompt der heilige geist und gibt sich auch uns gantz und gar, der leret uns solche wolthat Christi, uns erzeugt, erkennen, hilfft sie empfangen und behalten.”

²⁹¹ WA 32:524, 14-29, “Das er nicht stoltz werde und demütig bleibe. . . Und widderumb verzweiveln, wenn wir sie nicht haben.”

²⁹² WA 7:555, 8-13, “Gottis gutter machen naturlich hoffartig und eygengefellige hertzen.”

²⁹³ WA 40.2:584, 22-585, 20, “. . . Debemus autem prius donatorem habere et pluris facere quam dona.”

²⁹⁴ WA 40.2:550, 29-30, “Dona enim Dei adsunt, sed maius donum est, ea scire et agnoscere.”

²⁹⁵ WA 26:506, 6-7, “Nützlich brauchen und austheilen, mehren und foddern.”

²⁹⁶ WA 2:605, 38-606, 5, “Si autem aliquid in nobis est, non nostrum sed dei donum est: si autem dei donum est, iam charitati totum debetur, id est legi Christi: si charitati debetur, iam non mihi sed aliis per ipsum serviendum est. Ita mea eruditio non est mea, sed ineruditorum, quibus eam debeo.”

²⁹⁷ WA 3:210, 36-38, “Unde Regulam hic tene: Quia deus nostris bonis non eget, statuit ut quicquid proximo retribuimus, sibi retributum sit et sic satisfactum.”

²⁹⁸ WA 4:278, 7-27, “Bonitas enim est, quando quis benefacit immeritis et indignis. Qui enim sunt meriti, iis non benefit, sed iuste fit et redditur bonum pro bono et debitum est eis reddi. Qui autem digni sunt, iis quidem non redditur tanquam meritis, sed tanquam iuste debitum velut superioribus et equalibus. Deus autem indignis et immeritis, insuper et multum demeritis benefecit per Christum incarnatum, quia et per hoc ostendit se esse non fictum, sed verum et viventem deum, quod nihil boni et meriti a nobis suscepit, sed omnino gratis tribuit. Est enim omni iudicio rationis divinitatis hoc proprium et decens sibi sufficere, nullius indigere et aliis gratis benefacere. Ideoque et omnem iustitiam nostram, omnem bonitatem, omnem sapientiam nostram confudit et reprobavit omnino et vult, ut nos eum deum verum agnoscamus, nos autem iniustos, malos et stultos esse confiteamur in omnibus, que non ex ipso accipimus et [vel] accepisse agnoscimus. Ut [Ro 3.] ait Apostolus Gal 4. ‘Conclisit Scriptura omnes sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Ihesu Christi daretur credentibus’. Ro 11. ‘ut omnium misereatur’. An ergo in hoc etiam bonus et equus, quod ita omnia nostra confudit et reprobavit et proculcat ac sua tantum offert et statuit? Utique optimus, quia hoc ipso, ut dixi, se verum deum probat, qui vult

we owe them such, the gift we have already received, to be of benefit to them. In this way the gift can be increased and extended.

3.1.3 Gift for God

Responding to God in gratitude means that we need to include the acknowledgement that gifts come from God.²⁹⁹ The gift from God must be returned back to God. As Luther explains above, when we serve others with the gift, we are already giving to God. But at the same time, we realize that God, in fact, “does not need us,³⁰⁰ and our goods” [*Quia deus nostris bonis non eget*].³⁰¹ Therefore, everything we have is from God, and to give back does not mean that God needs them, but rather this is to train us to love God. In *The Large Catechism*, Luther asserts our duty to respond to all this giving through loving, thanking, and praising God for all these gifts. If human beings “practice this article” their hearts will be warmed and they may then have “a desire to use all these blessings.”³⁰² At the end we can please God in using all the gifts for his glory [*vergat ad gloriam Dei*],³⁰³ and also for both the glory of God and giving thanks to God.³⁰⁴ In *The Small Catechism*, Luther provides a description of the giver and the receiver: “All this is done out of pure fatherly and divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness of mine at all! For all of this I owe it to God to thank and praise, serve and obey him.”³⁰⁵ In this understanding of gift, we see a circle of giving, in the sense that we are given to give back to others and to God.

3.2 Theology of Music in the *Encomium musices*

sua dare nobis et noster deus esse, nobis benefacere, nos ipsius egere, et non nostra accipere, non nos habere suos benefactores et velut deos ac nostri indigere. Benefacere enim alteri divinum est.”

²⁹⁹ WA 26:33, 19-29, “‘Gratiarum actiones’ das gehort auch Christianis, gratitudo meretur semper plura suscipere, ingratitude exhaurit fontem bonitatis divinae. consistit non solum in ista voce ‘domine deus, gratias ago’, sed agnoscere primum quod dei donum sit.”

³⁰⁰ WA 4:278, 26-27, “Et non nostra accipere, non nos habere suos benefactores et velut deos ac nostri indigere.”

³⁰¹ WA 3:210, 37.

³⁰² BC 432-33. Quoted from Saarinen 2005, 47.

³⁰³ WA 43:505, 28-30, “Finis ergo donorum Dei non est voluptas aut tyrannis eorum, qui habent dona. Sed usus legitimus vergat ad gloriam Dei.”

³⁰⁴ WA 51:279, 19-28, “Wir aber sitzen und rugen hie, . . . sondern brauchet jver zu Gottes ehren und dancket im dasur.”

³⁰⁵ This is basically the same structure of giving and receiving as in *The Large Catechism*, where God is the giver. We are recipients of God’s goodness. And this reception is on the one hand not our “merit or worthiness,” but on the other hand it takes place and should lead to thanksgiving and service. BC 354-55. Quoted from Saarinen 2005, 49.

This section analyses Luther's thoughts about music in his *Encomium musices*. The title is also known as the preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538). Georg Rhau was a musician and composer and he was an early predecessor of J.S. Bach at St Thomas in Leipzig and had contributed a mass for twelve voices for the opening of the disputation between Luther and Eck in 1519. Soon after he became an adherent of Luther. He moved to Wittenberg in 1523 and opened a printing firm that produced volume after volume of liturgical music for Lutheran church services. Between 1538 and 1545 he published twelve carefully edited collections in which he offered a complete repertory of masses, vespers, antiphons, responsories, and hymns, in both Latin and German and by the best composers of his day. One of the volumes of this series is *Symphoniae iucundae*, which contains fifty two motets for the Sundays of the church year and the preface called *Encomium musices* was written by Luther.³⁰⁶ This preface might have been influenced by Adam von Fulda [chapter 2.2.2] and Matthäus Herbenus [chapter 2.1].³⁰⁷

Luther begins his preface by praising music as an excellent gift of God, which is why he was overwhelmed by the virtue and benefits of music; and he explores it in the following topics: sound and harmony, the art of birdsong, the human voice, the power of music, the Holy Spirit's instrument, and finally artistic music.

3.2.1 Sound and Harmony

Luther begins the preface by praising music as a gift of God:

I would certainly like to praise music with all my heart as the excellent gift of God which it is and to commend it to everyone. But I am so overwhelmed by the diversity and magnitude of its virtue and benefits that I can find neither beginning nor end or method for my discourse. As much as I want to commend it, my praise is bound to be wanting and inadequate. For who can comprehend it all? And even if you wanted to encompass all of it, you would appear to have grasped nothing at all. First then, looking at music itself, you will find that from the beginning of the world it has been instilled and implanted in all creatures, individually and collectively. For nothing is without sound or harmony. Even the air, which of itself is invisible and imperceptible to all our senses, and which, since it lacks both voice and speech, is the least musical of all things, becomes sonorous, audible, and comprehensible when it is set in motion. Wondrous mysteries are here suggested by the Spirit,³⁰⁸ but this is not the place to dwell on them.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ WA 50:368-74.

³⁰⁷ Loewe 2013, 8-9, 15-20.

³⁰⁸ Luther probably thought of the influence of the Holy Spirit on the spirit of man. LW 53:322 [See footnote].

³⁰⁹ WA 50:368, 3-369, 6, "Vellem certe ex animo laudatum et omnibus commendatum esse donum illud divinum et excellentissimum Musicam, Sed ita obruor multitudine et magnitudine virtutis et bonitatis eius, vt neque initium neque finem neque modum orationis inuenire queam, et cogar in summa copia laudum ieiunus et inops esse laudator. Quis enim omnia complectatur? Atque si velis omnia complecti, nihil complexus videre. Primum, si rem ipsam spectes, inuenies Musicam esse ab initio mundi inditam seu concreatam creaturis vniuersis, singulis et omnibus. Nihil enim est sine sono, seu numero sonoro, ita vt et aer ipse per sese inuisibilis

After praising music as an excellent gift of God, Luther asserts, “You will find that from the beginning of the world it [music] has been instilled and implanted in all creatures, individually and collectively.”³¹⁰

Since Plato, the philosophers have said that music is order, and it is part of the created order. The Pythagorean concept of number is found in Plato’s conception of music as order.³¹¹ One important aspect in Luther’s mind is order, but for him, it demonstrates the goodness in which God created, as well as the goodness of creation itself. And order is also found in God’s creation, though damaged by man’s sin and redeemed in Christ.³¹² Luther’s discussions about creation order and music may be divided into two points: First, the evidence of order in the world is a comfort that showed God’s providential care and gave hope for the final redemption of all creation in Christ.³¹³ The evidence of order in theology and music was a great comfort for Luther, especially when the disorder brought about by the indulgence controversy struck. In this way, music becomes an emotional expression of order in creation in Luther’s thought. Second, music can be described as a joyous expression of order that inherently expresses Luther’s concept of the “joyous exchange.”³¹⁴ This expression occurs when Christ takes the sinner’s sin to the cross and exchanged it for his own righteousness, thus the order was redeemed in Christ, as shown in the re-establishment of the relationship between God and humans. Therefore, for Luther, creation was created and ordered by God, and music is the best example of this creative and redemptive order, and as a consequence, he integrates theology and music. Music represents a primeval order that is closely associated with redemption, that is, Christ’s restoration of the lost order. This in fact relates to Luther’s trinitarian dogma, that God the Father is the creator of music, “Music was impressed on or created with every single creature, one and all;” God the Son as the Father’s Word, through whom all revelation is made [including the capacity of music to “proclaim the truth”]; and God the Holy Spirit as “honoring” music and making use of it to convey spiritual

et impalpabilis, omnibusque sensibus inperceptibilis, minimeque omnium musicus, sed plane mutus et nihil reputatus, tamen motus sit sonorus et audibilis, tunc etiam palpabilis, mirabilia in hoc significante spiritu mysteria, de quibus hic non est locus dicendi.”

³¹⁰ WA 50:369, 1-2, “Musicam esse ab initio mundi inditam seu concreatam creaturis vniversis, singulis et omnibus.”

³¹¹ Hoelty-Nickel 1960, 151-56. Quoted from Sooy 2006, 31.

³¹² The order reflects Augustine’s comments in *The Nature of the Good*: “These three things, measure, form, and order . . . are as it were generic good things to be found in all that God has created, whether spirit or body.” Burleigh 1953, 327. Summarized from Sooy 2006, 23-29.

³¹³ Hoelty-Nickel 1960, 149. Quoted from Sooy 2006, 30.

³¹⁴ Sooy 2006, 30.

gifts to humans.³¹⁵ Luther later asserts that the impact of music is so powerful when the Holy Spirit uses it as his instrument to preach the gospel, so that it causes the devil to flee and arouses the spirit of joy in the listener's heart [chapter 3.2.5]. Thus, for Luther, as music has been "instilled and implanted" in all creatures it then represents both order in creation and freedom in redemption.

Thus, in the context of creation Luther asserts that "nothing is without sound or harmony" [*nihil enim est sine sono, seu numero sonoro*].³¹⁶ This means that music has connections with numbers, which suggests that Luther was influenced by the Pythagorean concept of numbers.³¹⁷ This influence has been referred to as Luther's understanding of natural theology.³¹⁸ It is important to note that for Luther, faith operates over and above reason, so without faith, natural theology leads to empty speculation.³¹⁹ Luther's natural theology is based on faith. That is why he wrote, "Wondrous mysteries are here suggested by the Spirit, but this is not the place to dwell on them,"³²⁰ this refers to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the heart of man, to interpret the sounds of nature. That means music will bring one to acknowledge and praise God's gift in creation through Christ. This means not only that man sees nature then praises God, but Luther seems to imply that nature itself is praising God, the Creator. As he says music has been instilled and implanted in all creatures, this means that all the stars, sun, and moon, mountains, all of them are, so to speak, become a singing choir, and also our example in praising the Creator. Because human beings so take for granted its singing, Luther quoted Pythagoras in his lectures on Gen 26:2-5, that we cannot hear this music coming from the motion in the celestial spheres:

And it is clear that the same thing is happening to us that Pythagoras told about the movement of the heavenly spheres, whether he had this from himself or from the fathers, namely, that these movements constantly produce the most delightful music, but that because of this constant repetition the minds and ears of mortals have become so numb that they no longer hear them.³²¹

³¹⁵ Bertoglio 2017, 210-11.

³¹⁶ Literally, "sounding number." WA 50:369, 1-6.

³¹⁷ Pythagoreanism may be defined as the doctrine that all being is governed by numbers. The wisdom of Solomon admitted this pagan doctrine into Christian thought, "Thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight" (11:21). Indeed, the medievals came to see numeric relationships behind virtually every aspect of nature art, and thought – in the motions of the heavenly spheres, in the harmony of soul and body, in the relationships of man and Christ; . . . in musical tuning, melody, harmony, counterpoint, and rhythm. Strohm 2001, 294-95.

³¹⁸ Bayer 2008, 106-12.

³¹⁹ Sooy 2006, 26.

³²⁰ LW 53:321-24.

³²¹ WA 43:444, 13-17, "Ac plane idem nobis accidit, quod Pythagoras fabulatus est de motu Sphaerarum coelestium, sive id ex se ipso, sive ex patribus habuit: quod motus isti assiduo suavissimum concentum edant: Sed mortalium animos et aures ista assiduitate stupefactos, ut non exaudiant eos amplius." cf. WA 42:94, 32-38, "Sic non admiramur illam admirabilem solis lucem, quia quotidiana est, non admiramur alia creationis dona infinita, absurduimus enim ad haec, sicut Pythagoras bene dixit, mirabilem concentum et suavissimum aedi ab

His view is similarly emphasized by Augustine, as he also observed “miracles become commonplace through their continuous recurrence.”³²² Luther is aware of this music of the spheres, which he says is “constantly making delightful music” to praise its Creator. “Constantly” can also mean “faithfully,” therefore, nature, though without rationality like humans, but faithfully is praising its Creator. Again, he says that the music is given by God in all creatures from the beginning of the world. It suggests that for Luther, this is not only to evoke our senses of its origin, that it was created by God, not by men, but also that it was to be our master in faithfully praising its Creator. Although Luther acknowledges the music of the spheres, as Pythagorean views of music was contested in the musical theory of Luther’s day, he never develops the thought further as it seems not to be that important to him.³²³ This suggests that his view was developed under the influence of the late medieval thinkers: Jean Gerson and Johannes Tinctoris, so that Luther emphasizes music as a practical art [chapter 2.1].

Then, Luther shifted from a speculative cosmological understanding of music to the physiological nature of sound which is motion of the air. As mentioned earlier, he wrote:

Even the air, which of itself is invisible and imperceptible to all our senses, and which, since it lacks both voice and speech, is the least musical of all things, becomes sonorous, audible, and comprehensible when it is set in motion.³²⁴

As Luther observes previously, all creatures are involved in music. He compared the lovely music of the spheres with the invisible air. In this way, the vibration of airwaves can become a starting point for a discussion in his thoughts about music. The air which is without music and the word, and also is “invisible and imperceptible to our senses,” but when it is set in motion, the air becomes song, and enters our ears and minds, it becomes “comprehensible.” Similarly, Luther seems to imply that written music has to be sound, so there is a move from intellectual to perceptual. All the musical modes [or notes], are insufficient, because it has

illa harmonia motuum, qui sunt in orbibus coelestibus: Sed quia homines assiduo audiunt hunc concentum, obsurdescunt ad eum perinde, ut qui ad Catadupas Nili sunt, sonitu et fragore aquae, quem assiduo audiunt, non afficiuntur, cum aliis non assuefactis esset intolerabilis.”

³²² Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*, XVII, 35. Quoted from LW 1:126. According to Oswald Bayer, this “Pythagoreanism” may refer to Luther’s “natural theology.” In other words, the wonders of creation surround us, but we are deaf and blind to them until faith opens us to the creation. Bayer 2008, 106-12. cf. Cicero’s view that celestial music has been sounding in our ears since birth, therefore we become deaf to it. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 86.

³²³ Vainio 2010, 210-11.

³²⁴ WA 50:369, 1-5, “Ita vt et aer ipse per sese inuisibilis et inpalpabilis, omnibusque sensibus inperceptibilis, minimeque omnium musicus, sed plane mutus et nihil reputatus, tamen motus sit sonorus et audibilis, tunc etiam palpabilis.”

first to be set to become music in notation, then combine with the word [speech], and then sound [voice] to be a beautiful music that can be comprehended.

Repeatedly, for Luther, the echo of this cosmic dimension of music is vocalized through the birds and their singing, which is bound to evoke wonder in any thoughtful person. Though important, this cosmic dimension is not his primary approach to music. Instead, his view reflects more of the later medieval view, which highlighted music as a practical art and not as an intellectual science, and which even went so far as to deny altogether the theory of the music of the spheres.³²⁵

3.2.2 The Art of Birdsong

Luther continues to the next aspect in music, in his *Encomium musices*, he comments about music as a gift of God in birdsong. He wrote:

Music is still more wonderful in living things, especially birds, so that David, the most musical of all the kings and minstrel of God, in deepest wonder and spiritual exultation praised the astounding art and ease of the song of birds when he said in Ps 104:12, “By them the birds of the heaven have their habitation; they sing among the branches.”³²⁶

For Luther, the music of living creatures [*musica in animantibus*], especially birdsong, is more beautiful than sounding matter [i.e., music of the spheres], as he said “music is still more wonderful in living things.” What is especially delightful for Luther in birdsong is its “art and ease” [*peritiam et certitudinem*], which are also the standards of musical craftsmanship. The birdsong is Luther’s favorite among all music of nature. The song of the nightingale appears in several strophes of praise in *Fraw Musica*, “For our dear Lord she sings her song / In praise of him the whole day long.” Birdsong was therefore a kind of musical ideal. The song of the nightingale is characterized as sweet [*lieblich*] and its effect is that it makes everyone happy [*macht alles froelich vberal*].³²⁷ Luther also links this experience to the polyphonic compositions of Josquin, because of its cheerfulness like the birdsong. He wrote:

³²⁵ Vainio 2010, 125.

³²⁶ WA 50:369, 6-11, “Sed mirabilior est Musica in animantibus, praesertim volucris, vt Musicissimus ille Rex et diuinus psaltes Daud cum ingenti stupore et exultante spiritu praedicat mirabilem illam volucrum peritiam et certitudinem canendi, dicens Psalmo (104:12) centesimo tertio, ‘Super ea volucres coeli habitant, de medio ramorum dant voces.’”

³²⁷ WA 35:484, 11-16, “Die beste zeit im jar ist mein / Da singen alle Vögelein / Himel und erden ist der vol / Viel gut gesang da lautet wol. / Voran die liebe Nachtigal / Macht alles frölich vberal.”

What is law doesn't make progress, but what is gospel does. God has preached the gospel through music, too, as may be seen in Josquin's, all of whose compositions flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not forced or cramped by rules, and are like the song of the finch.³²⁸

He likes birdsong particularly for its freedom and joyfulness, which is similar to the song of a finch.³²⁹ Music was a metaphor of Luther's view of the freedom given by the gospel in comparison with the unachievable demands of the law.³³⁰ For Luther, music is a work of art and has a sense of freedom like the song of birds, so that God can preach the gospel through it.

And the birds also teach human beings and embarrass them by their singing. This can be seen in Matt 6:26, "Consider the birds of the sky." Luther, in his commentary on *The Sermon on the Mount*, compares us with the birds. We are higher and more noble than the birds, but still we do not have faith to rely on God. He asserts that the birds do not gather anything for summer and winter, but they keep flying in the air, singing and frolicking without worry in the world even though they do not know what food they will eat their next meal. Luther is making the birds our schoolmaster and teacher. He says, "When we listen to the little birds singing every day, we are listening to our own embarrassment before God and the people."³³¹ Regarding the birds, Luther also commented on Ps 127:2, "In vain you rise early and stay up late, toiling for food to eat – for while they sleep he provides for those he loves." By saying that a man must always work and do something. At the same time, he must remember that it is not his work that gives him a living, but God's blessing. It merely looks as if he earns his living by his work, since God does not give him anything unless he works. Jesus says, "The birds do not sow or reap or store away in barns," but they too would die of hunger unless they fly and find their food. A bird finds food not due to the work it does but to God's goodness. God has put the food where the bird could find it. This is Luther's view of cooperation between God and his creation.³³² In other words, God has made birds to be our masters that teach us to depend on God for food. They teach us to look in *The Small Catechism* where "God provides me with all I need, daily, without any merit of my own." And human beings

³²⁸ WATr 2: no. 1258, "Was lex ist, gett nicht von stad: was euangelium ist, das gett von stad. Sie Deus praedicavit euangelium etiam per musicam, ut videtur in Josquin, des alles composition frolich, willig, milde heraus fleust, ist nitt zwungen vnd gnedigt per regulas, sicut des fincken gesang."

³²⁹ This sense of "Josquin's freedom from rules" might suggest the way Josquin handled the harmony, which to a contemporary listener may well have been perceived as a new approach to be the established rules of composition. Østrem 2003, 76.

³³⁰ Bertoglio 2017, 211.

³³¹ WA 32:463, 13-14, "Und müssen teglich soviel schande hören fur Gott und den leuten, foviele wir vogelin singen hören."

³³² Anttila 2013, 82.

are supposedly wiser, yet the birds are their master.³³³ Luther's favorite birds are the nightingales, they can sing themselves to death, out of joy. Besides, they like to live freely, they would be safe in a cage and not have to work hard to find food. But they prefer freedom, "It sings all night and practically shrieks its lungs out. It is happier in the woods than cooped up in a cage,"³³⁴ as they trust God's gift of protection. This was perhaps inspired by Luther's personal experience of pressure while he was exiled at the Wartburg [chapter 2.2.2; cf. chapters 4.1, and 4.3] and Coburg castles [chapter 2.3.3; cf. chapter 4.2.2].

3.2.3 The Human Voice

Luther continues to the next aspect in music, that is, the human voice. Human beings are God's crown of creation, and their voices cannot be compared with any creature's voice. Luther might derive this thought from Augustine, who says that there is the difference between the singing of men and that of the birds. For a linnet, a nightingale, a parrot may sing well, but it will be without understanding.³³⁵ Luther then compares birdsong to the human voice, "And yet, compared to the human voice, all this hardly deserves the name of music, so abundant and incomprehensible is here the munificence and wisdom of our gracious Creator."³³⁶ Both the human voice and birdsong are the gift of God, but the human voice is much more complex in its components. It was impossible for the philosophers to comprehend the marvelous instrument of the human voice. Luther wrote:

How can the air projected by a light movement of the tongue and an even lighter movement of the throat produce such an infinite variety and articulation of the voice and of words? And how can the voice, at the direction of the will, sound forth so powerfully and vehemently that it cannot only be heard by everyone over a wide area, but also be understood? Philosophers for all their labor cannot find the explanation; and baffled they end in perplexity; for none of them has yet been able to define or demonstrate the original components of the human voice, its sibilation and [as it were] its

³³³ WA 32:461, 5-462, 19, "Gehet die vogel unter dem himel an: sie seen nicht, sie erndten nicht, sie samlen nicht jnn die schewren und ewer himlischer vater neeret sie doch. Seid jr denn nicht viel besser denn sie? Wer ist unter euch der seiner lenge eine ellen zusetzen möge, ob er gleich drumb sorget? . . . Ja sihe was sie mehr thun, die lieben Vogelien, wie gar on sorge sie leben und allein aus Gottes hand jr narung warten: Wenn man sie ein sperret das sie singen sollen, und schüttet jn vol auff zu essen sur."

³³⁴ WA 32:462, 26-35, "Darumb Wenn du eine nachtgäl hörest, so hörestu den feinsten prediger, als der dich dieses Euangelij vermanet, nicht mit schlechten blossen worten sondern mit der lebendigen that und exempel, weil sie die gantze nacht singet und gellet sich schir zu tod und ist viel frölicher im wald denn wenn sie im vogelbawr gefangen ist, do mans mit allem vleis warten mus und doch selten gedeit odder lebendig bleibt, als solt es damit sagen: Ich wolt viel lieber jnn des Herrn kuchen sein, der himel und erden geschaffen hat und selbs koch und hauswirt ist und teglich unzelich viel vogelin speiset und erneret aus seiner hand und nicht ein sack vol sondern himel und erden vol kornlin hat."

³³⁵ Garside 1979, 33.

³³⁶ WA 50:369, 12-370, 1, "Verum ad humanam vocem omnia sunt prope immusica, tanta est optimi Creatoris in hae vna re supereffusa et incompraehensibilis munificentia et sapientia."

alphabet, e.g., in the case of laughter – to say nothing of weeping. They marvel, but they do not understand. But such speculations on the infinite wisdom of God, shown in this single part of his creation, we shall leave to better men with more time on their hands. We have hardly touched on them.³³⁷

Luther's writings of "the human voice" [*vox humana*] above could be explained in five aspects: First, the human voice is a gracious gift of God [*munificentia*]; second, it is caused by the light movement of the tongue and throat [*motu linguae / gutturis*]; third, it is under the direction of the will [*pro arbitrio animae gubernantis*]; fourth, it can be heard and understood [*solum audiri sed et intelligi*]; and fifth, it can express the thoughts of the heart [*gedancken des Hertzens*]. For Luther, philosophers have no knowledge in their understanding of the components of the human voice, especially the tongue. One might ask, why is the human voice different than bird's voice. No matter how wonderful the voice of a bird, and any other living thing, they still cannot be compared to the human voice. It makes the music of nature seem to be an unmusical and incomplete art form. The reason is because the human voice can express the thoughts and the joy of the hearts, such as laughter and the afflictions of weeping.³³⁸ Besides the ability to express the thoughts of the heart, Luther also explains further the diversity of the human voice:

For even a comparison between different men will show how rich and manifold our glorious Creator proves himself in distributing the gifts of music, how much men differ from each other in voice and manner of speaking so that one amazingly excels the other. No two men can be found with exactly the same voice and manner of speaking, although they often seem to imitate each other, the one as it were being the ape of the other.³³⁹

We can see here that God has give humans different and various kinds of voices that are unique to each individual, so that we do not have to imitate each other.³⁴⁰ This is to show the

³³⁷ WA 50:370, 2-12, "Quo modo tam leni motu linguae leuiorique adhuc motu gutturis pulsus aer funderet illam infinitam varietatem et articulationem vocis et verborum, pro arbitrio animae gubernantis, tam potenter et vehementer, vt per tanta interualla locorum circulariter ab omnibus distincte non solum audiri, sed et intelligi possit. Sed sudant tantum, nunquam inueniunt, et cum admiratione desinunt in stuporem, Quin nulli adhuc reperti sunt, qui definire et statuere potuerint, quid sit ille sibilus et alphabetum quoddam vocis humanae, seu materia prima, nempe Risus [de fletu nihil dicam]. Mirantur, sed non complectuntur. Verum haec speculabilia de infinita sapientia Dei in hac vna creatura relinquamus melioribus et ociosioribus, nos vix gustum attingimus."

³³⁸ cf. WA 47:25, 18-22, "So hatt noch kein mensch auff erden je sagen konnen, wie es doch zugehe, das sich die zunge im maul uberwerffe und plapper und nehme die Stimme zu hulffe und breche die Stime dieselbe also, das viel leute horen konnen die rede. So ist auch noch nie keiner kommen, der do hette sagen konnen, was lachen oder was weinen sej."

³³⁹ WA 50:372, 5-10, "Iam si comparationem feceris inter ipsos homines, videbis quam multiplex et varius sit Creator gloriosus in donis Musicae dispertitis, quantum differat homo ab homine in voce et verbo, vt alius alium mirabiliter excellat, negant enim posse duos homines inueniri similis per omnia vocis et loquelae, etiam si saepius imitari alii alios videantur, velut alii aliorum simiae."

³⁴⁰ The ape was a diabolical animal in medieval symbolism, and was also used by Luther in that sense; WA 47:686, 20. If the allusion to apes is understood in a negative sense, one could hear the echo of Plato's Republic,

goodness of God and his artistic creativity, which give humans different kinds of voices and musical talents. This illustrates Luther's idea of vocation.³⁴¹ The uniqueness of each voice also expressed what Jesus, as the good shepherd, says in John 10:4, "The sheep follow him, for they know his voice." And also after the resurrection, John 20:16, that is, that Mary Magdalene recognizes Jesus when she hears his voice, so it is not by his appearance but by his voice.³⁴²

For Luther the miracle of human speech lies in its ability to produce the audible, understandable and expressible voice. He expresses this in his sermon on the Holy Trinity (1544) when he compares our ignorance of the mystery of the Trinity with our ignorance of matters in general. He says that we understand little of how the human tongue can produce so many different voices that can be heard and understood by so many people.³⁴³ Luther also expounds on the importance of the tongue to speak in a story about Jesus' healing of a deaf man's ears and tongue. He comments:

He takes under special treatment two organs, ears and tongue, because he knows that the kingdom of Christ is grounded on the word. It cannot be understood or comprehended otherwise than with these organs: ears and tongue, and it reigns solely through word and faith in human heart. The ears comprehend the word, the heart believes it, and the tongue then speaks and confess what the heart believes.³⁴⁴

Luther in *The Supper of Christ* (1528) asserts the importance of the tongue to speak in a physical voice. He explains the voice in relation to Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. He says that when a preacher speaks, his voice is a single voice, although dozens, hundreds, or

where the philosopher forbids all musical instruments and tonoi which imitate something. Plato: Republic, Book X, 603a-07a. Guicharrousse (1995, 99-100). Quoted from Anttila 2013, 92.

³⁴¹ Anttila 2013, 92.

³⁴² WA 28:455, 14-27, "DA Maria also in der brunst stehet und den HERRn Jhesum nicht kennet (Denn sie helts nicht dafür, das er auferstanden sey und lebe, Sondern meineth, er sey aus dem Grabe gestolen, begert zu wissen, wo er hingelegt sey, da wil sie hin gehen und jn ausgraben), Da sie also erhitzet ist, sage ich, und brennet, ruffet jr Jhesus bey namen und spricht 'Maria.' Der HERR hat seine gewonliche stimme gehen lassen, die den Jüngern und Weibern, welche umb jn waren, am bekantesten war, wie denn die natürliche gewonliche stimme aus der massen ubel zuverbergen ist. Als nu der HERR also redet und seine gewonliche Stimme gehen lesst, kennet jn Maria von stund an. Da helt sie jn nicht mehr für den Gartner, Spricht auch nicht mehr zu jm 'wo hastu jn hingetragen? Sage mir, so wil ich jn holen,' Sondern wendet sich bald umb, leufft zu und wil jn anrühren und jn küssen. Itzt ist er nicht mehr bey jr tod, den sie wölle ausgraben und holen, Sondern seine stimme gibt jr zeugnis von jm, das er selbs gegenwertig sey und lebe."

³⁴³ WA 21:522, 14-20, "Wer hat je ersehen oder sagen können, wie es zugehet, das ein bletlin aus einem bawm wechset oder ein körnlin zur wurtzel wird, und eine kirschen aus der blüt durch holtz und kern wechset? Item, wie eines Menschen Leib und Glieder zusehens wachsen und zunemen, Oder was doch ist das sehen der augen, Wie es zugehet, das die Zunge so mancherley unterschieden stimme und wort machet, welche in so viel Ohren und Hertzen unterschiedlich gehen?"

³⁴⁴ WA 37:512, 36-513, 20, "Er nimpt aber hie sonderlich die zwey gelied für sich, Ohren und Zungen, denn jr wisset, das das Reich Christi gegründet ist auff das wort, welchs man sonst weder fassen noch begreiffen kan on durch diese zwey gliedmas, ohren und zungen, und regiret allein durch das wort und glauben im hertzen der menschen. Das wort fassen die ohren, und das hertz gleubets, Die zunge aber redets oder bekennets, wie das hertz gleubet."

thousands of ears might simultaneously hear it. If God can do this with a physical voice [*mit eyner leiblichen stymme*], why could he not make the body of Christ be in several places at the same time? After all, Christ's risen body passed through stone much more easily than any voice.³⁴⁵

However, the eighth commandment focuses our attention on the tongue. With the tongue we praise, we curse, we speak truth, and we lie. In *The Large Catechism*, Luther ends his exposition of the eighth commandment with a pertinent remark in which Jas 3:5 strongly resonates, "There is nothing about a man or in a man that can do greater good or greater harm, in spiritual and in temporal matters, than this smallest and weakest of his members, the tongue."³⁴⁶

3.2.4 The Power of Music

Luther moves to the next aspect of music, that is, its power over the human heart. This concept was probably influenced by Herbenus [chapter 2.1]. Here I discuss and evaluate the power of music in which, for Luther, the primary aim is to defy the devil and arouse the affects of the listener. He wrote:

We can mention only one point [which experience confirms], namely, that next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise. She is a mistress and governess of those human emotions [*affectuum*] – to pass over the animals – which as masters govern men or more often overwhelm them. No greater commendation than this can be found – at least not by us.³⁴⁷

In the quotation above, his writings of "which experience confirms" seems to refer to his own early musical experienced at school, in polyphonic singing and lute playing [chapter 2.2.2],

³⁴⁵ StA 4:98, 25-99, 14, "Es stehet da ein prediger / vnd predigt / Seine stym ist ein einige stymme die aus seinem munde gehet vnd ynn seinem munde gemacht wird vnd ist / Noch kompt die selbige einige stym / so an einem ort ist / nemlich ynn seinem munde / ynn vier funfftausent odder zehen tausent oren ynn einem augenblick / Vnd ist doch kein andere stym ynn den selbigen viel tausent oren / denn die ynn des predigers munde ist / vnd ist zu gleich ynn einem augenblick ein einige stym / ym munde des predigers / vnd allen oren des volcks / als were sein mund vnd yhr ohren on alles mittel ein ort / da die stymme were. Lieber / kan Gott solchs thun mit einer leiblichen stymme / warumb solt ers nicht viel mehr thun können mit dem leibe Christi / ob er gleich an einem ort were [wie sie sagen] vnd dennoch zu gleich an vielen orten warhafftig ynn brod vnd wein sein als ynn zweyen ohren? weil sein leib viel geschwinder vnd leichter ist denn keine stymme / vnd ist yhm alle creatur durchleufftiger denn die lufft der stymme ist / wie er das ym grabe stein beweiset hat / Sintemal kein stym so leicht durch einen stein faren kan / als Christus leib thet."

³⁴⁶ WA 30.1:174, 21-23, "Denn es ist nichts an und ym gantzen menschen, das mehr und weiter beide guts schaffen und schaden thun kan ynn geistlichen und weltlichen sachen, denn die zunge, so doch das kleinste und schwachste gelied ist."

³⁴⁷ WA 50:370, 15-371, 5, "Hoc vnum possumus nunc affere, Quod experientia testis est, Musicam esse vnam, quae post verbum Dei merito celebrari debeat. domina et gubernatrix affectuum humanorum [de bestiis nunc tacendum est] quibus tamen ipsi homines, ceu a suis dominis, gubernantur et saepius rapiuntur. Hac laude Musicae nulla maior potest [a nobis quidem] concipi."

which had an effect on his affections, to provide comfort and joy. There are a variety of uses of affectivity in Luther's writings. For Luther, knowing God, making theology, and living as a Christian are all affective affairs. A recurrent word considering affectivity is 'heart.' Yet heart does not mean just a feeling, but it is the innermost being of a person as well as the source of thought, volition, and feeling.³⁴⁸ Luther also occasionally speaks of the intellect as an affect. In medieval discussions, affection was treated as a separate kind of knowledge, an inchoate understanding that is subordinate to the intellect. Luther states it conversely as the intellect has an affective character.³⁴⁹ In thinking about the effect of the power of music in human affects, Luther, in the *Encomium musices* says:

and who could number all these masters of the human heart, namely, the emotions [*affectus*], inclinations [*impetus*], and spirits [*spiritus*] that impel men to evil or good? – what more effective means than music could you find?³⁵⁰

According to Luther, the masters of the human heart are as follows: emotions [*affectus*], inclinations [*impetus*], and spirits [*spiritus*]. Luther makes a distinction between affect and affects. The affect refers to the hidden, inner will and “emotions,” to the particular affections of humans.³⁵¹ To state that the human heart is ruled by the affect means that God alone can comprehend the human heart and change the way its direction. Luther discusses the affects or emotions in his *Psalter* preface (1528/1545):

A human heart is like a ship on a wild sea, driven by the storm winds from the four corners of the world. Here it is stuck with fear and worry about impending disaster; there comes grief and sadness because of present evil. Here breathes a breeze of hope and of anticipated happiness; there blows security and joy in present blessings.³⁵²

The above statements show four basic affects [*affectus*]: hope [i.e., *spes*, *Hoffnung*], joy [i.e., *gaudium*, *Freude*], fear [i.e., *timor*, *Furcht*], and sorrow [i.e., *dolor*, *Traurigkeit*].³⁵³ In *Dictata super Psalterium* Luther expounds them as “the chariots of God,” he states that

³⁴⁸ WA 4:7, 22, “Cor autem voluntatem et affectum significant.” Later Luther praises the book of psalms for letting us to see in the heart of the saints, involving not just their feelings but thoughts also: WADB 10.1:101, 23-24, “Das wir in den grund vnd quelle jrer wort vnd werck, das ist, in jr hertz sehen können, was sie fur gedancken gehabt haben, Wie sich jr hertz gestellet vnd gehalten hat.”

³⁴⁹ Anttila 2013, 110.

³⁵⁰ WA 50:371, 6-9, “Et quis omnes illos numeret dominos cordis humani, scilicet affectus et impetus seu spiritus, impulsores omnium vel virtutum vel vitiorum? Quid inuenias efficacius quam ipsam Musicam?”

³⁵¹ Anttila 2013, 113.

³⁵² WADB 10.1:101, 34-38, “Denn ein menschlich Hertz wie ein Schiff auff eim wilden Meer, welchs die Sturmwinde von den vier örtern der Welt treiben. Hie stösset her, furcht vnd sorge für zukünfftigem Vnfal. Dort feret gremen her vnd traurigkeit, von gegenwertigem Vbel. Hie webt hoffnung vnd vermessenheit, von zukünfftigem Glück. Dort bleset her sicherheit vnd freude in gegenwertigen Gütern.”

³⁵³ WA 3:404, 25-29, “Cuius quattuor rote sunt quattuor affectus spes, timor, gaudium, dolor. In utroque latere due, scilicet duo ex amore boni et duo ex odio mali.”

God's chariots have two wheels on both sides, meaning two of them are directed to good with love [*concupiscible*] and two of them to evil with hate [*irascible*]. Luther explains that the four affects [*affectus*] emerge from love and hatred.³⁵⁴ He uses the word *impetus* to refer to a violent attack of emotion, an uncontrollable movement of the soul. He uses the word sometimes to refer to the devil [whose attacks are to be conquered with the Word of Christ],³⁵⁵ to the Holy Spirit [whose *impetus* is that of consolation and encouraging],³⁵⁶ and also to Luther's *Anfechtung* [after reading Erasmus' *Diatriba*].³⁵⁷ Thus, *impetus* is a word for the movements of the soul that are beyond the control of the will. And Luther uses the word spirit either for the Holy Spirit or the devil who reigns in the heart. As with the Holy Spirit, the devil also has an emotional impact on human beings through music.

Luther says that music, as a gift of God, can be the ruler of human affects [*domina et gubernatrix affectuum humanorum*]. In his thinking about the affects, Luther, in his *Encomium musices*, asserts the practical aspects of the power of music on human affects:

For whether you wish to comfort the sad, to terrify the happy, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud, to calm the passionate, or to appease those full of hate.³⁵⁸

It has the power to influence the emotions, and can make one sad, happy, despair, proud, passionate, and hate. So that it brings overwhelming emotions into play. From the variety of emotions that it can change, it seems that the power of music, not only to change the condition of the heart temporarily, but to create goodness in human hearts so that it achieves an emotional health that is appropriate for and in line with gospel life. Because the Fall destroyed our pure emotions to love God and others emotions can lead to good or evil, but music is an instrument of the Holy Spirit that causes the devil to flee and encourages virtue in one's heart. Therefore, God wants to heal our emotions, and music serves as a divine helper to heal the human affects. Luther recognizes its power, that it can be useful and harmful. Although he always sees the positive effect of music, he is also aware of bad music [see "carnal song" in chapter 4.2.1]. However, Luther did not want to minimize the use of music

³⁵⁴ WA 4:102, 7-10, "Omnes enim quattuor affectus carnis evacuat istis motivis, qui sunt timor, spes, gaudium, tristitia. Qui oriuntur ex amore et odio: ex quolibet duo. Amor spem futuri et gaudium presentis boni facit. Odium timorem futuri et tristitiam presentis mali parit."

³⁵⁵ WA 29:160, 27-30, "Ut probe discamus verba Christi, quae nobis robur, arma et praesidia sufficientia adeoque invicta erunt adversus omnes diaboli impetus et insanias quibus adversus hoc sacramentum sevit."

³⁵⁶ WA 55.2:811, 338-41, "Cum spiritus exuberans semper novis Ecclesiam aquis irriget, Quia 'fluminis impetus [non autem stagni quies] letificat ciuitatem Dei.' Non enim fastidium et nauseam vult, Sed consolationem in scripturis suis dare fidelibus."

³⁵⁷ WA 18:601, 32, "Seu [ut dicam] iudicio meo de tua diatriba, impeditus est mihi impetus respondendi."

³⁵⁸ WA 50:371, 5-6, "Siue enim velis tristes erigere, siue laetos terrere, desperantes animare, superbos frangere, amantes sedare, odientes mitigare."

due to its power, rather he sought to point the power of music towards its proper aim, that is, for the glory of God and to benefit others. Luther saw that music could be used to prepare the congregants hearts to receive the Word of God, and to commit the teaching of Scripture to memory through hymn singing.

As mentioned previously, Luther places music next to the Word of God, because “she is a mistress and governess of those human emotions.” Luther personifies music as the “mistress and governess of human *affectuum*,” who sets overwhelming emotions into order and achieves an emotions that fits the gospel life. This is the best property of music and what makes it to be the excellent gift of God so that Luther places it next to theology.³⁵⁹ But the question posed is: What is the property of music that makes it to be the master of human affections? What is this “music” in Luther’s thought? The meaning of music here is the combination of the Word of God and music, as in singing. This will be discussed in the next subsection, which naturally follows; music as the Holy Spirit’s instrument.

3.2.5 The Holy Spirit’s Instrument

Luther moves to describe the next aspect of music as the Holy Spirit’s instrument. He insists that music has the power to defy the devil and thus replace negative human dispositions with liberating joy. In connection with the power of music, Luther asserts that to cast out the devil and to move the human heart to virtue are the work of the Holy Spirit through music:

The Holy Spirit himself honors her as an instrument for his proper work [*sui proprii officii organum*] 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).³⁶⁰

In other words, the Holy Spirit “himself honors [music] as an instrument for his proper work,” in which music “serves to cast out satan.” This idea of music driving away the devil might not be Luther’s own. He probably developed this notions based on Basil’s statement [chapter 2.1]. And it has been noted that Luther, also has direct influence from aphorisms by Tinctoris number 9, that music drives away the devil [chapter 2.1]. However, in this Luther’s

³⁵⁹ WA 50:368, “Vellem certe ex animo laudatum et omnibus commendatum esse donum illud divinum et excellentissimum Musicam.” WA 30.2:696, 11, “Proximum locum do Musicae post Theologiam.”

³⁶⁰ WA 50:371, 9-13, “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, vt in Eliseo videre est (2 Kön 3:15), Rursus per eandem expelli satanam, id est omnium vitiorum impulsorem, vt in Saule rege Israel monstratur (1 Sam 16:23).”

writings, one may ask: what is then the character of music as Holy Spirit's instrument? I will elaborate Luther's thought in the following schema:

The Relationship of Music and the Word

First, the meaning of the term "word" must be made clear. Luther explains that it has two meanings: it could refer to events, as in "let us see the word, that is, the event." However, where circumstances are not such that we can understand "word" as a thing or an event, that it is the Word and is truly God, then it is not a thing or an event. It is the Word which he spoke from the beginning, which was identical with the Father and of the same substance.³⁶¹

Then, the meaning of music as the Holy Spirit's instrument it is understood that it is in a combination of the Word³⁶² and the notes. When the power of music is seen in David's case (1 Sam 16:23) and Elisha's case (2 Kings 3:15), a question is posed: Does the musician playing the instrument include singing? From some writings of Luther, music seems to mean only music from the instrument played:

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).³⁶³

Similarly, in a letter Luther wrote to Ludwig Senfl (1530), when the devil runs away at the sound of music it seems to imply that there is no singing Word:

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.³⁶⁴

In fact, here Luther explains clearly that is not only the instrument played, but also singing the Word:

In 2 Kings 3:15 we read that the spirit of prophecy was aroused in the prophet Elisha by a psaltery, on which psalms were obviously played after the manner of David. David, too, often banished the evil spirit of Saul or restrained and subdued it with his lyre, as we read in 1 Sam 16:23. For the evil spirit is ill at ease wherever God's Word is sung or preached in true faith.³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ WA 39.2:21, 13-19, "Quaero, utrum verbum ubique significat personam. Verbum habet. Dabat enim res gestas pro tempore. Videamus verbum, rem. Sed ubi non circumstantiae tantae sunt, ut possis rem intelligere, ut hic, quod verbum esset et quod sit vere Deus, neque est illud. Dabat significat intra verbum prolatum, non intra cognitionem, sed quod ipse protulerit ab initio, quod fuit idem cum patre in eadem substantia."

³⁶² Humanism sees the shifting of the word to the Word, that is the presence of God's Logos in the holy texts. Bertoglio, 2017, 11.

³⁶³ WA 3:40, 15-17, "Habet enim natura Musice, excitare tristem, pigrum et stupidum animum. Sic Helizeus vocavit psalten, ut excitaretur ad prophetiam (2 Kön 3:15)."

³⁶⁴ WABr 5:639, 15-17, "Manifesto argumento, quod diabolus, curarum tristium et turbarum inquietarum autor, ad vocem musicae paene similiter fugiat, sicut fugit ad verbum theologiae."

³⁶⁵ WA 54:34, 2-7, "(2 Kön 3:15) und fein ernstlich zu gehet. Denn so lesen wir vom Propheten Eliseo 4. Re 3., das er durch das Psalterspiel [da man freilich Psalmen auff gespielet hat, nach der ordenung Davids] den Geist der weissagung in sich erwecket, Wie auch David mit seinem Psalter spiel offt den boesen geist Saul veriaget,

The quotation above means that the psaltery played included singing the psalms, because it is impossible for David to “banish the evil spirit” from the depressive Saul without the Word. As Luther stated that for “the evil spirit is ill at ease wherever God’s Word is sung or preached.” In another writing Luther also gives more of an explanation of singing with instrumental accompaniment. He wrote in the letter to Matthias Weller (1534):

When you are sad, therefore and melancholy threatens to get the upper hand, say, “Arise! I must play a song unto the Lord Christ a song on my regal, be it the *Te Deum laudamus* or the *Benedictus*, for Scripture teaches me that it pleases him to hear a joyful song and the music of stringed instruments.” Then begin striking the keys and singing in accompaniment, as David and Elisha did, until your sad thoughts vanish.³⁶⁶

What does it mean that God is pleased to hear “a joyful song and the music of stringed instruments?” It obviously means to sing a song with stringed instrument accompaniment. When Luther said earlier that “the devil runs away at the sound of music,” he means the singing of psalms with instrumental accompaniment. Thus, Luther explains more clearly that the devil oppressed should “begin striking the keys and singing in accompaniment, as David and Elisha did.” This means when the musician plays the instrument for Elisha, he also sings the words of psalms. But it is important to note here that in Elisha’s case, although it is not specifically about exorcism of the devil as in David’s case, there is still instrumental playing with singing that could arouse the spirit. Luther confirmed this when he said that in the example of Elisha at times the Spirit came to him when the musician either played the lyre or the psaltery and sang some psalms and spiritual songs.³⁶⁷ In this case, music as the Holy Spirit’s instrument is understood as singing the Word with the accompaniment of musical instruments, in which the aim is to defy the devil as in David’s case, and to arouse the spirit of joy as in Elisha’s case.

There is another example that Luther also included to show that instrumental playing should accompany singing. In the commentary on Ps 68:4, he wrote:

Since we do not have Christ in our midst today physically, but are only walking in faith, we cannot sing praises to his person or address his person in song. But we sing praises to his name; this we

oder (1 Sam 16-17ff) doch hindert oder schwechet, lesen wir j. Re 16. Denn dem boesen geist ist nicht wol dabey, wo man Gottes wort im rechten glauben singet oder predigt.”

³⁶⁶ WABr 7:105, 26-32, “Darumb, wenn Ihr traurig seid, und will uberhand nehmen, so sprecht, Auf! Ich muß unserm Herrn Christo ein Lied schlagen auf dem Regal (es sei *Te Deum laudamus* oder *Benedictus* etc.); denn die Schrift lehret mich, er höre gern fröhlichen Gesang und Saitenspiel. Und greift frisch in die Claves und singet drein, bis die Gedanken vergehen, wie David und Elisäus taten. Kommet der teufel wieder und gibt Euch ein Sorge oder traurige Gedanken ein.”

³⁶⁷ WA 44:575, 29-33, “Idem testatur exemplum Elisei, . . . Interdum etiam venit spiritus, cum aut cythara, aut Psalterio luderent et Psalmos quosdam, et cantica spiritualia decantarent.”

praise, this we address, this we preach and confess, . . . This relates to all sermons of the sweet gospel which proclaim God's grace, honor, and praise. As the fingers strum the strings to accompany the song of the mouth.³⁶⁸

But, one asks, in Luther's thoughts, which is of greater importance; singing or playing the musical instrument? In his commentary on Ps 81:1-3, Luther says that to sing well is the greatest work, greater than playing the lyre well.³⁶⁹ Nevertheless, although not as important as singing, playing musical instruments have a place in Luther's thinking, "because God is to be praised by Christians, and he is praised with many musical instruments."³⁷⁰

In Luther's thinking about the relationship of music and the Word there is also a capella singing i.e., without instrumental accompaniment. As Luther wrote in the letter to Senfl (1530):

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. . . . And so I have already started to sing this antiphon and am eager to hear it arranged. In case you should not have or know it, I am enclosing it here with the notes; if you wish you can arrange it – perhaps after my death.³⁷¹

It is clear that the prophets use music, with theology and music connected in their minds. In other words, the prophets use music [singing] to set forth their theology [the Word], and they proclaim truth [God's Word] through singing a song [without accompaniment]. The important thing to note here is that Luther wrote "proclaim truth through psalms and songs." What does Luther mean by 'the truth?' He explains:

³⁶⁸ WA 8:6, 14-22, "Nu aber wyr Christum nit leylich bey uns haben, sondernn ym glawben wandelnn, drumb kunden wyr feyn person nit ansingen noch antzeygen, ßo singen wyr seynem namen, den preysen wyr, den tzeigen wyr, den predigen und bekennen wyr, . . . damit seyn eyttel prediget des sussen Euangelij antzeygt, daryn gottis gnad, ehre unnd lob predigt wirt, das psallirn die finger zum gesang des munds thut, das ist predigen neben der thatt und wundertzeichen."

³⁶⁹ WA 3:615, 16-20, "Ista autem omnia figuraliter fiunt in literali musica. Quia psaltes percutit psalterium digitis et simul canit ore. Quod significat, ut prelati ore et manu psallat, id est verbo et opere deorsum sonet in subditos, habens scilicet opera verborum suorum. Opera inquam et verba sonantia, id est palam et in exemplum aliorum manifesta. Nam verba sine voce non docent quia non audiuntur, similiter et opera sine voce non monent. Sed si palam ad auditum perveniunt: quod fit dum in conspectu fiunt, ut luceat lux eorum coram hominibus. Igitur bene psallere maximum opus est: et maius quam bene cytharisare."

³⁷⁰ WA 3:181, 24-25, "Quia deus a Christianis landandus est et laudatur hodie in utroque et multis aliis instrumentis musicis."

³⁷¹ WABr 5:639, 17-34, "Hinc factum est, ut prophetae nulla sic arte sint uti 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. . . . Idcirco hanc antiphonam iam coepi cantillare et compositam cupio audire. Quod si non habes aut non nosti, mitto hic suis notis pictam, quam vel post mortem meam."

After all, the gift of language combined with the gift of song was only given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music,³⁷² namely, by proclaiming [the Word of God] through music and by providing sweet melodies with words.³⁷³

The truth means the Word, so that to proclaim truth is “proclaiming the Word through music.” This contains two ideas:

(1) “By proclaiming [the Word of God] through music” [*sonora praedicatione*]. Because of the rhetorical quality in music, Luther connects music to the discipline of *trivium* [rhetoric, grammar, and dialectic]. So, this “preaching in sounds” means to sing hymns in the vernacular, which would allow congregations to have a direct experience and contact with the Word which was spread through singing [cf. chapter 2.3.3]. It had a ministerial quality and an indispensable function for the spiritual growth of a community. In this way, congregational singing became “a rich experience in which theology was expressed in musical forms, undergirded by pedagogical and catechetical concerns.”³⁷⁴ As he said in *Deutsche Messe*, that sung words should “have a true German character,”³⁷⁵ which means using simple and common texts. Luther wrote to Spalatin:

In order to be understood by people, only the simplest and the most common words should be used for singing; at the same time, however, they should be pure and apt; and further, the sense should be clear and as close as possible to the psalm.³⁷⁶

Luther’s point is that the hymn should use simple and familiar texts so they are easy to understand, and the texts must also be close to the psalm, to the Word of God. This brings to the fore the idea that singing a chorale is also the most effective way in proclaiming the Word through music, in which the song should be in the vernacular, be simple, familiar, and biblical, so that it carried a dignified spiritual character [cf. chapter 2.3.3]. At the same time, the appeal of singing familiar songs was reinforced by infusion of the gospel. The greatest potential Luther gave to his hymns in terms of doctrine was clear and direct expression of the meaning and purpose he gave to the gospel. The gospel in his hymns is further reaching than the casual relation of carrier and cargo, for Luther brought hymn and gospel together in a vital union. The hymn as music is, in Luther’s understanding, a gift of God whose

³⁷² In his hymns, Luther utilizes this power of Word and music pastorally to comfort anxious consciences, as in *Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* 1524, especially stanzas two and three. See WA 35:446.

³⁷³ WA 50:372, 2-5, “Denique homini soli prae caeteris sermo voci copulatus donatus est, vt sciret, se Deum laudare oportere verbo et Musica, scilicet sonora praedicatione et mixtis verbis suavi melodiae.”

³⁷⁴ Bertoglio 2017, 188-89.

³⁷⁵ LW 40:141.

³⁷⁶ WABr 3:220, 8-10, “Quo pro captu vulgi quam simplicissima vulgatissimaque, tamen munda simul & apta verba canerentur, deinde sententia perspicua & psalmis quam proxima redderetur.”

significance for man is second only to the significance of the gospel itself and shares with the gospel the role of helper to man. Double-linked, the two together influence and direct the spirit of man.³⁷⁷ “Music causes man to laugh; it brings happiness to the things of the spirit, but the mouth gains no pleasure. When a man sings heartily, the spirit is within the body, playing and enjoying it greatly.”³⁷⁸

For Luther, there is also a mystical dimension in music, in particular in the singing of hymns, “a Christian congregation singing God’s praise was united through music to the heavenly choir of the angels and of the saints.”³⁷⁹ Furthermore, Luther states one important principle about singing together as believers, in which God accepts our sincere offering through singing in the congregation, as believers, even if we cannot sing well. Luther says, “Sing with the congregation and you will sing well; even if your singing is not melodious it will be swallowed up by the crowd. But if you sing alone you will have your critics.”³⁸⁰ The words “we cannot sing well,” and “not melodious” here suggests that we do not have the ability to sing, but, if we sing together as a congregation, then it would be acceptable to God, as the talent to sing is the gracious gift of God. As long as we sing rightly, with the consideration of the mind and a sincere heart, then God will accept our offering through singing. But this is not to sing together as a choir, as Luther says, “A choirboy with a good voice may step forward and sing.”³⁸¹ In sum, as a choir, only those chosen believers with a good voice may sing to witness in church, as the purpose is to edify; but as a congregation, everyone may sing to God as an offering.

Regarding the rhetorical quality in singing, Luther was different from the medieval music theorists who placed music in *quadrivium* [music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy]. Music being placed in between mathematics and rhetoric; as a sound in rational proportions, it is in *quadrivium*, as in its affective powers in rhetoric, it belongs to the *trivium*. In this sense Luther gives a new look to the practical significance of music, and yet maintaining its rational character.

(2) “By providing sweet melodies with words.” One key concept of humanist rhetoric is represented by *pronuntiatio*, which may correspond to our “delivery” of a text; it was

³⁷⁷ Sessions 1965, 208.

³⁷⁸ WATr 5: no. 5408, “Musica laut nicht, wan man dazu lachen will, denn musica soll das seelichen erfreuen; das maul hatt keine freude davon. Wenn man mit fleis singet, so sitzet das seelichen im leibe, spielet und hatt einen sonderlichen wolgefallen doran. – Haec dixit, cum rideremus inter cantandum.”

³⁷⁹ Bertoglio 2017, 184.

³⁸⁰ WA 2:114, 29-31, “Darumb singe mit dem hauffen, so singestu wol, Unnd ab du schon ubel singest, so gehet es doch mit dem hauffen hyn. Singestu allein, du wirst ungericht nit belyben.”

³⁸¹ WA 51:607, 18-19, “Darnach trete ein wol gestimpter Knabe fur den Bult in jrem Chor und singe.”

understood as the combination of voice, sound [*vox*] and motion, or the power to move [*motus*]. Thus, the combination of Word and music in singing was seen as the most powerful tool to move human hearts.³⁸² In *Encomium musices* Luther wrote:

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. Therefore, we have so many hymns and psalms where message and music join to move the listener's soul, while in other living beings³⁸³ and [sounding] bodies³⁸⁴ music remains a language without words.³⁸⁵

Here we can also think of Luther's statement that "the fathers and prophets wanted nothing else to be associated as closely with the Word of God as music." Why? Because this implies that music is the greatest of all subjects in the liberal arts. As Luther says earlier in the letter to Senfl, because the prophets "when setting forth their theology they did it not as geometry, not as arithmetic, not as astronomy, but as music."³⁸⁶ Here Luther also says, "Message and music join to move the listener's soul," which means that music is a rhetorical means that enhances the Word, so that through music, the Word can penetrate more deeply into the hearts of both hearers and singers. It is understood that the combination of the Word and music is not seen as a tension but a complementary union. In a way, music becomes a powerful tool that affects human emotions because it applies not only to the intellect but also to the feelings. And Luther continues, "While in other living beings and [sounding] bodies music remains a language without words." Here living beings mean the birds in Luther's thought, as he is very fond of the nightingale. And what "sounding bodies" means are the musical instruments. Here Luther asserts that "music remains a language without words," which can mean two things: First, instrumental music cannot be understood intellectually like the sung word. It does not convey meaning as much as the word [see more discussions on musical instrument in chapter 5.2.3]. Second, the tunes are a means to create imaginary words. As singing is by ear rather than by eye, so it enables people to remember each specific tune. If one plays the melody of familiar songs [as Luther always uses for the texts of his hymns], then people can hear and imagine the words in their minds. In this sense, the instrument plays hidden words, which means that the absence of the words' symbol any idea at all can be imagined visually rather than linguistically. However, Luther rarely discusses

³⁸² Bertoglio 2017, 75.

³⁸³ Luther thinks, e.g., of birds. LW 53:323 [See footnote].

³⁸⁴ i.e., instrumental music. LW 53:323 [See footnote].

³⁸⁵ WA 50:371, 14-372, 2, "Vnde non frustra Patres et Prophetæ verbo Dei nihil voluerunt esse coniunctius quam Musicam. Inde enim tot Cantica et Psalmi, in quibus simul agunt et sermo et vox in animo auditoris, dum in caeteris animantibus et corporibus sola musica sine sermone gesticulatur."

³⁸⁶ LW 49:426-29.

music as [solo or ensemble] instrumental playing; that is, for him, to talk about music means to talk singing, which can be with or without accompaniment.

Then, Luther wrote, “We have so many hymns and psalms where message and music join to move the listener’s soul.” This relates to the power of music. One may think that the power of music can be something useful and at the same time dangerous. Luther, along with Augustine, sees the power of music as being problematic.³⁸⁷ Luther was probably influenced by Augustine’s view of a delight in music and that though he was aware that this had somehow attracted him to God, he also had the feeling of having sinned when he paid more attention to music’s beauty than to its spiritual meaning.³⁸⁸ According to this view, music is dangerous to one’s spirituality. However, Luther’s stance does not show any trace of Augustine’s doubt. As he says in the letter to Ludwig Senfl (1530), one who is not moved by music is unmusical and deserves to hear the music of the pigs,³⁸⁹ and are like stumps [of woods] and blocks of stone.³⁹⁰ Luther does not worry about the negative effect of music, he was rather always positive, spontaneous, yet at the same time theological, in dealing with music. Luther says, “There is no doubt that there are many good seeds of good qualities in the minds of those who are moved by music.”³⁹¹ Luther expresses the idea in his letter to Senfl [chapter 4.2.1] that music could make us feel human, in which if one is not moved by music then one is like a stump of wood and block of stone [for discussion on “dance” see chapter 5.3].

Preaching Christ Through Music

Second, the understanding of music as the Holy Spirit’s instrument, not only in combining the Word and music, but also in preaching Christ through the word. The *Catechism* states, “Where Christ is not preached, there is no Holy Spirit to create, call, and gather the Christian

³⁸⁷ WA 30.2:696, 3. WATr 4: no. 4441. According to Augustine, “The delights of the ear drew and held me much more powerfully, but you, God, unbound and liberated me. In those melodies which your words inspire when sung with a sweet and trained voice, I still find repose; yet not so as to cling to them, but always so as to be able to free myself as I wish.” Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Albert C. Outler 2002, 10.33.49. Quoted from Lambert 2012, 274.

³⁸⁸ cf. Confession. X.33.49-50 (1955, 145). Also commenting on this matter from Aquinas’ Summa, Tomasso de Vio [*Cajetan*] recommended not to sing for the singer’s own delight or to please others, and on the same grounds, he asserted that the use of organs in church became illicit when they caused pleasure. De Vio 1570, 229; cf. Blackburn 2007, 95. Quoted from Bertoglio 2017, 91.

³⁸⁹ WA 50:373, 6, “Interim audiant vel porcorum Musicam.”

³⁹⁰ WABr 5:639, “Qui vero non afficiuntur, truncis et lapidibus arbitror simillimos esse.”

³⁹¹ WABr 5:639, “Neque dubium est, multa semina bonarum virtutum in his animis esse, qui musica afficiuntur.”

church, apart from which no one can come to the Lord Christ.”³⁹² Luther prefers preaching than written text, as he observes that Christ also wrote nothing and the apostles wrote little. Instead they preached the gospel with a physical voice [*mit leyplicher stymme*].³⁹³ Luther states that “the beautiful music of the gospel of Christ” must fill our ears so that we hear nothing else.³⁹⁴ Luther, in his treatise on *The Last Words of David*, asserts that the most important thing in song is not the beauty of the words nor its notes, but the theological meaning it contained. He explains:

When David uses the word sweet he is not thinking only of the sweetness and the charm of the psalms from a grammatical and musical point of view, of artistic and euphonious words, of melodious song and notes, of beautiful text and beautiful tune; but he is referring much more to the theology they contain, to the spiritual meaning. That renders the psalms lovely and sweet, for they are a solace to all saddened and wretched consciences, ensnared in the fear of sin, in the torture and terror of death, and in all sorts of adversity and misery. To such hearts the book of psalms is a sweet and delightful song because it sings of and proclaims the Messiah even when a person does not sing the notes but merely recites and pronounces the words.³⁹⁵

Thus, the meaning of “the theology they contain, the spiritual meaning” is preaching Christ through singing. It is still sweet, even when a person is not singing, but merely recites and pronounces the words. Thus, now we come to three stages in the understanding of words: The written word [letter, as in Scripture], the spoken word [saying, or preaching, as in creation account] and the sung word [singing]. First, there is difference between written word and spoken word. According to Luther “it is still better taught with the voice than with letters, because the voice is a lively being and the letters are a dead art.”³⁹⁶ Thus, the gospel is primarily “oral preaching and living Word” [*mundliche predig und lebendig wortt*].³⁹⁷ Luther

³⁹² BC 436, 45. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 128.

³⁹³ WA 10.1/1:626, 6-9, 19-21-627, 1-3, “Darumb hatt auch Christus selbs seyn lere nitt geschriben, wie Moses die seyne, ßondern hatt sie mundlich than, auch mundlich befolllhen tzu thun und keynen befelch geben sie tzu schreyben. Item die Apostolln haben auch wenig geschriben. . . . Denn ehe sie schriben, hatten sie tzuuor die leutt mitt leyplicher stymme bepredigt und bekeret, wilchs auch war yhr eygentlich Apostolisch und new testamentisch werck; . . . Das man aber hatt müssen bucher schreyben, ist schon eyn grosser abbruch und eyn geprechen des geystis, das es die nott ertzungen hatt, und nit die artt ist des newen testaments.”

³⁹⁴ WA 22:242, 12, “Des gleichen sol auch der schoene klang und die liebliche Musica des Euangelij von Christo also die ohren einnemen und fuellen, das man dafur auch kein anders nicht hoere.”

³⁹⁵ WA 54:33, 30-39, “Denn er meinert nicht allein die lieblikeit und sussigkeit der Psalmen, nach der Grammatica und Musica, da die wort zierlich und kuenstlich gestellet sind, und der gesang oder dohn suesse und lieblich lautet, das da heisst, schoener text und Schoene noten. Sondern viel mehr nach der Theologia, nach dem geistlichen verstand, Da sind die Psalmen recht lieblich und suesse, Denn sie troestlich allen betrubten, elenden gewissen sind, die in der sunden angst, und todes marter und furcht, und allerley not und jamer stecken. Solchen hertzen ist der Psalter, weil er den Messia singet und predigt, ein suesser, troestlicher, lieblicher gesang, wenn man gleich die blossen wort, on noten daher lieset oder saget.”

³⁹⁶ WA 57.2:94, 25-26, “Melius tamen adhuc traditur in voce quam in litteris, quia vox est natura viva, littere sunt ars mortua.”

³⁹⁷ WA 12:259, 8-13, “Evangelion aber heysset nichts anders, denn ein predig geschrey von der genad und barmhertzikeytt Gottis, durch den herren Christum mit seynem todt verdienet und erworben, Und ist eygentlich nicht das, das ynn buechern stehet und ynn buchstaben verfasst wirtt, sondernn mehr eyn mundliche predig und

acknowledges the difference between speaking and singing, as singing consists of both understanding and feeling. In the commentary on Ps 101:8, he says:

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.³⁹⁸

As mentioned earlier, Luther is aware of the power of music that moves the affects or emotions. Therefore he asserts the benefits of music as the notes alone. The context here is not the notes in instrumental playing but as in singing *a capella*. In *The Last Words of David* Luther asserts:

and yet the music, or the notes, which are a wonderful creation and gift of God, help materially in this, especially when the people sing along and reverently participate.³⁹⁹

Here Luther explains, “[Music, or the notes] help materially in this” means that singing helps. What does it help? In Burial hymnal (1542) he explains:

He [God] is thereby praised and honored and we are made better and stronger in faith when his holy Word is impressed on our hearts by sweet music.⁴⁰⁰

Singing the word helps the word to be impressed upon one’s heart; it is about affections. Therefore in return, it can benefit us, make us better and stronger in faith. For Luther, living as a Christian everything is an affective affairs [chapter 3.2.4]. Singing cannot be seen only as a helper to deliver the Word, but must be seen as the Holy Spirit’s instrument in itself. In other words, singing is not simply a carrier of the Word, it has its own power, as it is God’s gift in sound. Luther sees music, or notes, as a wonderful gift of God in creation, which means that the notes carry the beauty of the Creator that the word cannot express. The notes are like wrapping the words, and itself has a voice to praise the Creator.

Music as the Holy Spirit’s instrument means the combination of the Word that preach Christ and music, as in singing, that the melody becomes the helper to impress the Word on the heart. And the musical notes become important because the Word is orally delivered [*verbum praedicationis*] through it [with or without instrumental accompaniment]. In this

lebendig wortt, und eyn stym, die da ynn die gantz welt erschallet und offentlich wirt außgeschryen, das mans umberal hoeret.”

³⁹⁸ 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.”

³⁹⁹ WA 54:33, 39-34, 2, “Doch hilfft die Musica, oder noten, als ein wunderliche Creatur und gabe Gottes seer wol dazu, sonderlich wo der hauffe mit singet, und fein ernstlich zu gehet.”

⁴⁰⁰ WA 35:480, 7-9, “Das er gelobt und geehret, wir aber durch sein heiliges wort, mit süssem Gesang jns Hertz getrieben, gebessert und gesterckt werden im glauben.”

understanding, music becomes the Holy Spirit's powerful instrument to cast out the devil and arouse the spirit of the listener, as seen in the cases of David and Elisha. Therefore naturally Luther moves the discussion to artistic music.

3.2.6 Artistic Music

As Luther explains, singing is the Holy Spirit's instrument, which contains the power to move human affections. Therefore the human voice is a higher art form than birdsong. Here, Luther expounds the highest aspect of music [*musica artificialis*]. In his thought, God's perfect wisdom gives music in the creation of polyphonic music, especially in a four-voice motet, where other voices dance around the tenor voice. Thus, in *Encomium musices* he wrote:

But when [musical] learning is added to all this and artistic music which corrects, develops, and refines the natural music, then at last it is possible to taste with wonder [yet not to comprehend] God's absolute and perfect wisdom in his wondrous work of music. Here it is most remarkable that one single voice continues to sing the tenor,⁴⁰¹ while at the same time many other voices play around it, exulting and adorning it in exuberant strains and, as it were, leading it forth in a divine roundelay, so that those who are the least bit moved know nothing more amazing in this world.⁴⁰²

Luther begins with natural music, that for him should be corrected [*corrigit*], developed [*excolat*], and refined [*explicit*] by artistic music. God's gift of musical talents in people must be optimally used to compose more elaborate music, such as polyphonic [*musica artificialis*] music, as it may improve natural music, such as folk song [*musica naturalis*].⁴⁰³ His experience in polyphonic music starts from his early study in Erfurt [chapter 2.2.2]. Luther himself tries to arranged music in this manner, as he expressed it in a letter to Agricola (1530):

⁴⁰¹ Luther refers to the polyphonic style of his time which gave the melody to the tenor in long notes while the other voices provided a tracery of counterpoints in livelier rhythms. LW 53:324 [See footnote].

⁴⁰² WA 50:372, 11-373, 4, "Vbi autem tandem accesserit studium et Musica artificialis, quae naturalem corrigit, excolat et explicit, Hic tandem gustare cum stupore licet [sed non comprehendere] absolutam et perfectam sapientiam Dei in opere suo mirabili Musicae, in quo genere hoc excellit, quod vna et eadem voce canitur suo tenore pergente, pluribus interim vocibus circum circa mirabiliter Iudentibus, exultantibus et iucundidimid gestibus eandem ornantibus, et velut iuxta eam diuinam quandam choream ducentibus, vt iis, qui saltem modice afficiuntur, nihil mirabilius hoc seculo extare videatur."

⁴⁰³ Luther was more deeply involved in "the realm of the folk song, the *musica naturalis*," and thus could foresee its usefulness in the daily lives of the faithful. Blankenburg (1975, 510). Quoted from Bertoglio 2017, 213.

I chanced to find a piece of paper on which was written this old song arranged for three voices. I cleansed [*expurgavi*], corrected [*correxi*], and improved [*emendavi*] it, added a fourth voice, and also quickly prepared a text for the music.⁴⁰⁴

This is the improvement on the notes, so as to develop “this old song” becomes a more elaborate polyphonic arrangement. But the improvements can also be done only on the texts, so it still uses the goodness of “natural music.”⁴⁰⁵ Luther asserts below that “the melodies and notes are precious, it would be a pity to let them perish.” This means when modifications are made only to the texts, it becomes a new song that fits his theology. He wrote in *Burial hymnal* (1542):

This is also why we have collected the fine music and songs which under the papacy were used at vigils, masses for the dead, and burials, . . . But we have adapted other texts to the music so that it may adorn our article of the resurrection, instead of purgatory with its torment and satisfaction which lets their dead neither sleep nor rest. The melodies and notes are precious. It would be a pity to let them perish. But the texts and words are non-Christian and absurd. They deserve to perish. . . . And indeed, they also possess a lot of splendid, beautiful songs and music, especially in the cathedral and parish churches. But these are used to adorn all sorts of impure and idolatrous texts. Therefore, we have unclothed these idolatrous, lifeless, and foolish texts, and divested them of their beautiful music. We have put this music on the living and holy Word of God in order to sing, praise, and honor it. . . . We are concerned with changing the text, not the music.⁴⁰⁶

This shows that the improvements done in artistic music could also mean changing texts, but preserving the original music.⁴⁰⁷ Luther has this principle of *contrafacta* long from his early school days in Magdeburg [chapter 2.2.1], and also from his experience in monastic life [chapter 2.2.2]. Luther states his principle that we have not invented new or different music; we sing the same psalms and praise and thank God with united heart and voice according to

⁴⁰⁴ WABr 5:321, 8-10, “Forte in cloaca inveni chartam, in qua vetus haec cantilena tribus vocibus erat composita, quam ego expurgavi, correxi et emendavi, adiecta voce quarta, et textum subito finxi, hoc scilicet consilio.”

⁴⁰⁵ Luther used a repertory that continued to fascinate him in later life, e.g., *Volkslieder*, which he had begun to learn at his mother’s knee. He used such melodies, either substantially unaltered or reworked in some way, for some of his hymns. Leaver 2004, 133.

⁴⁰⁶ WA 35:479, 19-480, 16, “Zu dem haben wir auch, zum guten Exempel, die schönen Musica oder Gesenge, so im Bapstum, in Vigilien, Seelmessen und Begrebnis gebraucht sind, . . . Doch andere Text drunter gesetzt, damit unsern Artickel der Aufferstehung zu schmücken, Nicht das Fegfewr mit seiner Pein und gnugthuung, dafür jre Verstorbene nicht schlaffen noch rugen können. Der Gesang und die Noten sind köstlich, Schade were es, das sie solten untergehen, Aber unchristlich und ungereimpt sind die Text oder wort, die solten untergehen. . . Also haben sie auch warlich viel treffliche schöne Musica oder Gesang, sonderlich in den Stifften und Pfarrhen, Aber viel unflätiger abgöttischer Text da mit geziert. Darumb wir solche abgöttische todte und tolle Text entkleidet, und jnen die schöne Musica abgestreiff, und dem lebendigen heiligen Gottes wort angezogen, dasselb damit zu singen, zu loben und zu ehren. . . . Es ist umb verenderung des Textes und nicht der Noten zuthun.”

⁴⁰⁷ This reflects an inherent ability to preach the gospel within music itself, and this becomes apparent in the way Luther accepted Gregorian chants. To preserve the old tunes and only compose new words means the conviction that the proper words merely gave expression to the gospel already present in the music. Söhngen 1967, 109. Quoted from Anttila 2013, 10.

the teaching of Christ, the practice of the apostles and the ancient church, and their command to us to follow their example.⁴⁰⁸ And at the same time Luther understands his improvements in music are also works of God. He wrote that this “corrects, develops, and refines” [*corrigit, excolat et explicet*] God’s perfect wisdom. In other words, natural and artistic music, including the process of improving them, are wonderful works of God.

Luther differs from Karlstadt who was against the use of polyphonic liturgical music [chapters 2.3.1, and 2.3.3], and Zwingli, who also attacks Catholic polyphonic and instrumental music.⁴⁰⁹ For them, to reform music means to reduce it to a simple unison song. But Luther is too fond of polyphonic music, particularly of Josquin’s motet, to do such a thing. Because for Luther, many notes dancing freely in polyphony represent the gospel, as he writes, “God has preached the gospel through music, as in Josquin’s, the notes flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not cramped by rules.”⁴¹⁰ This is the same expression that Luther wrote here that “one single voice continues to sing the tenor while at the same time many other voices play around it, exulting and adorning it in exuberant strains.” This point is about his freedom from stifling rules of composition that, like freedom from religious law, enabled him to express God’s grace.⁴¹¹ He was also probably describing Josquin’s music, which according to him has a sense of freedom like birdsong, so God can preach the gospel through it. In this sense Luther compares such music with a “divine roundelay,” or heavenly dance. Although Luther admired Josquin’s music and considered him to be gifted as fine musician,⁴¹² he maintained that music is “a gift of God, and not of men” [*Dei donum non hominum est*].⁴¹³

3.3 Music as a Gift of God

This section examines the relationship between Luther’s theology of music and his understanding of gift. For him, the basis for understanding music is that music belongs to creation and it is a gift of God. He stated this again and again in his writings, as for example

⁴⁰⁸ WA 51:482, 25-28, “Kein neues noch anders ertichten, die selben Psalmen singen, mit eintrechtigem munde und hertzen Gott loben und dancken, gleich wie es Christus gelernt, die Apostel und alte Kirche selbs gebraucht, und uns dem Erempel nach zu thun befolhen.”

⁴⁰⁹ We will discuss in detail the different view of Luther and Zwingli on the use of instrumental music in chapter 6.

⁴¹⁰ WATr 2: no. 1258, 24-12, 2. cf. LW 54:129-30. For more discussion see chapter 3.2.2.

⁴¹¹ Begbie 2017, 102.

⁴¹² Josquin was always Luther’s favorite composer. Once after a rendition of one of Josquin’s beautiful motets, when there had been great general applause, Luther sighed, “Alas, how many fine musicians have died within these past ten years!” And he mentioned Josquin as the greatest of these. Nettl 1948, 11.

⁴¹³ WA 30.2:696.

shown here in his *Encomium musices*. In the beginning and at the end of his writings, Luther stresses music as a gift of God:

I would certainly like to praise music with all my heart as the excellent gift of God which it is and to commend it to everyone. . . . should praise God its Maker with this gift, so that these bastards purloin the gift of God.⁴¹⁴

Also in the same writing, he asserts that a person who gives this some thought and yet does not regard it [music] as a marvelous creation of God, must be a clodhopper indeed and does not deserve to be called a human being; he should be permitted to hear nothing but the braying of asses and the grunting of hogs.⁴¹⁵ In other words, if one disregards music as creation and gift of God, for Luther they are not human. Why Luther says that music is a gift of God; even in the *Tischreden* he stated that music is the greatest gift of God [*optimum Dei donum*]?⁴¹⁶ As mentioned above, this is because music is God's gift given in creation.⁴¹⁷

In the opening statement in his *Encomium musices*, Luther wrote that "it [music] has been instilled and implanted in all creatures."⁴¹⁸ As was mentioned earlier, for Luther, music represents order in creation and freedom in redemption [chapter 3.2.1]. His thoughts about gift are found in the *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, i.e., that God the Father demonstrates his loving goodness to us through the gift of music in creation, and that it is entrusted to us for our good. And the Son and Spirit also give themselves, which means that only through Christ and the Spirit's self-giving that we can receive and preserve God's gift as the Father in this imperfect and sinful world [chapter 3.1.1]. In other words, Luther says that we can know and have, the Father and his gift, i.e., music, and through the Son it is created and redeemed. The Son gave himself to us to reconcile us to the Father, and the greatest of all gifts is Christ who gave himself, and in response, that this understanding has to bring one to sing. Luther wrote in the preface to the *Babst* hymnal (1545):

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.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ WA 50:368, 3-374, 3-4, "Vellem certe ex animo laudatum et omnibus commendatum esse donum illud divinum et excellentissimum Musicam, . . . vt quae hoc dono vult et debet Deum solum laudare autorem, isti adulterini filii, rapina ex dono Dei facta."

⁴¹⁵ Buszin 1946, 83.

⁴¹⁶ WATr 4: no. 4441. WATr 2: no. 2387.

⁴¹⁷ "Music for Luther was 'part and parcel of the way the world is made, and contributes to its preservation. It is not primarily an art or science; it is a creature of God.'" Eugene Brand 1984, 21. Quoted from Schalk 1988, 34.

⁴¹⁸ WA 50:369, 1-2, "Musicam esse ab initio mundi inditam seu concreatam creaturis vniuersis, singulis et omnibus."

⁴¹⁹ WA 35:477, 6-9, "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 dauon singen und sagen, das es andere auch hören und herzu komen."

Through the Son means that Christ can be preached through music and finally, the Holy Spirit honors it as his instrument [chapter 3.2.5]. Thus in this understanding Luther wrote the statement that “music has been instilled and implanted in all creatures.”

Then, Luther states that the understanding of “sound and harmony,” that even air, “the least musical of all things, can become the most musical” if it sets in motion the hearer. This has to be seen in its relation to creation that music is God’s gift in creation. Thus, order in creation shows God’s providential care that gave hope to redemption in Christ, and in “joyous exchange” order was also redeemed in Christ so that he re-established the relationship between God and man. In this understanding, even the air which is set in motion becomes comprehensible in music [chapter 3.2.1]. Therefore, the sound of nature should evoke our senses of its origin, that it was created by God, not by men. It is a gift of God that benefits us in teaching and giving an example to us in praising God faithfully. This links to Luther’s understanding of natural theology [chapter 3.2.1]. Thus, Luther also states that through this creation [music] as a gift of God, we should praise God. In the end of the *Encomium musices*, he asserts:

But the subject [music] is much too great for me briefly to describe all its benefits. . . . At the same time you may by this creation accustom yourself to recognize and praise the Creator.⁴²⁰

In *The Large Catechism* Luther states that it is our duty to respond to all God’s gifts through “loving, thanking, and praising God” [chapter 3.1.3]. Thus, in this understanding of gift, Luther wrote about the sound and harmony of nature that can evoke our knowledge of the Creator, and bring us to praise him.

Luther continues to talk about the next aspect of the musical ideal [*musica in animantibus*], which is found in birdsong. The nightingale, a little bird, a gift of God in creation, which always sings cheerfully, that makes us happy; and the sense of joy and freedom in birdsong makes Luther compare it to the preaching of the gospel through music. The little bird, not only teaches us with its song [*lieblich*] that makes us happy [*macht alles froelich umberal*], but also Luther states that it is our master to teach us to depend on God alone on food [chapter 3.2.2]. In *The Large Catechism* Luther asserts that God, as the Father, he gives and sustains us. Also in *The Small Catechism* Luther states that God give us daily bread consists of everything that we need for our bodies, such as food and drink [chapter 3.1.1]. Human beings are supposedly wiser than the little birds who never worries about their

⁴²⁰ WA 50:373, 7-11, “Sed res est maior, quam vt hac breuitate vtilitates eius describi queant. . . . Deinde assuescas in hac creatura Creatorem agnoscere et laudare.”

food. Thus, birdsong is a gift of God, and at the same time, it is a gift to God, in its sweet and cheerful voice to praise its Creator.

Luther observes in *Encomium musices* that the human voice is the highest expression of instrument. Philosophers cannot comprehend its components, or that it is able to express understanding and feeling. Luther wrote in *Encomium musices*, “They [philosophers] marvel, but they do not understand,” because he asserts that it is an “infinite wisdom of God” shown in creation. There are no voices of nature that can be compared with the human voice produced by the tongue. Luther explains how God’s gift in music can create different voices in each man. He says that no two men can be found with exactly the same voice. This suggests the creativity of God, its Creator, to create tongues that can produce a single voice but can be heard simultaneously by thousands ear [chapter 3.2.3]. Thus, according to Luther’s understanding of gift, all things given to us in creation serve and benefit us [chapter 3.1], including the tongue. In three circles of divine giving, the tongue is under the category of the body that God gives and preserves [chapter 3.1.1]. The tongue is the highest instrument given by God, higher than any musical instrument and any voice of living things [chapter 3.2.3]. It is even used by the Holy Spirit as his instrument to preach Christ through singing [chapter 3.2.5]. What could we do to, as Luther says, impart to others, to increase and extend Christ? [chapter 3.1]. In fact, everything discussed here, the word, the music, preaching, praising and singing, all use the tongue. Luther says that the tongue is given to serve others [e.g., singing the Word], and in doing so, we are “already giving to God” [chapter 3.1.2; cf. chapter 3.1.3].

Luther continues with the next stage which discusses the power of music. This is what makes music an excellent gift of God and Luther places it next to the Word of God, as it has power on human affects, both useful and harmful. For Luther, living as Christian, to know and love God, are all affective affairs [chapter 3.2.4]. The Fall has polluted our affects to love God and others, and God wants to heal them through music [chapter 3.2.4, cf. chapter 3.3], to make our hearts willing and glad to praise God. Luther says:

Now with a heart as lazy and unwilling as this, nothing or nothing good can be sung. Heart and mind must be cheerful and willing if one is to sing. Therefore, God abrogated the service that was rendered so indolently and reluctantly, as he in the same place continues, “I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord of hosts, and I will not accept an offering from your hand.”⁴²¹

⁴²¹ WA 35:476, 24-29, “Wo aber ein solch faul unwillig hertze ist, da kan gar nichts oder nichts guts gesungen werden. Frölich und lustig mus hertz und mut sein, wo man singen sol. Darum hat Gott, solchen faulen und unwilligen Gottes dienst faren lassen, wie er daselbst weiter spricht, Ich habe keine lust zu euch, spricht der HERR Zebaoth, und ewer speisopffer gefallen mir nicht von ewern henden.”

Glad and willing hearts in singing are important as a gift offering to God. But Luther continues, adding that we are to sing gladly and willingly “so that others also may come and hear it” [chapter 3.3]. In this way the power of music can make us willing, so that we perform our service gladly. In this way singing can be for us to enjoy and for others to receive the benefits. Luther states in his *Confession Concerning Christ’s Supper* that God the Father created all things to “serve and benefit” us [chapter 3.1.1]. Luther noted that the Holy Spirit is to teach us to use the gift to “our own advantage” but at the same time the gifts need to be “shared and increased” [chapter 3.1.2]. As Luther sees music as a gift of God’s goodness in creation, he does not recognize the difference between sacred and secular music. Although he acknowledges bad music, not because of its essence, but because of the devil’s deceitfulness that brings people into making music for bad purposes, so that humanity’s polluted mind makes carnal songs [see more discussion in chapter 4.2.1]. Luther always had a positive view of the power of music, because, as already mentioned, he understands that it is originally given to humans as a good gift of creation. Luther’s concept of gift reflects the idea that God is good, who does not demand anything from us, but only wants to give his gifts to us [chapter 3.1.1].

Luther says that the Holy Spirit uses music in singing as his instrument to effect human affects. He gives us examples in Saul in David and in Elisha’s cases that both get the benefit when the Word is preached through singing with instrumental accompaniment [chapter 3.2.5]. In Luther’s thinking the Word is very important as it obviously has power to cast out the devil in Saul, and to arouse the joy of the spirit in Elisha. In his letter to Senfl, Luther wrote that the devil takes flight at the sound of music almost as he takes flight at the word of theology [chapter 4.2.1]. Thus, “almost” means the word is more powerful than the music. Luther continues, explaining that the evil spirit is ill at ease wherever God’s Word is sung or preached. Luther thought of music’s gift in the *Confession Concerning Christ’s Supper*, saying that the Holy Spirit comes and gives himself to us wholly and completely to makes us understand what Christ has done for us, and also to make known the Father’s gifts [chapter 3.1]. The Holy Spirit wants to use music as his instrument to preach Christ. Luther wrote of its power, which is to make the devil, the creator of sadness and worry, to flee as in David’s case when he played the lyre for Saul; and arouse the sad, sluggish, and dull spirit from Elisha’s affections so that he can move to prophecy. The power of music lies in singing the Word, that is the reason why Luther says, “Music is next to theology” [chapters 3.2.4, and 3.2.5; cf. chapter 3.3]. He understands that music is a gift of God, and the Holy Spirit uses it as his instrument for the benefit of human beings. In understanding the relationship of

Luther's understanding of the gift and his writings on music one is to impart to music the benefit through the hearing of the gospel. As Luther wrote in the *Encomium musices* that the Holy Spirit uses music as his instrument when in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through music "his gifts" [to cast out the devil and to arouse the spirit] were instilled in the prophets [chapter 3.2.5]. Luther understands that in both cases, it is a gift of God.

Lastly, according to Luther, the highest aspect in music is artistic music [*musica artificialis*], that is an improvement from natural music [*musica naturalis*]. It represents in the elaborate music of polyphonic, which improved traditional simple music through God's gift of talent in fine musicians [chapter 3.2.6]. In *The Last Words of David* Luther asserts:

David boasts of being "the sweet psalmist of Israel," that is, he did not keep this certain promise of the Messiah to himself nor for himself. 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 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.⁴²²

For Luther, this statement "he [David] did not keep this certain promise of the Messiah to himself nor for himself," is connected strongly to his understanding of gift, means that the promise is given to him by God in order for him to acknowledge it as God's gracious gift, and in turn use the gift in giving praise to God in the form of actions "speaking and preaching." It could serve and benefit others of "his fellowmen by stimulating and teaching them." This writing of Luther "to serve his fellowmen" has a relationship with his thoughts of gift in creation. In the *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, Luther asserts that God the Father created all things to "serve and benefit" us [chapter 3.1]. Luther said in the above writings that music, as in singing to praise and thank God, is to benefit others by "stimulating and teaching" them. This is in harmony with his thoughts of gift, as Luther maintained that everything we have is not ours but the gift of God, therefore we owe others and must serve them with it. In doing so, we are already giving to God. This act of giving "benefits another and is divine" [chapter 3.1.2].

For Luther, a free and cheerful note composed in polyphonic music is a gift of God, and it is comparable to a heavenly dance. It means that God already gives the capacity of the

⁴²² WA 54:33, 15-22, "Zum andern rühmet er sich: 'Lieblich mit Psalmen Israel.' Das ist: Er hat diese gewisse verheissung vom Messia, nicht bey sich, oder allein für sich, behalten. 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 teilhaftig werden, Ja für grosser freude fehet er an, tichtet schoene susse Psalmen, singet liebliche lustige Lieder, damit zu gleich Gotte froelich zu loben und zu dancken, Und auch die menschen nuetzlich zu reitzen und zu lernen."

musician to compose or arrange the music, to become artistic polyphonic music. In the preface to the Wittenberg hymnal (1524) Luther wrote:

But I would like to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of him who gave and made them. I therefore pray that every pious Christian would be pleased with this [the use of music in the service of the gospel] and lend his help if God has given him like or greater gifts.⁴²³

The above writing is in harmony with his thought of gift that in *The Large Catechism*, Luther asserts our duty to respond to all this giving through loving, thanking, and praising God for all these gifts. If human beings practice this article their hearts will be warmed and they may get a desire to use all these blessings. At the end we can please God in using all gifts for his glory, and also for both the glory of God and giving thanks to God. In *The Small Catechism*, Luther asserts the description of the giver and the receiver, “All this is done out of pure fatherly and divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness of mine at all! For all of this I owe it to God to thank and praise, serve and obey him” [chapter 3.1.3]. At the end of his *Encomium musices* Luther wrote in harmony with his thought about the gift of music that is given by God for our benefits and others, and so to praise God; and in particular, as a remedy to help us against evil:

But the subject is much too great for me briefly to describe all its benefits. And you, my young friend, let this noble, wholesome, and cheerful creation of God be commended to you. By it you may escape shameful desires and bad company. At the same time you may by this creation accustom yourself to recognize and praise the Creator.⁴²⁴

Luther seems to attribute to music the power of creating a habit of goodness in those practising it, which would help them in their battle against vice and evil.⁴²⁵

Luther’s basic understanding of music is seen primarily as God’s gift in creation, thus it is established as next in importance to theology which is it what gives the church freedom to use music without fear of its power. This understanding is contrasted to other reformers who excluded musical instruments from corporate worship [see discussion in chapter 6.2.2]. This brings music to fuller development and progress from the years when the Reformation began until today. This relational concept with creation is rather unusual, which makes Luther’s view of music as a gift of God unique.

⁴²³ WA 35:475, 4-7, “Sondern ich wollt alle künste, sonderlich die Musica gerne sehen ym dienst des, der sie geben und geschaffen hat. Eitte derhalben, eyn iglicher srummer Christ wollt solchs yhm lassen gefallen und wo ym Gott mehr odder desgleichen verleyhet, helssen soddern.”

⁴²⁴ WA 50:373, 7-11, “Sed res est maior, quam vt hae breuitate vttilitates eius describi queant. Tu, iuuenis optime, commendatam hane nobilem, salutarem et laetam creaturam tibi habeas, qua et tuis affectibus interim medearis contra turpes libidines et pranas societates. Deinde assuescas in hae creatura Creatorem agnoscere et laudare.”

⁴²⁵ Bertoglio 2017, 191.

3.4 Conclusion

Luther's thoughts on gift, and his understanding of music are addressed as follows: What is a gift according to Luther? What is music in Luther's thought? What is the relationship of gift and music to Luther? I have discussed in the first section (3.1) that the gift must be primarily seen in God's self-giving act, with all creation, for us, to serve and benefit us. And that through the Son and Holy Spirit we can use music to our advantage, and at the same time, we share it with others, to increase and extend it, in this way, we already give glory and praise to God. Thus, the gift for Luther is known in the simple fact: we are given, to give back.

In the second section (3.2), I analysed Luther's writings on music, the *Encomium musices* and we find that music as a gift of God is divided into six aspects: sound and harmony, the art of birdsong, the human voice, the power of music, the Holy Spirit's instrument, and finally artistic music. All these, according to Luther, are aspects in music. As gifts of God, each one has its own distinctive and unique character, and each complementary integrated to one another. The aspects start from the sound of nature, which is there but is unheard [therefore he highlighted music as practical art and not an intellectual science, see chapter 3.2.1], to the sound of birds which are sweet and cheerful but cannot be understood, to the highest aspect of the human voice, which is audible and comprehensible, with its given power to preach Christ through singing [i.e., singing the Word], in polyphonic music [artistic music].

In the third section (3.3), the connection of Luther's theology of gift and his thoughts about music is found in Christ, the Word of God. He is the connection, as he was given [or gave himself] to heal this sinful world. And the same is true of music, is given to expel the devil and to arouse the spirit of joy. As we conclude our investigation of Luther's thoughts of gift, we discover that it we are given in order to give back; so we must use the gift of music to serve and benefit others so that others may come and hear the gospel, to the glory of God.

4 Luther on Music and the Devil

The previous chapter concerns Luther's theology of giving, which can be summarized thusly "God has given himself to us," and this implies that "the devil is against us." The present chapter is devoted to an analysis of Luther's thoughts on music as a means to drive away the devil. This analysis is based on those texts in Luther's writings that relate music to the devil and to *Anfechtung*.⁴²⁶ The first section presents an analysis of Luther's understanding of the devil and his own experience of *Anfechtung* (4.1). The second section will examine Luther's thought about music related to the devil in his letter to Senfl, the *Fraw Musica*, and the *Tischreden* (4.2). Finally, the third section expounds the relationship of Luther's understanding of the devil and his thoughts of music in his hymn *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* (4.3).

4.1 A Theology of the Devil

For Luther, since music is a wonderful creation and a gift of God, it is natural that the devil, as a spirit of gloom, must flee from music, especially when God's Word is sung.⁴²⁷ In this sense, for Luther, the grounds for music are not in the Pythagorean-Platonic tradition, as seen in Wis 11:20, "You have ordered everything according to measure, weight, and number," but it was 1 Sam 16:23, that was of the utmost importance, "And so it was, whenever the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David would take a lyre and sing the psalms. Then Saul would become refreshed and well, and the evil spirit would depart from him" [chapter 3.2.5].⁴²⁸

Luther wrote many statements concerning music as a means to defy the devil. In *On Music* Luther writes that music "drives away the devil" [*quia fugat diabolum*].⁴²⁹ In *The Last Words*

⁴²⁶ *Anfechtung*, has no English equivalent and is more inclusive and radical than the word "temptation." More than enticement or inducement, *Anfechtung* is an assault on either the body, mind, or soul, involving fear, conscience, sin, or guilt, and is always a test of one's faith. *Anfechtung* can stem from the devil [see LW 51:179-80], or from the "hidden God," who "has a way at times of playing and toying in a friendly manner with his own . . . to test us [see WA 53:475-76]. We say "trial," "temptation" [*Anfechtung*]. LW 51:179. Luther does not define or analyse the particular nature of the assault and distress this piece deals with. He seems to assume that his readers know exactly what he means, and he launches immediately into the subject at hand. LW 42:181.

⁴²⁷ WA 54:33, 39-34, 2; 6-7, "Doch hilft die Musica, oder noten, als ein wunderliche Creatur und gabe Gottes seer wol dazu, sonderlich wo der hauffe mit singet, und fein ernstlich zu gehet. . . . Denn dem bösen geist ist nicht wol dabey, wo man Gottes wort im rechten glauben singet oder predigt."

⁴²⁸ Luther refers to this throughout his career; WA 5:98, 40. WA 54:34, 6-10. WATr 1: no. 968. WATr 2: no. 2545a.

⁴²⁹ WA 30.2:696. cf. WA 30.2:695, "So vertreibt sie auch den teufel."

of David, Luther asserts that [music] “banished the evil spirit of Saul or restrained and subdued it with his lyre” [*wie auch David mit seinem Psalter spiel offt den bösen geist Saul veriaget, oder doch hindert oder schwechet*].⁴³⁰ In the Letter to Ludwig Senfl, Luther states that “the devil, the creator of saddening cares and disquieting worries, takes flight at the sound of music” [*quod diabolus, curarum tristium et turbarum inquietarum autor, ad vocem musicae paene similiter fugiat*].⁴³¹ In the *Tischreden* Luther writes that “*satan fleuget die Musica*” [satan flees the music],⁴³² “*Musica maximum, immo divinum est donum, ideo satanae summe contrarium*” [Music, is a divine gift, therefore most opposite to the devil],⁴³³ “*Musica optimum donum est et divinum, sathanae odiosissimum*” [Music is the best and divine, and is hateful to satan],⁴³⁴ and “[*Musica*] *so vertreibt sie auch den teufel*” [Music drives away the devil].⁴³⁵ This concept was a general one that Luther inherited, but it was a matter of great personal concern to him, since all his writings contain many references to the personal attacks from the devil. For Luther, music as a gift of God, therefore, is a powerful means to expel the devil, as the enemy of God.

Luther’s concept of the devil is not only theoretically derived from the Bible,⁴³⁶ for he himself believes that one cannot possibly understand the Holy Scriptures without experience and temptations.⁴³⁷ Luther himself experienced many spiritual crises that grew increasingly severe in intensity. He himself suffered many attacks from the devil in his personal life, both in his body and his soul. Attacks aimed at – as he interpreted these – making him despair and doubting the existence of God and his reliability, and that affects his certainty for his own salvation. As a man of medieval times, with an educational background in his home, Luther confidently takes for granted the folklore, such as the existence of witches, witchcraft,⁴³⁸

⁴³⁰ WA 54:34, 4-6.

⁴³¹ WABr 5:639, 15-17.

⁴³² WATr 1: no. 194.

⁴³³ WATr 1: no. 968.

⁴³⁴ WATr 2: no. 2387b. cf. WATr 2: no. 2387a, “Optimum et divinum donum est musica, qua multae tentationes pelluntur; ideo eam summe odit satan und erhart yhr nicht.”

⁴³⁵ WATr 6: no. 7034.

⁴³⁶ Luther maintained the traditional idea that the devil was created by God as the highest of the angels. But because God created humans and incarnate as human being, so the devil became jealous and turned against God. Therefore, the devil and his hosts fell and were cast out from heaven. LW 22:103.

⁴³⁷ WATr 1: no. 352, “Ich habe meine Theologiam nicht auf einmal gelernet, sondern habe immer tiefer und tiefer grübeln müssen; dazu haben mich meine Tentationes oder Anfechtungen bracht, denn ohne Übung und Erfahrung lernet mans nicht. Das feilet den Schwärmern und den Rotten, daß sie den rechten Widersprecher nicht haben, nehmlich den teufel, der lehrets einen wol. Lernet man doch andere Künste ohne Übung nicht!”

⁴³⁸ WATr 3: no. 2982b, 20-26, “Doctor Mart. Sagte viel von Zäuberei, vom Herzgespann und Alpen, ‘wie seine Mutter sehr geplaget wäre worden von ihrer Nachbarin, einer Zäuberin, daß sie sie aufs aller freundlichste und herrlichste hat müssen halten und versöhnen. Denn sie schoß ihr die Kinder, das sie sich zu Tode schrien. Und ein Prediger strafte sie nur in gemein, da bezauberte sie ihn, daß er mußte sterben; man konnte ihm keiner

poltergeists, hobgoblins,⁴³⁹ where it most probably has influenced his theological thought. Coupled with his testimonies about the devil's attacks on him showed how personal and powerful the attacks were for him. The exploration of Luther's understanding of the devil in relation to his *Anfechtung*, collected from his own writings is very important for research on Luther's thoughts on music in relation to the devil.

The Devil, Luther, and *Anfechtung*

The devil was a significant figure for people in medieval times and for Luther who was a man of those times. Luther grew up regularly hearing and thinking about the devil. Luther insists that the devil is almost everywhere in his works, and as he grew older this viewpoint increased in frequency and intensity. The devil had assaulted Luther's body wanting to weaken him through illness. Even more dangerous was the assault on his soul, which brought him to despair and haunted by fear. The devil sought to savage and destroy the conscience and with it, the whole person. One must therefore wage spiritual warfare against him. In short, for Luther, the devil is real and he is everywhere. This is reflected in his writings where he describes how the devil is close to him; he is in his home, and wherever he is.⁴⁴⁰ Luther realized that he continues to fight directly with the devil, so inevitably he must read the Scriptures everyday to be able to win against the devil.⁴⁴¹ In his extraordinarily busy daily life, Luther knew that the devil was always trying to harass him. Luther attempted to describe the difficult circumstances of how the devil never ceases giving him such a great trial, either to his body or to his soul. In other words, the devil will never let him in a state of calm.⁴⁴² The devil is eager to disturb him to the point that Luther says that, "Almost every night when I wake up the devil is there and wants to dispute with me."⁴⁴³ The devil attacked his body and

Aerzney helfen. Sie hatte die Erde genommen, da er auf war gangen und ins Wasser geworfen, und ihn damit bezaubert, ohne welche Erde er nicht konnte wieder gesund werden."

⁴³⁹ WATr 3: no. 3814, 634, 8, "Poltergeist zu Subditz;" 635:12-13, "Historia, wie ein Poltergeist einen Pfarrherrn geplagt habe, und D. Luthers Rath, wie er solle vertrieben werden." WA 45:530, 12-14, "Gleich wie vor diesen zeiten war der polter und rumpel geister allenthalben viel, so die leut erschreckten, das sie theten, was sie nur von jnen fodderten." cf. WATr 5: nos. 5358a, 5358b.

⁴⁴⁰ WA 43:540, 36-39, "Videtur itaque, quomodo grassetur diabolus in oeconomia et familiis etiam sanctissimorum hominum. Non frustra toties monemus, toties exhortamur et clamamus, ut diligenter et sine intermissione oretis. Propterea quod diabolus non procul abest, sed est in medio nostrum."

⁴⁴¹ WA 31.1:227, 11, 18-20, "Ich hab solchen teuffel und anfechtung bey mir selbs offft gefulet . . . Wie wol ich sonst uber das teglich mit der schrift mus umbgehen und mit dem teuffel ym kampf stehem."

⁴⁴² WA 45:566, 22-25, "Wie mir selbs offft widerfahren ist, das mich der teuffel durch die welt und mein gewissen so eraminirt hat, das mir mein odem und leben zu kurtz worden ist. Wie er nu nicht auffhoret noch ablesst uns zu schrecken und müde zu machen mit der sunde und tod."

⁴⁴³ WATr 1: no. 469, 30-31, "Singulis noctibus fere, wenn ich erwach, so ist der teuffel da und will an mich mit dem disputirn."

soul and it is very apparent that he did not want to let Luther rest. It is so often that the devil bothered him that Luther says that the devil keeps looking for him, both at home, even in his bed, and one or two devils are constantly waiting for the right time to disturb him. If they cannot tempt Luther's heart, then they torture his head with pain.⁴⁴⁴ The devil never stopped attacking Luther, while sleeping, or working, and he did so most severely when he had to stay in the Wartburg, in his Patmos, high up in the fortress in the kingdom of the birds.⁴⁴⁵ Luther was well aware that the devil was always trying to thwart everything he did in God's work.

In the days of Luther, there were many stories sourced from the Bible and folklore that had been blended together to produce a frightening image of the devil and his followers. For instance, miners working in the deep dark underground feel frightened when haunted by the thought that they will see the devil.⁴⁴⁶ The legacy of his families history ultimately led Luther to believe in superstitious things, such as the nature and work of the devil's followers and their influence.⁴⁴⁷ Luther believed that in his days there were many poltergeists and hobgoblins everywhere and they frightened people so they would eventually do the things they asked for.⁴⁴⁸ He describes goblins, or field demons as a hairy creatures, like fauns or satyrs, or like our house spirits, in the likeness of men and of devils. They are witches and night hags who at night give suck to children and inflict injury on babies, as the prophet says, "Even the night hags give the breast" (Lam 4:3). Luther allegorized this text and said, "All ungodly teachers are witches and night hags, goblins, who perplex us with milk and teaching." They are male and female demons who cause nightmares; goblins, devils of all kinds that lie in wait for us during the night.⁴⁴⁹ Sometimes Luther personalized the devils as ungodly people, and for him the night time also play important part, as it is the time when the devil works best so as to give bad dreams or other evil disturbances. Luther also writes about

⁴⁴⁴ WATr 1: no. 491, 7-10, "Aber der teuffel geht mit mir off dem schlaffhaus spacirn, und ich hab ein oder zwen teuffel, die lausen starck auff mich und sind visirliche teuffel, und wenn sie im hertzen nichts können gewinnen. So griffen sie kopff an und plagen mir yhn."

⁴⁴⁵ WATr 3: no. 3814, 25-27, "Ideo ego in captivitate mea in Pathmo in altissima arce in regno volucrum saepius vexabar." LW 54:279. Luther referred to Wartburg, the castle to which he was taken for his protection after the Diet of Worms in 1521, as his Patmos and as the kingdom of the birds.

⁴⁴⁶ Selderhuis 2017, 21.

⁴⁴⁷ On Luther's early conception of the devil, see Oberman 1989, 102-06.

⁴⁴⁸ WA 45:530, 12-17, "Gleich wie vor diesen zeiten war der polter und rumpel geister allenthalben viel, so die leute erschreckten, das sie theten, was sie nur von jnen fodderten, Das machet, das man jn nicht kandte, sondern hielt es für arme seelen, Itzt aber, nu man jn kennet, so gehet er des spiels wider abe und suchet andere wege, die leute zubezeubern und zu verführen durch seine leibhaftige Poltergeister und Rotten."

⁴⁴⁹ WA 31.2:219, 18-26, "'Et pilosus clamabit alter ad alterum.' Schayr 'koboldt,' 'felt tewfel.' Seyr i.e., pilosus, sicut fauni, satyres, nos germanice 'kobolt,' sicut nostri spiritus domestici, larvae hominum et diabolorum. 'Ibi cubavit lamia.' Ich hab es gedeuczst eyn igel. Striges et lamia, qui nocte pueros suis uberibus lactant et nocent infantibus sicut in propheta: 'Lamiae undaverunt mammas.' Allegorice: Omnes impii doctores sunt striges et lamiae, kobolt, qui nos falso lacte et doctrina confundunt. Es syndt Alb, Mardt, kobolt, allerley tewfel, qui nobis nocturno tempore insidiantur."

witches, who are the wicked devil's messengers, who can do many evil things, such as torturing children and changing the weather,⁴⁵⁰ by sending a storm.⁴⁵¹ Luther believed that it was actually the devil that caused all the severe illnesses we experienced.⁴⁵²

Although Luther had difficulty throwing off such superstitions, over time he eventually gained a more theologically responsible view of spiritual warfare. Luther would write that he viewed his frequent stomach ailments as direct attacks from the devil. According to Luther, that struggle happened especially when he was sitting on the latrine, where he spent quite some time due to his intestinal issues, alternating between constipation and diarrhea. He wrote:

Already eight days have passed in which I have written nothing, in which I have not prayed or studied; this is partly because of temptations of the flesh, partly because I am tortured by other burdens.⁴⁵³

Luther experienced many physical struggles in that place, and he saw those struggles as attacks of the devil on his work. Moreover, the devil likes nothing more than to envelop people in a stink, and he manages that especially on the latrine. A person tries his utmost quietly and privately to have his bowel movement, but subsequently, the devil begins to stir in it so that everyone, especially God, will notice that there is a bad smell hanging around him. The imagery of the latrine as a place where the devil does his filthy work and where a person experiences his lowly position was not new and was already present in a medieval song. What was new was Luther's discovery that this was also the place where the Holy Spirit taught him to combat the devil by trusting in Christ.⁴⁵⁴ Yet, even though Christ has defeated the devil for us, he nonetheless remains the ruler of this world, who can certainly continue to give us temptations that test our faith.⁴⁵⁵ Luther called this great temptations *Anfechtung*.

Luther must continue to fight against the devil who often attacks him with *Anfechtung* every day. It was not just an attack on his body in the latrine, but worse, it was an attack on his soul, a grave threat that could cause him to question his faith. Luther said:

⁴⁵⁰ WA 10.1:591, 1-4, "Item die heren, das sind die bößen teuffelshuren, die da milch stelen, wetter machen, auff böck und beßen reyten, auff mentel faren, die leutt schiessen, lemen und vordurren, die kind ynn der wigen martern, die ehlich glidmaß betzaubern unnd desgleychen."

⁴⁵¹ WATr 1: no. 489, 1-2, "Doctor respondebat diabolum tales tempestates excitare."

⁴⁵² WATr 1: no. 360, 27-28, "Sic existimo, quod in omnibus gravibus morbis diabolus adsit autor et effector."

⁴⁵³ WABr 2:357, 13-14, "Octo iam dies sunt, quod nihil scribo, neque oro, neque studeo, partim tentationibus carnis, partim alia molestia vexatus."

⁴⁵⁴ Selderhuis 2017, 22-23.

⁴⁵⁵ WA 30.2:620, 12-15, "Denn ob uns Christus wol hat die welt überwunden, das sie uns nicht kan zur sunden zwingen, So ist sie doch so fern da blieben, das sie uns anfechten, plagen und verfolgen und damit unsern glauben uben kan."

I myself have had considerable experience of this, for I know how I sometimes struggle in the hours of darkness. I know how often I suddenly lose sight of the rays of the gospel and of grace, which have been obscured for me by thick, dark clouds.⁴⁵⁶

This experience of “hours of darkness,” or *Anfechtungen*, was a very critical moment in Luther’s life, where he felt God was so far away that he could no longer effectively pray. And it also made his heart afraid and uneasy, for he always thought of God’s wrath.⁴⁵⁷ *Anfechtung* is truly an experience that is so frightening and difficult to imagine. Luther’s entire life is a struggle against the devil, an experience where he learns the art of believing in God. Luther says that he often experiences feelings of distance from God and difficulty in prayer, coupled with the fear of death⁴⁵⁸ and danger that comes, makes him want to flee from God, as if he were the devil.⁴⁵⁹

How exactly did Luther’s understand *Anfechtung*, did it come from God or from the devil? Luther explains that there are three temptations that comes to us. The first temptation is that of the flesh, that is where the greed of our flesh is seeking its own advantage and seeks to satisfy its lust in gluttony, guzzling, and loafing. The second is the world which tempts us with envy, hatred, and pride. And the third tempter is the devil. He tempts us by causing us to disregard God’s Word with the result that we have no delight, no love, no reverence for the Word. Therefore, for Luther, our whole life is nothing but temptation by these three, the flesh, the world, and the devil.⁴⁶⁰ It was implied that God never tempts us, although sometimes Luther uses the word temptation for God, but he never meant it the same way he did with the devil. However, Luther explains that God’s punishment is out of his goodness, and when we experience it we believe that it is not to destroy us, for God himself is our keeper.⁴⁶¹ Even though God tests us, but God’s test is not destructive to us, but on the contrary,

⁴⁵⁶ WA 40.1:129, 12-15, “Id quod ego ipse saepe experior. Novi enim, in quibus horis tenebrarum nonnunquam lucter. Novi, quoties ego radios Evangelii et gratiae veluti in quibusdam densis nubibus subito amittam.”

⁴⁵⁷ LW 35:110. cf. LW 12:365. The temptation as “we are in the midst of thoughts about the wrath of God.”

⁴⁵⁸ This fear was nourished and kept alive both on the practical and on the religious side. In daily life, there was the very real terror caused by the plague. In 1347, the year of its first great outbreak in Europe, this disease, referred to as “the death” or “the pestilence” had killed anywhere from a third to one half of the population of the continent. During the two subsequent centuries, the plague struck again and again; in fact, Luther lived through three outbreaks in Wittenberg, in the years 1527, 1535, and 1539, and lost siblings to the disease. Østrem 2003, 188.

⁴⁵⁹ WA 46:660, 20-23, “Aber das hab ich auch erjaren, wenn man in anfechtung felt, und der Tod einen schreckt oder sonst in ein geschrligkeit gerit, so wollen sie verzweifeln, flihen fur Gott als fur den teufel.”

⁴⁶⁰ WA 30.1:208, 25-28, “Die versuchung aber oder (wie es unsere Sachssen von alters her nennen) bekörunge ist dreierley: des fleischs, der welt und des teuffels.”

⁴⁶¹ WA 31.2:151, 18-22, “Cum ex sua bonitate nos disciplinat, tunc ratio argumentatur deum nos trahere in ima tartara. Hanc tentacionem pii et ecclesia habet in tribulacionibus, quam reprehendit, ne ita cogitet, sed credat se tribulacionibus divinis custodiri, nequaquam perdi, quia ipse sit eius custos et Episcopus.”

with that test he gives us a happy and rewarding ending.⁴⁶² Furthermore, God promises through his Word that he “will not let us be tempted beyond our strength” (1 Cor 10:13). Luther has his own experience with illness that he expresses in some of his letters. For instance, in the letter to Nicholas von Amsdorf, dated 12 May 1521, Luther himself wrote that he experienced the chronic ailment of constipation, and for that he says that the Lord afflicts him.⁴⁶³ Moreover, in other letters he says that, “I am afraid it [constipation] may develop into a worse evil with which the Lord afflicts me, according to his wisdom.”⁴⁶⁴ Luther also admit in the letter to Spalatin, 7 October 1521, that no matter how much God has afflicts him severely, he is also the one who gives recovery. He also wrote that his bowels have reconciled themselves to him, and he give thanks to God for that.⁴⁶⁵ Therefore, Luther believes that the earnest temptation will surely cause us to despair, and as if we are defeated, but then God’s faithfulness will come give us medicine through his Word.⁴⁶⁶ However, although it looks the same, the devil’s temptation differs in his motivation, because he wants to keep us from the Word and then destroy and defeat us. Luther noted that the devil wearies us in our private life by attacking them with hatred, envy, and lust.⁴⁶⁷ After the devil successfully tempts us with blasphemous thoughts, he immediately judges us with questions, “Just see what kind of heart you have? Are you not a sinner?” With this kind of temptation the devil has tempted us to think that God is angry with us. For Luther, this temptation of the devil has destroyed many Christians.⁴⁶⁸

What is really happening in *Anfechtung*? Luther said that the first man fell from faith to unbelief, then what followed afterwards was fear, hatred, and followed by a desire to escape

⁴⁶² WA 13:661, 36-39, “Dominus dabit luctus mensuram et spiritus unumquemque docebit, quatenus debeat macerare sese. Dabit dominus tentationes, quas perferre poterimus atque cum tentatione uberrimum proventum, sicut inquit apostolus.”

⁴⁶³ This ailment especially bothered Luther while he was at the Wartburg, and the same problems also indicated in all his letters written there. LW 48:219. See also LW 48:255, 257, 268, 291.

⁴⁶⁴ WABr 2:369, 24-27, “Valetudo mea habet, vt leuius egeram, violentis & potentibus vexata remediis, Sed natura digestionis nihil mutatur, & saucedo perseuerat, quam suspicor processuram in maius malum, percutiente me domino secundum veritatem suam.”

⁴⁶⁵ WABr 2:395, 5-7, “Anus meus & venter tandem in gratiam rediere mecum, vt nulla opus habeam amplius medicina, sanus per omnia sicut antea, deo gratia.”

⁴⁶⁶ WA 19:592, 20-24, “Denn ein ygliche rechte anfechtung sol also gethan sein, das sie den menschen yns verzmeyfeln bringe und scheine nicht anders, denn das die widdersacher gewonnen und er verloren habe. So kömpt denn die ‘güete Gotts’ und ‘labet’ yhn, das ist, er tröftet yhn durch die heilige schrift.”

⁴⁶⁷ WA 31.2:297, 20-21, “Sathanae. Hic fatigat privatis, personas oppugnat variis periculis, odio, invidia, libidine.”

⁴⁶⁸ WA 40.3:542, 11-15, “Cum tentavit blasphema cogitatione, statim accusat nos: Vide cor tuum, inquit, quale sit. An non peccator es? Hoc cogitur cor affirmare. Deinde aggregat alia: Igitur habes Deum iratum contra te, Quomodo enim Deus peccato non potest irasci? Hic si paululum cedas, opprimit te, Et multos sane hoc modo occidit satan.” cf. WA 31.2:151, 7, “Dominus irascitur mihi.”

from God, and ultimately it all led him to despair.⁴⁶⁹ This is a very frightening situation which Luther illustrates with such a fearsome image, “the sound of a driven leaf shall put them to flight.”⁴⁷⁰ Luther divides this terrifying state of *Anfechtung* into three conditions: unbelief, hatred, and despair. Those are the three sins that make God most offended.⁴⁷¹ Why is unbelief the first thing that the devil utilizes? Luther noted that this is the way the devil deprives Christians of the Word and makes them believe his lie. The devil always tries to make people stop believing the Word, and start to believe him. This temptation is a model for all the other temptations, where the devil attacks the Word and faith.⁴⁷² In other words, the devil tries to keep us far away from God. Luther says that all the devil’s temptations are the same, that is, he will first attack the faith and take it away from the Word.⁴⁷³ Since the beginning of human history, when the serpent said to Eve (Gen 3:1), “Did God says, You shall not eat of any tree of the garden?” Luther says that the devil is not particularly interested in the matter of biting the forbidden fruit. It is his concern to lead them away from faith,⁴⁷⁴ into unbelief, from which every other sin would necessarily follow.⁴⁷⁵ The sin of unbelief is what makes Eve fall from the Word to the devil’s trick.⁴⁷⁶ Thus, Luther noted clearly that the sin of unbelief is the greatest sin,⁴⁷⁷ and it is the root, the sap, and the chief power of all sin.⁴⁷⁸ Because unbelief is the source of all sins, then after the devil succeeds in instilling that unbelief in our hearts, by keeping us from the Word, everything else is easy for him.⁴⁷⁹ It is not surprising that faith is the first thing that is attacked by the devil in order to make us insult the Word, and finally we doubt it and become discouraged.⁴⁸⁰ Furthermore, to make thing

⁴⁶⁹ WA 42:128, 22-24, “Primum enim cadit homo ex fide in incredulitatem et inobedientiam. Incredulitatem autem sequitur pavor, odium et fuga Dei, quae desperationem et impenitentiam secum adducunt.”

⁴⁷⁰ WA 44:504, 17-18, “Terrebit eos sonitus folii volantis.”

⁴⁷¹ WA 56:296, 14-15, “Quod iis tribus peccatis offenditur Deus directe, scil. Infidelitate, desperatione, odio.”

⁴⁷² WA 42:119, 2-3, “Quare haec tentatio verum exemplar est omnium tentationum, per quas satan impugnat verbum et fidem.”

⁴⁷³ WA 42:122, 22-23, “Dixi supra, eandem formam esse omnium tentationum satanae quod primo fidem tentat, et a verbo abducit.”

⁴⁷⁴ WA 57.3:144, 14-15, “Licet enim vere sit res omnium difficilima fides in Deum.” According to Luther, faith in God is truly the most difficult thing of all.

⁴⁷⁵ WA 46:41, 12-14, “Das er sie von dem Glauben (darin sie für Gott lebten) in unglawben furete, dar aus denn wol müste folgen ungehorsam und alle sunde als deffelben fruchte.”

⁴⁷⁶ WA 42:119-20, “Qui fiat, quod Heua peccatum suum nondum sentiat? Etsi enim nondum vovaverat, tamen peccavit contra verbum et fidem, si quidem a verbo aversa est ad mendacium, a fide ad incredulitatem.”

⁴⁷⁷ WA 57.3:182, 5-8, “Imo si non esset poenitentia, tota epistola ad Galatas nulla esset, cum in ea non arguantur peccata, ut vocant, actualia, sed summum, scilicet infidelitatis peccatum, quo a Christo ad legem defecerant.”

⁴⁷⁸ WADB 7:8, 5-7, “Darumb auch, ehe denn gutte odder bosen werck geschehen, als die gutten oder bosen fruchte, mus zuuor ym hertzen da seyn, glawbe odder unglawb, als die wurzel, safft und heubt krafft aller sunde.”

⁴⁷⁹ WA 42:111, 2-3, “Fons enim omnium peccatorum est incredulitas; hanc cum satan excusso aut depravato verbo excitavit, nihil ei non facile est.”

⁴⁸⁰ WA 43:458, 22, “Necesse enim est sequi tandem vel desperationem.”

really worse, the devil does not take a holiday,⁴⁸¹ he silently continues to instill unbelief in our hearts every day.⁴⁸²

The experience of *Anfechtung* is really not something as easy as the secondary literature would lead us to believe. Luther wrote that he himself was often tempted to the point that he regreted his calling. He states that the trial of the saints is extremely violent [cf. Job and Jeremiah (Job 3:3; Jer 20:14), who are angry with God such that they curse the day of their births]. Everything seems the opposite of what it should be. God and the devil weary us with masks so that we are led to believe that what is of God is satan, and what is of satan is of God so that we eventually despair and say I wish I had never been born. Luther says that all of us must experience this mood, so that when such trials come, “close your eyes and kill reason and take refuge in the Word.”⁴⁸³ Thus, Christians who experience extreme *Anfechtung* like Job and Jeremiah, are tempted in unbelief, which can make them despair and ask whether God or the devil is in power. But because the devil is always “God’s devil,” then his attacks on Christians actually serve to strengthen and expand their faith.

Luther believed that the entire world was possessed by the devil. The world is a space opposed to God, and the devil is the lord, god or prince of the world.⁴⁸⁴ Although the devil seems to be very powerful, for Luther, the devil’s authority was never equal to or independent of God. It was as if God had seized the devil and said, “Devil, you are indeed a murderer and an evildoer; but I will use you for my purpose.”⁴⁸⁵ No matter how powerful the devil is, he is still being used by God. The question is who is doing what in the *Anfechtung*. For Luther, people move through a process as they come to answer this question in their own personal experience. But the final step and the victory of faith is always to see the devil in the service of God. Luther saw the devil as God’s tool, which means, as God’s devil. God’s purpose with the *Anfechtung*, though the devil created it, was to strengthen faith and confidence in God alone. In the experience of greatest tribulation and anguish, we could still

⁴⁸¹ WA 33:290, 18-19, “Den der teuffel feiret nicht undt, wen her mit seinen anfechtungen kompt.”

⁴⁸² WA 25:52, 1-3, “Ista duo vitia semper pugnant cum Christianis: impietas et desideria, discendum credere sed incredulitas pugnat quotidie nobiscum, ergo quotidie.”

⁴⁸³ WA 31.2:361, 20-21, “Cave, ne respondeas et admittas illas tentaciones, sed accurre ad verbum clausis oculis et mortificata racione.” cf. WATr 5: no. 5624, 4-7, “In omni tentatione simpliciter claude oculos et sequere verbum. Extra verbum nihil est nisi tribulatio et afflictio; per tentationes et afflictiones Deus vim et virtutem sui verbi ostendit.”

⁴⁸⁴ WA 50:473, 34-37, “Aber der teuffel ist herr jnn der welt, und ich habe es selbs nie können gleuben, das der teuffel solt Herr und Gott der welt sein, bis ichs nu mals zimlich erfahren, das es auch ein artickel des glaubens sey: Princeps mundi, Deus huius feculi.”

⁴⁸⁵ WA 45:638, 32-33, “Teuffel, du bist wol ein mörder und bösewicht, aber ich wil dein brauchen, wozu ich wil.”

see the goodness of God and still hope for good things from God.⁴⁸⁶ Although in the beginning perhaps we never know who is doing what in our *Anfechtung*, Luther reminds us that the devil can shoot a dart into our heart anytime to create affliction that can befall us. We should always be prepared to draw comfort from God's Word.⁴⁸⁷ Therefore, the first and most important, and only thing, is to cling to the Word, that is the solution when we experience *Anfechtung*.

Luther felt that the *Anfechtung* that he experienced were necessary to make him more perfect, and ultimately for God's will to be done. Trials and temptations are experiences that every Christians must go through. Luther wrote that St James says, "My brethren, if many trials assail you, you must rejoice because of it" (Jas 1:2). He explains that trials keep a man alert, perfect him in humility and patience, and make him acceptable to God as his dearest child.⁴⁸⁸ Luther said that different people are tempted in different ways, according to the diversity of their attitudes. One person is subject to graver feelings, such as mental depression, blasphemy, unbelief, or despair; another, to more obvious ones, sexual desire, anger, or hatred.⁴⁸⁹ And Luther noted that with the temptations, God will provide the way of escape, that we may be able to endure it.⁴⁹⁰ In other words, although trials are necessary, still God teaches us to pray for deliverance from evil, from everything that is painful to the body and soul. Here, Luther is clearly not teaching us to glorify our suffering, as if those who suffer the most are more holy than others who do not. Thus, Luther taught that the deliverance from evil is taught by God, but only if it is to his honor and glory and if it agrees with his divine will. Luther says that in this world full of evil, the trials are sure to come, so we should pray for deliverance from evil that trials and sin may cease and that "God's will may be done, and his name is glorified."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁶ WA 13:102, 33-35, "In maxima tribulatione et angustia apprehendat dei bonitatem, bene adhuc de deo sperat, ut maxime in omnibus creaturis iram dei cernat."

⁴⁸⁷ WA 45:471, 14-17, "Der teuffel kan dir bald einen pfeil jns hertz schiessen oder ein ander anfechtung dich treffen, Darumb sihe zu, das du darauff gerüstet seiest, wo es kompt, das du könnest halten und stehen und trost aus Gottes wort schepffen."

⁴⁸⁸ WA 2:125, 35-126, 1, "Also sagt Sant Jacobus: O bruder, wan euch vil anfechtung anstossen, solt yr dasselb fuer gros freud achten. (Jac 1:2). Warumb? dan sie uben den menschen, und machen in yn der demuth und gedult vollkommen unnd gotte beheglich als die aller libsten kinder."

⁴⁸⁹ WA 40.2:102, 11-13, "Hic gravioribus motibus exercetur quales sunt tristitia spiritus, blasphemia, diffidentia, desperatio etc., Alius erassioribus, quales sunt libido, ira, odium etc.."

⁴⁹⁰ WA 56:331, 16-17, "Vt infra: 'Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.' Et Apostolus: 'Sed facit cum tentatione prouentum, vt possitis sustinere.'"

⁴⁹¹ WA 2:126, 24-27, "Die weil dan dis leben nith anders ist dan ein unseliges ubel, davon gewiszlich auch anfechtungen erwachsen, so sollen wir des ubels darumb begeren losz tzu werden, das die anfechtung und sund auffhorenn und also gottis will gesche, unnd seyn reich komme tzu lob und ere seyner heyiligen namen."

Luther affirmed that only in experiencing these struggles do we understand what it means to believe in God.⁴⁹² The prayer [*oratio*] and meditation [*meditatio*] that Luther gets from medieval piety are not enough to bring him to understand the Bible. He introduced a new element in which by living and experiencing temptation itself, can the person truly understand the Scripture, and therefore trust God's promise. This experience happens not when we overcome, by ourselves, with blessings, but on the contrary when we find ourselves in existential despair. Luther referred to this new and dynamic element as *Anfechtung*. He wrote:

I didn't learn my theology all at once. I had to ponder over it ever more deeply, and my spiritual trials [*Anfechtungen*] were of help to me in this, for one does not learn anything without practice.⁴⁹³

For Luther it is essential for us not only to know, learn, read, and hear about the Word, but also to experience it, so that we are worthy to be called children of God. In fact, for Luther, these experiences in *Anfechtung* are "the main points of Christian doctrine."⁴⁹⁴ Furthermore, it would not only make one become a genuine child of God, but also a theologian and a genuine disciple of Christ.⁴⁹⁵ Nevertheless, one must conclude that God does not desert the godly, no matter with what kind of evils by which they are oppressed.⁴⁹⁶ And by *Anfechtung* from the devil, they have been learning the art of faith to cling to the Word extremely well.

4.2 A Theology of Music

The present section's analysis of Luther's thoughts about music in relation to the devil are found in his own writings. This study will investigate the historical context in which Luther writes about music, to find the connection with his understanding of the devil. I will first explore Luther's letter to Senfl, then follows his poem *Fraw Musica*, and then the *Tischreden*.

⁴⁹² WA 44:818, 31-32, "Et in his agonibus intelligimus quid sit credere."

⁴⁹³ WATr 1: no. 352, "Ich hab mein theologiam nit auff ein mal gelernt, sonder hab ymmer tieffer und tieffer grubeln müssen, da haben mich meine tentationes hin bracht, quia sine usu non potest disci."

⁴⁹⁴ WA 44:818, 40-42, "Ideo non sunt digni nomine Theologorum, quia praecipua capita doctrinae Christianae nesciunt."

⁴⁹⁵ WA 33:650, 35-41, "Was werdenn denn dieselbigenn fur einen lohn unnd trost haben? sie werden den rechten Gott finden unnd werden krafft unnd stercke haben bey Gottes wort zu bleiben, So werden sie Christi Junger sein und die warheit erkennen."

⁴⁹⁶ WA 44:534, 1-2, "Tamen statuendum est Deum non deserere pios, quocunque genere malorum oppressos."

4.2.1 Letter to Senfl

In his time of distress, Luther wrote this letter⁴⁹⁷ to his friend Ludwig Senfl, a native of Switzerland,⁴⁹⁸ in 1530. Senfl, apparently from Zürich or Basel, joined the court choir of Emperor Maximilian in 1496. He soon advanced to the position of official composer and conductor. Soon after the death of Maximilian, Senfl joined the court of Duke William of Bavaria in Munich, where in 1523 he became chief conductor and court composer, positions he held to the end of his life. Senfl was one of the most gifted composers of his time, a church musician of both austerity and charm. Senfl is considered one of the German masters of sixteenth century polyphonic hymn and song; he is also famous for his compositions of motets and masses.⁴⁹⁹ But, did Luther know him personally? Luther almost certainly became aware of Senfl through Frederick the Wise's *Hofkapelle*. As mentioned above, Senfl was a member of the *Hofkapelle* of Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor, based in Vienna. Luther might have met him at Innsbruck on his way to Rome in 1510, or possibly on the occasion of the Diet of Worms in 1521, which Senfl also attended.⁵⁰⁰

The letter briefly sets forth Luther's ideas on the spiritual value of music. For Luther, music and theology are of equal importance to produce "calm and joyful disposition," since both chase away the devil and disperse the spiritual anxieties created by the devil:

There is no doubt that there are many seeds of good qualities in the minds of those who are moved by music. Those, however, who are not moved [by music] I believe are definitely like stumps [of wood] and blocks of stone. 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 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.⁵⁰¹

Having discussed the function of music as the Holy Spirit's instrument to cast out the devil as to preach Christ through music [chapter 3.2.5]. Luther asserts another function of music, which is to make our soul "calm and joyful," as the condition of the soul where the devil as

⁴⁹⁷ For the whole letter to Ludwig Senfl, see WABr 5:635-40.

⁴⁹⁸ Senfl was born in Zurich about 1492, and died in Munich, 1555.

⁴⁹⁹ LW 49:427.

⁵⁰⁰ Leaver 2007, 50.

⁵⁰¹ WABr 5:639, 9-17, "Neque dubium est, multa semina bonarum virtutum in his animis esse, qui musica afficiuntur; qui vero non afficiuntur, truncis et lapidibus arbitror simillimos esse. Scimus enim musicen daemionibus 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 fugiat, sicut fugit ad verbum theologiae."

the creator of saddening cares and disquieting worries cannot dwell. Music and theology have the same function, that is, they proclaim truth, and this is the reason, Luther says, why the Old Testament prophets did not use any of the liberal arts except music:

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.⁵⁰²

For Luther, God purposefully choose music to proclaim truth; and the “truth” here means the Word.⁵⁰³ It means that the sound of music would make the devil flee, thus one in a calm and joyful soul could proclaim the Word in singing. Now the question is, what does Luther mean by “to sing with a calm and joyful soul?” We can see his explanation from his preface to the *Dictata super Psalterium*, where Luther takes 1 Cor 14:15, “I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the mind also” and applies it here. One experienced joy when singing, not only with tongue and mouth, but with the cheerful and devout soul. For Luther, is important to sing with the spirit, that is, with spiritual devotion and emotion which contrast with those who sing only with the flesh. This can also be understood in two ways: First, those who with an unsettled and weary heart sing only with the tongue and the mouth. The grateful heart is a very important aspect in praising God, which becomes a measure of whether God will accept the singing or not. Second, those who indeed sing with a cheerful and devout soul but who are still enjoying it in a carnal way, as, for instance, merely taking pleasure in the voice, the sound, the staging, and the harmony.⁵⁰⁴ Although indeed some sing with grateful and cheerful heart, they still might enjoy it in a carnal way, as the devil can take advantage and use the music to his bad purpose in these three things: the voice or the sound, the staging, and the harmony. In Luther’s thinking the devil, in his deceitful way, could use music as his own instrument in three ways:

First, the voice or sound, which could mean that the singer sings too loudly, or worse, a musician play the instrument too loudly, so that not only does it drown out the words being sung, but it makes the whole music disorderly, as mere noise. The instrument, which cannot be understood, becomes a leader in the way it drowns out the voice of human. Similarly as when satan deceived Eve in Eden, where at the end, the human listened to the snake. The

⁵⁰² WABr 5:639, “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.”

⁵⁰³ For the discussion about “the truth,” see chapter 3.2.5.

⁵⁰⁴ WA 3:11, 7-9, “Secundi qui quidem hylari et devoto corde sed magis carnaliter delectati, puta in voce, sono et apparatu et symphonia.”

sound of the instrument should not drown out the Word, as, according to Luther, loud sounds hinder the purpose of music to proclaim the Word, as excessive noise quenches the spirit rather than restoring it.⁵⁰⁵ To illustrate this, Luther gives the example of David who danced and sang with his whole heart (2 Sam 6:14), and this does not say, “in full cry,” so it is more believable that David ordered them, that is, the Levite singers when they sang this psalm of victory, not to out sing one another, but to sing with moderation, uniformly, and harmoniously. Because the psalm, and music, have been designed to arouse devotion.⁵⁰⁶ Some of the interpretations of “David’s dance” has been interpreted too lightly to mean that we have to also move excitedly when singing in church [chapter 5.3]. Luther understood “victory” on musical instruments in this sense, that is a “song of triumph.” Luther says, “I will again ride on high, I will be established on high again with songs of triumph on my musical instruments.” This means to sing highly, that is, this kind of psalm ought to be sung with a high and sonorous voice, the voice we ordinarily refer to as *discantus*. Luther explains that, “I will sing in the high range with joy and gladness; at the present I am being afflicted, at the present I am being oppressed, but within a short time I will glory again, I will rejoice and triumph.”⁵⁰⁷ The song about victory is not meant to be sung loudly, instead it has to be sung in the high range, it is not singing like shouting, but controlled in moderate volume. And most importantly for arousing the spirit of devotion, the importance lay not in the volume but in the joyful soul. In this context, the devil could take advantage of those perverted minds to spoil the use of music as a divine gift to praise God. The devil could pervert the minds of musicians or singers to play or sing loudly and for arousing the spirit in contrast to that of devotion.

⁵⁰⁵ Luther already said “excessive noise;” considering the types of music and the instruments in Luther’s time that were still acoustic [probably the loudest was the pipe organ]. It must be so far as volume compared to the loud music that could be produced today, for example, in heavy metal music.

⁵⁰⁶ WA 3:39, 25-40, 10, “Scilicet quod ideo dicatur ‘ad victoriam,’ quia hunc psalmum cantando Levite Cantores utrinque nitebantur vincere Chorus Chorum. Hoc enim figmento puerili simillimum est. Cur enim et alios psalmos non ita titulavit, quos eque cantabant ut istum et suos similes? An forte pro isto studio vincendi non habuerunt nisi deputatos psalmos? Preterea eone fine spiritus sanctus tam sancta mysteria voluit dictare, ut haberent, quo sese Levite incomposito boatu fatigarent? quasi hoc ipsum efficere non possint, nisi Spiritus sanctus eis singulari numine ostenderet, in quo id facere deberent. Aut non potuit iste psalmus cantari, aut non debuit forte, nisi cum tumultu, ut necesse esset hoc eius titulo prescripto indicari? Igitur ista expositio inepta et impertinens est. Sive enim illi sic vel non sic canerent, quid necesse erat, ad victoriam dicere? Insuper cum rex David devotissimus omnia institueret magis pro devotione quam clamore [quia scriptum est: ‘David autem saltabat & psallebat toto corde,’ non ait toto clamore], magis credibile est, quod institueret, ut modeste, equaliter et concorditer canerent.”

⁵⁰⁷ WA 13:448, 33-38, “Ego in germanica translatione psalmorum hoc verbum sic verti: hoch zcu singen, hoc est, psalmum eiusmodi alta et sonora voce canendum esse, quam vocem vulgo discantum vocamus. Itaque est sententia: In alto canam cum iubilo et cum laetitia, iam affligor, iam opprimor sed brevi futurem est, ut etiam glorier rursum, ut gaudeam et triumphem reductis scil.”

Second, the staging for musicians it is to be understood that it is the wonder of the stage that is the first thing noticed. And as fallen creatures, proud singers or musicians do not acknowledge that the gift of music comes from God so that they could be a witness to others and give the glory to God. Instead, their minds are perverted by the devil to forget about God and to think highly of themselves and their gifts. At the end of his *Encomium musices* Luther wrote:

Take special care to shun perverted minds who prostitute this lovely gift of nature and of art with their erotic rantings; and be quite assured that none but the devil goads them on to defy their very nature which would and should praise God its Maker with this gift, so that these bastards purloin the gift of God and use it to worship the foe of God, the enemy of nature and of this lovely art.⁵⁰⁸

Here one may ask; did the Fall effect the music or the mind? Since Luther asserts that it “perverted minds” and is “the enemy of this nature and of this lovely art,” then this suggests that the power of music affected is its use rather than its essence. Moreover, since music was created in heaven, it must be divine. Now the question is, is music as an antidote for the devil, or the instrument of the devil. Since in this fallen world, God and the devil are both working, both are possible. Luther says that there are people with “perverted minds who prostitute” music, and it is “the devil who goads them,” to make carnal songs. It is understood that there are two kinds of music, good and bad music. Some people, be it composers, musicians, or singers, are not using music to praise the Creator, but to praise the devil, and Luther called them “bastards.” The devil, as he knows the great power of music, could use ‘these bastards’ to achieve his bad purpose. Without being realized, bad music could become the devil’s tool to influence humans to be far from the Word, and from God. The devil can deceive us in carnal ways, through talented composers or musicians, who then make bad music or play or sing in a bad way to achieve their own selfish purpose.

And third, for Luther, singing in a carnal way is connected with harmony. One thing is sure, harmony is the central aspect in music, besides rhythm, harmony is the most important ingredient of music, making it beautiful yet powerful. Harmony must refer to the power in the music that could arouse the listener’s enjoyment in the flesh, and the joy of those who take their pleasure in the flesh.⁵⁰⁹ Since in his time harmony was not as complex and distorted as

⁵⁰⁸ WA 50:373, 11-374, 5, “Et deprauatos animos, qui hac pulcherrima et natura et arte abutuntur, ceu impudici poetae, ad suos insanos amores, et summo studio caucto et vitato, certus, quod diabolus eos rapiat contra naturam, vt quae hoc dono vult et debet Deum solum laudare autorem, isti adulterini filii, rapina ex dono Dei facta, colunt eodem hostem Dei et aduersarium naturae et artis huius iucundissimae.”

⁵⁰⁹ WA 3:181, 6-10, “Alii autem exultant in mundo, in carne, in diabolo, in rebus pessimis et lelantur cum male fecerint [id est in faciendo malum]: quod non debet intelligi, quia de male facto gaudeant, sed quia eorum gaudium est non in bonis operibus, sed in malis, quia gaudent in carnalibus.”

now, perhaps Luther does not mean the composition of harmony itself; his thought is more of the danger of harmony when, at the end, the atmosphere and the depth of music it creates makes one enjoy music more than the words sung. This is the problem that Augustine worried about [chapter 2.1].

After all that being said, what Luther emphasized more was that to sing foolishly and carnally, is to sing without understanding because people do not handle the Scripture literally but in the sense of the flesh. This can be understood in Luther's sentence, "I will sing and I will understand." Luther explains that "one who does not truly understand cannot sing, because the gospel cannot be known without understanding and faith." But, Luther continues, "Let it be, let him sing and not understand, but then his way will be defiled, and the Lord does not come to him, and thus he falls into judgement."⁵¹⁰ This suggests that those who are not a believer cannot sing or compose a song to praise God, as they do not understand the gospel. In fact they are composing or singing without understanding why they sing, what melody they are using and words are being sung, and what the purpose is of music. In short, they sing in a carnal way because they are not concerned about the meaning or the fruit of the Spirit or being raised up to God; which is why they do not understand what they sing.⁵¹¹ In the letter to Senfl, [good] music is equal to theology, and can make one a "calm and joyful soul," which means that one has the condition of the joyful heart so as to sing the Word joyfully with the understanding of the gospel. The understanding that one is being transformed by the gospel, expressing their joy through singing praise to God. In this way, music is used to its proper aim to drive away the devil, not to praise him. Lest the devil use the music to turn people away from God, as the devil is supposed to be "far away, and murmuring and impatience cease" when music that sings the Word of God is heard.⁵¹² Through a proper understanding of the Scripture the danger of these three problems can be

⁵¹⁰ WA 4:134, 27-135, 2, "Psallam et intelligam," . . . psallere potest quis et non intelligere vere, quia Euangelium sciri sine intellectu non potest et fide. Tamen esto, psallat et non intelligat, sed tunc via eius erit polluta, et Dominus non venit ad eum. Et ita cadit in iudicium."

⁵¹¹ WA 3:11, 3-16, "Sallam spiritu, psallam et mente (1 Cor 14:15). Spiritu psallere est spirituali devotione et affectu psallere, quod dicitur contra eos, qui carne tantum psallunt. Et hii dupliciter, primi qui vago et tedioso corde tantum lingua et ore canunt. Secundi qui quidem hylari et devoto corde sed magis carnaliter delectati, puta in voce, sono et apparatu et symphonia, sicut pueri solent, non curantes sensum vel fructum spiritus elevandi in Deum. Eodem modo psallere Mente est psallere spirituali intelligentia. Et his similiter duplices sunt contrarii, primum qui nihil intelligunt de eo, quod psallunt, sicut dicitur Moniales legere psalterium. Alii qui carnalem intelligentiam habent in psalmis sicut Iudei applicantes semper ps. ad veteres hystorias extra Christum. Sed Christus aperuit suis mentem, ut intelligerent scripturas."

⁵¹² WA 44:392, 39-40, "Cum laetantur pii in spiritu et cantant: 'Fortitudo et laus mea Dominus,' tum procul abest diabolus, et cessat murmur et impacientia."

avoided: sound, stage, and harmony. As one would then be able to make joyful music that is acceptable to God, as the aim of composing or singing is the praise to God, for his glory.

Luther recognized the problem that music could be used by the devil, and he says in the preface to the Wittenberg hymnal (1524) that something must be done in order to wean the youth away from “love ballads and carnal songs,” that is, to arranged many hymns by way of polyphonic, to elevate the value of music so that youth could be attracted to it. Luther also highlighted the existence of “love songs,” which for him have the same value as carnal songs. Luther never says that listening to or singing love ballads is wrong or sinful, but rather that those songs are not meant for praising God. Luther wrote his desire in the preface to the *Babst* hymnal to publish a lot of good hymns and make them attractive to people with all sorts of ornamentations, so that “they may move them to joy in faith and to gladly sing.”⁵¹³ In Luther’s thinking, music has a complex interchange of order in creation and freedom in redemption [chapter 3.2.1; cf. chapter 3.3]. Music as beautiful as polyphonic music should move people to joy as such music praises God, and then they would ignore the carnal love songs. It is a free expression of joy, as it moves freely and joyfully dancing around a theme, connected to gospel, since the gospel liberates sinners [chapter 3.2.6]. In Luther’s thinking music as complex as polyphonic is not comparable to carnal love songs, for that reason he asked many composers to arrange many hymns in polyphonic. As music is a divine gift that is given to humans to praise their Creator, at the end music could only be used in the service of God who gave and made it.⁵¹⁴ Most importantly, for Luther, music should be “an antidote to the devil, the creator of saddening cares and disquieting worries,” an important tool for combating his *Anfechtung*.

Luther wrote this letter to Senfl when he felt that the end of his life was approaching, he was ready to die, and yearned for the hour of his death. At the end of the letter he wrote:

Indeed, I hope that the end of my life is at hand; the world hates me and cannot bear me, and I, in turn, loathe and detest the world; therefore may the best and [most] faithful shepherd take my soul to him. And so I have already started to sing this antiphon and am eager to hear it arranged. In case you should not have or know it, I am enclosing it here with the notes; if you wish you can arrange it – perhaps after my death.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ WA 35:477, 13-15, “Darumb thun die drucker sehr wol dran, das sie gute lieder vleissig drucken, und mit allerley zierde den leuten angenehme machen, damit sie zu colscher freude des glaubens gereitzt werden, und gerne singen.”

⁵¹⁴ WA 35:475, 4-5, “Sondern ich wollt alle künste, sonderlich die Musica gerne sehen ym dienst des, der sie geben und geschaffen hat.”

⁵¹⁵ WABr 5:639, “Spero sane, finem vitae meae instare, et mundus me odit nec ferre potest, ego rursus mundum mihi fastidio et detestor; tollat itaque animam meam pastor optimus et fidelis. Idcirco hanc antiphonam iam coepi cantillare et compositam cupio audire. Quod si non habes aut non nosti, mitto hic suis notis pictam, quam vel post mortem meam, si voles componere potes.”

Senfl acceded to Luther's request and not only sent him a polyphonic motet of *In pace in idipsum* but also another on the text *Non moriar, sed vivam et narrabo opera Domini* (Ps 118:17, "I shall not die but live and declare the works of the Lord"). This text, which became in effect Luther's motto, was a great comfort to him, isolated as he was in Coburg away from the action in Augsburg. He arranged for the text of the antiphon, together with its chant notation, to be inscribed on the wall of his room in Coburg castle.⁵¹⁶

In the second paragraph Luther asks Senfl for an arrangement of the antiphon taken from Ps 4:8. Why? Because Luther is aware of the function of music as a means to drive away the devil, as he explains in the beginning of this letter, so that, not only him, but other generations could enjoy the same benefits. The antiphon, Luther assures Senfl, has been dear to him since the days of his youth, and now, when he feels the end of his life approaching, it means even more to him. Luther feels this pressure as he experiences many *Anfechtungen*, which relates strongly to the devil. When he wrote this letter, in 1530, Luther, was under the ban of the emperor, and was excluded from participation in the Augsburg Diet, an event that was so important for the future of Christianity. His patron, the prince Elector Johann of Saxony, had left him behind in the fortress of Coburg, believing that Luther would be safe from both the pope and the emperor. And while at Augsburg, the diet made deals and treaties, threatened, appeased, intrigued, and betrayed; Luther, confined in the Saxon border-fortress, was free to glory in the beauty of nature. One could imagine that he delighted to stay in this place, where at night he might watch the stars appear, and in the day he could listen to the singing of the nightingale. However, at the same time, temptations and afflictions, both spiritual and physical, assailed him and brought him to despair. To his spiritual doubts and visitations were added physical ills of all kinds: acute pains in the leg, disturbances in blood circulation, which caused him violent headaches, and fainting spells. He slept hardly at all, and in the daytime was overcome by complete exhaustion. In such a stressful state, Luther wrote this letter to Senfl which contains his views on music with its primary aim being to drive away the devil.

4.2.2 *Fraw Musica*

⁵¹⁶ Leaver 2007, 52.

This is a poem that Luther wrote for the preface of a work for his friend and musical adviser, Johann Walter (1496-1570).⁵¹⁷ He was, like most musicians of his time, not only a composer of hymns, but also a poet. In 1538 Walter published a rhymed *encomium* of music titled *Glory and Praise of the Laudable Art of Music* [*Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica*], a didactic poem of 335 verses in which Walter developed a whole musicology along the lines of Luther's scattered remarks on music. Luther provided the rhymed introduction entitled *A Preface for All Good Hymnals* [*Vorrhede auff alle gute Gesangbücher*], or *Fraw Musica*. Luther followed a trend of his time, where artists of the sixteenth century liked to personify the arts, sciences, virtues, etc., as a common device of painters, sculptors, and poets to represent music as a lady. Luther put his preface on the lips of "Dame Music" and had her extol her own gifts. This work was not printed in any hymnal in Luther's lifetime, except in Joseph Klug's hymnal of 1543, where it was appended at the end.⁵¹⁸

Luther's poem comprises forty lines, with eight syllables per line, and twenty rhymed couplets. The poem begins with – Dame Music [speaks]:

1. Of all the joys upon this earth
2. None has for men a greater worth,
3. Than what I give with my ringing
4. And with voices sweetly singing.
5. There cannot be an evil mood
6. Where there are singing fellows good,
7. There is no envy, hate, nor ire
8. Gone are through me all sorrows dire,
9. Greed, care, and lonely heaviness
10. No more do they the heart oppress,
11. Each man can in his mirth be free,
12. Since such a joy no sin can be,
13. But God in me more pleasure finds
14. Than in all joys of earthly minds.
15. Through my bright power the devil shirks
16. His sinful, murderous, evil works.
17. Of this King David's deeds to tell,
18. Who pacified King Saul so well
19. By sweetly playing on the lyre,
20. And thus escaped his murderous ire.
21. For truth divine and God's own rede
22. The heart of humble faith shall lead.

⁵¹⁷ Luther's *usus* of music is much closer to his medieval predecessors. Johannes Tinctoris, in his *Complexus viginti effectuum nobilis artis musices* (ca. 1475) expounds and illustrates twenty aphorisms on the use of music. cf. Jean Gerson, in his *Carmen de laude musicae* (written between 1424-1426). Luther's vernacular poem *Fraw Musica* in many respects echoes the aphorisms of Tinctoris and Gerson. For the texts and further discussion see Leaver 2007, 71-85.

⁵¹⁸ LW 53:319.

23. Such did Elisha once propound
24. When harping he the Spirit found.
25. The best time of the year is mine,
26. When all the birds are singing fine,
27. Heaven and earth their voices fill,
28. With right good song and tuneful trill.
29. And, queen of all, the nightingale
30. Men's hearts will merrily regale
31. With music so charmingly gay,
32. For which be thanks to her for aye,
33. But thanks be first to God, our Lord,
34. Who created her by his Word,
35. To be his own beloved songstress,
36. And of *musica* a mistress.
37. For our dear Lord she sings her song
38. In praise of him the whole day long,
39. To him I give my melody
40. And thanks in all eternity.⁵¹⁹

Luther wrote this poem in two sections:

The first, lines 1-24, is strongly reminiscent of the earlier writings of Gerson and Tinctoris, with its statements concerning the positive influence of music over human hearts and minds. However, Luther's reference to the effectiveness of God's Word when conveyed in musical form is not found in his medieval predecessors which Luther expressed in the beginning, lines 1-10. In these poem's lines, Luther clearly described the sad spirit as: an "evil mood" (5), "envy, hate, and ire" (7), "sorrows dire" (8), "greed, care, and lonely heaviness" (9), and lastly, "the heart oppressed" (10). In the following, I will analyse the connection between music and the devil: Firstly, for Luther, nothing in this earthly joy can be compared to music (1-4), especially the joy of singing (3-4). Luther stressed that there would be no more evil, envy, hate, nor ire (5, 8), where singing is expressed heartily (6). In short, all sorrows, such as greed and loneliness (10) would depart when music is expressed by the heart

⁵¹⁹ WA 35:483, 17-484, 26, "Für allen freuden auff erden / Kan niemand keine feiner werden, / Denn die ich geb mit meim singen / Und mit manchem süssen klingen. / Hie kan nicht sein ein böser mut / Wo da singen gesellen gut, / Hie bleibt kein zorn, zanck, hass, noch neid / Weichen mus alles hertzeleid, / Geitz, sorg und was sonst hart an leit / Fert hin mit aller traurigkeit, / Auch ist ein jeder des wol frey, / Das solche freud kein sünde sey, / Sondern auch Gott viel bas gefelt / Denn alle freud der gantzen welt. / Dem teuffel sie sein werck zerstört / Und verhindert viel böser mörd. / Das zeugt Daudid des Königs that, / Der dem Saul offt gewehret hat / Mit gutem süssem harffenspiel, / Das er nicht jnn grossen mord fiel. / Zum Göttlichen Wort und warheit / Macht sie das hertz still und bereit. / Solchs hat Eliseus bekant / Da er den geist durchs harffen fand. / Die beste zeit im jar ist mein, / Da singen alle Vögelein, / Himmel und erden ist der vol, / Viel gut gesang da lautet wol. / Voran die liebe Nachtigal / Macht alles frölich vberal / Mit jrem lieblichem gesang, / Des mus sie haben jimmer danck, / Vielmeyr der liebe HERRE Gott, / Der sie also geschaffen hat, / Zu sein die rechte Sengerin, / Der Musicen ein Meisterin. / Dem singt und springt sie tag und nacht / Seines lobs sie nichts müde macht, / Den ehrt und lobt auch mein gesang / Und sagt jm ein ewigen danck."

correctly. For Luther the devil is a creator of saddening cares and disquieting worries, he takes flight at the sound of music almost as he takes flight at the word of theology [chapter 4.2.1]. Lines 1-10 express the connection between Luther's thoughts on music in relation with the devil. In lines 15-24, again, Luther expressed clearly the power of music, when he says that "through my bright power [music] the devil shirks" (15). Luther continues by giving the example of David and Saul, as he similarly wrote in *Symphonia iucundae* and *The Last Words of David* [chapter 3.2.5]. He connected the devil with the spirit of melancholy in Saul who runs away hearing David sweetly playing the lyre (17-19). Luther's thought regarding David's playing the lyre has already been discussed [chapter 3.2.5]. But still the same principle applies, but with David playing his lyre and singing. At least this in Luther's thinking, as he says "for truth divine and God's own speech" (21), the "truth" and "speech" here relates to God's Word. And Luther continues giving examples with the case of Elisha's harping, and this also has been discussed in the previous chapter.

The second, lines 25-40, is more personal and independent, with references to birdsongs, especially that of the nightingale, and to God as the ultimate creator of music, since God created birds as singing creatures. In lines 26-40, Luther writes about how beautiful the art of bird's singing is, until heaven and earth are filled with their voices (27). References to birds and music were not new. As early as the second century Theophilus could observe that "as for music . . . Orpheus discovered it in the sweet song of birds," and two hundred years later Augustine referred to the "sweet song of the nightingale" as the model for good singing among humans. For Luther, however, this was not a simple theoretical matter but one of personal experience; throughout his writings there are many references to his solace in birdsong, especially during times of crisis and pressure, such as when he was exiled in the Wartburg, 1521, and in Coburg castle during 1530.⁵²⁰ The nightingale reference also occurs in Luther's preface to Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* [chapter 3.2.2]. In this birdsong section, Luther expresses the connection between his thoughts of music in relation to the devil. In a way, Luther sees the nightingale as the queen of all birds (29). He writes that hearts will be very cheerful (30). Again here we see a similar pattern in Luther's thinking about the contrast between the sadness and gaiety of the heart. The devil brings melancholy and God brings happiness. In a condition of distress, Luther sings, because believes that the devil, who brings worry and sadness, will flee. He writes that the devil, the creator of saddening cares and

⁵²⁰ Leaver 2007, 75.

disquieting worries, takes flight at the sound of music.⁵²¹ Here Luther expresses the fact that he give thanks to God who created the birds (33-34). They made Luther's heart to praise God cheerfully, especially while he was in distress, so that in turn he could praise God with singing. As he expresses it, "To him I give my melody" (39).

Thus, Luther's poem contains the connection between his thoughts about music and the devil. Luther believes that all sorrows created by the devil would be gone when music, as a gift of God, is expressed by the heart correctly through singing, in which he takes as his example the nightingale.

4.2.3 The *Tischreden*

I have collected several important statements concerning music in relation with the devil found in the *Tischreden*. It is a collection of verbatim reports of Luther's conversations at table and elsewhere, recorded by various students and colleagues, mostly during the last twenty years of his life. The context of these texts is important: in Luther's household the day began at sunrise, and the principal meal of the day was eaten about ten o'clock in the morning. About five o'clock in the afternoon supper was served, and this meal was often shared with exiled clergymen, escaped nuns, government officials, visitors from abroad, and colleagues of Luther in the university who frequently stopped in, men like Philip Melancthon, John Bugenhagen, and Justus Jonas. The relaxed atmosphere of the hospitable home was conducive to spirited conversation, and John Mathesius, who was often present in 1540, has left this description of what the scene was like:

Although our doctor often took weighty and profound thoughts to table with him and sometimes maintained the silence of the monastery during the entire meal, so that not a word was spoken, yet at appropriate times he spoke in a very jovial way. We used to call his conversation the condiments of the meal because we preferred it to all spices and dainty food. When he wished to get us to talk he would throw out a question, "What's new?" The first time we let this remark pass, but if he repeated it – "You prelates, what's new in the land?" – the oldest ones at the table would start talking. Dr Wolf Severus, who had been the tutor of his royal majesty of the Roman Empire, sat near the head of the table and, unless there was a stranger present [like a travelling courtier], he got something started. If the conversation was animated, it was nevertheless conducted with decent propriety and courtesy, and others would contribute their share until the doctor started to talk. Often good questions were put to him from the Bible, and he provided expert and concise answers. When at times somebody took exception to what had been said, the doctor was able to bear this patiently and refute him with a skilful answer. Reputable persons often came to the table from the university and from foreign places, and then very nice talks and stories were heard.

⁵²¹ WABr 5:639, 15-17, "Quod diabolus, curarum tristium et turbarum inquietarum autor, ad vocem musicae paene similiter fugiat."

Some of the men who listened to these conversations at table began to take notes. There was nothing strange about this. After all, the same persons were taking notes of Luther's lectures and sermons, and they were interested in recording the opinions he expressed at table too. Not everything that was said was noted but only what interested one recorder or another. The notes were taken for private use – as personal remembrances of a revered teacher or as guides for the solution of problems – and were not intended for publication.⁵²²

The title *Tischreden*, witnesses to the most frequent occasions when Luther waxed eloquent on many and varied subjects, that is, at table before, during and after meals, particularly in the evening. It is also recorded in the *Tischreden* and elsewhere that this was the usual location and time of day when those who had shared the meal joined with Luther to form an informal *Kantorei* to make music together.⁵²³ It is therefore understandable that there should be musical references in the transcribed accounts of these *Tischreden*. Aurifaber's *Tischreden* is a large folio volume of approaching 1,300 pages with the contents of Luther's thoughts structured according to basic Lutheran dogmatic theology under 82 *loci*, such as "The Word of God or Holy Scripture," "Creation," "The Trinity," "Law and Gospel," and so on. It is remarkable to find that the 69th *locus* is *Von der Musica*. The following are the important statements of Luther collected in the *Tischreden*, about his thoughts of music, which relates directly or indirectly to the devil:

1. Satan est spiritus tristitiae, ideo non potest ferre laetitiam, ideo longissime abest a musica. Sic David Saulem mitigavit. Satan fleuget die Musica. Der teufel ist ein trauriger Geist und macht traurige Leute, darum kann er Fröhlichkeit nicht leiden. Daher kömmts auch, daß er von der Musica aufs Weiteste fleuget; bleibt nicht, wenn man singet, sonderlich geistliche Lieder. Also linderte David mit seiner Harfen dem Saul seine Anfechtung, da ihn der teufel plagte. Doctor Martin Luther sagte Anno 1541, "daß die Musica ein herrlich und göttlich Geschenk und Gabe wäre, welcher ganz feind sei der teufel, und man könne viel tentationes und cogitationes damit vertreiben; denn der teufel erharret der Musica nicht gerne."⁵²⁴
2. Musica maximum, immo divinum est donum, ideo satanae summe contrarium, quia per eam multae et magnae tentationes pelluntur. Diabolus non expectat, cum ea exercetur. Von der Musik Nutzen und Kraft. Der schönsten und herrlichsten Gaben Gottes eine ist die Musica. Der ist der satan sehr feind, damit man viel Anfechtunge und böse Gedanken vertreibet. Der teufel

⁵²² LW 54:ix-x.

⁵²³ Leaver 2007, 100.

⁵²⁴ WATr 1: no. 194, 11-21, "Satan is a spirit of sorrow, therefore he cannot bear the joy, and therefore run away from music. Thus happened when David appeased Saul. Satan is afraid of music. The devil is a sad spirit and makes people sad, so he does not like happiness. Hence it is also that he keeps away from music; do not stay when you sing, especially spiritual songs. So David relieved Saul's affliction with his lyre, as the devil plagued him. Doctor Martin Luther said in 1541 that, "Music is a glorious and divine gift, which is completely hostile to the devil, and that one could drive away many of the temptations and thoughts with it; because the devil hates music."⁵²⁴

- erharret ihr nicht. Musica ist der besten Künsten eine. Die noten machen den Text lebendig. Sie verjagt den Geist der Traurigkeit, wie man am Könige Saul siehet.⁵²⁵
3. Was lex ist, gett nicht von stad: was euangelium ist, das gett von stadt. Sie Deus praedicavit euangelium etiam per musicam, ut videtur in Josquin, des alles composition frolich, willig, milde heraus fleust, ist nitt zwungen und gnedigt per regulas, sicut des fincken gesang.⁵²⁶
 4. Optimum et divinum donum est musica, qua multae tentationes pelluntur; ideo eam summe odit satan und erhart yhr nicht.⁵²⁷
 5. Musica est optima scientia. Die nothen machen den text lebendig. Fugit omnis spiritus tristitiae, sicut videmus in Saule.⁵²⁸
 6. Musica est insigne donum Dei et theologiae proxima.⁵²⁹
 7. Musica est optimum refrigerium turbato homini.⁵³⁰
 8. Musica optimum Dei donum. Saepius ita me incitavit et acuit, das ich lust zu predign gewonne habe.⁵³¹
 9. Musica laut nicht, wan man dazu lachen will, denn musica soll das seelichen erfreuen; das mau hatt keine freude dauon. Wenn man mit fleis singet, so sitzt das seelichen im leibe, spielet vnd hatt einen sonderlichen wolgefallen doran.⁵³²
 10. Wer die Musicam verachtet, [sprach D.M.L.], wie denn alle Schwärmer thun, mit denen bin ich nicht zufrieden. Denn die Musica ist ein Gabe und Geschenke Gottes, nicht ein Menschen Geschenk. So vertreibt sie auch den teuffel, und machet die Leut fröhlich; man vergisset dabey alles Zorns, Unkeuschheit, Hoffart, und anderer Laster. Ich gebe nach der Theologia der Musica den nächsten Locum und höchste Ehre. Und man siehet, wie David und alle Heiligen ihre gottselige Gedanken in Vers, Reim und Gesänge gebracht haben, quia pacis terupore regnat musica.⁵³³

The above are Luther's statements which I collected from his *Tischreden* regarding his thoughts on the devil in relation to music. From Luther's point of view on music being the

⁵²⁵ WATr 1: no. 968, 1-9, "Music, is a great divine gift, therefore most opposite to satan, because it expelled many trials. The devil does not expected when it is carried out. The use of music and its strength. Music is one of the most beautiful and glorious gift of God. It is very hostile to satan, so that one dispels many temptations and evil thoughts. You cannot stand the devil. Music is one the best arts. The notes bring text to life. It drives away the spirit of sadness, as seen in King Saul." cf. WABr 5:639, 15-17, "Quod diabolus, curarum tristium et turbarum inquietarum autor, ad vocem musicae paene similiter fugiat."

⁵²⁶ WATr 2: no. 1258, "What is law doesn't make progress, but what is gospel does. Thus the proclamation of the gospel through music, as seen in Josquin. Which composition is flowing freely, gently, and cheerfully, not cramped by the rules, but free as birdsong."

⁵²⁷ WATr 2: no. 2387a, "The best divine gift is music, as it repulsed many of the temptations; so satan hates it so profound." cf. WATr 2: no. 2387b, "Musica optimum donum est et divinum, sathanae odiosissimum, damit man vil tentationes et cogitationes vertreibt; der teuffel erhart ir nit."

⁵²⁸ WATr 2: no. 2545b, "Music is the best knowledge. It makes the word alive. It cast away all the spirit of sorrow, as in the case of Saul." cf. WATr 2: no. 2545a, "Musica est optima ars, qua notae vivere faciant verba. Fugat omnem spiritum tristitiae, sicut scriptum est de Saule."

⁵²⁹ WATr 3: no. 3815, 5, "Music is a gift of God and next to theology."

⁵³⁰ WATr 4: no. 3955, "Music is the best remedy for troubled person."

⁵³¹ WATr 4: no. 4441, "Music is the best gift of God. So often I moved to come to preach."

⁵³² WATr 5: no. 5408, "Music influences and directs the spirit of man. It causes man to laugh; it brings happiness to the things of the spirit, but the mouth gains no pleasure. When a man sings heartily, the spirit is within the body, playing and enjoying it greatly."

⁵³³ WATr 6: no. 7034, 18-26, "I am not satisfied [says D.M.L.] with him who despises music, as all fanatics do; for music is an endowment and gift of God, not a human gift. It also drives away the devil and makes people cheerful; one forgets all anger, unchasteness, pride, and other vices. I place music next to theology and give it the highest praise. And we see how David and all saints put their pious thoughts into verse, rhyme, and song."

gift of God is that the devil, being an enemy of God, must therefore abhor music. The devil is a spirit of sadness therefore he cannot bear joy, and that is why he stays away from music. Luther also makes the profound connection between the sound of music and the Word of theology; both repel the devil. For Luther, music is next to theology because both accomplish similar results; they cast out the devil, the enemy of joy.

I will summarize and analyse those statements about music and the devil collected in the *Tischreden*, Luther repeatedly says that the devil is a sad (1) and sorrowful spirit (2). And so is the gospel, which brings joy and cheer of spirit through music (3). For Luther, music is a gift of God (2, 4, 6, 8), whose significance for man is second only to the significance of the gospel itself (6). It influences and directs the spirit of man (7, 8), causes man to laugh; brings happiness to the things of the spirit, but the mouth gains no pleasure. When a man sings heartily, the spirit is within the body, playing and enjoying it greatly (9). The devil hates music and flees when he hears it (1, 2, 4, 5, 10). To sum up, what Luther says in the *Tischreden* corresponds with what he says in other writings; that music is divine as it is a gift of God that brings joy to the heart; on the other hand, the devil is a sad spirit, and must therefore hate music and is very hostile to it.

4.3 Exorcism Through Music

In this present study I examine the connection between Luther's theology of music (4.2) and his understanding of the devil (4.1). Luther states that music drives away the devil; what is the feature in music that makes him say so? The following section presents an investigation of how Luther's thoughts about music as a means of exorcism in the texts of his hymn *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*.

Ein feste burg ist unser Gott

This hymn is also known as *Our God He Is a Castle Strong*, or *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God*.⁵³⁴ The text of this song is undoubtedly the work of Luther, but there are some who doubt the authenticity of his authorship of the melody.⁵³⁵ However, this work is strictly a theological study, which focuses on the texts.

⁵³⁴ WA 35:455-57.

⁵³⁵ While no questions with regard to the originality of thought and expression in the text, but Luther has sometimes been accused of plagiarism in regard to the melody. It is challenged, especially in the nineteenth century. Some researchers detected melodic phrases of Gregorian chant allegedly known to Luther. Another

Interminable controversies have been fought over the date of the writing of this hymn. The earliest extant hymnal that has it is Andrew Rauscher's Erfurt hymnal of 1531. But it is supposed to have been in Joseph Klug's Wittenberg hymnal of 1529, of which no copy exists, and before that in the Hans Weiss' Wittenberg hymnal of 1528, also lost. Beyond these dates we have only conjecture. Scholars have examined Luther's personal life and religious and political events in the critical years between 1521 and 1530. A good case can be made for almost any year in this period, and we have to be content with the knowledge that this hymn more than any other epitomizes Luther's thought and personal experience. He did not write it to express his own feelings, but to interpret and apply the 46th psalm to the church of his own time and its struggles. That it should have lain on Luther's desk for a number of years before it was published is hardly in keeping with his general practice. He wrote hymns not as a means of self-expression, but to serve his fellow believers. Therefore it can be assumed that it was written sometime during the years 1527 or 1528, not long before it was published.⁵³⁶

Although this hymn was not written to express Luther's feelings, it can be argued that the psalm itself contains the context of human life in all of its experiences, their highest and lowest moments before God. Luther himself often expressed that his *Anfechtung* helped him understand the Scripture.⁵³⁷ And if it is assumed that this hymn was written during 1527-1528, these were some of Luther's darkest years. Luther's soul was deeply stirred by events such as numerous persecutions that sprang up, which he regarded as the direct assaults of the devil.⁵³⁸ On 31 December 1527 Luther wrote about himself in the third person to Jacob Propst in Bremen, "We are all in good health except for Luther himself, who is physically well, but outwardly the whole world and inwardly the devil and all his angels are making him suffer."⁵³⁹ On 1 January 1528, Luther wrote to Gerhard Wiskamp in the Herford brothers house that "this period of temptation has been by far the worst. Since my youth I have known about this sort of thing, but that it would intensify like this is something I had not expected."⁵⁴⁰ And not only those terrors, but also with additional sadness of his young child,

assigned the tune to Johann Walter, claiming that the melody appeared in a bass passage from his motet *Deus misereatur* of 1524, fully four years before the hymn. Also *Meistersänger* claims Luther's musical originality has been pressed from an alleged similarity between the melody in *Ein feste burg* and the 1513 *Silberweise* of Hans Sachs. Sessions 1965, 216.

⁵³⁶ LW 53:283.

⁵³⁷ WATr 1: no. 352, 12-14, "Ich hab mein theologiam nit auff ein mal gelernt, sonder hab ymmer tiffer und tieffer grubeln müssen, da haben mich meine tentationes hin bracht, quia sine usu non potest disci."

⁵³⁸ Smith 1884, 116.

⁵³⁹ WABr 4:313, "Luther leiblich gesund, aber drautzen von aller Welt, innen vom teufel versucht."

⁵⁴⁰ WABr 4:319, 5-7, "Verum est hanc tentationem esse multo grauissimam Et mihi etiam ab adolescentia non incognitam, sed ita nunc ingrauescentem non sperabam."

Elizabeth, this, Luther's great hymn, may have emerged.⁵⁴¹ This text might also have come from his personal experienced of struggle with the devil, in his lowest moments before God.

As mentioned earlier, Luther's text in this hymn are based on Ps 46. He was not paraphrasing the psalm, Luther is using a word from verse 1, and bringing in additional imagery from Eph 6:11, "Put on the whole armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the schemes of the devil,"⁵⁴² and Rev 12:9, "And the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the devil and satan, the deceiver of the whole world – he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him." Luther writes to show its basic integrity and strength of the eschatological struggle with the devil and claims the victory in God. Then, Luther uses the next sentence from verse 1, "A very present help in trouble" to free us from the devil's threats and attacks. Then, Luther also uses the word "The Lord of hosts" from verses 7 and 11, to point to Jesus Christ in stanza 2 [*der Herr Zebaoth*]. In this hymn we see each persons of the Trinity with their own role being presented in every stanza. The emphasis is on Christ as the Word, as he is the focus of this hymn to fight and defeat the devil. Therefore, the discussion of this hymn is a significant contribution to Luther's thoughts on music in relation to the devil. It serves as the actual theological conviction of Luther's understanding of the devil and music. I will present the full text, each line with its own interpretation, as follows:

THE FIRST STANZA:

Our God he is a castle strong [*Ein feste burg ist unser Gott,*] / A good mail-coat and weapon [*Ein gute wehr und waffen.*] / He sets us free from ev'ry wrong [*Er hilfft uns frey aus aller not,*] / That wickedness would heap on [*die uns itzt hat betroffen.*] / The old knavish foe [*Der alt böse feind*] / He means earnest now [*mit ernst ers itzt meint,*] / Force and cunning sly [*gros macht und viel list*] / His horrid policy [*sein grausam rüstung ist,*] / On earth there's nothing like him [*auff erd ist nicht seins gleichen.*]⁵⁴³

Our God he is a castle strong, / A good mail-coat and weapon.

In this stanza, the opening text "God" is one of the most important words in this hymn. It relates to two other of the most important words and the order would be, the first: God [stanza 1], the second: Jesus Christ [stanza 2], and the third: his Spirit [stanza 4]. This represents the Trinity, as the centre is Jesus Christ as the Word himself, and he is elected by

⁵⁴¹ Grindal 2006, 181.

⁵⁴² His published treatment of Eph 6 is one of the most important of his works that focuses specifically on the devil and this eschatological battle. Kolb 2017, 60.

⁵⁴³ WA 35:455, 23-456, 7. LW 53:284.

God to be our man, who fights and defeats the devil for us [stanza 2]. The division of the interpretation would begin as follow:

The opening text is “Our God he is a castle strong.” We have to take note of the word “our.” Then, also in all the following stanzas, Luther never uses “my” but “our,” or “us,” or “we.” This means that God is a castle strong for all people, as collective in the church of God, not individuals. That is why Luther relates his personal experience of *Anfechtung* to all Christians, as he says that *Anfechtung* is the main point in Christian doctrine, which shows that one is a genuine disciple of Christ or not [chapter 4.1]. The word “our God,” is related with the opening and closing words of Ps 46, that shows that our strength comes from the Lord, that is, the God of Jacob is our fortress, he is our refuge and strength from beginning to the end. Thus, for Luther God is the castle strong for all, he is the Creator and Protector of all Christians. God will keep us, his church, from alpha to omega.

Luther begins with the opening sentence in his hymn, which he takes directly from Ps 46:1, “God is our refuge and strength” [*Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*]. That is where the psalm begins, with the statement of faith in God, who is our refuge and strength [*Zuversicht und Stärke*]. Luther begins with an emphasis on the power and majesty of God. This is about God who defeated the enemy, who makes us win the war. This is not the war on humanity, but as Luther remarks, the enemy of Christians are the flesh, the world, and the devil⁵⁴⁴ [chapter 4.1]. The first temptation is that of the flesh, where the greed of our flesh is seeking its own advantage, and seeks to satisfy its lust in gluttony, guzzling, and loafing. The second is the world, which tempts us with envy, hatred, and pride. And the third tempter is the devil, who lures us by causing us to disregard God’s Word [chapter 4.1]. We are at war against our enemies, and God will give us strength to defeat them. Luther describes [*Zuversicht und Stärke*] and [*Ein feste burg*], a solid castle, a mighty fortress to give us comfort and strength in our war against the enemy.

Luther continues in the next sentence, “A good mail-coat and weapon” [*Ein gute wehr und waffen*]., he says that God is a strong weapon. In this context, since Luther stayed in Wartburg in 1521, a big and strong castle, and he was also disguised as a knight named Junker Jörg, it might be that he transfers the message of this psalm into medieval images of fortresses, armor,⁵⁴⁵ or weapons of his time. Luther wants to show that in all his experience of

⁵⁴⁴ WA 30.1:208, 25, “Da sind noch so viel pericula, quae imminent a carne, mundo, diabolo.”

⁵⁴⁵ Luther probably knew a great deal about armor since his colleague Philipp Melancthon had grown up in a household dedicated to fashioning armor; his father was among the most famous armor makers in the German lands. Kolb 2017, 64.

Anfechtung, even when it was in his lowest condition, that God will always be his good armor that never fails. As this might also remind Luther of Paul's commands in Rom 13:12, to "Put on the armor of light," and Eph 6:11, "Put on the whole armor of God," and 1 Thess 5:8, "Put on the breastplate." The reminder for Luther to always dress in God's armor as the devil is always ready to attack; as Luther is aware of the devil's existence and he himself often experiences his assaults in his daily life [chapter 4.1]. Luther used this imagery to emphasize that God is a good weapon to fight against the real danger and attacks of the devil in daily life. Thus, *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* is a statement of faith that tells us that we, as a church, belong to God, and God is our creator and protector, promises that he never fails to give us comfort, and strength to fight the devil.

He sets us free from ev'ry wrong, / That wickedness would heap on.

Luther continues with the text [*Er hilfft uns frey aus aller not, / die uns itzt hat betroffen.*], which he sees as a result of the first sentence, that God is our stronghold of fear and insecurity. These sentences and the beginning have a strong relationship, in that, they summarize what Luther stresses about who God is [a strong armor and weapon], and what God does [to free us from every wickedness]. Here Luther clearly maintains that we are not to fear, because God is our strength, and he battles for us. Luther emphasized that we are to have faith in him, not a work. Luther states that God helps free us of all distress that now has afflicted all Christians.

Why did Luther write this text? Because he himself often experienced many *Anfechtungen*, both physically and spiritually [chapter 4.1]. Many of the disasters that Luther experienced in the midst of his busy life related to the Reformation, that he believed was an attack from the devil to make him despair, such as: the threats from various sides to his reform arose within the context of the ongoing danger of a Turkish invasion.⁵⁴⁶ In addition, indifference to God's Word and moral deviance in Wittenberg, among the people and at the court, disturbed him deeply.⁵⁴⁷ Likewise, a sharp dispute with the town council in Zwickau over its treatment of Pastor Nikolaus Hausmann and one of his colleagues aroused Luther's

⁵⁴⁶ WABr 6:52, 2-5, "Turcam venturum esse constans fama est; Deus misereatur nostri! Alia non habeo nova. Ego viribus valde deficio, praesertim capitis. Hinc impediore scribere, legere, loqui multa, et vivo sicut aeger. Ora pro me."

⁵⁴⁷ WABr 6:83, 6-15, "Que cum nulla in presentiarum offerretur, Et hoc in loco morari non posset, statuit interim extra Vittembergam se continere aliquo, vbi vbi fors dederit, donec offeratur Conditio. Petiit igitur a me commendatitias ad te & alios Visitatores, si vos aliquo loco ei consulere possitis. Igitur vel consule tu homini, vel solare eum verbo fidutie. Nihil nouarum apud nos, nisi quod annone caritas subito creuit nimium, Et fit clamor populi ingens. Verum Quid non merita sit incredibilis verbi negligentia, imo contemptus & odium, etiam apud nostros. Deus conuertat corda nostra & sic misereatur nostri, Amen." cf. WABr 6:122-24.

anger.⁵⁴⁸ He also experienced the advance of his Zwinglian opponents,⁵⁴⁹ and occasionally recorded his struggle with physical ailments, including headaches,⁵⁵⁰ and constipation.⁵⁵¹ It was to the point that Luther expresses himself, “I am overworked, I have been overworked, I will continue to be overworked, as I see it, as long as I live.”⁵⁵² However, these burdens of reforming and directing the church and its people along with his teaching and preaching duties in Wittenberg, in addition to his physical and spiritual attacks, shaped Luther’s understanding of *Anfechtung*, which he believes God could use to perfect the church [chapter 4.1]. Luther found the church to be at war against the devil and it is only God who will deliver his church from evil so that we do not to feel afraid and insecure because of our enemy.

The old knavish foe / He means earnest now,

In this text, Luther introduces the enemy as [*Der alt böse feind / mit ernst ers itzt meint*]. Luther called him as the greatest enemy that Christians face, and satan is his name, that is, an adversary. He must obstruct and cause misfortune; he cannot do otherwise. He is the prince or god of this world and he has sufficient power to do evil.⁵⁵³ In fact, the devil is our old enemy, as he already experienced long ago in this world, since the creation of our first ancestors in Eden, he was already inciting the seed of unbelief to tempt Eve to fall from the Word, which soon follows by doubt and despair in her heart. In a similar vein, Luther reveals that the devil could tempt us earnestly, in such a way to make us feel that God seems far away. This kind of *Anfechtung* incites by the devil every day to make us far from the Word and stop believing in it. In addition, the worst thing is that as he is the prince of this world,

⁵⁴⁸ WABr 6:46-47, 3-16, “Es ist itzt hie ben vns gewest Eror Pfarher sampt Laurentio Sorano vnd mir kund gethan, wie genanter Laurentius Soranus von euch geurlaubt on wissen vnd willen des Pfarrherrs, nicht anders denn als ein herr seinen knecht, So er doch nicht ewr knecht vnd yhr der kirchen herr nicht seid, Auch solches ampt nicht so stelen vnd rauben mugt ewrs gefallen, wenn und wem yhr wollet, Sondern dem landsfürsten geburt, bis die sache mit den bisschouen geendet. Wie wol ich nu wol achte, das euch nichts dran gelegen, was mich verdreusst adder vnrecht dunckt, vnangesehen, das yhr billich soltet mein schonen, als der ich so schwerlich das Euangelion erworden vnd erhalten (des yhr nu teilhafftig worden vnd widder vns alle braucht), vns mich armen betrubten man mit solchem furnemen nicht bekommern. Es ist leider sonst allzu viel, das mir mein elendes herzt betrubt, das ich billicher trost vnd freude sollt von euch haben.” cf. WABr 6:102, 125, 126.

⁵⁴⁹ WABr 6:16, “Zwei Briefe voller Reuigkeiten habe er von Link erhalten, Luther könne nur berichten, das in Ostfriesland der Zwinglianismus herrsche. Sein letztes Gutachten über das Recht des Widerstands gegen den Kaiser. Die Kopfschmerzen, die er sich auf der Koburg geholt, seien noch nicht besser.” cf. WABr 6:155, 156-57.

⁵⁵⁰ WABr 6:17, 26-28, “Itaque parce laboro coactus capiti sua sabbatha indulgere otio mihi molesto et typographis valde incommodo.”

⁵⁵¹ WABr 2:333, 34, “Dominus percussit me in posteriora gravi dolore.” cf. WABr 2:335, “Mein ars ist bö worden. Dominus visitat me.”

⁵⁵² WABr 6:165, 2-3, “Sic res est: obruor, obrutus sum, obrutus ero, ut video, donec vivam.”

⁵⁵³ LW 37:17.

and that the whole world is possessed by him, and he never takes a holiday [chapter 4.1]. However, long before “the old knavish foe,” was introduced, Luther has already emphasized clearly in the beginning that the strong God will help us. Luther shows that this God would free us from every affliction and fight for us against the old evil enemy [*böse feind*]. And Luther continues with the evil character of the devil.

Force and cunning sly / His horrid policy, / On earth there’s nothing like him.

The text reveals the cunning of the devil [*gros macht und viel list / sein grausam rüstung ist*]. Luther has experienced this deceitfulness of the devil [chapter 4.1]. He has experienced that since satan cheated Eve, so that through this sentence [*auff erd ist nicht seins gleichen*.] Luther shows that the power of the devil is beyond our human ability to fight. He referred the threat of the devil to Ps 46:2-3, where the earth is shaken, mountains fall and the water is troubled. Luther probably had memories of his early experiences in witchcraft which through the devil could give bad weather [chapter 4.1]. But although the resulting devastation because the water was troubled could be different, the material remains the same, water is still water. So the devil, with his tricks remains the same, in his striving to bring people away from the Word. The people ultimately start to doubt and hate God and become despair, and Luther considered this as *Anfechtung* [chapter 4.1]. That is why Luther acknowledges his cunning, and he says there is nothing like him in this world. This means that the devil is the strongest force on earth, but no matter, though we are carrying the best weapon in this world, we are still weaker than the devil. Because once he can cheat us with unbelief, then the other evil things will be easy for him to do. In other words, if we fall into unbelief, then there is no need to wage war against the devil, as we already lost and are following him. It is really scary to think of this devil with all his tricks. Here, Luther reminds us that the devil with his cunning, can shoot a dart into our heart anytime to create afflictions that can befall us [chapter 4.1]. With this in mind, then Luther continues with the second stanza:

THE SECOND STANZA:

‘Tis all in vain, do what we can [*Mit unser macht ist nichts getan*,] / Our strength is soon dejected [*wir sind gar bald verloren*,] / But he fights for us, the right man [*Es streit für uns der rechte man*,] / By God himself elected [*den Gott hat selbs erkoren*.] / Ask’st thou who is this? [*Fragstu wer der ist?*] / Jesus Christ it is [*Er heist Jhesu Christ*,] / Lord of hosts alone [*der Herr Zebaoth*,] / And God but him is none [*Und ist kein ander Gott*,] / So he must win the battle [*das felt mus er behalten*.]⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁴ WA 35:456, 8-16. LW 53:285.

‘Tis all in vain, do what we can / Our strength is soon dejected,

The text [*Mit unser macht ist nichts getan, / wir sind gar bald verloren,*] is to reflect our real condition which shows the vanity of our own efforts to defeat this old knavish foe. Thus Luther restates the problem he presented at the end of the first stanza, that is, our might is powerless against the devil. We cannot count our strength to win in a fight against the devil. The power that satan, in the battlefield of the world, is beyond our resources to fight. We will absolutely lose. Luther states that although Christ has conquered the devil for us, still the devil has nevertheless remained a lord in the world so that he can assail us with great spiritual temptations [chapter 4.1]. It has been stated that although the devil, as the lord of this world, seems to be very powerful, for Luther, his authority was never equal to or independent of God. In other words, the devil is always God’s devil and God could use him to strengthen us [chapter 4.1]. The solution is not in our strength, but in God. Luther introduces the one and only person, who can help us.

But he fights for us, the right man / By God himself elected.

This text should be sung in anticipation, [*Es streit für uns der rechte man, / den Gott hat selbs erkoren.*], as it indicates the one who can help us. And though help is promised, the name is not yet known. Who is the right man, who is elected by God himself is still in anticipation, the only one that will fight against the old knavish foe.

The sentence “he fights for us,” brings us to the Exodus story, when the people of Israel questioned Moses as they saw the army of Pharaoh approaching.⁵⁵⁵ Moses said to the people, “Fear not, stand firm, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will work for you today. For the Egyptians whom you see today, you shall never see again. The Lord will fight for you, and you have only to be silent” (Exod 14:13-14). Similar statements of faith and promise appear in Ps 46:10a, “Be still, and know that I am God,” but deliverance still has not yet come. The sentence also brings us to the story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam 17: 32, where in the middle of a mocking threat from Goliath, when all the armies felt distress and trembled, he said to Saul, “Let no man’s heart fail because of him. Your servant will go and fight with this Philistine.” In other words, David says do not be afraid, I will fight him for you, similarly with Moses when he faced Pharaoh. These stories were like the gospel of Jesus Christ written in Luke 2:10-11, “Fear not, for behold, I bring you good news of great joy that

⁵⁵⁵ Krentz 2017, 8.

will be for all the people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord.” In the next sentence Luther introduces that elected man who will fight against the devil.

Ask’st thou who is this? / Jesus Christ it is,

Luther’s text [*Fragstu wer der ist? / Er heist Jhesu Christ,*] brings us to the elected, the right man to be our champion, our knight in shining armor, who will fight on our behalf. Who is the right man? Mark 14:62 offers a description, “You will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.” The notion of Jesus seated at the right hand of God is also found in many other verses, such as Ps 110:1; Matt 22:44, 26:64; Mark 12:36, 16:19; Luke 20:42, 22:69; Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:13, 8:1, 10:12; and 1 Pet 3:22. The right hand man must be Jesus Christ himself. Here Luther, after showing the strong and powerful God, also wants to show the humanity of God – the second Person of the Trinity. He is God incarnated. His name is Jesus Christ, God’s chosen one. He is the right man to fight for us.

As mentioned, in the world dominated by the devil, we will soon be lost, but in Christ there is a way. Luther says that the world, with all its wisdom, righteousness, and power, is the devil’s kingdom, out of which only God is able to deliver us by his only Son.⁵⁵⁶ The following probably is the best explanation, in this context, which illustrate the Christ who fought against the devil, found in Luther’s comment to John’s letter:

To sum up, we must, first of all, have a Savior who can save us from the power of this world’s god (2 Cor 4:4) and prince (John 16:11), the devil, that is, from sin and death. This means that he must be the true, eternal God, through whom all believers in him become righteous and are saved. For if he is not greater and more exalted than Moses, Isaiah, or John the Baptist, he cannot be our Redeemer. But if, as God’s Son, he sheds his blood to redeem us and cleanse us from sin, and if we believe this, rubbing it under the devil’s nose whenever he tries to plague and terrify us with our sins, the devil will soon be beaten; he will be forced to withdraw and to stop molesting us. For the hook, which is the divinity of Christ, was concealed under the earthworm. The devil swallowed it with his jaws when Christ died and was buried. But it ripped his belly so that he could not retain it but had to disgorge it. He ate death for himself. This affords us the greatest solace; for just as the devil could not hold Christ in death, so he cannot hold us who believe in Christ.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁶ WA 40.1:97, 13-14, “Quod mundus cum omni sapientia, Iustitia et potentia sua sit Regnum diaboli ex quo solus Deus per filium suum unigenitum nos eripere possit.”

⁵⁵⁷ WA 46:556, 25-40, “In summa, wir müssen erstlich einen solchen Heiland haben, der von der gewalt dieser Welt Gottes und Fürsten, des teufels, Item von Sünde und Tod uns erretten kan, das ist: der warer, ewiger GOTT sey, durch welchen alle, die an jn gleuben, gerecht und selig werden, denn wo er nicht mehr und höher ist denn Moses, Elias, Esaias, Johannes der teufer etc., so ist er unser Erlöser nicht. Aber wenn er, als der Son Gottes, sein Blut fur uns vergeusst, auff das er uns erlöse und von Sünden veinige, und wir es gleuben und teufel fur die nasen halten, wenn er uns der Sünden halben schrecket und plaget, so ist der teufel balde geschlagen, er mus weichen und uns zu frieden lassen. Denn der Angel, das ist: die Gootheid CHRISTI, so unter dem

Luther wanted to show the humanity of God, he wrote that Christ died and was buried, but then he consumed death, and the devil could not hold him. This is the text of victory.

Therefore, he can be our Redeemer, who can save us from the power of this world. He is Jesus Christ, the right man that fights for us, God's chosen one. He is Lord of hosts, God himself. No matter how strong the devil, he still cannot win the battle against him. We must cling to him, as the Word himself [chapter 4.1], so we can face our *Anfechtung*. In fact, this text about Jesus Christ is the centre of all texts in this hymn. He served as the central theme in this song, all the texts can be connected to him, without him all the texts would be dispersed.

Lord of hosts alone, / And God but him is none, / So he must win the battle.

And in this text [*der Herr Zebaoth*,] Luther wants to show the divinity of God. He is Lord of hosts, who is everlasting. *Zebaoth* is derived from a Hebrew word that means "hosts" [of heaven]. Luther takes the text from Ps 46:7, "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our fortress." The Lord of hosts is translated [*der Herr Zebaoth*] in Luther's translation of the Old Testament. We would examine several references that relate to that text. With the word, "Lord of hosts," Luther takes us further back to the Old Testament time, in Isa 6, where the prophet has a vision of God seated in heaven, surrounded by a host of Seraphim, who cover their faces and their feet in the presence of God and sing, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts" [*Heilig, heilig, heilig ist der Herr Zebaoth*].⁵⁵⁸ Similarly, Luther also used this word in his hymn, *Jesaia dem propheten das geschach*, which has the Seraphim singing *Heilig ist Gott der herre zebaoth* three times.⁵⁵⁹ In this context, he would have us understand that the right man, Jesus Christ, who fights for us, is also the God of Ps 46 and Isa 6. And to continue Luther writes "and God but him is none" [*und ist kein ander Gott*]. Luther closes the second stanza with the text [*das felt mus er behalten*], again, he wants to show a statement of faith, that through the spiritual battle with the devil on earth, the victory is sure, it is in God's hands. In other words, as stated before, there is no other God, but Jesus Christ, God and man in one person, he is sure to win the battle.

Regenwurm, unter seiner Menschheit (die der teufel in seinen Rachen verschlang, da Christus starb und begraben ward) verborgen war, zureiss jm den Bauch, das er jn nicht recht halten kond, sondern wider heraus geben müste und er den tod daran fras, welches unser höchste trost ist, denn so wenig er Christum hat jm Tod halten können, so wenig kan er auch, die an jn gleuben, darinnen behalten."

⁵⁵⁸ Krentz 2017, 9.

⁵⁵⁹ WA 35:455, 13-15.

THE THIRD STANZA:

And did the world with devils swarm [*Und wenn die welt voll teuffel wer*] / All gaping to devour us [*und wolt uns gar verschlingen,*] / We fear not the smallest harm [*So fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr,*] / Success is yet before us [*Es sol uns doch gelingen.*] / This world's prince accurst [*Der Fürst dieser welt,*] / Let him rage his worst [*wie saur er sich stelt,*] / No hurt brings about [*thut er uns doch nicht,*] / His doom it is gone out [*das macht er ist gericht,*] / One little word can overturn him [*Ein wörtlein kan jn fellen.*]⁵⁶⁰

And did the world with devils swarm / All gaping to devour us,

In this text [*Und wenn die welt voll teuffel wer / und wolt uns gar verschlingen,*] Luther wants us to sing and at the same time reminds us of *Der alt böse feind*, in the first stanza. He emphasized that this world is filled with the devil's forces and they seek to harm us. Luther feels urged to tell all Christians that this is a terrible situation, the raging of the devil and he is all around [chapter 4.1]. We are reminded that with all the unbelief, hatred, and despair that they will bring [chapter 4.1] that Jesus is victorious. Although we have sung about Jesus Christ as the one who will help us. But still now, we are reminded again about the reality of the situation in this world. And we are afraid of this situation; that this world is full with the devil, he is everywhere [chapter 4.1]. But, this text is not stopping there, as if to leave us alone in this world. Luther wants to bring us to the end, the "one little word" [*ein wörtlein*]. He tries to make a climax at the end, moving from the worst to the best. This text is to make us aware that in whatever situation we are in in this world, we still must do battle against the devil, who is attacking us with evil thoughts and all desires of the flesh.⁵⁶¹ Luther gives a hope in the next text, although he does not mention yet why we are not to be afraid of the raging of the devil.

We fear not the smallest harm, / Success is yet before us.

⁵⁶⁰ WA 35:456, 17-457, 3. LW 53:285.

⁵⁶¹ WA 34.2:379, 9-26, "Das gehoret nu jnns gemein fur alle Christen, das sie die lere und jren glauben erhalten, sonderlich aber, die das predig ampt füren, Darnach jnn sonderheit ein jglicher seines stands halben, das er den selbigen verteidigen könne und den unnützen meuler also antworten: Horestu nicht, das mir Gott diesen stand hat auffgelegt und befolen des selbigen trewlich zu warten und drewet bey seinem zorn, wo ich solchs wolt lassen anstehen und ein anders thun, Das hiesse auch nicht allein jnn seinem stand fest bleiben, unverhindert und unuberwunden, sondern auch umb sich geschlagen, abgeweiset und widderlegt, was uns hindern und zu ruck zihen wil durch Gottes wort, wie S. Paulus kurtz vor diesem Tert Cap. v und 6. leret durch alle stende, man, weib, jung, alt, herrn, knechte, megde etc. Denn es ist beschlossen, das ein jglicher Christ, welches stands er fey, mus stets jm kampff stehen, da jn der teuffel angreiffet und stürmet mit eingeben falscher, böser gedancken nach der andern odder durch bose, unnütze meuler, die jn davon hetzen, on was unser eigen fleisch thut, Darumb ist nicht gnug, das wir unser schlos wol verwaret haben und dem teuffel entsitzen können, sondern auch, das wir jn wegtreiben und zu rück schlahen durch Gottes wort als durch unser schwerd wie wir hören werden."

The text [*So fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr, / Es sol uns doch gelingen.*] shows an anticipation that success is coming. As mentioned earlier, Luther wants to show that although the situation is terrible, in which the devil can attack our faith to make us doubtful and discouraged [chapter 4.1]. We could sing out of fear and uncertainty, but at the same time we believe that this hymn contains the Word against fear and uncertainty itself. Since Luther has already stated that God is our refuge and strength, we are not to be afraid as there is sure hope to come. This is a statement of faith to what Christ has done for us. He came to this world and was crucified for us [stanza 2]. As we sing this text, we know that Christ has died for our sins, and hope is possible because Christ has risen from the dead. Thus, as Luther says that success is yet to come because Christ has been successful. So we are not to be afraid, even at the hour of death.

This world's prince accurst, / Let him rage his worst,

This text calls on us to, [*Der Fürst dieser welt, / wie saur er sich stelt,*] again, after the terrible things to sing with hope in Christ. In fact the devil has been cursed by the death of Christ. Luther states in [stanza 2], that the divinity of Christ ripped the devil's belly so that he could not retain it but had to disgorge it. He ate death for himself. As Jesus Christ is God, he arose from death, and the devil finds death himself.

Now with the next text, we sing to challenge the devil "let him rage his worst." Let us see all the devil's power with their worst, angry, and distorted faces. And that is all? Luther wrote this sentence *wie saur er sich stelt*, which implies the challenge, that is, similar perhaps to the challenge that the prophet Elisha gives to the prophets of Baal, when he mocked them, after they called the name of Baal from morning until noon without answer, in 2 Kings 18:27, "Cry aloud, for he is a god. Either he is musing, or he is relieving himself, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened." In other words, Luther reminded us that the devil, as the prince of this world, similar to god called by the prophets of Baal, keeps silent. Luther brings us to the next text showing the impotence of the devil as the world's prince.

No hurt brings about, / His doom it is gone out, / One little word can overturn him.

In this text [*Thut er uns doch nicht, / das macht er ist gericht,*], assurance comes. There will be no hurt, nor doom. All will be gone. We can sing in faith that the "one little word" will come. As already mentioned, all the previous sentences about the devil's tricks bring us to this final text, "one little word can overturn him." All the devil's worst attacks can be

felled by one little word [*ein wörtlein kann ihn fallen.*]. As though Luther wants to mock the devil, even the smallest power of God can overturn him. Luther often uses the language of “word” or “Word” interchangeably. The question is, is “the one little word” written in the text, a what or a who? Luther repeatedly stated that music makes the devil flee; what is it that actually makes the devil flee? Here, Luther emphasized clearly that the Word makes the devil to flee, and the Word is Christ. Luther noted that the best is when the Word is publicly presented in the pulpit, but it is also effective when every Christian, is hearing, reading, singing, speaking, and meditating on the Word. For it has power, when clearly and purely proclaimed and used, diligently learned, and earnestly meditated on. Then satan nor any devil can remain. For the Word reveals his intention of building false faith, sadness, or despair. And the Word reveals the Lord Christ, whom he crucified, but he collided with Christ and got burned, for Christ trampled on his head. Therefore, the devil is afraid and flees from his presence. Christ did him tremendous harm, takes many souls back from him, and weakens and destroys his kingdom. For it is God’s might and power.⁵⁶² The “one little word,” is Jesus Christ, the Lord of hosts, the incarnate Word, our champion, is with us in our life to defeat the devil. Only with God’s Word, can believers stand firm against the devil. Therefore, in fact when Luther wrote that music drives away the devil, it is not only the word, or texts as paraphrase from the Scriptures verses, but the Word himself makes the devil flee. In the letter to Senfl, Luther wrote that the prophets use music to proclaim the truth [chapter 4.2.1]. Moreover, Luther clearly states that we are preaching Christ through music [chapter 3.2.5], and the devil will flee.

THE FOURTH STANZA:

The Word they shall allow to stand [*Das Wort sie sollen lassen stan*] / Nor any thanks have for it [*und kein danck dazu haben,*] / He is with us, at our right hand [*Er ist ben uns wol auff dem plan*] / With the gifts of his Spirit [*mit seinem geist und gaben.*] / If they take our life [*Nemen sie den leib,*] / Wealth, name, child and wife [*gut, her, kind und weib,*] / Let everything go [*las faren dahin,*] / They have no profit so [*sie habens kein gewin,*] / The kingdom ours remaineth [*das reich mus uns doch bleiben.*]⁵⁶³

⁵⁶² WA 34.2:405, 4-32, “Das ist das letzte, aber das aller sterckeste und das rechte kriegs woffen, dadurch wir den teuffel schlagen und siegen müssen, Denn es ist nicht gnug (wie ich droben gesagt habe), das man sich für dem feind wol verwaret habe und könne jm fursetzen, wenn er uns angreiffet, das wir nicht geschlagen werden, Welches heisst eine Schutzekrafft, Sondern gehört auch da zu die Werekrafft, damit man dem feind nach jage und jnn die flucht schlahe. Also ist hie nicht gnug sich widder den teuffel wehren mit glauben und hoffnung als schilt und helm, Sondern mus auch das Schwerd zucken und widder nach jm schlagen und damit nachdrücken, das er müsse zu ruck fallen und fliehen und also den sieg an jm behalte. Solch schwerd ist nu (sagt er) das wort Gottes, Denn es mus nicht leiblich stal und eisen, sondern ein geistlich schwerd sein, damit man den teuffel schlagen sol.”

⁵⁶³ WA 35:457, 4-12. LW 53:285.

The Word they shall allow to stand / Nor any thanks have for it

In this text [*Das Wort sie sollen lassen stan / und kein danck dazu haben,*] Luther repeats again here that it is “the Word / *Das Wort*” that drives away the devil. It has been highlighted that the Word is Christ. Again here Luther’s grammar makes it clear that *Das Wort* is not a what, but a who.⁵⁶⁴ Luther clearly stated in his commentary on John 1:1, that the term “the Word,” is not any ordinary word but a Word that is as great as God himself. Indeed, the Word is God himself.⁵⁶⁵ Here Luther is referring to Jesus Christ as the Word in John 1. The Word is not a reference to the Bible as the word. Jesus is not “God’s word,” but instead Jesus is “the Word.”

He is with us, at our right hand / With the gifts of his Spirit.

In this text [*Er ist ben uns wol auff dem plan / mit seinem geist und gaben.*], the use of he is with us, at our right hand means that he fights by our side. As promised in stanza 1, that “he sets us free” and in stanza 2 “he fights for us” then now here is that “he is with us.” Immanuel is promised, Christ has come and died for us, for our sins, and that is why God is our right hand. He is to fight for us. As mentioned in the first stanza, the order of the most important texts are: God, Christ, and his Spirit. All the texts are adorning these three texts and have finally brought us to Christ, as he is the heart of this hymn. And Christ is with us, to be our right hand.

Then his Spirit come at the end, to give us the gifts that may benefit us and others. In speaking of the role of the Spirit in this giving, Luther wrote in the *Confession Concerning Christ’s Supper* (1528):

The Holy Spirit comes and gives himself to us also, wholly and completely. He teaches us to understand this deed of Christ which has been manifested to us, helps us receive and preserve it, use it to our advantage and impart it to others, increase and extend it. He does this both inwardly and outwardly – inwardly by means of faith and other spiritual gifts, outwardly through the gospel, baptism, and the sacrament of the altar, through which as through three means or methods he comes to us and inculcates the sufferings of Christ for the benefit of our salvation.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁴ Krentz 2017, 11.

⁵⁶⁵ WA 46:546, 28-30, “Dasselbige nennen wir hie das Wort, nicht ein schlechts Wort, sondern das also gros ist, als Gott ist, ja, da dasselbige Wort Gott selber ist.”

⁵⁶⁶ WA 26:506, 4-12, “So kompt der heilige geist und gibt sich auch uns gantz und gar, der leret uns solche wolthat Christi, uns erzeigt, erkennen, hilfft sie empfangen und behalten, nützlich brauchen und austheilen, mehren und foddern, Und thut dasselbige beide, ynnerlich und eusserlich: Ynnerlich durch den glauben und ander geistlich gaben. Susserlich aber durchs Euangelion, durch die tauffe und sacrament des altars, durch welche er als durch drey mittel odder weise er zu uns kompt und das leiden Christi ynn uns ubet und zu nutz bringet der seligkeit.”

Luther says that the Spirit gives himself to us, to teach us what Christ has done for us, so that we may receive the blessing and become blessings for others also. The same is true of Luther's view of music; music is to give to us in faith to Christ, a "calm and joyful disposition" and to others also "through gospel." Therefore, Luther says that gospel can be preached through music, so that others can get the benefit too.

If they take our life / Wealth, name, child and wife

In this text [*Nemen sie den leib, / gut, her, kind und weib,*] Luther's perception of God's providence in daily life is extended to his concern for the welfare of livestock and for good weather for the crops. Luther noted that the devil attempts to attack not only human beings but also cattle, and he wants to poison the air, ruin grain and fruit in the fields with bad weather and hail, and exercise his rule through every kind of plague and disease.⁵⁶⁷ In other words, the devil wants to bring evil, disruption, and misfortune upon Christians and take from them "wife, children, body, life, health, and everything that we have."⁵⁶⁸ But no matter what happens, Luther urges us sing the next text.

Let everything go, / They have no profit so, / The kingdom ours remaineth.

In this line [*las faren dahin, / sie habens kein gewin,*] Luther believes that everything that exists in this world cannot be compared to Christ. Even the most precious to us, our life itself. Because Christ has power over death. So, with our own power we can do nothing. Although we have everything in this world, as Paul says in Phil 3:8, "I count everything as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things and count them as rubbish, in order that I may gain Christ." Let everything go, as we have Christ.

⁵⁶⁷ WA 34.2:396, 37-397, 8, "Hie mus man nu sehen, wie Gott seine allmechtige gewalt erzeiget nach seiner schepffung, das er uns erhellt widder des teuffels grimmigen zorn, das er nicht mus thun noch schaffen, was er wil, ob er wol so mechtig ist und wir gegen jm sind als eine matte fliegen gegen einem zornigen beren odder lewen, Noch lesset er jm nicht gewalt, uns das leben und alle Gottes guter zu nemen, welches er uns sonst keinen augenblick liesse, on wo es Gott geschehen lesst zum schrecken und exempel, Als wo er einem den hals bricht, hengket odder ertrencket etc., und nicht allein menschen, sondern auch das vihe todtet, und was mehr schaden jnn der welt geschicht, die lufft vergiffet, getreide und fruchte auff dem felde durch wetter und hagel verderbet wird und allerley plage und seuche regiren."

⁵⁶⁸ WA 34.2:394, 6-16, "Da nennet er das kind, wie sie heissen und was sie sind, Sie sind nicht fleisch und blut, sondern geister, und solche geister, die uber die welt regiren und herschen droben jnn der lufft, Und heissen mit jrem rechten namen 'Böse geister', das ist: nicht allein klug, spitzig und listig, hoch und weit uber menschen vernunft und weisheit, Sondern auch giftig, bose und bitter, das alle jr gedancken und sinn tag und nacht nur dahin stehet, wie sie schaden thun, beide (wie gesagt), durch mord und lügen, Denn das ist alle jr lust und freude, wo sie nur können böses, unfrid und ungluck stifften und uns nemen weib, kind, leib, leben, gesundheit und alles, was wir haben, und die welt mit krieg und blut unternander verderben, Aber allermeist den fromen und armen unschuldigen Christen schaden und leid thun."

This brings us to sing the closing text [*das reich mus uns doch bleiben.*]. We are reminded of the opening text “Our God he is a castle strong.” Our faith which cries out that God’s kingdom is forever. And as we sing this text, we feel confident that all the misfortune that he can bring upon them in this world cannot deprive them of eternal life with Christ.⁵⁶⁹ As God is our refuge and strength, he could keep and preserve our faith so that one day we can be with him in his kingdom forever. That is why this hymn gives us comfort and strength to face *Anfechtungen*, because God has elected Jesus Christ to fight and defeat the devil for us. Therefore with Luther and the psalmist, we can sing this hymn in the light of Ps 46:2-3, “Therefore we will not fear though the earth gives way, though the mountains be moved into the heart of the sea, though its water roar and foam though the mountains tremble at its swelling.”

The song *Ein feste burg* is about the Word, Christ, who defeats the enemy, which reflects Luther’s own struggle with his *Anfechtung*. Luther sees that faith in Christ is the key to the fight against the old evil enemy [*böse feind*]. Christ Jesus, is the “one little word” [*ein wörtlein*] and “the Lord of hosts” [*der Herr Zebaoth*], is the theme of this song, and he who will fight for us to defeat the devil.

4.4 Conclusion

To summarise Luther’s thoughts on music in relation to the devil, the questions to be answered are as follow: What is Luther’s understanding of the devil in relation to *Anfechtung*? What is music in Luther’s thought in relation to the devil? What is the significance of the hymn to Luther? In Luther’s thought, the devil is God’s devil, where God can use the devil as his servant to strengthen and expand the faith of his children [chapter 4.1]. In the letter to Senfl, he says that music and theology are of equal importance [chapter 4.2.1], since both chase away the devil and disperse the spiritual anxieties or *Anfechtung*

⁵⁶⁹ WA 34.2:404, 25-405, 2, “Darumb müssen wir einen andern trost wissen, weil wir beide von welt und teuffel so jemerlich zuplagt werden, beide, leiblich und geistlich, und so angefochten, als fey es alles verloren und umb sonst gethan und gelidden, Das wir dagegen solchen mut können fassen, Wil unser die welt nicht das wir umb sonst jr müssen dienen, leiden und kempffen und unser sawer schweis und blut dran setzen, so mag sie es lassen, Wir habens umb jren willen nicht angefangen, Wer es nicht wil mit uns halten, der bleib dahinden Wöllen sie nicht freund sein, so las sie feind sein und sich selbs mit jrem zorn und wüten zu beissen und fressen. Das ist aber unser trotz, das wir glauben an Jhesum Christum, der ein Herr uber welt, teuffel und alles ist durch welchen wir gewislich eines andern leben zu warten haben, das er uns aus allem diesem unglück erlösen wird und unter die füsse legen, was uns jtz drenget und drückt, Derhalben ist das auch ein nötiger harnisch fur die Christen, Sonst köndten wirs nicht die lenge ausstehen und liessen uns uberwinden die schendlichen, bösen tück und mutwillen, so der teuffel treibt durch die welt, das wir ublich müssen herhalten, das man uns fur die köpffe schlegt und allen undanck, verachtung, hon, schmach und spot anlegt zu lohn fur unser Euangelion und Christlich leben, damit wir jderman dienen.”

created by the devil. And in his *Fraw Musica*, Luther also says that all sorrows created by the devil would be removed when music, as a gift of God, is expressed by the heart correctly through singing [chapter 4.2.2]. Then in the *Tischreden* similar thoughts appear in which the devil as a sad spirit hates and flees music. But why does the devil flee music? Because the music contains the Word, as we see in the example of his hymn *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* [chapter 4.3], and the Word is Jesus Christ, the Lord of hosts [chapter 4.3]. Luther noted that love ballads are not meant to praise God, as they are without the Word [chapter 4.2.1]. In Luther's thinking, the hymn has the power of exorcism because it contains Jesus Christ. He is the one who fights with the devil, not us [chapter 4.3]. In other words, the hymn is about Christ. In fact, in this way, Luther brought hymn and gospel together in a vital union. It served as exorcism through music. Therefore he says that music drives away the devil.

5 Luther on Music and the Joyful Soul

Having discussed Luther's understanding of music as a means to drive away the devil, I now turn to the consequence; music creates a joyful soul. This chapter will focus on Luther's theology of joy in relation to music. The first section expounds Luther's understanding of joy as found in his theological writings (5.1). The second section examines Luther's thoughts on music in his work *The Last Words of David*, the *Babst* hymnal, and his commentary on Psalm 4:1 (5.2). In the third section, I will investigate the relationship of Luther's understanding of joy and his concept of music in his hymn *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn* (5.3).

5.1 A Theology of Joy

Luther writes in the draft *On Music* that music creates a joyful soul [*facit letos animos*].⁵⁷⁰ Before turning to the investigation of that topic, this section analyses his understanding of joy. One of Luther's favorite verses for fighting off melancholy, "Rejoice in the Lord!" (Phil 4:4), is a command of God that carries within itself the promise of actually experiencing joy.⁵⁷¹ In this way Scripture does its work in us, even when we have lost all our strength, not the other way around.⁵⁷² The Word of Christ gives joy, it drives away the melancholy caused by the devil. And the spirit of joy and the spirit of sadness from the devil are contrasted to each other, as Luther believed that "joy is against the devil."⁵⁷³ Furthermore, he asserts that "my Lord Jesus Christ does not make me sad, but the devil makes me sad under the appearance of Christ, but Christ is nothing but joy."⁵⁷⁴ Luther's writings of joy are scattered in his works, showing that joy is a significant expression in his theology.

Luther's understanding of joy could derive from Paul's remark in Phil 4:4, "Rejoice in the Lord always." Here, Paul certainly does not pretend about rejoicing being easy, the fact that he is writing in prison awaiting a trial that could result in his death is proof of that. Moreover he feels isolated from his colleagues and deeply concerned about the faithful preaching of the

⁵⁷⁰ WA 30.2:696.

⁵⁷¹ Pietsch 2014, 39.

⁵⁷² WATr 3: no. 3298a, 25-32, "Omnes tristitiae sunt diabolicae, quia Christus, in quem credimus, venit ad consolandum et miserandum. Ideo in tristitia invocandus est Spiritus Sanctus. Der ist der trotz mortis et periculorum omnium. Si est tristitia de morte, dic: Non moriar, sed vivam, et similia. At, lieber Gott, articulus fidei wil nicht ein. Ideo tot accidunt tristitiae. Saepe mihi irascor, quod toties praelegi, praedicavi, scripsi de vincenda hac tentatione et tentatus non possum extinguere tristitias. Sed scriptura dicit: Laetamini in Domino."

⁵⁷³ WA 35:479, 17-18, "Denn er ist unser endlicher, seliger, ewiger trost und freude wider den Tod, Helle, teuffel und alle traurigkeit."

⁵⁷⁴ WA 40.2:562, 25-27, "Scio enim, quod Dominus meus Iesus Christus non contristat, sed diabolus contristat sub specie Christi. Christus autem nihil est nisi vita, gaudium, gratia et pax."

gospel during his captivity. Yet in his letter to the Philippians the words joy and rejoice appear fourteen times, culminating in the summary declaration, “Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say rejoice!” In the *Church Postil* Luther says that joy is the result of faith, and without faith there is only fear and guilt as the heart knows God is the enemy of sins.⁵⁷⁵ Luther contrasts “rejoice” because of the joyful soul and “fear” because of sin. Since these two things are in the heart of unbelievers: “consciousness of sins” and “punishment of sins,” one must be depressed and frightened, in short, have no joy. The sinners must first be told how to be freed from their sins and receive a gracious God by faith; then joy will follow of itself when they are freed from their evil conscience. Luther takes an example from Paul’s writings that the Christian’s joy is to trust in the Lord, not in material things; which only brings so called happiness, “He rejoices, but his heart is not in it” [*Der freuet sich, und sein Herz erfährets nicht*].⁵⁷⁶ For Luther, the impetus to rejoice is a positive reality, which he describes as “do not sin, but joyfully have faith in God.” As Luther’s example has it, Paul’s joy takes root even in darkness. Thus, this feeling of joy for Luther must be first seen in all his experiences of *Anfechtung*, because afflictions, strife, sorrow, and sicknesses filled his life. It is not surprising that this notion is also reflected in Luther’s letters, which almost always begin with the word “grace and peace” [in Christ].⁵⁷⁷ The first word “grace” refers to faith in Christ; and the next word, “peace” is the consequence of the forgiveness of sins, which become the basis for hope in his affliction and *Anfechtung*. I find that Luther, in his many writings, expresses joy in relation to faith, forgiveness of sins and hope. I will present the summary and analysis of Luther’s theology of joy as follows:

5.1.1 Joy and Faith in Christ

⁵⁷⁵ WA 10.1/2:170, 24-171, 2, “Diße freud ist eyn frucht und folge des glawbens, wie er Gal 5. sagt: Die frucht des geysts ist Liebe, freud, fride, gedullt, gütte, freuntlickeyt, traw, senffte, messickeyt; denn es ist nicht muglich, das sich eyn hertz sollt yn gott frewen, das nivht tzuvor an yhn glewbt. Wo nit glawbe ist, da ist eyttel furcht, flucht, schewe, und trawrickeyt, wenn nur gottis gedacht oder genennet wirt. Ja hasß und feynschafft widder gott ist yn solchem hertzen; das macht die ursach, denn das hertz findet sich schuldig ynn seynem gewissen, und hatt nicht die tzuvorsicht, das yhm gott gnedig unnd gunstig fey, dieweyll es weyß, das gott der sund feynd ist unnd sie gewlich straffet.”

⁵⁷⁶ WA 10.1/2:172, “Sihe, von solcher freude redet hie S. Paulus; da ist keyn sund, keyn furcht des todts noch der helle, Bondern eyn froliche, allmechtige zuvorsicht gegen gott und seyner hulde. Darumb heyst es eyn freude ynn den herrn, nicht ynn silber noch gollt, nicht yn fressen noch sauffen, nicht ynn lust noch singen, nicht yn sterck noch gesundheyt, nicht ynn kunst noch weyßheyt, nicht yn gewallt noch ehren, nicht ynn freundschaft noch gunst, ia auch nicht ynn guten wercken und heylickeyten; denn das sind eyttel trugliche, falsche, freude, die nymmer des hertzen grund rhuren noch fullen, davon man wol sagen mag: der frewet sich, unnd seyn hertz erferets nicht. Aber ynn den herrn frewen, das ist sich verlassen, rhumen, trotzen und pochen auff den herrn, als auff eynen gnedigen vater.”

⁵⁷⁷ To note some: “Gnad und Friede in Christo!” WABr 5:445; 458; 544. And many other letters shows the same thing, compiled in *Briefwechsel*.

Luther's understanding of joy characterized by the expression that the heart rejoices inwardly through faith in Christ, because the heart knows for a certainty that he is our Savior.⁵⁷⁸ For Luther there is not only a strong connection between faith and joy, but also, as he indicates in his personal seal, "faith gives joy."⁵⁷⁹ Joy is perceived as the consequence of faith in Christ; so that the feeling of real joy in this world is visible and possible because of faith in the Word.⁵⁸⁰ Luther says that where there is faith, it is impossible for joy not to be.⁵⁸¹ Here Luther underlines the importance of persisting in the true faith to be able to give thanks to God in a world full of sin; he takes a passages from the Lord's statement to Nicodemus, that is, to emphasize that salvation comes only from faith in Christ, and such a message should make the whole world jump and dance for joy.⁵⁸² Only faith in Christ, not self, makes you rejoice and you may rejoice in the Lord, you who trust in the Lord.⁵⁸³ The central focus of joy is faith, and so we see that in the world of despair, only faith in Christ gives joy to the soul.

Luther sees joy and Christ as one entity, and therefore if Christ is present, there would be no sorrow and vice versa. He describes joy as somewhat likened to the voice of the Bridegroom and the bride, i.e., with joyful thoughts about Christ, happy songs, praise, with which godly people arouse and refresh one another.⁵⁸⁴ God is repelled by sorrow of spirit; he hates sorrowful teaching and thoughts and words, and he takes pleasure in happiness. In Cant 2:9, Luther comments that the bride complains that the Bridegroom has concealed himself behind a wall and is looking through lattices, thus, "no one can be sorrowful when God is present, therefore sorrow is an indication that God has departed from us and has forsaken us for a time."⁵⁸⁵ This implies that if Christ, the Bridegroom, is present, joy is present. As Christ

⁵⁷⁸ WA 40.2:117, 33-118, 13, "Ubi hoc gaudium non carnis, sed Spiritus est, ibi cor intus laetatur per fidem in Christum, quia certo statuit, eum esse Salvatorem."

⁵⁷⁹ WABr 5:445, "Daß der Glaube Freude."

⁵⁸⁰ WA 43:138, 26-29, "Huius gaudii sensum non possumus attingere, hactenus enim invisibilia et impossibilia fuerant, quae Abraham crediderat, nunc visibilia sunt et maxime possibilia, nobis in exemplum, ut discamus nullum esse solidum gaudium in hoc mundo praeter illud, quod verbum creditum adfert."

⁵⁸¹ WA 20:762, 27-28, "Impossibile est, ubi est fides, ut non sit ibi etiam pax et gaudium."

⁵⁸² WA 47:104, 3-9, "Recht habt ihr gehortt, wie der herr Nicodemo und der gantzen welt geprediget hat, das Gott seinen Sohn in die welt gesanth hat, nicht das die Welt verdammet werde, sondern selig wurde, und das solchs durch den glauben geschehe, den wer gleubett an in, der kompt nicht in das Gerichte. Das ist nun eine solche Predigt, die billich solle alle Zwitteracht auffheben und uns einig machen, das wir Gott darfur tag und nacht dancken, und die gantze welt in freuden und sprungen gienge."

⁵⁸³ WA 18:490, 35-37, "Frewet euch des herrn, yhr gerechten, und feyt frölich. Das ist, die yhr ynn Gott trawet, mugt euch auch ynn Gott frewen, die yhr ynn euch nicht trawet novh frewet."

⁵⁸⁴ WA 40.2:117, 24-26, "Est vox sponsi et sponsae, hoc est, iucundae cogitationes de Christo, salubres exhortationes, laeta carmina, laudes, gratiarum actiones, quibus sese mutuo adhortantur, exercent et exhilarant pii."

⁵⁸⁵ WA 42:553, 39-554, 1, "Nemo enim vere tristatur, nisi deserente Deo. Sicut e contra, Deo praesente, nemo potest tristis esse. Tristitia igitur signum est, discessisse Deum a nobis, et nos ad tempus deseruisse."

is a God of joy,⁵⁸⁶ therefore he takes pleasure in happiness, and where he is truly seen, there must be full and perfect joy.⁵⁸⁷ Luther's understanding of joy in relation to faith in Christ is that it expresses itself in two ways:

First, it must be expressed in serving neighbors. He states that joy has to do with God and serving one's neighbor; when we are not envious of his goods but wish him joy in them as though they were our own and praise the gifts of God that he has.⁵⁸⁸ From faith in Christ flows love and joy in the Lord, and from love a cheerful, willing, free life that serves our neighbor without charge.⁵⁸⁹ For Luther, Christians cannot live in himself, instead he must live in Christ and in his neighbor, that is, he lives in Christ through faith, and in his neighbor through love.⁵⁹⁰ Moreover a genuine Christian liberty demands service of the neighbor with a cheerful heart.⁵⁹¹ To illustrate, Luther remarks that faith is loving the neighbor joyfully in love. He offers the example of the shepherds at Jesus' birth who demonstrate their love by leaving their sheep and by proceeding, not to the high and mighty lords in Jerusalem, but to the lowly people in the stable; they are willing to serve and do what was expected of them; thus, a Christian should forget himself and be concerned with the neighbor, and this can only happen because of faith and love.⁵⁹² For Luther the expression of joy flows out from faith and it must be expressed in love in service of the neighbor.

⁵⁸⁶ WATr 1: no. 522, 19-21, "Christus est deus laetitiae, sicut textus saepe dicit: Exultamini, laetamini etc. Das ist Christus."

⁵⁸⁷ WA 40.1:47, 28-29, "Sed ubi vere videtur Christus, ibi necesse est gaudium plenum et perfectum in Domino adesse."

⁵⁸⁸ WA 2:593, 27-28, "In proximo vero, quando illius bonis non invidemus, sed congratulamur tanquam nostris propriis, laudantes dona dei in illo."

⁵⁸⁹ StA2:299, 14-16, "Sih also fleusset auß dem glauben die lieb vn(d) lust zu gott / vnd ausz der lieb / ein frey / willig / frolich leben(n) dem nehsten zu diene(n) vmbsonst."

⁵⁹⁰ WA 7:69, 12-15, "Christianum hominem non vivere in seipso, sed in Christo et proximo suo, aut Christianum non esse, in Christo per fidem, in proximo per charitatem: per fidem sursum rapitur supra se in deum, rursum per charitatem labitur infra se in proximum."

⁵⁹¹ WA 12:332, 15-17, "Das die rechtschaffene Christliche freyheyr foddert, nemlich, dem nehsten dienen von frölichem gemüt, und unangesehen, das es gepotten ist, wie die warhafftigen Christen thun."

⁵⁹² WA 10.1/1:134, 7-135, 4, "Das vierd ist liebe tzum nehsten und seynß selbs vorachtung; das beweyßen die hirtten, das sie yhr schaff lassen und gehen hynn, nit tzu den hohen und grossen herrnn tzu Hierusalem, nit tzu den radts herrnn tzu Bethlehem, sondernn tzu dem armen hewfflin ym stall, ertzeygen und hallten sich tzu nydrigen, on tzweyffell willig und bereytt, tzu dienen und thun, was von yhn begerd wurd. Wer der glaub nit da geweßen, sie wurden nit ßo von den schafften gangen unnd das yhre haben ligen lassen, tzuuor ßo es yhn die engel nit gepotten hatten; denn sie thetten es auß freyem willen und eygem radt, wie der text sagt: sihe haben mitteynander davon gerecht und sind eylends kommen, ßo doch der Engel yhn nichts befallh, nit vormanet, nicht ried, sondernn tzeygt yhn nur an, was sie findenn wurden, ließ ynn yhrem freyen willen, ob sie gehen und suchen wollten. Alßo thut die liebe auch, die hatt keyn gepot, sie thut von yhr selb alle ding, eylet und seumet nit, ist yhr gnug, das yhr nur tzeygt wirt, sie darff und leydet keynen treyber. Ach davon were viel tzusagen! Alßo sollt eyn Christlich leben gehen freywillig ynn der liebe, seyn selb und des seynen vorgessen, nur auff unnd tzu dem nehsten gedencken unnd eylen."

Second, this character of joy also expresses itself outwardly by “words and actions.”⁵⁹³ Luther gives an example of the relation between the feeling of joy and faith, and how they were expressed joyfully through a few ‘inexpressible’ words and deeds by the shepherds in Luke 2:15. If they had not believed the angel, they would not have gone to Bethlehem; in fact, they would have done none of the things reported of them in this gospel. This feeling of joy appears in the words that we gladly speak and hear about the things that faith in the heart has received. Here the shepherds chatter with one another joyously and pleasantly about that which they had heard and believed. The joy of the spirit overflows with happy words, and they are not unnecessary; they are too few, and it cannot pour out as much as it would like to.⁵⁹⁴ As the psalmist writes, “My heart utters a good word” (Ps 44:1), as if he were saying, “I would gladly say it, but I cannot; it is greater than what I can express, so that my speaking is hardly a hiccup.” Hence the psalmist says, “My mouth will spring out your righteousness” (Ps 51:15), that is, “Proclaim, sing, and speak with rejoicing and jumping.” And, “My lips will foam forth praise” (Ps 119:171), just as a boiling pot wells and bubbles forth. Then they follow this praise with deeds. Here the shepherds do not only speak, they also go. Furthermore, the shepherds did not only come and see, but they also preached what they heard about this child, not only before Mary and Joseph but also before everybody, so as to benefit others. Therefore, this is the highest work in the Christian life, as the shepherds could witness in words publicly because they are full of faith and joy, and they cheerfully were fools before men for God’s sake.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹³ WA 40.2:116, 14, “Et foris hoc gaudium verbis et gestibus ostendit.”

⁵⁹⁴ WA 10.1/1:135, 12-136, 9, “Wilche sich ertzeygt ynn den wortten, das man gernn davon redet und höret, das der glawbe ym hertzen hat empfangen. Alßo hie die hirtten schwetzen mitteynander frolich und freuntlich von dem, das sie gehörrt und gleubt hatten, und machen fast viel wort, alß wollten sie unnutz schwetzen; sie haben nit gnug, das sie sagen: last uns gehen gen Bethlehem und sehen das wort, das da geschehen ist, thun dazu und sagen: Wilchs gott gethan hatt unnd unß kund gethan; ists nit eyn ubrig geschwetz, das sie sagen: das da geschehen ist, das gott gethan hatt? Hetten sie es doch wol mit kurtzen worten geredt: Alßo last unß sehen das wort, das gott alda than hat. Aber die freud des geystis geht alß ubir mit frolichen worten, und ist doch nichts ubrig, ia, noch alleß tzu wenig, unnd kunnen es nit ßo erauß schutzen, wie sie gernn wollten, wie ps 44. Sagt: Meyn hertz schluckt erauß eyynn guttis wort, alß solt er sagen: Ich wollts gern erauß sagen, ßo kan ich nit. Es ist grosser, denn ichs sagen kann, das meyn sagen kaumet eyn schlucken ist; daher kompt die rede ps 50. und an mehr ortten: Meyn tzung wirt eraußhupffenn deyn gerechtickeyt, das ist, mit freuden und sprungen davon reden, singen und sagen. Und ps 118: Meyn lippen werden dyr eyn lob eraußschewmen, gleych wie eyn siedend toffenn quillet und schewmet.”

⁵⁹⁵ WA 10.1/1:136, 20-137, 11, “Das sie frey bekennen unnd offentlich predigen das wortt, das yhn gesagt war von dem kind; wilchs ist das hohist werck ym Christlichen leben, daran man muß wagen leyb und leben, gutt und ehre; denn recht gleuwen unnd wol leben heymllich und bey yhm selbs, fichtet der böß geyst nit ßo hart an. Aber wenn man will erauß faren und dasselb außpreyten, bekennen, predigen und lobenn, auch den andernn tzu gutt, das mag er nit leyden. Drumb spricht Lucas alhie, das sie nit alleyn kommen sind und gesehen haben, ßondern haben auch vorkundigt von dem kindt, was sie gehöret hatten auff dem feld, nit alleyn fur Marien unnd Joseph, ßondernn fur yederman. Meynstu nit, das yhr viel geweßen sind, die sie fur narren unnd unsynnige leutt gehalten habenn, das sie sich unterstunden, alß grob ungelerte leyen tzu reden von Engelischem gesang unnd prediget? Wie sollt ytzt der eyner empfangen werden, ßo er fur Bapst, Bischoff unnd gelerten furbrecht solch

In sum, Luther's understanding of joy in connection with faith could be understood as serving neighbors joyfully in words and deeds, with the understanding that when the gospel is disseminated many will come to faith and thus the kingdom of Christ is increased. This means that Luther understands joy to express the inexpressible, that is, not only as a silent and invisible faith within the heart, but rather it expressed itself visibly, through words and actions, particularly in praise and then shown in deeds. This experience of joy for Luther was not primarily an internal and individual one, consisting of feelings, emotions, or thoughts rising from within, but an experience of being drawn out into something external, something much larger than the individual self. As Luther says, "In the presence of joy we see the power of faith,"⁵⁹⁶ thus faith in Christ produces a joyful witness in words and actions.

5.1.2 Joy and Forgiveness of Sins

For Luther joy and sin are constantly connected with each other. He uses David's sin of adultery as an example to show that if the mind is fully occupied with the feeling of sin, then it does not have the "fullness of joy."⁵⁹⁷ As "only a mind conscious of its sins knows grief and sorrow."⁵⁹⁸ Because we are far away from God's countenance, thus we do not have peace in our heart. Therefore believers are urged to pray for the growth of faith, and say, "Lord, turn away thy face from our sins, so that our joy may be full."⁵⁹⁹ And Luther says that David's heart is joyful when he hears about God's mercy; in the same way also our heart will rejoice because it hears that divine mercy is so great, in which forgiveness of sins has been announced to us.⁶⁰⁰ Joy is possible if the heart is freed from sins through forgiveness.

mehre, ia viel geringerß? Aber die hirtten voll glawbens unnd freud waren gernn nerrisch fur den menschen umb gottis willen."

⁵⁹⁶ WA 31.2:460, 7-8, "Ex defectu gaudii videmus defectum fidei, in illius praesentia videmus fidei efficaciam."

⁵⁹⁷ WA 40.2:418, 24-31, "Iterum clarum facit, se non de peccato adulterii tantum loqui, dicit enim: 'Omnes meas iniquitates dele.' Ostendit autem nobis hic quoque singularem experientiam, quam in hoc certamine spirituali experiuntur sancti. Quando enim animus sensu peccati plene occupatus est, tunc ne iusti quidem satis pacis habere possunt, sed manet cum auditu laetitia mixtus dolor, qui non patitur, ut tantum de auditu laetitia sumant, quantum satis est. Primicias enim habent et tanquam guttulam extremi digiti, qua refrigerantur animi, plenitudinem gaudii non habent."

⁵⁹⁸ WA 44:610, 32-33, "Rursus dolorem et tirstitiam sola mens sibi male conscia novit."

⁵⁹⁹ WA 40.2:419, 22-24, "Domine, faciem tuam a peccatis nostris et omnes iniquitates nostras dele, ut sit plena pax et plenum gaudium nostrum."

⁶⁰⁰ WA 40.2:413, 26-33, "Hanc vocem cum audit cor, tum oritur gaudium, de quo David hic loquitur. Quomodo enim non gaudeat animus, cum audit tantam divinae misericordiae esse magnitudinem, ut cum voluptate largiatur gratiam et non spectet insufficientem contritionem, sed simpliciter suam misericordiam et nostram calamitatem consideret? Hunc auditum sequitur fiducia illa, ut dicamus: Sum baptizatus, Sumpsi corpus pro me in cruce traditum, Audivi Dei vocem ex ministro vel fratre, qua mihi annunciata est remissio peccatorum."

For Luther, joy and the Trinity are also connected because only God through Christ could forgive sins and thus the Holy Spirit gives joy in order to witness to the presence of forgiveness. Luther clearly states that joy is conceived in the heart because we have the forgiveness of sins freely through Christ,⁶⁰¹ “the forgiveness of sins, which alone grants joy, to come only through the Word or only through hearing.”⁶⁰² Hearing is very important as Luther noted, because the hearing of joy so that we are not covered with the sadness brought by the feeling of sin is done away with by it.⁶⁰³ Hearing, too, that is hearing the Word or “hearing of faith”⁶⁰⁴ produces joy and hearing the gospel as well, as there is forgiveness of sins and faith by it. There is to be forgiveness of sins, then, from then on there will be nothing but joy and happiness in the heart.⁶⁰⁵ There is the Holy Spirit who “clothes our hearts with joy,”⁶⁰⁶ after hearing the gospel, that is, “a voice clothed with joy.”⁶⁰⁷ Luther says that it is only the one who hears that sins are forgiven who will have a joyful conscience,⁶⁰⁸ and this is the sweetest signal which makes our hearts rejoice.⁶⁰⁹ For Luther, joy which is received through faith in Christ and forgiveness of sins should make us to be God’s witnesses who shout for joy. He says that only man whose heart that is right with God is able to sing praises, good cheer, and shouts for joy,⁶¹⁰ as Jacob is described as a person of joyful heart after his liberation from terrors of death.⁶¹¹ In the same way also David after his sins are forgiven asks the third gift of the Holy Spirit, so that he is able to joyfully witness of God freely despite any

⁶⁰¹ WA 40.1:234, 21-23, “Haec vere sunt bona opera quae fluunt ex ista fide et hilaritate cordis concepta, quod gratis habemus remissionem peccatorum per Christum.”

⁶⁰² WA 40.2:409, 20-22, “Hoc enim simpliciter vult, quod remissio peccatorum, quae sola gaudium affert, contingat per solum verbum seu solum auditum.”

⁶⁰³ WA 40.2:419, 33-35, “Quare summa necessitas est, petere, ut Deus nos semper hoc auditu laetitia perfundere seu adspargere velit, ne obruamur iterum tristitia illa, quam sensus peccatorum affert.”

⁶⁰⁴ WA 40.1:345, 26-29, “Paulus significanter vocavit auditum fidei [non verbum fidei, quanquam parum interest]. Hoc est, tale verbum, quod tu audiens credas, Ut verbum non solum sit vox mea, sed audiatur a te et penetret in cor et a te credatur.”

⁶⁰⁵ WA 23:598, 23-31, “Auffs erst sol vergebung der sunden und der zorn Gottes aus sein, da er spricht: Ich hab uber Zion fast seer geetvert. Denn wo noch zorn ist, da ist kein friede ym hertzen, das gewissen ist blöde und verzagt, das nichts thun kan, Denn die sunde drückens noch, weil es keine vergebung fulet. Zum andern sol solche vergebunge und gnade mit der that beweiset werden, da er spricht: Ich kere mich widder zu Zion. Es sol hinfurt eitel friede und lachen, freude und wonne sein ym hertzen und das gewissen sicher und getrost ynn Gottes gnade.”

⁶⁰⁶ WA 44:612, 33-35, “Ubi enim cognovimus Deum in filio, apprehensa remissione peccatorum et spiritu sancto, qui induit corda laetitia et securitate, qua contemnimus peccatum et mortem.”

⁶⁰⁷ WA 31.2:317, 23-24, “Euangelii praedicatio est praestantissima, quia est vox quaedam induta leticia.”

⁶⁰⁸ WA 18:502, 11-14, “Bleibt uber all wircken und gute werck das blöde und erschrocken furchtsam gewissen, bis so lange du mit gnaden mich sprengest und weschest und also mir ein gut gewissen machst, das ich höre dein heimlich einrünen, ‘dir sind vergeben deine sunde.’”

⁶⁰⁹ WA 13:641, 13, “Quia redemi eos Hic est dulcissimus sibilus, quo corda exhilarantur.”

⁶¹⁰ WA 18:491, 1-4, “Denn das hertz, das richtig ist zu Gott und nicht eingekrümmet auff sich selbs odder etwas anders denn Gott, ist auff das ewige gut gegruendet und stehet, Darumb hat es uberflüssig, davon es rhumen, prachten, prangen und trotzen kan.”

⁶¹¹ WA 44:138, 33-34; 139, 2, “Iacob igitur accepta consolatione salvus et incolumis ac liberatus terroribus mortis, . . . Sic igitur describitur Iacob animo tranquillo et hilari post liberationem.”

dangers. All believers could also pray that after they received the grace of God in forgiveness of sins and then ask God for a happy mind so as not to be afraid of the devil or any danger in the world.⁶¹² Luther says that when we have been absolved from sin, then our tongue can praise God, that is, “joyfully announce and preach thy righteousness.”⁶¹³ In sum, God gives us forgiveness of sins through Christ and as a consequence the Holy Spirit grants us the gift of being a joyful witness.

5.1.3 Joy and Hope in Suffering

Then, in this relation with joy, after faith and forgiveness, Luther sees hope. He says that:

The feeling of hope, brings more abundant comfort. For my righteousness is not yet perfect or conscious. Yet I do not despair on that account; but faith shows me Christ, in whom I trust. When I have taken hold of him by faith, I struggle against the fiery darts of the devil (Eph 6:16); and through hope I am encouraged over against my consciousness of sin, since I conclude that perfect righteousness has been prepared for me in heaven.⁶¹⁴

Luther stresses that faith is our highest comfort, our most precious possession, and also a sure help against the plagues of depressive melancholia and the fiery darts of terror and anguish of the devil. Suffering is made bearable as we hope in and draw strength from Christ, who endured all for us and lends us his own strength, by which we also may endure. Faith in the suffering Christ becomes help and comfort for those who suffer depression and spiritual *Anfechtung*. For Luther, faith is nothing without hope, because hope endures and lasts in the midst of evils and conquers them.⁶¹⁵ Joy in tribulation necessarily results from faith.⁶¹⁶ In fact, because we live in this fallen world, suffering must be a part of our lives. And experiencing the feeling of joy in suffering is only possible because faith enable us to see that

⁶¹² WA 40.2:429, 22-35, “Hoc iam tertium donum Spiritus sancti est, quod sibi petit conferri. Ac sane insignis est ordo, quem Propheta sequitur, quasi dicat: Sum iam iustus gratia Dei, quia sum certus de remissione peccatorum. Deinde sum etiam sanctificatus, ambulo enim in obedientia et sanctimonia praeceptorum Domini ac quotidie augetur hoc donum spiritus. Nunc tertium restat, ut accedat magnus et fortis animus, qui hunc iustificatorem et sanctificatorem confiteatur coram mundo et nullis periculis a confessione se sinat depelli. Ideo Germanice reddimus hunc versum sic, ut appareat eum rogare ‘laetum’ et contemptorem omnium periculorum animum. Nam ‘laetitia’ hic proprie significat constantiam seu animum imperterritum, qui non mundum, non sathanam, non mortem denique metuat. Talem animum videmus in Paulo, cum laeto, exultanti et pleno spiritu dicit: ‘Quis separabit nos a dilectione Dei?’ Idem mihi David hoc loco videtur petere, ut libere confiteri possit Deum suum, contemptis omnibus periculis mundi.”

⁶¹³ WA 40.2:444, 33-36, “Cum sic coram mundo absolutus et coram te et hominibus iustificatus fuero, tunc potero lingua mea exultare, hoc est, cum gaudio annunciare et praedicare tuam iusticiam, hoc est, gratiam, qua peccata condonas et misereris.”

⁶¹⁴ WA 40.2:25, 19-23, “Sed prior de affectu sperante uberiorem affert consolationem. Iusticia enim mea nondum est perfecta ueque sensibilis, ideo tamen non despero, sed fides monstrat mihi Christum, quo confido; hoc fide apprehenso luctor cum ignitis telis diaboli et animor per spem contra sensum peccati, statuens perfectam iusticiam mihi paratam in coelo.”

⁶¹⁵ WA 40.2:27, 28-30, “Ita fides in Theologia sine spe nihil est, quia spes fert et perdurat in malis ac vincit ea.”

⁶¹⁶ WA 20:762, 28-29, “Necesse est ex fide sequi gaudium in tribulatione.”

God is the God of hope, who gives good things beyond material things, as they are hidden, joy in sadness and personal affliction, therefore by faith, our joy consists in hope.⁶¹⁷ Joy is not a superfluous feeling to comfort ourselves by, covering our sadness with happy things. But we look to future joy, the joy that is to come through true faith in Christ, and how this faith likens the gold that is tested by fire, must be proved and become pure through the adversities and sufferings which God sends us.⁶¹⁸ In this understanding, God does both as follows: he brings down to hell, and he brings back; he afflicts, and he makes glad.⁶¹⁹ Because of faith and hope, then, there is joy in the midst of suffering, thus, be of good cheer, you are prisoners of hope.⁶²⁰ Hope in suffering is possible in this fallen world, because God is the God of hope that brings joy in sadness. Then Luther brings us to see what God has done in this fallen world; Christ's suffering, that is, Christ, who, in the final and worst hour of his suffering, was aglow with his deepest love, it filled him with the greatest joy to suffer the greatest pain. For thus it is that "God is wonderful in his saints" (Ps 68:35), so that he causes them, at the very time they are suffering the greatest pains, to experience the greatest joys.⁶²¹ To have faith along with all who suffer in Christ, shows how divine strength is perfected in human weakness, and how true joy is perfected in suffering. Christ, the suffering Son of God, comforts us, not by simply ending the pain of depression but by sharing, transforming, and redeeming it in his own flesh. As the suffering is drawn into a sharing of Christ's cross, God is conforming them to the image of his only begotten Son.⁶²² Luther gave an example of joy in the midst of suffering from the lives of the martyrs:

⁶¹⁷ WA 56:522, 14, 21-26, "Breuiter itaque Est 'Deus spei', Quia largitor est spei. . . . Qui vero tristis et perturbatus est, facile et ad alios inquietus fit et turbulentus. Verum hec omnia in credendo, Quia gaudium et pax nostra non in re, Sed extra res, in spe. alioquin Deus spei non ea daret, Qui dat abscondita bona, Gaudium in tristitia et afflictione personali, pacem in tumultu et persecutione externa. Vbi si fides desit, cadet per tristitiam et persecutionem, quia defecit res, in quam presentem confiderat."

⁶¹⁸ WA 12:272, 33-34; 273, 4-9, "Datzu soll das creutz und allerley widderwertickeyt dienen, das man den falschen und rechtschaffenen glawben scheyden konde. . . . Also vergleycht hie Sanct Peter auch das golt, das durchs fewer bewert wirt, der bewerbung des glawbens durch die versuchung und leyden. Das fewer machet des golts nicht mynder, es machets aber reyn und lauter, das aller zusatz davon kompt. Also hatt Gott das creutz allen Christen auff gelegt, da durch sie gereyniget werden und wol gefegt, das der glawb lautter bleybe."

⁶¹⁹ WA 43:138, 34-35, "Utrunque enim Deus facit, ducit ad inferos et reducit, affligit et lactificat."

⁶²⁰ WA 13:630, 1, "Sed confidite: vincti estis spei, hoc est, spe salvi facti estis."

⁶²¹ WA 56:389, 8-10, "Sic enim 'mirabilis est Deus in sanctis suis,' Vt summe dolentes simul summe gaudere faciat."

⁶²² WATr 6: no. 6618, 25-30, 38-41, "Aber uns Christen ists der höchste Trost, denn wir daraus erkennen und gewiß gläuben, auch daran nicht zweifeln, daß der barmherzige Gott und Vater die arme verdammete Welt also geliebet hat, daß er seines eingebornen Sohns nicht verchonnet hat, sondern fur uns Alle dahin gegeben in den schmählichsten Tod, auf daß Alle, die an ihn gläben, nicht verloren, sondern selig werden. . . . darum von Gott nicht verworfen sind, ja daß er sie fur Anderen lieb hat, weil er sie dem Ebenbilde seines eingebornen Sohns gleich macht, und daran nicht zweifeln, weil sie mit ihm leiden, er werde sie auch wie ihn daraus erlösen."

Many martyrs went to their deaths with happy hearts and laughing as though they were going to a happy festival or dance. The saintly martyrs approach their suffering cheerfully and in this way gain eternal joy.⁶²³ Therefore, we rejoice that we have been counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the name of Christ. They not only boldly and confidently conquered the devil through their deaths, but were also cheerful with all their hearts, just as if they had been drunk with great joy.⁶²⁴ And Luther uses the example of St Agatha who, while being led to imprisonment and torture, was cheerful and said that she felt as though she were being escorted to a dance. She regards torment and death as no different than a wedding and an occasion for the greatest joy.⁶²⁵ For Luther, the joy of martyrs is anchored in Christ, so that their feeling of joy is like a celebration, therefore they can restore our joy in suffering, because there is always hope that their sorrow will be turned into joy.⁶²⁶ Although joy may come through any kind of terrible event in the world, it nevertheless leads to hope, to the time when the Lord causes us to feel safe, and to rejoice always, and not to be overcome by any evil.⁶²⁷ Through faith in Christ even though we cannot see it, we begin to feel some of the imperfect joy in this world which will be perfected in heaven.⁶²⁸

⁶²³ WA 12:382, 18-23, “Also lieset man von heyligen merttern, das sie frölich zü der martter sind gangen, und damit erworben haben, das sie sich ewig frewen, Als von Sanct Agatha, das sie so froh war, da sie in gefengnis must ligen, als sollt sie zum tantz gehen. Und die Apostel giengen hyn mit frewden und danckten Gott, das sie würdig weren zü leyden umb Christus willen.”

⁶²⁴ WA 51:293, 36-39, “Die haben nicht allein keck und getrost den teuffel sampt der welt durch jren tod überwunden, sondern sind auch von hertzen guter ding da zu gewest, gleich als weren sie für grosser freude truncken.”

⁶²⁵ WA 45:639, 22-27, 37-640, 5, “Also auch von S. Agatha, welche war ein meidlin von vierzehnen oder funffzehnen jaren, und da man sie jnn kercker und zur marter füret, gieng sie dahin mit freuden und sprach, jr were nicht anders, denn als fürete man sie zum tanzte, Das sind ihe rechte tröstliche, trotziges wort gewest von einem jungen meidlin, so die marter und tod, dahin sie gefurt wird, nicht anders ansihet, denn als gehe sie zur hochzeit und höchsten freuden. . . . Sie wissen selbs nicht, das sie on jr wissen die Christen (durch marter und tod) zun ewigen freuden bringen. Das solche marter nichts anders ist denn (wie S. Agatha gefagt hat) seuberlich bey den armen genomen und gen himel (als eine braut zum tanz) gefurt, Dazu dienets, was den Christen von der welt zu leid geschicht, das Gott jren zorn umbkeret und jnen zum besten schaffet.”

⁶²⁶ WA 31.2:417, 12-15, “Christiani sunt in gemitibus, planctu. Verum tristitia vertetur in gaudium, quia iterum veniam et videbo vos, et adeo gaudebitis, ut gaudium vestrum nemo a vobis tollat.”

⁶²⁷ WA 13:567, 10-18, “Nam non cessat mundus fremere et persequi Christi membra, principes conveniunt in unum adversus dominum, ut et in psalm 2. Et tamen in illis omnibus non succumbunt Christiani, tanta est pax Christi, quae exuperant omnem sensum, ut ait Paulus, hoc est, est pax animorum, quod in monibus tribulationibus tantum abest, ut terrore vincamur, ut gloriemur etiam, sicut ait Paulus ad Rom 5. Sic non auferendo mala aut hostes sed immittendo facit tamen dominus, ut simus nos securi, ut gaudeamus semper, non vincamur ab ullo malo, utut frendat totus contra nos mundus.”

⁶²⁸ WA 12:279, 7-20, “Da heysst er die augen zü thun und sehen, was das Evangelion ist, da werden wyr lust und wonne von haben. Wyr kundens noch nicht mit leyblichen augen sehen, sondern müssens glewben, das wyr teylhafftig und mit genossen sind der gerechtickeytt, warheytt, selickeytt und aller gütter, die Gott hatt. Denn syntemal er uns Christum, seynen eynigen son, das höchste gütt geben hatt, so gibt er uns auch durch yhn alle seyne gütter, reychthumb und schetze, davon die engel ym hymel alle freud und lust haben. Das ist uns alles durchs Evangelion angepotten, und wenn wyr glewben, so müssen wyr auch darynn solche lust haben. Aber unßer lust kan nicht also volkomen werden, als der engel ist, weyl wyr auff erden leben, ytzund feheth es wol ynn uns an, das wyr ettwas davon empfinden durch den glawben, Aber ym hyme ist es so groß, das keyn menschlich hertz begreyffen kan. Wenn wyr aber dahyn komen, werden wyrs auch fulen.”

Luther's understanding of joy could be understood to mean that good Christians are joyful people. They have a longing in hope that gives comfort to the soul in this world full of suffering as God is the God of hope who can turn our sorrow into celebration. And they learned to rejoice even when there seemed little visible evidence to support it. God's gracious gift of faith resulting in hope in Christ and forgiveness of sins, not only make good Christians to be joyful, but also restore joy to the soul, and to act as witness to others.

5.2 A Theology of Music

This section examines Luther's theology of music in relation to the joyful soul from his own writings. I begin with his treatise *The Last Words of David*, the *Babst* hymnal, and his commentary on Ps 4:1.

5.2.1 *The Last Words of David*

Luther wrote this treatise in 1543, on the basis of his interpretation of 2 Sam 23:1-7.

According to Luther, these are not the last words that David spoke during his lifetime, but they are his last will and testament. A person may live a long time after this has been issued, and he may speak, do, and suffer much subsequently; it still remains intact as his testament, as his last will. In this sense these are also David's last words, that is, his soul's testament, even though he spoke many a word, performed many deeds, and suffered much after this.⁶²⁹

Luther's writings in relation to music appear in his interpretation of verse 1, "The oracle of the man who is assured of the Messiah of the God of Jacob, the sweet psalmist of Israel." He wrote:

David boasts of being "the sweet psalmist of Israel," that is, he did not keep this certain promise of the Messiah to himself nor for himself. 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 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. Thus David glories in the fact here that he has indited many exquisite, sweet, and melodious psalms about the promised Messiah, which should be sung in Israel to the praise of God and, in fact, have been sung there, in which, simultaneously, both excellent prophecy and a lofty meaning has been preached and imparted to the people of

⁶²⁹ WA 54:30, 11-18, "Solche letzte Wort meinet er, darauff er sterben und hinfaren wil, wie man spricht: Da bey ichs lassen und ewig bleiben wil. Denn es sind nicht seines lebens oder regiments letzte wort. Sondern sein Testament, und das wir Deutschen heissen seel recht, darauff einer sterben wil, das es nach seinem tode also geschehen und bleiben sol. Ultima Voluntas heisst bey den Juristen, da kan einer lange zeit nach leben, viel reden, thun und leiden, bleibt gleich wol sein Testament und letzter wille jmer fest, Also sind dis auch Davids letzte wort, das ist, seiner seelen testament, ob er darnach wol viel geredt, gethan und gelidden hat."

Israel. 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.⁶³⁰

This opening statement not only connects strongly to his understanding of gift; as gracious gift of God that must be acknowledged and shared to benefit others [chapter 3.1.2; cf. chapter 3.3]. This also relates strongly to Luther's thoughts about joy. In light of the fact that Luther in this paragraph writes three these phrases: "great delight," "joyous songs," and "happiness," this clearly reflects his theology of joy, which also, in fact, also includes witnessing of God to others. Luther begins with the opening statement that David boasts of being "the sweet psalmist of Israel." This statement also contains a witness for others by words and deeds, as a psalm is a song of praise sung to the accompaniment of stringed music; which relates to all the sermons of the sweet gospel which proclaim God's grace, honor, and praise.⁶³¹

For Luther, the notion of joy and forgiveness of sins is connected strongly, as when he writes "his great delight impels him" in relation to David himself which says that, "I will praise the Lord at all times; his praise shall ever be in my mouth" (Ps 34:1). David has good reason to say that, for sin does nothing to him, as he sings, "Even though I walk through the dark valley, I fear no misfortune, for you are with me" (Ps 23:4).⁶³² Joy can be expressed in two ways: Inwardly, as faith; then it is silent joy; joy characterized by the expression that the heart rejoices inwardly through faith in Christ.⁶³³ Faith gives a confidence in the heart, which does not doubt, but remains constant and is sure of itself, "faith is a definite assurance" [*Der*

⁶³⁰ WA 54:33, 15-29, "Zum andern rhuemet er sich: 'Lieblich mit Psalmen Jsrael.' Das ist: Er hat diese gewisse verheissung vom Messia, nicht bey sich, oder allein fur sich, behalten. 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 teilhafftig werden, Ja fur grosser freude fehet er an, tichtet schoene susse Psalmen, singet liebliche lustige Lieder, damit zu gleich Gotte froelich zu loben und zu dancken, Und auch die menschen nuetzlich zu reitzen und zu leren. Also rhuemet hie David auch, das er habe viel schoener, suesser, lieblicher Psalmen von dem verheissen Messia gemacht, die man zu lob Gott, in Jsrael singen solt, und auch gesungen hat, Darinnen zu gleich auch treffliche weissagung und hober verstand dem volck Jsrael gepredigt und gegeben ist. Und da solch tichten der Psalmen David anfieng, und in schwanck bracht, wurden dadurch viel andere erleucht und zu Propheten erweckt, die auch da zu holffen, und schoene Psalmen machten, als die kinder Korah, Heman, Assaph etc.."

⁶³¹ WA 8:6, 18-22, "Psalm heyst eyn lob lied odder eyn getichte tzum lobe, wie die poeten verß machen, die man vortzeytten ynß seyttenspiel sang, damit seyn eyttel prediget des sussen Euangelij antzeygt, daryn gottis gnad, ehre unnd lob predigt wirt, das psallirn die finger zum gesang des munds thut, das ist predigen neben der thatt und wundertzeichen."

⁶³² WA 10.1/2:173, 1-7, "Aber nicht also David ps 34:1, Ich will den herren benedeyen alletzeyt, unnd soll seyn lob allwege ynn meynem mund seyn. Des hatt er auch gut ursach; denn wer eynen gnedigen got hatt, wer will dem wehe odder leyde thun? Die sund thutt yhm nichts, der todt auch nicht, die helle auch nicht, wie David singet ps 23:4, "Und ob ich wandelln muste mitten ym finstern tal des todts, so will ich mich nicht furchten denn du bist bey myhr."

⁶³³ WA 40.2:117, 33-118, 13, "Ubi hoc gaudium non carnis, sed Spiritus est, ibi cor intus laetatur per fidem in Christum."

glaube ist eine gewisse Zuversicht].⁶³⁴ The heart knows for a certainty that God is our Savior,⁶³⁵ thus, joy is the consequence of faith.⁶³⁶ This is in fact the first important thing related to any discussion about joy. Moreover, Luther writes that 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. This suggests some action that the joyful heart could produce. The understanding is not silent joy, or unspeakable joy, but instead it has to be expressed in action, speaking and preaching of this promise and grace of God.

Luther states that his great delight impels him to compose beautiful and sweet psalms and to sing lovely and joyous songs. This means that his great joy in the heart impels David to compose beautiful and sweet psalms and to sing lovely and joyous songs. There is a connection between joy and singing or composing music. David himself had ordained singers to praise the Lord on all sorts of stringed instruments. Of 1 Chron 25:1, Luther says:

David himself wrote the songs they had to use for worshiping and praising God in his works. Hence this book is called סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים,⁶³⁷ that is, a book of praise or a book of thanks, which worship and praise God for all sorts of blessings; mingled with these there are many prophecies and promises for the pious as well as warnings against the ungodly. The priests and the Levites were ordained to sing and to accompany on stringed instruments such songs of thanks written by David.⁶³⁸

He underlines the fact that the purpose in singing is to praise and to thank God in his happiness. The important thing here is how to act toward God, that is, to “serve him with happy hearts” [*sie yhm mit frölichem dienen*].⁶³⁹ David glories in the fact that he has indited many exquisite, sweet, and melodious psalms about the promised Messiah, he composed psalms and sings for God, and he did it with a happy heart as its purpose is to glorify God. This psalm is one of the beautiful psalms and a glorious prophecy about Christ, where David

⁶³⁴ WA 54:32, 18-24, “Jch halte die Epistel Ebre. Sehe hie her auff das wort ‘Hukam,’ da sie spricht: fides est substantia, graece: hypostasis, welchs wir verdeuscht haben: ‘Der glaube ist eine gewisse zuversicht.’ Anderst kan mans einem deudschen nicht sagen, so ers verstehen sol. Denn der glaube ist und sol auch sein Ein standfest des hertzen, der nicht wancket, wackelt, bebet, zappelt, noch zweivelt, sondern fest stehet und seiner sachen gewis ist.”

⁶³⁵ WA 40:2:117, 13-14, “Quia certo statuit, eum esse Salvatorem.”

⁶³⁶ WA 20:762, 27-28, “Impossibile est, ubi est fides, ut non sit ibi etiam pax et gaudium.”

⁶³⁷ The name of the book of psalms in the Hebrew Bible.

⁶³⁸ WA 45:206, 37-207, 8-11, “Er selbs David machte die Lieder, so man singen muste, Gott zu Loben und Preisen in seinen wercken, Daher auch dis Buch den Namen hat und heisst Sepher Thehillim, das ist: ein Lobebuch oder Danckbuch. Darumb das so viel Danckpsalmen darinne sind, welche Gott Loben und Preisen für allerley wolthat, Ob schon viel Weissagung und Verheissung für die Fromen und DREWUNG wider die Gottlosen mit untergemenet sind, Die Prister und Leviten waren dazu geordnet, das sie solche Dancklieder von David gemacht, vorsingen und mit Seitenspiel klingen musten.”

⁶³⁹ WA 10.1/2:173, 27-28.

describes Christ's person and kingdom and teaches who Christ is; what kind of kingdom he has and how it is formed; where this King rules, namely, in all lands and yet in heaven; and the means by which his kingdom is founded and regulated, namely, only through the Word and faith, without sword and armor.⁶⁴⁰ Moreover, in Christ's strength all dangers and evils are to be overcome, thus, those who believe in his works may sing.⁶⁴¹

Luther continues in *The Last Words of David*, that the purpose of composing music, both the words and notes, is for the people of Israel to praise God. Many follow David's example and are prophets and some others also follow his example and compose music. Luther wrote:

When David uses the word sweet he is not thinking only of the sweetness and the charm of the psalms from a grammatical and musical point of view, of artistic and euphonious words, of melodious song and notes, of beautiful text and beautiful tune; but he is referring much more to the theology they contain, to the spiritual meaning. That renders the psalms lovely and sweet, for they are a solace to all saddened and wretched consciences, ensnared in the fear of sin, in the torture and terror of death, and in all sorts of adversity and misery. To such hearts the book of psalms is a sweet and delightful song because it sings of and proclaims the Messiah even when a person does not sing the notes but merely recites and pronounces the words.⁶⁴²

Here, he not only is concerned with the sweetness and the charm of the psalms, but also with the theology they contain. This means that he is concerned with both the "good and pleasing" aspect of music. Music contains theology or a spiritual meaning and is sweet; the first meaning is highlighted in preaching Christ through singing [chapter 3.2.5]. The second meaning in fact refers to the meaning of theology itself, expressed in his commentary on John 14:9 that the true theology and recognition of God are in the crucified Christ,⁶⁴³ and true theology is practical, and its foundation is Christ, whose death is appropriated to us through

⁶⁴⁰ WA 45:207, 13-18, "Der Psalm ist der schönen Psalmen einer und ein herrliche Weissagung von Christo, Darinne David beschreibet Christus Person und Königreich und leret, wer Christus sey, was er für ein Königreich habe, wie dasselb gestalt sey, wo dieser König regiere, Nemlich in allen Landen und doch im Himmel, und wodurch sein Reich gestiftet und angerichtet werde, Nemlich allein durchs Wort und Glauben, on Schwert und Harnisch."

⁶⁴¹ WA 40.2:488, 16-17, "In huius virtute vincenda omnia pericula et mala. Qui haec ita credunt, ad hos dicitur his Psalmus, ut eum discant et canant."

⁶⁴² WA 54:33, 30-39, "Denn er meineth nicht allein die lieblichkeit und sussigkeit der Psalmen, nach der Grammatica und Musica, da die wort zierlich und kuenstlich gestellet sind, und der gesang oder dohn suesse und lieblich lautet, das da heisst, Schoener text und Schoene noten. Sondern viel mehr nach der Theologia, nach dem geistlichen verstand, Da sind die Psalmen recht lieblich und suesse, Denn sie troestlich allen betrubten, elenden gewissen sind, die in der sunden angst, und todes marter und furcht, und allerley not und jamer stecken. Solchen hertzen ist der Psalter, weil er den Messia singet und predigt, ein suesser, troestlicher, lieblicher gesang, wenn man gleich die blossen wort, on noten daher lieset oder saget."

⁶⁴³ WA 1:362, 15-19, "Sic Iohan 14. Cum Philippus iuxta Theologiam gloriae diceret: Ostende nobis Patrem, Mox Christus retraxit et in seipsum reduxit eius volatilem cogitatum querendi Deum alibi, dicens: Philippe, qui videt me, videt et patrem meum. Ergo in Christo crucifixo est vera Theologia et cognitio Dei."

faith.⁶⁴⁴ The best way to describe Luther's theology is by reflecting on his seal, the Luther rose, in which he sees a compendium of his theology:

There is first to be a cross, black [and placed] in a heart, which should be of its natural color, so that I myself would be reminded that faith in the Crucified saves us. For if one believes from the heart he will be justified. Even though it is a black cross, [which] mortifies and [which] also should hurt us, yet it leaves the heart in its [natural] color [and] does not ruin nature; that is, [the cross] does not kill but keeps [man] alive. For the just man lives by faith, but by faith in the Crucified One. Such a heart is to be in the midst of a white rose, to symbolize that faith gives joy, comfort, and peace; in a word it places the believer into a white joyful rose; for [this faith] does not give peace and joy as the world gives and, therefore, the rose is to be white and not red, for white is the color of the spirits and of all the angels. Such a rose is to be in a sky-blue field, [symbolizing] that such joy in the Spirit and in faith is beginning of the future heavenly joy; it is already a part [of faith], and is grasped through hope, even though not yet manifest. And around this field is a golden ring, [symbolizing] that in heaven such blessedness lasts forever and has no end, and in addition is precious beyond all joy and goods, just as gold is the most valuable and precious metal.⁶⁴⁵

Luther's focus is on the Crucified One, that is, who suffered on the cross, and only having faith in him could give real joy. Luther's theology as reflected in his seal is like a journey of faith, it begins with the cross of Christ and faith in the idea that the Crucified saves, then comes joy, comfort, and peace which implies forgiveness of sins, and hope in future heavenly joy. It is about having a joyful soul in this suffering world which needs faith in the crucified Christ, forgiveness of sins, and hope in suffering. Luther's compendium of theology connected strongly to his theology of the cross, he says that he who does not know Christ does not know God hidden in suffering. To illustrate, Luther compares the works of a theologian of the cross and a theologian of glory.⁶⁴⁶ His theological understanding of his seal is in fact connected to what he says in *The Last Words of David*, it is a solace to all saddened

⁶⁴⁴ WATr 1: no. 153, 16-17, "Vera theologia est practica, et fundamentum eius est Christus, cuius mors fide apprehenditur."

⁶⁴⁵ WABr 5:445, 5-18, "Das erst sollt ein Kreuz sein, schwarz im Herzen, das seine natürliche Farbe hätte, damit ich mir selbs Erinnerung gäbe, daß der Glaube an den Gekreuzigten uns selig machet. Denn so man von Herzen gläubt, wird man gerecht. Ob's nu wohl ein schwarz Kreuz ist, mortificiret und soll auch wehe tun, noch läßt es das Herz in seiner Farbe, verderbt die Natur nicht, das ist, es tötet nicht, sondern behält lebendig. Iustus enim fide vivet, sed fide crucifixi. Solch Herz aber soll mitten in einer weißen Rosen stehen, anzuzeigen, daß der Glaube Freude, Trost und Friede gibt und kurz in eine weiße fröhliche Rosen setzt, nicht wie die Welt Fried und Freude gibt, darumb soll die Rose weiß und nicht rot sein; denn weiße Farbe ist der Geister und aller Engel Farbe. Solche Rose stehet im himmelfarben Felde, daß solche Freude im Geist und Glauben ein Anfang ist der himmlischen Freude zukunstig, itzt wohl schon drinnen begriffen und durch Hoffnung gefasset, aber noch nicht offenbar." This is written in a letter to Lazarus Spengler, in Coburg, 8 July 1530. The emphasis is mine.

⁶⁴⁶ WA 1:362, 23-33, "Patet, quia dum ignorat Christum, ignorat Deum absconditum in passionibus. Ideo praefert opera passionibus et gloriam cruci, potentiam infirmitati, sapientiam stulticiae, et universaliter bonum malo. Tales sunt quos Apostolus vocat Inimicos crucis Christi. Utique quia odiunt crucem et passiones, Amant vero opera et gloriam illorum, Ac sic bonum crucis dicunt malum et malum operis dicunt bonum. At Deum non inveniri nisi in passionibus et cruce, iam dictum est. Ideo amici crucis dicunt crucem esse bonam et opera mala, quia per crucem destruuntur opera et crucifigitur Adam, qui per opera potius aedificatur. Impossibile est enim, ut non inflatur operibus suis bonis, qui non prius exinanitus et destructus est passionibus et malis, donec sciat seipsum esse nihil ey opera non sua sed Dei esse."

and wretched consciences, ensnared in the fear of sin, in the torture and terror of death, and in all sorts of adversity and misery. As for Luther, all suffering, afflictions and troubles in his soul related to his *Anfechtung*, to illustrate, he says that:

I didn't learn my theology all at once. I had to ponder over it ever more deeply, and my spiritual trials [*Anfechtungen*] were of help to me in this, for one does not learn anything without practice.⁶⁴⁷

Music contains such a theology, that is, the theology of the sweetness of the cross. Therefore Luther says that the psalm is lovely and sweet because it gives comfort to those sad and in fear of sin, death or the devil, as it sings or proclaims the Messiah. In this context, Luther found music to be a crucial tool for combating *Anfechtung* from the devil, as he wrote in a letter to Matthias Weller [chapter 2.3.2].

In *The Last Words of David*, Luther continues:

And yet the music, or the notes, which are a wonderful creation and gift of God, help materially in this, especially when the people sing along and reverently participate. In 2 Kings 3:15 we read that the spirit of prophecy was aroused in the prophet Elisha by a psaltery, on which psalms were obviously played after the manner of David. David, too, often banished the evil spirit of Saul or restrained and subdued it with his lyre, as we read in 1 Sam 16:23. 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. St Anthony also makes the comment that spiritual joy is painful to the devil.⁶⁴⁸

He mentions music specifically not concerning the words, but the notes, which are also wonderful creations and gifts of God. It has been discussed above that the notes are seen in relation with the beauty that is voice of its Creator [chapter 3.2.5]. Here, the emphasis is that the notes are a wonderful creation and gift of God in connection with the heart. Luther says that especially when the people sing along and reverently participate. He means that the notes and words must also be sung reverently, Luther underlines this "when the people sing along and reverently participate." He noted that the mouth and the heart could be in different in singing, "it is one thing to sing about God that he is gracious, merciful, and righteous; it is quite another to feel the gracious, merciful, and righteous God in the heart." This means that

⁶⁴⁷ WATr 1: no. 352, "Ich hab mein theologiam nit auff ein mal gelernt, sonder hab ymmer tieffer und tieffer grubeln müssen, da haben mich meine tentationes hin bracht, quia sine usu non potest disci."

⁶⁴⁸ WA 54:33, 39-34, 1-10, "Doch hilfft die Musica, oder noten, als ein wunderliche Creatur und gabe Gottes seer wol dazu, sonderlich wo der hauffe mit singet, [2 Kön 3, 15] und fein ernstlich zu gehet. Denn so lesen wir vom Propheten Eliseo das er durch das Psalterspiel [da man freilich Psalmen auff gespielet hat, nach der ordenung Davids] den Geist der weissagung in sich erwecket, Wie auch David mit seinem Psalter spiel offt den boesen geist Saul veriaget, oder [1 Sam 16, 17] doch hindert oder schwechet. Denn dem boesen 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] froelich ist, Davon auch S. Antonius sagt, das geistliche freude dem teuffel wehe thue."

when the tongue and the heart agree, then it is well, but if this lies in the mouth alone, and the heart is a hundred thousand miles away, then it is futile. Luther's understanding of a reverent heart is a heart that is not like the hypocrites who call God righteous, but they do not understand it.⁶⁴⁹ The notes are beneficial when they make "the songs sweet and delightful and proclaim the Messiah," if the heart is reverently participating.

Luther wrote his most often quoted function of music, which is to exorcise the devil, in the examples of David and Elisha [chapter 3.2.5]. However, there is another, different discussion that is presented in the following section of Ps 4:1. *The Last Words of David* contains Luther's thoughts about music, which emphasized a joyful soul resulting from faith and the forgiveness of sins, which are expressed in singing a sweet spiritual song with a reverent heart.

5.2.2 *Babst Hymnal*

This work was the most complete and most carefully edited hymnal to appear in Luther's lifetime, and was published by Valentin Babst in Leipzig in 1545, the year before he died. The preface was his last contribution to hymnody. However, he does not seem to have been actively involved in editing this hymnal, as the two mistakes he points out in the preface appear uncorrected in the hymnal. He wrote:

The Ps 96:1 says, "Sing to the Lord a new song. Sing to the Lord all the earth." For in the Old Covenant under the law of Moses, divine service was tedious and tiresome as the people had to offer so many and varied sacrifices of all they possessed, both in house and field. . . . Now with a heart as lazy and unwilling as this, nothing or nothing good can be sung. Heart and mind must be cheerful and willing if one is to sing.⁶⁵⁰

Luther contrasted the law and gospel, and he emphasizes "a new song" which cannot be born out from a "heart that is lazy and unwilling." Under the Old Covenant, the divine service was tedious and tiresome, and thus, the heart and mind must be "cheerful and willing" if one is to

⁶⁴⁹ WA 19:316, 33-317, 18, "Die heüchler und die gotlosen nennen Gott auch gnedig, barmhertzig und gerecht, sie verstehen es aber nicht; sie lesens wol, singsens und predigens, aber es ist ein grosser unterscheid. Es ist viel ein ander ding, von Got predigen, singen und sagen, das er gnedig, barmhertzig und gerecht sey, denn fülen ym hertzen ein gnedigen, barmhertzigen und gerechten Gott. Die frommen und gerechten habens nicht allein auff der zungen sondern ym hertzen. Es mus die zung und das hertz uber einkomen, so gehet es recht zu. Wenn aber solchs alleine ym mund ligt und das hertz wol hundert tausent meil da von ist, so ist es vergebens. Die Christen fülen und erfarens ym hertzen, das solche ding nicht plump zufallen odder komen von den menschen, sondern fület solchs ym hertzen, ist gewis und zweyffelt nicht."

⁶⁵⁰ WA 35:476, 17-26, "Der xcvi. Psalm spricht, Singet dem HERRR ein newes lied, Singet dem HERn alle welt. Es war im alten Testament unter dem Gesetz Mose, der Gottesdienst fast schwer und mühselig, da sie so viel und mancherley Opffer thun musten, von allem das sie hatten, beide, zu hause und zu felde, . . . Wo aber ein solch faul unwillig hertze ist, da kan gar nichts oder nichts guts gesungen werden. Frölich und lustig mus hertz und mut sein, wo man singen sol."

sing. In connection with this, Luther says interesting thing about Christ who helps us from the law to grace, from the synagogue to the church. Shout for joy to the God of Jacob, to the same Christ, who through the destruction of sin and the victory over death is the God of Jacob, that is, of the people who conquer through death and sin itself. And therefore, in order that you may sing aloud and shout for joy, that is, receive his [Christ] works and believe in them.⁶⁵¹ This can be seen as faith in Christ and forgiveness of sins, which result in a joyful soul that sings aloud to God; this is understood as shifting from law to grace, from being a lazy and unwilling soul to joy and willing soul. This is the offering that is pleasing to God, as his name is great among the nations, the Lord of hosts. Luther continues:

Thus there is now in the New Testament a better service of God, of which the Psalm 96:1 here says: “Sing to the Lord a new song. Sing to the Lord all the earth.” 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.⁶⁵²

Luther underlines the importance of “he who believes” and “the new and joyful testament” that is, faith and to be a new creation in Christ. He wrote, “For God has cheered our hearts and minds through his dear Son,” which means that God is merciful to us and that he gave his own Son for us to redeem us from sin, death, and the devil to become a new man in order for us to have joy. His writing, “Sing to the Lord a new song,” in fact is “only a new man can sing a new song,” as through Christ, God the Father made all things new. Then, this new song is so called not because it’s ‘new,’ but because of the new holy thing, for Scripture is holy, and it speaks of the holy.⁶⁵³ For Luther, joy is connected with the gospel, as gospel is nothing but a proclamation of God’s grace and of the forgiveness of all sins, granted to us through the

⁶⁵¹ WA 3:613, 37-614, 1, “Exultate Deo auditori nostro, id est Christo, qui adiuvat nos in novam vitam transferens de lege in gratiam: de synagoga in Ecclesiam. Iubilare deo Iacob, eidem Christo: qui per destructionem peccati et victoriam mortis est deus Iacob, id est populi supplantantis et vincentis per ipsum mortem et peccatum. Ideoque ut exultetis et iubiletis.”

⁶⁵² WA 35:477, 4-12, “Also ist nu im neuen Testament ein besser Gottes dienst, davon hie der Psalm sagt, Singet dem HERRR ein neues lied, Singet dem HERRR alle welt. 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.”

⁶⁵³ WA 3:182, 24-31, “‘Canticum novum’ non potest cantare nisi homo novus: Est autem homo novus homo gratie, homo spiritualis et interior coram Deo. Homo autem vetus est homo peccati, homo carnalis et exterior coram mundo. Novitas enim gratie est, velustas peccatum. Unde ‘Serpens antiquus’ vocatur diabolus, et Christus ‘novum quod fecit dominus super terram,’ per quem Deus pater nova fecit omnia apoc 21. Quare patet, quod hic ‘Canticum novum’ non secundum tempus dicitur, sed de novo sancto, quia Scriptura sancta est et de sancto loquitur.”

suffering of Christ.⁶⁵⁴ It has been demonstrated that joy and sin are connected to each other so that if the mind is occupied with the feeling of sin, then we do not have the fullness of joy. Our heart will rejoice when it hears the gospel, in which forgiveness of sins has been announced to me [chapter 5.1.2], then there will be joy and happiness in the heart.⁶⁵⁵

Joy and faith in Christ is something that concerns the innermost part of the human soul. Christian joy received by faith is something different, with worldly or carnal pleasures. The feeling of joy that has been received through the forgiveness of sins must make our heart rejoice and thus joyfully “glad and willing” to sing a new song more than once. For Luther, a joyful song resulted from deliverance from sin and death, thus, it is a good song that is worth singing repeatedly, so that everyone could hear it.⁶⁵⁶ What does he mean by “good song?” This has been discussed in the previous chapter [chapter 4.2.1]. Here the discussion about a good song is about the fact that God delivers them from “every evil of body and soul” that is why they sing a good song. The good song is a joyful song, therefore it is worth singing twice. This is a good song, a song of the righteous, a song of believers, which means that only those who have faith in Christ could sing it. For Luther, a good song is a song that confess God’s works, not man’s. Luther says that these words are wholly spiritual and must be heard, sung, and understood by faith.⁶⁵⁷ Likewise, joy resulting from faith in Christ and forgiveness of sins does not remain hidden inside but it bursts out in an expressive way. Despite the fact that we still live, in our flesh and blood, and with the devil at our side who always tries to make us stumble and fall. Luther describes this flesh and blood which constantly against the Spirit, even preventing the saints from praising and thanking God and rejoicing, as they really should. For we should continually be happy, dance, and sing the *Te Deum*.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁴ WA 6:374, 6-7, “Dan das Evangelium ist nit anders, den eyn vorkündigung gottlicher gnaden und vorgebung aller sund, durch Christus leyden uns geben.”

⁶⁵⁵ WA 23:598, 29-31, “Es sol hinfurt eitel friede und lachen, freude und wonne sein ym hertzen und das gewissen sicher und getrost ynn Gottes gnade.”

⁶⁵⁶ WA 31.1:145, 22-29, “Denn ein gutliedlin mag man wol zwey mal singen, So ists auch aller menschen weise, wenn sie von hertzen frölich odder lüstig sind, das sie ein wort, zwey, drey mal widder holen, und können nicht gnug dasselbige sagen, Was jhn begegnet, mus es hören, Also laut es hie auch, das die lieben heiligen so hertzlich fro und lüstig sind uber den grossen wunderwercken, so Gott an jhn thut, das er sie von sünden und tod [das ist von allem ubel, beide, leibs und seelen] erlöset, das sie fur freuden jhr lied jmer widder forme anfahen, als solten sie sagen.”

⁶⁵⁷ WA 31.1:146, 18-20, “Da ligt die kunst an, das man wisse, wie diese wort allzu mal eitel geist sind und mit dem glauben müssen gehört, gesungen und verstanden werden.”

⁶⁵⁸ WA 46:768, 2-5, “Denn fleisch und blut streitet wider den Geist allezeit und lesst die Heiligen zuweilen auch nicht beten, Gott dancken und loben noch sonst frölich sein, wie sie wol billich solten. Denn wir solten jmerdar uns frewen, tantzen, springen und singen das TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.”

Next, Luther wrote that they “gladly and willingly sing and speak” about their faith. As faith in Christ produces a joyful witness in words and actions [chapter 5.1.1]. Luther understood that “glad and willing,” are connected to one another, as to be glad does not mean willing. To do something gladly or joyfully means to do it with the feeling of joy, willingly. Luther explains that will has the force of willingness, i.e., it is a readiness to respond to God’s kindness, and a feeling of great desire to keep God’s commandments in the innermost recesses of his heart, and also give an offering that pleases God. There are three important words: First, a readiness to respond to God’s kindness that brings us to repentance.⁶⁵⁹ And this is to be expressed joyfully by believers in singing or speaking. Luther says that to sing and speak about faith in Christ is only possible for a believer, as man does not have free choice to do good, as in singing praises to God, because such man has lost its liberty and is in bondage to sin.⁶⁶⁰ Second, a delight in keeping God’s law, that is, to do his will willingly. For Luther, unbelievers “cannot will anything good” and here this means that it is impossible for sinners to have a willingness to do the will of God, or to praise God, or to do anything for his glory. The will must be cleansed, and Luther states that through the grace of God [which he promised to believers in Christ and bestows upon them] this willfulness is cleansed, so that we are free and happy toward the works of the law and seek nothing but to please God and do his will and do our work neither out of fear of punishment or self-love.⁶⁶¹ Third, a desire to please God. And only through grace is a willingness to please God possible, and only thus are believers free and happy to do God’s will. Thus “glad and willing” are connected in the sense we are joyfully willing to do the things pleasing to God, not out of fear of punishment or self-love. Through grace, doing something willingly is possible as the will is cleansed and the heart will desire to do good things willingly. All of these expressions are done spontaneously, without thinking about the advantages or disadvantages, and the purpose is only one, to please God.

⁶⁵⁹ WA 3:30, 23-33, “Igitur voluntas hic sicut voluntarium neutro genere. Sicut Ro 1. ‘Ita quod in me promptum est’ [i.e., promptitudo]. Et infra 2. ‘Ignoras quoniam benignum dei i.e., benignitas dei te ad penitentiam adducit?’ Sic ps 111. ‘Beatus vir qui timet dominum: in mandatis eius volet nimis’ [i.e., voluntarius erit valde et libentissimus]. Et ps 39. ‘deus meus volui [i.e., voluntarius fui]: Et legem tuam in medio cordis mei’ non in ore et lingua, nec in membrana cordis, sed intus in medio et intima cordis medulla. Sic ps 53. ‘Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi.’ Et ps 118. ‘Voluntaria [i.e., voluntatem] oris mei beneplacita fac, domine.’ Et ps 20. ‘Et voluntate laborum eius non fraudasti eum,’ quamvis hic pro desyderio voluntas magis quam pro voluntario capiatur.”

⁶⁶⁰ WA 18:670, 33-36, “Postquam enim concessum ac ratum est, liberum arbitrium amissa libertate cogi in servitute peccati nec posse quicquam velle boni, ego ex his verbis nihil aliud possum concipere, quam liberum arbitrium esse inanem voculam, cuius res amissa sit.”

⁶⁶¹ WA 56:235, 21-24, “Per gratiam Dei [quam credentibus in Christum promisit et largitur] sanetur ista voluntas, vt liberi simus et hilares ad opera legis, querentes non nisi Deo placere et eius voluntatem facere, non timore pene aut amore nostri operantes.”

Luther does not stop here, but he says that it never is a will, unless it proceeds to words and deeds and becomes incarnated in them, that is, makes its appearance in the physical word and deed.⁶⁶² The desire of the heart must never be hidden but it produces words and deeds. Luther states in the *Babst* hymnal that “they, who received grace, cannot be quiet about it, [that is, about the faith], but they must sing and speak to others about their faith.” That is why Luther continues that the purpose of this is to bring others to faith in Christ, as he wrote, “So that others also may come and hear it.” Music is very closely connected with the expression of Christian joy that cannot be hidden and invisible, but is the external expression of the true church. Luther says in his writings *On the Council and the Church* that the sixth sign of the holy Christian people is that they are externally recognized by prayer, public praise, and thanksgiving to God. And where you see and hear the Lord’s Prayer prayed and taught; or psalms or other spiritual songs sung, in accordance with the Word of God and the true faith, that here holy Christian people are present.⁶⁶³ The joy of the church is different from the joy of unbelievers. In this way, singing is witness, so that “others may come and hear” about Christ.

In sum, Luther’s view of music in the *Babst* hymnal mirrors the essence of his theology of joy, that is, the joy of salvation in our heart and therefore desire to sing to please God willingly, and to act as witness to others in words and deeds.

5.2.3 Psalm 4:1

This section will analyse Luther’s interpretation of Ps 4:1, which contains a description of the relation between music and the joyful soul in Elisha’s case. Here Luther describes the function of music to arouse the spirit of Elisha to prophecy:

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 פָּצְצָה properly means stimulus, incitement, challenge, and, as it were, a spur of the spirit, a goad, and an exhortation. Such were also the heroic songs and triumphal hymns of the poets, which the Greeks call ἐπινίκια [“victory songs”], as in the book of Chronicles (1 Chron 15:21). 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 פָּצְצָה, that is, as something inciting, stirring,

⁶⁶² WA 3:26, 3-6, “Verum ubi copia faciendi adest, non sufficit voluntas, immo nunquam est voluntas, nisi in verba et opera prodeat et incarnetur [i.e., in carnali verbo et opere appareat].”

⁶⁶³ WA 50:641, 20-25, “Zum sechsten erkennet man eusserlich das heilige Christliche Volck am gebet, Gott loben und danken öffentlich. Denn wo du sihest und hörest, das man das Vater unser betet und beten lernet, auch Psalmen oder Geistliche lieder singet, nach dem wort Gottes und rechtem gleuben, Item den Glauben, Zehen gebot und Catechismum treibet öffentlich, Da wisse gewis, das da ein heilig Christlich volck Gottes sey.”

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. . . And therefore we learn from these words that whoever wants to arouse himself to devotion should take up the psalms.⁶⁶⁴

In chapter 3.2.5, this same issue has been discussed regarding music as the Holy Spirit's instrument in singing psalms with accompaniment. Here the discussion will be as follows: First, the contrast between sadness and joy. Second, artistic music, and third, the musical instrument. These three will be in related to the joyful soul.

First, about the contrast between the feeling of sadness and the feeling of joy. Luther wrote a sentence in this opening that he often repeated in his writings, that is, concerning the power of music to overcome the feeling of sadness, sluggishness, and dullness from the flesh. Luther states his understanding of *Anfechtung*, that it is expressed in three temptations: The flesh, the world, and the devil. And of course, the devil who tempts us to enjoy the flesh. This expression "sad, sluggish, and dull of spirit" reflects his experience of *Anfechtung*, the hours of darkness in which the devil keeps trying to make Luther sad, despair, and at the end far from Christ [chapter 4.1].

This experience from the devil causes our heart to become what Luther called here, sad, sluggish, and dull. In relation to the feeling of sadness, or other negative conditions of the heart, Luther contrasts the works of Christ and the devil, and he emphasizes that only Christ can conquer the devil. Luther explains that it is not Christ's purpose to keep us sad, in short time he frees us from the sadness caused by the devil and comforts us; as the devil will not stop doing this terror to oppresses and distress us so severely that we must despair eternally unless we are restored by Christ.⁶⁶⁵ He contrasts the works of the devil and the works of Christ; so that we could differentiate their works through false teachers; he states that they delight in making hearts sad and melancholy, moreover the devil himself is the one making

⁶⁶⁴ WA 3:40, 15-35, "Habet enim natura Musice, excitare tristem, pigrum et stupidum animum. Sic Helizeus vocavit psalten, ut excitaretur ad prophetiam. Quare Mnazeah est proprie incitabulum, invitatorium, provocatorium ac velut calcar spiritus, stimulus et hortatorium. Qualia sunt etiam heroica poetarum carmina et triumphales cantilene, quas grece Epinicia vocant, ut libr. paralip. 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. . . . Ex istis igitur discimus, quod qui vult seipsum ad devotionem excitare, apprehendat psalmos."

⁶⁶⁵ WA 45:475, 15-21, "So wehret ers doch nicht lang, Denn er thuts nicht darumb, das du solt trawrig bleiben, sondern füret dich bald heraus und tröstet dich wider. Das wider. Das thut der teuffel niht, sondern lesst keinen stoltzen und unbusfertigen verzagt werden, oder wo er auff's letzte jnn schrecken und angst fellt [wie denn zu letzt solchen allen geschicht] so lesst er jn darinn stecken, macht des selben kein ende, treibt und drückt so hart, das er ewiglich verzweiveln mus, wo er nicht wider durch Christum auffgericht wird."

our hearts afraid, cowardly, and dejected.⁶⁶⁶ It is the work of the devil to assail us in *Anfechtung*, in doubting whether we are already in Christ or not, and finally who leaves us in sheer terror and sadness.⁶⁶⁷ But on the contrary in Christ, his disciples must experience a joyful heart, you shall have nothing but “sheer peace and joy,” thus the expression of the joy of the heart exceeds all other joy; sadness of heart surpasses all other woe.⁶⁶⁸ In Christ, such outward sadness is temporary; because one day Christ will return and give us joy in our body and heart; both physically and spiritually [*leiblich und geistlich*].⁶⁶⁹ To illustrate this temporary condition of sadness, Luther uses the example of a woman who is about to give birth.⁶⁷⁰ Luther says both inwardly and outwardly terror and fear caused by the devil to make us sad serve to strengthen our faith and make us more resolute to resist and overcome the devil; for by such *Anfechtung* we would learn to seek help and comfort in God’s Word.⁶⁷¹ In relation to sluggishness of spirit, Luther says that this feeling of smugness and dullness hinder faith from growing, and therefore we cannot do the will of God; and such a condition, Luther says, is equal to death.⁶⁷² Sluggishness, is the worst temptation, for when you start not

⁶⁶⁶ WA 45:472, 30-38, “Das sihet man auch an allen falschen lerern und Rotten geistern [als die jres Meisters, des teuffels art auch an sich haben], Die thuns und vermögens nicht, das sie jrgend ein blöd gewissen solten trösten oder frölich machen, sondern machen die hertzen nur jrr, trawrig und schweermütig, das sie daher gehen als verdustert oder wahnwitzige leute, Und achten das fur köstlich, geistlich leben, so man daher gehet jm grawen rock, den kopff henget, saur sihet und trawrig sich stellet, Das ist nichts denn des teuffels affenspiel und bethörung, der daran seine lust hat, das er die hertzen erschrocken, feig und verzagt mache.”

⁶⁶⁷ WA 45:597, 4-10, “Denn der teuffel fichtet die hertzen so hart an, sonderlich die Aposteln und jres gleichen mit den schweren geistlichen anfechtungen und machets jnen so hart und sawer, dazu so lang, das, der da hat angefangen zu glauben und jnn Christo ist, lesst sich düncken, der teuffel sey jm gar im leib, und Christus sey gar nichts jnn jm, sondern weit von jm und lasse jn hienider jnn der Helle, dem teuffel im hindern, Das er gar nichts fület denn eitel schrecken und traurigkeit im hertzen.”

⁶⁶⁸ WA 45:623, 20-23, “Das sie kein schrecken noch trawren sollen von jm haben, Sondern rechten, schönen, gewünschten frieden im hertzen, Denn soviel als an mir ist [spricht er] solt jr nichts anders haben denn eitel friede und freude.”

⁶⁶⁹ WA 45:627, 37-268, 2, “Denn solch eusserlich jamer und betrübnis, verfolgen und plagen sol nicht ewig wehren noch stets bleiben, Denn ich wil wider zu euch komen und euch erfrewen beibe, leiblich und geistlich.”

⁶⁷⁰ WA 46:75, 6-13, “Solchs zeigt er auch mit dem gleichnis von einem weibe, Welche wenn sie geberan sol, do ist das stundlin komen, darin sie mus halten, und niemand kan sagen, ob sie genesen oder bleiben sol, Und ist nichts mehr denn angst und not und der kein ende zusehen, Aber es ist umb den augenblick zu thun, da das kind zur welt kompt, Da ist so bald der angst vergessen von dem frolichen blick des newgeporn Kindes, Also gehet auch hie in diesem Christlichem wesen solch wechsel, das das betrübnis nicht sol ewig bleiben, sondern sol zur freude werden.”

⁶⁷¹ WA 45:652, 6-15, “Das man nicht sol dafür erschrecken, ob wir müssen leiden, das wir angefochten und geplagt werden, es sey jnwendig vom teuffel durch schrecken und angst, damit er die Christen gerne wolt bringen entweder zu misglauben oder verzweivelung und jnen das leben so sawr machet, das sie fur traurigkeit mochten verschmachten, Oder auswendig von der welt durch gewalt, Tyrannei, gefengnis, beraubung der güter oder auch des leiblichen lebens, Denn es mus doch alles dazu fordern und nützen, das die Christen nur stercker werden jm glawben und dest freidiger dem teuffel zu widerstehen und zu uberwinden, Denn durch solche anfechtung werden sie getrieben, trost und hülffe zu süchen jnn Gottes wort.”

⁶⁷² WA 44:270, 38-271, 3, “Hic est gemitus ille, quem vult Deus exuscitari in cordibus sanctorum, ne fiant securi et torpescant, ac pereant [...] et pigritia spiritus. Sic enim excitatur Spiritus, acuitur fides, crescit agnitio Dei, et renovatur novus homo de die in diem, et discitur, quae sit voluntas Dei bona et perfecta. So ist es dem Mann auch gangen. Nunc morietur sanctissimus vir, haec fuit novissima tentatio, quae procul dubio eum

wanting to become better, you stop being good.⁶⁷³ In sum, the feeling of sadness and sluggishness hinder us from God and his Word, it stagnates our spiritual life.

Luther stated the connection and contrast between sadness because of the world's persecution coming from the devil and the feeling of joy in the name of God. He says, "For since I am experiencing this for the sake of Christ, I shall cheerfully risk it in his name and only sing and exult joyfully in the face of the devil's raging."⁶⁷⁴ Luther gives as an example believers singing spiritual songs, saying that when the saints rejoice in the spirit and sing "the Lord is my strength and my song" (Ps 118:14), then the devil is far away, and murmuring and impatience cease.⁶⁷⁵ In the commentary Luther gives the example of Elisha who asks a musician to play and sing for him, to give him stimulus, incitement, challenge, and a spur of the spirit, a goad, and an exhortation to prophecy. Luther says in this the listless mind is sharpened and kindled, so that it may be alert and vigorous as it proceeds to the task of prophecy. The feeling of sadness is from the flesh and the devil; while the feeling of joy results from faith in Christ.

Second, concerning artistic music; when the "power of music" applied to artistic music in singing, then the effect would be more intense and sharp. For Luther, artistic music is the music which has been "corrected, develops, and refines" from natural music, such as folk songs, and to make it more complex, such as polyphonic music in which the voices weave around each other. As has been suggested, Luther wanted improvement in artistic music [chapter 3.2.6]. Luther wanted heroic songs and triumphal hymns arranged to be further developed as artistic music. This is similar to his desire that many hymns be arranged to wean singers away from carnal music. Luther says that this kind of complex and beautiful music will kindle the mind intensely and sharply.

Third, if this singing of artistic music is done with accompaniment of instruments, then the effect is even greater. Luther noted "in order that this might be done more sharply, he did it

confecit. Nam reliquam vitam transegit in summo moerore, in tenebris et umbra mortis. Talis enim vita in perpetuo et tristissimo luctu non est vita, sed mors."

⁶⁷³ WA 3:46, 39-41, "Primo quidem ne ex dilatatione iam velut certus sis et torpeas: que est pessima tentatio. Quia ubi incipis nolle fieri melior, desinis esse bonus."

⁶⁷⁴ WA 45:713, 3-13, "Das sind [sage ich] eitel tröstliche wort, den glauben zu stercken und uns darin hoffertig zu machen, das wir der welt verfolgung und has verachten und jr zu trotz ein liedlin singen wider die traurigkeit, damit sie uns wollen versencken: Liebe welt, du verfolgest nicht mich, sondern meinen Herrn Christum, Weil ich das weis, so las nur her gehen, was du kanst, Hie stehe ich jnn Gottes namen und las zürnen dich mit allen teuffeln aus der helle jnn jrem namen, Verfolgen, veriechen, ja auch tödten kanstu mich [so mein Herr Christus wil], Aber den mut und trotz soltu mir nicht nemen noch so weit bringen, das du mein hertz krenckest, Denn weil es umb Christi willengeschicht, so wil ichs auff jn getrost wagen und nur wider des teuffels toben frölich singen und jauchzen."

⁶⁷⁵ WA 44:392, 39-40, "Cum laetantur pii in spiritu et cantant: 'Fortitudo et laus mea Dominus,' tum procul abest diabolus, et cessat murmur et impacientia."

with musical instruments.” He understands that the instrument produces sounds which cannot be understood, that is, a sound that is not articulated by syllables that are intellectually significant, but only sound that is perceived by the senses.⁶⁷⁶ Here, Luther emphasizes the musical instrument as a means to influence the heart more sharply along with the accompanying singing. I would like to discuss Luther’s view of musical instruments in two aspects:

First, the invention of musical instruments is ascribed to Cain’s descendants, and they would not have been able to have invented their musical instruments without the stable environment provided by the descendants of Abel.⁶⁷⁷ Luther suggests that in the true church, that is, Adam and his descendants, they sing without the accompaniment of musical instrument.⁶⁷⁸ Although Luther never explained in detail the use of musical instruments in Adam’s descendants, his meaning is clear in that music has an important place in the worship of the “true church.” It was just a simple human voice, *a capella*, either solo or group singing, by which to praise God. The descendants of Abel continue singing *a capella* in the true worship of God, whereas the descendants of Cain use musical instruments in their improper worship of God.⁶⁷⁹ Nevertheless, up to the point where Luther suggests that instrumental worship was introduced into the true church by some of the descendants of Cain who chose to worship with the descendants of Abel, “I believe that there were some among them who went over to the true church and adopted Adam’s faith.”⁶⁸⁰ There is singing with accompaniment. Luther, again sees music, primarily, as a gift of God, not a human invention. And therefore, in his thought, the position of the musical instrument is secondary when compared to the human voice [chapter 3.2.3].

⁶⁷⁶ WA 3:276, 32-34, “Quod sicut instrumentum illud musicum, scilicet psalterium, non dat verbum, sed tantum sonum [i.e., sonum non articulatum per syllabas intellectualiter significativas, sed tantum sonum sensibiliter perceptibilem].”

⁶⁷⁷ WA 42:234, 12-24, “Posteritatem Cain ad alias artes exercendas coactam, quod terra ipsis maledicta esset: Parasse itaque victum alia ratione, alios factos pastores, alios fabros aerarios, alios Musicae dedisse operam, Ut ab Adae posteris frumentum et alia terra nata ad victum necessaria compararent. Sed si ita fame pressi essent Cainitae, cytharae et aliorum organorum musicorum in ista inopia obliti essent. Nam musicae non est locus apud famelicos et sitibundos. Quod autem Musicam invenerunt, quod aliis artibus excogitandis dederunt operam, argumento est abundasse eos omnibus, quae ad victum requiruntur. Ideo autem versos ad hanc curam nec contentos rudi victu fuisse sicut Adae posteros, quod volebant dominari, quod singularem laudem et gloriam captabant tanquam homines ingeniosi. Credo tamen, fuisse inter eos aliquot, qui transierunt ad veram Ecclesiam, et religionem Adae secuti sunt.”

⁶⁷⁸ WA 42:104, 6-10, “Si itaque Adam in innocentia perstitisset, nati liberi etiam essent facti coniuges et tum deserta mensa et cohabitatione parentum habuissent proprias arbores, sub quibus vixissent separati a parentibus. Nonnunquam venissent ad patrem Adam, cecinissent hymnum, praedicassent Deum, postea rediissent ad sua.”

⁶⁷⁹ Leaver 2007, 70.

⁶⁸⁰ WA 42:234, 23-24, “Credo tamen, fuisse inter eos aliquot, qui transierunt ad veram Ecclesiam, et religionem Adae secuti sunt.”

Second, Luther's view of the harp [string instruments closely related to lyre and he uses the terms "lyre" and "harp" interchangeably], and psaltery, as these two instruments are used in David and Elisha's case. Luther says that the devil is exorcised through David's lyre playing [chapter 3.2.5].⁶⁸¹ And in 2 Kings 3:15 we read that the spirit of prophecy was aroused in the prophet Elisha by a psaltery.⁶⁸² In his commentary on Ps 33, Luther wrote that the harp is Christ himself according to his human nature, who was stretched on the cross for us like a string on the harp. This thought derived from the story of David's lyre, and singing with harp accompaniment means to think about Christ and his suffering. Luther says, "To confess with the harp means to think about the acts and sufferings of Christ according to the flesh, for such meditation has its own resonance from below, from humanity to divinity."⁶⁸³ For Luther, Christ is also our psaltery by reason of the fact that he is God incarnate, and the harp because he is man deified. Therefore, to play on such a psaltery and harp is done, first, intentionally, by pondering and concerning oneself with the works and sufferings of Christ, which is the sweetest song for God and all the angels of God. Second, in reality, by faith in Christ, like him to do heavenly deeds and suffer earthly evils, so that the flesh is the harp in the sufferings of Christ and the spirit is the psaltery in good works.⁶⁸⁴

In sum, Luther says that artistic music itself already would kindle the mind intensely and sharply, because he understood the notes as a wonderful gift of God in creation that sound praise to its Creator. Then if the musical instrument helps singing, it would be more desirable. As for Luther, the use and function of the instrument is only to praise God. He says that God is to be praised by Christians, and he is praised today with many musical instruments, and it is more appropriate to take the instruments in a mystical sense, so that God alone, and not man, can be praised by them.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸¹ There are two types of string instruments used in Old Testament times: lyre [*kinnor*] and harp [*nebal*], which were very close related. David soothes Saul with a *kinnor*. Begbie 2007, 62.

⁶⁸² WA 54:34, 2-4, "Denn so lesen wir vom Propheten Eliseo 4. Re 3., das er durch das Psalterspiel [da man freilich Psalmen auff gespielet hat, nach der ordenung Davids]."

⁶⁸³ WA 3:181, 29-31, "Sic Cythara confiteri est meditari in actionibus et passionibus Christi secundum carnem, quia talis meditatio ab infra habet resonantiam, ab humanitate ad divinitatem."

⁶⁸⁴ WA 3:319, 28-320, 4, "Christus est psalterium nostrum et cithara nostra: psalterium propter actiones, cithara propter passiones eius secundum Augustinum. Nam sicut psalterium desursum habet sonum suum, ita operationes Christi et virtutes miraculorum desursum virtute divinitatis in eo habitantis veniebant. Passiones autem ab infra ex humanitate ex infirmitate carnis in ipso veniebant, sicut sonus cithare ab infra. Quare psalterium ipse ex hoc, quia ipse est deus incarnatus, et cithara, quia est homo deificatus, ut sic dicamus. Et hinc patet, quare iste liber potissimum psalterium, quia de incarnatione dei et passione Christi est frequentissimus. Cetera vide supra ps 32. Sic ergo psallere in tali psalterio et cithara fit primo intentionaliter: meditando et exercendo in operibus et passionibus Christi, quod est deo suavissimum canticum et omnibus angelis Dei. Secundo realiter in fide Christi, similiter opera facere coelestia et pati mala terrestria, ut sit caro cythara in passionibus Christi et spiritus psalterium in operibus bonis."

⁶⁸⁵ WA 3:181, 25-26, "Tamen aptius est, ut mystice intelligantur, ut scilicet solus deus in illis laudari possit et non homo."

5.3 Music Creates a Joyful Soul

In this section I will examine the relation between Luther's understanding of joy (5.1) and his thoughts about music (5.2). Luther states that music creates a joyful soul; what is the feature in music that makes him say so? To answer this question, I will present Luther's thoughts on joy in relation to music based on the texts in his hymn *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn*. The discussion of this hymn is important to understand the connection between Luther's theology of joy and his understanding of music.

Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn

The song is written in ten stanzas, and the theme is depicted as the struggles and victories of every believer, and this song takes its material from Luther's innermost experiences.⁶⁸⁶ It is known as *Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice*, and was one of Luther's earliest hymns. It probably originally circulated as a no longer extant Wittenberg broadsheet, since there was an Augsburg broadsheet issued in 1524 that must have been a reprint of a Wittenberg original. In the Nuremberg *Achtliederbuch* (1524), the small booklet containing eight hymns reprinted from pre-existing broadsheets, the year 1523 appears at the end of the text, indicating that it was written toward the end of the year when Luther and his colleagues were authoring what was to become the basic corpus of Lutheran hymnody. The confessional nature of the hymn in epitomizing the essence of evangelical faith and life is reflected in the various headings given to the hymn during Luther's lifetime.⁶⁸⁷

As a confession of faith this hymn stands alongside Luther's great Reformation writings that deal with the doctrine of justification and the distinction between law and gospel. It is a hymnic expression of Pauline theology and is, in a sense, a commentary of the first eight chapters of Romans. Following the opening imperatives, stanza 1 picks up the theme of Rom 1:16-17; the next two stanzas 2-3, summarize the content of Rom 1:18 through 3:20, and the whole of chapter 7; stanzas 4-6 focus on the primary substance of Rom 3:21 through to the end of chapter 6; and the remaining four stanzas 7-10, crystalize Paul's teaching in Rom 8. Stanzas 1-3 discuss the meaning of redemption achieved by Christ's merits, instead of our own works. Stanzas 4-5, God the Father loved and planned redemption. Stanzas 6-8, God the

⁶⁸⁶ LW 53:217.

⁶⁸⁷ Leaver 2007, 163-64.

Son accomplished it. And finally stanzas 9-10, God the Holy Spirit applies it.⁶⁸⁸ The texts of the first stanza contain the perspective of the whole song, which is explicated in the remaining stanzas. Luther based his theology in stanza 1, on Rom 1:16-17, in which he found the grace of God through faith, then it suggests the connection with his experience of *Anfechtung*, that he himself suffered because of fear of God's judgment. In the following discussion, I will argue that this song in fact reflects Luther's experience of *Anfechtung* and his expression of a joyful soul.

I will begin by presenting the texts from stanza 1:

Dear Christians, let us now rejoice [*Nun frewt euch lieben Christen gmeyn,*] / And dance in joyous measure [*und last uns frolich springen,*] / That of good cheer and with one voice [*Das wyr getrost und all ynn eyn,*] / We sing in love and pleasure [*Mit lust und liebe singen,*] / Of what to us our God hath shown [*Was Gott an uns gewendet hat*] / And the sweet wonder he hath done [*Und seyne susse wunder that,*] / Full dearly hath he wrought it [*Gar thewr hatt ers erworben.*]⁶⁸⁹

In stanza 1:1, Luther begins the song with the most important text, "Dear Christians, let us now rejoice." In fact, the text is central for the whole song, it is the theme of the song, the rest of the stanzas are just an explanation of this sentence. The sentence is full of expressions of joy, reflecting Luther's theology of joy. The first important thing for Luther in true joy is faith, as there is a strong connection between faith and joy [chapter 5.1]. This command to rejoice is not based on a theology of glory, but on the theology of the cross. The victory Christ has won over all suffering required for him to be humiliated and to occupy the lowest place in creation for us. Therefore, faith in the crucified Christ leads to the response of rejoicing. It shows us a miracle in the act of God's salvation, which God did for us. For this understanding, let us now rejoice. Joyful singing is not just for good singers, or a good choir, or professional musicians to sing and play, but it is for us who believe in Christ. Let all Christians be happy that salvation has been given so that the soul leaps for joy, as only Christians could sing this joyful song with a joyful soul. But for Luther, true faith also must be expressed in serving neighbors with words and deeds [chapter 5.1.1], and therefore, this is what Luther states in the last stanza, 10:1-3, "What have I done and what have I've said, / Shall be thy doing and teaching, / so that God's kingdom maybe spread" [*Damit das reych Gotts werd gemert*].⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁸ Leaver 2007, 162-63.

⁶⁸⁹ WA 35:422, 24-423, 5. LW 53:219.

⁶⁹⁰ WA 35:425, 20.

The first stanza can be seen as a call to Christians to “dance and sing.”⁶⁹¹ Luther says in stanza 1:2, “And dance in joyous measure.” What is the meaning of dance here? This must be seen in the context of salvation, so it is as an expression of a new heart that has joy because of salvation through faith in Christ. In Luther’s understanding of David, who danced with his whole heart, but not in full heart [chapter 4.2.1] implies the spirit of devotion that is expressed in moderation of bodily movement [moderation should also be applied to the voice, see chapter 6.1.1; cf. chapter 4.2.1]. It is commonly understood, mistakenly, that if one singing a victorious song with the heart, this means that one must also move excitedly. In his letter to Senfl, Luther did write that “those, however, who are not moved [by music] I believe are definitely like stumps [of wood] and blocks of stone.” [chapter 4.2.1]. This understanding of “moved by music” puts dancing in perspective, and does not mean to move excitedly, especially in the context of singing in the church. Being affected by music is not just indicative of virtuous living, without inner turmoil set aright by the Holy Spirit, but is indicative of being properly human.⁶⁹² To remain unaffected by music’s power is to be deaf and unresponsive like an animal or inanimate object. For Luther, to dance implies that there must be moderation of bodily movement, especially in singing in the church. He gives the example of pupils when they sing in church and ask people to follow their example in which the pupils will kneel or fold their hands whenever the name of Jesus Christ is mentioned, or whatever other Christian discipline and gestures they may exercise.⁶⁹³ A quiet and disciplined disposition in the pupil’s heart when singing in church is far better and cannot be equated in principle with the expression of bodily movement like dancing while singing in church. Moderation in this sense could mean to control bodily movement as also to control the volume of sound in singing [chapter 4.2.1]. If Luther’s principle of moderation in devotion is properly understood, then the joyful soul in relation to “dance-like singing” in the church could be expressed as ‘meditative’ dancing in the soul as salvation has been received. Furthermore, in Luther’s time, the congregation dancing in worship was unthinkable, so this could be simply a poetic expression by Luther. This “dance” is an expression of hope, in the sense that the joyful character of dance is connected with hope in grief in those who have been saved. He says that while we are weeping in our deepest grief, we will dance; for our

⁶⁹¹ Brecht 1990, 97.

⁶⁹² Crockford 2017, 49.

⁶⁹³ WA 50:619, 11-15, “Wenn sie niderknien und die hende falten, so der Schulmeister mit dem stecken klopfft unter dem gesang . . . Wenn sie die hütlin abzihen oder die knie beugen, so offt man den namen Ihesus Christus nennet, Und was sie derselben Christlichen zucht und geberden mehr uben.”

sadness will cease and turn into joy.⁶⁹⁴ Luther explains in the last stanza 1:7, “Full dearly hath he wrought it,” which means we are dearly bought by his blood. As stated in 1 Cor 6:20, “For you were bought with a price,” means “only the blood of Christ that was shed makes the conscience clean through faith in the Word of Christ.”⁶⁹⁵ As a song of faith, it surely brings comfort and helps against the fiery darts of the devil in *Anfechtung* [chapter 5.1.3], that is not only to deliver the feeling of joy to the soul, but also to restore joy in the soul when it has suffered, as faith and forgiveness give hope in suffering [chapter 5.1.3; cf. chapter 5.3]. Thus for Luther, dance is an expression of faith and it must be understood as dancing in the soul as one has been saved by Christ.

Therefore, while the first stanza shows that the song is the song of faith, it is also a song which reflects the forgiveness of sins, as shown in stanza 2:

Forlorn and lost in death I lay [*Dem teuffel ich gefangen lag,*] / A captive to the devil [*Im tod war ich verloren,*] / My sin lay heavy, night and day, [*Meyn sund mich quelet nacht und tag,*] / For I was born evil [*Darynn ich war geporen.*] / I fell but deeper for my strife [*Ich fiel auch ymer tieffer dreyn,*] / There was no good in all my life [*Es war keyn gutts am leben meyn,*] / For sin had all possessed me [*Die sund hat mich besessen.*]⁶⁹⁶

Stanzas 2:6-7 bring us to reality, “There was no good in me, the sin had possessed me.”

Luther brings first the atmosphere of the darkness of sin and disaster it brings in ourselves, before we could see and grasp the light of joy in salvation. A horrible vision in these texts personifying the power of the devil, using words like; lost, captive, possessed, are images of absolute bondage. Luther brings us back to the beginning of the human Fall, in which we all were cursed and forced to live in suffering throughout our life. In fact, as sinners, all of us experience ourselves as prisoners, as Luther says in stanza 2:2, “Captive to the devil” [*Im tod war ich verloren*]. The condition of human lostness is summed up by Luther in three words: Sin, death, and the devil. Luther wrote sin because humans prefer to live without God, and against him, and our desire is to be like God himself, the original sin, which makes us keep sinning and far away from God. And every one of us must die as a wage of sin. And the devil as the tempter brings us to *Anfechtung*: Unbelief, hatred, and despair [chapter 4.1]. Therefore we need the forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ so as to receive joy in our soul.

Luther’s *Anfechtung* is also reflected in this song as shown in stanza 3:

⁶⁹⁴ WA 46:70, 29-33, “Ich euch leren, nemlich, Das ewer traurigkeit sol sich wenden und woder zur freude werden. Diese Traurigkeit, weinen und heulen mus man verstehen jnn dem hohen stand, nemlich der Aposteln und Christen, nicht nach eusserlichen und weltlichen sachen.”

⁶⁹⁵ WA 57.3:209, 2-3, “Ecce sic per fidem verbi Christi mundat conscientiam sanguis Christi non nisi effusus.”

⁶⁹⁶ WA 35:423, 6-12. LW 53:219.

My good works they were worthless quite [*Meyn gutte werck die golten nicht,*] / A mock was all my merit [*Es war mit yhn verdorben,*] / My will hated God's judging light [*Der frey will hasset Gotts gericht,*] / To all good dead and buried [*Er war zum gutt erstorben.*] / E'en to despair me anguish bore [*Die angst mich zuerzweyffeln treyb,*] / That nought but death lay me before [*Das nichts den sterben bey mir bleyb,*] / To hell I fast was sinking [*Zur hellen must ich sincken.*]⁶⁹⁷

The two things, dance and song, described in stanza 1:2, seem to be difficult to do as described in stanzas 2 and 3 are concerned. But the hymn is supposed to be a joyful song, composed in a tone of joy. These two stanzas are the real condition of human beings, so how are we to sing them? The texts are rather dark and sad. But at the same time, the fact is that the joyful atmosphere in the first stanza must influence the mood of the whole song.

Stanzas 2 and 3 could be seen as a testimony to Luther's *Anfechtungen* in his own effort to find salvation.⁶⁹⁸ What described here in these two stanzas, is in fact what Luther experienced himself in the prison of sin. Sin as here described has power over man, and it points to a single evil, the devil. Those texts in these two stanzas [in fact nearly the whole song], are taken almost directly from the Scripture. For instance, the first text of stanza 2:1, "Forlorn and lost in death I lay" is taken from Rom 7:23, "But I see in my members another law waging war against the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members. Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" Then, its second text in stanza 2:2, "A captive to the devil," relates to Heb 2:14, "Since therefore the children share in flesh and blood, he himself likewise partook of the same things, that through death he might destroy the one who has the power of death, that is, the devil." Then the next text in stanza 2:4, "For I was born evil," is taken from Ps 51:5, "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." And "There was no good in all my life," taken from Ps 38:4, "There is no soundness in my flesh because of your indignation; there is no health in my bones because of my sin." The third stanza also draws on the same, the text in stanza 3:1, "My good works they were worthless quite," taken from Rom 3:20, "For by works of the law no human being will be justified in his sight, since through the law comes knowledge of sin." Then the text in stanza 3:3, "My will hated God's judging light," is clearly proof of Luther's experience of *Anfechtung*, as it brought him to despair as reflected in the last text of stanza 3:7, "To hell I fast was sinking." These two stanzas serve as the background to Luther's text in the first stanza "Let us now rejoice,"

⁶⁹⁷ WA 35:423, 13-424, 3. LW 53:219.

⁶⁹⁸ Brecht 1990, 99.

which can be understood as the “joyful singing of faith.” It is good that the song does not end here; as it leads to despair [cf. Stanza 3:7, “To hell I was sinking”].

The fourth stanza offers the reason why Christians must dance and sing. Luther shows the answer in the following texts in stanza 1:5; it is because of what to us our God hath shown. The text brings us to see God’s mercy, in the crucified Christ, which God himself has shown. It is the purpose of God’s action, that is, for us to have faith in him, as the joy is a fruit and result of faith [chapter 5.1]. Luther expresses this in stanza 4:

Then God was sorry on his throne [*Da iamert Gott ynn ewigkeyt*] / To see such torment rend me [*Meyn ellend uber massen,*] / His tender mercy he thought on [*Er dacht an seyn barmhertzigkeyt,*] / His good help he would send me [*Er wolt mir helffen lassen.*] / He turned to me his father-heart [*Er wand zu myr das vater hertz,*] / Ah! Then was his no easy part [*Es war bey yhm furwar keyn schertz,*] / For of his best it cost him [*Er lies sein bestes kosten.*]⁶⁹⁹

The quotation above links to Luther’s stanza 1:1, “Let us now rejoice,” as the text in the fourth stanza is the reaction of God toward the misery of man. Luther will have thought here of the story of the prodigal son, whose return home is a joy to the father who lamented him (Luke 15:20). God’s complaint is expressed in stanza 4:2, “To see such torment rend me.” And the text in stanza 4:5 refers to God’s personal grace, “He turned to me his father-heart,” to express the celebration that the father in the parable puts the best dress, a ring and a fattened calf on the homecoming one (Luke 15:22). In the background stands the central passage, John 3:16, “For God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life.” And Rom 8:32, “He who did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all, how will he not also with him graciously give us all things?”⁷⁰⁰

For us to sing and rejoice is the congratulation for recognizing and possessing great glory under the disgraceful cross. This genuine joy is incredible when we realize that with our weakness we are overcoming the tremendous power of the devil.⁷⁰¹ Luther realizes that only with this faith in Christ to liberate him from the torturous effort to be saved. Luther realized that he cannot rely on his own works; in stanza 3:1-2 he wrote, “My good works they were worthless quite, / a mock was all my merit” [*Meyn gutte werck die golten nicht, / Es war mit yhn verdorben*].⁷⁰² Luther wrote in his *Disputatio Heidelbergae habita* (1518) that “man

⁶⁹⁹ WA 35:424, 4-10. LW 53:219.

⁷⁰⁰ Brecht 1990, 100.

⁷⁰¹ WA 13:574, 23-26, “Congratulatio est pro cognitione et possessione tantae gloriae sub cruce et ignominia, nam incredibile est hoc tam syncerum gaudium, quando sentimus vincere nos infirmitate nostra immensam potentiam satanae.”

⁷⁰² WA 35:423, 13-14.

cannot rely on his free will, free will, after the Fall, has power to do good only in a passive capacity, but it can always do evil in an active capacity.”⁷⁰³ If it happens then all will lost, so now the decisive turning point is the dialogue between God the Father and the Son of God in the form of the Logos who declares himself ready to rescue the lost.⁷⁰⁴ As it is expressed in stanzas 5:1 and 5:4, to his dear Son he said, “Go down, / Be the poor man’s salvation” [*Er sprach zu seynem lieben son, / Und sey das heyl dem armen*].⁷⁰⁵ In order to be saved, here first of all there must be faith in Christ, then God’s mercy. That is what God wants to show us so that we might rejoice in the face of distress, and joyfully sing this song of hope.

Luther’s answer on why Christians must dance and sing is expressed in the text of stanza 1:6, “And the sweet wonder he hath done.” In Luther’s text, the Son does not answer the Father; he silently and wordlessly puts his obedience into action.⁷⁰⁶ As Luther expresses it in stanza 6:

The Son he heard obediently [*Der son dem vater ghorsam ward,*] / And by a maiden mother [*Er kam zu myr auff erden,*] / Pure, tender – down he came to me [*Von eyner iungkfraw reyn und zart,*] / For he would be my brother [*Er solt meyn bruder werden,*] / Secret he bore his strength enorm [*Gar heymlich furt er seyn gewalt,*] / He went about in my poor form [*Er gieng ynn meynen armen gstalt,*] / For he would catch the devil [*Den teuffel wollt er fangen.*]⁷⁰⁷

This text is the story of the incarnation of God the Son, as shown in stanza 6:3, “Pure and tender – down he came to me.”⁷⁰⁸ The manifestation of Christ described in Phil 2:6-8, “Who though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped.” There comes the obedience motive “the Son he heard obediently,” as the concealment, not the alienation, of the divine power and the “poor figure” derived from the “servant figure” in stanza 5:6, “Strangle for him that cruel death.” This related to the messianic promise through the birth of the virgin, in Isa 7:14, “Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.” As this is also reflected in stanza 6:3’s, “Pure and tender,” then the incarnation is described as a visit to a wretched man, down he came to me. And the purpose of his incarnation is expressed in stanza 6:7, “To catch the devil.” This idea is found in Eph 4:8, “Therefore it says, ‘When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men.’” The devil also did

⁷⁰³ WA 1:354, 7-8, “Liberum arbitrium post peccatum potest in bonum potentia subiectiva, in malum vero activa semper.”

⁷⁰⁴ Rössler 2016, 239.

⁷⁰⁵ WA 35:424, 11, 14.

⁷⁰⁶ Rössler 2016, 241.

⁷⁰⁷ WA 35:424, 18-24. LW 53:220.

⁷⁰⁸ Brandt 2013, 4.

catch the wretched man, as expressed in stanza 2:2, “A captive to the devil.”⁷⁰⁹ For Luther, we have hope as God has done his sweet wonder in Christ. He states that Christ is even in the final and worst hour of his suffering which led him to be aglow with the deepest love, it filled him with the greatest joy to suffer the greatest pain [chapter 5.1.3]. “So that I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the love of God, who is in Christ Jesus, our Lord” (Rom 8:33-34). Luther states that “he would catch the devil” [*Der teuffel wolllt er fangen.*]⁷¹⁰

In fact, in Luther’s theology of joy, besides the forgiveness of sins, and the connection with hope in suffering [chapter 5.1.3]. Hope because we see what God has shown us in Christ, and this is how Luther expresses it in stanza 7:

He said to me, Hold thou by me [*Er sprach zu myr, halt dich an mich,*] / Thy matters I will settle [*Es soll dyr itzt gelingen,*] / I give myself all up for thee [*Ich geb mich selber gantz fur dich,*] / And I will fight thy battle [*Da will ich fur dich ringen,*] / For I am thine, and thou art mine [*Denn ich byn deyn und bist meyn,*] / And my place also shall be thine [*Und wo ich bleyb da soltu feyn,*] / The enemy shall not part us [*Uns soll der feind nicht scheyden.*]⁷¹¹

The texts are a declaration of love, expressed in stanza 7:5, like fiancées talk to each other, “For I am thine, and thou art mine.” Imagining a bride and bridegroom saying this and singing a love song.⁷¹² Luther wrote a new song, a love song of hope in God, “For I am yours and you are mine.” This joyous exchange that unites the soul with Christ as the bride with her bridegroom. Then it follows that Christ and the soul become one body, become Christ’s own.

As the devotion of Christ to man in stanza 7:3, “I give myself all up for thee,” which is also reflected in Gal 2:10, “Only, they asked us to remember the poor, the very thing I was eager to do.” Luther first understood this struggle as a vicarious struggle, in stanza 7:4. In concrete terms, he had in mind Gethsemane (Luke 22:44), “And it came to pass that he wrestled to death.” Nowhere else in the New Testament is this expression of Christ used. The communion of Christ and man expressed in stanza 7:5, “For I am thine, and thou art mine,” which also links to John 17:23, “I in them and you in me, that they may become perfectly one, so that the world may know that you sent me and loved them even as you loved me.” And there in stanza 7:6, “And my place also shall be thine,” this expression of future communion with Christ. Stanza 7:7 expresses the idea that the devil will no longer be able to separate this fellowship. As in Rom 8:38, “For I am sure neither death nor life, nor angels nor rulers, nor things present nor things to come, nor powers, nor height nor depth, nor anything

⁷⁰⁹ Brecht 1990, 101.

⁷¹⁰ WA 35:424, 24.

⁷¹¹ WA 35:424, 25-425, 3. LW 53:220.

⁷¹² Brandt 2013, 5.

else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.”⁷¹³ We have hope as stanza 7:4, “I will fight thy battle,” gives us an assurance of hope and a promise for wretched people.

There is a connection in Luther’s theology of joy and hope in suffering. Luther gives the example of the martyrs who went to their deaths with happiness as if they were going to a happy dance [chapter 5.1.3]. Luther wrote this text *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmeyn* for his second hymn, and the first hymn is for the two Augustinian martyrs, Henrich Voes and Johann Esch, who were burnt at the market in Brussels on the first of July 1523. They professed Luther’s teaching and steadfastly refused to give up their Reformation beliefs. The two men were the first blood witnesses of the Reformation. Luther wrote a hymn about them, *A New Song Here Shall Be Begun*. It is focused on steadfastness in confessing their faith. They are true *confessores*.⁷¹⁴ Luther’s soul was deeply stirred by this event and by what he regarded as the direct inward assaults of the devil. In the same year, Luther wrote the second hymn, *Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice*, though without any specific occasion in mind, but the hymn reflects the experience of faith in that year, and the promise of the Spirit that “nothing will separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus.” Luther sees the faith of the two martyrs and relates their martyrdom to a dance, as it contains hope. Luther wants to discuss joy in this, and remind Christians that we have faith in Christ, so that we have hope that in this world full of suffering, we will also then in that world sing “Christians, let us now rejoice.”

After receiving the forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ’s work on the cross, Luther writes in the first stanza, “We sing in love and pleasure.” But as a believer, although our sins have been forgiven, sometimes we still find it difficult to sing a song to praise God, because our flesh are weak, Luther states that “we should ask God to give us a joyful heart, in order that the wretched and corrupt flesh did not hamper us to sing, so that we may exult and be glad.”⁷¹⁵ For Luther, proof that we love God is to sing praise to him to proclaim his grace and love to others, but the problem is not only inwardly, in the flesh, but also outwardly, in the conditions of life that sometimes sweet things become bitter. Luther is aware that love is not only found in sweetness and delight, but also in the greatest sorrow and bitterness; and

⁷¹³ Brecht 1990, 102.

⁷¹⁴ Østrem 2003, 30.

⁷¹⁵ WA 42:659, 19-24, “Rogandus igitur Deus est, ut det laetum cor ad promissiones tam laetas, ut nos quoque cum sancto Abraha exultemus ac gaudeamus, quia sumus Dei populus: sed o miseram carnem et perditam, quae reprimat spiritum, et non permittit, ut rideamus. Quod si caro nos non impediret, et essemus veri Christiani, nihil possemus canere per omnem vitam, quam Magnificat, Confitemini: Gloria in excelsis Deo: Sanctus Sanctus, etc..”

moreover, it rejoices and delights in bitterness and sorrow.⁷¹⁶ The preaching of the gospel which proclaims God's grace, honor, and praise, also occurs in music, which contains spiritual meanings that are sweet [chapter 5.2.1]. Luther wrote, "That of good cheer and with one voice," reflects joy after the forgiveness of sins, or as he expresses it, "but here comes a voice, a clear and complete and universal proclamation which purely and joyously and most loudly declares that the warfare is ended and that sins are forgiven."⁷¹⁷ Luther says that in the kingdom of the Word, Christ speaks not through weapons or laws, but through the voice of pastors, stewards, and apostles, in which all these lift up their voice and sing praises at the same time. In the understanding that in the conditions of our weakness, or the conditions of sweet or bitter, for Luther, as Christians we do not wail and mutter sad words, but we sing praises and lift up our voices, that is, harmoniously, with one mouth, we proclaim the joyful news.⁷¹⁸

Luther's theology of joy could not be separated with his experience of *Anfechtung* [chapter 5.1], and music had been a great joy for him. Luther wrote the draft *On Music* in 1530, and he says then that music is a gift of God, for it drives away the devil and creates a joyful soul. The opening sentence is, "I love music." And the draft was written when Luther was in Coburg at the Diet of Augsburg [chapter 2.3.3]. The question is as follows: what makes music so important for Luther in a time of political unrest and rising problems in the church? It has been said that during Luther's time in Wartburg castle, he often took solace in the songs of birds [chapter 2.2.2]. The birdsong is a gift of God, the song gives freedom and joy, like the voice of the gospel and it is a gift of God [chapter 3.2.2]. The reason is the joy that he gets from music. He says that music and theology are of the same importance, since both could drive away the devil [chapter 4.2.1]. And both come to people through the ear, penetrating into innermost man, and it becomes a good news, liberating our soul from the devil's captive. Theology in music becomes word and sound in hymn singing, the voice of the gospel, which gives liberation and salvation from sin, death and hell. This feeling of rejoice in stanza 1 is connected to Luther's background, where he grew up hearing and thinking about the devil [chapter 4.1]. The shadow of the past, Luther expresses in stanza 2:1-

⁷¹⁶ WA 56:389, 3-5, "Quod charitas non est tantum in suavitate et delectatione, Sed in maxima tristitia et amaritudine, Immo Gaudet et suavis est in amaritudine et tristitia."

⁷¹⁷ WA 31.2:265, 17-19, "Hic autem venit 'Vox' i.e., clara et perfecta et universalis praedicatio, quae integre et gaudenter et summo clamore finitam miliciam et condonacionem peccatorum."

⁷¹⁸ WA 31.2:425, 11-18, "Iterum pergit describere hoc regnum esse regnum verbi, ut bene attendamus discernere hoc regnum de aliis regnis, quae armis, legibus gubernantur. 'Vox speculatorum' i.e., Regnum Christi tale est, quod loquitur per vocem ipsorum pastorum. Economorum, apostolorum. Omnes illi levant vocem, laudant simul, Speculatores, Episcopi dicuntur ministri verbi, qui docentes nihil habent officii quam vocem, qua voce non ululant et murmurant tristia, sed laudant et levant vocem i.e., concorditer uno ore praedicant leta."

2, is “Forlorn and lost in death I lay, a captive to the devil” [*Dem teuffel ich gefangen lag, Im tod war ich verloren*]. Luther was very aware of the devil’s existence and his assaults as he never takes holiday. He writes that the devil is almost everywhere in his works, and as he grew older the more he is attacked. In his experience of *Anfechtung*, sometimes the devil attacks his body and weakens him through illness, for instance, his constipation [chapter 4.1]. For Luther the affliction of our physical body was not simply mental afflictions, but concrete attacks by the devil himself. Thus the afflicted person ought not to isolate himself, but seek cheerful company, and rejoice in the Lord.⁷¹⁹ In Luther’s thinking, joy in the presence of the devil, the spirit of sadness contrasts with the spirit of joy [chapter 5.1]. And the opening sentence also relates to his experience in the monastery which make him hate God as he is so cruel, as he kept failing to please God. Therefore, after God opened his mind to the doctrine of justification through faith alone in Romans 1:16-17, then the grace of God came to him, he received the joy in his heart as if “the gate of Paradise open for him,” and he wanted to tell all Christians to rejoice. Luther maintains that only the righteous can rejoice in the Lord [chapter 5.1]. And the righteous means “us” as a community of believers, if Luther already experiences joy, then he wants it to become our experience also, as all the faithful people always and everywhere experience together in the present moment, the joy of being Christians.

In sum, the texts reflect past experience of Luther, where he was raised, and how he struggled with his faith in the monastery. The song is in fact a “journey of faith” for Luther, especially to have joy in his *Anfechtung*. He expresses this in the opening of the first stanza, “Dear Christians, let us now rejoice,” then follows “dance and sing” in love and pleasure as God has shown us what he has done through Christ. Thus together with Luther, we may now say, “Be bold and courageous; rise up and sing praises; be of good cheer, like a man who shouts for joy.”⁷²⁰ Then sing *Dear Christian, Let Us Now Rejoice*.

5.4 Conclusion

⁷¹⁹ WATr 1: no. 122, 48, 3-8, “Qui autem vexantur Spiritu tristitiae, inquit, debent summe cavere, ne sint soli, denn Gott hat societatem ecclesiae geschafft et fraternitatem gebotten, sicut scriptura dicit: Vae homini soli, quia cum ceciderit etc.. Tristitia quoque cordis coram Deo non placet ei, quanquam tristitiam coram mundo permittat, sed non vult, das ich gegen yhm betrübt sol sein, sicut dicit: Nolo mortem peccatoris; item: Laetamini in Domino.”

⁷²⁰ WA 18:490, 40-491, 1, “Seit keck und mutig, erhebt euch, rümet euch, habt ein wol gefallen, gleich wie ein mensch, der rhümet.”

This section demonstrates Luther's theology of joy through faith in Christ in the light of his *Anfechtung*. Luther's belief that music creates a joyful soul does not mean that his life is not full of suffering. The hymn teaches to rejoice in faith rather than simply define it dogmatically. As the hymn is grounded in Scripture, so that it functions not only as an expression of the response of faith to be sung, but also as theological songs, declaring the substance of the faith. Luther found joy in his personal conflict through hearing music and he expressed that in this hymn.

6 Luther and His Contemporaries

It has been discussed in chapter 2 how Luther's thoughts about music shaped and fitted into his milieu, whereas in the medieval period, music was slowly developing towards a more practical understanding [chapter 2.1]. It was, in short, a shifting from the cosmological to the anthropological. In other words, the shift from *musica speculativa* to *musica practica*, which emphasizes the power of music to move the heart and mind. It has long been recognized that major changes in the arts have frequently been intertwined with shifts in theological outlook. The convulsions that came to be known as the European Reformation of the sixteenth century coincided with this rethinking of music.⁷²¹

In the previous chapters [3, 4, and 5], Luther's thoughts on music in relation to his theology of gift, the devil, and joy have been explored. This chapter examines the uniqueness of Luther's thoughts on music compared with his contemporaries both Catholic and reformed. Most notably are as follows: Matthäus Herbenus (*ca.* 1445-1538), Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), Desiderius Erasmus (*ca.* 1467-1536), Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), Andreas Karlstadt (1486-1541), Thomas Müntzer (*ca.* 1489-1525), Martin Bucer (1491-1551), Bernardino Cirillo (*ca.* 1500-1575), John Calvin (1509-1564), John Jewel (1522-1571), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (*ca.* 1525-1594), Jakob Andreae (1528-1590), and, finally, some ideas about music from the Council of Trent (1545-1563) will also be presented. Since music was seen as a gift of God to most reformers, in the following sections I will focus on the comparison of musical views in relation to exorcism and joy.

6.1 Music and Exorcism

In this section, I will focus on various views of music in relation with the devil. The first subsection deals with the power of music (6.1.1), discusses the moderation in musical practice, and secular music in relation to the devil. Finally the second subsection is devoted to the Lutheran view of music and the devil (6.1.2).

⁷²¹ Begbie 2007, 97. When the sixteenth century began, European society was disrupted by the Reformation, as central and western Europe entered a century of religious wars. Sacred music was profoundly affected. Leaders of the Reformation sought to involve worshipers more directly, through congregational singing and services presented in the vernacular rather than in Latin. These changes led to new types of religious music in each branch of Protestantism, including the chorale and chorale settings in the Lutheran church, and the metrical psalm in the Calvinist church, and the anthem and service in the Anglican church. The Catholic church also undertook reforms, but continued to use Gregorian chant and polyphonic masses and motets in styles that extended the tradition of Josquin's generation. Bulkholder 2006, 210.

6.1.1 Music's Power over the Devil

In the Bible, the reformers could find stories relating the powerful effects of music on the human soul. This attitude is in connection with the contemporaneous shift in the concept of music from *scientia* to *ars*, and from mathematics to the humanities. For instance, in 1 Sam 16:23, when David soothes Saul by casting out the evil spirit through the sound of his music, and in 2 Kings 3:15, where music arouses the spirit of prophecy in Elisha.⁷²² Like de Muris and his followers, including Nicolaus Wollick, Adam von Fulda, and Johannes Tinctoris, Luther cited 1 Sam 16:23. However where his predecessors focus on the power of music to soothe the human temperament, and to recall Saul from his demented fury, Luther regarded it in much more fundamental terms. Luther uses the story of David soothing Saul's spirit as evidence of the ability of music to drive away the devil. While de Muris and Adam von Fulda had identified Saul's evil spirit as demonic, neither interpreted the story in terms of music driving away the devil.⁷²³ In this case, Luther's view is very close to Tinctoris's [chapter 2.1].

Comparing Luther's viewpoint to his contemporaries Calvin and Zwingli, the basis for music as a means for exorcism is 1 Sam 16:23. Luther says in his *Encomium musices* that, "The Holy Spirit himself honors her [music] as an instrument for his proper work . . . She serves to cast out satan, the instigator of all sins, as is shown in Saul, the king of Israel" [chapter 3.2.5]. For Luther, God purposely using music to proclaim the Word, not by any other means, is his instrument against the devil [chapter 4.2.1]. The difference between Luther and Calvin on their treatment of 1 Sam 16, where David plays his lyre to comfort Saul and the evil spirit would depart from him is that Luther speaks boldly of music as a tool of God's work and states explicitly that through music the devil has been driven away while Calvin believes that music has a secret and almost incredible power to arouse hearts in one way or another.⁷²⁴ Therefore, he is more cautious about linking God and music; music did indeed soothe Saul, but God drove out the spirit in his sovereign freedom. Saul, he says, had indeed been refreshed by David's lyre, but it was really by the Lord's doing and inspiring that power within.⁷²⁵ Zwingli, even more keenly than Calvin, distances God from the music; David's lyre playing alone protected Saul from the evil spirit. For Zwingli, music is a thoroughly secular matter, he was never in doubt as to the immense psychological and emotional power of music, he sees the capacity to respond to it as basic to human nature.

⁷²² Bertoglio 2017, 169.

⁷²³ Loewe 2013, 36-37.

⁷²⁴ Brown 2006, 14. cf. "Calvin seems to suggest that music has an almost magical power to transport good and evil manners into the listeners." Fuhrmann 2015, 103.

⁷²⁵ Begbie 2007, 109.

Zwingli sees music's power purely in psychological and physical rather than theological terms. For him, music is in the last resort a matter of pleasure and recreation.⁷²⁶

Though Calvin shares much with Luther and draws on the Platonic tradition's stress on music's emotional dangers, he develops particular lines of argument and draws them into a theology that gives a prominent place to the written and spoken word. The difference with Luther is that he approaches music more as a human practice [which linked very closely to the realm of words], making it especially vulnerable to the effects of the Fall, than as one integrally embedded in the order of the physical world.⁷²⁷ Calvin is more apprehensive about the negative power of music than Luther. He has emphasized the vulnerability of all human activity to sin, through which music can become a mixed benefit. Calvin is more cautious about the negative power of music, though he recognizes the positive power of music. For him the positive power of music is not for exorcising the devil like Luther, but to arouse and stimulate the heart to praise God, even though this thought of "arousing emotions in the heart" is also similar to Luther, as in the case of Elisha [chapter 3.2.5]. Calvin acknowledges the power of music through singing the psalms, for the reason that they "stimulate us to raise our hearts to God and arouse us to an ardour in invoking as well as in exalting with praises, the glory of his name." He recognizes the power of music to arouse and stimulate emotions of the heart. For Calvin saw that "certainly at present the prayers of the faithful are so cold that we should be greatly ashamed and confused." The remedy of music is needed for such an emotionally impoverished worship, specifically singing the psalms.⁷²⁸ But he was also very careful in endorsing singing. His reason for caution is that "music has a secret and incredible power to move our hearts. When evil words are accompanied by music, they penetrate more deeply and the poison enters as wine through a funnel into a vat."⁷²⁹ Calvin has the same kind of ambivalence as Augustine with regards to the power of music. Augustine analysed his multiple, ambiguous responses to singing in the tenth book of the *Confessions*, "Yet when it happens that I am more moved by the singing than by what is sung, I confess myself to have sinned than wickedly, and then I would rather not have heard the singing."⁷³⁰ Calvin argues that we should not put melodies of any sort to bad use. Here Calvin is seemingly influenced by Plato, where Plato has Socrates warn against allowing sweet, soft, and melancholy music

⁷²⁶ Begbie 2007, 117-18.

⁷²⁷ Begbie 2007, 111.

⁷²⁸ Garside 1979, 27.

⁷²⁹ Smith 2012, 475.

⁷³⁰ Augustine, quoted from Garside 1979, 20. Augustine recalls what Athanasius had done, requiring "the readers of the psalm to use so slight an inflection of the voice that it was more like speaking than singing," and this he sometimes thought was "the safer way." Garside 1979, 20.

to pour into man's soul through the funnel of his ears, since that can lead to dissipation and the enfeeblement of a potential warrior.⁷³¹

Zwingli and Calvin together with Augustine and Plato acknowledge the power of music, but were more cautious about the power of music [the melody] than Luther. But Luther sees the combination between the Word and the melody as a complimentary union to the intellectual and the affects [chapter 3.2.5]. For Zwingli and Calvin, God did not need to use music, for Luther, on the other hand, God purposely used music. Luther was focusing more on music and its positive power than other reformers, because it could become the instrument of the Holy Spirit to cast out the devil [chapter 3.2.5].

Moderation to Curb the Devil

As regards the discussion of music in exorcising the devil, Luther might use moderation to curb the devil in using music as his instrument. While for Calvin, considering the effects of the Fall, the singer needed to focus to the spiritual meaning of the words. Therefore, for Calvin, psalms are the words God gave us to praise him, and nothing can moderate music more effectively, nothing can better curb sin's power.⁷³² This could be interpreted to mean that Calvin's moderation is to curb the devil's power to deceive people through music. Calvin says cautiously that "our ears be not more attentive to the melody than our minds to the spiritual meaning of the words."⁷³³ For Calvin music needs to be moderated, so that people never lose sight of the words they are singing, when this moderation is maintained [*hac ergo adhibita moderatione*], it is without any doubt a most holy and salutary practice. Without such moderation, music is liable to debase and contaminate us, leading to our condemnation. So the first responsibility of the singer is "to the spiritual meaning of the words," not to the melody. Though Calvin never stated clearly what kind of songs he had in mind, nevertheless, he concludes that he rejected "such songs as have been composed only for sweetness and delight of the ear" for they "are unbecoming to the majesty of the church and cannot but displease God in the highest degree."⁷³⁴ For Calvin, moderation is more the responsibility of the musician, so that he concentrates on the spiritual meaning of the words.

While Luther, though he has a very positive view of music, nevertheless it must not be offered without moderation. The singer has to understand the word, thus he advocates the

⁷³¹ Brown 2006, 14.

⁷³² Begbie 2007, 110.

⁷³³ Garside 1979, 20.

⁷³⁴ Begbie 2007, 110.

singing of chorales for the congregation, so that it can understand the word easily [chapter 3.2.5]. As for moderation of the secular songs, he uses *contrafacta* [chapter 3.2.6]. Luther also suggests the use of moderation in the technical aspect so that the singers or musicians may control the volume as they are singing or playing the instruments; otherwise they could hinder the spirit [chapter 4.2.1]. And lastly, moderation in bodily movement is also required [chapter 5.3].

Secular Music and the Devil

It is not as though Calvin thinks that only church music can honor God. In the 1543 edition of the psalter, Calvin goes on to observe, in fact, that even singing in home and in the fields can be done to praise God and “rejoice in God,” lifting up our hearts to God. Specifically Calvin goes on to distinguish between the act of rejoicing in God and the act of rejoicing in vanity. Music can do either of those things, he suggests.⁷³⁵ They should be moderated in the manner which we have adopted, to carry “gravity and majesty” appropriate to the subject, and even in daily life should in some sense be “suitable for singing in the church.” Calvin was convinced that music, if properly moderated, can raise men up to spiritual joy; were this not possible God would not have given it to men.⁷³⁶ Calvin wished to re-establish an Apostolic practice, and to educate the laity to pray with divinely inspired words, sung in their own language. For Calvin, psalmody should eventually become the musical accompaniment for the entire lives of the faithful, replacing secular music and being sung in all daily situations. For him, singing [psalms] in moderation is praying, and besides in the congregation, it could be done in everyday life as well.

Bucer was harsher than Calvin; he classified secular love songs as devilish. He was perhaps one of the most radical of all reformers in advocating the total elimination of secular music from a Christian society, in favor of sacred songs. His view of music was perhaps indebted to the humanists and to Erasmus’ viewpoints. Clearly humanist is his belief in the importance of music for the education of children and the young. Furthermore, the influence of Plato is clear in his attitude towards music and it reveals the humanist conception of music as functional for the word and the worry that its emotional power might overcome this purpose.⁷³⁷ Bucer’s view of music is more prudent and less wholehearted than Luther’s, who sees the power of music as positive and boldly states that it is God’s instrument to drive away

⁷³⁵ Brown 2006, 13-14.

⁷³⁶ Garside 1979, 22.

⁷³⁷ Bertoglio 2017, 218.

the devil. It is also different from Luther's acceptance of secular music, in which he recognized secular music for its use, as this brings the creation of *contrafacta*, although limited in its use in church worship [chapter 2.3.3].

Luther seems never to have felt the need to justify the joy of music; be it sacred or secular. Luther could adapt the music used "at the table" and "in the homes" to religious hymns, this contamination was absolutely inconceivable for Calvin's psalmody; on the other hand, while sharing Zwingli's fear of the alluring power of music, Calvin sought to channel this capacity to the service of devotion and piety. For Calvin, music should be neither too attractive nor too complex. The responsibility for directing the power of music and making it useful for moving the heart to prayer was trusted by Calvin to words of the biblical psalms.⁷³⁸ Luther grounds music in the universal cosmic order and he also held to the notion that music embodies that order much more strongly than Calvin. Luther engaged the medieval cosmological outlook in the rational proportions of music, so as to ground his musical view in a doctrine of creation, but at the same time he also understands the affective power of music in rhetoric. He puts music between *quadrivium* and *trivium* [chapter 3.2.5]. In Luther's thinking music is a beautiful and lovely gift of God in creation which has often moved and inspired him to preach with joy. He says that, "St Augustine was afflicted with scruples of conscience whenever he discovered that he had derived pleasure from music and had been made happy thereby; he was of the opinion that such joy is unrighteous and sinful. He was a fine pious man; however, if he were living today, he would hold with us." [chapter 2.1]. "The Lutheran Reformation, proceeding from Luther's basic understanding of music as a creation and gift of God, successfully encouraged the reciprocal interaction of art music of the most highly developed kind together with simple congregational song."⁷³⁹

In sum, similarly to Calvin, Luther acknowledges the potential danger of the power of music, but he is much more interested in its thaumaturgic properties and its power against the devil, and its ability to give people joy in their hearts. Luther asserts the ethical effects of music to move the affects, "For [music is useful] whether you wish to comfort the sad, to terrify the happy, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud, to calm the passionate, or to appease those full of hate." [chapter 3.2.4]. Furthermore, "Let this [music] noble, wholesome, and cheerful creation of God be commended to you. By it you may escape shameful desires and bad company." Here, Luther acknowledges the cathartic and

⁷³⁸ Bertoglio 2017, 222-23.

⁷³⁹ Schalk 1988, 35.

psychological function of music to help us in our battle against evil. Therefore for Luther, music, not other means given by God, is the primary antidote for combating *Anfechtung*, thus in turn it gives joy to the soul; as Luther wrote to Matthias Weller, “So you too must turn to your regal . . . and sing with them until you learn how to defy the devil” [chapter 2.3.2]. Thus, for Luther, singing and playing musical instruments are both the gifts of God to defy the devil and arouse our spirit to joy to praise God.

6.1.2 Lutheran and Other Views

Besides Luther’s view, others, such as those of; John Jewel, the Bishop of Salisbury, who reported in 1560 to Vermigli what was happening in London at that time, when large crowd gathered [after the service] for the singing of hymns together, “This sadly annoys the mass-priests, and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note.”⁷⁴⁰

Luther opens the way to instrumental music as he allowed its use in the church, although he does not believe that instrumental playing itself has mystical power to defy the devil. This suggests that later Lutherans were influenced by Luther on the power of instruments. For instance, Jakob Andreae based his arguments in favor of purely instrumental music precisely on his belief in the thaumaturgic and mystical power of music, since music was inhabited by the mysterious force of God’s Holy Spirit, the blessings it conveyed did not come from its association with words, but rather from its very supernatural essence.⁷⁴¹ Andreae advocated the use of instruments [even purely instrumental music] in worship by quoting the therapeutic and thaumaturgic efficacy of David’s lyre on Saul’s spiritual illness; this demonstrated that music in itself has the power to move, regardless of its being combined with words. What really mattered to Lutherans was that purely instrumental music had a clearly distinguishable “sacred character.”⁷⁴² For Luther, this sacred character does not mean that instrumental music itself could drive away the devil [chapter 3.2.5].

For Lutherans, the connection between the devil and music was not just a theoretical statement or a dogmatic assertion but was actually observed in practice. Similarly to Luther, for Bugenhagen, “When music is embellished with holy words, it puts the devilish spirit to flight.” But the fact that this happened not only during singing, as maintained by Luther, but

⁷⁴⁰ Bertoglio 2017, 190.

⁷⁴¹ Bertoglio 2017, 194.

⁷⁴² Bertoglio 2017, 200.

more precisely, that it was a reason for congregational singing. For instance, in 1559, in the village of Platten near Joachimsthal, a girl named Anna, a daughter of the smith, was possessed and tortured by the devil, who started to speak through her. The individual and joint efforts of the local Lutheran pastors could do nothing to free her from the diabolic possession; however, when Anna was brought to a service where prayers were said and hymns were sung for her by the entire congregation, the devil was finally defeated and she was liberated. Another story, this time from Catholics, relates that a woman named Anna was possessed by the devil, and the exorcism performed by the Jesuit clergy had been unsuccessful. She was brought to the shrine of Altötting and for two days in a row litanies were devoutly performed in polyphony for her; on the second day, when they began to piously pray the litany of Our Lady all together, the demon soon began to quiver. Though in this case the ultimate deliverance from the diabolic possession was due to St Peter Canisius' prayers, which were uttered and not sung. The presence of communal singing and its importance within the ritual of exorcism should not be underplayed.⁷⁴³ Such accounts mirror important truths which are held to be matters of faith by most Christians: i.e., that evil forces exist and are adverse to humankind; that they can be defeated by God's grace through the communal prayer of the church with the help of hymn singing, which is more powerful and effective than that of any individual member of the congregation.

Summary and Evaluation of Music and Exorcism

In sum, for Luther, music serves not only as fundamental for pedagogical, catechetical, liturgical, and spiritual edification, but most importantly because it is God's given instrument to exorcise the devil [chapter 3.2.5]. Since music is a wonderful creation and a gift of God, it is natural that the devil, as a spirit of gloom, must flee from music, especially when God's Word is sung, therefore, music is a powerful means to drive away the devil, as the enemy of God [chapter 4.1]. Therefore, Luther is more open to using the power of music; even secular music could still be moderated by using *contrafacta*; as he was not as worried as Zwingli about music's potentially dilatory effects, nor did Luther assume that secular music is devilish as did Bucer. Instead, music is a wonderful gift of God as an instrument to expel the devil and arouse the dull of spirit.

⁷⁴³ Bertoglio 2017, 585.

6.2 Music and Joy

This section discusses the similarities and differences in Luther's contemporaries' view of music in relation to joy. The first subsection deals with various views of singing, combining an analysis of polyphony with the issues of intelligibility and gravity (6.2.1). The second subsection is devoted to the reformers' views of musical instruments (6.2.2).

6.2.1 Singing

The reformers had their own arguments both in favor of and against music, and in particular, singing. For Luther, singing and joy are connected very strongly, in fact, only those who have faith can and must sing [chapter 5.2.2]. But each reformer differed in their views. For instance on Paul's writing on 1 Cor 14, Erasmus, who believes that singing must be performed in the heart silently; found support for advocating "speech-like singing," whereas Luther noticed Paul's acknowledgement of music's "communicative power."⁷⁴⁴ Erasmus and Luther are really the opposite each other. And the thought of singing inwardly is also found in Zwingli.

According to Zwingli, prayer can only be held in silence.⁷⁴⁵ For him, Paul's stress on the "prayer of the heart" (Eph 5:19 and Col 3:16) did not imply merely that prayer must be heartfelt, but also that it must remain in the heart, thus virtually denying legitimacy to vocal expressions of the heart's prayerful feelings. God's praise has to be sung only in the heart, and not actually in audible singing. He considered the very act of singing as a distraction and a form of vanity, disrupting the soul's concentration and promoting a proud display of one's musical abilities.⁷⁴⁶ His argument is simple, where in Scripture has God commanded choral singing in worship? What Paul, in Eph 5:19 and Col 3:16, says is that singing takes place within our hearts, which means not with our voices, but in our hearts. In other words, internally and silently. Zwingli also says that regarding numerous verses in the Old Testament which refer to music, nowhere is it clear that singing was actually instituted by God; it is to be seen there as of human initiative, not divine. He did not even allow the unaccompanied unison singing of the psalms in the vernacular [as Luther advocated and Calvin also allowed]. In 1525 the city council of Zurich enacted the ban on singing in worship. It was then that the true stillness of worship had at last been achieved in its

⁷⁴⁴ Bertoglio 2017, 170.

⁷⁴⁵ Fuhrmann 2015, 99.

⁷⁴⁶ Bertoglio 2017, 170, 176.

entirety.⁷⁴⁷ It was not until 1598 that church singing was reinstated in Zurich.⁷⁴⁸ To Zwingli, then, true worship is private and individual, and likewise prayer; while the hypocritical liturgy is a public, external show of the Catholic church.⁷⁴⁹ Zwingli's argument is not that music carries some dangers that make it unsuitable for worship [like Calvin does]. His stance toward music has nothing to do with a prejudice against music as such. Neither has it anything to do with music being worldly or any associations with frivolity or immorality. And it certainly has nothing to do with musical illiteracy on Zwingli's part. The heart of his argument is simply that God has not authorized music in worship, and Christ's command is that worship is to be an essentially inward, individual, and private matter. Zwingli's argument is that God did not authorize music in worship, whereas Luther [and Calvin] are primarily concerned with the gracious promise of God focusing on Christ himself, and their musical ethic flows out of this center. For Zwingli the center appears to fall, as does much of Scripture, on the law of God, as a code of conduct of God's demands. Thus if God does not explicitly command something in Scripture, it cannot be allowed. There is also a streak of Platonism in Zwingli, inherited from his humanist background. This sets up some strong dualities and oppositions, with one side treated as superior to the other.⁷⁵⁰

In sum, Zwingli is different than both Luther [and Calvin]; his grounds for music are: First, music in worship is not explicitly commanded by God. Second, Christ instructed men to pray to God individually and in private (John 4:24). Third, Paul urged men, when together, to worship God and pray to him in their hearts (Col 3:16). The thinking of Zwingli is the opposite of Luther, as the result of his viewpoint is that there is to be no singing at all in worship. While Luther, on the contrary, says that God's kindness in salvation must be expressed joyfully in singing and, in that light, singing is the sign of believers. As is maintained in the Babst *Gesangbuch*, he who believes that the Son has redeemed us from sin, death, and the devil, earnestly cannot be quiet about it, but must gladly and willingly sing [chapter 5.2.2].

With regards to singing and playing instrumental music, Calvin had a positive concept of music in general. Although he sees it in a subordinate function to spoken words, and had doubt as regards the negative power of music. Stressing the spiritual nature of God, Calvin [similarly with Zwingli] fostered the heart's contemplation of transcendence, as he adopts

⁷⁴⁷ Begbie 2007, 114-15.

⁷⁴⁸ Bertoglio 2017, 215.

⁷⁴⁹ Sooy 2006, 41.

⁷⁵⁰ Begbie 2007, 115-17.

music as an appropriate accessory to prayer.⁷⁵¹ Calvin excerpted from Paul and from the tradition of the early church in order to justify his choice of allowing only unaccompanied unison psalmody in the worship services of the Genevan church.⁷⁵² He insisted that only biblical texts, especially psalms, should be sung in church [moderation]. To make it easier for congregations to sing, the solution for long verses was to recast them as metrical psalms; metric, rhymed, strophic translations of psalms in the vernacular that were set to newly composed melodies or tunes adapted from chant.⁷⁵³ [Bucer differed from Calvin in this when he admitted not just the psalms, but also hymns and songs in worship].⁷⁵⁴ But there was a decisive shift in Calvin's approach to music, which might have been influenced by Luther. It happened during Calvin's three year exile in Strasbourg, between 1538 and 1541, that he was in charge of the French community established there. He was then working both on developing his thought on music in the context of a new edition of his *Institutio* and on putting his ideas to the test by introducing to that community's religious services a group of nineteen psalms, put into verse partly by himself and partly by the poet Clément Marot.⁷⁵⁵ Prior to his exile from Geneva in 1538 Calvin's view of music was quite reserved [almost similar to Zwingli's extreme view of not allowing music in worship]. But by the time he returned in 1541, he had developed a deep commitment to and recognition of the value of music for worship. Evidence points to a German [Lutheran] congregation in Strasbourg, under the leadership of Martin Bucer, which influenced Calvin's view of music in the church because of his experience there in hearing that congregation sing.⁷⁵⁶ Calvin had quickly learned at first hand the depth of their appreciation for the singing of the psalms in their own language which gives joy to the listener:

On Sundays . . . we sing a psalm of David or some other prayer taken from the New Testament. The psalm or prayer is sung by everyone together, men as well as women with a beautiful unanimity, which is something beautiful to behold. For you must understand that each one has a music book in his hand; that is why they cannot lose touch with one another. Never did I think that it could be as pleasing and delightful as it is. For five or six days at first, as I looked upon this little company, exiled from countries everywhere for having upheld the honor of God and his gospel, I would begin to weep, not at all from sadness, but from joy at hearing them sing so heartily, and, as they sang, giving thanks to the Lord that he had led them to a place where his name is honored and

⁷⁵¹ Bertoglio 2017, 225.

⁷⁵² Bertoglio 2017, 170.

⁷⁵³ Burkholder 2006, 219.

⁷⁵⁴ Bertoglio 2017, 219.

⁷⁵⁵ Grosse 2010/1, 7.

⁷⁵⁶ Sooy 2006, 37.

glorified. No one could believe the joy which one experiences when one is singing the praises and wonders of the Lord in the mother tongue as one sings them here.⁷⁵⁷

For Calvin, living in exile in Strasbourg, the act of singing was a practice that defined community. He invokes the experience of music as an act of prayer and a mode of contemplation. Rather than unilaterally subordinating melody to text, he is acutely attentive to music's aural qualities and describes them in terms specific to the musical culture in which he lived. Music does not obscure meaning, it communicates meaning differently, and in the *Institutes*, it describes devotional experiences that text alone cannot.⁷⁵⁸ In any case, for Calvin, music could be a remedy for cold prayer, through psalm-singing. He says, "The psalm can stimulate us to raise our hearts to God and arouse us to an ardour in invoking as well as in exalting with praises, the glory of his name."⁷⁵⁹ In this manner Luther might seem to have influenced Calvin through the Strasbourg congregation towards a moderate view of music as a gift of God.⁷⁶⁰

In his 1541 *Church Order*, Calvin advocated the introduction of "church song to encourage the people to pray and praise God," and in his 1542/43 *Form of Prayer* he mentioned singing as one of the two possible forms of public prayers [the other is in words alone]. Music thus was "an incentive for us, and as it were, an organ for praising God and lifting our hearts to him."⁷⁶¹ For Calvin, music also creates joy and consolation for the soul, since he believes that music could replace worldly pleasures with a spiritual bliss which would in turn lead the soul to God, the true source of all happiness.⁷⁶² While in similar fashion Luther says that music causes man to laugh, it brings happiness to the things of the spirit, and when a man sings heartily, the spirit is within the body, playing and enjoying it greatly [chapter 3.2.5]. And for Calvin, singing psalms were a form of congregational prayer. Calvin's thought differs from Luther's, however, when he suggests that singing hymns is an

⁷⁵⁷ Les dimanches . . . on chante quelque psaulme de David on une aultre oroison prinse du nouveau testament, laquelle psaulme ou oroison se chante tous ensemble, tant homme que femme avecq un bel accord, laquelle chose est bel a veoir. Car il vous fault entendre que chascun a un livre de musicque en sa main, voila pourquoy il ne se peulvent desborder; je neuse jamais pensé qu'il eut este tant olasant et delectable comme il est. Je fust bien cinq ou six jours au commencement, quant je voioie ceste petite assemblée laquelle estant expulsée de tous pays pour avoir maintenu l'honneur de Dieu et son evangille, je commenchoie à pleurer, non point par tristesse mais de joie en les oians chanter de sy bon coeur, comme il chantent, rendant grace au Seigneur, quil luy a plut les amener en plache où son nom est honnouré et glorifié. Jamais creature ne sauroit croire la joie que on a quant on chante les louenges et merveilles du Seigneur en la langue maternelle comme on chante ichy. Quoted from Garside 1979, 18.

⁷⁵⁸ Lambert 2012, 270-71.

⁷⁵⁹ Begbie 2007, 107.

⁷⁶⁰ Sooy 2006, 37.

⁷⁶¹ Bertoglio 2017, 185.

⁷⁶² Bertoglio 2017, 191.

aim of increasing worshipers' participation through music. Singing is a *sonora praedicatio*, a preaching in sounds, in which, undergirded by pedagogical and catechetical concerns, that is, education and spiritual formation, congregations have a rich experience with the Word [chapter 3.2.5], but also at the same time, the singer could experience their own spiritual growth in faith [chapter 2.3.3].

Polyphony

In singing there was the issue of the use of polyphony, and most reformers rejected its use in the church. Zwingli, who had extreme views towards music, rejected the use of music in worship, and so obviously also included the intricacies of Latin polyphony.⁷⁶³ His attacks on the church's music were not aimed at an evangelical style of congregational hymnody but rather at Catholic polyphony and instrumental music.⁷⁶⁴ Then, Calvin associates sensual pleasure with specific genres and techniques of polyphonic composition. He states, quite clearly, that songs in four parts are not suitable for use in the church.⁷⁶⁵ However, he still allowed psalm tunes set to polyphonic for devotional use at home or in gatherings of amateur singers.

Also with regards to the issue of polyphonic music, there was Karlstadt, who rejected its use and thus created problems for Luther. Karlstadt rejected polyphony because it represented a plurality which he saw as conflicting with the ideal of absolute unity.⁷⁶⁶ In Wittenberg, in Luther's absence arose the problems fostered by Karlstadt, who wrote a theses *De cantu gregoriano disputatio* [*Disputation on Gregorian Chant*] in 1521. It is a tirade, not particularly well-organized, against all forms of liturgical music then current, not just Gregorian chant, which is dismissed as the "mumblings of the unlearned" [Thesis 31]. Chant sung in the mass and daily office "withdraws the mind from God" [Thesis 7] and is "nothing other than a noisy din" [Thesis 14]. Organs and other musical instruments are for theaters [*theatra chorearum*] and the courts of princes, not for churches [Theses 17-18]. And any "church music with a measured beat" is absolutely proscribed "as the most effective obstacle to devotions" [Thesis 16]. Karlstadt, on the one hand, sets himself against the practice of the *Allerheiligenstift*, in which Gregorian chant forms and polyphonic vocal music [with the use of instruments] were regularly heard, and, on the other hand, argues the sensibilities of

⁷⁶³ Begbie 2007, 115.

⁷⁶⁴ Bertoglio 2017, 214.

⁷⁶⁵ Lambert 2012, 278.

⁷⁶⁶ Bertoglio 2017, 186.

Luther, who continued to value both traditional chant and the more recent expressions of polyphony in worship.⁷⁶⁷ He criticized the use of instruments and elaborate polyphony,⁷⁶⁸ whose performance required the singers to concentrate on music rather than on the sung words of prayer, and whose multiplicity of voices seemed to contradict the unisonance of communal praise.⁷⁶⁹ The musicians of the *Allerheiligenstift* must have been appalled by Karlstadt's extreme negativity with regard to music. However, there was one positive proposition, "If therefore you wish music to remain in church, you should will it to be sung in unison, so that there may be one God, one baptism, one faith, and one music" [Thesis 53]. Karlstadt also dismissed all forms of church music then known – Gregorian chant in the mass, the psalm tones of the daily office, polyphony and the use of musical instruments – the only model he is left with is the vernacular strophic religious folksong.⁷⁷⁰ Karlstadt's radicalism contributed to the significant decline in students attending Wittenberg university during the time that Luther was away in the Wartburg.⁷⁷¹

Müntzer was no less radical than Karlstadt in many respects, and his view of music was more positive and nuanced. The common points between Müntzer's *Messze* and Luther's *Deutsche Messe* are in their use of the vernacular, and in their new understanding of the priesthood which reduced the role of the ordained ministers in favor of the congregation. However, there were also differences from the musical viewpoint, that is, Müntzer's chant corresponds strictly to the Gregorian model, whose text is translated and adapted to suit the melodic shape of the original song. The result was not ideal for easy memorisation or to be sung by entire congregations, as it was rather unidiomatic and lacked the rhythmic and melodic clarity and immediacy of Luther's hymns. And another important point of disagreement between Luther and Müntzer were in their focus of hymnody. Luther reproached Müntzer for neglecting a properly Christological concentration on the mystery of

⁷⁶⁷ Leaver 2007, 36. *Allerheiligenstift* [All Saints Foundation], based in the Castle Church, which served as both Frederick's court chapel and the university's church and aula. In 1520 the foundation comprised around ninety people, including the provost, canons, vicars, chaplains, musicians, singers, and choirboys, who together were responsible each year for 1,138 sung masses and 7,856 spoken masses, and who were also the custodians of Frederick's many relics. Members of *Allerheiligenstift* were among the most reactionary and resistant to Luther's theology and its implications, and many of them had a double function by also teaching in the university, where their conservatism was strongly felt. Luther was exasperated by both the reactionary views and the immoral lifestyle of many of the members of the *Allerheiligenstift*, so much so that in 1521 and again in 1523 he expressed the wish that Frederick would disband it, but the elector made no attempt to do so. Leaver 2017, 37.

⁷⁶⁸ Leaver 2007, 36.

⁷⁶⁹ Bertoglio 2017, 216.

⁷⁷⁰ Leaver 2017, 41.

⁷⁷¹ Leaver 2007, 36.

redemption realised by Jesus in favor of the presentation of his life as merely a model for those of the faithful.⁷⁷²

To limit the novelties of Karlstadt, Luther was drawn out from his seclusion in Wartburg castle and arrived in Wittenberg in February 1522 to restore orderly worship, and to denounce what he perceived to be Karlstadt's radicalism. Luther's response to the consequences of Karlstadt's teaching were first, to preach the *Invocavit* sermons in March 1522. Four main points of the sermons are relevant here: (1) reform must be orderly, not disorderly, (2) love for the weaker brother or sister must condition actions, (3) faith is free, unbound by laws, otherwise it is coercion and thus no longer faith, (4) the power is in the Word, not our own actions.⁷⁷³ And second, to write an educational manifesto *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools*, published in February 1524, in which Luther made a point of stating that education should include music.⁷⁷⁴ And later in the same year, 1524 Luther wrote a preface for Walter's *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein* that took the opportunity for an oblique sideswipe at Karlstadt's view:

And these songs were arranged in four parts to give the young – who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts – something to wean them away 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. But I would like to see all the arts, especially music, used in the service of him who gave and made them.⁷⁷⁵

Here, Luther expressed his concern over the musical education of youth using polyphonic music to wean them from carnal music,⁷⁷⁶ especially regarding the eternal parental anxiety

⁷⁷² Bertoglio 2017, 217-18.

⁷⁷³ These were Luther's 8 sermons to quell the turbulence Karlstadt created in Wittenberg on 1522. See WA 10.3:1-64. For the background see Brecht 1990, 59-66.

⁷⁷⁴ WA 15:27-53.

⁷⁷⁵ WA 35:474, 18-475, 5, "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 erzogen werden, ettwas hette, damit sie der bul lieder und fleyschlichen gesenge los werde und an derselben stat ettwas heylsames lernete, und also das guete mit lust, wie den iungen gepürt, eyngienge. Auch das ich nicht der meynung byn, das durchs Euangelion sollten alle künste zu boden geschlagen werden und vergehen, wie ettliche abergeystlichen fur geben, Sondern ich wollt alle künste, sonderlich die Musica gerne sehen ym dienst des, der sie geben und geschaffen hat."

⁷⁷⁶ When Luther came to reform the liturgy, music was a fundamental component to those reforms, and his agenda for liturgical and musical reform was rooted in the schools. Instead of abolishing Latin schools, such as the Latin school in Eisenach he attended as a boy, Luther reconstituted them and gave them a key role in the reforming movement. Music was retained as an essential element of the curriculum in these schools, but it was to be taught and learned not to support the unreformed mass but to proclaim the gospel within the evangelical mass. Leaver 2001, 320. Luther stated that music has a crucial pedagogical value, since it may help in giving [religious and human] education to the young in a pleasurable fashion and so the good with pleasure [*und also das guete mit lust*]. WA 35:474-75.

over their instinctive musical preferences. Luther also promoted artistic music, e.g., the improvement from folk songs to polyphonic arrangements [chapter 3.2.6].

Luther, so fond of polyphonic music believed that music and singing give joy to the soul; and it could be expressed in singing two or three voices simultaneously. He states that God's perfect wisdom gives music optimally in the creation of polyphonic music, especially in a four-voices motet, where other voices dance around the tenor voice [chapter 3.2.6]. Luther expresses his fondness for the polyphonic music of the great composer Josquin des Prez:

What is law doesn't make progress, but what is gospel does. Thus the proclamation of the gospel through music, as seen in Josquin. Which composition is flowing freely, gently, and cheerfully, not cramped by the rules, but free as birdsong.⁷⁷⁷

Intelligibility and Gravity

In polyphonic singing, however, there are the issues of intelligibility and gravity which will be discussed here. The Council of Trent⁷⁷⁸ discussed these two issues of the intelligibility and the gravity of music. Intelligibility concerns the problems regarding the use of polyphony. Some bishops, notably in Rome and Milan, did restrict music in convents or insist that in polyphonic works the text must always be intelligible. The policy adopted regarding music was the statement of 1562, "Let them keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or by voice." The prominence of their efforts led to the belief among some contemporaries and some later historians that the Council of Trent indeed had declared that polyphony was allowed only if the words remained comprehensible to all.⁷⁷⁹

There were indeed numerous grievances against unintelligibility, in particular as regards the most complex polyphony. In musical practice, Palestrina, as a composer himself, clearly attributed the responsibility for the text's limited intelligibility to imitations. He says, "Since the imitations cause the parts to move in this way, it seems to me that because of the dense interweaving of the imitations, the words are somewhat obscured to the listeners, who do not enjoy them as in ordinary music." Before Palestrina, this same issue of imitations likely has been noted by Herbenus, who wrote, "So what are your voice refractions to me, when you

⁷⁷⁷ WATr 2: no. 1258, "Was lex ist, gett nicht von stad: was euangelium ist, das gett von stad. Sie Deus praedicavit euangelium etiam per musicam, ut videtur in Josquin, des alles composition frolich, willig, milde heraus fleust, ist nitt zwungen und gnedigt per regulas, sicut des fincken gesang."

⁷⁷⁸ After the Reformation spread, the Catholic church responded with a series of initiatives, called the Counter-Reformation. From 1545 [a year before Luther died] to 1563, a church council met at Trent in northern Italy to consider how to respond to the Reformation. The council reaffirmed the doctrines and practices that Luther and Calvin had attacked. Burkholder 2006, 226.

⁷⁷⁹ Burkholder 2006, 226-27.

warble in such a way that I can recognize neither a word nor even one syllable, nor the value of compositions?”⁷⁸⁰ Savonarola said the same thing, “Nothing can be understood of what is said. Leave alone figured songs and sing the plainchant commanded by the church.”⁷⁸¹ The same opinion was also expressed by Erasmus who used no euphemisms, “Modern church music is so constructed,” he wrote that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. Moreover, in connection with the matter of understanding, Erasmus says, “They chant nowadays in our churches in what is an unknown tongue and nothing else. The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion.”⁷⁸² In sum, intelligibility problems in polyphonic music were caused by abundant imitations or too numerous voices.⁷⁸³ Luther had a different attitude towards polyphony from many reformers, in which he advocates and encourages the use of it. And for him, this notion of intelligibility might be solved by creating chorales [where no imitations were involved], and the texts must be in the vernacular, so that the congregations could participate in communal singing. Luther wanted songs based on Scripture in the vernacular, so that the Word of God may be among the people also in the form of music [chapter 2.3.3]. And for Luther, the note itself is a wonderful gift of God in creation, and carries the beauty of its Creator that the word cannot express, and itself has a sounding voice to praise the Creator [chapter 3.2.5]. Although the notes cannot be understood by intellect, nevertheless it is voiced, and in itself expresses the beauty of God.

The declarations by the Council of Trent substantially agreed on the view of the gravity of music. It was Calvin who developed more fully this topic. He advocated a style of singing which was not “light and fickle,” but rather had weight and majesty, as Augustine opined that music must.⁷⁸⁴ Given his full awareness of its enormous potential for intensifying the public praise of God, it is not surprising that Calvin insisted by way of antithesis, that “there must always be concern that the song be neither light nor frivolous, but have gravity [*pois*] and majesty [*maiesté*], as St Augustine says.”⁷⁸⁵ This shows that, for Calvin, singing in the church has a unique character, which he expressed thusly, “And thus there is a great difference between the music which one makes to entertain men at table and in their homes, and the

⁷⁸⁰ Bertoglio 2017, 120-21.

⁷⁸¹ Bertoglio 2017, 120.

⁷⁸² Bertoglio 2017, 120-21.

⁷⁸³ Bertoglio 2017, 122.

⁷⁸⁴ Bertoglio 2017, 176.

⁷⁸⁵ *OC* VI:169-70; *OS* 2:15, “Il y a tousiours à regarder, que le chant ne soit pas legier et volage: mais ait pois et maiesté, comme dit saint Augustin.” Quoted from Garside 1979, 18.

psalms which are sung in the church in the presence of God and his angels.”⁷⁸⁶ The qualities of “weight and majesty” clearly stem from a humanistic context, and reveal the patristic influence of Jerome and Chrysostom. This notion of weight and majesty in gravity concerned both the beat and its division, which suggest dancing, as a rich ornamentation could foster delight in the beauty of melody.⁷⁸⁷ Besides the issue of gravity regarded tempo, the rhythm is also important. In particular, a rhythmic structure that suggests associations with dance-rhythms was to be avoided in sacred music. Both the Synod of Constance (1567) and the Synod of Trent (1593) declared that music suitable for dancing was to be banned from worship. Bernardino Cirillo pointed out the ontological difference between dance and church music, stating that the former should be as dance-like as possible, but should not pollute the purity of church music.⁷⁸⁸ This coincides with Calvin’s distinction between music at church and at home or the field. Similarly to Calvin, who considered the church’s praise as performed, in the presence of God and of his angels, for Luther congregational singing is united to the heavenly choir of the angels and of the saints⁷⁸⁹ [chapter 3.2.5]. Luther did advocate ‘dance,’ but not so as to pollute the purity of church music, but as an expression of a joyful soul that has been saved through faith in Christ [chapter 5.3]. With regards to weight and majesty, Luther says that singing a sweet spiritual song must be done with a reverent heart [chapter 5.2.1], and Luther wrote chorales that are simple and easy to understand while at the same time carried spiritual dignity [see chapter 2.3.3].

In sum, the attitude of some of the reformers to singing were varied; some allowed its use in worship, some did not. The problem of polyphony, which lies in the imitations of voices, must be controlled and simplified. And when it comes to the issue of intelligibility and gravity concerning the purity of music suitable for worship, in which the texts must be simple and easy to be understood by the singer and listener, while at the same time maintaining the qualities of weight and majesty, the reformers who allow music are all in essential agreement.

6.2.2 Instruments

It has been noted that the attitude of some of the reformers towards singing were varied. This also applies to the use of instruments. Although Erasmus allowed space for musical

⁷⁸⁶ *OC* VI:169-70; *OS* 2:15, “Et ainsi il y ait grande difference entre la musique qu’on faict pour resiouyr les hommes à table et en leur maison: et entre les psalmes, qui se chantent en l’Eglise, en la presence de Dieu et de ses anges.” Quoted from Garside 1979, 19.

⁷⁸⁷ Bertoglio 2017, 177.

⁷⁸⁸ Bertoglio 2017, 153.

⁷⁸⁹ Bertoglio 2017, 185.

instrumentation in the mass, he strongly warned against semi-profane ceremonies, the indulgent behavior of choristers, lascivious melodies, and song that was disconnected from the text.⁷⁹⁰ Zwingli deduced from his reading of the Old Testament reasons for banning instrumental music from churches.⁷⁹¹ In fact he was highly gifted as a singer and player of almost a dozen musical instruments, yet he recommended the prohibition of all music from worship. Just over a year after Zwingli had made public his opposition to song and instrument in church, half of his program had been enacted in Zurich; organs were silenced, and a few years later they were destroyed.⁷⁹² The extreme view of Zwingli could have resulted from his view of creation [which brought him to different conclusions from other reformers, especially from Luther]. For him, a body and a soul are two different things, and it is clear that Zwingli has a very low regard for the physical part of creation. Everything that would correlate to the physical and the senses, including music, was unworthy of being part of the contemplation of God.⁷⁹³

For Bucer, a typological reading of Israel's worship made room for instruments in Christian worship, while Calvin's reading excluded them altogether.⁷⁹⁴ Calvin, like the early church fathers, disapproved of musical instruments for use in worship.⁷⁹⁵ He sees musical instruments to be of use "at home and in the fields," not as appropriate to worship. Calvin's argument against instruments in a new covenantal liturgy involves four contentions: First, Calvin stresses that instruments belong to "figures and shadows" that characterized Jewish believers. God commanded timbrels and trumpets to train his people, while they were as yet tender and like children, by such rudiments, until the coming of Christ, and the Jews who were yet under age required the use of "such childish elements." In one sense, Calvin says, instruments were not in themselves necessary; they were only useful as elementary aids to the people of God. Now that the church has "reached full age," instrument can be set aside. Second, Calvin insists that the re-introduction of instruments into public worship leads people to cling to earthly things when God has expressly commanded that they worship him in spiritual fashion. In this understanding, musical instruments risk contaminating the true praise of God. Third, Calvin insists that God is more pleased with simple worship, an idea that functions as a kind of corollary to the first, that is, the opposite of shadowy worship is simple

⁷⁹⁰ Taylor 2013, 261.

⁷⁹¹ Bertoglio 2017, 169.

⁷⁹² Begbie 2007, 113-15.

⁷⁹³ Sooy 2006, 43.

⁷⁹⁴ Taylor 2013, 266.

⁷⁹⁵ Begbie 2007, 111.

worship. Simple worship occurs under the clear light of the gospel which has dissipated the shadows of the law. Because Christ has now appeared, however, for the church to persist in the use of musical instruments is to “bury the light of the gospel” and to “introduce the shadows of a departed dispensation.” Fourth, instruments fail St Paul’s requirement that praise be offered in an articulate voice. Calvin appeals to 1 Cor 14:13-16 and from this New Testament passage infers that instruments can only generate an inarticulate voice and *ipso facto* cannot meet the standards of right worship. Calvin excludes chanting on similar grounds because it “fills the ears with nothing but an empty sound.”⁷⁹⁶ For Calvin, after the coming of Christ, God must be worship simply and inwardly. In his commentary on John 4:23-24, he summarizes the conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman concerning the nature of the pure worship of God. After the coming of Christ the era of ceremonies has come to an end. Nothing is “hidden or obscure.” The substance of the gospel brings to light what Jews, with their use of incense, candles, holy garments, altar, and vessels, could know only in shadowy form. To worship in spirit means that God must be worship inwardly.⁷⁹⁷ Calvin’s position was probably inspired by St Jerome’s rejection of instrumental music for worship.⁷⁹⁸ Calvin’s view of worship inwardly in spiritual fashion was very close to Zwingli’s.

In sum, with regards to instruments, Zwingli is the most extreme because he completely rejected their use in the church, while Calvin stands closer to the early church fathers, who were generally suspicious and disapproved of instruments in worship.⁷⁹⁹ Calvin neither forbade nor rejected instrumental music, but it had no place in worship. An interesting comparison is that Calvin’s view on instrumental music as belonging to the old worship, while Luther’s mention of the instruments in support of the new song.⁸⁰⁰ Luther welcomes the use of musical instruments in the church, he discussed the origin of instrument from Cain’s descendants and they brought the instruments into the “true church,” and he suggests that then was the beginning of singing with accompaniment. For Luther, instruments help the heart to sing, and God is also praised by musical instruments [chapter 5.2.3].

Summary and Evaluation

⁷⁹⁶ Taylor 2013, 254-55.

⁷⁹⁷ Taylor 2013, 256.

⁷⁹⁸ Bertoglio 2017, 200.

⁷⁹⁹ Begbie 2017, 111.

⁸⁰⁰ Bertoglio 2017, 201.

Luther and Calvin are similar on the notion that elements of worship should take place in the vernacular, so that it is easier to sing, and the whole congregation can participate and receive the spiritual benefit. Music as a gift of God was also important in Luther and Calvin's thought, which suggests that Luther's indirect influence Calvin's moderate view of music as a gift of God. Both Luther and Calvin found there be too much distraction in the way the Catholic church allowed inappropriate musical adornment. They both agreed that the emphasis should be upon the communication of the Word of God; in Luther the emphasis is on the fact that the Word of God may be among the congregation, while for Calvin the emphasis is the gravity of music. Music could be used as a means to deliver the Word, so long it did not distract from the Word. And both Luther and Calvin also agreed that the attitude of the heart in singing praise to God must come from a sincere heart. For Luther, singing with a grateful heart [chapter 4.2.1] and reverent heart [chapter 5.2.1] are very important aspects in praising God.

There were some differences between Luther and his contemporaries: First, in their appeal to Scripture; Calvin, though he did not go to Zwingli's extreme of eliminating music, nevertheless is closer to Zwingli who viewed worship primarily as a congregational prayer. Calvin's distrust of the senses and the physical stemmed from his view that the body was a "prison-house" of the soul. Like Zwingli, Calvin has a lower view of the physical part of creation than Luther. Luther's higher view of creation allowed for physical manifestations of the internal working of God's Spirit. For Luther, man is a physically-spiritually integrated being. Luther and Calvin differ in their view of creation, and their differing views could fairly be designated "higher" and "lower" respectively. Second, the appeal to Augustine's scruples of conscience. For Luther music is a beautiful and lovely gift of God which often moved and inspired him to preach with joy. While Calvin was too concerned with protecting the purity of the heart, he would rather remove the possibility that music could become a distraction from true worship. Third, the issue over music and texts; the reformers differed in which texts should be included in music. Luther's concern was for making music a useful tool in the service of God for the proclamation of the Word. Calvin, on the other hand, limits musical texts to the psalms. Luther wished for more freedom in worship, since a Christian should be thankful to God as a response of faith. Fourth, musical structure and style; while Calvin rejected the use of instrument in worship, and consequently only unaccompanied unison psalm singing allowed.⁸⁰¹ Luther is open to the fullness of man's creativity, but Calvin would

⁸⁰¹ Sooy 2006, 44-52.

limit music itself. Luther had openly proclaimed his desire to use all available music, including secular music for worship in the church. In Burial hymnal, Luther says of Catholic music that its melodies and notes are precious, but the texts are non Christian, so he is concerned with changing the text, not the music [chapter 3.2.6].

Luther's love of music and his view of the positive power of music makes Western music is highly indebted to him. In fact, several of Luther's intuitions on music and liturgy were adopted by the Catholic church as well, a few of them already in the sixteenth century, whereas others had to wait until the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) to find positive acceptance among the Roman Catholics.⁸⁰²

6.3 Conclusion

This final section focused on showing the uniqueness of Luther that arises from a comparison with his contemporaries: First, in exorcism, music in general is often seen in humanist contexts as a rhetorical means for enhancing the moving power of words. While the idea that music expels the devil was not original with Luther, but for him, God specifically chooses music to be his instrument; he insists that it should be music, as music is the Holy Spirit's instrument to combat *Anfechtung* [chapter 6.1.1]. This attitude towards music makes him unique in comparison with his contemporaries. Second, concerning joy as an expression of faith through singing, contrasted with other reformers, for Luther, only the believer can sing praise to God and every believer must sing; if one has the joy of salvation then one must sing a new song [chapter 6.2.1]. For Luther, with regards to the vernacular, music has an educational and ethical power; that is, singing has a catechetical character, as it educates others by proclaiming the Word and also serves the function of spiritual edification [chapter 6.2.1]. In other words, Luther believes that singing hymns has a pedagogical and catechetical character [educational and ethical value], that is, to educate by proclaiming the words [faith and theological dogmas] and to move the affects and bring the singer to grow in faith. Third, in his understanding of music as a gift of God, Luther grounds music in the universal cosmic order and he engages the medieval cosmology; but at the same time he also understands the affective power of music in rhetoric [chapter 6.1.1]. In this respect, while his contemporaries are much more anxious about the sensual power of music, especially of polyphonic music, Luther, on the contrary, delights in it, as the notes themselves are a gift of God in creation

⁸⁰² Bertoglio 2017, 203.

that bear the beauty of God that words cannot express and thus glorify its Creator [chapter 6.2.1].

7 Conclusion

Now that this study has come to its end, and the previous chapters have dealt with Luther's three most important statements about music in his unfinished treatise *Περί της μουσικής* [*On Music*]: music is, first, "a gift of God and not of man" [*Dei donum hominum est*], second, music "creates a joyful soul" [*facit letos animos*], and finally, music "drives away the devil" [*fugat diabolum*]. This final chapter serves to answer the central question: What is the impact of Luther's theology on his thoughts about music? Which, as this study progressed, developed into four others: (1) How do his statements that music is a gift of God, that it drives away the devil, and that it creates a joyful soul relate to each other and to his theology in general? (2) What is the impact of his theology of the devil on his thoughts about music? (3) Was he the originator of these three statements that music is a gift of God, it drives away the devil, and it creates a joyful soul or were these questions influenced by others? (4) What is the uniqueness of Luther's thoughts about music? The answers to the above questions are presented as follows:

(1-2) The relation between these three statements to each other and to Luther's theology in general can be understood in connection with his personal experiences and commitments to music, which were undergirded by his theology. Luther, as a man of medieval times, took for granted the existence of the devil, and many of his writings contained frequent references to the personal attacks of the devil, where it influenced his thoughts about music. In this dissertation, I argued that his three statements about music are reflections of his personal experiences with the devil. Thus, in Luther's thinking, these three statements are related in the understanding that music is God's gift in creation rather than a human invention, and it is given by God as a means to defy the devil in his *Anfechtung*, which in turn gives him a joyful soul.

I examined these three statements of Luther's about music with regard to the way in which music was incorporated into his theological thinking. The first statement is "music is a gift of God." The connection between Luther's theology of gift and his thoughts about music is found in Christ, as he was given to this sinful world to heal it from sin. The same is true of music, which is given as the Holy Spirit's instrument that preaching Christ through music is to defy the devil and so to arouse the joyful spirit. In this way, for Luther, music as a gift of God means that music is used as a therapeutic means to heal the egoistic world caused by the devil, to be able to acknowledge God's gift and in turn to give praise to God, its Giver.

The next statement is “music drives away the devil” which Luther grounds in 1 Sam 16:23 where the devil would depart from Saul after David played the lyre and sung a psalm. This truth Luther reflected in his own experiences of *Anfechtung*. For him, not only his spiritual, but his physical ills as well were also a concrete attack of the devil, and music became an important tool of relief while he experienced that *Anfechtung*. For instance, the most severe trial was when Luther had to stay in the Wartburg for protection, there he was always delighted by the sound of birds. And again he had the same experience upon hearing a polyphonic motet from Senfl, which also became a great comfort for him while he was isolated behind the fortress in Coburg. To him, the singing of the nightingale would drive him to sing, as the sound was most cheerful against the sadness of the heart brought by the devil. In that sense the birdsong represents polyphonic music which gives freedom and joy like the voice of the gospel that liberates his soul from the devil’s captivity. In Luther’s thinking, the gospel here represents Christ who defeated the devil. That is why his theology of the devil has an impact on his thoughts about music. In this way, Luther’s theology of the devil could not be separated from his experience of *Anfechtung*.

The final statement is “music creates a joyful soul,” which Luther understood to be the implication of Paul’s letter to the Philippians to keep rejoicing in the Lord (Phil 4:4). This joy arose in spite of the fact that Paul was in prison, awaiting trial that could result in his death. I find this example of Paul’s joy also reflected in Luther’s experience of *Anfechtung*, where he expresses his joy in relation to faith, the forgiveness of sins, and hope. For Luther, joy resulted from faith in Christ and forgiveness of sins must be expressed in singing with a reverent heart. This is central to Luther’s thoughts about music in relation to joy in which the joyful soul resulted from salvation bringing up the desire to sing or playing musical instruments, to praise God willingly and to act as a witness to others. In fact the relation between these three statements of Luther’s about music, to each other and to his theology in general, are found in Christ.

(3) With regard to find the originality in Luther’s thoughts of music, I traced Christian authorities’ evaluation of music from the early church until the fifteenth century. The issue of the originality of Luther’s view of music as a gift of God, drives away the devil and creates a joyful soul are not certain, in the sense of how far influences upon him go or even if those influences are ever effective. As in medieval times, musical documents always state that the purpose of music is the praise and glorification of God, and also to drive away the unclean

spirit. But Luther is a theologian who loves music, so from the data we know that when he studied at Erfurt university and later in the Black Cloister, he at least studied the musical textbooks of Augustine, Boethius, Muris, Gerson, and Tinctoris [chapter 2.2.2], and that he might certainly have studied their musical theories well enough. Since several of Luther's writings on music are similar to Gerson and Tinctoris's aphorisms [chapter 2.1], I think it's safe to say that he might have gotten some influence at least from them. And what is important is that Luther's love of music in addition to his personal encounters with the devil make his thoughts on music stand out. Therefore, to relate music to the devil is something natural for Luther. In any case, a number of findings in this study confirm the following:

First, Luther's views of music in relation to exorcism might have been directly influenced by Jean Gerson and Johannes Tinctoris, in the use of music to expel the devil and relieve the spirit. As their textbooks were used in Erfurt university where Luther studied, so he understands music as a practical art that focuses on the psychological effects of music on human affections, which is to defy the devil and to arouse the spirit.

Second, Luther understood the influence of music's benefit for growing faith, education and edification, which he learned from them, and also from Basil and Ambrose. Their view of psalm singing is also similar to Luther's, that is, the simplicity of melody and text were for the benefit of faith, as they retain doctrine in our memory. Here, I must highlight one of Luther's important contribution to the use of *contrafacta*, in which he changed the song to new texts according to Scripture, but preserved the original melody. Luther's thoughts about music has many traditional elements, which demonstrates that the Reformation is not about doing away with the mass, but reception and change. In this way, Luther understands the Reformation not as a split, as many elements from the mass are still retained in his practice in the church.

I think the more important issue now is not whether Luther was influenced to his views or not, but on what he has done with music in his times whilst Zwingli and Calvin's views regarding music in the church seems to be less positive. Differing from his contemporaries, as a theologian, Luther moves boldly in his musical reformational works at the university, church, and society with his productions, most notably the *Deutsche Messe* and the *Formula Missae*, than his contributions on pedagogy, in which he emphasizes singing, and Luther's experience in performance; i.e., that he writes music and plays the lute. What Luther brings with his approach is medieval traces of his thoughts about music and this is original in his contribution to music. Therefore Luther's reformational attitude to music links us to the next question, that is, what makes him unique among his contemporaries.

(4) This study finds Luther's uniqueness in three particular aspects: music casts away the devil, and it creates a joyful soul, and it is a gift of God. First, in the matter of exorcism, while other views from his contemporaries might agree in general that music drives off the devil using music as the only means of exorcism is another issue. It was Luther who raised the spiritual value of music, in which music and theology are of equal importance since both chase away the devil. He maintains that the prophets did not know any of the liberal arts, except music. God specifically chooses music to be the Holy Spirit's instrument to help him combat *Anfechtung* caused by the devil.

Second, for Luther joy is an expression of faith through singing. He says that only the believer can and must sing praise to God. Therefore, Luther had a positive view of singing, although he recognizes carnal songs as the effect of the Fall, but they were inferior compared to polyphonic music. His view of music always more positive when compared to his forefathers, who were more anxious about the sensual power of music. For him, music must be used for its proper aim: to drive away the devil, as it is a divine gift to be used in the service of God who created and gave it.

Third, Luther grounds music in the doctrine of creation as a gift of God but he also understands its affective power in rhetoric. Nothing in this earthly joy can be compared to singing. In this way Luther's acceptance of music to be used in worship is greater than his contemporaries. God gives musical notes to us to be enjoyed, as it carries the beauty of its Giver that words are unable to express, and thus they glorify the Creator. Therefore, Luther's views towards playing musical instruments went against the entire tradition of Christian music for over thousand years. For him, playing musical instruments in the church are allowed since it helps the singing "more sharply," thus better in praising God and a greater influence upon the singer and the listeners. He explains this in the case of Elisha in 2 Kings 3:15 [see chapter 3.2.5], in which music as the Holy Spirit's instrument is understood as singing the Word with the accompaniment of musical instruments, in which the aim is to arouse the spirit of joy in Elisha.

After finding the impact of Luther's theology on his thoughts about music through analysing Luther's own writings about music, gifts, devil, and joy, I argued that the most significant contribution to Luther's thoughts on music is understood from his perspective of the devil, principally in his *Anfechtung*. In Luther's thinking, music is given by God as the Holy Spirit's instrument to expel the devil, after which he could give praise to God in singing

or playing musical instruments to act as a witness in order for others to see God, its Giver. In this way, Luther's theology of the devil did impact his thoughts about music.

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