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# Ulrich Siegfried Leupold (1909-70)

Paul Helmer

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## Ulrich Siegfried Leupold (1909-70)<sup>1</sup>

Paul Helmer  
McGill University

### 1. Leupold's education and career in Germany (1909-38)

Ulrich Leupold was born in Berlin, Germany in 1909. His father Anton Wilhelm Leupold (1868-1940), was organist in one of Berlin's largest churches, St. Peter, and his mother Gertrud, née Igel, an opera singer, Jewish by descent. Leupold's father was the first organist to perform Max Reger's entire late Romantic and highly chromatic organ works. Leupold studied at the Friedrich Wilhelms University in Berlin and in Zürich University, a rich combination of courses in both theology and musicology. The university in Berlin was situated on one of the main streets, Unter den Linden, only a few blocks from his father's church. He began his university studies with musicological topics. His professors were among the most respected musicologists of the new discipline, Arnold Schering, Johannes Wolf, Hans Joachim Moser, Curt Sachs. Leupold took courses in Music and Liturgy, Music History of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance:

#### Berlin (1927)<sup>2</sup>

S.S. 1927	Arnold Schering	Musik und Liturgik
S.S. 1927	[Johannes Wolf]	Musikgeschichte des Mittelalters und Renaissance

Leupold then spent a year in Zurich pursuing theological studies (S.S. W.S.; Sommer Semester and Winter Semester): New Testament, Ethics, and History of Dogma

#### Zürich (1928-29)

S.S.1928	Meyer	Geschichte des Neuen Testaments
S.S.1929	Meyer	Geschichte des Neuen Testaments
W.S.1928-9	Reinhold Seeberg (1859-1935)	Ethik
S.S.1929	Reinhold Seeberg	Dogmengeschichte

He returned to Berlin to continue his musicological studies, concentrating on medieval music, performance practice, history of music instruments and a course on musical hermeneutics, Music as Expression and Gestalt, as well as the meaning of music behind the notes (a specialty of Schering).

#### Berlin (1930-34)

S.S. 1930	Johannes Wolf	Das Lied des Mittelalters
S.S. 1930	Hans Joachim Moser	?
W.S. 1930/31	Arnold Schering	Aufführungspraxis
W.S. 1930/31	Johannes Wolf	Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts
W.S. 1930/31	Curt Sachs	Geschichte der Musikinstrumente
S.S. 1931	Arnold Schering	Musik als Ausdruck und Gestalt

Leupold completed his dissertation (Hans Joachim Moser was his advisor) in record time. At 23 years of age he was the youngest musicological graduate of the university, His thesis was accepted by the University in 1932 and published the following year by one of Germany's most prestigious houses, Bärenreiter in Kassel:

*Die liturgischen Gesänge der evangelischen Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und der Romantik* (The liturgical chants of the Evangelical Church at the time of the Enlightenment and Romantic Periods).

He continued his theological education in 1933:

S.S. 1933	Leonhardt Fendt	Praktische Theologie I (1881-1957)
S.S. 1934	Leonhardt Fendt	Praktische Theologie II

and found time to study under Emil Brunner, Hans Asmussen and others.<sup>3</sup>

Was Leupold a bit of a dilettante seemingly unable to make up his mind what or where he wanted to study? The German university system, unlike its North American counterpart, assumed a certain maturity on the part of the students such that the students were presumed to know what it was that they needed to learn and gave them the freedom to do so, even though it might entail crossing disciplines or pursuing one's studies in a different university entirely or even, as in the present case, in a different country. As long as you passed your Staatsexamen (state examination) and your dissertation all was well. You could also do multiple doctorates if that is what you wanted.

In Lutheran thinking, Leupold's choice of theology and music as majors was completely appropriate. Luther felt that next to theology, music was the greatest gift of God: "musica donum dei est."

### Meeting with Bonhoeffer?

The gnawing question which arises regarding his studies and subsequent theological career is whether he knew Dietrich Bonhoeffer personally. Bonhoeffer was a shining light at the university, graduating *maxime cum laude* in 1927 at the age of 21. His doctoral advisor had been Reinhold Seeberg whom Leupold seemed to have valued so highly that he followed this professor to Zurich in 1929, where Seeberg had moved. The careers of these two musician-theologians at the Berlin University and later as fellow members of the Confessing Church criss-crossed in time and place so frequently that it is hardly conceivable that they did not meet at some point. Bonhoeffer would later play a leading role in the July 20 conspiracy to assassinate Hitler, and was martyred in 1945.

It was obligatory for German dissertations to be published and it is quite unusual for Leupold's dissertation to have been published so quickly and by one of Germany's foremost music publishing houses, Bärenreiter. Leupold's thesis, on a topic which was of major concern to music historians, the organization of the Prussian religious musical establishment during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the royal court of King Frederick Wilhelm III, received wide and complimentary press throughout Germany. Leupold kept a

scrapbook with all of the reviews of the dissertation and these too are available for consultation in the Laurier archive holdings.

It is easy to see why Leupold's thesis attracted such attention. Berlin during the period covered by Leupold's thesis (enlightenment and early Romantic period, c. 1800-30) was not yet the capital of Germany, but the residence of the Hohenzollern king of Prussia. Liturgical services there were generally very Spartan, but under the prodding of King Frederick William III worship music underwent a renewal, drawing on the more elaborate treatment of the service found in Catholic expression. The royal choir and its role were expanded, using elements of Gregorian chant to enrich the spoken word.

Since the royal court was important in setting the tone for other principalities (Germany had some 365 such during the 19<sup>th</sup> century) the king began to prescribe the order of service in the cathedral and garrison church over which he had jurisdiction in what is called the *Agenda*. From 1821 and these became the model for other courts and religious institutions within Prussia.

In January 1933, the Nazis came to power in Germany and on 7 April, race laws were promulgated barring non-Aryans (Jews) from holding any public office. Since under German laws pastors were (and still are) civil servants, the law in effect "provided for the ordination only of persons of Aryan descent," therefore anyone who had converted from Judaism could no longer be a pastor in the Christian church. Race, not conviction, was the criterion.

These developments forced concerned pastors such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer to enter into a *status confessionis*, and the *Confessing Church* (*Bekennende Kirche*) through its confession of faith, *The Barmen Declaration* of May 1934, set itself in direct opposition to the officially-sanctioned German Lutheran Church ("Reichskirche"). Within Nazi Germany, of course, this was a tantamount to treason because anyone who dared to dispute the legitimacy of a state-sanctioned entity was automatically a traitor to the Fatherland. The Confessing Church immediately began to feel the heavy hand of the state against it, and was subject to increasingly onerous restrictions from 1934 on. Leupold, not having "Aryan" descent, would have been unable to be ordained within the official church and so he joined the *Confessing Church*. It must have been a wrenching decision because it meant that he would now be opposed to his home country's official church. Some theologians in Jena and Tübingen were even hard at work in the aberrant task of trying to make Jesus into an Aryan. Opposition to the National Socialists was possible, but it came at a price. Some pastors of the church paid for their membership with their lives. .

Leupold's membership in the Confessing Church would have brought him into much closer association with Bonhoeffer. Through studies such as Hans Bethge's biography of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, which deals with the Confessing Church's seminary education,<sup>4</sup> it is possible to imagine what Leupold went through during the years 1935-7. The authorities did not begin with an immediate outright ban on the activities of the seminaries but gradually eroded the civil liberties of the organization to such a point that it was no longer possible to function without transgressing one law or other. Seminaries were instituted with approximately 100 students each; it is not clear which of these Leupold attended.

Bonhoeffer led the Pomeranian seminary (attended by Bethge), others were held in Elberfeld, East Prussia and Silesia, which because of their quasi-legal status enjoyed a certain amount of flexibility, at least in the early stages. Classrooms and curricula were improvised. One rule alone was kept - no one was allowed to talk about a person in their absence, or when this was done the affected person was to be told. Bethge recounts how the authorities gradually and persistently prohibited individual activities of the seminaries leading to the closing of the last seminary on 1 July 1937.

Throughout this period, Leupold continued to contribute musicological and theological articles to respected German journals, publishing under his own name. In 1937 he completed the theological exam of the Confessing Church, Berlin-Brandenburg, and the same year travelled to England, where he heard one of the famous prom concerts in London's cavernous Royal Albert Hall, He subsequently sent a review of the concert back to Germany which was printed. His activity in this domain between the years 1934 to 1938, the year he left Germany, was prolific. It is almost as if he led a double life, on the one hand a public persona with a brilliant publication record and on the other a clandestine existence which was constantly on guard against the authorities.

Leupold distributed pamphlets about meetings of the church but was careful to hide any incriminating evidence. When the Gestapo searched his apartment they found nothing. His mother, however, as a Jewess, was forced to go completely underground and remained so for the duration for the war. An aunt of Leupold, not so fortunate, was deported to Auschwitz and perished there.

Thus Leupold in the 1930s in Germany was in the bizarre situation of being doubly at risk both because he was a Jew and because he was Christian, Jewish on grounds of birth and Christian on grounds of religious conviction. This points out the utter absurdity of the Nazi position which was based on racial principals, a sort of genetic inevitability that determined who and what you were regardless of your own personal convictions. Free will was abolished! Absurdity is perhaps bad enough, but when allied to the power of the German state it assumed truly tragic proportions.

In 1940 his name and that of his mother appeared in Herbert Gerigk and Theophil Stengel's *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*. (*Encyclopedia of Jews in Music*).<sup>5</sup> This was a 'blacklist' of Jews prominent in artistic circles who were to be ostracized from professional employment. Eva Weissweiler has shown that for those who did not manage to flee Germany this was equivalent to a death sentence.

Like 79 of his fellow European musicians who came to Canada, Leupold was a Holocaust survivor. The 1935 Nuremberg Race laws cut a wide swath through Germany forcing everyone to establish their Aryan pedigree or face the consequences. In Leupold's case, with a Jewish mother he was considered full Jew and hence suspect. This meant in practical terms that he could not become a member of the *Reichsmusikkammer*, able to participate professionally as a musician but would have had to join the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* (Jewish Cultural League) a creation of the Nazis which allowed for Jewish participation in the arts but only within this ghettoized entity. The Nazi penchant for cutting off their nose to spite their face can perhaps best be seen in the closing of the

German Opera House in Prague, one of the jewels of European culture, in March 1939 after the National Socialists annexed Bohemia and Moravia, because the majority of artists in the troupe had been forced to flee Germany in the intervening years because of Nazi race policies.

## 2. How Leupold managed to come to Waterloo (1938-39)

Between 1934 and 1938, Leupold made the decision to leave Germany. He had a sister named Barbara who had studied art in Italy prior to Hitler's accession to power in 1933. Because there were family relatives in England, she decided to move there in the 1930s and eventually married an Englishman. Leupold left Germany in 1938 and went first to visit her in England. Through a strange set of circumstances, however, his trajectory would take an unexpected turn.

In the 1930s there was a certain pastor from Fremont, Ohio, who happened to study music in Berlin, Fred Otto by name. Pastor Otto had attended the organ concerts given in the St. Peter church in Berlin by Leupold's father and got to know the family. Knowing that Ulrich Leupold wanted to leave Germany, he brokered a job for him playing organ at Augsburg Lutheran Church in Toledo, not far from Fremont. Thus Pastor Otto sponsored Leupold's emigration to the United States and Leupold had a close personal friend there well versed in both the theological as well as the musical spheres with whom he maintained a close contact throughout his American career.

Leupold's father Anton Wilhelm died in 1940, sparing him the agony of seeing his church destroyed by Allied bombs in 1945. He was a confirmed anti-Nazi. In the words of Leupold's widow, Gertrude:<sup>6</sup>

Rick's [Ulrich's] father died in 1940 when Rick was here about three or four months. He [his father] was very outspoken. Rick said he would have been in deep trouble because he was not in favour of the Hitler regime. They found out Mutti's [Leupold's mother] name and they had her on the list. Mutti's sister was unmarried and she was put to death in Auschwitz.

Meanwhile, Dr. Schmieder, the pastor at St. Matthew's in Kitchener, was looking for an assistant pastor. Dr. Myle, the president of the Ohio Synod, wrote to Pastor Schmieder, offering the services of Leupold as assistant pastor. Leupold came to Kitchener in 1939 and soon after he arrived, the organist resigned, so they asked Leupold to play the organ as well. The special Order-in-Council, issued by the immigration authorities in Ottawa, available in the national archives, and which allowed Leupold to emigrate to Canada reads as follows:

P.C. (Privy Council) 722, #139, 29 March. 1939, No. 7: Dr. **Ulrich Leupold**, aged 30 years, citizen of Germany, presently residing in Toledo, Ohio, USA; intended occupation –assistant pastor of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Kitchener.<sup>7</sup>

Musicology was a central European initiative and with the successive waves of émigrés who came to the United States from 1933 on this discipline became established in

North America. Canada accepted three refugee musicologists prior to 1939, Ida Halpern in Vancouver, Arnold Walter in Toronto, and Ulrich Leupold. The discipline itself was not yet established in any Canadian University. This would come about only in 1954 with the hiring of an American musicologist in Toronto, Harvey Olnick.

It was surely a bizarre concatenation of circumstances which brought Ulrich Leupold from Berlin, Germany to Kitchener (erstwhile Berlin, Ontario) in one year, but something that was truly grounds for celebration. Leupold was uniquely equipped in the musicological as well as the theological realm for his coming role in Canadian Lutheranism.

### 3. What Leupold did when he was in Waterloo (1939-70)

Leupold's first Canadian publication, appearing a few short months after he arrived at St. Matthew's, was a six-page article entitled "Luther's Musical Education and Activities" for the *Lutheran Quarterly* published in October 1939. From then on a steady stream of essays and articles issued from his pen almost every month until 6 January 1970, "A Word from the Dean," in *Footnotes* just a few months before he died.<sup>8</sup>

Leupold was ordained by the Canada Synod of the United Lutheran Church in America in 1939 and in 1942 married Gertrude Daber. In that year Leupold accepted a call to serve Christ Lutheran Church in Maynooth, Ontario, a small town in the Canadian Shield. Congregational members still remember his pastorate there as he coped with wartime shortages of gasoline in visiting his parishioners and an anti-German feeling among the community. Here is a picture with Leupold and his 30-strong Sunday School choir.<sup>9</sup>

Sunday School with Dr. Leupold and Mrs. Leupold in New Cartersville, Sunday



While in Maynooth he had time left over to submit an article to the *Canada Lutheran* almost every month! At war's end, Leupold moved to Waterloo when he became dean of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary. His inaugural address was delivered on 30 Sept. 1945 at St.

John's Evangelical Lutheran Church in Waterloo, entitled "The Formative Principle of Lutheran Church Art". His appointment is listed as "Assistant Professor of Music and Professor of New Testament Studies and Church Music." I am told that authorities then had a difficult time to wean him away from his congregation in Maynooth. Then began a mind-boggling publication career of theological and musicological essays, articles, and editing of religious music, the publication of some 200 motets and anthems by both Canadian and American publishers, such as Gordon V. Thomson, Waterloo, Augsburg, Fortress, and service on a multitude of national and international church bodies entrusted with the task of preparing worship materials and hymn books for Lutheran churches in Canada, the United States, and globally in addition to his regular teaching and administrative duties at the seminary. This lasted twenty-five years until his death in 1970 from Lou Gehrig's disease. He promoted the careers of two prominent Canadian musicians, Walter Kemp and Elmer Iseler.

In 1945 Leupold introduced the first music course in the Seminary and established a church music program leading to a certificate in sacred music. This program, combined with music courses offered in the faculty of arts and science, formed the basis of the Music Department of Waterloo Lutheran University (now the Faculty of Music, Wilfrid Laurier University).

In 1964 Leupold undertook a lecture series sponsored by the International Conference on Church and Society in Oxford, England, Hamburg, and East and West Berlin. At Oxford he met Walter Kemp, a Canadian musicology student who was completing doctoral studies there. Leupold persuaded Kemp to return to Canada and develop a complete undergraduate music program for the University. Kemp did so and in 1965 came to Waterloo as the first full-time music appointment at Waterloo Lutheran University. He founded the music department here and conducted the Kitchener-Waterloo Philharmonic Choir. In 1973, the Lutheran church relinquished sponsorship of the university but retained control of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary which is federated with Wilfrid Laurier. In 1977 Kemp left for Dalhousie University in Halifax. Gertrude Leupold:

Rick started the music [program] at the University but then he got so busy in the Seminary, he was dean almost immediately of the Seminary, and when the head of the Seminary died, the Seminary body asked him to become president So he was president and dean. He had his hands full. He got Walter Kemp to come to Waterloo Lutheran. He gave him a recommendation to come and then they called him to come to Waterloo, later it became Wilfrid Laurier University.

In a very real sense then Leupold can be seen as the founder of the Wilfrid Laurier music program. As for Elmer Iseler, Iseler was an English major at Waterloo College but studied organ and church music with Leupold and sang in one of his choirs. Leupold told Iseler: "You are in the wrong place. You should be studying music." Since the Leupolds lived close to the university Iseler visited them frequently. Leupold persuaded him to change his major, from English to music. The only problem was that Waterloo didn't yet have a majors program in music. That would have necessitated a move to Toronto. Leupold went to Iseler's parents and convinced them that Elmer should study in Toronto. Iseler's father was a pastor in Preston, now Cambridge. Even though it was more expensive.



Leupold was able to convince Elmer's parents to let him go. Iseler afterwards became one of Canada's foremost choral conductors. Leupold continued to have contact with Pastor Otto, co-publishing a number of German anthems from a Fremont, Ohio publishing company, Pastor Otto's wife often assisting with translations.

In Waterloo, Leupold was very tight-lipped about his German experiences, even to his wife. "We don't go back, we go forward...He said most of the people in his class were not longer alive. His best friend committed suicide, Rick was still in Germany at that time and that bothered him a lot. There was only one person who studied ministry with him that was still alive and he was in Switzerland." What little his wife learned about the European period came from his mother, who visited the couple in Waterloo after the war. "It was too difficult for him to talk about that period. But Mutti did; she came after the war. She was with us for a number of years until she died. She's buried here."

A few years before Leupold died he returned to Germany with his wife. Leupold had been scheduled to give lectures in various universities in Europe and they went to Berlin. "His father's church had been badly damaged by bombs. They thought it might collapse, so it was closed. They had closed all the streets surrounding the church. Fred Otto was with us. That hit Rick very hard not being able to get in and knowing the church would be demolished."

Mrs. Leupold kept up contact with the son of Barbara in England as well as Leupold's cousin, also in England. Leupold and his wife adopted two children, daughter Marcia and son Mark.

Leupold was in demand throughout southern Ontario as an organist. Since he was thoroughly versed in organ construction he used his expertise as consultant for various churches in the area, recommending registration, organ builders, and advising on installation. Leupold had an organ in his house, and even though the living room ceiling had to be raised to accommodate it that didn't disturb his neighbours. They affirmed "We like to hear him play!" It had one manual and a pedal board and was made by an organ builder in Woodstock,

Leupold also taught Greek at WLU. In Gertrude Leupold's words, "After his death, the president [of the seminary] asked me about something, I was working in the library at the time, and I didn't know and said, "It's all Greek to me" and he said "You should know Greek, the way your husband taught me. He was wonderful! He knew Greek inside out." He always had a Greek New Testament in his pocket and he always compared things with the Greek. There was no time to learn anything from Rick, he was busy with other things. Hebrew he learned from his grandfather. One time, he said "I have no knowledge of Hebrew." And Mutti's father said, "I'll teach him." He was a medical doctor, so that summer, he taught Rick Hebrew. He was really very bright. And he said, "I wish I had more time. My head is so full, there is so much I have to write."

From 1951-8 Leupold worked on the Joint Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal of the American Lutheran churches which eventually resulted in the *Service Book and Hymnal* (SBH). From the notes preserved in the Wilfrid Laurier University Archives one

notices the particular care Leupold lavished on the genealogy, criticism and suggestion of texts and tunes. The minutes of all meetings reveal a Canadian voice in the deliberations, the majority of Canadian Lutherans at the time being subsumed within the Canada Synod of the United Lutheran Church in America.

Leupold assisted in the preparation of hymn materials for use in Spanish-speaking Lutheran congregations in the Americas by serving on the Inter-Lutheran Spanish Hymnal Committee, a joint project of the American Lutheran Church and The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. The results of these efforts led to the publication of *Culto Cristiano*, a collection of hymns and services, published in 1964.

Leupold followed this by serving on the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship 1966 until his death in 1970. Originally an initiative of the Missouri Synod to produce common worship materials for all North American Lutheran Churches, it eventually foundered and separate service and hymnals were published -*Lutheran Book of Worship*, (LBW) in 1978 and *Lutheran Worship* in 1982. Leupold served on the committee for Liturgical Music but not on the committees devoted to Hymn Texts or Hymn Music. The liturgical music committee (of which he was a member) proposed that liturgies be commissioned from leading American and European composers such as Igor Stravinsky, Roger Sessions, Walter Piston, Benjamin Britten, Luigi Dallapiccola and Hans Werner Henze, among others; however the recommendation was not accepted by the general committee! In any case Leupold's early death precluded a significant contribution to that publication.

Leupold was intent not only in preserving the rich Lutheran musical heritage in today's world, but encouraged the production and performance of contemporary expressions of a living faith. To that end, he can be seen as a pioneer in world music. Working for the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva Leupold, assisted by an international advisory committee, edited the fourth edition of *Laudamus*, published in 1970, prepared for use at the 1970 assembly of the Lutheran World Federation. From the preface "This time [in addition to including traditional Scandinavian and German chorales] the attempt has been made to go further and include classical hymns from the French and eastern European traditions as well as more contemporary texts and melodies, in particular from Asia, Africa and Latin America....The inclusion of new material is based on the fact that hymnody is a living, ever new, and not just traditional, expression of the praise of God... If -- as one is tempted to hope -- at least some of the hymns from the "third world" make their way into the hymnals of Europe and North America, it will serve to give greater breadth to the ecumenical character of "Lutheran hymnody."<sup>10</sup> One of the hymns in the collection, the Easter hymn, "Christ has arisen, Alleluia", appeared in this publication. It was originally a Tanzanian hymn, "Mfurahini, haleluya", and was recently reprinted as no. 364 in *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*. In 1996 it was chosen for the *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*, Germany, as no. 116 "Er ist erstanden alleluia". The German translation was done by Leupold and has become quite popular in Germany.

Perhaps Leupold's most enduring contribution to musical scholarship was his edition of Luther's *Liturgy and Hymns*, volume 53 of the American Edition of *Luther's Works* published in 1965 by Fortress Press, a must for any pastor as well as organ student.

Here Leupold truly found his voice and speaks out clearly for a more profound appreciation of the rugged beauty of our Lutheran choral heritage. In his introduction to his edition of Luther's hymns he wrote:

To the modern ear Luther's verses sound awkward, if not uncouth. They lack the rich emotional overtones, the mellow flow of words, and the metric regularity that we commonly associate with poetry. Some of them sound more like prose than poetry. In short, the standards that govern the editing of modern hymnbooks are no help in understanding Luther as a hymnist. The hymns of the nineteenth century that form the bulk of today's hymnals were written according to the artistic canons of Romanticism. They use beautifully polished phrases and dance or march rhythms to create a mood and to give an ornate expression to personal religious feelings. But Luther's hymns were meant not to create a mood but to convey a message. They were a confession of faith not of personal feelings. That is why, in the manner of folk songs, they present their subject vividly and dramatically, but without the benefit of ornate language and other poetic refinements. They were written not to be read but to be sung by a whole congregation.

The language and vocabulary are therefore simple and direct. Like the ancient Hebrew poets he knew so well, Luther used few adjectives and formed brief pungent lines consisting almost exclusively of verbs and nouns. Most of the words are monosyllables. The thought is condensed and concentrated. Frequently every line forms a sentence of its own.<sup>11</sup>

Leupold goes on to show how 19<sup>th</sup> aesthetics has robbed the 16<sup>th</sup> century hymns of their vitality, the jagged-edged rhythms now corseted in the straightjacket of duple and triple meters (twos and threes), a succession of poetical feet that is a regularly-recurring succession of stressed and unstressed syllables. Assonance, the resemblance of sounds, either vowels or consonants between line ends, not rhyme proper was preferred. 16<sup>th</sup> century music had no bar lines, no regular succession of regular units, just a *tactus*, a continuing succession of temporal but not metrical values. The melody was usually found not in the soprano but in the tenor, and the metrical versions we have were undoubtedly taken from polyphonic originals which forced the melody into a rhythmic form that was consonant harmonically with the other parts. Perhaps the original was sung isochronously like Gregorian chant!

Of course, it is almost impossible to preserve in modern English the literal meaning of a sixteenth-century German hymn, together with its original meter and peculiar style. One always has to sacrifice either on the side of loyalty to the original or on the side of an English form that will sound convincing and make sense. In this edition faithfulness to the original wording, style and meter seemed more important than a completely idiomatic English rendition. Perhaps the most felicitous attempt to translate Luther's hymns without loss of their original ruggedness was made by the Scottish theologian and writer George MacDonald (1824-1905). MacDonald's translation used in this edition has been completely passed by in common use, presumably because he consciously, and often successfully, tried to express Luther's robust lines in an English idiom of similar character. Obviously he took for a pattern the older English verse. He sought to preserve the vivid metaphors, metrical irregularity, and folk-song quality of Luther's hymns. He imitated Luther's preference for

monosyllables by using mostly Anglo-Saxon words. Due to the prevalence of feminine rhymes in German poetry and their scarcity in English with its lack of suffixes, many hymn translations from the German suffer from a tedious repetition of rhymes on "-ation," such as creation, salvation, foundation, and justification. These words tend to make the English style more academic and pompous than the German. MacDonald almost completely avoided them. Of course, his verse may strike the modern reader simply as something odd, if not 'exotic.'"

In regards to the canonic "A Mighty Fortress" there are some 63 English translations of the chorale. Leupold's choice strikes us as odd. Perhaps every congregation should make its own translation. (first and fourth verses)

1. Our God he is a castle strong  
A good mailcoat and weapon;  
He sets us free from every wrong  
That wickedness would heap on.  
The old knavish foe  
He means earnest now;  
Force and cunning sly  
His horrid policy,  
On earth there's nothing like him.

4. The word they shall allow to stand,  
Nor any thanks have for it;  
He is with us, at our right hand,  
With the gifts of his spirit.  
If they take our life,  
Wealth, name, child and wife-  
Let everything go:  
They have no profit so;  
The kingdom ours remaineth.

#### 4 What needs to be done in Leupold research?

Primary is to find out what impact he had in the southern Ontario region, dignified by the German term, *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, the reception of his editions as well as his ideas not only in the Lutheran sphere, but also in the Anglo-Catholic and possibly the Catholic sphere. He must have been known here, but how well? I found one letter from Leupold addressed to Arnold Walter at the Faculty of Music in Toronto asking about the opera program in Toronto, but the American musicologist whom Walter hired, Harvey Olnick, had never heard of him.

A systematic study of the Leupold *fonds* in the Laurier archives is a must. I am augmenting their holdings by donating a transcript of the interview I had with Gertrude Leupold on 5 Oct. 2002. I have only barely scratched the surface here, and that only in the musical realm. What about all the materials in the pastoral-theological area? Are there

students who will undertake this as a dissertation project? Funding could probably be obtained from grants organizations and foundations.

I have tried to show how Ulrich Leupold is unknown to the Jewish community, to the Laurier community, and to a great extent to the Lutheran community. From my somewhat privileged position, however, I am perhaps more aware than most of how little we know about Waterloo's unknown genius, Ulrich Leupold. For one who studies Leupold, in one sense his accomplishments are a humbling experience. On the spiritual side, however, we can give God thanks that the aberrant racial policies of a political regime on the other side of the globe brought us a man of Leupold's caliber. We are the beneficiaries and should be thankful for this gift.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This article was originally given as a public lecture by Dr Helmer at a commemoration of Ulrich Leupold's career held on March 5, 2011 at Waterloo Lutheran Seminary as part of the Seminary's centennial celebrations.

<sup>2</sup> Wilfrid Laurier University Archives, Ulrich Leupold Fonds. 1.66a, 1.66b, "Theology and musicology" notes and excerpts I, II. "Leupold's student notes in impeccable German Sütterlin script. The Leupold Fonds contain materials spanning Leupold's entire career, from his German studies to the final address to the Seminary in 1970.

<sup>3</sup> WLUA, Leupold Fonds, 4.1.

<sup>4</sup> Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologian, Christian, Man for his Times: A Biography*. Rev. ed. by Victoria Barnett (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Berlin: Hahnfeld, 1940.

<sup>6</sup> Interview of Gertrude Leupold by the author, 5 October, 2002. The complete transcript of the interview and the recorded audio version are contained in Special Collections, Marvin Duchow Music Library, McGill University, Paul Helmer *fonds*.

<sup>7</sup> Library and Archives Canada, RG26, Series A-2-b, vol. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Erich R. W. Schultz, ed. *Vita Laudanda: Essays in Memory of Ulrich S. Leupold*, (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1976), p. 173-192 includes a bibliography of Leupold's writings.

<sup>9</sup> These pictures are from an unpublished volume compiled by Ms Lorna Freymond for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Maynooth congregation. (Source: Rev Carey Meadows-Helmer).

<sup>10</sup> Ulrich Leupold, ed. *Laudamus: Hymnal for the Lutheran World Federation*, 4th ed. (Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1970), p.xvii-xviii.

<sup>11</sup> Ulrich Leupold, ed. *Liturgy and Hymns. Luther's Works*, v.53. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), p.197-198.

## Addendum

The following is the Music Program which was arranged and hosted by Dr Helmer for the celebration of Ulrich Leupold's career held at Waterloo Lutheran Seminary on March 5, 2011.

Leupold Legacy  
Paul Helmer

Music Program

Keffer Chapel, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2011

*Jesus meine Zuversicht* chorale prelude for organ  
David Hall, organ

A. W. Leupold (1868-1940)

Liturgical responses taken from the doctoral dissertation of Ulrich Leupold, 1932  
Sung by David Mieske, David Hall, organ

*I am the Way*, anthem ed. Ulrich Leupold A. W. Leupold  
Alumni Choir, Chapel Choir, Leupold Chorale

*Hosanna to the Son of David* Bartholomäus Gesius (c. 1560-1613)  
anthem ed. Ulrich Leupold  
Alumni Choir, Chapel Choir, Leupold Chorale

*Lauda Sion Salvatorem/Zion, Praise your Saviour* Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707)  
cantata for 2 violins, 2 sopranos, baritone, organ, ed. Ulrich Leupold

*Arise, shine for thy light is come*, Max Reger (1873-1916)  
Responsory, ed. Ulrich Leupold  
Chapel Choir

*Christ has arisen /Er ist erstanden/ Mfurahini, haleluya.*  
1. Swahili version of Tanzanian hymn, Mfurahini, haleluya  
2. German version *Er ist erstanden Evangelisches Gesangbuch*, Germany, as no. 116, German translation by Ulrich Leupold  
3. English version *Christ has arisen* from *Laudamus*, ed. Ulrich Leupold 1969; no. 364 in *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*