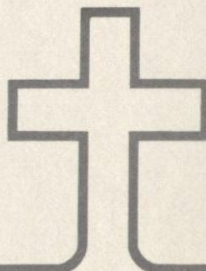


HYMNAL COMPANION
to the
Lutheran Book of Worship

MARILYN KAY STULKEN

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Contents

To My Parents
Leon and Lenora Stulken

The fourth is the developed art form of the chant—highly ornate, florid and melismatic. Stylistically they can be described as follows:

Categories 1 and 2 have many syllables to few notes.

Category 4 has many notes to one syllable.

Category 3 is syllabic and has mostly one note to each syllable.

As was the music of the Eastern church, the chant is modal in tonality. There are eight modes corresponding to the *echoi* (cf. chart on page 9). Within the eight modes there are four pairs having the same *finalis* or key center, but different melodic dominants, as given below. In the case of modes 1 and 2, for example, the *finalis* for both is *d*, but each has a different melodic dominant—mode 1 has *a* and mode 2 has *f*. The melodic range for mode 1 is from *d* to *d*, and for mode 2 is from *a* to *a*.

AUTHENTIC		PLAGAL	
1. Dorian Final Dom.		2. Hypodorian Final Dom.	
3. Phrygian Final Dom.		4. Hypophrygian Final Dom.	
5. Lydian Final Dom.		6. Hypolydian Final Dom.	
7. Mixolydian Final Dom.		8. Hypomixolydian Final Dom.	

German Hymnody

Carl F. Schalk

The Early Reformation Period (c. 1517-1577)

One of the significant contributions of the Reformation to the Christian Church was the restoration of popular song to the people. While the popular singing of religious hymns and songs was not unknown in the Middle Ages, its use in connection with the liturgy was infrequent, sporadic, and—except in certain circumstances—often proscribed by the church. The tradition of popular religious song was, however, nourished up to the sixteenth century through such varied vehicles as the medieval *Leisen*; popular songs in the Minnesinger and Meistersinger traditions, some of which infiltrated the church in unofficial ways; songs of the Flagellants and other enthusiasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the songs produced by mystics of the fourteenth century; and the general movement toward the vernacular in worship evident already in the fifteenth century. By the time of the sixteenth-century Reformation there was available to Luther and his followers not only a variety of popular liturgical, devotional, and ecstatic hymnody, but there existed a climate in which it was possible to involve the people in liturgical congregational song in a more significant way than in the preceding centuries.

Since Martin Luther (1483-1546) (LBW 48) stood at the center of the German Reformation and its encouragement of popular congregational song, it is crucial that his view of congregational song and its role in worship be clearly understood. Luther's view of congregational song was centered in a view of music as a gift of God, a gift which found its highest fulfillment in the proclamation of God's Word. While it is a commonplace to note that Luther's restoration of congregational song to a place of prominence was a significant contribution of the Reformation to the entire church, what is less commonly observed is that Luther viewed the congregational hymn or chorale as an integral and vital part of the *liturgy* and not merely as a general Christian song loosely attached to worship. It was *liturgical hymnody*—in which doxa and dogma were united in doxological proclamation, and in which the people joined together in praise, mutual expression of the faith, and in the simple, practical, and liturgical demonstration of the universal priesthood of all believers—that was the genius of the developing hymnody of the early Lutheran Reformation.

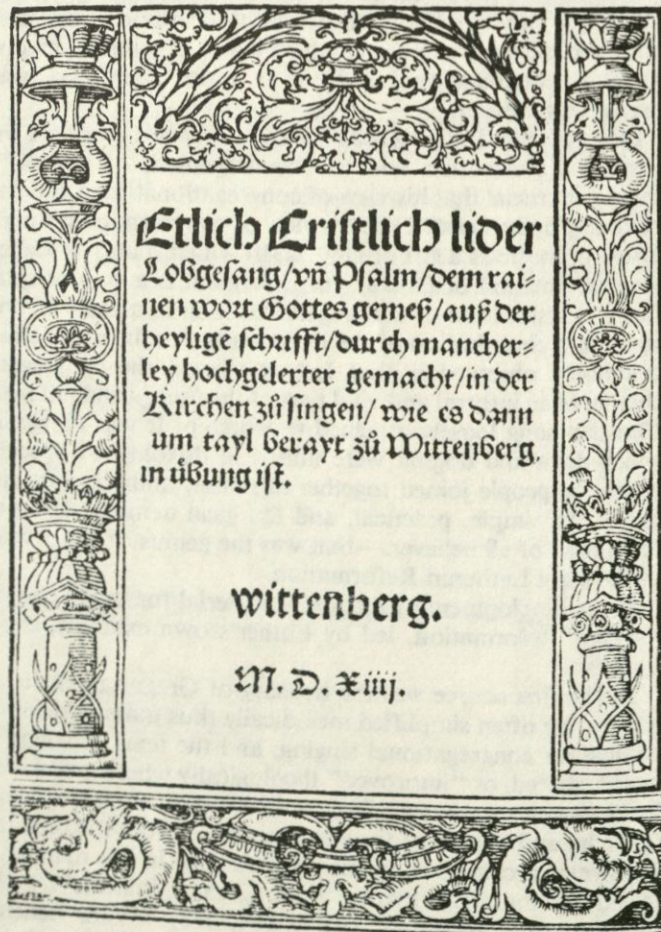
In the development of a body of material for use in congregational song, the early Reformation, led by Luther's own example, explored five chief sources.

1) The first source was the treasury of Gregorian chant, the melodies of which were often simplified melodically thus making them more readily accessible for congregational singing, and the texts of which were often corrected, altered, or "improved" theologically where they were contrary to the Reformation's understanding of the Gospel. Chants taken from both the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass as well as from the repertoire of Latin office hymns became part of the people's song in this manner. Thus the chant melody of the office hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus" (LBW 472) became "Komm, Gott Schöpfer" (LBW 284, 473); "Veni Redemptor gentium" gave birth to at least three tunes—"Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort"

(LBW 230), “Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland” (LBW 28), and “Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich” (LBW 471); “A solis ortus cardine” (LBW 64) became “Christum wir sollen loben schön”; and so on. Certain Reformation tunes developed from the repertoire of sequence hymns (see above, p. 14): “Christ lag in Todesbanden” (LBW 134) from the “Victimae paschali laudes” (LBW 137) via “Christ ist erstanden” (LBW 136), and “Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet” (LBW 215) which was drawn from the “Lauda Sion Salvatorem.” Chants from the Ordinary of the Mass served as a source for still other melodies such as the “Kyrie Gott Vater in Ewigkeit” (LBW 168), an adaptation of the “Kyrie fons bonitatis,” and “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr” (LBW 166) drawn from a Gregorian *Gloria*. Even Luther’s “Jesaia, dem Propheten das geschah” (LBW 528) has a marked similarity to a Gregorian *Sanctus* as does Nikolaus Decius’ “O Lamm Gottes unschuldig” (LBW 111). The early Reformation’s use of the Gregorian repertoire, freely adapted in this way, was not only an eminently practical matter, utilizing a large body of material already at hand; it also underscored the Reformation church’s concern for catholicity by continuing to root the people’s song in the traditional melodies which had nourished Christians for centuries.

2) A second source of early Reformation hymnody was the *Leisen*, a

Title page from the Etlich Christlich lider (“Achtliederbuch”) printed in Wittenberg in 1524. Two tunes from this earliest of Lutheran hymnals are included in the LBW: “Es ist das heil” (LBW 194, 297) and “Nun freut euch” (LBW 299).



body of sacred, pre-Reformation German folk hymns characterized by the use of some form of "Kyrie eleison" as the conclusion of each stanza. *Leisen* were sung in processions, by pilgrims, at other special religious occasions, and occasionally at Mass. In the later Middle Ages certain *Leisen* associated with particular festivals were sometimes sung by the people in the vernacular alternating with the Latin verses of the sequences sung by the choir. Some of the early *Leisen* included the twelfth-century "Christ is arisen" ("Christ ist erstanden," LBW 136), "We journey in the name of God" ("In Gottes Namen fahren wir"), and "To God the Holy Spirit let us pray" ("Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist," LBW 317). Other popular *Leisen* included "All praise to you, eternal Lord" ("Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," LBW 48), "These are the holy Ten Commands" ("Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot"), "Man, wouldst thou live all blissfully" ("Mensch, willst du leben seliglich"), "Even as we live each day" ("Mitten wir im Leben sind," LBW 350), and "Jesus Christ, our Savior true" ("Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod").

3) Another source of early Reformation hymnody was the Cantios, Latin spiritual songs of pre-Reformation times which although religious in content were not directly associated with the liturgy. These included the macaronic song "Good Christian friends, rejoice" ("In dulci jubilo," LBW 55) and the "He whom shepherds once came praising" ("Quem pastores laudavere") which when joined with "The glorious angels came today" ("Nunc angelorem") and the "God's own son is born a child" ("Magnum nomen Domini") form the Quempas carol (LBW 68).

4) Another source was that group of songs which were the result of the process of contrafaction. Generally, this process consisted of providing a sacred text to an already existing popular secular melody. The classic example is Luther's children's song for Christmas, "From heaven above to earth I come" ("Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her," LBW 51) based on the secular song "Good news from far abroad I bring" ("Aus fremden Landen komm ich her"). Other examples of melodies originally associated with secular texts which were supplied by the Reformation church with sacred texts include not only the well-known "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" (taken into the church with Paul Gerhardt's text "Now rest beneath night's shadow," LBW 276, 282) and "Herzlich tut mich verlangen" (originally associated with the secular love song "Mein G'müt ist mir verwirret" and used in the church with the text "O sacred head, now wounded" LBW 116, 117), but also such tunes as "Auf meinem lieben Gott" (originally associated with the text "Venus, du und dein Kind sind alle beide blind"), "O Herre Gott, dein göttlich Wort" (originally associated with "Weiss mir ein Blümlein blaue"), and many others. Such a free use and adaptation of secular melodies for sacred purposes was made possible in part because the distinction between sacred and secular musical styles as we think of it today was for most practical purposes nonexistent. The Reformation church was by no means alone in the use of contrafacta; the Catholic church also utilized this device, although with less frequency.

5) A final source of hymnody for the Reformation church was newly-composed hymns. Luther encouraged Christian poets to prepare new songs which the people could make their own and with which they could praise their God and proclaim the Gospel. In his "Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg" (1523) Luther expressed just such encouragement.

I also wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings . . . (*Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, p. 36)

Luther himself set the example, and a careful examination of the kinds of hymns which Luther wrote is rewarding for what it tells of his view of the role of hymnody in worship.

Noteworthy among Luther's original hymns is a group based on the Psalms. These include his "Out of the depths I cry to you" ("Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir," LBW 295) based on Psalm 130, and "May God bestow on us his grace" ("Es wolle Gott uns genädig sein," LBW 335) based on Psalm 67. The idea of writing such German Psalms was continued by other writers such as Johann Graumann in his "My soul, now praise your maker!" ("Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren," LBW 519) based on Psalm 103. Other hymns by Luther include his "We all believe in one true God" ("Wir glauben all an einen Gott," LBW 374), a paraphrase of the Nicene Creed, and "Isaiah in a vision did of old" ("Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah," LBW 528), a paraphrase of the *Sanctus*. Both of these hymns are generally acknowledged as the work of Luther, both text and tune. Other hymns for which Luther either wrote the text or corrected, adapted, or wrote additional stanzas to other texts include a variety of church year hymns and six catechism hymns: "These are the holy Ten Commands" ("Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot") and "Man, wouldst thou live blissfully" ("Mensch, willst du leben seliglich"), Luther's long and short versions of the Ten Commandments; "We all believe in one true God" ("Wir glauben all an einen Gott," LBW 374), a paraphrase of the Nicene Creed; "Our Father in the heaven who art" ("Vater unser im Himmelreich"), Luther's version of the Lord's Prayer; "To Jordan came the Christ, our Lord" ("Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam," LBW 79), a hymn of Baptism; and "Jesus Christ, our God and Savior" ("Jesus Christus, unser Heiland"), a hymn for Holy Communion. Leupold* lists thirty-five hymns with which Luther was involved in one way or another which were intended for congregational singing in addition to his first song "A new song here shall be begun" ("Ein neues Lied wir heben an"), which was a ballad protesting the martyrdom of two young men in Brussels in 1523, and "To me she's dear, the worthy maid" ("Sie ist mir lieb, die werthe Magd"), a courtly air also not intended for congregational singing. Luther also wrote or assisted in the preparation of a number of liturgical chants (*Agnus Dei, Te Deum, Magnificat, Gloria in excelsis*).

Luther's example and encouragement inspired a number of writers of his time to provide new hymns for congregational use. Among these were Justus Jonas (1493-1555) who wrote "Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält"; Paul Eber (1511-1569) who wrote such texts as "When in the hour of deepest need" ("Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein," LBW 303), "To God the anthem raising" ("Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen"), and "Lord God, we all to Thee give praise" ("Herr Gott dich loben alle wir," Eber's German translation of Philipp Melancthon's Latin text); Lazarus Spengler (1479-1534) who wrote "All mankind fell in Adam's fall" ("Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt"); Albrecht of Brandenburg (1522-1557) to whom is attributed "The will of God is always best" ("Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit," LBW 450); Paul Speratus (1484-1551) whose text "Salvation unto us has come" ("Es ist das Heil uns kommen her," LBW 297) is recognized as among the greatest of the

early Reformation hymns; Johannes Schneesing (?-1567) who wrote "I trust, O Christ, in you alone" ("Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ," LBW 395); and Nikolaus Decius (c. 1485-?) who wrote both text and tune for two great Lutheran classics, "All glory be to God on high" ("Allein Gott in der Höh sie Ehr," LBW 166) and "Lamb of God, pure and sinless" ("O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig," LBW 111). Nikolaus Herman (c. 1480-1561) is remembered not only for such hymn texts as "Let all together praise our God" ("Lobt Gott, ihr Christen," LBW 47), "The radiant sun shines in the sky" ("Die helle Sonn' leuchtet herfür"), and "When my last hour is close at hand" ("Wenn mein Stundlein vorhanden ist"), but also for such exemplary tunes as "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen" (LBW 47, 300, 351), "Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag" (LBW 154), and "O heilige Dreifaltigkeit" (LBW 275).

Luther and many of the early Reformation hymnwriters stood in the tradition of the Meistersingers in which poet and tune-maker were the same person. This is reflected in the frequent use of the barform, a favorite device of the Meistersingers, in many of the newly-composed chorales of this period. In essence the barform was a three-part poetic and musical structure consisting of a *Stollen*, the repetition of the *Stollen*, and an *Abgesang*. Each *Stollen* ordinarily consisted of two parts, the *Abgesang* of three. Thus the normal barform could be schematized as: A(ab)—A(ab)—B(cde). Such hymns as "Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice" ("Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," (LBW 299), "A mighty fortress is our God" ("Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," LBW 228, 229), and "All glory be to God on high" ("Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," LBW 166) all reflect the use of this textual and musical structure.

The Lutheran chorale (the word chorale reflects its origin in the German word *Choral* meaning the Gregorian chant), as the congregational song of this period came to be known, reflected a variety of roots and origins. Its texts spoke directly of sin and salvation, of man's fall and his redemption through Christ's victory over death and the devil. Its melodies were popular, vigorous, and filled with rhythmic life. They were sung in unison without accompaniment, the people frequently alternating with choir and instruments in their presentation, especially in the *de tempore* or Gradual hymn (Hymn of the Day). These songs were essentially liturgical songs, songs not simply to involve the people but to involve them in singing the liturgy. All of this was tied directly to Luther's concern for the hymn as the proclamation of the Good News, as the "living voice of the Gospel" (*viva vox evangellii*). Leupold* stresses this same theme as he remarks that "Luther's hymns were not meant to create a mood, but to convey a message. They were a confession of faith, not of personal feelings." (p. 197) This then was the mood of early Lutheran hymnody, a vigorous proclamation of doxological praise in texts which spoke the Good News plainly and directly, and melodies which matched in their strength and vigor the proclamation of that same Gospel.

This renewed interest in congregational song resulted in the publication of numerous hymn collections during the early Reformation period. The earliest of these collections and the first collection of Lutheran hymns to be identified as such was the *Etlich Christlich lider* (1524), the so-called *Achtliederbuch* because of the eight hymns which it contained (four by Luther, three by Speratus, one by an unnamed author). It contained only five melodies. The *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* (1524), edited by Luther's friend and musical advisor Johann Walther (LBW

350), was not a hymnbook in the modern sense of the word but rather a collection of polyphonic motets for choir based on many of the old and newer chorales and hymns. Other early collections include the *Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein* (1524) from Erfurt (which contained 25 texts with 15 melodies), *Eyn gesang Buchleyn* (1525) from Zwickau (containing 24 texts with 17 melodies), *Teutsch Kirchenampt mit lobgesengen vn götlichen psalmen* (1525) from Straszburg (containing 14 melodies), *Enchiridion geistlicher gesenge vnd Psalmen* (1528) published by Michael Blum in Leipzig (containing 63 texts and 27 melodies), Michael Weisse's (LBW 37) collection of the Bohemian Brethren, *Ein New Gesengbuchlen* (1531) (containing 157 texts and 112 melodies), Joseph Klug's (LBW 85) hymnal published in Wittenberg (1529, a second edition published in 1533), Valentin Schumann's *Geistliche Lieder* (1539), and what is probably the finest hymnal of this period, the *Geystliche Lieder* (1545), the so-called Babst hymnal named after the printer of the collection, and generally considered to be the most representative German hymnal of this period. It contained 89 hymns with an additional 40 in an appendix. The proliferation of hymn collections throughout Germany and beyond attests to the continued popularity of the chorale and its rapid spread throughout the areas where the Reformation reached. From 1524 to Luther's death in 1546 it is estimated that almost 100 hymnals were produced in Germany.

It should not be overlooked that German Catholicism also produced several important hymnals during this time, among them Vehe's *Ein New Gesangbuchlein Geistlicher Lieder* (1537) and, later in the century, Johann Leisentritt's *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (1567) which bears a striking resemblance to the earlier Babst hymnal of 1545.

The Period of Lutheran Orthodoxy or Lutheran Scholasticism (c. 1577-c. 1617)

The signing of the Formula of Concord in 1577 (and the subsequent appearance of the Book of Concord in 1580) serves as a convenient if somewhat arbitrary date in noting the continuing development of German hymnody. The Formula of Concord was important in that it settled a number of bitter theological controversies which developed among the Lutherans following Luther's death in 1546. Many of these controversies developed from the later views of Philipp Melanchthon, Luther's coworker and leading humanist of the Reformation. While the Formula of Concord rejected much of Melanchthon's theology, it made use of his Aristotelian methodology to systematize Luther's theological thought, introducing logic and rationalism into a period known variously as the age of Orthodoxy or as the period of Lutheran Scholasticism.

It is clear in retrospect that the vigorous hymnic production of the early years of the Reformation was giving way to a transitional period in which the future shape of German hymnody was not yet quite clear. By the 1550s such early hymnwriters as Speratus, Jonas, Decius, Spengler, and Albrecht of Brandenburg had passed from the scene. The 1560s saw the deaths of Johann Hermann, Schneising, and Eber, and a new generation of hymnwriters was appearing on the scene, many of whom had been involved in one way or another in the various controversies which shook Lutheranism in the latter 1500s.

It was inevitable that these controversies would have their effect on the hymnody written during those years. "Dry, dogmatic, didactic, and often bombastic verse became the vogue. There were rhymed Epistles and Gospels; the poetic expression became weak and unyielding." (Fred

Precht, *Church Music* 66.1, p. 9) One poet, Ludwig Helmbold, even produced a metrical version of the Augsburg Confession.

While most of the poorer hymnody of these times has passed out of use, there still remain hymns from this time which in their popular objectivity and often childlike naïveté were warmly received and continue to be so still today. Hymns by such writers as Nikolaus Selnecker (1532-1592), a student at Wittenberg and favorite pupil of Melanchthon and one of the writers of the Formula of Concord, who wrote "Let me be yours forever" ("Lass mich dein sein und bleiben," LBW 490), and such other texts as "Lord Jesus Christ with us abide" ("Ach bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ"), "O faithful God, thanks be to thee" ("Wir danken dir, o treuer Gott"), and "O Lord, my God, I cry to thee" ("O Herre Gott, in meiner Not"); Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (1523-1599) who contributed "The day is surely drawing near" ("Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit," LBW 321) and "O Holy Spirit grant us grace" ("Gott Heil'ger Geist, hilf uns mit Grund"); Martin Schalling (1532-1608) who wrote the masterful hymn of comfort, "Lord, thee I love with all my heart" ("~~Herzlich Lieb hab ich dich, O Herr,~~" LBW 325); and Ludwig Helmbold (1532-1598) whose metrical version of the Augsburg Confession is now forgotten but whose timeless "From God can nothing move me" ("Von Gott will ich nicht lassen," LBW 468) and such other hymns as "Lord, help us ever to retain" ("Herr Gott, erhalt uns für und für") and "Ye parents, hear what Jesus taught" ("Höret, ihr Eltern, Christus spricht") continue to be sung.

Somewhat later writers, all born in the decade or two following Luther's death, contributed significant hymns which continue to find a place in hymnals today: Martin Behm (1557-1622) who wrote "O Jesus King of glory" ("O König aller Ehren"), "Lord Jesus Christ, my life, my light" ("O Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht"), and "O blessed Holy Trinity" ("O heilige Dreifaltigkeit"); Valerius Herberger (1562-1627) who wrote "Farewell I gladly bid thee" ("Valet will ich dir geben"); and Philipp Nicolai (1556-1608) who contributed two of the finest hymns of this or any period, the king and queen of chorales: "Wake, awake, for night is flying" ("Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," LBW 31) and "O Morning Star, how fair and bright!" ("Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern," LBW 76) for which Nicolai wrote both text and tune. This period marks the beginning of the transition from a more objective and confessional hymnody (*Bekennnisslieder*) to hymnody of a somewhat more personal, devotional character (*Erbauungslieder*). While this new emphasis was to come into much greater prominence by the mid-seventeenth century, its beginnings can be seen already in the more introspective hymnody which developed from the personal trials and tribulation associated with the doctrinal controversies of the latter 1500s.

The last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth century was also the great period of the cantionals, collections of hymns and chorales for choir in four or five parts in which the melody was placed in the upper part (in contrast to the Renaissance practice of placing the cantus firmus in the tenor), the remaining voices proceeding in homorhythmic fashion. While intimations of this new practice may be seen earlier in the sixteenth century, it was Lucas Osiander's *Fuenfzig geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (1586) which set forth for the first time in a clear and consistent fashion the basic characteristics of cantional style. Osiander's title, "Fifty sacred songs and psalms arranged so, that an entire Christian congregation can sing along," indicated both the purpose and the intent of the collection. Osiander's collection in-

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spired the publication of numerous cantional collections, most notable among them being Hans Leo Hassler's (LBW 116) *Kirchengesaenge, Psalmen, und geistliche Lieder . . . simpliciter gesetzt* (1608) and Michael Praetorius' (LBW 36) *Musae Sioniae* (Pts. VI-VIII, 1609-10). Other similar collections were published by Andreas Raselius (1588), Seth Calvisius (1597), Johann Eccard [LBW 124] (1597), Bartholomäus Gesius [LBW 455] (1601), Melchior Franck [LBW 348] (1602), Melchior Vulpus [LBW 115] (1604), and many others.

These cantional collections were generally intended to be used by the choirs (singing in parts), the congregation singing the chorale melodies simultaneously, or as settings for choir alone alternating with the congregation in the singing of the chorales. In this period the organ began to assume a more dominant position in accompanying congregational singing by first doubling the choir's parts in the cantional collections and, by the later seventeenth century, ultimately replacing the choir and accompanying the congregation alone. One of the early references to the use of the organ to accompany congregational singing is found in the *Hamburger Melodey-Gesang-buch* (1604). With the publication of Johann Hermann Schein's (LBW 123) *Cantional oder Gesangbuch Augsbургischer Confession* (1627) which included figured bass, the development of the cantional takes a new turn in which the organ gradually assumes an increasingly important role and in which the history of the cantional collection becomes the history of the organ chorale book.

Among the hymn tunes which developed in this period the tunes of Melchior Vulpus (c. 1560-1615) deserve special mention. Among them are "Lobt Gott den Herren, ihr" (LBW 542), "Christus, der ist mein Leben" (LBW 263), "Gelobt sei Gott" (LBW 144), "Jesu Kreuz, Leiden und Pein" (LBW 115), and "Die helle Sonn leucht" (LBW 292). Melchior Franck's "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt" (LBW 348) has also continued in use in many hymnals, as has Bartholomäus Gesius' "Machs mit mir, Gott" (LBW 455).

The Period of Paul Gerhardt, the Thirty Years' War, and the Development of New Literary Concerns (c. 1618-c. 1675)

This period encompasses the time of the Thirty Years' War and the development of new literary concerns in German hymnody. Its most prominent representatives are Paul Gerhardt (LBW 23) and Johann Crüger (LBW 23), two imposing figures, one a writer of texts and the other a writer of melodies, whose work played such an important part in this period of hymnody.

It is difficult to underestimate the importance of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) on the development of hymnody of this time. The privation and distress which was the lot of countless people caught up in this war was a significant factor in the development of a new kind of hymn. Johannes Riedel (*The Lutheran Chorale; Its Basic Traditions*, Minneapolis, 1967) characterizes the times as follows: "Confronted with the horrible killing and pillaging of the Thirty Years' War, the individual sought enlightenment, self-understanding, comfort, and consolation in a personal and subjective approach to God." It was inevitable that the hymnody which developed in this period increasingly sought to relate more closely to the life situations in which people found themselves, a fact particularly evident in the many so-called "cross and comfort" hymns which played a prominent part in the story of this period's hymnody.

While the Thirty Years' War had a profound effect on the content of

the hymnody of these times, an equally important factor was the matter of stylistic changes in the German language influenced in large part by the work of Martin Opitz (1597-1639) whose *Buch der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) exemplified the new approach to language. It was Opitz who, in leading a reform in the art of German poetry, introduced into hymnody a greater concern for metrical regularity and purity of language. The overall impact of these reforms was to give the German hymnody of the time a smoother and more polished character both rhythmically and poetically. This development, together with a theological content which was warmer and more closely tied to the everyday situations of the people, served to give a decidedly new character to the hymns of this period.

Another important development of the time is seen in the increasing separation of the roles of poet and composer. The Meistersinger tradition in which text and tune were the creation of a single person—the basic tradition of the early Reformation—increasingly gave way to a situation in which the poet wrote words which were then set by another, the hymn tune composer. No longer is the pattern that of a Luther or a Nicolai who wrote both text and tune, but hymnists are seen more and more as separated into text writers or tune writers. Nevertheless, use of the old barform as a structural principle continues to be seen in such great hymns from this period as “Now thank we all our God” (“Nun danket alle Gott,” LBW 533, 534), “Soul, adorn yourself with gladness” (“Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele,” LBW 224), and “Jesus, priceless treasure” (“Jesu, meine Freude,” LBW 457, 458). With the gradual abandonment of the modal system (in which most of the early chorales had been conceived) and the growing importance of tonality, melodies of this time are increasingly cast in either major or minor keys.

The transition to this new approach to hymnody is seen not only in Martin Opitz's own “Arise and shine in splendor” (“Brich auf und werde lichte”) but perhaps most clearly in the work of Johann Heermann (1585-1647) who was among the first to adopt the new approach to poetry. His hymns—among which the best and most sung are perhaps “Ah, holy Jesus” (“Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen,” LBW 123), “O God, my faithful God” (“O Gott, du frommer Gott,” LBW 504), and “O Christ, our light, O Radiance true” (“O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht,” LBW 380)—combine the objective character of the earlier Reformation with the cleaner poetic approach of his own time.

Other hymnists of this time, born in the late sixteenth century, include Matthäus von Löwenstern (1594-1648) remembered for his texts “Lord of our life and God of our salvation” (“Christe, du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeine,” LBW 366) and “Now let all loudly sing praise” (“Nun preiset alle”); Johann Meyfart (1590-1642) who wrote the text for “Jerusalem, whose towers touch the skies” (“Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt,” LBW 348); Josua Stegmann (1588-1632) who wrote “Abide with us, our Savior” (“Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade,” LBW 263); and Martin Rinkart (1586-1649) remembered for his “Now thank we all our God” (“Nun danket alle Gott”).

Somewhat later hymnwriters include Heinrich Held (1620-1659) who wrote “Come, oh, come, O quick'ning Spirit” (“Komm, o komm, du Geist des Lebens,” LBW 478) and “Let the earth now praise the Lord” (“Gott sei Dank durch alle Welt”); Josua Wegelin (1604-1640) who wrote “On Christ's ascension I now build” (“Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein”); Simon Dach (1605-1659) whose “Through Jesus' blood and merit” (“Ich bin bei Gott in Gnaden”) and “Oh, how blest are ye whose

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toils are ended" ("O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen") continue to be sung; and Johann Rist (1607-1667), a prolific writer of hymns which include "Arise, sons of the kingdom" ("Auf, auf, ihr Reichsgenossen"), "O darkest woe" ("O Traurigkeit"), "Lord Jesus Christ, Thou living Bread" ("Du Lebensbrot, Herr Jesu Christ"), "O living bread from heaven" ("Wie wohl hast du gelabet," LBW 197), and "Help us O Lord! Behold we enter" ("Hilf, Herr Jesu, lass gelingen").

The person who above all others represented the spirit, turmoil, and promise of the times was Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676), preacher and poet who had personally suffered the ravages of the Thirty Years' War and who stood as a staunch representative of Lutheran orthodoxy often in difficult circumstances. Gerhardt wrote 123 hymns in all, and even the hymns of Martin Luther have hardly attained the popularity of Gerhardt's hymns as they have been translated into the English language. With Gerhardt we can see most clearly the transition to a more personal and subjective hymnody. Certainly among his most popular and significant hymns are "O Lord, how shall I meet you" ("Wie soll ich dich empfangen," LBW 23), "Once again my heart rejoices" ("Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen," LBW 46), "A Lamb goes uncomplaining forth" ("Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld," LBW 105), "Awake, my heart, with gladness" ("Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden," LBW 129), and his masterful "O sacred head, now wounded" ("O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," LBW 116, 117) based on the Latin poem by Bernard of Clairvaux. Not to be overlooked, however, are such other masterpieces as "If God himself be for me" ("Ist Gott für mich, so trete," LBW 454), "Evening and morning" ("Die güldne Sonne," LBW 465), "Commit what ever grieves thee" ("Befiehl du deine Wege"), "We sing, Immanuel, Thy praise" ("Solllt ich meinem Gott nicht singen"), the tender Christmas hymn "O Jesus Christ Thy manger is" ("O Jesu Christ dein Kripplein ist"), and many others.

Pertinent to Gerhardt's contribution to hymnody is the partnership which he enjoyed with Johann Crüger, his organist and choirmaster at the Nicolaikirche in Berlin. Crüger brought many of Gerhardt's hymns into more common use by publishing eighteen of them in his *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1644). By the fifth edition the number of Gerhardt's hymns included in this significant collection had grown to eighty-one. This partnership was continued by Crüger's successor, Johann Ebeling (1637-1676), and resulted in such hymns as "Evening and morning," ("Die güldne Sonne") and "Why should cross and trial grieve me" ("Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen") for which Gerhardt provided the words and Ebeling the music.

Another writer of texts from this time who contributed several hymns still in wide use is Johann Franck (1618-1677). His "Soul, adorn yourself with gladness" ("Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele," LBW 224) and "Jesus, priceless treasure" ("Jesu, meine Freude," LBW 457, 458) were also provided with tunes by Johann Crüger and are among the hymnic treasures which continue to be sung by many Christians throughout the world.

The most significant collection of hymns published during this period was Johann Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1644), one of five collections which he published during the 1640s and 1650s. Its title ("The Practice of Piety Through Music") was indicative of the direction in which German hymnody was moving. Texts which spoke more directly of personal and more subjective concerns of the Christian life with its joys and trials, coupled with melodies which were smoother, cleaner, more regular

metrically, and which breathed a more intense, personal, at times even mystical spirit, were welcomed into the circle of Christian song. This was a direction which was paralleled by the development of a body of intensely personal devotional literature which was widely circulated and used at this time. This direction was to come full flower with the age of Pietism, but it was in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century that the bases for the hymnody of Pietism were clearly being laid.

The Period of Pietism (c. 1675-c. 1750) not in NLG 13

The pietistic movement in Germany in the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries is largely associated with the names of Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). The movement was largely a reaction against an orthodox formalism in which the Christian life was seen largely as a matter of passive subscription to closely defined dogmas, reception of the sacraments, and participation in the ordinances of the church. Pietism sought to restore the vigorous spiritual life which Luther had preached by emphasizing personal Bible study, prayer, and works of Christian charity. Spener urged the formation of gatherings (*collegia pietatis*) in which the laity might study, pray, discuss the Sunday sermons, and in general deepen their spiritual life. In contrast to what many considered a "dead orthodoxy" Pietism, in Carl Mirbt's words, emphasized "the duty of striving after personal and individual religious independence and collaboration, and declared that religion is something altogether personal, and that evangelical Christianity is present only when and in so far as it is manifested in Christian conduct."† While the movement is here dated somewhat arbitrarily from the appearance of Spener's book *Pia desideria* (1675), which contained his attack on the established church and his recommendations for restoring spiritual life to what he considered a sterile and formalized church, its roots can clearly be seen even earlier in the century. Francke established a center for the Pietistic movement at the University of Halle to which he went in 1698 and especially emphasized a zeal for mission work. It was from Halle, incidentally, that Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg was sent to America some years later to establish and more effectively organize Lutheranism there.

The effect of Pietism on the hymn texts written during these times was to place an ever greater emphasis on the personal, subjective aspects of the Christian life. Individualistic, privatistic, and even mystical aspects of religion received ever greater stress in hymn texts often intended for private devotional use but which increasingly found their way into hymnals to be used in corporate worship.

These emphases were reinforced by a new and different concept of edification. Edification, which the New Testament and early church understood as the building up of the Christian *community*, increasingly became a more privatistic and personal matter; Spener's phrase was the "edification of the inner man." In this new piety music was increasingly seen as a means of stirring up feelings of devotion, and the individual was effectively edified as his emotions were indeed stirred and as he felt himself being edified. The simple hymn style became the model, and through the stately, somber, and dignified execution of the music the hearer was able to absorb what was useful in the text. That such an approach often lapsed into an irreverent sentimentalism was an indication

†Quoted in the article on "Pietism," *The Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, Jerald C. Brauer, editor (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971).

of the dangers to which such extreme personal subjectivism could lead.

Musically, many of the hymns of this period were characterized by melodies of a lighter nature, the occasional use of triple or waltz-like meters, the emergence of the *Geistliche Arien*, and the altering of the rugged, uneven rhythms of the Reformation chorales to melodies which were *isorhythmic* in character, the tunes proceeding largely in equal-note values often underlayed with a richer harmonic foundation than had been known previously. Such developments, exemplified by J. S. Bach's (LBW 219) chorale harmonizations, were completely in harmony with a view which saw a slow, stately, somber execution of hymns as a means for stirring up religious feelings.

While the poorer examples from this period have thankfully fallen out of use in most present-day hymnals, many fine examples from this time still remain and reflect in varying degrees this new understanding of the role of the hymn in Christian worship. Some of the more important hymn text writers of this time include Johann Jakob Schütz (1640-1690) who wrote "Sing praise to God, the highest good" ("Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut," LBW 542); Wolfgang Dessler (1660-1722) who wrote "My soul's best friend, what joy and blessing" ("Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen"); Johann J. Rambach (1693-1735) whose "Baptized into your name most holy" ("Ich bin getauft auf deinen Namen," LBW 192), "My Maker, be Thou nigh" ("Mein Schöpfer, steh bei mir"), and "O Thou love unbounded" ("Unumschränkte Liebe") are frequently sung; Karl Bogatzky (1690-1774), author of "Awake, O Spirit of the watchmen" ("Wach auf, du Geist der ersten Zeugen," LBW 382); and Laurentius Laurenti (1660-1722) who wrote "Rejoice, rejoice, believers" ("Ermuntert euch, ihr Frommen," LBW 25). Adam Drese (1620-1701), also from this earlier period, wrote the tune "Seelenbräutigam" (LBW 341) which is widely sung.

Several German Reformed hymnists of this period include Joachim Neander (1650-1680) who wrote the texts "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty" ("Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen," LBW 543), "Wonderous King all-glorious" ("Wunderbarer König"), and the tunes "Unser Herrscher" (LBW 182, 250) and "Wunderbarer König" (LBW 249); Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769), a mystic, who wrote "God himself is present" ("Gott ist gegenwärtig," LBW 249); and Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), author of "Jesus, still lead on" ("Jesu, geh voran," LBW 341) and "Jesus, your blood and righteousness" ("Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit," LBW 302).

Other hymnists of the period who must not be overlooked are Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756) who wrote "Jesus sinners will receive" ("Jesus nimmt die Sünder an," LBW 291) and "I know my faith is founded" ("Ich weiss, an wen ich glaube"); and Benjamin Schmolck (1672-1737), author of "Open now thy gates of beauty" ("Tut mir auf die schöne Pforte," LBW 250), "Dearest Jesus, we are here" ("Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," LBW 187), "My Jesus as Thou wilt" ("Mein Jesu, wie du willst"), and "What our Father does is well" ("Was Gott tut, das ist wohl getan").

Perhaps the most significant hymnal of Pietism was Johann Anastasii Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (1704) and his *Neues Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (1714). These two books, subsequently bound together and reissued as one book (1741), were known as the "Freylinghausen Gesangbuch" or the "Halle hymnal" (after the Halle Orphanage which published and distributed it throughout Germany). The influence of this book also extended to America through the many immigrants who

brought this book with them in the 1700s. Freylinghausen's hymnal contained 1581 hymns with 597 melodies, the music consisting simply of melody with figured bass. Tunes from Freylinghausen's hymnal which have continued to find their way into today's hymnals include "Macht hoch die Tür" (LBW 32), "Gott sei Dank" (LBW 379), and "Dir, dir, Jehova" (LBW 382).

A second characteristically Pietistic hymnal of the period was Georg Christian Schemelli's *Musikalisches Gesangbuch* (1736). Published to counter and diminish the Pietistic leanings of the German hymnody of the times, this book itself reveals a strong pietistic orientation. J. S. Bach served as musical editor for this book which contained melodies "in part newly composed, and in part improved in the figured bass" by Bach. The collection was intended for private devotions in the home and its contents are not congregational hymns in the strict sense of the term. They belong to that category of *Geistliche Arien*, sacred ariettas, or spiritual songs. It contained 954 such songs, among them "Come, soothing death," ("Komm, süßter Tod"), "Jesus, Jesus, Thou art mine," ("Jesu, Jesu, du bist mein"), and "Come, souls, behold this day" ("Kommt, Seelen, dieser Tag"). Typical of the texts in this collection and also reflecting the intense personalism of much of the hymnody of Pietism is a hymn of Wolfgang Dessler ("Ich lass dich nicht") set to a melody from a collection entitled "Herzensmusik" (1727):

I hold Thee fast
 Be Thou my Jesus ever
 Though earth and hell or death at last
 Should strive to win me or my faith to sever.
 So fast I cleave to Thee,
 My Champion ever be.
 Hear Thou my spirit's plea:
 Be Thou my Savior ever,
 I cleave to Thee,
 I cleave to Thee.

(tr. Henry S. Drinker, alt.)

The Period of Rationalism (c. 1750-c. 1816)

While German Pietism at its best maintained a link, however tenuous, with a confessional Lutheran hymnody—the basic core of confessional hymns from the sixteenth-century Reformation was at least to be found in the over 1500 hymns in the Freylinghausen hymnal—this basic core of confessional hymnody was largely submerged in the flood of Pietistic hymnody. Pietism's lack of intellectual strength and vigor resulting from the strong emphasis on human feeling soon left the field open for the movement known as the Enlightenment or Rationalism.

Reason, science, naturalism, and a humanism not grounded in the Christian faith shook the very foundations of the church. Neither music nor hymnody were spared as hymns and liturgies were rewritten and altered to conform to the demands of human reason. Editors rewrote and revised hymns to conform to the tenor of the times; frequently stanzas which spoke too clearly or directly of matters of faith which could not be aligned with reason were simply deleted. While perhaps originally well-meant, this process gradually led to the abandonment of the clear proclamation of the Gospel in much of the hymnody of the time. As Philip Schaff put it: