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PAUL GERHARDT IN STATU CONFESSIOINIS

A STUDY OF PAUL GERHARDT'S

CONFESSIOIN OF CHRIST

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Systematic Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements of the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by

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May 1987

Approved by Norman Nagel  
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Reader

Parentibus caris

CAROLINE

LINCOLN

1880

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## INTRODUCTION

The hymns of Paul Gerhardt enjoyed widespread recognition and were gladly sung from the time of their publication to the present. Gerhardt himself, though standing upon the shoulders of Luther, has risen far above other hymn-writers in popularity, which is clearly attested by the number of his hymns currently in German hymnals. The number of publications dealing with Gerhardt historically and hymnologically also underscore his profound place in the Theologie- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte of the last four centuries. During the course of these years, many have presumed to lay claim to Paul Gerhardt's hymnody, some even to Gerhardt himself. Among these are orthodox Lutherans, the Reformed, Pietists, and the Union Churches of Germany. His hymns are indeed found in the hymnals of many denominations, including those of the Roman Catholic church.

Yet this acceptability of Gerhardt and his hymnody is not always uncritical or even unconditional. It is certainly not unanimous. The substantial literature which has been devoted to Gerhardt and his hymnody covers a wide range of interpretations and extrapolations of the man and his work. Surprisingly, however, very little work has been

done in the analysis of Gerhardt as a theologian in a systematic manner. His firm confessional stand is taken as a given, though it is frequently ignored or dismissed in summary fashion as dated or irrelevant to his hymnody. Yet it seems unacceptable to simply pass over Gerhardt the theologian in order to embrace Gerhardt the hymn-writer. Any dissociation of theology and hymnody must necessarily lead to the most spurious and dubious conclusions.

Accordingly the question of what went into Gerhardt theologically and what came out has to be pursued in a systematic manner if Gerhardt and his hymnody is to be understood on more than an historical or hymnological level. Nor can the Frömmigkeitsgeschichte in which he was raised be ignored. All are determinative factors in coming to grips with Gerhardt the theologian and hymn-writer.

Clearly there cannot conceivably be a contradiction or even a dichotomy between Gerhardt the confessor of the faith and Gerhardt the singer of the faith. It is therefore to be expected that the theology which is manifested in his struggle for the Lutheran confessions with the ministerium in Berlin and the theology which informs his hymnody should be completely consonant. Gerhardt's theology, specifically his christology, is unequivocally expressed in the polemical arena as documented by his writings for the Berlin colloquy of 1662 to 1663. The confession of Christ within his hymnody is equally clear in its context,

especially if it is not dissociated from Gerhardt's confessional theology.

Supplementing these considerations is the question of Gerhardt's opus operandi in the writing of his hymnody. Gerhardt did not write his hymns for the Gemeindegottesdienst. But he did write hymnody for the Gemeinde, that is for the Christian within the context of his Privat- and Hausandacht. This Sitz im Leben of his hymnody clearly would impact upon the manner in which he expressed himself. Yet this formal change does not need to be construed as occasioning a substantial transformation of his theology as well. There ought be continuity between the confession of "the faith," and the declaration of "my faith." Indeed, there cannot be a contradiction between the faith of the heart and the confession of the mouth if Gerhardt is to be taken at all seriously as both a theologian and a hymn-writer. Nor is it possible to pick and choose that of Gerhardt which is most palatable as is repeatedly done. The man, his theology, and hymnody are indivisible and cannot be understood in isolation.

The attempt will therefore be made to approach Gerhardt's hymnody with his theology and piety in mind, and to examine systematically how these elements influenced and formed his confession of Christ within his hymnody. For it is in the confession of Christ in the arms of the Virgin, upon the cross and in word and sacrament that the purity of

the Gospel comes to the fore. Remarkably it is this confession of Christ which is most frequently censured, disregarded, or ignored in Gerhardt's hymnody. Ultimately his hymns will have to speak for themselves.



## CHAPTER I

### THE CHRISTOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF GERHARDT'S THEOLOGY

#### Historical and Theological Antecedents

A study of the christology of the hymns of Paul Gerhardt has to take into account not only the theological content of the hymns themselves, but the theological antecedents and character of the man who presented them for the benefit of the Pfarrkinder who would use them. Invaluable ground-work for such a study has been laid by the publication of critical editions of primary source material,<sup>1</sup> hymnological contributions,<sup>2</sup> and biographical

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1. Editions of the hymns of Paul Gerhardt which were utilized in the course of this study are the historical-critical edition of Johann Friedrich Bachmann, Paulus Gerhardts Geistliche Lieder, (Berlin: L. Oehmigke's Verlag, 1866); Albert Fischer, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts, ed. Wilhelm Tümpel, 6 vols., (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1906), unaltered new edition: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960); Wilhelm Nelle, Paul Gerhardts Lieder und Gedichte, (Hamburg: Gustav Schloebmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907); Eberhard von Cranach-Sichart, Paul Gerhardt Dichtungen und Schriften, (Munich: Verlag Paul Müller, 1957). It is according to this latter edition that the numbers of the hymns which follow will be cited.

2. Compare the depictions of Gerhardt as they appear in Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs, 8 vols., (Stuttgart: Chr. Belser'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1867), 3:239-327; Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied, (Leipzig: Verlag Quelle und Meyer, 1935); Wilhelm Lueken, Lebensbilder der Lieder-

monographs.<sup>3</sup> The commemorative years of this century celebrating Gerhardt's birth (1907 and 1957) and death (1976) further produced works which sought to reconstruct the theological and spiritual Sitz im Leben in which he wrote his hymns.<sup>4</sup> The following observations will attempt to

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dichter und Melodisten, Band II/1 Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch, ed. Christhard Mahrenholz, Oskar Söhngen and Otto Schlißke, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), pp. 188-192; Paul Gabriel, Geschichte des Kirchenliedes, Band II/2, Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch, ed. Christhard Mahrenholz, Oskar Söhngen and Otto Schlißke, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957); Walter Blankenburg, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 16 vols., (Kassel und Basel: Im Bärenreiter Verlag, 1955), 4:1790-97. W. Matthias and W. Jannasch, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd ed., 7 vols., (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1957), 3:1413-15. Ingeborg Röbbelen, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), pp. 404-427.

3. The yet unsurpassed treatment of Paul Gerhardt is that of Hermann Petrich, Paul Gerhardt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes, (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1914); other notable studies are those of E. C. G. Langbecker, Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt, (Berlin: Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841) who provides in the main a plethora of primary documents; Kurt Ihlenfeld, Huldigung für Paul Gerhardt, (Munich: Siebenstern Taschenbuch Verlag, 1956); Karl Hessenbachers, Paul Gerhardt. Sein Leben-Seine Lieder, ed. Siegfried Heinzelmann, (Neuffen: Sonnenweg Verlag, 1963); Ernst Kochs, Paul Gerhardt. Sein Leben und Seine Lieder, (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926).

4. See Walter Blankenburg, "Die Entwicklung der Hymnologie seit etwa 1950," Theologische Rundschau, 4 (1979): 319-349. Blankenburg provides an exhaustive bibliography of the most recent Paul Gerhardt literature, including some evaluation of various works. Cf. Winfried Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt, der Dichter und seine Frömmigkeit," Theologie und Frömmigkeit, ed. Bernd Jaspert, (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1978), p. 128. Zeller here notes and reviews various notable articles which appeared during the more recent commemorative Gerhardt years.

outline the historical elements which informed Gerhardt's theology, christology and piety.

Gerhardt's home was well rooted in Saxon Lutheranism. His mother's grandfather, Magister Gallus Döbler, occupied the second court-preacher position created by the Elector August in Dresden, and from 1555 to 1570 served as Superintendent of Eilenburg. Upon Döbler's death, Gerhardt's grand-father, Kasper Starke, succeeded Döbler as Superintendent in 1570. Starke's tenure at Eilenburg saw the Lutherans of Saxony rejoice in the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the Augsburg Confession, as well as the signing of the Formula of Concord by the Elector August on June 25, 1580 in Dresden. Yet Starke was also to witness and suffer the consequences of a major policy change upon the the elector August's death in 1586.

The elector's only son, Christian I, under the influence of his Reformed chancellor Nikolaus Krell, sought to steer electoral Saxony toward a political alliance with the predominantly Reformed Palitinate. Amid these political maneuvers, the confessional stand of the Lutherans came under severe attack. The Formula of Concord was all but annulled since it proved to be particularly divisive on the theological front and consequently obstructive to the political aims of Christian I and Krell.<sup>5</sup> Nor could the exorcism formula during baptism stand, since it was regar-

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5. Nelle, p. XXI.

ded by the Reformed as manifestly papist and therefore offensive to the Reformed. Sensitive to Reformed concerns, and to preclude the exorcisms at baptism from being a hindrance to any potential Reformed/Lutheran alliance between the Palitinate and Saxony, it was forbidden through an edict by the elector. Those of the clergy who refused to comply with the edict were summarily removed from office. Among those who were driven from their Predigtamt was Gerhardt's grandfather, Kasper Starke of Eilenburg. In July of 1591 the Superintendent of Gräfenhainichen Tobias Mirus met a similar fate. The memory of this Reformed insurgency as well as the steadfastness of both Starke and Mirus clearly left lasting impressions upon the congregations and families involved.<sup>6</sup>

With the unexpected death of Christian I in September of 1591 at the age of thirty-one, the "cuius regio eius religio" returned Saxony to the Lutherans. The severe measures which followed included the beheading of chancellor Krell.<sup>7</sup> Those who had been driven from their pulpits

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6. Martin Rinckart composed the following verse in commemoration of Starke's steadfastness, as well as a flood which occurred during the tenure of Starke:

"Herr Starke war im Geist und Glauben stark und mächtig,  
 Als hier Calvinus wollt' einschleichen stolz und prächtig:  
 Das war die Wasserflut, die seiner Zeit fiel ein,  
 Zu dero Denkmal er gesetzt diesen Stein."

See Petrich, p. 20.

7. Though rather morbid, Nelle mentions a very telling point as to the severity of anti-Calvinist sentiments at this juncture: "Auf dem Richtschwerte seines Henkers stand das Wort: Cave, Calviniane, hüte dich, Calvinianer!" Nelle, p.

returned. Under Christian II and Johann Georg I electoral Saxony was continually on guard against any further Calvinist insurgency and subterfuge, to which end visitations of parishes and schools came to be rigerously carried out. The Book of Concord, and especially the Formula of Concord, became firmly entrenched as normative not only for the holding of the pastoral office, but also in the faith of the people of Saxony.<sup>8</sup>

It is into this theological heritage that Paul Gerhardt was born on March 7, 1607 in Gräfenhainichen.<sup>9</sup> This was also to be the theological heritage in which he was to be nurtured first as Fürstenschüler at Grimma (1622-1627), and finally as a student of theology at Wittenberg (1628-1642).

At Grimma he was met by a faculty committed to the struggle against Cryptocalvinism. Since 1574 the instructors of the Fürstenschulen had been required to subscribe to the Torgau Articles, while in 1579 the Formula of

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XXI.

8. Petrich, p. 24.

9. The date of Gerhardt's birth is assumed to be March 12, 1607, although no primary documentation exists due to the burning of the church with all its records by marauding Swedish troops on April 11, 1637. Cf. Carl Becker, Paul Gerhardt. Der treue Kämpfer und Dulderfür die lutherische Kirche, (Schneidemühl: Julius Eichstädt, 1852), p. 3. Petrich provides extensive reasonings, including a reference to day and hour of his birth by J. Chr. Sauereßig from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Petrich, p. 12. Cf. idem. the extensive endnote on page 308.

Concord was also placed before them. By 1601 a commitment by way of an oath to expose errors in doctrine was required of the faculty,<sup>10</sup> which was superintended by rigorous visitations.

Such visitations had already revealed that the use of Melanchthon's later Loci communes for Latin instruction had disseminated Philippist ideas. This led to the commissioning of the Wittenberg professor Leonhard Hutter by Christian II to develop a theological text-book which was based upon the Formula of Concord and would thereby ensure the proper inculcation of solid Lutheran doctrine. Upon this request of the Kurfürst, Hutter composed his influential Compendium locorum theologicorum.<sup>11</sup> After Hutter completed his work, he did not, however, presume to foist his Compendium upon the students of the university nor of the Fürstenschulen without the prior approval of other theological faculties. The manuscript was respectfully submitted for approval to his own faculty at Wittenberg, which in turn sent it to the Oberkonsistorium in Dresden. Christian II then sent it on for examination and further suggestions to the collegia of the Fürstenschulen at Meissen, Grimma and Pforte. With the incorporation of

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10. Petrich, p. 35.

11. Petrich notes that next to the Bible and Luther's Catechism no single book exercised as much influence upon the religious thought of Lutheran Christians in general as Hutter's Compendium. Petrich, p. 35.

changes and suggestions the Compendium was finally printed by Johann Gormann at Wittenberg in 1610.

This Compendium, as the name suggests, was not so much a systematic theology as a repetitorium of Lutheran doctrine in thirty-four articles. Its primary source of reference had been the Formula of Concord, from which he quoted directly, along with texts from scripture, and quotations of Luther, Chemnitz, Ägidius Hunnius, and even of Melanchthon where his orthodoxy was beyond question. Its primary purpose, according to the edict of Christian II which accompanied its publication on November 23, 1609,<sup>12</sup> was its complete memorization and comprehension by all who intended to study theology in a university of the land. To this end it was to have priority over all other text-books and theological compendia, though its learning was contingent upon mastery of Luther's catechisms, "(dieser goldenen und unvergleichlichen Schatzkammer der göttlichen Lehre)."<sup>13</sup> Ultimately the Compendium was to ensure that the proper instruction of the youth will have taken place once they have absorbed and assimilated it;

wenn diese, gleichsam mit der Muttermilch, die ersten Elemente der reinen christlichen Lehre, und zwar nicht aus jedwedem Sumpf, sondern aus den klaren Quellen Israels und den symbolischen Schriften unserer Kirche, wird eingesogen haben . . . und so die Schuljugend, von

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12. Leonhard Hutter, Inbegriff der Glaubens=Artikel aus der heiligen Schrift und den symbolischen Büchern, trans. Carl Emil Francke, (Leipzig: Karl Franz Köhler, 1837), p. XII.

13. Hutter, p. XVIII.

zartester Kindheit an, an die Form der gesunden Worte gewöhnt würde.<sup>14</sup>

Gerhardt's graduation from Grimma provides evidence that he had digested these foundational elements of Lutheran doctrine, including the attendant apprehension of Calvinist theology. His studies at Wittenberg were to further build upon an already solid confessional base.

By the time Paul Gerhardt came to Wittenberg in 1627, the university had become an exemplary institution of unity and purity of doctrine. While in 1580 only theological positions required a confessional commitment, the Wittenberg visitations decree of 1624 had ordered that the theological faculty take it upon itself to obligate everyone in all other faculties either to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession or the Formula of Concord. The specific charge given to the theological faculty called upon it to take the whole of the university under its aegis and to thereby ensure subscription to the confessional writings of the Lutheran church, specifically

daß in juridica, medica et philosophica facultate die Fremden bei der Subskription der ungeänderten Augsburgischen Konfession, die Einheimischen aber und alle candid.theol. zugleich auf das Konkordienbuch gewiesen [d.h. verpflichtet] werden.<sup>15</sup>

Indubitably Gerhardt also committed himself to the Formula of Concord, not only for his studies at Wittenberg, but for

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14. Hutter, p. XVII.

15. Petrich, p. 41.



the rest of his life. In Wittenberg Gerhardt therefore received a thoroughly orthodox education which culminated in the systematic study and analysis of the doctrines of the Formula of Concord, including its polemical thrust.

Particularly the polemics of the Thirty Years War overshadow practically all of Gerhardt's career from his time at Grimma, to Wittenberg and his initial sojourn in Berlin as studiosus. The war had also precluded his receiving an office until he was called to be Probst in Mittenwalde in 1651 at the age of forty-four. Yet precisely these years of waiting, followed by his years at Mittenwalde, provided Gerhardt with the locus amoenus in which he was able to write much of his hymnody. On the other hand, the battles and theological struggles which followed in Berlin, as well as the pettiness of the parish at Lübben which he served the remaining seven years of his life, served to silence Gerhardt as a poet.<sup>16</sup>

The death of his brother-in-law, Archidiakonus Joachim Fromm at St. Nikolai in Berlin, on April 28, 1657 created a vacancy which Gerhardt was called to fill. In July of the same year he was installed as third Diakonus at St. Nikolai, the same congregation in which he had been ordained upon acceptance of the call to Mittenwalde six years before. The ordination book bears the entry of his ordination on November 18, 1651 in his own hand:

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16. Cf. Zeller, pp. 123-124.

In nomine sacrosanctae et Individuae Trinitatis Amen.

Doctrinam in Aug. Confessione prima illa minimeque.  
mutata, Eiusdem Apologia, Articulis Smalkaldicis  
utroq. B. Lutheri Catechismo, Formula item Concordia  
comprehensam, Apertissimis juxta ac soldissimis  
Propheticae et Apostolicae scripturae niti funda-  
mentis, Meq. in Ea ad finem usq. vitae meae Dei  
juvante gratia, constanter preseveraturum confiteor  
atq. promitto.

Paulus Gerhardus  
Vocatus Praepositus Ecclesiae Mittenwaldensis  
Ipso Ordinationis meae die  
18. Novbr. A. 1651<sup>17</sup>

This was not the first committment Gerhardt had made to the  
confessional writings of the Lutheran church, as has been  
outlined above. Nor was it to be his last opportunity to  
present himself in statu confessionis.

Der große Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg  
had followed his father Georg Wilhelm and grand-father  
Johann Sigismund not only in adhering to the Reformed  
confession, but in actively pursuing a union of the  
Reformed and Lutheran confessions.<sup>18</sup> The favourable

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17. Cranach-Sichart, p. 474. [K?], "Paul Gerhardt der  
Bekenner," Lehre und Wehre, 2 (1907):54 offers the fol-  
lowing translation for Gerhardt's Ordination entry:  
"Im Namen der heiligen Dreieinigkeit. Amen.  
Ich bekenne und verspreche, daß ich die Lehre, welche in  
der ersten Unveränderten Augsburgischen Konfession und  
ihrer Apologie, in den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln, den  
beiden Katechismen Luthers und der Kondordienformel  
enthalten ist, die sich auf die klarsten und festesten  
Zeugnisse der prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften  
stützt, predigen, verteidigen und in diesem Glauben bis an  
mein Ende durch Beistand der göttlichen Gnade beharren will  
und werde."

18. The intent of Johann Sigismund was clearly expressed in  
the colloquy he had called in October of 1614. His chan-  
cellor, Dr. Prückmann opened the colloquy, outlining that

example of tolerance between these confessions which he had encountered in the Netherlands provided him with a model which he sought to implement in his electoral territory.

Yet Brandenburg with its two and one-half million Lutherans and only fifteen-thousand Reformed was not so readily predisposed to a union. Its geographical proximity to the heartland of the Reformation and the stiff resistance mounted by Wittenberg and its alumni was to continually close the door on any thought of a pacem syncretiticam. The Kurfürst sought at least tolerance. But such accommodation was impossible for the Lutherans who understood the Reformed not merely as another denomination, but a different religion altogether.<sup>19</sup> The Berlin mini-

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the Kurfürst wanted convincing proof from the Lutherans that Reformed doctrine was indeed against God and His word. The Kurfürst ". . . wolle sich auch für seine Person überzeugen, ob die Glaubenslehren, die er in seinem Lande einzuführen gedächte, von der Art seinen, daß sie gegen Gott und sein Wort stritten, in welchem Falle er von Stund an von diesem Glauben abtreten würde." Becker, p. 20. Cf. Lehre und Wehre, pp. 50-51.

Although there is some debate as to what the immediate intent of Friedrich Wilhelm was, there seems to be no doubt that his ultimate goal also was the union of the Lutherans and Reformed in Brandenburg. See J. L. Neve, "Paul Gerhardt in the Church Troubles of His Time," Theological Quarterly, 27 (1907):359, 367.

19. See E. C. G. Langbecker, Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt, (Berlin: Verlag der Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841). Langbecker provides an extensive anthology of unaltered primary documents which shed light upon these struggles within which Gerhardt was engaged as secretary. In a writing of March 16, 1663, Gerhardt relates that the Lutheran clergy in Berlin did concede ". . . daß die Seligmachung derer, die diesen Artikel nicht wissen, nicht herkomme ex defectu ponderis, sondern aus der grundlosen Güte und Barmherzigkeit unsers Gottes." Langbecker, p. 74.

sterium, which had chosen Gerhardt as its secretary, mounted the most persistent and to some degree most polemical resistance to the Reformed advances of the Kurfürst.<sup>20</sup>

At the heart of the Reformed expansion was the desire of the Kurfürst for the Lutherans and Reformed to be blended into one denomination.<sup>21</sup> To this end he had already in 1660 ordered the Magistrat in Berlin to receive the Reformed as members of the parishes.<sup>22</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm further pursued the tolerant recognition of Reformed theology by the Berlin ministerium, and indeed all Lutherans in electoral Brandenburg by means of the colloquy which he ordered August 21, 1662. This call for an amicabile colloquium was preceded by a not so amicable edict of June 2 of the same year, wherein the Kurfürst had determined to press all Candidati ministerii in his land to

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Cf., pp.58. But ". . . daß die Reformirten quatenus tales Christen, und also meine Mitchristen, meine Mitbrüder, meine Mitglieder sein, hoc est quod nego." Idem., p. 88. In these writings Gerhardt made the point that matters of Lutheran doctrine such as the person of Christ, the means of grace and scripture are not to be considered matters of indifference. The Reformed and Lutheran views are therefore ". . . not two views with equal rights to existence." Neve, pp. 360-1.

20. Langbecker, p. 87.

21. Neve describes the spread of Calvinism to be motivated ". . . by the lust of aggrandizement on the part of ambitious rulers." Neve, p. 495. Yet he provides no evidence for nascent absolutism in the Kurfürst.

22. Becker, p.23.

the point that they desist from all mutual condemnation, so that

das unchristliche Verketzern, Verlästern und Verdammen, auch falsche Deuteleien und erzwungene Beschuldigungen gotteslästerlicher Lehren allerseits eingestellt [werde].<sup>23</sup>

Failing such compliance, these ministers could seek an office elsewhere. Consequently the Berlin ministerium was in no doubt as to the real tenor and purpose of the "friendly colloquy." Supported by Calov and the Wittenberg faculty, the Berlin ministerium had Gerhardt set out their position even before the outset of the colloquy. They suspected that the success of the Reformed with the Rintlinger Lutherans gave the Reformed of Berlin reason to expect the hand of fellowship, or at the very least a peace accord between the confessions. Gerhardt on behalf of the ministerium unequivocally rejected these advances:

4) Will man uns durch dieses Colloquium zu einen solchen Frieden bringen, wie die Rintlinger mit den Marpurgern gemacht haben, da nemlich die Reformirten bei ihren vorigen Lehrpuncten verbleiben, und doch gleichwohl die Lutheraner sie vor Brüder erkennen und annehmen sollten.

5) Solchen Fried wird mit Gottes Hülfe keiner unter

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23. Langbecker, p. 21. This charge was again raised as one of the main reasons for the colloquy. The Formula of Concord was seen to be the prod which gave the Lutherans the impetus to utter the damnatus over the Reformed. Gerhardt responds to the charge by underscoring that "Wie wol das wörtlein damnatus auch aus diesem jetzigen Händel sich zu entspinnen scheint, in der Formula Concordiae niemahls auf die personen, Lehrer oder Kirchen, sondern allemahl auf die errores und falsche Dogmata gerichtet ist. . . ." p. 31.

uns Lutherischen dem Ministerio Beroliniensi zugethanen Predigern eingehen.<sup>24</sup>

Gerhardt and the ministerium drew up their battle-lines behind the Formula of Concord, much to the chagrin of the Kurfürst and his representatives.<sup>25</sup> The colloquy began on September 8, 1662.

As their spokesman, Gerhardt voiced his opinion that the endeavors of the Reformed were nothing other than the desire for a pacem syncretisticam or at the very least a tolerantiam mutuum. Such a peace and tolerance, however, were out of the question in light of the doctrinal differences between the Reformed and the Lutherans. The position from which he and the ministerium refused to budge was therefore distinctly presented in his Votum during the initial stages of the colloquy in 1663. They would fight such a peace and fellowship tooth and nail:

. . . solcher Friedens und Brüderschaft haben wir uns je und allewege geläugnet, weigern uns ihrer noch und werden mit Gottes Hülfe nun und nimmermehr darin willigen.<sup>26</sup>

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24. Langbecker, p. 26.

25. "II. Weil wir gehört haben, wie übel man mit der Formula Concordiae zufrieden, und wie odieus uns das aufgerückt werde, daß wir dieselben unterschrieben hätten, ob wir nicht noch vor dem Colloquio deshalb unser öffentliches Bekenntniß thun wolten, daß wir uns der Formulae Concordiae nicht schämten, daß wir ja dieselben unterschrieben hätten, uns nochmahls mit Herz und Mund darzu bekenneten, auch mit Gottes Hülffe biß an unser Ende darbey zu verharren gedächten." Langbecker, p. 30.

26. Langbecker, p. 87.

At the heart of the resistance to the sought peace and brotherhood by the Reformed was the firm conviction of Gerhardt that baptism in the name of Jesus and confession of Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah and Savior does not make a Christian, for otherwise ". . . können nicht allein Calvinisten, sondern auch Papisten Christen genennet werden . . . ."27 Yet it was Gerhardt's conviction that without right faith there cannot be the right God.<sup>28</sup> Consequently only he is a Christian, ". . . welcher den wahren seligmachenden Glauben rein und unverfälscht hat, auch die Früchte desselben in seinem Leben und Wandel sehen läßt."<sup>29</sup> The question of what is the true and saving faith, pure and unadulterated, had been settled by the Book of Concord. Their rejection of the faith which is confessed in the Book of Concord led Gerhardt to only one conclusion: ". . . also kann ich die Calvinisten qua tales nicht für Christen halten."<sup>30</sup>

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27. Langbecker, p. 88.

28. Cf. The First Commandment in Luther's Large Catechism, in Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976), p. 560, 15-25. Hereafter abbreviated BKS.

29. Gerhardt is perhaps echoing the opening words of the Athanasian Creed: "Whoever will be saved shall, above all else, hold the catholic faith. Which faith, except everyone keeps whole and undefiled, without doubt he will perish eternally."

30. Langbecker, p. 88.

Seventeen fruitless encounters at the colloquy failed to convince the Lutherans that the confessional differences between the Lutherans and Reformed were a matter of indifference. Nor were they enthralled with the proposition that a real agreement on the truth was not a necessity for union or at least tolerance as long as Christ was confessed.<sup>31</sup> Gerhardt refuted this approach as untenable. This was especially the case in the matter of the manductio oralis of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. The Reformed purposely posed the question not in terms of its truth,<sup>32</sup> but in relation to the importance of this doctrine, that is, whether it actually is necessary for salvation.<sup>33</sup> Two theses were therefore put on

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31. Neve makes the surprising statement that the Lutherans made a grave theological error in their discussions when, "They overlooked the fact that it is not the adoption of single and separate articles that saves us, but true faith in Christ as the Savior from sin and guilt." Neve, p. 363. Gerhardt did not overlook this point, as outlined above. For the Lutherans it was precisely a question of "true" faith, which was inconceivable apart from the confession of the articles under discussion. The ministerium understood all too well that the Reformed desired acceptance into fellowship regardless of the truth; indeed, ". . . daß wir sie für Christen halten sollen, denn damit würden wir sie alsbald als Mitbrüder in Christo, und als Mitglieder unserer christlichen Kirche annehmen müssen, denn einmal wer ein Christ, der ist ja mein Mitggenosse im Christenthum und also mein Mitchrist." Langbecker, p. 88.

32. "Ist die Meinung der Reformirten diese daß in den vorgelegten fragen uns befohlen sey, nicht de veritate, sondern de pondere articulorum controversorum zu handeln . . . ." Langbecker, p. 52.

33. Cf. Langbecker, pp.75 (3), 76-7 (3), 80 (7).



the table by the Reformed at the behest of the Oberpräsi-  
dent, Freiherr von Schwerin:

1) Die Lehre von dem mündlichen, jedoch übernatürlichen und unempfindlichen Essen und Trinken des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abendmahl, welche in den drei confessionen verneinet wird, ist nicht von solcher Wichtigkeit, daß ohne deren Wissenschaft und Erkenntniß Gott keinen reformirten Christen wolle selig machen.

2) Die Lehre von dem mündlichen, jedoch übernatürlichen und unempfindlichen Essen und Trinken des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abenmahl, welche in den drei Con-  
fessionen verneint wird, ist nicht von solcher Wichtigkeit, daß ohne deren Erkenntnis und Bekenntnis Gott keinen reformirten Prediger wolle selig machen.<sup>34</sup>

The Lutherans answered that the manducatio oralis could not be quantified in relation to importance but has to be dealt with as a fundamental truth which has a clear bearing on salvation.<sup>35</sup> Nor is it a question of the importance which they as ministers of the word attach to the doctrine:

Phrasin istiam: die mündliche Nießung ist von solcher Wichtigkeit nicht, etsi probe videam hic non absolute sed comparate positam esse, tamen absque dolore animi audire eam non possum. Reformatis facile est ita loqui et sentire, ut qui negent et pro figmento, imo pro insania reputent oralem manducationem. Nos autem scimus hanc manducationem esse ordinationem gloriosissimi nostri salvatoris clarissimo et certissimo ejus verbo fundatam et ad animarum nostrarum salutem directam; adeoque pondus ejus ac momentum gravius esse coelo ac terra; quod autem quidam articulum hunc ignorantes non damnentur, non puto fieri ex defectu ponderis, sed ex multitudine miserationum Dei istam imbecialliatem hominibus condonantis. Pondus sane sibi contrahit

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34. Langbecker, p. 58. The three confessions in question were those of the Reformed which the Berlin ministerium had challenged: The Confessio Sigismundi; the Colloquium Lipsiacum; and the Declaratio Thoruniensis. Cf. Becker, p.26.

35. Langbecker, p. 74. The right confession of the coena Domini and the persona Christi is the canon of the documents presented by Langbecker. Cf., pp. 58-62; 73-4; 79-80.

oralis manducatio, partim, ex autore et fundatore, qui est Jesus Christus, theanthropos [Greek in text], partim ex objecto, quod non est vulgaris cibus, sed ipsum corpus filii Dei Jesu Christi: partim ex fine, qui est salus et beatitudo animarum nostrarum.<sup>36</sup>

The query of the Reformed is therefore ultimately addressed to the Lord who instituted the bodily eating of his body and blood. Their dubious attempt to relegate this doctrine to something inconsequential is furthermore not an assault on Lutheran theology or theologians, but on the Lord himself, whose words they refuse to believe.

Daß uns die Wichtigkeit der oralis manducationis von den Reformirten streitig gemacht wird, thut uns von Herzen wehe nicht eben um unsertwillen, sondern um unseres lieben Heilandes willen, dessen Stiftung und Einsetzung solche oralis manducatio ist. . .<sup>37</sup>

Gerhardt therefore makes it clear that they are dealing with the Lord's Supper, not the Lutheran or the Reformed

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36. Langbecker, pp.58-59. "Even though I well see that this sentence: ,the oral eating is not of such importance,` is not absolute but only to be placed in comparison. Nevertheless it is not possible for my soul to hear it without pain. It is easy for the Reformed to speak and to think in this manner, since they deny this and repute the oral eating as a figment, indeed as madness. We, however, know this eating to be ordained by our most glorious Savior and established upon his most clear and certain word, and directed for the salvation of our souls, whereby its weight and importance to be weightier than heaven and earth. But that some, who are ignorant of this article are not damned is not, I believe, brought about by defective understanding, but out of the immense mercy of God, who overlooks this weakness in men. The emphasis and the whole weight of the oral eating stems partly from its author and founder, who is the God/man Jesus Christ, partly from the object, which is not a common food, but the body of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, himself; partly out of its end, which is the salvation and blessedness of our souls." [Translation mine].

37. Langbecker, p. 74.

supper. And the Lord's Supper is nothing other than the deliverance of the body and blood of Christ to be eaten and drunk for the forgiveness of sins. They are therefore pained that such a gift should be so despised and rejected by unbelief.

Furthermore, what the Lord has instituted indubitably has bearing upon salvation. The onus therefore is not upon the Lutherans to prove the importance of this article, but upon the Reformed to establish that it does not belong to the "dogmatibus que necessaria sunt" and "ad circumstantian fidei oder ad scientiam theologicam," and finally that it has no basis in the Word of God.<sup>38</sup> Gerhardt points out that such arguments to the contrary have been long in coming during the colloquy. Consequently the Lutherans are constrained to remain with the clear words touto esti, which the Reformed have conveniently sought to circumvent.<sup>39</sup> In fact, their refusal to submit their reason to faith cannot be construed as being anything else but a

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38. Langbecker, p. 75.

39. "2. Ja, da wir unsere Meinung de consequentia controversia carente, item, das touto esti [Greek in text] confessionis erst, hernach de orali manducatione setzen, wird auch das nicht einmal berührt, sondern mit Stillschweigen übergangen, als ob es nicht einmal da stünde u." Langbecker, p.76. "8. Endlich kommts doch wieder auf die alte Leier, daß wir unser touto esti [Greek in text] welches wir in der Schrift litera A vorgeben, beweisen sollen, da doch der Buchstabe hell und klar am Tage liegt, und nur daran fehlet, daß Gegentheil uns demselben nehme, und umstoße, das ist ihnen aber, und wenn sie noch so klug und naseweis wären, wohl verboten, davor wir Gott loben und dankbar sein." Langbecker, p. 80.

willfull rejection of God's will and words.<sup>40</sup> No further answer need be given.<sup>41</sup>

The caution which Gerhardt exercised in his response to the Reformed was doubtless well founded. With their theses the Reformed were trying to do nothing other than to press the Lutherans toward the spurious alternatives of either making salvation contingent upon the manducatio oralis or admitting that men can be saved even without the manducatio oralis. For the Lutherans to affirm either proposition would have pleased the Reformed. In the first instance the Reformed would have wanted to show the Lutherans as being decidedly unevangelical. In the latter case the Lutherans would be found to be in agreement with the Reformed concerning the lack of importance of the manducatio oralis.

The response of Gerhardt safely steers between this Scylla and Charibdes:

Geben wir den articulum de orali manducatione zwar vor einen articulum fidei fundamentalem aus, aber nicht vor einem constituentem, sed conservantem und also dürfen wir auch nicht erweisen, daß ohne dieser Lehre Niemand

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40. "Daß die Reformirten wohl wissen könnten manducationem corporis Christi, quae ore fit, aber nicht wissen wollen, ist gewiß und wahrhaftig wahr. . . ." Langbecker, p.73.

41. "3.Haben wir das touto esti [Greek in text]. . . deutlich genug dargewiesen, aber es hat das niemand sehen und merken wollen, unser Gegentheil hat uns nicht eines Buchstabens Antwort daraus gewürdiget, und weil wir uns das touto esti [Greek in text] haben, so dürfen wir keine consequens auch keiner Sachen interpretation die (von dem touto esti [Greek in text] abschnitte et) notario antiquitatis consensu bestätigt werde." Langbecker, 79.

den Glauben, Liebe und Hoffnung, und also die ewige Seligkeit erlangen könne.<sup>42</sup>

What the Lutherans cannot do is attempt to prove that God will save people without external means, such as the manducatio oralis of the body and blood of Christ. When, on the other hand, the Lutherans concede that people will be saved who did not know of or believe the oralem manducationem,<sup>43</sup> it does not follow that the ". . . dogma de orali manducatione kein articulus fidei fundamentalis sei."<sup>44</sup> Nor does this latter conviction preclude Gerhardt from concluding that those, who have again and again shown themselves to be ". . . malitiosa, hostili et virulenta negatione et contradictione conjunctam, non doctores modo sed auditores etiam Reformati, damnentur."<sup>45</sup>

The responses of the Berlin minsisterium as penned by Gerhardt were less than well received. Particular objection was taken to the renewed "damnatur" which was now

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42. Lanbecker, pp.79-80.

43. See note 19 above.

44. Langbecker, p. 80. Cf., Bekenntnisschriften, p. 799: VI-VII; pp. 801-3:V-XVI;XXI; pp. 1012-5: II-XII; Hutter, 104-144. Gerhardt is also quite equivocal about the consequences of mutwilligen unbelief with respect to the doctrine of the manducatio oralis: ". . . qui enim oralem manducationem ita ignorat, ut simul eam neget et pertinaciter, malitiose, hostiliter virulenter et blaspheme contradicat illum sane nos a damnationis reatu liberare non possumus." Langbecker, p.60.

45. Langbecker, p. 62. Cf., Bekenntnisschriften, p. 993:61. ". . . manducatio in coena non modo accipientibus non salutaris, sed noxia etiam et damnationis causa esse sollet."

uttered in the context of what had been billed as a "friendly colloquy." Yet the Lutherans could not come to any other conclusion but that the Reformed were teaching another Gospel. And to those who teach another Gospel the words of Paul in Galatians are applied, namely that they are "verflucht."<sup>46</sup> The potential collapse of the colloquy seemed imminent when on April 4, 1663 the Oberpräsident called Lorenz and Helwig of the ministerium to account for not following the modo procedendi established by the Kurfürst. Yet what was to be a reproof and reprimand also furnished an opportunity to clarify certain formulations in the submissions of the ministerium.

Surprisingly the Reformed returned to the table on April 6 with a document that rejoiced in the fact that there was agreement in most articles, and only minor differences in three remaining points. They therefore urged that further discussion also include a new article: de

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46. Langbecker, p. 71. Paul Wernle, in a not unpartisan spirit, makes the comment that it is ". . . der echteste ketzerhassende Geist Luthers und der Wittenberger, den wir hier vernehmen." Paul Wernle, Paulus Gerhardt, (Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1907), p. 14. Sasse, though not impartial, doubtless has grasped the true spirit in which Gerhardt and the Lutherans could utter the "damnamus" when he writes: "The 'damnamus' is not a loveless judgment against other Christians but the rejection of false doctrine that is commanded in the New Testament, a duty of pastoral care for those who are straying no less than for those who are endangered by error." Hermann Sasse, We Confess the Sacraments, trans. Norman Nagel, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985), p.110. Cf. the detailed apology of Gerhardt's position in an unsigned article of the Theological Quarterly: "In Behalf of Paul Gerhardt and the Elenchus," Theological Quarterly, 11 (1907):107-127.

persona Christi. Gerhardt and the ministerium regarded this advance as nothing other than an attempt to over-burden the agenda, permitting only a superficial treatment of the

". . . Articulo de coena et puncto der mündlichen Nießung . . ." in order to press onward ". . . mit aller Gewalt zum syncretismo."<sup>47</sup> Instead they suggested leaving all other articles aside to devote all the time for the

". . . Articulum de coena Dei et pondere oralis manducationis . . ." Gerhardt was convinced that much still needed to be said before this article could be left behind.

. . . denn ehe wir aus dem articul de coena domini et puncto oralis manducationis herauskommen, werden wir ihnen so viel remonstriren, daß weder wir sie für Brüder und Glaubensgenossen annehmen, noch sie unsere Bruderschaft begehren können.<sup>48</sup>

The ministerium was taking most seriously that the Reformed refusal to confess the manducatio oralis left their understanding of the Lord's Supper remained dangerously deficient. And in light of the Last Judgment, the Lutherans

47. Langbecker, 81.

48. Langbecker, pp. 82-3. That the colloquy never did move beyond this point is indicated by the objections to the edict of the Kurfürst which followed the colloquy in 1664. The Kurfürst had pointed out that the sacraments are not mere signs. The ministerium therefore queried if the Reformed are prepared to confess the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and the wine: "Wenn die heil. Sacramenta nicht sollen nur bloße Zeichen, Fürbilder und Bedeütungen seyn, ob sie dann mit demjenigen Hauptstück oder Haupt gut welches sie fürbilden und bedeüten können, und Zwar mit dessen substantz Zu gegenwärtiger Genießung vereiniget und verbunden seyn, also zum exempel, daß der Leib und das Blut Christi nicht so weit als Himmel und Erde von Brod und Wein geschieden und abgesondert seyn." Langbecker p. 118.

were therefore compelled to exclude them from their fellowship.

To move on to a discussion de persona Christi was therefore all but impossible, since the Reformed had simply refused to see the strength of argument for the manducatio oralis and continued to reject this Lutheran doctrine.<sup>49</sup> For these Lutherans no fellowship was possible apart from Christ.<sup>50</sup> And no confession of Christ was conceivable apart

49. "Wenn die Reformirten oralem manducationem nach dem Trieb erronea et ex verbo Dei meliora edocenda conscientia, qua conscientia, auch die Papisten, Photinianer, Türken, Juden bei ihrer Religion verharren, und unser Lutherische verwerfen, aber so ipso verwerfen sie die Wahrheit und lieben die Lügen, contra conscientiam toties ex verbo Dei meliora edoctam, sie haben wohl gesehen, was fundamenta et argumenta die Lutheraner pro orali manducatione haben, aber sie verhalten und verstecken sich selbst und wollens nicht sehen." Langbecker, p. 89.

50. It might be noted at this juncture that there were other Lutherans who were much more compliant than Gerhardt and the Berlin ministerium, namely those who had met at Kassel in 1661. This meeting between the Reformed of Marburg and Lutheran theologians had produced an agreement whereby ". . . kein Teil den andern wegen der noch zurückgebliebenn Vershiedenheit der Meinungen [!!] verdammen oder verketzern sollte." Lehre und Wehre, p. 55, note 8. What had these theologians had relegated as indifferent?: "Ob Christi Leib und But im Abendmahl dem Wesen nach von Gläubigen und Ungläubigen empfangen werde? Ob Gott willens und bereit sei, allen und jeden Menschen seine Gnade durch die ordentlichen Mittel anzubieten und zu geben? Ob Christus für alle Menschen, für die Verworfenen nicht minder als für die Auserwählten, gestorben sei? Ob gewisse göttliche Eigenschaften auch von der menschlichen Natur des Sohnes Gottes prädicirt werden können?" Lehre und Wehre, pp. 55-6, note 8. The judgment of Wittenberg was unequivocal. The Epicrisis which they had reached along with Jena and Leipzig targeted these "Pseudolutherans" as deniers of the faith and as having succumbed to a most ungodly peace. The Reformed, on the other hand, saw here the potential for success elsewhere as well.



from the Christ who gives his body and blood to be eaten and drunk bodily for the forgiveness of sins. The confession of the manducatio oralis therefore precluded a discussion of Christ apart from the manducatio oralis which was the sine qua non of not only the Lord's Supper for Gerhardt, but also for his christology. The doctrine of the manducatio oralis effectively stalemated the colloquy.

The expected consequence of the colloquy had therefore been realized on May 29, 1663 with the seventeenth and final meeting.<sup>51</sup> Neither side had budged. The Lutherans had adhered uncompromisingly to the doctrines of the Formula of Concord which had given Gerhardt and the Lutherans he represented clearly developed theses to articulate and present at these meetings.<sup>52</sup> Further recourse had been available by consultation with Wittenberg.<sup>53</sup> Ultimately, however, the ministerium did nothing other than to confess steadfastly the faith to which each

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51. Gerhardt had counseled to reject attending the colloquy, fearing that no matter what the Lutherans did, refuse the colloquy or attend, they would be characterized as being ". . . ungehorsame, widerspenstige, friedhäßige [Leute]. . . ." Langbecker, p. 26.

52. "Die Berlinische Geistlichkeit wich keinen Schritt von der Concordienformel, als ihre symbolische Waffe, die Reformierten dagegen ließen dieselbe nicht gelten." Becker, p.30.

53. "Er [Gerhardt] war überzeugt, die Rechte Gewissensleitung nur in Wittenberg, an der Quelle der lutherischen Rechtgläubigkeit, zu finden." Petrich, p. 134.

of its members had subscribed in the Book of Concord.<sup>54</sup> Neither the tenor nor indeed the substance of the colloquy proved to be any different than the previous colloquies concerning the Lord's Supper and christology which had separated the Lutherans from the Reformed since the time of the Marburg Colloquy in 1527. In fact, these documents fail to reveal any new arguments on either side that had not been extensively dealt with at previous colloquies.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, they do reveal Gerhardt as being a faithful transmitter and confessor of the Lutheran confession.

For their unrelenting confession, the Lutherans, including Gerhardt, had to bear the odium of being regarded as intractable, obstinate, intolerant, contentious and polemical people.<sup>56</sup> Swift actions by the Kurfürst followed this thwarting of a negotiated settlement. An edict was published on September 16, 1664, which in sum obligated the

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54. The many documents of the colloquy are reproduced by Langbecker, pp. 29-150.

55. Lehre und Wehre, pp. 57-8.

56. This judgment prevailed and prevails to the present. Fr.W.Krummacher, during the latter part of the 19th century put the matter in the following light: "Aber seine [des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm] treugemeinten Bemühungen waren namentlich an der Ungefügigkeit der lutherischen Theologen gescheitert." Fr. W. Krummacher, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Zeugen der Wahrheit, ed. Ferdinand Piper, 4 vols., (Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhardt Tauchnitz, 1875), 4:446. More recently: "Unter denen, die sich diesem Gebot christlicher Feindesliebe nicht zu fügen vermochten, war auch unser Gerhardt. . . ." Walter Frei, "Gedanken zum 300. Todestag von Paul Gerhardt," Reformatio, 25 (1976):335. [Italics added].

disputing parties to cease their polemics and to refrain from drawing conclusions from the disputed doctrinal positions.<sup>57</sup> In fact, the edict essentially disputes the conclusions drawn within the Formula of Concord concerning Reformed doctrine. The Lutherans therefore rightly saw it as a call for secession from the Formula. It further called for the the exorcism prior to baptism to be made a matter of choice, not doctrine.<sup>58</sup> In the final analysis the edict legislated the desired "christlichen Kirchen-Frieden" that the colloquy was unable to achieve, and in effect declared the disputed theological articles as non-essential for

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57. In his edict, the Kurfürst commands the termination of the drawing of conclusions from the respective teachings, as well as the attendant condemnations. Such would lead to ". . . einen guten Anfang zum Evangelischen Kirchenfriede, und christlicher Verträglichkeit in diesen Unseren Landen der Chur- und Mark Brandenburg. . . ." Among the matters to be muzzled were the accusations that the Reformed teach: "Daß keine wirkliche Gemeinschafft der beyden Naturen und Eigenschaft in Christo sey, oder daß nur ein blosser Mensch für uns gestorben, oder daß Christus im Himmel, als in einem Gefängnis, eingeschlossen, oder, daß nicht der gantze Christus bey uns sey; . . . Daß die heiligen Sacramenta nur blosser Zeichen, Fürbilder und Bedeutungen, . . . Daß die Worte Christi: Daß ist mein Leib u., nicht für wahrhaftig zu halten, und daß im heiligen Abendmahl schlecht Brodt und Wein, und also leere Hülsen ohne Kern seyn. . . ." Langbecker, p.93. Cf. p. 95.

58. Cf. Walther Killy, "Paul Gerhardt. Glaube, Schwermut, Dichtung," Musik und Gottesdienst, 30 (1976):84, who here cites the exorcism formula during baptism as the prime cause of Gerhardt's refusal to sign the Revers. Clearly Gerhardt's firm stand against the ordered subscription was not merely the result of the excision of the exorcism formula, but the underlying cause of which its rejection was symptomatic: The Reformed demand for the rejection of the Formula of Concord.

salvation.<sup>59</sup> In so doing, Friedrich Wilhelm appealed to precedent:

Und weil auch Gott der Herr, gleich wie in der Reformirten Kirche, also auch unter den Lutherischen Theologen, dann und wann gelahrte Männer erwecket hat, welche Friedens-Schrifften geschrieben, und erwiesen, daß der Evangelischen dissensus an sich selbst nicht fundamentalis sey, und eine tolerantia Ecclesiastica gar wohl gestiftet werden könne: So wollen wir keinesweges gestatten, daß andere, so solches Erkenntniß und friedliches Gemüthe noch nicht haben, . . . andere friedliche Consilia öffentlich tadeln oder verdammen sollen.<sup>60</sup>

To ensure compliance with this edict, as well as those which had preceded it in 1614 and 1662, the signing of a Revers was required of the ministerium and indeed all Lutheran ministers.<sup>61</sup> The substance of this Reverse called

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59. The result of this colloquy mirrored the one called by Friedrich Wilhelm's Grand-father in 1614. As Langbecker relates, the chancellor, Dr. Prückmann, established the basic tenets of the colloquy in the presence of the Kurfürst by declaring: "Da der Grund aller Zwistigkeiten nur die mündliche Genießung des Leibes Christi im heiligen Abendmahle beträfe, so ermahnte er sie zur Duldsamkeit und brüderlichen Liebe, und setzte hinzu, daß die Hauptsache ja das geistige Genießen sei, ohne welches es doch keine Seligkeit gäbe. Ueberdie wären sie ja auch in dem Fundament einig, nämlich: daß Jesus Christus der alleinige rechte Eckstein und Mittler sei u." Langbecker, p. 17. The Lutheran clergy at that time implored the Kurfürst to abandon the thought of a colloquy with such presuppositions. Their wish was granted upon the promise to abide by the mandate issued by the Kurfürst.

60. Langbecker, p. 95.

61. Langbecker, pp. 114-20. The Revers which was to be signed was not in one form. Langbecker produces two examples (pp. 101-2), as well as one accepted by the Kurfürst written by Lilje himself (pp.153-4). The content of the Reverse, which were all similar in substance, is exemplified in one of the Reverse cited by Langbecker: "Daß Wir Endes Bennante Prediger Bey den Lutherischen Kirchen Zu Berlin in Unserm Lehr Ambte Bey den glaubens- und Lebens

for submission to the mentioned edicts while remaining true to the Augsburg Confession and its Apology. Notably all other confessional writings, including the Formula of Concord, are not mentioned within the Reverse. Conscience bound to their oaths to all the confessions of the Lutheran church, the Berlin ministerium asked for permission to not sign the reverse, citing among their objections the unresolved matter of the manducatio oralis and the consequent christological questions.

These conspicuous doctrinal differences could not possibly be brushed aside as being insignificant and irrelevant by the ministerium. Conscience bound, the whole Berlin ministerium made it clear to the Kurfürst that they could not desist from warning their congregations that the Reformed are in error when they teach:

Finitum non est capax infiniti, Unum numero corpus non potest esse simul et semel nisi in uno loco. A penetratione Corporum abhorret natura, Qvicquid manducatur in ventrem, dejicitur concoquitur.<sup>62</sup>

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Lehren, Undt Nahmentlich auch in denen Zwischen Uns und den Reformirten schwebenden streittigen puncten Bey Dr. Lutheri Meinung und erklährung, wie selbige in Augustana Confessione und deren Apologia enthalten, Undt demnach auch in Gemeinshaft der Allgemeinen Lutherischen Kirchen beständig Zubleiben gemeinet sein, Jedoch aber Bey tractirung der gedachten Controversien uns Zugleich Unverbruchlich halten wollen, wie in den Churfl. Brandenb. Edictis de Anno 1614, 1662, 1664 uns anbefohlen ist, Solches Thun wir mit diesem eignhändig unterschriebenen Revers angeloben, Uhrkunden und bekennen." Idem. pp. 101-2.

62. Langbecker, p. 115. Cf. p. 84.

At the heart of these christological questions remained the doctrine of the manducatio oralis. The ministerium had made it clear that the manducatio oralis rests upon the clear words of scripture, and as such it provides the foundation upon which the whole understanding of not only the Lord's Supper but Christ himself depends. To confess the bodily eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ is then to confess the communicatio idiomatum, especially the genus maiestaticum. The ministerium therefore asked these Reformed representatives if, in light of the edict, they do indeed confess a true communication of natures in Christ:

. . . ob sie die wirkl. Gemeinschaft der beyden naturen und Eigenschaften in Christo wollen verstanden haben, von solcher Gemeinschaft, welche auch eine natur an der andern habe.<sup>63</sup>

Grave doubts concerning this remained in light of the conclusions of the Marburg Reformed theologians. These had limited the divine power that was communicated to the human nature of Christ. In essence they had taught that

. . . der Menschlichen natur Christi nicht die mitgetheilte Almacht oder die Gemeinschaft an solcher Eigenschaft Göttlichen natur eigenthümblich Zu stehet, sondern mehr nicht, als eine potentiam finitam zu legen wollen.<sup>64</sup>

The ministerium suggests that the Reformed refusal to accept the manducatio oralis indicates a glaring inconsistency in their christology. On the one hand they do not

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63. Langbecker, p.116.

64. Langbecker, pp.116-117.

want to deny that Christ is not wholly present. On the other hand they do not want to go as far as to admit the real presence of Christ's human nature. Certainly they cannot have it both ways, even though they deny

. . . daß nicht der gantze Christus bey uns sey, ob es also solle aufgenommen werden, daß nicht nur der, der Gott und Mensch ist, sondern auch das was Gott und Mensch ist in Christo und also das totum Christi die gantze Person mit Ihrer beiden vereinigten naturen, der Göttlichen und Menschlichen bey uns sey. Dann wo eine natur nur des Herrn Christi seyn solte, und die andere nicht, da wäre nach unserer Lehre nicht der gantze Christus.<sup>65</sup>

The consequence of denying the manductio oralis therefore had effectively led the Reformed to confess a partim Lord's Supper and a partim Christ. The consistent Reformed position could not be construed as being anything but a denial of a real communication of natures and especially the genus maiestaticum.

In light of these weighty unresolved doctrinal differences, the ministerium assured its continued compliance in the matter of the Verketzerung and the damnatus.<sup>66</sup> But since they were also conscience-bound to their confessions, they also sought to secure the freedom to expose

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65. Langbecker, p. 117. Cf. pp. 46; 82; 116.

66. "Daß wir auch ferner in fürtrag unßrer Lehre undt gebührende wiederlegung unß aller Christlichen Bescheidenheit gebrauchen, Undt denen von Ew. Churfl. Durchl. ergangenen Edicten, waß daß ungebührliche undt Unchristliche verdammen, lästern, schmähen undt eineiges vorsetzliche Beschimpffen anlangt, noch ferner gehorsamliche folge leisten." Langbecker, p. 111. The ministerium had earlier explained that the damnatus was never uttered ad persona but at erroneous doctrine. See also notes 23 and 46 above.

doctrinal error wherever it was found, not for the sake of an alleged desire for strife, honor, and hatred of peace,<sup>67</sup> but because of their Amt as ". . . Diener am worte Gottes, die wir vor unsern anvertrauten Pfarr-Kinder Seelen, schwehre rechenschaft Zu geben schuldig seyn."<sup>68</sup> The conscience of these men was unequivocally bound to their ordination subscription affixed to the whole of the Book of Concord. To sign the Revers was therefore tantamount to apostasy from the confessions, especially since the edict contained quite a number of points which were insurmoun- table and would have demanded the compromising of their Lutheran faith. Their appeal to the Kurfürst therefore had begun by pointing out that his edict

eine Ziemliche anzahl sehr hoher undt wichtiger puncta in sich begriffet, die wir voller gegährlichen undt uns an die Seele gehenden difficultäten finden, undt durch welche wir auch, wo wir denselben beyfallen sollen, uns von der gesamten Lutherischen Kirchen (an der wir dennoch undt allen Dero Symbolischen glaubens Büchern durch die Gnade Gottes bisher hangen undt bis an das Ende Unseres Lebens Zu verbleiben gedencken) trennen undt absondern müsten.<sup>69</sup>

Still, some two-hundred Lutheran ministers did comply to remain in the "Pfarre." Among them was one of the minis- terium, Probst Lilius, who had composed his own Revers which was found acceptable by the Kurfürst. On February 6,

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67. This was the opinion of the Kurfürst in his Declaration of May 4, 1665. Langbecker, p. 126.

68. Langbecker, p. 97.

69. Langbecker, pp. 97-98.



1666 Paul Gerhardt was himself confronted with the option of signing the Revers or be removed from office.

Gerhardt's not unexpected refusal to sign was followed by an immediate dismissal from his Amt as Diakonus at St. Nikolai. This unhappy state of affairs brought the ministerium, as well as the town council to the aid of Gerhardt. Their witness confirms in Gerhardt a man bound by conscience, who in no way had ever maligned the Reformed and had done nothing other than stand upon the confessions to which he had subscribed.<sup>70</sup> Yet the Kurfürst was not impressed by these attempts at retaining a man who refused the hand of brotherhood to the Reformed, counseled his colleagues to refuse signing the Revers, and by all reports was the most obdurate of the Berlin ministerium.<sup>71</sup> Gerhardt was summarily removed from his office.

More lobbying brought forth a compromise.<sup>72</sup> Ger-

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70. Langbecker provides all the documents attendant to Gerhardt's struggle (pp. 155-204). The numerous accounts of these events make their detailed restatement unnecessary in this context. See for example Petrich, pp. 162-189; Zeller, pp. 122-124; Nelle, "Paul Gerhardt," pp. LXVII-LXI.

71. Lehre und Wehre, p. 63.

72. The appeals that were launched by the civic as well as the consistorial authorities testified to Gerhardt's placid character: "Dann freilich ists an dem, daß Vielbesagter Herr Gerhard Sich allemahl in seinen Predigen also erwiesen, daß er Ew. Churfürstl. Durchl. Religion niemals mit einem Worte Gedacht, Zu geschweigen, daß Er auff dieselbe Geschmähet oder Gescholten haben sollte, . . . so gar, daß auch Ew. Churfl. Durchl. Kein Bedencken tragen laßen in Dero Märckisches Gesangbuch, so unter dero Hohen Nahmen Ao. 1558 alhier außgegangen, seine Geistlichen Gesänge oder Lieder, deren eine zimlich Anzahl im Druck Zu Geben, und

hardt would not have to sign for a time since he allegedly did not fully understand the nature of the Revers and would therefore be reinstated. Yet the messenger who brought Gerhardt this piece of news also related to him that the Kurfürst is willing to reinstate him in his Amt as he is satisfied with Gerhardt's moral, albeit unwritten agreement with the spirit of the Revers.<sup>73</sup> Such an implication was unbearable to Gerhardt's conscience.<sup>74</sup> Only under one condition could he resume his office: The complete remission of his obligation to the edicts. He would therefore permit himself to be reinstated if

vorher die Churfl. gnädigste Verüngstigung geschehe, daß ich nächst gnädigster Erlassung des Gehorsams der Edicta. . . bei allen meinen lutherischen Bekenntnissen, namentlich der Formul Concordiae unverrückt

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Publiciren zu laßen." Langbecker, pp.160-161. They also saw fit to warn of the dire consequences of being responsible for the extradition of such a man: ". . . wie Viele unerträglicher wird es Unß dann ergehen, wann wir auch dieselben nicht behalten, sondern fromme undt Gottseelige Männer von Uns stoßen wollen." Langbecker, p.158.

73. Writing to the Magistriat on January 26, 1667, Gerhardt regrets that the terms of the restitution to office have only aggravated his situation, ". . . indem es ja klar daselbst verlautet, ich hätte darum den Churfl. Edicten oder Reversen zu unterschreiben mich entzogen, weil ich die Edicten oder derer Meinung nicht begriffen hätte, . . . so bleibt es auch noch einen Weg wie den andern dabei, daß ob mir gleich die Unterschrift erlassen würde, ich dennoch den Edicten nachzuleben, und denselben mich gemäß bezeigen verbunden sein sollte." Cranach-Sichart, p. 479.

74. ". . . denn mein Gewissen will mir darüber voller Unruhe und Schrecken werden, was aber mit bösem Gewissen geschieht, das ist für Gott ein Greuel und zieht nicht den Segen sondern den Fluch nach sich, womit aber weder meiner Gemeine noch mir würde geraten sein. . . ." Cranach-Sichart, p. 479.

verbleiben möge, also daß ich auch nach derselben meine  
Gemeine und Zuhörer unterweisen und zu keiner andern  
moderation oder Bescheidenheit mich anheischig machen  
dürfte, als welche in jetztgedachten meinen luther-  
rischen Glaubensbekenntnissen Grund haben, . . .<sup>75</sup>

The impasse remained. Conscience bound, Gerhardt was com-  
pelled to reject his reinstatement,<sup>76</sup> whereupon his posi-  
tion was declared vacant.<sup>77</sup>

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75. Cranach-Sichart, p. 479. In his letter to the Kurfürst  
Gerhardt expressed his distress in greater detail. Due to  
the great sorrow and anguish in his soul he cannot accept  
the Kurfürst's restitution to office under the given terms  
". . . wie ich bey solchem Gehorsam mein Lutherisches  
Glaubens Bekentnuß Formulam Concordiae verlassen unnd von  
mier legen müste. . . . Ich fürchte mich für Gott, in  
dessen Anschauen ich hier auf Erden wandle, unnd für  
welches gerichte ich auch dermaleinst erscheinen muß und  
kan nach dem, wie mein Gewissen von jugend auff gestunden  
unnd noch itzo stehet, nicht anders befinden alls das ich,  
auff die vorher berührte art unnd weise wieder in mein Ampt  
treten sollte, seinen Zorn und schwehre Straffe auf mich  
laden werde." Cranach-Sichart, p. 469.

76. ". . . aber Gerhardts gläubiges Gemüth, die innige Ver-  
bindung seines Herzens mit dem Herrn, hatte seinem Gewissen  
eine solche Zartheit gegeben, daß er freiwillig, zum großen  
Schmerz seiner Gemeinde und der ganzen Bürgerschaft seinem  
Amt entsagte." Langbecker, pp. 199-200. Langbecker's obser-  
vation is somewhat dubious in that Gerhardt certainly had  
not voluntarily left office but was rather prevented from  
reassuming it because of the compromising edicts which were  
still in force. Krummacher, however, follows Langbecker in  
this evaluation, but adds that the true cause was an erring  
conscience informed by the Formula of Concord: "Er [Ger-  
hardt] folgte der Stimme seines Gewissens. War dieses ein  
irrendes, so war es dies doch nur insoweit, als etwa die  
Concordienformel, in der er gebunden war, in ihren Bann-  
sprüchen wider die Confession der Reformirten irrte."  
Krummacher, p. 448.

77. "Wenn der Prediger Paulus Gerhard das Ihm von Sr. C. D.  
gnedigst wieder erlaubte Amptt nicht wieder betreten wil,  
welches Er den vor dem höchsten Gott Zu Verandttwortten  
haben wirdt, So wirdt der Magisterat ehestens eineige  
andere friedtliebende geschickte leüte Zu ablegung der  
probepredigt einladen, dieselbe aber nicht ehr vociren bis  
Sie Zuförderst Sr. Churfl. Durchl. von Dero qualiteten

The years which followed these doctrinal controversies are undocumented, aside from his correspondence with the congregation at Lübben. That Gerhardt continued to remain steadfast in the confessions for which he endured considerable hardship is attested by one final document. Prior to the end of his ministry and life in Lübben, where he had been called in 1669, he left his testament for his only remaining child, Paul Friedrich. To his son he commended the study of theology,

. . . in reinen Schulen und auf unverfälschten Universitäten, und hüte dich ja vor Synkretisten, denn sie suchen das Zeitliche und sind weder Gott noch Menschen treu. . . . Summa, bete fleißig, studiere was Ehrliches, lebe friedlich, diene redlich und bleibe in deinem Glauben und Bekenntnis beständig, so wirst du einmal auch sterben und von dieser Welt scheiden willig, fröhlich und seliglich. Amen.<sup>78</sup>

This testament of Gerhardt's is both a will and a witness that Gerhardt remained true to his Lutheran confession till the end.<sup>79</sup> It furthermore reveals the same aversion for indecision and compromise that had been the cause of his removal from office ten years earlier. Gerhardt entered into eternity as he had lived: In statu confessionis. And in doing so he left a blessed heritage not only for his son, but the whole Lutheran church.

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Untgst. bericht abgestattet haben. Cölln, den 4. Febr. 1667." Langbecker, p. 199.

78. Cranach-Sichart, pp. 492-3.

79. Quoted in Lehre und Wehre, p. 70.

Doubtless such a panegyric is not shared by those who were the cause of Gerhardt's grief and the object of his warning.<sup>80</sup> To this day the Reformed church has won the acclaim as being a tolerant confession, quite willing and capable of union, while the Lutheran church retains the stigma of a narrow and exclusive confessionalism characterized by intolerance and lovelessness.<sup>81</sup> The Kurfürst consequently emerges as the benevolent protector of the church,<sup>82</sup> while Gerhardt is branded the close-minded

80. Cf. Lehre und Wehre, p. 63, especially note 13. Here it is noted that the Reformed refused to believe that Gerhardt was as pious as he was made out to be, rather ". . . [daß er] vielmehr widersetzlich sei und selbst andere Personen zur Widersetzlichkeit gereizt habe." Auch daß er ". . . bei einer Krankheit seine Kollegen zu sich eingeladen und sie ernstliche ermahnt, den Revers nicht zu unterschreiben." Wernle also reflects the Reformed perspective on Gerhardt's intractability: "Paulus Gerhardt ist zweifellos bei diesen Verhandlungen einer der entschiedensten lutherischen Starrköpfe gewesen. Seine schriftliche Gutachten offenbaren die ganze Unversöhnlichkeit diese protestantischen Pfaffentums. Aber die Schuld trifft ihn doch wesentlich nur als Glied einer Gesamtheit, als Frucht der Wittenbergertheologie." Wernle, p. 15. Cf. Norbert Müller, "Schwierigkeiten mit Paul Gerhardt?" Zeichen der Zeit, 30 (1976):164. Müller evaluates Gerhardt's stand more positively here. Gerhardt's life in fact proves ". . . daß ihm die Wahrheit seiner lutherisch geprägten Glaubenserkenntnis Herzens- und Gewissenssache war."

81. Hermann Sasse, Was heisst lutherisch?, (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1936), p. 108. Cf. the English translation of the above work: Hermann Sasse, Here We Stand, trans. Theodore Tappert, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 100-1.

82. Krummacher presents the Kurfürst as "fromm und trefflich . . . [der] mit großer Milde und aller gebührenden Anerkennung auch die lutherische beurtheilend und fest entschlossen, dieselbe bei all ihren Rechten und Freiheiten landesväterlich zu beschützen . . ." Krummacher, p. 444. His actions are ". . . treugemeinte Bemühungen . . . die

". . . Hyperkonfessionalist und Störer des kirchlichen Friedens."<sup>83</sup>

Despite Gerhardt's maligned confessional stand, his hymns found their way into the hymnals of numerous confessions, including the Märkisches Gesangbuch of the Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm which had been commissioned by his wife, Louise Henriette. Yet not only his hymns, but Gerhardt himself is made more palatable by presenting the man as a dichotomous individual, who is ecumenical in his hymnody, yet viciously partisan in his writings on behalf of the ministerium.<sup>84</sup> Such a view permits itself to seek the real Gerhardt apart from his confession. What he sings

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streitenden Partheien mit einander auszusöhnen." Indeed, the edicts themselves were issued with "tiefster Betrübniß" in light of the failure of the colloquy. Idem., p. 446. Cf. Dr. Gebhardt, "Paul Gerhardt, der Sänger des fröhlichen Christentums," Pastoralblätter, 29 (1907): 340 Gebhardt sees the Kurfürst as well as Gerhardt as ". . . die besten Männer jener Zeit . . . : Der Große Kurfürst und Paul Gerhardt, jeder fromm, jeder grundehrlich, jeder den anderen hochschätzend." Though Gebhardt indubitably puts the best construction on the situation, the evidence fails to support such Hochschätzung on the part of the Kurfürst.

83. Sasse, p. 108.

84. Krummacher speculates that Gerhardt often was grieved at the whole controversy, ". . . und seinen Schmerz darüber so wie sein Sehnen nach der Einigung aller Gläubigen in der Liebe Christi betend in seinem Kämmerlein vor dem Herrn ausgeschüttet." Krummacher, p. 445. Nor does the evidence of Gerhardt's confessional stand permit the statement that ". . . er der Sangmeister der rechten christgläubigen Union ward." Idem., p. 451. And only the wresting of Gerhardt and his hymnody from the context of his Lutheran confession enables the Reformed or Union position to exclaim: "Genug, Gerhardt ist unser! Von wenigen sagt dies die ganze deutsche evangelische Christenheit mit gerechterem Stolz und freudigerem Dank als von ihm." Idem., p. 453.

is regarded as theologically innocuous, and consequently acceptable to all denominations.<sup>85</sup> And the contention that

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85. Nelle finds it possible to ignore the whole confessional controversy of the colloquy when he summarizes: "Der Große Kurfürst wollte zugleich die Kluft zwischen Lutherischen und Reformierten überbrücken. Wie hat Gerhardt ihm dabei in die Hände gearbeitet dadurch, daß er die Lieder schuf so ohne alles sonderkonfessionelle Gepräge, daß sie bald auch in brandenburg-preußischen, in deutschen Landen von den Reformierten gesungen wurden, ein mächtigeres Band der Einheit der beiden Konfessionen, als alle politische und kirchliche Diplomatie es schlingen kann. Gerhardt ist einer der ersten und einflußreichsten Brückenschläger gewesen, und wie solide hat er gebaut." [Italics added]. Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes, 4th. ed., (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), p. 164. With these statements Nelle establishes a glaring inconsistency between Gerhardt's theological and doctrinal concerns and his hymnody. That the man who fought syncretism and unionism should be regarded as the most influential pontifex between the Lutherans and Reformed is not so much ironic as it is incongruous and incredulous. The manner in which his hymnody was pressed into such service further shows that the Gerhardt whom the Reformed received was not the Gerhardt who had written these revised and reformed hymns. Cf. Wolfgang Trillhaas, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Grossen Deutschen, eds. Hermann Heimpel, Theodor Heuss, Benno Reifenberg, 5 vols., (Berlin: Im Propyläen-Verlag, 1956), 1:541. Trillhaas queries: "Soll dieser Glaube nur auf Lutheraner beschränkt sein? Er [Gerhardt], der den 'Synkretismus', die Religionsmengerei wie den Satan selbst gefürchtet und um der Meinung dieses Seelenschadens willen gelitten hat, er hat doch so singen gelehrt, daß jeder gläubige Calvinist und wohl auch der Katholik in sein Singen miteinstimmen kann. Unterscheidungslehren sind nicht berührt. Wir haben auch nur ein einziges Abendmahlslied von ihm." Again the question has to be asked how such a dissociation of Gerhardt's confession and its expression in his hymnody is possible. Doubtless it is true that believing Calvinists can not only sing some of his hymns, but also sign the Augsburg Confession, perhaps even selected Articles of the Formula of Concord. But it is a question of selectivity, as even Trillhaas notes when he intimates that Gerhardt's one communion hymn (which is discussed on pages 153-159 below) indeed does contain "Unterscheidungslehre." In fact, this sole communion hymn is nothing other than a clear summary of Gerhardt's contention for the Real Presence and especially the manducatio oralis found within the documents

his hymns are contained in all hymnals of any note is presented as adequate testimony of the ecumenicity of Gerhardt's hymns.<sup>86</sup> This view is possible only to a shallow understanding of what is ecumenical, catholic and apostolic. Gerhardt's understanding was profoundly deeper, inasmuch as his confession was not that of a Partikularkirche, but the una sancta.

Yet in light of Gerhardt's adamant confessional stand, the question has to be asked whether his hymnody can be dissociated from his theology. The general avoidance of Gerhardt's hymnody in a number of Reformed hymnals indicates that such dissociation is not easily accomplished.<sup>87</sup>

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which have been investigated above. It is interesting to note that it is not found in many hymnals, including the Pietist hymnal of Freylinghausen which otherwise contains most of Gerhardt's church year and festive hymns. Perhaps Gerhardt's communion hymn is too clearly confessional and therefore unpalatable for pandominational use. Yet this presentation of a partim Gerhardt, tailored to suit any and all confessions indubitably does injustice not only to his hymnody, but misrepresents him who was ". . . der gewaltige evangelisch-lutherische Zeuge, der in einer Zeit ungemäßer Einigungsbestrebungen das Banner des Luthertums hochhielt, . . ." Gebhardt, p. 338.

86. Krummacher, p. 452. Krummacher fails to provide any documentary evidence to support his contention that Gerhardt's hymns were indeed welcomed in Reformed hymnals everywhere.

87. Of the Reformed hymnals of the Lower Rheine (Nieder-rhein), such as the Clevesche Gesangbuch of 1682/1684 and Duisburger Gesangbuch of 1684, as well as the Elberfelder Gesangbuch of 1702, the former two contained only one of Gerhardt's hymns, "Nun ruhen alle Wälder," while the latter contained not a single one. Nor can it be argued that Gerhardt was unknown at this times in this part of Germany. The Lutheran hymnal in Cleve of 1701, for example, has some 27 hymns of Gerhardt, while an earlier hymnal in Mühlheim



The truncated, edited and altered versions of his hymns in later hymnals bear witness that his hymns are not so free of distinctly Lutheran confessional content as to receive unrevised acceptance. Nor can there be a contradiction between the man who wrote the hymns and the man who wrote on behalf of the ministerium. Both bear the mark of an identical doctrinal status.<sup>88</sup> Nor is this a stand which can

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(1686) contained some 44. Nor did Reformed avoidance of Gerhardt change substantially during the 18th century. Of Gerhardt's hymns, the hymnal reforms of the Reformed around 1738 retained only the hymn "O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht." The cause for this aversion to Gerhardt can doubtless be sought in ". . . konfessionelle Abneigung . . . ." Walter Hollweg, Geschichte der evangelischen Gesangbücher vom Niederrhein im 16.-18. Jahrhundert, (Gütersloh: Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1923). Photomechanical Reprint: Walter Hollweg, Geschichte der evangelischen Gesangbücher vom Niederrhein im 16.-18. Jahrhundert, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), pp.72; 100; 140. Cf. Markus Jenny, "Wie Gerhardt's Lieder in die Schweiz kamen," Musik und Gottesdienst, 30 (1976):150. Jenny notes that only in the last 200 years has the number of Gerhardt's hymns in Switzerland increased from none to circa 30 hymns. He furthermore indicates that their inclusion was often conditional upon extensive revision.

88. The untenability of Gerhardt's confessional position in his hymnody is argued consistently in scholarly articles which touch upon his theology. Nevertheless, implicit assent is given to the inextricability of theology from many of his hymns when 17 core hymns are suggested in the interest of a true hymnal for the Union Churches by Ernst Barnikol, "Paul Gerhardt-Seine geschichtliche, kirchliche und ökumenische Bedeutung," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, VII/2 (1957): 444. "Diese siebzehn Kernlieder des ökumenischen Paul GERHARDTS sind eigentümlicherweise am wenigsten dogmatisch-theologisch, dafür aber gut biblisch." Of the church year hymns only "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," "O Welt sieh hier dein Leben," and "Zeuch ein zu deinen Toren" are found in this list. It might indeed be queried how these hymns can be least dogmatic and theological and at the same time still biblical. Barnikol betrays his presuppositions when he writes: "Seine [Paul

simply be dismissed as "Starrköpfigkeit." Instead it must be regarded as a conscientious desire not to seek that which is temporal, but to remain faithful to his Lord and the words of his Lord, as Gerhardt indicates in his testament. The matter of his confession was consequently always in the light of eternity,<sup>89</sup> and therefore a question of Rechtgläubigkeit not Rechthaberei. Indubitably the theological, and specifically the christological content of his hymnody is to be sought in the same certain locus of Rechtgläubigkeit to which he appealed throughout his life: the Lutheran confessions.

When the question concerning the christological elements in the hymns of Paul Gerhardt is therefore raised, it is clear that no answer can be given without regard for the theological elements which are contained within the

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Gerhardts] Theologie ist nicht mehr möglich und ist vergangen. Sein mutiges Bekennen wird persönlich anerkannt, ist aber sachlich von unserm Gewissen her, mindestens uns als evangelischen ,Unions-Lutheranern` gegenüber den reformierten Glaubensbrüdern nicht möglich." p. 443. The confessional church is doomed to become a ghetto church, according to Barnikol (p.436). The same principle is applied to the confessional Paul Gerhardt. It is impossible to follow the ". . . fanatische Theologe Paul GERHARDT mit seiner allzu logischen Wittenberger Dogmatik, wohl aber folgen wir gern dem Dichter Paul GERHARDT als dem ehrlichen und leidgeprüften Seelsorger auch unserer, d.h. der bleibenden menschlichen Not." p. 449. The Paul Gerhardt which Barnikol seeks and finds is clearly a monstrum of his own creation, being true neither to the historical evidence nor the pure confessional and devotional intent of Gerhardt's composition which will be outlined below.

89. See note 75 above.

Book of Concord generally, and the Formula of Concord specifically. That Gerhardt faithfully confessed Christ in the way of the Confessions in the polemical arena has been shown above. That he confessed Christ as he is confessed in the Confessions with equal fidelity in his hymns will be shown below.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CHRISTOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF GERHARDT'S PIETY

#### The Sitz im Leben of Gerhardt's Hymnody

The hymnody of Paul Gerhardt is not so much a reflection of the man who composed it as much as the faith which he professed. On the one hand Gerhardt can therefore be shown to have drawn from his theological heritage, which was deeply rooted in the orthodox theology of this time. On the other hand he also breathed the spiritual as well as literary climate of the seventeenth century. Gerhardt's hymns consequently deliver and reflect his fundamental faith in the Gospel, unequivocally giving testimony to justification by grace through faith as had been handed on to him in the Confessions of the Book of Concord. Yet beyond confessing the treasures which the Gospel gives to mankind as a whole, Gerhardt also brings a personal moment of faith to bear upon the individual's reception of God's gifts. His hymns therefore incorporate both corporate and individual confession of faith.

At the same time, the accent in his hymnody rests not only upon confession, such as is said to be the case of the Reformational hymns of faith, but also upon the per-

sonal character of the Andachtslied and Erbauungslied. It is doubtless imperative to query the addition of this personal element to the confessional hymn and its theological consequences in the context of the Geistesgeschichte of the seventeenth century. These factors and the manner in which Gerhardt accordingly expresses himself are manifestly as critical to an understanding of the christology of his hymns as is the theological content which is its basis.

Paul Gerhardt's hymns were clearly influenced by the the lyricism of his time, which was frequently occasional in nature, and the predominantly devotional use of hymnals. Lyricism was undergoing a marked change during the seventeenth century, as the German language started to regain its place in the schools as well as in literature. Martin Opitz, with the publication of his Von der teutschen Poeterei in 1624, exerted the greatest influence to this end, as he emphasised the German language as an acceptable mode of literary expression. His work above all was instrumental in the development of a German poetic genre in both the secular and ecclesiastical spheres. The accomplishment of Opitz therefore effectively began to displace Latin composition and opened the door for the extensive writing of German hymns during the latter half of the 17th century. Gerhardt's poetry, too, rests solidly upon the

work of Opitz,<sup>1</sup> whose advocacy of strict classical meter is clearly reflected in his verses. His hymns in fact stand ". . . auf der technischen Höhe, die das zweite Viertel des Jh. in der Ausbildung des Opitzschen Liedtypus erreicht hatte."<sup>2</sup>

Not only hymnody, but also occasional poetry flourished with the passing of Latin emulations. To forge hymns was part of the job-description of every theologian of the time. Such Carmina were addressed to every conceivable situation: Every family, school, civic or state celebration; every wedding, baptism, and funeral would have been regarded as lacking in festivity without a panegyric lauding the event.<sup>3</sup> No one laid claim to originality in

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1. ",Ohne Martin Opitz kein Paul Gerhardt', ohne Opitz auch kein Joh. Heermann, und wie die andern alle heißen, die in seine Schule gegangen sind. . . . Die meisten haben sich ihm [Opitz] gefügt, so daß er länger als ein Jahrhundert als ‚Vater der deutschen Dichtkunst‘, in den Augen mancher als ‚zweiter Luther‘ gegolten hat." Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied, (Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle und Meyer, 1935), p. 56. Gabriel notes that not everyone shared such high regard for Opitz. Nevertheless his influence on German poetry in general, and Gerhardt in particular, is indisputable. At the same time this influence extends mainly to the structure and form of his literary art. His source of thought and theology ". . . ist ihm ein Johann Heermann mehr als Opitz, und Luther mehr als alle anderen Dichter seiner Kirche." Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchenliedes, 4th ed., (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), p. 141.

2. Walter Blankenburg, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 16 vols., (Kassel: Im Bärenreiter Verlag, 1955), 4:1792.

3. Eberhardt von Cranach-Sichert, Paul Gerhardt Dichtungen und Schriften, (Munich: Verlag Paul Müller, 1957), p.XV.

their compositions, in so far as emulation of given styles and texts continued to be the didactic means by which composition was taught and practiced. Consequently little of what was written could be regarded as sui generis.

Gerhardt, too, as a child of his time, composed numerous writings, in both German and Latin, which were dedicated to the events which touched the lives of the people around him.<sup>4</sup> Yet with respect to his style Gerhardt retained his own integrity, avoiding foreign concepts and inflated diction. Among his German occasional compositions are various verses dedicated to the occasion of baptisms and funerals, which were later appended to the sermons held at such events upon their publication.<sup>5</sup> The primary purpose

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4. Hermann Petrich, Paul Gerhardt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes, (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1914), pp. 341-8. Petrich lists 14 Latin compositions of Gerhardt, all of which are dedicated to individuals, or their memory, between the years 1642-1665. Cf. idem. pp. 116-121.

5. See for example the hymns "Mein Herzer Vater, weint ihr noch?" 116 written upon the occasion of the death of a child of the rector Adam Spengler in 1650; "Du bist zwar mein und bleibest mein," 117, written upon the occasion of the death of the son of the Archdeakon Johann Berkow in Berlin in 1650; "Nun, du lebest, unsere Krone," 118, upon the occasion of the death of the Hofkammergerichtsrats Petrus Fritzen also in 1650. Cf. 119; 120 (written upon the occasion of the appearance of a comet in 1552); 122; 123; 124; 125; et. al. The hymn-numbers which are quoted are according to the most recent comprehensive collection of Gerhardt's hymns and writings by Eberhard von Cranach-Sichart, henceforth abbreviate CS. When applicable, the corresponding references to the text-critical edition of Johann Friedrich Bachmann, Paulus Gerhardts Geistliche Lieder, (Berlin: L.Oehmigke's Verlag, 1866) or Albert Fischer, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts, ed. Wilhelm Tümpel, 6 vols., (Gütersloh:

of these verses, especially in the event of a death, aside from being a tribute to the departed, was clearly to exercise Seelsorge for those who remained.

Seelsorge in the broader sense was also the focus of the hymns Gerhardt addressed to the life of faith and the spiritual life of the home. The pathway to the Hausandacht had been prepared by Johann Arnd,<sup>6</sup> whose influence

Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1906), unaltered new edition: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960); Wilhelm Nelle, Paul Gerhardts Lieder und Gedichte, (Hamburg: Gustav Schloßmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), will be cited as well, with the abbreviations B and FT respectively. (FT will always refer to volume 3 unless noted otherwise.) A synoptic list of hymns referred to in this study, citing the hymn numbers of both Cranach-Sichart and Fischer/Tümpel is found on page 167. For a comprehensive list of all compendia of Gerhardt's hymns see Cranach-Sichart pp. 494-515.

6. Johann Arnd was pastor in Paderborn and there proved himself to be an apologist of Lutheran orthodoxy. In this respect there is something of an analogy between him and Gerhardt. Arnd too was removed from office for refusing to surrender the exorcism formula before holy Baptism. Not only orthodox theology, however, but also the writings of mystics such as Tauler and Thomas a Kempis had bearing upon Arnd's theological position.

Arnd's purpose in writing his influential Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum is expressed in the Vorrede to Book One: "4. Dazu werde dir, lieber Christ, dies Büchlein Anleitung geben, wie du nicht allein durch den Glauben an Christum Vergebung deiner Sünden erlangen sollst, sondern auch, wie du die Gnade Gottes recht sollst gebrauchen zu einem heiligen Leben, und deinen Glauben mit einem christlichen Wandel ziern und beweisen."

Nor is this praxis pietatis a new teaching. Arnd wanted it known ". . . daß ich dieß Büchlein, gleichwie in allen andern Artikeln und Punkten, also auch im Artikel vom freien Willen und er Rechtfertigung des armen Sünders vor Gott, nicht anders denn nach dem Verstande der symbolischen Bücher der Kirchen Augspurgischer Confession, als da sind die erste unveränderte Augspurgische Confession, Apologia, Schmalkaldische Artikel, beide Catechismi Lutheri und Formula Concordiæ, will verstanden haben." Johann Arnd,



prevailed throughout the seventeenth century upon a host of writers, as did the writings of Martin Moller.<sup>7</sup> The influence of Arnd and Moller, to some degree mediated through the hymnody of Johann Heermann, can be seen both implicitly and explicitly in the hymns of Paul Gerhardt.<sup>8</sup> Arnd's devotional writings most prominently are the dominant impetus to the composition of thousands of hymns which were written and published by hundreds of hymn writers during

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Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum nebst dessen Paradiesgärtlein, ed. Johann Friedrich von Meyer, 3rd revised edition, (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heinrich Ludwig Brönnner, 1845), pp.3-4. (Later editions redivided the Vier Bücher into Sechs Bücher). As an aside: Meyer notes that Arnd is the correct spelling of Arnd's family name, not Arndt. Several reasons are given: He himself signed his name as Arnd, which is in turn more properly Arend in his Lower-Saxon dialect, with the meaning of "eagle." p. VI.

7. Moller relates his intent in the preface to his Mysterium Magnum of 1595, which is certainly comparable to the spirit of Arnd. Moller's desire is ". . . daß ich mit besonderem Fleiß die Controversen umgehe oder je messige und alles dahin richte, daß ich die Gemeine Gottes friedlich und treulich in der Wahrheit Gottes unterrichte, und mit allem Fleiß Anleitung geben, wie sie die heilsame Lehre unserer Kirchen ihr in Lehre und Trost zu nutze mache und zum Christlichen Leben und seligen Sterben heilsamlich gebrauchten sol." Quoted by Petrich, p.328, note 233.

8. Among the various Vorlagen which Gerhardt used in the composition of his hymns is Arnd's "Paradiesgärtlein." Cf. Petrich, pp.133; 208-9. The six hymns which rest on Arnd as a specific Vorlage are: "Ich Danke Dir Demütiglich," CS 59, FT 434 (Paradiesgärtlein III, 17); "O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht," CS 60, FT 436, (Paradiesgärtlein II,5); "Herr, aller Weißheit Quell und Grund," CS 64, FT 470 (Paradiesgärtlein, Goslar, 1621, I,14); "Jesu, allerliebster Bruder," CS 65, FT 471 (Paradiesgärtlein I, 34); "Ach Treuer Gott, Barmherziges Herz," CS 78, FT 448 (Paradiesgärtlein III, 27); "Barmhertzger Vater, höchster Gott," CS 79, FT 449 (Paradiesgärtlein III,26).

the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly Arnd also stands at the threshold of a progression from the liturgical use of hymnals to their devotional use.<sup>10</sup> Most of these hymns shared Arnd's desire for the strengthening of faith and encouragement of spiritual life in the home.<sup>11</sup>

By contrast the hymnody of the Gemeinde remained all but restricted to the circa thirty-two hymns in use since the 1524 hymnal published under Luther's auspices.<sup>12</sup>

9. Over 3000 hymns from the seventeenth century are printed in the already noted six volumes of Fischer/Tümpel. Gabriel notes that by the end of the 17th century 5000 hymns had been published, and, by way of an aside, some 72,732 by the last quarter of the 18th century. Gabriel, p. 8.

10. Cf. Markus Jenny, "Die Bedeutung der Gesangbuchgeschichte innerhalb der Hymnologie," Theologische Zeitschrift, 16 (1960):111. Jenny sees Arnd's writings as being the contributive element for the ". . . Fortentwicklung aus dem liturgischen Gebrauch zum Hausgebrauch des Gesangbuches."

11. The titles of many of the published hymnals of the time reflect their intended devotional use: e.g. "DEVOTIO DOMESTICA, oder Haußkirchlein: Darinnen 20. Christliche Reimen . . ." von Johann Cörber, Nürnberg, 1629. "DEVOTI MUSICA CORDIS. Hauß- und Herzmusica. Das ist: Allerley geistliche Lieder aus den S. Kirchenleherern. . ." von Johann Heermann, Breslau, 1630. et.al. F/T, 6, p. 44.

12. Petrich outlines the use of hymnals extensively. He estimates the number of hymns which were used by the choir to be eighty to one hundred at most. His conclusions are drawn from a study by Dibelius, who counted 90 "Kirchengesänge" in Dresden in 1581; V. Liliencorn, who in quoting 15 references and sources arrives at 97 hymns; and the Ertz-Stiftische Magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda (Ha. 1663) which had 82 hymns in its index. The number of hymns in use by congregations without a choir is concluded to be much lower, having been reduced to the circa 32 hymns of the Lutheran hymnal of 1524. Petrich, p. 69. Gabriel is more precise in that he counts 43 hymns of Luther, among them 37 Kirchenlieder, of which 24 are found in the hymn-collections of 1524, the Wittenberger and Erfurter Enchiridien,

The basis for this conservatism is outlined in the General-Artikel of Kurfürst August in 1580:

Damit das Volk im Singen nicht irre gemacht werde, sollen die Custodes keine andere den D. Luthers Gesänge und die er ihm gefallen lassen, in der Kirchen singen, damit sie dieselbigen wohl lernen und eins das andere desto leichter singen lehren könne.<sup>13</sup>

In this way the insurgence and subterfuge of heretical doctrines by means of the hymns of the church was to be precluded.<sup>14</sup> Basically the same desire was voiced in the Revidirte Synodalschen General-Decret of September 17, 1673:

Also sollen auch die Cantores und Custodes nicht

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and the J. Waltherschen Chorgesangbüchlein. Gabriel, p. 12.

13. Petrich, 69. The powerful and formative, as well as informative influence of hymnody on the faith of the Church was not unknown to the Roman church either. As the Jesuit Conzenius observed from his perspective: "Luthers Gesänge haben mehr Seelen umgebracht als seine Schriften." Arnold Schering, "Evangelische Kirchenmusik," Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, ed. Guido Adler, 3 vols., 2nd ed., (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1930), 2:446.

14. Karl Barth too regarded the hymnbook as a possible tool of heresy, indeed, as having become just that: "Die Geschichte des Kirchenliedes zeigt uns die innere Säkularisierung, die sich da vollzogen hat. Und gerade auf diesem Gebiet ist von seiner äußeren Säkularisierung kaum etwas zu bemerken: eine offenkundige Häresie wird man wenigstens in unseren moderen Kirchengesangbüchern verhältnismäßig selten mit Händen greifen können. Um so mehr die verborgene Häresie, die in der ganzen Richtung liegt, die sich an jeder einzelnen Abteilung unserer Kirchen Gesanbücher mehr oder weniger deutlich nachweisen läßt." Karl Barth, Kirchliche Dogmatik, 3rd ed., (Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag A.G. Zollikon, 1948), Vol.I/2:280.

unterstehen, andere Lieder als die in Herrn Lutheri Gesangbüchlein stehen, einzuführen.<sup>15</sup>

These doctrinal considerations were coupled with a relatively widespread illiteracy, which not only restricted the singing of the Gemeinde to those hymns which had been memorized but also established a tradition by which the use of hymnals during the service was regarded an unwelcome innovation.<sup>16</sup> Ears and not eyes were the chief means of learning hymnody. The consequence of these factors all but precluded the use of most hymnals of this time by the Gemeinde in worship. Instead they were published for use either by the choir or the devotional life of the home, or both.

No hymnwriter of the time, including Gerhardt, would therefore presume to foist his hymns upon the congregations.<sup>17</sup> When Gerhardt's hymns accordingly appeared for

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15. It is notable that all hymnals published throughout the 17th century and into the middle of the 18th century bore the name of Luther somewhere in their protracted titles: "Die Kirchen- und Kernlieder des seligen Lutheri," "Die christlichen und trostreichen Gesänge des Herrn D. Lutheri und seiner getreuen Nachfolger," are again and again expressly named. Gabriel, p. 10. Cf. Fischer/Tümpel, vol. 6.

16. See Petrich, 70-72. Cf. Gabriel, p. 43.

17. It is noteworthy that up into the 18th century Gerhardt's hymns found acceptance and wide distribution as private Erbauungslieder rather than congregational hymns. Instrumental in the propagation of Gerhardt's hymnody was the Pietist hymnal of Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen which was not bound to certain territories. In 1732 the Historie der Kirchencereemonien in Sachsen of Christian Gerber appeared. Gerber writes: "Die schönen geistreichen Lieder Paul Gerhardts und andere neuere aus den Glaucha-

the first time, they were published within the Praxis Pietatis Melica of Johann Crüger in 1647 (the new title for the hymnal he first published in 1640 with the title "Newes vollkömliches Gesangbuch Augsburgischer Confession").

Although the first edition of the Praxis Pietatis Melica mentions only the use of these hymns by the church choir,<sup>18</sup> the fifth edition calls for its use: "Auch zu Beforderung des so wol | Kirchen= als Privat= Gottesdienstes. . . ." <sup>19</sup> Yet not only this title, but the very music which was written for these hymns first by Crüger and then by Ebeling indicates that they were intended to be sung as solos.<sup>20</sup>

Nor was this inconsistent with one of the fruits of the

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ischen Gesängen" (referring to Freylinghausen's hymnal) "sind itzo in Kirchen gesungen werden, von den man vor 30 und 40 Jahren gar nichts gewußt hat." Walter Blankenburg, "Paul Gerhardt 1676-1976," Musik und Kirche, 46 (1976): 110-11.

18. Praxis Pietatis Melica. | Das ist: | (Zierline) Übung der | Gottseligkeit in Christ= | lichen und Trostreichen | Gesäng- en/ | Herrn D. Martini Lutheri | für=nehmlich | und denn auc anderer | vornehmer und gelehrter Leute. | Ordentlich zusammen ge= | bracht und/ | Mit vielen schönen außerlesenen neuen Ge= | sängen gezieret | Auch zu Beforderung des Kirchen- Gottes | dienstes mit beyegesetzten Melodien/Nebest | dem **Basso Continuo** vergertiget | Von Johann Crüger. . . In Ver- legung des Auctoris und Christophori | Runge/ Gedruckt zu Berlin Anno 1647. F/T, 6:80.

19. F/T, 6:81.

20. Blankenburg cites the hymn "Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille," as an example of Hausgesang. "Hier hat allent- halben die Vorstellung vom solistischen Andachtslied die Feder geführt." Blankenburg, p. 111.

Reformation, which was to make the hymn heimisch in the "Hauskirchlein," as Johann Heermann had called it.<sup>21</sup>

The Christian in his private or family devotion is indubitably the focus of Gerhardt's hymnody.<sup>22</sup> Unlike Luther, who wrote for the Divine Service of the Gemeinde, Gerhardt, like Arnd, envisions the individual or even the Hausgemeinde.<sup>23</sup> Consequently Gerhardt instills within his

21. Gabriel, p.43. Fr. W. Krummacher, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Zeugen der Wahrheit, ed. Ferdinand Piper, 5 vols., (Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhardt Tauchnitz, 1875), 4:441. Krummacher goes too far when he dichotomizes the Kirchen- und Hausgesang to the degree that the former is objective, the latter subjective. This presupposition leads him to conclude that hymn-writers, such as Heermann and Gerhardt ". . . einzelne Gläubige seinen persönlichen Heilserfahrungen zugleich zur Stärkung und Ermuthigung der Brüder Ausdruck gibt, und solche, bei denen es nicht mehr blos auf die gemeinsame Feier der großen Heilsthatsachen des Christenthums, sondern mehr auf die Weihe, Heiligung und Verklärung aller privaten und häuslichen Stände und Beziehungen abgesehen ist: Morgen- und Abend-, Ehestands- und Kinderlieder, Lieder für kranke und gesunde Tage, Sterbelieder, u.s.w." Evidently Krummacher also sees in these hymns the adumbration of the ecclesiola in ecclesia of Pietism. This thought, too, seems somewhat spurious, since both Heermann and Gerhardt were very much men of the confessions, who extolled the church as the place where both word and sacrament are distributed.

22. Whereas Johann Crüger had, as mentioned, given the intended location and use of his hymnal in his 1653 titles as being ". . . sowohl für den Kirchen-als den Privatgottesdienst," Johann Georg Ebeling titled the first complete edition of Gerhardt's hymns: "Pauli Gerhardti Geistliche Andachten." Indubitably Gerhardt's purpose was to write for ". . . Leben, Haus und Andacht. . . ." Cf. Gerhard Krause, "Christuskreuz und Christenkreuz bei Paul Gerhardt," Theologia Crucis-Signum Crucis, Festschrift für Erich Dinkler, ed. Carl Andressen and Günter Klein, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1979), p. 286.

23. That the primary purpose of Gerhardt's hymns were devotional has been outlined above. Yet many of these hymns have also become an intrinsic part of all major German

hymns an unquestionably more personal character than hymns which were specifically written for the Divine Service in the congregation. What God gives in Christ in word and sacrament therefore is not only confessed, but is also celebrated and applied to the context of every day life. The effect of this shift in focus is an inescapable change from a first person plural to a first person singular subject.

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hymnals. The difficulty of the redesignation of these hymns is outlined by Karl Fischer, "Das Gesangbuch als theologisches Problem," Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 7 (1934): 173. "Die heute vorhandenen Gesangbücher. . . leiden unter der doppelten Zweckbestimmung, Singebuch für den Gemeindegottesdienst und zugleich häusliches Erbauungsbuch zu sein." The question which is raised is whether these hymns are not out of their intended context when sung within the worshiping congregation. Fischer therefore suggests the best solution to be the rigorous separation ". . . dieser beiden Aufgaben. . . und sie auf zwei verschiedene Bücher zu verteilen." For Walter Beyse, "Das Gesangbuch als theologische Aufgabe," Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 6 (1937):127 the matter becomes a task, rather than a problem. The thought of two hymnals is regarded as untenable. Yet solutions, such as a two-part hymnal, seem unsatisfactory. The point both authors ultimately make is that the initial purpose and designation of hymns ought determine their use.

Perhaps these thoughts have some bearing upon the present inquiry as well. In considering Gerhardt's hymnody, his primary purpose, which is the häusliche Andacht should be considered as a determinative factor in the manner in which he expressed himself, which consequently has an important bearing upon the understanding of his hymns. "Es ist der Glaube des 'Gerechtfertigten', der in Gerhardts Lied aus der Theorie in die Praxis, aus der Sprache der Theologen in die Sprache des Volkes umgemünzt worden ist, ohne daß er ihm damit etwas von seinem Gehalt genommen hat." Gabriel, p.71. Clearly to disregard Gerhardt's purpose would lead to a complete misreading and misinterpretation of the man and his theology.

The use of the "I" within seventeenth century hymnody in contrast to the "we" of the sixteenth century has furthermore become the criterion for judging this hymnody as being both subjective as well as having moved beyond the purely confessional character of the Reformational hymn initiated by Luther. Luther's hymns indeed had become the touch-stone by which all subsequent hymnody was judged, not only as a gauge of doctrinal purity as has been mentioned above,<sup>24</sup> but also as a criterion for the degree of objectivity, or lack of it. The use of "I" is consequently censured as a signal of the degeneration of the Reformational hymn into the subjective expression of personal piety. It is alleged that the proclamation of the Gospel and the distinctly declarative character of the Reformational hymn is thereby compromised. Yet the application of "I" as the main criterion for the assessment of subjectivity in Gerhardt's hymns is a far too superficial and indeed inconclusive approach. It fails to take into account the intrinsic continuity between the declarative pro nobis of the Gospel and the pro me of faith which receives what is given. Gerhardt's use of "I" in his hymnody, far from being subjective, is in fact nothing

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24. See page 55 above.



other than the manner in which the faith of the church is expressed as his own confession.<sup>25</sup>

At the heart of this change of the "we" to the "I" is the piety of Gerhardt, which holds faithfully to the Lutheran confessions and seeks to apply the Scriptures and the Confessions to every day life. "In dem Unglück, Kreuz und Übel/ Ist nichts Bessers als die Bibel."<sup>26</sup> This application of the Bible is accomplished in two ways: On the one hand his hymns are characteristically informed by a personal tone which consistently answers the question: What is being given me? The "per du" of Scripture which is incorporated within his hymns is made consonant with an immediate "I," whereby the reader or singer knows that he himself is meant.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, Gerhardt's hymns bear the characteristics of prayer. Sixteen of his hymns begin with the "I" which signals a personal prayer. Even if such characteristics are not readily obvious from the outset of the hymn, frequently, and imperceptibly, they do become prayers.<sup>28</sup>

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25. See page 66, especially note 40 below. Cf. page 65 note 38.

26. "Weltskribenten und Poeten," 57,1.

27. The hymn: "Befiehl du deine Wege" (84) provides an example of the "Du" which unequivocally addresses the singer in terms of how it concerns him.

28. Winfried Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," Theologie und Frömmigkeit, ed. Bernd Jaspert, (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1971), p.156. Cf. the transition to prayer in the "ich" verses of the following hymns which Zeller also cites: 1.4,

Characteristic of the prayers of the seventeenth century was the meditative contemplation and application of what God has done in Christ for us. This praxis pietatis, this desire ". . . deinen Glauben mit einem christlichen Wandel [zu] zieren und [zu]beweisen"<sup>29</sup> motivated the publication of the prayer and hymnbooks for private and home use, and doubtless provided the impetus for Gerhardt to write his hymns.<sup>30</sup> It is therefore not a mere coincidence that they appear first in the Praxis pietatis melica, das ist Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und Trostreichen Gesängen. These hymns have as their context the Praxis pietatis which expressed itself in Andacht and Anbetung. His hymns are indeed Pauli Gerhardi geistreiche Andachten.<sup>31</sup>

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3.11, 5.12, 6.4, 9.6, 12.5, 13.4, 16.15, 17.10, 24.4, 25.7.14, 26.7, 27.35, 30.8, 34.8, et. al.

29. Arnd, p.2.

30. Zeller summarizes: "Im eigentlichen ist Gerhardts Lied vielmehr Andachtslied, Anbetungsglied, das zur vertieften kirchlichen wie zur verlebendigten persönlichen Frömmigkeit aufruft. Das war der ursprüngliche Wille der Gerhardtschen Dichtung, darin liegt ihre frömmigkeitgeschichtliche Bedeutung." Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," p.163.

31. Berger sees in Gerhardt the attempt ". . . über Luther hinaus den Gemeindegesang zu erneuern, der sich aus dem Chor der Einzelstimmen bildet, wie die neue Gemeinde ja auch auf der Ergriffenheit der einzelnen Seelen gegründet ist. . . ." And yet "Paul Gerhardts Lob-, Dank- und Freudenlieder sind denn auch niemals, von einer gläubigen Gemeinde gesungen, Gesänge der Gemeinschaft in der vollen Bedeutung des Worts geworden, sie bleiben Lieder des Herzens, das des Wiederhalls in der Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen kaum bedarf." Kurt Berger, Barock und Aufklärung im Geistlichen Lied, (Marburg: Verlag Herman Rathmann, 1951),

With Andacht and Anbetung as the primary thrust of seventeenth century hymnody, the "we" hymn of the sixteenth century is indeed supplemented by the "I" hymn in the seventeenth.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly the "I" of seventeenth century hymnody cannot be equated with later secular lyricism where only the "I" of individual experience and life are portrayed.<sup>33</sup> It can neither be construed as an indicator of a

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pp. 160-1. Rather than seeing in Gerhardt's hymnody a miscarried attempt at the restoration of the "Wir-Lied," the preceding would argue in Gerhardt a single-minded purpose best described as Andachtslied and Anbetungslied.

32. "Auch wenn diese ,Ich-Lieder` vornehmlich in den Hausgottesdiensten gesungen wurden, ehe sie Eingang in die später aufkommenden Gesangbücher fanden, sie ergänzen nur das reformatorische Liedgut, das in den Gottesdiensten erklang." Erich Beyreuther, Geschichte des Pietismus, (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf Verlag, 1978), p.14.

33. Ingeborg Röbbelen, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), casts this "Ich" into the context of an existential crisis: "In allen Formen seines Lebensgeföhles bewahrt der Mensch des Barock im letzten Grunde aber doch sein Ich, er präsentiert es auf einer neuen Stufe des Selbstbewußtseins. In jeder Haltung begegnet dem Beschauer barocker Dicht- und Kunstwerke ein gesteigertes und übersteigertes Ichbewußtsein, das eine krampfhafteste Aktivität entfaltet gegenüber allem, was das ,Geltungs-Ich` gefährden könnte." Röbbelen, p. 86. Yet the historical developments outlined above clearly show that Gerhardt had not embarked on a journey of self-discovery and self-preservation. Rather, it is a question of coram Deo, albeit within the context of the Gospel. Consequently the "I" of Gerhardt's hymnody never appears on the brink of despair or uncertainty, as Röbbelen indeed acknowledges. The opposite is true. It rejoices in the certainty that it is well with me coram Deo because of Christ. Röbbelen's presuppositions of an "I" dissociated from the coram Deo (perhaps better expressed as coram patre in Gerhardt's case) force her to view such Gewißheit as being "zu sicher, zu selbstgewiss." p. 417.

mystic or even protestantized subjectivism,<sup>34</sup> nor subjective in the sense of later German classical poetry. The "I" of Gerhardt's hymnody is instead borne and carried by the individual member of the Gemeinde which remains its context.<sup>35</sup> As such it is personal but not a reflection of individualism, independence, self-determination or even self-expression. The historical circumstances underlying his life which gave rise to his compositions are consequently quite impossible to ascertain.<sup>36</sup> Instead of personal events, the words of Scripture are the immediate arena of life and experience. Certainly the trials and

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34. Such a misunderstanding of Gerhardt is proffered by John H. Johansen, "Paul Gerhardt (1607-1667): An Assessment on the 300th Anniversary of his Death," Lutheran Quarterly, 28 (1976):26. "The note of personal religion distinguishes the German carols always; for German Christian poetry more than for that of any other nation the birth of Christ in the individual soul, not merely the redemption of human kind in general, is the central idea." Such a blanket statement of German poetry lacks substantiation and is even demonstratively false with respect to Gerhardt's hymnody, as will be shown below in the proper context. "The birth of Christ in the individual soul" is foreign not only to the Lutheran confessions, but to Gerhardt as well.

35. "Das ,ich` ist hier die Erfahrung des einzelnen, jedoch des einzelnen, der sich in dieser seiner Glaubenserfahrung zusammenfaßt mit anderen Gläubigen. Darum mag auf dem ,Ich` der Grundton liegen, dieser Grundton findet aber ein vielfältiges Echo in den gleichgestimmten Herzen." Karl Hesselbachers, Paul Gerhardt. Sein Leben-Seine Lieder, ed. Siegfried Heinzelmann, (Neuffen: Sonnenweg Verlag, 1963), p. 147. Revised edition of: Karl Hesselbachers, Paul Gerhardt-Der Sänger des fröhlichen Glaubens, (Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloebemanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936). Cf. Rudolf Günther, "Zum Gedächtnis Paul Gerhardts," Monatsschrift für Pastoraltheologie, 3 (1907):243-49.

36. Hesselbacher, 143. Cf. Nelle, p. 162.

spiritual joys and struggles of Gerhardt's life cannot be regarded as inconsequential to his hymnody, but his personal desires and experiences fade into the prayerful application of the words of Scripture which are his primary Vorlage.<sup>37</sup>

The "I" as an expression of the Christian in prayer during his Andacht and Anbetung therefore renders the debate concerning the subjectivity of Gerhardt's "Zeugnislid" over and against the objectivity of Luther's "Bekenntnislied" inconclusive.<sup>38</sup> Clearly the use of the word

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37. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt, der Dichter und seine Frömmigkeit," Theologie und Frömmigkeit, ed. Bernd Jaspert, (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1978) p.131. Cf. Wilhelm Nelle, Paul Gerhardts Lieder und Gedichte, (Hamburg: Gustav Schloebmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), p. XXXIX.

38. Cf. Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes, pp.141-2. Nelle, Paul Gerhardt, p. XLII. Cf. Fischer, pp.174-5. Vogelsang points out that a distinction, indeed, a contradiction between the "ich" and "wir" of this hymnody is not to be sought historically, psychologically, or stylistically. Even the designation of "Ich-Lied" and "Wir-Lied" is too indistinct a criterion. "Singt Luther nicht als der in der Anfechtung und am Sterben ganz Einsame: "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir" und "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin"? Weiß der Romantiker nicht sehr viel von dem Wir der Freundschaft und dichtet Spitta nicht: "Wie wird uns sein. . . ." Instead ". . . ein echt theologischer oder auch religiöser Unterschied. . ." is to be sought. Erich Vogelsang, "Lied und Verkündigung," Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, (1933):130. The theological question is raised by Walter Blankenburg, "Der gottesdienstliche Liedgesang der Gemeinde," Leiturgia, 5 vols., (Kassel: Im Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1961), 4:584. He rightly shows that ". . . der persönliche Umgang mit Gott" and not congregational worship was the primary purpose of Gerhardt's hymnody. But in view of this purpose, Blankenburg ascribes to Gerhardt a theological inversion of the God to man-ward order. According to Blankenburg, Gerhardt writes with a Godward direction in mind. The "Bewegungsgrund" allegedly becomes theologically determina-

"I" does not relegate a hymn to the realm of the subjective any more than the use of "we" effects a hymn's objectivity.<sup>39</sup> The question is therefore not one of categorization but of theological integrity. Undeniably Gerhardt's devotional objectives determined the modus operandi in the composition of his hymns. But it has yet to be proven that in so doing Gerhardt was constrained to compromise his theological and confessional stand. His hymns are furthermore admittedly personal, as has been pointed out above, but they are far from being subjective or dissociated from the confessing Gemeinde.<sup>40</sup>

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tive. A contrasting example between Luther and Gerhardt is cited. Luther writes: "Ich bin dein, du bist mein, . . ." (verse 7 of "Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein") letting Christ speak these words to man. Gerhardt, on the other hand, speaks these words to Christ: "Du bist mein/ ich bin dein/ niemand kann uns scheiden/ Ich bin dein, weil du dein Leben/ und dein Blut/ mir zu Gut/ in den Tod gegeben," (Verse 11 of "Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen"). Indubitably Luther declares the Gospel, Christ as extra nos gift "für dich." The question is whether it is any less Gospel when this same statement is confessed in terms of the gift received, that is, the Gospel, Christ, "für mich," which in no way is any less extra nos gift. The difference seems not to be a theological one as much as a reflection of the distinctive characteristics of proclamation to prayer, both of which certainly belong to the Gospel and the Christian hymn.

39. Gabriel points out that the question of objectivity and subjectivity in Luther and Gerhardt, especially on the statistical count of the "Wir" in relation to the "Ich" is a question ". . . die fast zu Tode gehetzt [ist]." Gabriel, p. 15.

40. Gabriel quotes Karl Holl (without giving bibliographical information), who explains: "Der Orthodoxie verdankt das geistliche Lied der Zeit letzten Endes auch den Zug, den man ‚Subjektivismus‘ zu bezeichnen pflegt. Der Ausdruck ist nicht glücklich gewählt; . . . Was man bei den andern, ins-

. . . "subjektiv" im Sinne jener Scheinkritik?-- Ist es nicht doch vor allem ein Gemeindelied? Vielleicht nicht eines der sonntäglichen Versammlung, aber doch eines der Gemeinde, die von Kämmerlein zu Kämmerlein die Brücke des Gebets schlägt. Es ist das Lied einer besonderen Situation. Aber ist nicht diese Situation zugleich eine allgemeine? Ist es nicht, als wäre gerade auch dieses Lied nicht um seines Dichters und seiner persönlichen Nöte willen geschrieben, sondern für einen jeden von uns?<sup>41</sup>

Accordingly Gerhardt's hymnody remains firmly anchored within the context of that confessing Gemeinde, which is the locus, the delivery point ". . . bei welchen das Evangelium rein gepredigt und die heiligen Sakrament lauts des Evangelii gereicht werden."<sup>42</sup> Without this contextual continuity of the confessional church, Gerhardt's hymns would indeed be adrift and easily harbored within a extra-confessional context. Yet seen within their Lutheran confessional setting, they in turn bear witness of the common experiences of faith and life of the "Gemeinde im Alltag."<sup>43</sup> The hymnody of Gerhardt is accordingly of such

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besondere bei P. Gerhardt, so nennt, ist in Wirklichkeit nur die Form, den Glauben der Kirche als ihr eigenes Bekenntnis auszusprechen." Gabriel, p.55.

41. Rudolf Alexander Schröder, Gesammelte Werke, 8 vols., (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1952-65), 3:573. Schröder was specifically addressing the hymn "Ich danke dir mit Freuden," but these words effectively characterize the hymnody of Gerhardt as a whole.

42. AC 7, BKS p. 61. Cf. The Book of Concord, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p.32. [Hereafter cited as Tappert].

43. Cranach-Sichart indicates that the "Gottesbegriff" of Gerhardt's hymnody ". . . ist ganz biblisch, ihm fehlt jegliche philosophische Kompliziertheit; er prägt keine neuen Gedanken, aber er befestigt und vertieft die alten: die

a kind, that although it is personal Andacht and Anbetung, it never surrenders its distinctly confessional Lutheran Gemeindezugehörigkeit.<sup>44</sup>

The hymnody of Paul Gerhardt as Andachtslied and Anbetungslied therefore clearly serves to do both: To

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Vaterliebe Gottes, die Dankbarkeit dafür, den Familiensinn, die Nächsten- und die Feindesliebe, die Fröhlichkeit über die Unverlierbarkeit dieser Güter und damit in summa die Gemeinschaft mit Gott." Cranach-Sichart, p. XXI. This Seelsorgerliche is doubtless one of the reasons that Gerhardt has also been called ". . . der volkstümlichste Dichter der evangelischen Christenheit" next to Luther. Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch, Ausgabe für die Evangelische Landeskirche in Baden, (Karlsruhe: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1983), p.27. Cf. Adolf Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, 2nd ed., (Leipzig: Verlag von Dörffling und Franke, 1929), p.297, who in view of the first petition calls for a correspondence of faith and life. ". . . so muß Denken und Leben, Predigt, Unterricht und Seelsorge, jede Arbeit in Volk und Kirche gleichermaßen durchdrungen sein von jenem Doppelklang des Gebets, über den hinaus es nach keiner Seite hin eine Auflösung mehr geben darf, . . . ." Gerhardt doubtless had such a correspondence in mind when he wrote his hymnody. Cf. The English translation of the 3rd edition of the above work, Adolf Köberle, The Quest for Holiness, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938), p. 268.

44. Walter Blankenburg, "Paul Gerhardt 1676-1976," Musik und Kirche, 46 (1976):110-12, concludes that Gerhardt's Andachtslieder became hymns of the church in worship, because ". . . allgemein menschliche Erfahrungen" are seen "im Lichte des Glaubens" from the point of view of a "zentralen Gottbezogenheit." Cf. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt, der Dichter und seine Frömmigkeit," p. 128. His hymns are therefore also not hymns about "me and Jesus." The fellowship of believers is perhaps not mentioned explicitly, such as it is in Luther's "Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein," but it is that fellowship which he addresses with his hymns as the Seelsorger who did not live unto himself. Cf. Gabriel, pp. 73-4.



confess the faith and to aid in the praxis pietatis.<sup>45</sup>  
 Indeed, Bekenntnis and praxis pietatis are inextricably  
 linked in Gerhardt's hymnody, where the Bekenntnis is the  
 sole source of the praxis pietatis.<sup>46</sup>

The Lutheran confessions are accordingly the  
 bedrock upon which Gerhardt's hymnody is build and his  
status confessionis the fount from which his praxis pie-  
tatis flows.<sup>47</sup> It is contrary to fact to laud Gerhardt for

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45. It might indeed be helpful to classify Gerhardt's hymnody under one or several rubrics, such as Bekenntnislied or Erbauungslied, Zeugnislied or Heiligungslied, in order to find a key with which to unlock the true nature of his hymns. Instead of classifying his hymns under any one of these headings, however, it may perhaps be most helpful and true to Gerhardt to simply utilize the terms in use during the period in question. The expressions used with respect to Gerhardt, such as Andacht and praxis pietatis certainly provide an approach for the devotional aspect of his hymnody. That his hymns appear in a collection of ". . . christlichen und trostreichen Gesänge des Herrn D. Lutheri und seiner getreuen Nachfolger" expresses an implicit continuity of his hymnody with the confessional character of the 16th century hymn.

46. Cf. Norbert Müller, "Schwierigkeiten mit Paul Gerhardt?" Zeichen der Zeit, 30 (1976):170. Müller implicitly states that Gerhardt's hymnody is presently regarded as Gemeindelied, whereby its original Sitz im Leben is forgotten. Yet he points to Gerhardt's praxis pietatis as being most helpful and needful: "Gerade Paul Gerhardt könnte uns einladen, das evangelische Lied nicht nur als Text unseres sonntäglichen Kirchengesangs zu verstehen, sondern als Werkzeug unseres geistlichen Lebens, als Anleitung zu ‚Andacht‘ und ‚Erbauung‘. . . ihre Erneuerung im Sinne einer Äußersten für die Wahrheit erschlossene Wachheit wäre dringlich an der Zeit."

47. Nelle, who earlier had ascribed extra-confessionalism to Gerhardt, concedes that the confessions are the source of his hymnody: ". . . in seiner dichterischen Tätigkeit [erscheint er] je und je als der Mann, dem das reformatorische Bekenntnis der Quell alles geistlichen Lebens ist, der über den Inhalt dieses Bekenntnisses nicht hinaus will

having overcome and broken down the dogmatic barriers of Lutheran Orthodoxy with his hymnody.<sup>48</sup> For Gerhardt there could not be a confession of the mouth without the corresponding faith of the heart.<sup>49</sup> He was able to compose his

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noch hinaus kann." Nelle, Paul Gerhardts Lieder und Gedichte, p. XLI. Cf. Dr. Gebhardt, "Paul Gerhardt, der Sänger des fröhlichen Glaubens," Pastoralblätter, 29 (1907):342. Gabriel, p. 55.

48. See page 43, especially footnote 85 above.

49. Ernst Barnikol, "Paul Gerhardt-Seine geschichtliche, kirchliche und ökumenische Bedeutung," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, VII/2 (1957):429-450. Barnikol nevertheless finds it possible to dissociate Gerhardt's confession of the mouth with the faith of this heart, and thereby establishes that ". . . das Eigenrecht des Herzens-Glaubens und seiner unwiderstehlichen Lebenssprache gegenüber allen Vorurteilen und Vorbehalten der menschlichen Erkenntnislehren des Humanismus wahr und bis zu der gesegneten und segnenden Vorsehungsgewißheit des allen Dogmen und Ideologien überlegenen Glaubens vordringt."

It is of course the purpose of this study to establish that it is impossible to arrive at a conclusion which divorces Gerhardt's theology from his hymnody. As heart and mouth belong together, Romans 10:10, so confession and hymnody are inextricably interwoven.

Yet Rudolf Günther finds in Gerhardt a remarkable confluence of contributing factors. In light of these, Günther asks: "Und wie sollten die mythologischen und magischen Bestandteile des Luthertums nicht bei ihm anzutreffen sein? Sie bedeuten für die Phantasie des Dichters weniger und mehr als für den Dogmatiker . . . daß bei diesem eifrigen Verehrer der Konkordienformel uns mystische und enthusiastische Ansätze begegnen." Günther, pp. 246-7. Only Günther's presupposition of an adogmatic hymnody can lead him to the conclusion that Gerhardt was helpless in succumbing to "mystische" and "enthusiastische Ansätze," the question of the mythological and magical elements of Lutheranism notwithstanding. Nor is Günther's observation that Gerhardt was an "eifriger Verehrer" of the Formula of Concord altogether correct. The Formula, as well as the whole Book of Concord was not merely an object of zealous devotion by Gerhardt, but the articulation of his faith to which he subscribed whole-heartedly as his life and theological struggle in Berlin adequately attests. Günther's

hymns not despite but precisely because of his "Starrköpfigkeit". Gerhardt's unyielding conviction that the clear Gospel can only be understood in terms of the Lutheran confessions simply cannot be dissociated from his hymnody.<sup>50</sup> Gerhardt's hymns are no more wanting as Bekenntnis than the hymns of the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

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conclusions are neither historically founded nor fair to Gerhardt.

50. Wilhelm Luecken, "Zur Gesangbuchreform der Gegenwart," Theologische Rundschau, 19 (1951):257 makes the fascinating observation: "Stärker vielleicht als das früher der Fall war, ist uns zum Bewußtsein gekommen, daß das Gesangbuch seinen kirchlichen Platz unmittelbar neben den Bekenntnisschriften hat."

What Luecken says of the hymnal as a whole is doubtless also the case of the hymns themselves which then must voice the Bekenntnis. Cf. Beyse, p. 130. Beyse goes as far as saying that there is only one measure for the hymn: "Das Bekenntnis der Kirche. Was nicht mit dem Bekenntnis der Kirche zusammenstimmt, das hat kein Daseinsrecht in einem evangelischen Gesangbuch." Barnikol's contention that Gerhardt's hymnody grew ". . . aus dem unmittelbaren Verkehr mit Gott" lacks substantiation. See Barnikol, p. 447. Gerhardt's "Verkehr" with God was doubtless personal. He speaks with God as a child with his father. Yet this is always mediated: Through Christ, specifically the Christ whom he had learned to confess through the doctrine of the Lutheran church as found in the Book of Concord. This christology and confession into which Gerhardt placed his life cannot be separated from Gerhardt's hymnody in favour of imposed presuppositional criteria. Gerhardt did not compose in an idyllic vacuum but within confessional certainty.

51. Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, p. 165 notes that Gerhardt is frequently presented dichotomously, where beside the warm-hearted poet regretably stands the rigid theologian. "Allein man vergißt dabei, daß er nur als der bekenntnistreue Sohn seiner luth. Kirche gerade solche Morgen-Abend- und Sommerlieder schreiben konnte." Cf. Köberle, Quest for Holiness, p. 132-133.

The constitution of Gerhardt's Bekenntnis is documented not only within his testament to his son,<sup>52</sup> or his writing to the Kurfürst,<sup>53</sup> but in his hymnody as well. His Bekenntnis in song is always ewigkeitsbezogen, rejoices in the certainty and Heilsgewißheit which the Gospel has given,<sup>54</sup> and culminates in personal Geborgenheit in Christ.<sup>55</sup> The nucleus of Gerhardt's confession as it comes

52. See page 41 above.

53. See page 39, especially note 75 above.

54. Cf. Cornelis Pieter van Andel, "Paul Gerhardt, Ein Mystiker zur Zeit des Barocks," Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio, Festschrift für Winfried Zeller, eds. Bernd Jaspert and Rudolf Mohr, (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1976), p. 183. van Andel also points to this note of joy beside Gerhardt's confession: "Nebst dem Lob und Bekenntnis sind seine Lieder von der Freude über den Empfang des Heils durchglüht." Rather than placing joy beside confession, however, it might be better to present Gerhardt as rejoicing because of what he has come confesses, the Gospel, pro me.

55. See especially the hymns: "Ist Gott für mich, so trete." CS 82. "Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen," 83. Röbbelen regards the Bekenntnis of Gerhardt as being nothing other than the confession of man's own love and faithfulness for God. Though acknowledging that the work and love of Christ is the "Ermöglichungsgrund" for Gerhardt's statements, such an anthropocentric confession is nevertheless ". . . nicht mehr ausdrücklich. . . ein Bekenntnis des Glaubens. . . ." She notes that Gerhardt's Bekenntnis occurs without ". . . einen direkten christologischen ,Bezug` . . . ," citing verse 13 of "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott" as an example:

"Ich bin Gottes, Gott ist mein:  
wer ist, der uns scheidet? . . ." 81.13.

Röbbelen's presentation of evidence is most dubious. The "christologischer Bezug" may not be in verse seven, but what of verse 1,

. . . Er will durch sein kämpfen  
deinen Trost, den Jesus Christ  
dir erworben, dämpfen.

or verse 5,

to expression within his hymns is consequently ". . . die in Christo aus Gnaden hergestellte Liebesgemeinschaft zwischen Gott und dem Menschen."<sup>56</sup> On the one hand, Gerhardt therefore confesses that God is my Father through the Erlösungstat of his son.<sup>57</sup> The counterpart of this confession, that I am God's child and therefore always ". . . fröhlich, getrost und unverzagt,"<sup>58</sup> also becomes the counterpart for the tenor of his hymnody. Thus Gerhardt's hymnody remains distinctly confessional in character, as it certainly confesses the faith. But more than confessing the faith, Gerhardt confesses it as my faith, even as the creeds, though spoken by the whole of the gathered community of believers, begin with the "Credo. . . ."

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Christi Unschuld ist mein Ruhm,  
 Sein Recht meine Krone,  
 Sein Verdienst mein Eigentum,  
 Da ich frei in Wohne  
 Als in einem festen Schloß,. . .

or verse 6, (FT 4)

Stürme, Teufel und du Tod,  
 Was könnt ihr mir schaden?  
 Deckt mich doch in meiner Not  
 Gott mit seiner Gnaden.  
 Der Gott, der mir seinen Sohn,  
 Selbst verehrt aus Liebe,  
 Daß der ewge Spott und Hohn  
 Mich nicht dort betrübe.

Not only is Gerhardt's confession clearly a confession of faith, but furthermore unequivocally not anthropocentric but "Christusbezogen," and on this basis replete with Heilsgewißheit.

56. Petrich, p. 235.

57. Petrich, p. 235.

58. Petrich, p. 235.

Nonetheless, Gerhardt's hymnody, although certainly confessional in its theology, has as its stated aim An-  
dacht, Anbetung, and Erbauung.<sup>59</sup> As Erbauungslied Ger-  
 hardt's hymns are responsio to the viva vox evangelii.<sup>60</sup>  
 Yet his response is not an answer to this word in the sense  
 of a recitation of personal experience. Gerhardt's praxis  
pietatis has as its modus operandi the factual though no  
 less personal New Testament understanding of Erbauung.<sup>61</sup>  
 The Christian is built, sustained and consummated solely on  
 the basis of the certainty given him in the Gospel. Nowhere  
 in Gerhardt's hymnody does Erbauung appear apart from the  
 explicit or implicit confession of faith outlined above. Nor  
 is Gerhardt's hymn of Erbauung, of Andacht und Anbetung the

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59. See pages 65-8 above.

60. Luther wrote the following words for the dedication of  
 ". . . eines Newen Hauses zum Predigtamt Göttlichen Worts  
 erbawet Im Churfurstlichen Schloss zu Torgaw" in 1544:  
 ". . . auff das dis neue Haus dahin gericht werde, das  
 nicht anders darin gesche, denn das unser lieber Herr  
 selbst mit uns rede durch sein heiliges wort, und wir  
 widerumb mit jm reden durch Gebet und Lobgesang. . . ." WA  
 49, 588,15-8. [Emphasis added].

61. Gabriel, p. 68. Gabriel brings this quotation from H.  
 Rendtorff, Getrostes Wandern, (Einführung in den ersten  
 Petrusbrief, 1929), p. 87, as a corrective for the misap-  
 plication of the word Erbauung. In the New Testament  
Erbauung has ". . . einen sachlichen überpersönlichen  
 Klang, indem es redet von der unlöslichen Verbindung des  
 einzelnen mit der Gemeinde, in die Gott ihn hineinbaut, in  
 die er sich hineinbauen läßt. Darum ist die Krönung der  
 hierher gehörigen Ausführungen das Wort von dem ,Volke  
 Gottes': Gottes errettendes tun schafft ein Volk, Christ  
 sein heißt eingegliedert sein in Gottes Volk." On the  
 other hand Gabriel also points out that this definition of  
Erbauung was not always strictly retained in during the  
 17th century.

striving of the human soul toward holiness, a means of sanctification leading to the rapture of the soul in a mystic union with Christ.<sup>62</sup> Admittedly Gerhardt does avail himself of the language of mysticism, its pictures and forms which aid him in giving expression to the joy of

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62. Gerhardt indubitably displays a propensity for mystic expression, especially in his "Passions-Salve" and the Arnd hymns. Trillhaas is probably right when he sees here not merely a source of "Gefühligkeit und blumige Rhetorik." Yet the evidence, at least concerning Gerhardt, does not permit the conclusions he draws concerning the influence of this mystic tradition on his hymnody: "Jener Frömmigkeit ist es bitter ernst damit, wenn sie bekennt an den inneren Schätzen genug zu haben. Der nach innen gewendete Dichter hat es uns ja in seinem weltabgewandten, mindestens oft reichlich unpraktischem angelegten Leben vorgelebt. . . ." Wolfgang Trillhaas, "Paul Gerhardt," Die Grossen Deutschen, eds. Hermann Heimpel, et.al., 5 vols., (Berlin: Im Propyläen-Verlag, 1956), 1:534. Gerhardt's life was not so much "weltabgewandt" as marked by contentment in adverse circumstances. Cf. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt, der Dichter und seine Frömmigkeit," pp. 123-124. The hymns in praise of the creator, "Die güldne Sonne," CS 37. "Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud, in dieser schönen Sommerszeit," CS 40 et. al. give adequate testimony of his Weltfreudigkeit. That he saw the world and everything on it in terms of eternity, on the one hand as being transitory, yet on the other already clothed as a bride prepared for her bridegroom was nothing other than Biblical realism. Cf. Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, p. 164-165. Quest for Holiness, p. 132. "Der Glaube sieht dann nicht mehr bloß die ,Werktagskleider` einer durchgängig gefallenen Schöpfung, er sieht als ein ,in Hoffnung Fröhlicher` (Röm. 12,12) wieder die ,Sonntagskleider`, wie sie die reine Welt Gottes im Anfang trägt und am Ende aller Tage in noch größerer Klarheit und Reinheit tragen soll. Nicht Goethe, Keller. . . wohl aber Luther, Dürer, Paul Gerhardt, Joh. Seb. Bach. . . besaßen solchen Blick der Hoffnung." Accordingly there is relatively little Seelenlyrik to be found within his hymnody. Rather, Gerhardt rejoices in the complete salvation of Christ, indeed, the physical and spiritual salvation which Christ gives. Gerhardt was not "nach innen" gewandt as a result. If anything, he was Christus zugewandt. And not the Christ in nobis, but the extra nos Christ in the manger, upon the cross and upon the altar. Cf. CS 5 and 13.

personal interaction of God with man.<sup>63</sup> Yet it is rare that the soul is, for example, presented as the bride of Christ, even within Gerhardt's Arnd and Salve hymns.<sup>64</sup> But if Gerhardt's piety can be called mystic, it is a most restrained mysticism.<sup>65</sup> This ardent contender for the Lutheran confessions cannot circumvent or diminish Christ's mediation and reconciliation. His piety rests upon his theology, not vice versa. Gerhardt's confessional basis

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63. Beyreuther, p. 40. Cf. Zeller, Paul Gerhardt, der Dichter und seine Frömmigkeit, p. 128 as well as the article by Cornelis van Andel, p. 173. Andel comes to the conclusion that Gerhardt reestablished the connection between Lutheranism and mysticism, whereby he became the historical mediator between the Reformation, Pietism and the Enlightenment. Although Andel for the most part does maintain a qualitative difference between Gerhardt and mysticism in his article, he occasionally goes beyond the evidence when he speaks, for example, of Gerhardt's carte blanche "Annahme der Mystik (p. 179)." Yet Andel is most helpful in pointing out that mysticism did provide Gerhardt his rich vocabulary. "Die Mystik, die damals Boden gewann, stellte auch ihm das Vokabular bereit, dieses Sehnen [nach der Gemeinschaft Gottes] zum Ausdruck zu bringen." (p. 173)

It might perhaps be mentioned that Gerhardt gives expression to more than a "longing" for fellowship with God through this vocabulary, however. That would indeed be more than just an adoption of vocabulary. Rather, Gerhardt speaks frequently, as will be shown, of the present reality of that fellowship and its implications pro me on the basis of what God has given man with his Heilstat in Christ.

64. Cf. Cranach-Sichart, pp. XXI-XXII; Andel, pp. 175-176; Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, pp. 134-135, Quest for Holiness, pp. 105-6.

65. Hesselbachers, p. 63 can go as far as saying that Gerhardt rarely strikes the tune of mystic piety. "Gerhardt hat ganz selten einmal einen Ton mystischer Frömmigkeit. Er ist sonst viel zu ‚lutherisch‘. Ebensowenig wie Luther selbst von dem mystischen Schauen und Genießen etwas hat wissen wollen, hat der lutherische Sänger sich in die Schärmereien der ‚Gottgenießer‘ verirren können."



thus precludes even the hint of apotheosis, or even the marriage of souls in the manner of Karlstadt and the Schwärmer who also derived their impetus from medieval mysticism. Far from finding in Gerhardt's hymnody the Verinnerlichung so dominant in mysticism,<sup>66</sup> he concentrates upon the extra nos Christ in the manger and upon the cross and upon the altar. Gerhardt therefore does not employ his own piety, or even this mystic terminology as a bridge which spans the gap between this extra nos Christ, but the words of Christ himself which proclaim the forgiveness of sins. Gerhardt nowhere seeks the glorified Christ. He is always "leiblich," one who can be embraced "leiblich."<sup>67</sup> Yet it is this Christ who comes to him and gives all of his gifts. Nowhere are the external means of God's dealings

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66. Andel observes that Gerhardt does not loose himself in what he describes and dissociates himself from the identifications with Christ characteristic of mysticism. "Gerhardt verliert sich nicht in Spekulationen. Das Distanzbewußtsein von Schöpfer und Geschöpf bleibt stets lebendig. Umsonst sucht man bei ihm deshalb Unendlichkeits- und Identitätsmystik." Andel, p. 175.

67. Cf. "Warum sollt ich mich den grämen," CS 83.12:

"Laß mich, laß mich hingelangen,  
Da du mich  
Und ich dich  
Leiblich werd umfangen."

The text is somewhat in dispute, however. CS and FT both have "Lieblich" instead of "Leiblich." Bachmann, p. 111 gives the text-critical summary, which notes that Ebelings "1666 Frankfurter Druck has lieblich, was aber im Druckfehlerverzeichnis in leiblich berichtet ist, wonach denn der Berliner Druck 1666 u. die Ausgg. 1669.71.83: ,leiblich` haben. Cf. Hollweg, p. 145 who regards the change not so much a printing error as a doctrinal consideration.

with man ever diminished. Never does Gerhardt subordinate what God has ordered externally to an inward exercise.

Gerhardt's Frömmigkeit consequently addresses the very real and extra nos factors affecting both faith and life. Faith in God the Father almighty and Christ's work of redemption stand as the certain ground of victory over the very real enemies of humanity: Sin, to which all of mankind is subjected; the devil as a personal being, who seeks man's fall; the world, with its temptations; and finally death, which has been overcome and becomes the gate to eternal life.<sup>67</sup> His hymns follow through with the proclamation of the victory of Christ over all of these,<sup>68</sup> and declare that in Christ the fruits of this victory,

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67. Cranach-Sichart, p. XXII.

68. For example CS 28.7

"Nun Gott sei Dank, der uns den Sieg  
 Durch Jesum hat gegeben  
 Und uns den Frieden für den Krieg  
 Und für den Tod das Leben  
 Erworben, der die Sünd und Tod,  
 Welt, Teufel, Höll und was in Not  
 Uns stürztet, überwunden."

which includes the Holy Spirit,<sup>69</sup> have been given.<sup>70</sup> Along

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69. Köberle observes that while those who sought God in nature, such as Goethe, Keller and even Thomas ". . . Gott und die Welt gleichsetzten oder in kosmologischen Beweisen von der Welt zu Gott aufstiegen, begegneten die andern [wie Luther, Gerhardt, Bach, et.al.] Gott in Christus dem Menschgewordenen, gingen von da den Weg zum 3. Artikel, fanden dort den Ersten kraft des biblischen Organismus, der Leibliches und Geistiges in erlösender Einheit zusammenschließt." Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, p. 165. Quest for Holiness, pp.132-3.

70. The Holy Spirit is indeed the gift of the Father and of the Son (29.1) and is a noble Gnadengabe for which Christ has paid with his atonement, therefore even the best gift,

"Kein Menschenkind hier auf der Erd  
Ist dieser edlen Gabe wert,  
Bei uns ist kein Verdienen.  
Hier gilt gar nichts als Lieb und Gnad,  
Die Christus uns verdienet hat  
Mit Büßen und Versöhnen." 31.2

"Du bist ja die beste Gabe,  
Die ein Mensche nennen kann;  
Wenn ich dich erwünsch und habe,  
Geb ich alles Wünschen an." 30.2

What the Holy Spirit delivers is the ability to taste the power which saves from sin and brings about salvation (29.2), indeed, which makes holy. The sanctification which the Holy Spirit brings is not a process, but a gift which bestows the proprium of Christ's suffering and death pro me in holy Baptism:

"Ich war ein wilder Reben,  
Du hast mich gut gemacht,  
Der Tod durchdrang mein Leben,  
Du hast ihn umgebracht  
Und in der Tauf erstickt,  
Als wie in einer Flute,  
Mit dessen Tod und Blute,  
Der uns im Tod erquicket." 29.3

What God has done in Christ therefore delivers the certainty of salvation, which gives victory also in the trials of life and death:

"Wir halten, Herr, an unserm Heil  
Und sind gewiß, daß wir dein Teil  
In Christo werden bleiben,  
Die wir durch seinen Tod und Blut  
Des Himmels Erb und höchstes Gut

with the gift of the Holy Spirit joy is bestowed.

Du bist ein Geist der Freuden  
 Von Trauern hältst du nicht,  
 Erleuchtest uns im Leiden,  
 Mit deines Trostes Licht. 29.6

The note of joy, specifically sorrow which is transformed into joy, indeed permeates not only the hymns of Easter, Pentacost, and the Incarnation, but also those of the Passion.

The "Verkehren" of joy into sorrow in Christ is the basis for the turning of sorrow into joy in the Christian.<sup>71</sup> Gerhardt's Christmas hymnody adumbrates this Verkehrung.

Du bist der Ursprung aller Freud  
 Und duldest so viel Herzeleid; 3.9

Yet upon the cross it comes fully to light:

Zu unerhörtem Leide  
 Stößt Gott sein einge Freude! 25.3

But it is Christ in the manger and the cross which thereby become the door to the true joys (5.9) and the gate to the joys of this and the other life (4.14). Ultimately, all joys rest in Christ himself, however:

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Zu haben treulich gläuben." 31.4

"Wo Gottes Geist ist, da ist Sieg,  
 Wo dieser hilft, da wird der Krieg  
 Gewißlich wohl ablaufen." 31.7

"Er reißt der Hölle Band entzwei,  
 Er tröst't und macht das Herze frei,  
 Von allem, was uns kränket." 31.8

71. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," p. 160.

Aller Trost und aller Freude  
Ruht in dir, Herr Jesu Christ; 2.6

This joy is what Christ comes to give, holding nothing  
back, but giving everything pro me:

Was hast du unterlassen  
Zu meinem Trost und Freud?  
Als Leib und Seele saßen  
In ihrem größten Leide,  
Als mir das Reich genommen,  
Da Fried und Freude lacht,  
Da bist du, mein Heil, kommen  
Und hast mich froh gemacht. 1.3

Where there is Christ there is joy in Gerhardt's hymnody.<sup>72</sup>  
It is a joy which is an extra nos gift, bestowed through  
the Gospel. The joy which is given is therefore indeed  
interchangeable with Christ himself (25.3; 27.28), the Holy  
Spirit (30.1), the forgiveness of sins (18.5) salvation  
(1.3) and eternal life (25.17).

The praxis pietatis of Gerhardt's hymnody is accor-  
dingly consonant with Luther's perception of hymnody:

Also ist nu im newen Testament ein besser Gotts dienst,  
dauon hie der Psalm sagt, Singet dem HERRN ein neues  
lied, singet dem HERRN alle welt. 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 muß frölich und mit lust  
dauon singen und sagen, das es andere auch hören und  
herzu kommen. Wer aber nicht dauon singen und sagen  
wil, das ist ein zeichen, das ers nicht gleubet und

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72. Cf. Luther: "Ubi Christus, ibi gaudium." WA 20,  
365,3. Cf. WA Tischreden I, Nr.835, p.406,31-35; II, Nr.  
2342a, p.424,26-425,2; WA 40 I, 290,9-11.

nicht ins new fröliche Testament, Sondern unter das alte, faule, unlustige Testament gehöret.<sup>73</sup>

Gerhardt's hymnody as Bekenntnis and Andacht together make up the praxis pietatis which has as its purpose the Er-  
bauung of the individual Christian, not in his Frömmig-  
keitsgefühl, but within the body of Christ. Gerhardt's hymnody is therefore Bekenntnislied and Andachtslied.<sup>74</sup> It is Glaubenslied and Erbauungslied. Though written for the Kämmerlein, Gerhardt's hymns can nevertheless be sung in the assembled body of believers, as they clearly proclaim Christ's "for you," and answer in the faith which is nothing but given to:

Schau her, hier steh ich Armer,  
der Zorn verdienet hat,  
Gib mir, o mein Erbarmer,  
Den Anblick deiner Gnad. 24.4

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73. Luther's third introduction for the edition of his hymns published by Valentin Babst 1545 in Leipzig, WA 35, 477,4-12. Cf. page 74, note 60 above.

74. Köberle concludes his study by pointing to the confessions of the Lutheran church as the place where the connectedness of faith and life is supremely expressed, and Gerhardt as an example of one who translated this into the hymns of the church. "Man kann sogar sagen, daß hier [in den Bekenntnisschriften] der Zusammenklang von göttlicher Geistesausrüstung und nicht vergeblich nehmender Glaubenshingabe in geradezu vorbildlicher Weise angeordnet zum Ausdruck kommt. . . . Unerschöpflich reich für die volle Wahrheit hierüber ist vor allem auch das Gesangbuch der lutherischen Kirche und zwar nicht erst durch die Zusammenfügung zweier verschiedener Abteilungen über die betreffenden Gegenstände, sondern durch die Dialektik, die durch die einzelnen Lieder (etwa bei Paul Gerhardt) ständig hindurchgeht." Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, p.289. Quest for Holiness, p. 260.

The christology of the hymns of Paul Gerhardt will have to be studied with the foregoing theological and historical preliminary considerations in mind. Yet one further concern to a study of Gerhardt's christology is the thesis that Gerhardt was a theologian of the First Article.<sup>75</sup> That is doubtless a too limited evaluation of Gerhardt. He was a confessional theologian, one who confessed the whole of the Christian faith with all of the confessions and creeds of the church. Consequently his "First Article" hymns should not be seen as anything other than hymns about the "Father Almighty," who would not be known other than through the incarnate Son. His hymns are all in effect Christ hymns, that is, christological hymns, since their sole source is the Gospel to which Gerhardt so tenaciously held in the Confessions. Therefore it is not possible to put that which extols Christ and what he has done and gives under the heading of anthropocentric mysticism or subjectivism.

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75. Röbbelen follows Nelle when she makes the observation that in 58 of Gerhardt's 133 hymns ". . . Christus weder ausdrücklich nennen noch überhaupt in irgendeiner Form auf ihn hindeuten." Yet Nelle places an important corrective on his preliminary observation which Röbbelen does not pursue. Gerhardt ". . . ist ein Theologe des ersten Artikels, der weiß, daß man den ersten nicht ohne den zweiten und dritten Artikel hat. . . . Niemand kennet den Vater, denn nur der Sohn und wem es der Sohn will offenbaren. Weil es ihm aber der Sohn geoffenbaret hat, so schaut unser Dichter das Wesen Gottes des Vaters in seinen heiligen Tiefen, in seiner lichten Fülle." Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes, pp. 149, 151. Cf. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," p. 160; Müller, pp. 165-6.

Although Christ is inseparable from the whole of Gerhardt's hymnody, this study will nevertheless focus upon those hymns which are more explicitly and manifestly christological, that is, Gerhardt's hymns of the church year, specifically Gerhardt's hymns of the Incarnation and the Passion. Within these hymns the Heilstaten of God in Christ are most clearly declared pro me. The essential elements of Gerhardt's christology come to expression in these hymns, although further light certainly is shed upon the subject matter from his other hymns. The task which remains is to probe Gerhardt's hymnody closely in order to discover how he proclaims Christ both pro nobis et pro me.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE CHRISTOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF GERHARDT'S HYMNODY

##### Hymns of the Advent, Nativity, and Passion of Christ

With the church year as his focus and rhythm of life, Paul Gerhardt's hymnody flows naturally extolling the Advent, Nativity, and Passion hymns as Christ-hymns. A christology therefore comes to the fore more in these hymns than in the remainder of his hymnody, where it informs his thought implicitly. Thus it is Gerhardt's confession of Christ as it comes to expression in these hymns of the church year, which becomes the point at which his theology and piety converge. As christological hymns, these Festlieder are therefore christocentric, since they proclaim the saving deeds of God in Christ. Accordingly Gerhardt is no less a confessor of the Heilstatsachen in his hymns of the church year than is Luther.

However, where personal affectedness remains implicit with Luther, it becomes explicit in Gerhardt's hymnody. Along with the celebration of the saving deeds of God there is also the expression of how these affect the Christian personally. Gerhardt therefore leads beyond a third person recitation of the faith, to a first person

expression of faith in thanks, petition, and personal confession. Yet even in the most personal of confessions, Paul Gerhardt nevertheless does not speak of himself, but again rejoices in the saving deeds of God, indeed, in his grace and mercy revealed in Jesus Christ. Consequently the presentation of man and his need is consistently shown in relation to the saving work of God in Jesus Christ. His hymns are never about man alone, but point to man's need and salvation by Christ alone. As will be shown, Gerhardt's hymnody and confession is far from being anthropocentric and lacking a christological point of reference.<sup>1</sup> It is instead the clear proclamation of peace concerning the Son of God, who became man, who suffered and died, and was raised for man's, indeed for "my" salvation. Here in Gerhardt's hymnody is the personal confession of the faith of the whole church which confesses the extra nos Gospel pro me.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ingeborg Röbbelen, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), p. 417.

2. Cf. Luther, who even in his early writings could sum up the Gospel in similar terms: "Euangelium enim est sermo bonus, nuncius pacis de filis dei in carnato, passo, resuscitato per spiritum sanctum salutem nostram. . ." D. Martin Luthers Werke, (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883-), 2, 467,12-13 (hereafter cited as WA); Luther's Works, 55 vols., gen eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehman (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House and Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955-) 27, 185 (hereafter cited as AE). See also page 66, especially note 40 above. See also Werner Elert, Morphologie des Lutherthums, 2 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), 1:62: "Wer für das

For all their personal quality, Gerhardt's hymns are neither strictly subjective nor singularly individualistic. The determination of his hymns for the Privatandacht and Hausandacht indubitably gives more room for personal contemplation, but again, it is the contemplation of the Glied who is Mitglied of the Gemeinde.<sup>3</sup> The "I" which speaks is therefore the "I" of all Christians and at the same time that of the individual who in Gerhardt's Kirchenjahr hymnody is placed coram Christo.

The Christ before whom Gerhardt stands in his hymnody is the incarnate son of God as he had come to know him in word and sacrament and confessed in the confessions of the Lutheran church. This doctrinal framework reveals Gerhardt as wanting to be nothing more than a faithful transmitter of the Glaubensgut which had been handed to

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Fröhlichsein in Luthers Weihnachtslied für den Jubel unser Osterlieder, wer für das 'Gott für uns', 'Christus für mich' Paul Gerhardts kein Verständnis mehr hat, sollt sich prüfen, ob seine Theologie nicht mit dem Koran mehr Verwandtschaft hat als mit dem Evangelium." Cf. the English translation: The Structure of Lutheranism, trans. by Walter A. Hansen, 1 vol., (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), p.70.

3. Ihlenfeld points out that it was among others Karl Barth who gave a vote of non-confidence to Gerhardt as the ". . . Ursächer des ich-betonten Kirchenliedes. . . im Gegensatz zu Luthers transsubjektiver Wir-Lyrik." Kurt Ihlenfeld, Huldigung für Paul Gerhardt, (Munich: Siebenstern Taschenbuch Verlag, 1956), p. 66. He furthermore explains that Gerhardt's "ich" is most often substitutionary for the "Wir" of the Gemeinde. The believing "Ich" is never separate from the eternal "Du" before which it stands with the whole of the church.

him.<sup>4</sup> His Advent and Christmas hymns are therefore not only completely consistent with the theology of the Book of Concord, but consonant with the Liedgut of the Reformation, without the latter's accent upon Kirche and Kampf.

The accent in Gerhardt's hymnody is undoubtedly the praxis pietatis within the context of the church which has and distributes pure word and sacrament.<sup>5</sup> He therefore sings of the giver who gives, the gift which is given, and the one is given to, though not necessarily in that order. Gerhardt's hymn is at the same time confession of Christ, the life of faith in Christ, and the proclamation of Christ.<sup>6</sup>

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4. Rudolf Günther, who appreciates Gerhardt as a hymn-writer but not a confessional theologian nevertheless admits that Gerhardt is ". . . nur der Dolmetscher des Luthertums; er ist seine Blüte und seine Frucht." Rudolf Günther, "Zum Gedächtnis Paul Gerhardts," Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 11 (1907):246. Cf. Paul Wernerle, Paulus Gerhardt, Heft 7, Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1909), p. 6: "Seine Lieder sind im Luthertum, nur allein dort möglich gewesen." Ernst Kochs, Paul Gerhardt. Sein Leben und seine Lieder, (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung), p. 50: "An allen seinen Liedern spürt man den Zusammenhang des Dichters mit dem besten Erbe der Väter: ohne Luther kein Gerhardt!"

5. Cf. Chr. Palmer and Carl Berthau, "Paul Gerhardt," Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, ed. Albert Hauck, 24 volumes, (Leipzig: 1896-), 6:562.

6. At this juncture a methodological question must be considered. An analysis of Gerhardt's hymnody could doubtless be pursued either thematically, and thereby test material from a large number of hymns against a stated thesis, or systematically by testing stated theses against the content of one hymn at a time. The former approach has as its advantage the compilation and thereby an overview of

Hymns of the Advent of Christ

Gerhardt certainly does not set out to develop a full and systematic christology in his hymnody. Yet he brings all of this with him in his hymn writing.<sup>7</sup> His purpose in writing, as has been repeatedly stated, is the praxis pietatis of Andacht and Anbetung within the Haus-gemeinde which leads to the Erbauung of the body of Christ.

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what otherwise are scattered christological statements imbedded within various contexts. The latter approach enables a full examination of the christology which Gerhardt expresses within its immediate context, whereby both intent and purpose of the hymn can be taken into account.

In effect Gerhardt's hymns have to be approached both systematically and thematically. The examination of Gerhardt's hymnody in a systematic manner cannot be circumvented for the following reasons: "Gestalt und Aussage sind unzertrennbar." Walter Blankenburg, "Paul Gerhardt 1676-1976," Musik und Kirche, 46 (1976):108. The preservation of this unity of the form of the hymn and its message precludes the frequently disjointed enumeration of statements which then attain meaning not from the author's intent, but from the stated thesis beneath which they appear. On the one hand, the most valuable and lucid approach therefore is the study of the christology of these hymns as separate documents in their context of the church year, which then provides data that can be readily verified and subsequently evaluated in a comprehensive manner. On the other hand, the delineation of this process in the framework of this study would certainly be cumbersome and unwieldy.

The data which therefore appears in the text is presented with this dual approach in mind. It is hoped that the submission of the data will bear the marks of clear contextual analysis without being tautological or monotonous and therefore lead to distinct and verifiable conclusions.

7. Cf. "Was bedeutet Ihnen Paul Gerhardt? Ergebnis einer Umfrage," Musik und Gottesdienst, 30 (1976):108, where Gerhard Ebeling responds concerning Gerhardt's hymnody: "Das ist gedichtete Theologie. Mit ihr kann sich die Prosa wissenschaftlicher Theologie nicht messen, sollte sich jedoch mit ihr im Einklang befinden."

Both foci are in view in Gerhardt's Advent hymns, "Wie soll ich dich empfangen,"<sup>8</sup> and "Warum willst du draussen stehen,"<sup>9</sup> which initially appeared in the Praxis pietatis melica of Johann Crüger in 1653. Gerhardt begins both hymns with a dialogue with Jesus, and concludes with an admonition of the church and himself respectively.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, these hymns begin as more than dialogue. Gerhardt portrays the alternating exchange of God's grace and man's faith. They are prayers which ask Jesus the questions: "Wie soll ich dich empfangen?"; "Warum willst du draussen stehen?" As a part of the answer to

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8. Rather than appending numerous footnotes, the number and verse of the hymns from Eberhard von Cranach-Sichart, Paul Gerhardt, Dichtungen und Schriften, (Munich: Verlag von Paul Müller, 1957) [hereafter abbreviated CS] will be cited after the quotations below. The corresponding reference in Albert Fischer, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts, ed. Wilhelm Tümpel, 6 vols. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1906), unaltered new edition: (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), volume 3 [hereafter abbreviated FT] will be noted initially. For example: "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," CS 1, FT 401. Only where the verse number is different in Cranach-Sichart from Fischer/Tümpel will parallel numbering be employed.

9. CS 2, FT 402.

10. The monologue of "Warum willst du draussen stehen," which begins at verse seven is not unlike Psalm 103. Gerhardt thereby permits the focus to be directed away from one's need to the help which has already been given. Christ gives himself pro nobis, though the "dich" clearly points to the "mich" of faith which receives all of this treasure.

these prayers follows the confession of who this Jesus is whom the believer is preparing to receive.<sup>11</sup>

Gerhardt addresses the christological question both from the point of view of man's Not and how Christ comes to meet this distress in terms of who he is. His distress, and indeed the distress of every man is expressed in terms of bondage:<sup>12</sup>

Ich lag in schweren Banden. . . 1.4

These Banden are manifold. Though understood implicitly as bondage to sin, death, and devil in "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," they are specifically enumerated in "Warum willst du draussen stehen" as the travail of man wounded by the law and judgement of God (2.2), the doubt of God caused by the Devil's lies (2.3), temptation which flows forth from a world with its pseudo-consolation (2.4) and transitory treasures which lead to a false security (2.5). Yet these Banden are all symptomatic of one root cause:<sup>13</sup>

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11. Gerhardt makes it clear during the course of the hymn, that it is not man's preparation, but God's gift of faith (die Fackel) which shows who this Jesus is and receives him with thanks.

12. Cf. Luther's "Nu frewt euch lieben Christen gmeyn," WA 35, 423,6-12:

"Dem teuffel ich gefangen lag,  
Im tod war ich verloren,  
Meyn sund mich quelet nacht und tag,  
Darynn ich war geporen.  
Ich fiel auch ymer tieffer dreyn,  
Es war keyn guts am leben meyn,  
Die sund hat mich besessen."

13. Ibid.

## Deiner Sünde Macht und Kraft. 2.11

Unlike Luther, Gerhardt does not go on to describe his struggle with these Banden,<sup>14</sup> but rejoices in the solace and joy which Christ himself gives through the Gospel:<sup>15</sup>

Aller Trost und alle Freude  
Ruht in dir, Herr Jesu Christ;  
Dein Erfreuen ist die Weide,  
Da man sich recht fröhlich ißt. 2.6

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14. Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied, (Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle und Meyer, 1935), pp. 72-3 elaborates that the position of those who are engaged in this conversation between God and Christ, Christ and man has changed. "Es ist, als müßte der Mensch, der das Wort von der Versöhnung als etwas selbstverständliches hinzunehmen gewöhnt worden ist, der die Angst, die Luther zur Verzweiflung trieb, nur vom Hörensagen kennt, erst angestoßen werden, um zu sehen und zu hören, was unter dem Kreuz Christi zu sehen und zu hören ist." Cf. WA 35, 423,13-424,3; See also 40 I, 73,24-74,11 (AE 26, 26-7): "Summa nullis operibus, Imo iis magis augetur. Quo plus enim laboramus et sudamus ad tollendum peccatum, hoc peius habemus. . . ."

15. Luther also frequently brought Gospel and joy together, as, for example in his "Adventspostille" of 1522: "Gott, der da hoffnung wirckt durchs Euangelion, der gebe euch gnade, das yhr das Euangelium wol treybet und blewbt, darauß yhr Christum auffs aller tieffest erkennet, davon yhr denn alle freud und gutt gewissen als von eynem gemeynen gutt, datzu auch frid unternander haben werdet, denn das ist die freud und frid, nicht wie die welt gibt, durch fulen und empfinden, sondern durch glewben, den yhr nit seht noch fulet den, der ewr gutt ist, von dem yhr freud und frid habet, ynn der wellt aber werdet yhr unfrid und betrubniß fulen. Szo yhr aber Christum erlernet, das er gemeyn yderman ist, und allen gleych, so habt yhr gutten frid, denn da ist nichts das eyner dem andern vorgonnen kan, dieweyl yhr alle gleych reych seytt. Sihe, das heyst freud und frid durchs glewben odder ym glewben." WA 10 I/2, 92,15-25. Conversely, ". . . wo nit Euangelium ist, da ist widder hoffnung, trost, frid, freud, glawb, lieb, Christus, Gott, noch keyn guttis, . . ." WA 10 I/2, 92,36-93,2.



For Gerhardt the question of good works for salvation had been settled with the Gospel:<sup>16</sup>

Ihr dürft euch nicht bemühen  
 Noch sorgen Tag und Nacht,  
 Wie ihr ihn wollet ziehen  
 Mit eures Armes Macht  
 Er kommt, er kommt mit Willen, 1.7

The will of Jesus is to allay all "Angst und Not." He does so because of his total love which embraces this world with all of its needs, especially its sin for which he comes to atone.

Nichts, nichts hat dich getrieben  
 Zu mir vom Himmelszelt,  
 Als das geliebte Lieben,  
 Damit du alle Welt  
 In ihren tausend Plagen  
 Und großen Jammerlast,  
 Die kein Mund kann aussagen,  
 So fest umfangen hast. 1.5

Auch dürft ihr nicht erschrecken  
 vor eurer Sündenschuld.  
 Nein, Jesus will sie decken  
 Mit seiner Lieb und Huld. 1.8

The means by which Christ gives his consolation are his words, which provide certainty and dispell the doubts sowed by the ". . . große Drach":

Hörst du, wie er dich ergötzet  
 Mit dem zuckersüßen Mund? 2.8

Clearly the locatedness of these words is his mouth. What Gerhardt implies with these words is the absolution which

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16. Cf. Luther, who in his "Hauspostille" of 1544 wrote: "Die nun mit eygen wercken wöllen in Himel kommen, die ziehen Christum zu sich herunder, so es doch soll umbkeret sein. Denn Christus muß uns ziehen, oder es ist verloren, . . . ." WA 52, 230,29-31.

is proclaimed upon the confession of sin which the Christian has spoken:<sup>17</sup>

Öffne dein Gemüt und Seele,  
Klag ihm, was dich drückt und quäle. 2.7<sup>18</sup>

Gerhardt casts this confession of sins into the context of comfort and solace because of the certainty of forgiveness which such confession has been promised by this Jesus who gives himself pro nobis.

Christus, der sich dir ergeben,  
Legt sein Reichtum bei dir ein. 2.9

The treasure which is received is at once communion with Christ (2.9) and the forgiveness of sins:

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17. Cf. Luther WA 15, 485,28-486,14: "Denn die summa des Euangelii ist die: Wer an Christum glewbt, dem sollen seyn sund vergeben seyn, Also des eyn Christlicher prediger nymmer das maul auffthuen kan, er muss eyn absolution sprechen. Also thuet auch der Priester über dem altar, wenn er spricht 'Pax vobis', das ist, 'ich verkundige euch von Gott, das yhr fride habt, und vergebung der sunden durch Christum', das ist euch eben das Euangelien und die absolutio. Also auch die wort, da mit er das sacrament machet 'Das ist meyn leyb, der fur euch gegeben wird, Das ist meyn blut, das fur euch vergossen wird zur vergebung der sunden', etc."

18. "Was dich drückt und quäle" is defined by verses two and three:

"Meine Wunden sind der Jammer,  
Welchen oft mals Tag und Nacht  
Des Gesetzes starker Hammer  
Mir mit seinem Schrecken macht.  
O der schweren Donnerstimm,  
Die mir Gottes Zorn und Grimm  
Also tief ins Herze schläget,  
Daß sich all mein Blut bewegt.

. . . Ja auch, was noch ärger ist,  
so zermartert und zerfrißt  
Mich mein eigenes Gewissen  
Mit vergift'ten Schlangenbissen."

Was du Böses hast begangen,  
 Das ist alles abgeschafft.  
 Gottes Liebe nimmt gefangen  
 Deiner Sünde Macht und Kraft,  
 Christi Sieg behält das Feld. 2.11

The christological titles which Gerhardt employs further underscore the kind of savior Jesus is and the certainty of salvation which he gives.

Da bist du, mein Heil, kommen 1.3

. . . ihr habet  
 Die Hilfe vor der Tür,  
 Der eure Herzen labet  
 Und tröstet, steht allhier. 1.6

Er kommt, er kommt den Sündern,  
 Zum Trost und wahren Heil 1.8  
 Er kommt, er kommt ein König,  
 Dem wahrlich alle Feind  
 Auf Erden viel zu wenig  
 Zum Widerstande seind. 1.9

Er kommt zum Weltgericht  
 Zum Fluch dem, der ihm flucht, 1.10

The certainty of the salvation which this Saviour brings comes to the fore through the interchangeability of these Tat titles. With the "da bist du mein Heil kommen" in mind, Christ is presented as Hilfe, Trost, and wahren Heil, in that he makes certain that God's children retain their "Erb und Teil" (1.8). With these words of "Trost und wahren Heil," in connection with Christ's covering of all "Sündenschuld," (1.8) Gerhardt's Lutheran confession of faith and justification comes to light. Eschatologically Christ also comes ("er kommt, er kommt") as King to scatter his enemies (1.9) and as Judge to curse those who have rejected him (1.10). Gerhardt nevertheless raises his head even at this

proclamation of judgement, because it is the redemption of him "der ihn liebt und sucht" which is drawing nigh.<sup>19</sup>

Consequently his final verse of "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," is nothing other than the Maranatha of the church,

Ach komm, ach komm, o Sonne,<sup>20</sup>

19. Cf. Luke 21:28; See also Luther, WA 14, 72,8-10 (AE 30, 197): "Also beschreybt Petrus diesen tag, als der ytzt schon kommen soll, das sie drauff bereyt seyn sollen, mit freuden drauff hoffen und auch eylen yhm entgegen zulauffen als dem, der uns erlöst von sund, tod und helle."

20. Zeller summarizes the "Sonnen" symbolism of Gerhardt when he writes: "Daß die Lichtsymbolik dabei gerade für die Christologie von Gerhardt gern angewandt wird, entspricht ihm übrigen gleichfalls der 'Praxis pietatis', wie ein kurzer Blick in Johann Arndt bereits zu zeigen vermag. Daß Christus die Sonne ist, sagen zahlreiche Lieder Gerhardts (z.B. 1,10. 6,4. 82,15). Er ist die 'ander Sonne', die auch nachts hell im Herzen scheint (38,2), die 'Freudensonn'(27,28), deren Glanz und Strahlen auch aus seinem Wort leuchten. . . ." Winfried Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," Theologie und Frömmigkeit, ed. Bernd Jaspert, (Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1971), p.161. Cf. Ihlenfeld, pp. 126-8; Ihlenfeld relates a comparison of the Weltanschauungen of the classical philosophers of the Enlightenment and Gerhardt's rather unphilosophical status which enables him to bring ". . . diese Sonne in seinen Liedern auf die Erde herab." In this Gerhardt is seen as a child, ". . . der nach goldenen Glaskugel am Christbaum, ohne kosmischen Schauer, ohne Furcht, sich verbrennen zu können. Ob nicht eben dies aber die Fähigkeit-des Glaubens ist?" Ihlenfeld's contrast is therefore one of reason to faith. And the faith which Gerhardt shows forth reiterates Luther's contention for Christ as the content of Scripture: "So nim fur allen dingen die heuptstück fur dich und las dich ja nicht finden on dis stück, auff das also die liebe sonne Christus dir jm hertzen scheine, so kanstu frey und sicher durch und uber alle gesetze, Exempel, sprüche und werck urteilen und sagen." WA 31 I, 255,34. [Emphasis added].

Perhaps these thoughts of Luther on the certainty and clarity which Christ gives through his words is Gerhardt's Vorlage in "Nun ruhen alle Wälder,"

Fahr hin, ein andere Sonne,  
Mein Jesus, meine Wonne,

Gar hell in meinem Herzen scheint." 38,2.

Cf. Luther's Easter hymn, "Christ lag ynn todes banden," WA

und hol uns allzumal  
 Zum ewgen Licht und Wonne  
 In deinen Freudensaal. 1.10<sup>21</sup>

Gerhardt therefore does not bring to expression pious thoughts of personal experiences, but voices the essential elements of Reformational theology and christology. He confesses the Gospel as pro me with the understanding that the coming of the Lord does not avail him if he does not come to me.<sup>22</sup> Nor is the proclamation of the coming of the Lord pro me to be censured as a sign of mystic meditation upon Christ's entry into the soul of the individual.<sup>23</sup> The question which Gerhardt poses at the

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35, 444,20-26 (AE 53, 257):

"So feyren wyr dis hoch fest  
 mit hertzen freud und wonne,  
 Das uns der Herr scheynen lest,  
 er ist selber die sonne,  
 Der durch seyner gnaden glantz  
 erleucht unser hertzen gantz,  
 Der sunden nacht ist vergangen."

21. Cf. WA 35, 434,18-22 (AE 53, 241):

"Das ewig liecht geht da hereyn,  
 gibt der welt eyn newen scheyn,  
 Es leucht wol mitten ynn der nacht  
 und uns des liechtes kinder macht.  
 Ky."

WA 35, 435,1-5 (AE 53,241):

"Der son des vaters Gott von ard  
 eyn gast ynn der werlet ward  
 Und furt uns aus dem iamer tal,  
er macht uns erben ynn seym saal.  
 Kyrio." [Emphasis added].

22. See page 100 below.

23. When the Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch, III,1 "Liederkunde," (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), p. 140 therefore ascribes such a shift towards mysticism by Gerhardt in this hymn, it does so on the

outset of the hymn "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," deals with "empfangen," but does not necessarily imply that the locus of this "empfangen" is the soul. "Warum willst du draussen stehen" (2.7) explicitly names the heart as the place in which Gerhardt rejoices to receive Jesus. Because the word can enter the heart (14.20) ". . . erweist sich das Herz als der Ort, an dem das Wort des Herrn, dieses allein, Glauben und Handeln zur Einheit bringt."<sup>24</sup> The

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strength of the one statement: "Meiner Seelen Zier," which is reinterpreted as Jesus being ". . . Schatz und Zier des eigenen Herzens." This is regarded as primary, whereby the historical event of Christ's coming is still its basis but not its theme. Cf. Adolf Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Dörffling und Franke, 1929), pp.134-135. Köberle relates a most helpful clarification on the clear distinction that has to be made between ". . . Identitätsmystik und evangelischer Immanenzanschauung, . . . ." "Wo aber der Deus in nobis auf Grund des geglaubten Christus pro nobis gesagt wird, da kann von Verschmelzung und Untergang in einem ruhenden Sein keine Rede mehr sein. . . . Immer nur in der Haltung des nackten Glaubens wird die Nähe des Herrn empfangen, der bei aller seiner gnädigen Hingabe and den Menschen doch niemals in ihm auf- und untergeht, so wenig wie der Schöpfer in seinen Geschöpfen." Cf. the English translation of the above work, Quest for Holiness, pp.105-106.

24. Gerhard Krause, "Christuskreuz und Christenkreuz bei Paul Gerhardt," Theologia Crucis-Signum Crucis, Festschrift für Erich Dinkler, eds. Carl Andresen and Günter Klein, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1979), pp.293-295 deals extensively with Gerhardt's understanding of "Herz," albeit in the context of his Passion hymnody. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 461,13-16:

"Ach mein hertzliebtes Jhesulin  
 Mach dir ein rein sanfft bettelin,  
 zu rugen jnn meins hertzen schrein,  
 Das ich nimmer vergesse dein."

Luther too addresses Jesus with the question of "how," though phrased in terms of how he should thank him for having come, which, of course, is Gerhardt's ultimate aim as well:

"Wie sol ich jmer dancken dir?" WA 35, 460,27.

heart therefore becomes the locatedness for the praxis pietatis, where faith and life, confession and piety are brought together. Yet it is not the place where salvation takes place. "Herz" can therefore be synonymous with faith, in that it receives what Christ gives.

Although these hymns therefore deal with an outward to inward movement, it is nothing other than the movement of the distribution of the gifts which the extra nos Christ gives to the believing heart. Indeed, these hymns deal with the very extra nos event of Christ's coming in the flesh for the forgiveness of sins, his distribution of these eternal gifts today (1.4), and the consummation of his church upon his return (1.10, 2.12.). Words such as "Reich," "Friede," and "Heil," serve to make clear that what Gerhardt brings to expression here does not restrict itself to the realm of the emotional. What the extra nos birth of Christ brings is an extra nos "Reich," extra nos peace and salvation. These gifts are as objective as the spiritual state of Heillosigkeit in which humanity finds itself. The salvation of which Gerhardt therefore sings with the birth of Christ reflects a total change of conditions, a gift which bestows nothing less than eternal life to man who is born to die. It is this gift of Christ's coming which is received in faith, in which Gerhardt proceeds to rejoice personally.

Nun, du hast ein süßes Leben;  
Alles, was du willst, ist dein.

Christus, der sich dir ergeben,  
Legt sein Reichtum bei dir ein. 2.9

Undoubtedly Gerhardt's concern is for the presence of the Lord. "Ob er dir da ist" is as important to him as it was to Luther.<sup>25</sup> Christ's coming does not help if it is not proclaimed, distributed and delivered pro me.<sup>26</sup> And it is indeed this pro me which resounds throughout these hymns of Christ's coming. Yet the "how" of Christ's coming pro me is not dealt with in explicit terms.<sup>27</sup> Gerhardt concentrates upon the "that" of his having come, coming and coming again as the grounds for certainty of his salvation.

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25. "Denn Euangelium ist eyne predigt von Christo, wie er hie wirt furbildet, das man soll gweben. Nu hab ich offft gesagt von zweyerley glawben. Der erst, so du wol gwebist, das Christus eyn solch man sey, wie er hie und ym gantzen Euangelio beschrieben und gepredigt, aber du gwebist nit, das er dyr eyn solch man sey, tzweyffelst dran, ob du solchs von yhm habist unnd haben werdist, unnd denckist, ya, er ist wol eyn solch man den andern. . . Sihe, dißer glaube ist nichts, empfehet auch noch schmeckt Christum nymmer mehr, kan auch keyn lust noch liebe von yhm und tzu yhm empfinden. . . ." WA 10 I/2, 24,2-13. Cf. *ibid.* 24,28-25,8. "Es ligt deyne selickeit nicht daran, das du gwebist Christus sey den frummen eyn Christus, sondern das er dyr eyn Christus und deyn sey. Dießer glawb macht, das dyr Christus lieblich gesellt und süß ym hertzen schmeckt, da folgen nach lieb unnd gutte werck ungetzwungen."

26. Cf. WA 18, 204-205; 12, 518,11-18.

27. This leads the Handbuch, III,1, p. 140 to assume that the ". . . Überzeugtsein von der Gegenwart Christi" has as its presupposition ". . . eine gewisse seelische Empfindsamkeit, 'Empfänglichkeit', jedenfalls Trostbedürftigkeit bei denen, die sich dieses Lied zueigen machen sollen." Rather than looking for this presupposition in nobis, however, Gerhardt in 1.1 looks to Jesus himself to be the one who prepares him to enlighten him. Cf. *idem.*, p. 138; Hesselbachers, p. 58-60.



This "that" is the word of the Gospel (2.8). His response is a living faith, active in praise and thanks:

Mein Herze soll dir grünen  
In stetem Lob und Preis  
Und deinem Namen dienen,  
So gut es kann und weiß. 1.2

With his praise and thanks Gerhardt therefore proclaims what God has done for man's salvation in Christ, for his consolation and joy, while the life which has been planted in his heart grows forth in service. Faith and life, praxis pietatis belong inextricably together in Gerhardt's Advent hymns, no less than in the remainder of his church year hymnody.

#### Hymns of the Nativity of Christ

The coming of Christ to justify the sinner and to bestow all the gifts of His salvation is the material out of which Gerhardt's Advent hymns are formed. The birth of Christ leads Gerhardt not only to describe Christ's work beginning with his incarnation to his death, but also provides the crucial elements which enable him to give expression to his christology.

The awesome wonder of the incarnation, especially with respect to the communicatio idiomatum lies as the foundation of Gerhardt's Christmas proclamation. Virtually all of his Christmas hymns at some juncture juxtapose Jesus Christ, ". . . wahrhaftiger Gott vom Vater in Ewigkeit geboren und auch wahrhaftiger Mensch von der Jungfrauen

Maria geboren. . . ."28 Gerhardt therefore sings of the creator, who lies in the manger:29

Du bist der Schöpfer aller Ding. 6.15<sup>30</sup>

Bist klein und machst doch alles groß,  
Bekleidst die Welt und kommst doch bloß. 3.6

Du hast dem Meer sein Ziel gesteckt  
Und wirst mit Windeln zugedeckt;  
Bist Gott und liegst auf Heu und Stroh,  
Wirst Mensch und bist doch A und O. 3.8<sup>31</sup>

Es wird im Fleisch hier vorgestellt,  
Der alles schuf und noch erhält.  
Das Wort, so bald im Anfang war  
Bei Gott, selbst Gott, das lieget dar. 7.10

28. (Small Catechism) BKS 511,23-6. cf. Tappert, p.345.

29. Cf. Luther in his Christmas hymns, for example, "Christum wyr sollen loben schon":

"Der selig schepffer aller ding  
zoch an eyns knechtes leyb gering,  
Das er das fleysch durch fleysch erworbt  
und seyn geschepff nicht alls verdorb....

Des hymels Chor sich frewen drob  
und die engel singen Gott lob,  
Den armen hirtten wird vermeld  
der hirt und schepffer aller welt."  
WA 35, 432,3-6; 23-26.

30. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 460, 29-32 (AE 53):

"Ach Herr du Schöpffer aller ding,  
Wie bistu worden so gering,  
Das du da ligts auff dürrem gras,  
Dauon ein rint und esel afs."

31. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 460, 13-16:

"So mercket nu das zeichen recht  
Die krippen windelin so schlecht,  
da findet jr das kind gelegt,  
Das alle welt erhelt und tregt."

See also WA 35, 434,12-16:

"Den aller welt kreis nye beschlos  
Der ligt ynn Maria schos,  
Er ist eyn kindlin worden kleyn,  
der alle ding erhelt alleyn.  
Kyrioleys."

He also confesses with St. John the Word which became flesh:

Hier ist der Ort  
Hier liegt das Wort,  
Mit unserm Fleisch persönlich angekleidet. 4.1

Indubitably Gerhardt wants to bring to expression the communicatio idomatum with this emphasis on the "persönlich," holding fast that none other than the eternal God has become man:<sup>32</sup>

Gott wird Mensch, dir Mensch zugute; 5.2

Es ist der eingeborne Sohn  
Des Vaters, unser Gnadenthron,  
Das A und O, der große Gott,  
Der Siegesfürst, der Herr Zebaoth. 7.11<sup>33</sup>

Consequently Gerhardt has no difficulty referring to Mary as theotokos:<sup>34</sup>

Steht und hört vor allen Dingen,  
Gottes Mutter fröhlich singen  
Bei dem Kripplein ihres Sohns. 9.1

And because God came in the flesh and blood of man in Jesus Christ, he can empathize and feel with the sufferings of mankind:

Er weiß und kennt  
Was beißt und brennt,  
Verstehet wohl, wie zu Mute sei dem Kranken. 4.12

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32. Cf.(FC Epitome VII) BKS 798, V,11; Tappert, p. 483, 5,11. See also (FC Solida Declaratio VII), BKS 1006, VII,I Tappert, p.586, 1.

33. FC/SD VII, BKS 1019, (1)6-(2)7. Tappert, p.592 (1)6-(2)7.

34. (FC/Epitome VIII), BKS 806, VII; Tappert, p. 488, 7. See also (FC/SD VIII), BKS 1024, 24; Tappert, p.595, 24.

Denn eben drum  
 Hat er den Grimm  
 Des Kreuzes auch am Leibe wolle tragen,  
 Daß seine Pein  
 Ihm möge sein  
 Ein unverrückt Erinnerung unser Plagen. 4.13

On the other hand Gerhardt cannot simply remain untouched by the objective reality of the incarnation. The coming of Christ in the flesh addresses his every day life.

Heute geht aus seiner Kammer  
 Gottes Held,  
 Der die Welt,  
 Reißt aus allem Jammer. 5.2

Jesus is therefore Nothelfer and notwendig, that is, he alone can avert all of man's destruction.

Sein Licht und Heil  
 Macht alles heil;  
 Der Himmelsschatz bringt allen Schaden wieder.  
 Der Freudenquell  
 Immanuel  
 Schlägt Teufel, Höll und all ihr Reich darnieder. 4.6

Sehet, was hat Gott gegeben!  
 Seinen Sohn zum ewgen Leben.  
 Dieser kann und will uns heben  
 Aus dem Leid ins Himmels Freud. 8.3

With these few verses it is therefore possible to obtain a clear picture of Gerhardt's confessional understanding of Christ. And it is evident that Gerhardt's hymns sing of justification and reconciliation as being there within the manger, in the one who became flesh, and this within the sobering context of every-day life with its daily Anfechtungen and worries. For Gerhardt the coming of Christ touches the realm of personal experience and life. In fact,

it seems impossible to find in Gerhardt's hymnody a dichotomy between confession and life.

Nevertheless Gerhardt himself does not come to the fore with his own personal needs and afflictions. Instead he lets his personal circumstances pale at the birth of the Jesus Christ who is "Immanuel." Not his own circumstances, but the Lord who has come determines the content of his hymns. That is why his hymns are intrinsically Gospel hymns. They are not psychologized attempts to draw upon God as Lückenbüßer. The Christ whom they proclaim does not call for a movement inward and upward to God, but downward into the flesh, into lowliness, where man cannot reasonably expect him, but is given faith to see him.<sup>35</sup>

Du bist der süße Menschenfreund,  
Doch sind dir so viel Menschen feind;  
Herodis Heer hält dich für Greul  
Und bist doch nichts als lauter Heil. 3.10

Du siehest ja  
Vor Augen da  
Dein Fleisch und Blut die Luft und Wolken lenken; 4.9

When Gerhardt therefore sings of Christ in his hymns, he sings of him who is both God and man, the creator and yet our own flesh and blood. In and as our flesh and blood he

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35. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 460,24-27:

"Bis willekom du Edler gast,  
Den sunder nicht verschmehet hast,  
Und kompst jns elend her zu mir,  
Wie sol ich jmer dancken dir?"

addresses man and meets him in his needs and saves him from his sin.<sup>36</sup>

Gerhardt can in fact go as far as to say that without that need, man would have no part in Christ. Though he does not join with John Milton's Adam in declaring the felix culpa,<sup>37</sup> he does confess that without his own sinfulness Christ's birth would remain meaningless:

Hätt ich nicht auf mir Sündenschuld,  
Hätt ich kein Teil an deiner Huld;  
Vergeblich wärst du mir geboren,  
Wenn ich nicht wär in Gottes Zorn. 3.17

Though Christ would have been born, he would not have been born pro me.

Precisely in Gerhardt's Christmas hymns, however, the birth of Christ pro me stands out more than in the remainder of his hymnody. The particular thought to which

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36. Norbert Müller, "Schwierigkeiten mit Paul Gerhardt?" Zeichen der Zeit, 30 (1976):160 can go as far as to say that Gerhardt's ". . . Dichtung ist inspiriert von der ‚Menschlichkeit Gottes‘ in allen ihren Gestalten." This is doubtless a most helpful observation, as Gerhardt indeed rejoices in the Incarnation where he finds God pro me. Nevertheless Gerhardt is not prone to dissociate Christ's humanity from his divinity as Müller's statement might suggest. As has been pointed out above, Gerhardt proclaims with marvel the Son of God, who, though divine, is at once a helpless child in swaddling clothes and lying upon straw in the manger. Gerhardt clearly paid heed to the confessions, especially the Formula of Concord, which warn against any such division. Cf. (FC/SD VIII), BKS 1031, 46-47; 1035-8, 60-3; Tappert, p.600, 46-47; p.602-3, 60-3.

37. Paradise Lost, Book XII, 467-478.

Gerhardt appeals is the Bruderschaftsgedanke.<sup>38</sup> Christ is born not only in flesh and blood, but our flesh and blood. He therefore is not only as Adam, made of earth and sharing in man's weakness,

Erd und Ton,  
Gering und schwach wie wir und unsre Kinder 4.2

but the Son of God who has established a familial relationship by coming in our flesh:<sup>39</sup>

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38. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," p. 160. Zeller points out that this Bruderschaftsgedanke is borrowed from Johann Arnd. It is an Arnd hymn which Gerhardt indeed begins: "Jesu, allerliebster Bruder, ders am besten mit mir meint." 65.1. Behind these words stands Arnd with his prayer: "Jesu Christe, der du dich mit ewiger Brüderschaft und Freundschaft uns verbunden." Paradiesgärtlein I,34. Yet this is a thought not foreign to Luther either, as will be pointed out below. Cf. note 39 below. See also WA 35, 424,18-21:

"Der son dem vater ghorsam ward,  
Er kam zu myr auff erden  
Von eyner iungkfraw reyn und zart,  
Er solt meyn bruder werden. . . ."

39. Gerhardt's line of thought is probably traceable to Luther, WA 35, 472,1-4; 5-8; 13-17:

"Des solt jr billich frölich sein,  
Das Gott mit euch ist worden ein,  
Er ist geboren ewr Fleisch und But,  
Ewr Bruder ist das ewig Gut.

Was kan euch thun die Sünd und Tod,  
Jr habt mit euch den waren Gott,  
Lasst zürnen Teuffel und die Hell,  
Gotts Son ist worden ewr Gesell.

Zu letzt müst jr doch haben recht,  
ir seid nu worden Gotts geschlecht,  
Des dancket Gott in ewigkeit,  
Geduldig frölich allezeit.

AMEN"

See also WA 35, 434, 6-10:

"Des ewgen Vaters eynig kind  
Itz man ynn der krippen find,  
Jnn unser armes fleysch und blut  
verkleydet sich das ewig gut.

Gott wird Mensch, dir Mensch zugugte  
 Gottes Kind,  
 Das verbind't  
 Sich it unserm Blute. 5.2

Du, ewge Kraft  
 Machst Brüderschaft  
 Mit uns, die wie ein Dampf und Rauch vergehen. 4.3

Gerhardt immediately draws the consequences from this  
 Christ who is pro me: There is no more need for despair.

Wirst du geplagt  
 Ei, unverzagt!  
 Dein Bruder wird dein Unglück nicht verschmähen; 4.11

This brother is none other than the "Tilger deiner Sünden,"  
 who promises to pay for my guilt. He therefore asks the  
 disconsolate:

Was trauerst du, mein Bruderlein?  
 Du sollst ja guter Dinge sein,  
 Ich zahle deine Schulden. 6.7

The Christ who is born by the Virgin in our flesh and blood  
 comes to pay all of our debts for the forgiveness of sins.  
 He therefore comes to bestow the Trost which only the  
 forgiveness of sins can give.<sup>40</sup>

Gerhardt accordingly employs every means at his  
 disposal to point the Gemeinde in their Andacht to Christ  
 as the only certain and sole source of the forgiveness of  
 sins and its attendant gifts of Trost and Heil. This is  
 especially evident in the christological titles which

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Kyrioleys."

40. Cf. Waldtraut-Ingeborg Sauer-Geppert, "'Trost' bei Paul Gerhardt," Musik und Kirche, 46 (1976):53-62.



Gerhardt uses throughout these hymns.<sup>41</sup> Quantitatively, the titles Gerhardt uses are immense.<sup>42</sup> But by using such names such as "edle Blum" (5.14), "Schlangentreter,"(7.14) "trautes Herzelein," (9.2) "Höllens Pest,"(7.14) "werte Lilienblum,"(9.4) and "Seelen Weide," (9.5) Gerhardt creates a vocabulary which, though not qualitatively different from traditional christological titles, nevertheless sheds light upon the nature of Christ and His relationship to man from a personal and devotional perspective.

The consequences of Gerhardt's colorful use of devotional christological titles has led to the speculation that Gerhardt thereby betrayed himself as being a proponent of the Jesusfrömmigkeit characteristic of the Baroque. Jesusminne and Gottesfreundschaft are both aspects of this Jesusfrömmigkeit which indubitably also find their counterpart in Gerhardt's Christmas hymns. For Gerhardt, the incarnate Son of God is not only creator, but also

der süße Menschenfreund, 3.10<sup>43</sup>

who calls to man in his distress and need:

Ich bin dein Freund,  
Ein Tilger deiner Sünden. 6.7

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41. Krause, p. 291. Krause cites Johann Arnds second book "vom Wahren Christentum" as a source for some of these titles.

42. See Appendix A, page 167 for a complete list of these titles in Gerhardt's Advent and Christmas hymns.

43. FT 403.7

This christological understanding of Christ as friend and brother based on his having atoned for our sins, leads to the bold certainty of salvation in the face of temptation which has already been mentioned:

Schweig arger Feind!  
Da sitzt mein Freund,  
Mein Fleisch und Blut, hoch in dem Himmel droben; 4.5

He is the mediator who reconciles God with man, which again leads to the certainty of God's love,

Weil Gottes Kind  
Dich ihm verbind't,  
So kanns nicht anders sein, Gott muß dich lieben. 4.7

Sollt uns Gott nun können hassen,  
Der uns gibt,  
Was er liebt  
Über alle Maßen?  
Gott gibt, unserm Leid zu wehren,  
Seinen Sohn 5.3

as well as Christ's love for us:

Sollt uns Gottes Sohn nicht lieben  
Der jetzt kömmt,  
Von uns nimmt,  
Was uns will betrüben? 5.4

Doubtless this Jesusfreundschaft and Gottesfreundschaft does reveal relationship to the savior of the soul which is different than sinful man's relationship to God the Father.<sup>44</sup> Gerhardt knows of both, the wrath of God against

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44. Cf. Cornelis Pieter van Andel, "Paul Gerhardt, ein Mystiker zur Zeit des Barocks," Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio, Festschrift für Winfried Zeller, eds. Bernd Jaspert and Rudolf Mohr, (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1976), p. 180 summarizes Gerhardt's position as distinctly Lutheran: "Eine Analyse der Gottesvorstellung Gerhardts lehrt daß diese durch eine typisch lutherische Polarität gekennzeichnet ist: er kennt Gott als denjenigen, der zürnt gegen die Sünde, und als denjenigen, der um Christi willen die

all unrighteousness and the love which makes righteous in Jesus Christ. It is the distinction of Law and Gospel which comes to the fore here. The birth of Christ in our flesh proclaims the Gospel full-blast, as it proclaims God as Father, who comes to us to forgive our sins and is there pro me. Since Christ's birth, Gerhardt therefore knows of no other God aside from Christ. Accordingly, the Father himself bears the characteristics of the Son:

Schlaf, du großer Weltberater,  
Bräutigam, Sohn und selbst auch Vater, 9.2.

The question remains whether Gerhardt's Frömmigkeit leads to a Seelengemeinschaft with the Son of God where the individual is lost in sentimentality or absorbed in mystic contemplation of the Seelenbräutigam.<sup>45</sup>

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Sünden vergibt."

45. Cf. Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, pp.134-135 (Quest for Holiness, pp. 105-106) who offers a very helpful approach especially to the Bride/Bridegroom of the soul problematic, perhaps even a corrective to the views of Berger and Röbbelen cited below. See also Kurt Berger, Barock und Aufklärung im Geistlichen Lied, (Marburg: Verlag Hermann Rathmann, 1951), pp.135-7 sees the approach to Christ in such familial terms as presumptuous, and the first step towards apotheosis. "In der Gottheit erkennt und findet die Seele sich selbst, und die Gottheit erscheint im Bilde einer verklärten, einer idealisierten, einer reinen Menschlichkeit: der liebende Gott und Menschensohn, der gute Hirte. Mit ihm geht die Seele um, wie er selbst sie einnimmt und sich in ihr seine Stätte bereitet. . . . Der Eingang Gottes in die Seele entspricht die Einkehr der Seele in die Gottheit. Der Mittler wird nun wahrhaft 'empfangen' im innersten Gemüt, im Herzen, und immer steht dem frommen Sänger die Person Christi mit ihren menschlich-göttlichen Zügen, als Gestalt sichtbar for Augen, ohne alles Problematische, Dämonische, Erschreckende wie die unnahbare Gottheit des alten Bundes und der Psalmen." Ingeborg Röbbelen, Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen

Gerhardt's Andachtslieder are not written as means to find Christ in the soul, in emotions or even within the Andacht itself. The nomina Christi which he uses are employed for the proclamation and reassertion of the certainty and confidence which the Christian can have because Christ has been born pro me. The Christ whom Gerhardt sings about therefore remains extra nos. He is always there as man's Gegenüber:

Nun bist du hier, da liegest du,  
Hälst in dem Krippelein deine Ruh; 3.6

Du siehst ja  
Vor Augen da  
Dein Fleisch und But die Luft und Wolken lenken. 4.9

Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier  
O Jesulein, mein Leben; 6.1<sup>46</sup>

Schaut hin, dort liegt im finstern Stall,  
Des Herrschaft gehet überall! 7.8

The Jesus whom Gerhardt proclaims is to be found in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger, not within man's

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evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts, (Göttingen: Vandhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), pp. 242-251 follows Berger in his assessment and elaborates on the distinction between the Christusfrömmigkeit of the Reformation and the Jesusfrömmigkeit of the 17th century. Cf. the discussion of the unio mystica of Werner Elert, Morphologie des Luthertums, 2 vols., (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), 1:135-154. See also the English translation of the above section in Werner Elert, The Structure of Lutheranism, trans. Walter A. Hansen, (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), pp.154-176.

46. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 460,20-24:

"Merck auff mein hertz und sich dort hin,  
Was ligt doch inn dem krippelin,  
Wes ist das schöne kindelin?  
Es ist das liebe Jhesulin."

soul. He is seen there by faith, not by deep contemplation and Andacht.

Yet this Jesus is not only there; he is there pro me.

Nun er liegt in seiner Krippen,  
Ruft zu sich  
Mich und dich, 5.6

Da ich noch nicht geboren war,  
Da bist du mir geboren  
Und hast mich dir zueigen gar,  
Eh ich dich kannt, erkoren. 6.3

Jesus, who has been born, is born pro me and thereby brings with his birth the certainty of God's love and grace. It is not the knowledge, adoration, or devotion of the mystic Schwärmer which brings this certainty. The child in the manger is there pro me before man's knowledge and without man's choosing. The whole lot of salvation rests with this child, who has chosen me for himself.

As Luther, Gerhardt knew of no other God aside from Jesus Christ, specifically the Christ in the manger and upon the cross and upon the altar.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Luther set the precedent for Gerhardt with his confession of Christ which rejoiced in the incarnationality of the babe in the manger,

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47. "Sey du mit der Majestate unverborren, sed bleib herunden et audi: 'Vobis salvator' num venit in equis? Non, sed in praesepio. . . . Ratio et volum vult ascendere et quaerere supra, sed si vis gaudium habere hunc inclinate. Ibi invenies eum puerum tibi datum, qui est creator tuus et iacet ante te in praesepio. Et dicit cor: mebo cum illo puero, wie es seuget, gebadet wird, stirbt. . . quod non gaudium sit nisis in isto pello, quo ablato statim adest majestas quae terret. . . . Ich weiß von kein Gott nicht, nisi de illo qui in cunis." WA 23, 732,23-34.

a confession which would make the spiritualizing theologians of glory, including the humanists and philosophically educated sophists cringe. He could write to his wife just days before his death (February 7, 1546):

Las mich zu frieden mit deiner Sorge, Ich hab einen  
besseren sorger, den du und alle Engel sind, der ligt  
ynn der krippen und henget and einer Jungfrawen Zitzen,  
aber sitzet gleich wol Zur rechten hand Gottes des  
allmechtigen Vaters. Darumb sey zu frieden, Amen.<sup>48</sup>

In consonance with Luther, Gerhardt rejoices in the locatedness of this same Christ is found in the manger and in the arms of the virgin:<sup>49</sup>

Du kehrst in fremder Hausung ein,  
Und sind doch alle Himmel dein;  
Trinkst Milch aus deiner Mutter Brust  
Und bist doch selbst der Engel Lust. 3.7

For Gerhardt the locatedness of Christ pro me is here in his humanity. It is Christ in the flesh who alone makes God there for us, where his mercy and grace are revealed, and the gifts of salvation are given:<sup>50</sup>

Dein blöder Sinn  
Geht oft dahin,  
Ruft Ach und Weh, läßt allen Trost verschwinden.  
Komm her und richt  
Dein Angesicht  
Zum Kripplein Christi, da, da wirst du's finden. 4.10

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48. WA XI, 286,8-12.

49. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 432,19-22:

"Er lag ym hew mit armut gros,  
die Krippen hart yhn nicht verdros,  
Es ward eyn kleyne milch seyn speis,  
der nie keyn voglin hungern lies."

50. Cf. BKS, (Großer Katechismus) 660,18-47. Tappert, p. 419, 63-66. See also pages 105-6 above.

It therefore has to be disputed that Gerhardt's depiction of Christ as the one who can be kissed and held is a "gefährliche Verschiebung der Christusanschauung."<sup>51</sup> This all depends upon which Christusanschauung one is speaking of.

Gerhardt's Christusanschauung does not belittle the wonder of the incarnation or the divinity of Christ. Gerhardt clearly confesses the unfathomableness of the incarnation before which he stands.

Ach daß mein Sinn ein Abgrund wär,  
und meine Seel' ein weites Meer,  
daß ich dich möchte fassen. 6.5<sup>52</sup>

Yet with these words he is not so much addressing the majesty of God, but the fact that God's coming the whole distance all the way to us in Jesus Christ remains extra nos. This cannot be contained or grasped within the mind, which is the way of the Law which thinks of something we must do or calculates the distance we must cover. Such reason cannot comprehend what has taken place. But faith can receive it. When Gerhardt therefore speaks of his heart as the receptacle of Christ and all his gifts, he is nothing but given to, which is the way of faith:

So laß mich doch dein Kripplein sein,

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51. Röbbelen, 416.

52. Cf. Luther, WA 35, 461,1-4:

"Und wer die welt viel mal so weit,  
Von eddelstein und gold bereit,  
So wer sie doch dir viel zu klein  
zu sein ein enges wigelein."

Komm, komm und lege bei mir ein,  
Dich und all deine Freuden. 6.14<sup>53</sup>

It has been shown that a clearly orthodox christological confession accompanies and informs the basis for all of Gerhardt's thought within his hymnody. Yet in the context of his explicit pastoral purpose in these Andachtslieder, the emphasis lies upon the Christ in the manger who has come pro me. Gerhardt therefore knows himself called

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53. Cf. pages 79-81 above where the element of joy, and pp. 98-9 where the relation of the heart to faith is discussed. See also Luther, WA 35, 461,13-16:

"Ach mein hertzliebste Jhesulin  
Mach dir ein rein sanfft bettelin,  
zu rügen jnn meins hertzen schrein,  
Das ich nimmer vergesse dein."

The distinct extra nos character of Gerhardt's hymn about the Christ who gives himself and all of his joys stands in marked contrast to hymns which later appeared in Pietist hymnals such as that of Freylinghausen: Geistreiches Gesangbuch. Den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich haltend, In gegenwärtiger bequemer Ordnung und Form, Nach denen unter diesem Namen altherischn edirten Gesang-Büchern eingerichtet, Herausgegeben, von Joh. Anastasio Freylinghausen, 14th ed. (Halle: In Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1766). See for example the hymn "O Liebe, die den himmel hat zerissen," where in verse 5 the writer relates the in nobis experience of the birth of Christ:

"Die weisheit spielt nun wieder auf der erden,  
dadurch das paradis im menschen grünt:  
nun können wir aus GOTT geboren werden,  
weil die geburt des HErrn dazu dient;  
die wohlgebohrne seele spürtt,

daß sie ein ander geist aus ihrem ursprung rührt."

It is notable that Christ appears as the personification of wisdom, not in the flesh (though verse 3 does state that ". . . das leben selbst ist mensch geborn," which nevertheless falls far short of Luther's as well as Gerhardt's incarnational, flesh and blood Christmas hymnody). Nor is Christ's birth the gift in which Gerhardt rejoices, but the fulfillment of a condition which enables God to do his work in nobis. The clear difference between Gerhardt's hymnody which confesses Christ and thereby proclaims the Gospel and what is indeed anthropocentric is plainly distinguishable.



into the presence of the one who has become man, and there bends down to the one who is yet lower than the poet himself (5.7). He knows this boy as the creator of the universe and yet can approach him with joy, not fear, because God wants to be found, held and embraced nowhere else than in this child. Not in the soul, not in the spirit, but in the flesh and blood of this little child is Christ to be found, and with Christ, all the gifts which are promised in the incarnation.

Die ihr arm seid und elende,  
 Kommt herbei  
 Füllet frei  
 Eures Glaubens Hände!  
 Hier sind alle guten Gaben  
 Und das Gold  
 Da ihr sollt  
 Euer Herz mit laben. 5.11

Meine Schuld kann mich nicht drücken,  
 Denn du hast  
 Meine last  
 All auf deinem Rücken.  
 Kein Fleck ist an mir zu finden,  
 Ich bin gar  
 Rein und klar  
 Aller meiner Sünden. 5.13

Gerhardt indeed brings the manger and the cross together when he presents Christ's becoming man not only in terms of taking on man's flesh and blood, but also man's sin.

Er nimmt auf sich, was auf Erden  
 Wir getan,  
 Gibt sich an,  
 Unser Lamm zu werden,  
 Unser Lamm, das für uns stirbet  
 Und bei Gott  
 Für den Tod  
 Gnad und Fried erwirbet. 5.6

The forgiveness which is proclaimed to Gerhardt by the birth of the Son of God evokes in him joy and thanksgiving.<sup>54</sup> He has seen Christ in weakness, already delivered into the hands of men. Nor can Gerhardt remain the passive observer as he sees his Creator in such helplessness. He is drawn to this friend of sinners who evokes the conversation found in the hymn "Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier." This hymn, too, is the confession of the communicatio idiomatum. As all of Gerhardt's hymnody, it does not seek to establish a grounds for certainty of salvation in his experience, but by receiving in faith what Christ proclaims there where he can alone be found.<sup>55</sup> For it is here at the manger that he can hear:

Wenn oft mein Herz im Leibe weint  
 Und keinen Trost kann finden,  
 Da ruft mir's zu: Ich bin dein Freund,  
 Ein Tilger deiner Sünden  
 Was trauerst du, mein Brüderlein?  
 Du sollst ja guter Dinge sein,  
 Ich zahle deine Schulden.<sup>6.7</sup><sup>56</sup>

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54. Cf. pages 79-82 above.

55. See page 30 above.

56. Sauer-Geppert, p. 62, notes a version of this verse which was reworked to meet the taste of people today and appeared in a Christmas Eve service in the ev. Kirche in Bonn-Oberkassel in 1969:

"Wann auch ein Herz vor Kummer weint  
 und keinen Trost kann finden,  
 sprichst du ihm zu: 'Ich bin dein Freund,  
 an den du dich kannst binden.  
 Was mühst du dich, o Bruder mein,  
 du brauchst ja nicht allein zu sein  
 mit dir und deinen Sorgen.'"`

No longer is Gerhardt's purpose in view, whereby the birth of Christ has established a new relationship between God

When these words are therefore sung, the viva vox evangelii is heard from Christ himself. He himself calls to me the words of friendship and forgiveness with his

. . . Mündlein, das den süßen Wein  
Auch Milch und Honigflüsse  
Weit übertrifft in seiner Kraft;  
Es ist voll Labsal, Stärk und Saft,  
Der Mark und Bein erquicket. 6.6

This is the mouth which proclaims forgiveness of sins and which he therefore longs to kiss.<sup>57</sup>

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and man by the forgiveness of sins. Instead, interpersonal relationships are of concern here, where the questions of loneliness and nihilism are addressed. The thought of Jesus as brother is to allay these feelings and give an emotional boost to people.

The subjective restatement of this verse, which furthermore has received a permanent change in the first line from "Leib" to "Kummer" (a word which is not necessarily spoken coram Deo), only points out how the confession of the extra nos birth of Christ for the forgiveness of sins as the only real and an objective source of consolation lies at the heart of Gerhardt's hymnody.

57. Röbbelen counts this verse among those which today are no longer "gebräuchlich." She concludes that in Gerhardt's hymns ". . . begegnete uns. . . ein einseitig-vermenschlichtes und sentimentales Christusbild. . . Statt der Bezeugung des Christus-Glaubens erschienen also das Bild einer Jesusfreundschaft des menschlichen Herzens und Gemütes oder gar die Anzeichen einer fremdartigen Jesusminne und Jesumystik. . . . Ebenso konnten sie nicht mehr die allein im Glauben zu überwindende Kluft zwischen dem sündlosen Gottessohn und dem der Sünde und dem Tode verfallenen Menschengeschlecht nachempfinden lassen." pp. 417-8.

Röbbelen's fear of a too human Christ forced her to censure Gerhardt's basis for Trost and Heisgewißheit. Where Gerhardt proclaims Christ in his flesh and blood as the bridge which spans the "Kluft" between the sinless God and sinful humanity, Röbbelen is forced to posit faith which does not trust in what God has given, but in its confession of the "und dennoch." Her understanding of faith is defined in terms of not being certain of "den gnädigen Gott" but consistently being aware of ". . . eine ständige Bedrohtheit und Angefochtenheit des Menschen. . . ." For Gerhardt

Vergönne mir, o Jesulein  
Daß ich dein Mündlein küsse, 6.6

It is the mouth of the one who proclaims the Gospel and who  
is the Gospel, who lying in the manger

Ruft zu sich  
Mich und dich,  
Spricht mit süßen Lippen:  
Lasset fahrn, o lieben Brüder,  
Was euch quält,  
Was euch fehlt;  
Ich bring alles wieder. 5.7

This cannot be simply written off as "Süßlichkeit und  
spielerisch-sinnliche Verniedlichung des Christusbildes,"<sup>58</sup>  
Gerhardt lets the heart which is terrified of God's majesty  
hear the words of absolution from the mouth of this child.

Gerhardt here proclaims the Gospel full blast. He  
proclaims Christ as true God, born of the Father in  
eternity, and true man, born of the Virgin Mary. Gerhardt  
himself cannot find this Christ either in glory or in the  
spirit, or indeed apart from this humanity. He instead  
declares him there pro nobis in the flesh and blood, lying

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Christ cannot be too human. He spans the gap to the point  
of touching man's lips. In his humanity he can be met. The  
faith of which Gerhardt speaks is therefore not one which  
stretches itself across the "Kluft" to meet Christ at arms  
length, but which receives him who gives himself for man's  
Trost in body and blood.

Röbbelen's objections to the use of Gerhardt's  
"offensive" terminology can therefore be considered only in  
terms of taste, not theology. Cf. Lothar Schmidt, "Kirchen-  
sprache der Gegenwart," Zeitschrift für Theologie und  
Kirche, 63 (1966):88-133 where the revision of antiquated  
usage of words in hymnals, such as the diminutive, is  
proposed along with theological consequences of various  
changes.

58. Röbbelen, 416.

in the manger, at the breast of the Virgin. Here the shepherds can find him (8). Yet here too, many others, such as Herod and his theological host are alienated (3.10). It is the birth of the Christ who gives himself pro me that Gerhardt celebrates with his Christmas hymnody.

Gerhardt has heard this child tell him that his is friend and brother, because he is "ein Tilger deiner Sünden." It is the acceptance of this gift of salvation that Gerhardt then presumes to bring his gifts to this child. His adherence to the confessions furthermore precludes a drifting into enthusiasm and mysticism. Being certain of his salvation, he does not require security in his piety, but employs it as a vehicle of thanksgiving. Yet with all the suggestions, he comes to understand that the only thing he actually can legitimately bring that is acceptable to God is his confession of sin, his need and his faith, which does nothing more than to continually return to that manger, to again and again receive the gifts which Christ wants to give to mankind.

It is Gerhardt's grasp of the Gospel which therefore distinguishes his hymnody from that of those who proclaim a heavenly Christ, whose humanity remains seated at the right hand of the Father, to which they are then forced to ascend on their own through an independent and anthropocentric love for Jesus and seek to attain certainty of salvation from their religious feelings and experience.

Gerhardt's hymns of Advent and Christmas actually confess the same christology, as the Christ who is confessed by the Gemeinde. This can be none other than the Jesus who gives himself to the believer as this child with all his gifts. Gerhardt's hymnody therefore does both: It confesses the objective reality of the event and brings it clearly before the eyes of those who believe. But it brings not only an event, but the pro nobis of the Gospel.

Gerhardt does not always speak as one would in the context of the worshiping congregation.<sup>59</sup> Yet this was also not his purpose. His focus is the Erbauung of the Gemeindeglied, who in his every-day life requires the consolation of the Gospel and the certainty of the forgiveness of sins and victory of sin, death, and devil which Christ has achieved and which he gives. He writes for the Christian in his Andacht, who seeks the praxis pietatis. And in fact he speaks as one who stands alone in the inner room before his saviour.<sup>60</sup> Certainly here a child of God may speak as

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59. Doubtless changes can be tolerated when congregational worship becomes the context of the use of these hymns, given that it is an accommodation of vocabulary, not theology. It is therefore admissible for the Evangelische Kirchengesangbuch (28) to change the diminutives "o Jesulein," 6.1 or "mein Bruderlein" 6.7 to "o Jesu" and "o Bruder mein," respectively. The already mentioned alteration of "Leibe" to "Kummer" (6.1) is clearly more dubious. See also page 119, note 57 above.

60. Cf. Köberle, Rechtfertigung und Heiligung, p. 204, who also sees Gerhardt within this context: ". . . wo aber der Glaube ist, da ist auch stets lebendiges Reden Gottes bei uns, da ist Freudigkeit des Zugangs wie Antrieb und Kraft zum Gebet. Keiner, der dem Wort glaubt, bleibt ohne die

". . . beloved children with their dear father."<sup>61</sup>

Hymns of the Passion of Christ

With the hymns of the incarnation Gerhardt gave expression primarily to his christological confession of the person of Christ. On the other hand, the person of Christ and the work of Christ are for him inseparable. Gerhardt therefore did not find it possible to speak of the manger without at the same time pointing to the cross. Christ's passion began with his birth in the flesh, as he had already delivered himself into the hands of men in weakness. The passion which is adumbrated in the Christmas hymnody now becomes the focus as Gerhardt presses toward Good Friday.

Gerhardt composed fourteen hymns concerning the passion of Christ.<sup>62</sup> Of these fourteen compositions, only

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Gegenwart dessen, ,der lehret, wie man recht beten soll` (Paul Gerhardt)." Cf. Köberle, Quest for Holiness, p. 172.

61. Cf. BKS (Kleiner Katechismus) p. 512, 20-24. Tappert, p.346,2. See also Romans 8:14-16.

62. The fourteen passion hymns of Gerhardt listed below are also cited by number according to Cranach-Sichart and Fischer/Tümpel on page 168 below:

Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld

O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben  
 O Mensch, beweine deine Sünd  
 Siehe, mein getreuer Knecht  
 Hör an, mein Herz, die sieben Wort  
 Als Gottes Lamm und Leue  
 Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet  
 Begrüßet seist du, meine Kron  
 Sei wohl begrüßet, guter Hirt  
 Ich grüße dich, du frömmster Mann  
 Begrüßet seist du, Gott mein Heil

two are composed relatively independently of a Vorlage of earlier hymns or a Biblical text.<sup>63</sup> Of these two independent compositions, "Hör an, mein Herz, die sieben Wort," is itself a poetic reformulation of the seven words of Christ,<sup>64</sup> and "Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt" a deductive exposition of the theme stated in John 3:16. The hymns based on the Salve hymns of Arnulf of Louvain (1200-1250) are doubtless the most devotional and intimate of his Passion hymnody, and indeed borrow extensively from the illustrations and metaphors of the mystic tradition to which they belonged. On the other hand, even with this mystic Vorlage in hand Gerhardt does not permit the believer to be absorbed by the suffering of the Crucified, to facilitate an inward and upward movement through devotion. In contrast to mysticism, Gerhardt does not

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O Herz des Königs aller Welt  
 O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden  
 Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt

63. A number of monographs and journal articles deal with the question of Gerhardt's sources for these Passion hymns: Among the general works: Hermann Petrich, Paul Gerhardt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes, (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1914), pp. 193-240. More specifically Waltraut-Ingeborg Sauer Geppert, "Eine Vorlage zu Paul Gerhardts 'O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben,'" Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, 15 (1970):153-159; Lisbet Juul Nicolaisen, "Welche Vorlage hat Paul Gerhardt für sein Lied 'O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben' benutzt?" Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, 17 (1972):235-239; Waltraut-Ingeborg Sauer Geppert, "Zur Quellenfrage von Paul Gerhardts 'O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben,' eine Entgegnung an Lisbet Juul Nicolaisen," Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, 17 (1972):239-241.

64. Krause, p. 287.



bewail the wounds of Christ, but instead rejoices that in these wounds and the blood which flowed from them comes healing and salvation through the forgiveness of sins. The words of the Gospel and the confessions have too strong a hold on Gerhardt and preclude the inward journey of mysticism. Even the Passion Salve of Gerhardt has to be seen in the context of the remainder of his Passion compositions and his theological and confessional presuppositions. This alone can provide an accurate and factual understanding of Christ, whom Gerhardt proclaims as having suffered and died pro nobis.

The Passion hymns of Gerhardt rivet the eyes of the believer on Christ in his suffering and death. Their content naturally reflects the work of Christ in his suffering and death. But Gerhardt's Passion hymnody is not merely descriptive, or even evocative. He presents the sufferings of Christ in terms of its "Nutz,"<sup>65</sup> which he proclaims largely in terms of the proprium which it delivers to the believer, and the response which this elicits in the one who receives. Gerhardt therefore stands

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65. Again Gerhardt follows Luther, who wrote in his "Sommerpostille" of 1526: "Also ist es auch nicht gnug das wir wissen, wie und wenn der Herre Christus aufferstande ist, sondern muß auch predigen und wissen den nutz und gebrauch, bayde des leidens und der auffersteung, nemlich was er uns darmitt erworben hatt. Dann wann die historien allaine da ist, so ists eine unnutze predige, die der Teuffel und die Gotloßen so wol wissen, leßen und versteen als eben wir andern, Denn aber wann man predigt, wartzu es dienett, so ists ein nützliche, hailsame, tröstliche predig." WA 10 I/2, 214,9-16.

beneath the crucified who by his passion and death elicits the confession of sin. At the same time he is able to rejoice in the gifts which Christ achieved and bestows. This focus upon the crucified Savior therefore reveals to the believer both, the knowledge of the enormity of sin and the unfathomable love which has delivered Christ to death upon the cross for the forgiveness of sin and man's salvation.

The love of God the Father and the Son is the motivation for the willing suffering and death of Christ:

O Wunderlieb, o Liebesmacht  
 Du kannst, was nie kein Mensch gedacht,  
 Gott seinem Sohn abzwängen. 12.3<sup>66</sup>

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66. The text at hand has a variant, which warrants a review of the text-critical considerations of August Ebeling, "Gerhardiana," Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 12 (1907):307-311. In dispute is the 1647 reading of the dative "seinem" over the 1653 accusative "seinen." That God would give his Son, the reading of the accusative, is understandable. The more difficult reading is doubtless the reading of the dative, which states that ". . . die Liebe Gott dem Sohn abzwängt." In other words, the love of God forces the Father from the Son. In light of John 3:16 the reading is most difficult and doubtless motivated the alteration. The subject of the hymn is not the incarnation, however, but Christ's way to Calvary. The Biblical Vorlage for the words

"O Wunderlieb, o Liebesmacht,  
 Du kannst, was nie kein Mensch gedacht,  
 Gott seinem Sohn abzwängen"

therefore is not John 3:16 but the synoptic account of Christ's passion, specifically the account of Matthew, who in 27:46 brings the cry of dereliction: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me." Gerhardt clearly had this text and its implications in mind when he wrote this hymn. "So machtvoll ist die göttliche Liebe zu den Menschen, daß sie den Vater selbst dem Sohne abwendig macht, ihn um der Menschen willen in seiner schwersten Pein zu verlassen. Dieser Gedanke findet nur dann seinen entsprechenden Ausdruck, wenn man mit den ältesten Quellen den Dativ

Mein Sterben nimmst du abe,  
 Vergräbst es in dem Grabe,  
 O unerhörtes Liebesfeur! 13.8

Er nahm auf sich all unser Schuld  
 Und ließ aus treuer Lieb und Huld  
 sich unserthalben quälen. 14.28

Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt--  
 Das merke, wer es höret--  
 Die Welt, die Gott so hoch betrübt,  
 Hat Gott so hoch geehret,  
 Daß er den eingebornen Sohn,  
 Den eingen Schatz, die einge Kron  
 Das einge Herz und Leben  
 Mit Willen hingegeben. 25.1

It has been outlined above that Gerhardt had perceived that the child lying in the manger and in the arms of the Virgin in weakness and helplessness was God, the creator and redeemer. Here this same one who willingly let himself be delivered into the hands of men as a little child now hangs in total helplessness upon the beams of the cross, though all the fullness of the Godhead dwells within him.<sup>67</sup> Christ whom Gerhardt confesses is God, yet God utterly in the flesh and unequivocally extra nos.

In dir wohnt alle Gottesfüll,  
 Hast alles, was ich wünsch und will,  
 Du bist das rechte Gotteshaus, 22.5

Gerhardt therefore stands in awe not only at the manger,

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'seinem Sohn' liest." p. 310.

67. John 1:14; 2:21. Cf. Luther who in the Kirchenpostille of 1522 wrote of Christ: "Darumb sollen wyr die wortt Luce auff's aller eynfeltigst vorstehen von der menscheytt Christi, wilche ist gewesen eyn handgetzeug und hawß der gottheytt, . . . ." WA 10 I, 447,11-14.

but also at the foot of the cross as he beholds the face of the Crucified:

Du edles Angesichte,  
Davor sonst schrickt und scheut  
Das große Weltgewichte. 24.2

The eternal God has veiled himself in such weakness. Yet the eyes of faith can clearly see that this is the Son of God who has come to bear man's sin and give him peace:

Gegrüßet seist du, Gott mein Heil,  
Mein Auge, Lieb und schönstes Teil,  
Gegrüßet seist du, werthe Brust,  
Du Gottessohn, du Menschenlust  
Du Träger aller Bürd und Last,  
Du aller Müden Ruh und Rast. 22.1

Again Gerhardt confesses the communicatio idiomatum. Christ upon the cross is indeed the infinite majesty.

O ungeschränkte Majestät,  
Wie kommts, daß dirs so kläglich geht? 19.2

But it is God in the flesh who dies upon the cross as man for all mankind because he yearns to forgive:<sup>68</sup>

Ich grüße dich, du frömmster Mann,  
Der herzlich gern vergibet. 21.1

This desire to forgive is at the heart of the dialogue which Gerhardt presents to reveal God's gift of salvation:

"Geh hin, mein Kind, und nimm dich an  
Der Kinder, die ich ausgetan  
Zur Straf und Zornesruten;  
Die Straf ist schwer, der Zorn ist groß;  
Du kannst und sollst sie machen los  
Durch Sterben und durch Blüten." 12.2

"Ja, Vater, ja von Herzensgrund,  
Leg auf, ich will dirs tragen.  
Mein Wollen hängt an deinem Mund;

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68. Cf. page 105, note 36 above. (BKS 1045, 84. 1023, 20.)

Mein Wirken ist dein Sagen." 12.3<sup>69</sup>

When Gerhardt's proclamation of Christ who comes out of love into the flesh and is found in the manger is compared to his portrayal of Christ who in the flesh gives himself in love to die upon the cross, a shift in accent with respect to Gerhardt's christological perception comes to light. The Christmas hymns reveal Christ who is our flesh and blood, our friend and brother, with the emphasis upon his utter earthliness, sharing in all of man's

69. Ernst Barnikol, "Paul Gerhardt," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, VII/2 (1957):444 recognizes that Gerhardt here parallels Luther's ". . . persönlichsten Bekenntnislied, wie Christus zu ihm kam als Befreier von Welt und Teufel." He also notes that Luther remained within ". . . der Zucht des biblischen Wortes. . . ." "Paul GERHARDT dagegen geht in den z.T. dichterisch ergreifenden Parallellied darüber leider hinaus und wagt es, mit der Phantasie des Dichters ein mystisches Zwiegespräch zwischen Vater und Sohn vor Weihnachten zu ersinnen, dem zuzustimmen sicher nicht heilsnotwendig ist." The reasons Barnikol presents to censure Gerhardt's hymns as mystic creations are inconclusive and not borne out by the evidence. On the one hand, 12.2 is no more than a paraphrase of Luther's fifth verse of "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," WA 35, 424, 18-24; AE 53, 220:

"Er [the Father] sprach zu seynem lieben son,  
 Die zeyt ist hie zurbarmen,  
 Far hyn meyns hertzen werde kron  
 Und sey das heyl dem armen,  
 Und hilff yhm aus der sunden not,  
 Erwurg fur yhn den bittern tod  
 Und las yhn mit dyr leben."

The response of the Son in Luther's hymn is related in terms of his obedience in deed, while Gerhardt relates this willingness to suffer and die in words (12.3). What then makes this dialogue mystic? And is what is expressed in these words of both Father and Son not indeed "Heilsnotwendig"?

lowliness as has been established above.<sup>70</sup> Although

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70. See page 105. Cf. N. Müller, "Schwierigkeiten mit Paul Gerhardt," Zeichen der Zeit, 30 (1976):161-170. Müller addresses a number of theological queries concerning Gerhardt's hymnody. Among the conclusions which he reaches is the terse statement already cited above: "Seine Dichtung ist inspiriert von der "Menschlichkeit Gottes" in all ihren Gestalten," for which he gives the following verse as an example:

"Heute geht aus seiner Kammer  
Gottes Held,  
Der die Welt  
Reißt aus allem Jammer.  
Gott wird Mensch, dir Mensch zugute;  
Gottes Kind,  
Das verbind't  
Sich mit unserm Blute." 5.2

Müller further supports his conclusion by citing Bonhoeffer's appraisal of Gerhardt's hymnody as presenting a carefully defined "Diesseitigkeit": "Nicht die platte und banale Diesseitigkeit der aufgeklärten, der Betriebsamen, der Bequemen oder der Lasciven, sondern die tiefe Diesseitigkeit, die volle Zucht ist, und der die Erkenntnis des Todes und der Auferstehung immer gegenwärtig ist, meine ich." Quoted on page 168 from Widerstand und Ergebung, 3rd. expanded ed., (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1972), p. 401. The "Diesseitigkeit" which Bonhoeffer finds in Gerhardt's hymnody is further defined by Müller as "Leiblichkeit": "Das Wort des Evangeliums meditativ auf unsere Diesseitigkeit zu beziehen (die ausdrücklich auch als Leiblichkeit verstanden wird), es in sie hineinzunehmen, sie dadurch ,tief` werden lassen, das wäre die Hilfe, die Paul Gerhardt uns anbietet." p. 169.

Yet it has to be queried if it is indeed "help" for a meditative appropriation and application that is given by Gerhardt. If that were the case, Gerhardt's hymnody could definitely be regarded as being mystic, in fact anthropocentric and to some degree synergistic. For man to take the "word of the Gospel" into "Leiblichkeit" is nothing short of making man the agent of incarnation through meditation. Gerhardt clearly does not offer his hymns for such an enterprise.

Gerhardt is instead consistently confessional and declarative. Rather than drawing the Gospel into "Leiblichkeit," he delivers to faith the reality that this has taken place in Christ. His hymns therefore do not help to give lowliness to Christ's incarnation, or the means by which the Gospel is applied to "Diesseitigkeit" or "Leiblichkeit" through an in nobis meditative exercise. This was indeed the work of God alone, as Luther points out in his already

Christ's humanity is certainly not lost in the Passion hymns either, he nevertheless does not die only the death of the common man. He dies the death of the sinless Lamb of God (12.1). Christ is here the totally other with respect to his sinlessness as compared to man's sinfulness.

Du bist ja nicht ein Sünder  
Wie wir und unsere Kinder,  
Von Übeltaten weißt du nicht. 13.3

Nein, fürwahr! Wahrhaftig nein!  
Er ist ohne Sünden. 15.7

Ich, ich und meine Sünden,  
Die sich wie Körnlein finden  
Des Sandes an dem Meer,  
Die haben dir erreget  
Das Elend, das dich schläget,  
Und das betrübte Materheer. 13.4

The Bruderschaftsgedanke notably fades into the background in the Passion hymns.<sup>71</sup> The intimate dialogues of Christmas cease. The Lamb who is silent before his shearers speaks no more than his seven words from the cross

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cited Kirchenpostille of 1522: "Wyr kunden Christum nicht Bo tieff ynn die natur und fleisch tziehen, es it unß noch tröstlicher." WA 10 I, 68,5-7. Within this sermon Luther rejoices and spares no words to show forth the extent of the lowliness into which Christ came in the flesh. Cf. the English translation and discerning summation of Luther at this juncture by Norman E. Nagel, "Martinus. 'Heresy, Doctor Luther, Heresy!' The Person and Work of Christ," Seven Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincenary, ed. Peter N. Brooks, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p.40.

71. Even though Gerhardt does speak of Jesus as "der große Freund" in "Ein Lämmlein geht," for example, it is nevertheless in the third person. Nor does he stay with the thought of friendship. "Er schlägt gleich um in die herben Vokablen 'Sünden-Feind,' 'Sühner.'" Louise Gnädiger, "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld. Eine Interpretation," Musik und Gottesdienst, 30 (1976):93.

(16). In his Passion hymnody Gerhardt consequently stands before a passive and virtually mute, suffering and dying Christ. And with him the Christian stands and is given to hear what Christ preaches in his silent suffering and death upon the cross. On the one hand it proclaims the mentioned enormity of man's sin and the totality of the wrath and judgement of God:

Wie heftig unsere Sünden  
Den frommen Gott entzündet,  
Wie Rach und Eifer gehn,  
Wie grausam seine Ruten,  
Wie zornig seine Fluten,  
Will ich aus diesem Leiden sehen. 13.12

On the other hand it also reflects the certainty of his forgiveness and love:

Ich wills vor Augen setzen,  
Mich stets daran ergötzen,  
Ich sei auch, wo ich sei;  
Es soll mir sein ein Spiegel  
Der Unschuld und ein Siegel  
Der Lieb und unverwälschten Treu. 13.11

Gerhardt therefore stands at the side of both John the Baptist (John 1:29) and Isaiah (53:4-7), who themselves in faith had beheld and proclaimed the Lamb of God, who bears the sin of the world.<sup>72</sup>

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72. Cf. Luther, WA 46, 683,25-31; AE 22, 169. ". . . Und spricht Gott: ich weis, das dir deine sünde gar zu schwer sind zutragen, derhalben sihe, ich wil sie auff mein lemlin legen von euch wegnemen. Dasselbige glaube du, denn so du es thust, so bist du frey von sünden. Es hat sonst die sünde nur zween örte, da sie ist, entweder sie ist bey dir das sie dir auff dem halse ligt, oder ligt auf Christo, dem lamb Gottes. so sie nu dir auff dem rücken ligt, so bist du verlorn, so sie aber auff Christo ruget, so bist du ledig und wirst selig. . . ."



Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld  
 Der Welt und ihrer Sünder;  
 Es geht und büßet in Geduld  
 Die Sünden aller Sünder. 12.1

Aber Gott, der fromm und treu,  
 Nimmt, was wir verdienen  
 Und legts seinem Sohne bei,  
 Der muß uns versöhnen. 15.9

At the same time Gerhardt does not speak only of mankind's guilt or the forgiveness of the world's sins alone. Clearly the crucified Savior does proclaim his death as pro nobis to a sinful world. But Gerhardt stands among the multitude who hears the pro nobis of Christ in terms of a clear pro me. However, it is a pro me which remains inaudible until the question of who is ultimately responsible for the passion and death of Christ has been answered:<sup>73</sup>

Wer hat dich so geschlagen,  
 Mein Heil, und dich mit Plagen  
 So übel zugericht't? 13.3

The answer is unequivocal: It is the individual with his own guilt who inflicts pain upon the Lamb of God. And not just any individual.

Ich, ich und meine Sünden,  
 Die sich wie Körnlein finden,  
 Des Sandes an dem Meer,

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73. Cf. Luther, WA 31 I, 381,15-22: "Verbum enim Dei est in duplici usu. Primo in manifesta apparentia, sic omnes impii habent verbum Dei: sed sunt tantum die schalen, den kern haben sie nicht, hoc est, locum gratiae, fructum passionis Christi u. Wie wol sie historiam an alle wende gmalet haben, fructum tamen passionis nemo novit, es bleibt immer mysterium. Ratio est, quod nolunt esse peccatores, Christus autem pro peccateribus esse passus. Hinc fit, quod multa de passione Christi dicant et non intelligunt. Cum dicimus: Christus pro te est passus, ergo tu es peccator, da wollen sie nicht hinan."

Die haben dir erreget  
Das Elend, das dich schläget 13.4

Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet,  
Ist alles meine Last,  
Ich habe es selbst verschuldet,  
Was du getragen hast! 24.4<sup>74</sup>

Gerhardt draws the entire community of believers, whether they sing these words or merely listen to this proclamation into the company of those who called for Christ to be nailed to the cross. Yet the realization that my sin did not only contribute to but actually caused Christ's suffering and death is coupled with horror of the total damning judgement of the Law which in the cross lays bare Hell itself. Confession and admission of guilt flow forth from the lips of him who suddenly comprehends: If not for him, I would be there. It is I!

Ich bins, ich sollte büßen,  
an Händen und an Füßen  
Gebunden, in der Hölle;  
die Geißeln und die Banden  
und was du ausgestanden,  
das hat verdienet meine Seel. 13.5

In his suffering and death Christ has taken my place, he suffers and dies in my stead, forgives me all my sins and is himself the redemption from the consequences of my sins.

Du setzest dich zum Bürgen,  
Ja lässest dich gar würgen  
Für mich und meine Schuld. 13.7

Du nimmst auf deinen Rücken,  
Die Lasten, die mich drücken 13.6  
Du springst ins Todes Rachen,

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74. Cf. BKS (Apologie II German text) p. 157, 27-32.  
Tappert, p.106, 50.

Mich frei und los zu machen  
von solchem Ungeheur. 13.8

This redemption was accomplished by the shedding of his blood in death, atoning for man's sins and by suffering the full wrath and punishment of God:

Die Straf ist schwer, der Zorn ist groß;  
Du kannst und sollst sie machen los  
Durch Sterben und durch Bluten. 12.2<sup>75</sup>

Daß ihn Gott so heftig schlägt,  
Tut er unsertwillen,  
Daß er solche Bürden trägt,  
Damit will er stillen,  
Gottes Zorn und großen Grimm,  
Daß wir Frieden haben  
Durch sein Leiden und in ihm  
Leib und Seele laben. 15.8

Nowhere does the thought of Leidensgemeinschaft in terms of the early Luther's theology of the cross and its conformity and humility surface in these hymns.<sup>76</sup> What does appear is a dying with Christ to sin (cf. Romans 6:1-11).

Ich will mich mit dir schlagen  
Ans Kreuz und dem absagen,

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75. Cf. the hymns "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott," 81.4:

"Hab ich was nicht recht getan,  
Ist mirs leid von Herzen;  
Dahingegen nehm ich an  
Christi Blut und Schmerzen.  
Denn das ist die Ranzion  
Meiner Missetaten.  
Bring ich dies vor Gottes Thron,  
Ist mir wohl geraten."

76. Cf. Luther, who in 1519 was still expounding Galatians according to the theology of the cross in the manner in which he had come to understand it through Augustine: "Hinc beatus Augustinus li. iij. tri.iiij. passionem Christi esse et sacramentum et exemplum docet: sacramentum, quod significet et credentibus donet mortem peccati in nobis, exemplum, quod et nos imitari eum oportet patiando moriendoque corporaliter." WA 2, 501,34-37; AE 27, 238.

Was meinem Fleisch gelüs't.  
 Was deine Augen hassen,  
 Das will ich fliehn und lassen,  
 So viel mir immer möglich ist. 13.15.

However, this dying is not in terms of experiencing his suffering and anguish, of God doing to me what he has done to him, but a death to the flesh and the world.

Zeuch all meinen Geist und Sinn  
 Nach dir und deiner Höhe!  
 Gib, daß mein Herz nur immerhin  
 Nach deinem Kreuze stehe,  
 Ja daß ich mich  
 Selbst williglich  
 Mit dir ans Kreuze binde!  
 Und mehr und mehr  
 Töt und zerstör  
 In mir des Fleisches Sünde. 20.4

In these verses Gerhardt is no more a mystic than the Apostle Paul (Galatians 2:19-20)<sup>77</sup> or Luther in his

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77. Cf. Krause, p. 298 who in his very helpful study of the Christuskreuz in relation to the Christenkreuz also indicates this relationship of being crucified with Christ in terms of Pauline baptismal terminology. Gerhardt again stands in contrast to later Pietist hymnody which found in the sufferings of Christ not so much the death of sin in the flesh, but an apotropaic defence against the onslaught of the devil, sin, and the world. For example, in the hymn,

"Jesu, deine tieffe wunden," found in Freylinghausen's

hymnal, the writer states:  
 "Jesu, deine tieffe wunden,  
 deine quaal und bitterer tod  
 geben mir zu allen stunden  
 trost in leibs und seelen-not;  
 fällt mir etwas arges ein,  
 denck ich bald an deine pein,  
 die erlaubt nicht meinem hertzen  
 mit der sünden-lust zu schertzen. . . .

Will die welt mein hertze führen  
 auf die breite wohllust-bahn,  
 da nichts ist, als jubiliren,  
 alsdenn schau ich emsig an  
 deiner marter centner-last,  
 die du ausgestanden hast,

explanation of Baptism.<sup>78</sup>

The christology of Gerhardt's passion hymns is therefore at its core an exposition of the article of redemption. In his Passion hymnody Gerhardt therefore reiterates, confesses and proclaims

. . . daß Jesus Christus . . . sei mein HERR, der mich  
verlornen und verdammten Menschen erlöset hat,  
erworben, gewonnen und von allen Sunden, vom Tode und  
von der Gewalt des Teufels nicht mit Gold oder Silber,  
sondern mit seinem heiligen, teuren Blut und mit seinem  
unschuldigen Leiden und Sterben, . . . .<sup>79</sup>

These few observations from the great range of Gerhardt's passion hymnody clearly indicate the confessional character of a man rooted in the Lutheran confessions. They further underscore that the mystic vocabulary he used merely gave

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so kann ich in andacht bleiben,  
alle böse lust vertreiben."

In this hymn Christ's suffering and death is no more than the deterrent which aids in sanctification. The atonement and forgiveness of sins for which Christ gave his life becomes secondary to the attempt to evade sin by contemplating the sufferings of Christ. The evasion and driving away of evil desire and temptation is furthermore undertaken by man himself, who is motivated by an ambivalent mixture of gratitude and guilt in the face of Christ's cross. Yet nowhere is there the expression of horror at the magnitude of the sin and the frightful judgement of God which is reflected in the passion of Christ.

Gerhardt, however, approaches the sufferings of Christ not in terms of what they do to me, but in what they give to me: The knowledge of the magnitude of my sins and that they have here been forgiven.

78. (Small Catechism 4.3) BKS, p. 516,30-517,7. Tappert, p. 349,12-14.

79. (Small Catechism 3.2) BKS, p. 511,23-33. Tappert, p.345,4.

him the ability to express the joy which the Gospel as revealed in the passion of Christ had given him.

Yet these initial observations are nevertheless critical and decisive because they underscore the essential distinction between Gerhardt's hymnody and the Jesusfrömmigkeit of the Jesuslieder of many of his contemporaries. Whereas Gerhardt has as his point of departure the extra nos elements of man's sin and God's work in Christ, which lead to Andacht, Erbauung, and the praxis pietatis, Jesusfrömmigkeit can be perceived as an anthropocentric exercise which ultimately seeks the union of Christ and man's soul as his bride.<sup>80</sup> His Passion hymnody therefore differs from a Jesusfrömmigkeit defined in terms of the

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80. Röbbelen traces the transition from Reformational "Christusfrömmigkeit" which has as its central article the justification of the sinner to the "Jesusfrömmigkeit" in which ". . . der ganze Rechtfertigungsartikel einer ausführlich dargelegten Jesusanschauung eingeordnet, bzw. untergeordnet werden konnte." p. 247. Röbbelen notes that within this Jesusfrömmigkeit ". . . ist aber nicht mehr eigentlich vom Rechtfertigungsglauben die Rede; vielmehr handelt es sich thematisch um die Beschreibung einer Jesusliebe, in der das liebende Ich des Menschen recht selbständig und eigenherrlich seine Liebe zu dem Seelenheiland proklamiert." p.249.

unio mystica.<sup>81</sup> The sustaining component of his Andachtslieder concerning the Passion is: Christ given pro me.<sup>82</sup>

The contemplation of Christ who gives himself is, however, the prominent element of his Passion hymnody.<sup>83</sup> Nor is this contemplation a foreign element within Gerhard's confessional Lutheran position.<sup>84</sup> It is intrinsi-

81. Cf. Werner Elert, Morphologie des Lutherthums, 2 vols., (Munich: C.H.Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), p. 142 who there relates a helpful history of the term unio mystica and the meaning and application of this idea. Cf. the English translation of the above work, Werner Elert, The Structure of Lutheranism, trans. Walter A. Hansen, (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), pp.162-3.

82. See page 86, note 2 above.

83. The contemplation of Christ was a recurrent subject within Luther's passion sermons as well. This contemplation revealed both, the extent of man's sin and the magnitude of God's wrath above the sinner. Cf. Luther, WA 29, 229,3-4: ". . . quando vides in cuce pendere Christum et habere vulnera, ut cogites: haec mea peccata sunt. . . ." See also WA 46, 286,9-11: "Ideo quando vides curcifixi figuram, et quod fudit sanguinam, inspice ut imaginem, das dich billich erschrecke, ut dicat cor: Awe, ist meine sunde et dei zorn so gros uber mich, ut terrearis a peccatis tun, quae eum trucken und würgen." Cf. F. Bente, Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Concordia Triglot, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 166, (190).

84. Elert, Morphologie des Lutherthums, p.295 (Structure of Lutheranism, p. 337) points out that despite individualizing tendencies of such contemplation which in part derived from Arndt and Johann Gerhard, this is not necessarily the case: ". . . denn wenn es auch von Predigern wie Scriver in subjektivistische Form gegossen wird, so kann doch dadurch der Charakter seiner Predigt als echter Gemeindepredigt nicht aufgehoben werden. Oder würde Paul Gerhardts Passionslieder, die offenkundig kontemplative Züge tragen, Luther nicht haben einstimmen können?" Luther himself devoted a number of Sermons to the Passion of Christ as well. In 1519, in a sermon not yet clear of the early theologia crucis, he could compare the contemplation of the sufferings of Christ with Baptism. "Dann dißes

cally connected to the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper.<sup>85</sup> A real continuity exists between the blood shed upon the cross and the blood given in the Lord's Supper, for the body and blood which is distributed here is the same body and blood which was given and shed upon the cross.<sup>86</sup>

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bedenken wandelt den menschen weßentlich und gar nah wie die tauffe widderumb new gepiret. Hie wircket das leyden Christi seyn rechtes natürlich edles werk, erwurget den alten Adam, vertreybet alle lust, freud und zavorsicht, die man haben mag von creaturen, gleych wie Christus von allen, auch von got vorlaßen war." WA 2, 139,14-18.

The question which is raised by comparing Gerhardt with Luther at this stage is whether or not Gerhardt held that the mere contemplation brought about the change of which Luther speaks. Luther speaks about an action which takes place in nobis by the contemplation of Christ. Gerhardt maintains the utter extra nos work of Christ which works the same change of which Luther speaks, but by way of the gift from the one upon the cross, not the contemplation of Christ's sufferings. Yet Gerhardt does follow Luther with respect to his comparison of the blood of Christ to the Lord's Supper, as will be discussed below. See page 120.

Elert further notes several of Luther's Passion sermons: WA 52, 226; 37, 322; 333, 338, 347, 352, all of which call upon the Christian to let himself be drawn into the sufferings of Christ. "Gewiß wird hier wie stets der Hörer ermahnt, die Beziehung 'pro me' herzustellen, also sich für den Glauben gewinnen zu lassen. Aber das kann die Tatsache nicht verdunkeln, daß Luther hier zu einer Betrachtung der Einzelzüge der passio magna auffordert und anleitet, die über die reine Tatsachenfeststellung etwa bei Paulus hinausführt." p.295.

85. Röbbelen contends that the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper ". . . einer mystischen Interpretation wenig in den Weg zu legen hatte." p. 262.

86. Cf. Berger, pp.139-143 who in these pages traces the mystic understanding of the holy blood. The question to be raised is whether Gerhardt too conforms to this mystic tradition, which Berger defines in sacramental terminology: "Die Seele versenkt sich mit ,Geist und Sinnen' in das



Accordingly the Passion and blood of Christ was not a matter of "Erleben," or "mystische Vereinigung" or "sinnliche Empfindung" for Gerhardt. His Salve Vorlage certainly had its model in Medieval mysticism, but his theology was clearly bound to the confessions. It is not the Vorlage which transformed Gerhardt's theology, but his theology which completely redefined the graphic expressions of the Passion Salve. Consequently Gerhardt's interpretation of

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Mysterium der Passion, sie nimmt das Furchtbare in seiner ganzen Furchtbarkeit in sich auf, und es verwandelt sich ihr zur Quelle des Heils und der Seligkeit, wie sich im Abendmahl Brot und Wein dem Gläubigen verwandeln, nicht anders." pp. 139-140.

A dubious parallel is established if this is indeed the right understanding of mystic contemplation of the Passion and specifically Christ's blood. Clearly this immersion in the "Mysterium" is an anthropocentric act where an in nobis source of salvation is created with such devotion. Can this actually be compared to the extra nos gift of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, or even provide an explanation of the manner in which Christ is present? Berger's definition would reduce the Lord's Supper to an act of remembrance which makes devotion, and not the verba Christi the basis of the presence of Christ's body and blood. Consequently Berger's explanation leads to an anthropocentric definition not only of the Lord's Supper, but also precludes his understanding Gerhardt's use of the term blood in his Salve hymns.

"Niemals ist das Erleben des Mysteriums der Erlösung so sinnbildlich und so einfältig wahr ausgesprochen worden wie in den Passionslieder des Johann Olearius und Paul Gerhardt. . . . Wir werden dabei immer wieder auf die nicht ernst genug zu nehmende Symbolik des heiligen Blutes hingewiesen: ein religiöses Symbol aber ist keine dichterische Allegorie. Es kommt auf das im Grunde unsagbare Erlebnis an, das auch in den Abendmahlslieder der Zeit--sie gehören aufs engste mit den Passionslieder zusammen als reine religiöse Erlebnislyrik--widerklingt. Die mystische Vereinigung mit der Gottheit bis zur sinnlichen Empfindung, wo wäre sie diesem Zeitalter fühlbarer als im Nacherleben der Passion Christi?" pp.140, 142. Cf. Röbbelen, pp.262-264.

the blood of Christ, and indeed the whole Passion of Christ was made in relation to the Lord's Supper. The blood of Christ is never only a mnemonic aid and symbol that leads to deeper devotion. It is a gift which gives forgiveness of sins and leads to the certainty of salvation.

Gerhardt clearly stands wrongly accused of having breached the dam which held back the flood water of mysticism with his Passion Salve and therefore contributed to the inundation of hymnals with hymns of the "Blut- und Wundenkult" of Herrnhuter Pietism in particular.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps it might be more accurate to say that a Gerhardt dissociated from his confessional roots contributed to such blood and wound devotion. All of Gerhardt's Passion hymns appear in Freylinghausen's "Geistreiches Gesangbuch. . . ."88 Yet Gerhardt's sole communion hymn,<sup>89</sup> which is a clear confessional statement of the Lord's Supper and in fact the key to the understanding of his employment of "blood" in the remainder of his Passion hymnody is noticeably absent. Its absence is equally conspicuous in discussions of Gerhardt's Passion hymns, specifically the Salve hymns. If the observation that Gerhardt's recomposition of the Salve hymns was made in light of his con-

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87. Röbbelen, p. 262.

88. At least this is the case in the 14th edition of Frylinghausens Gesangbuch of 1766 which was available for study.

89. See page 153 below.

fessional position on the Lord's Supper is correct, these hymns have to be evaluated not from the point of view of their Vorlage or the mystic thread which is drawn from Medieval mysticism through Gerhardt to Pietism, but his contention for the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper.<sup>90</sup>

Clearly the Christ upon the cross before whom Gerhardt stands therefore is not a docetic abstraction or a projection of his devotion, but the one who gives his body and blood to eat and to drink in the Lord's Supper.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, primary is the manducatio oralis.

Drauf stiftet er sein Fleisch und Blut  
Des Neuen Testamentes Gut,  
Zu trinken und zu essen. 14.3

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90. The historical role which Gerhardt played as a link between Orthodoxy and Pietism is of course another matter. But even this endeavor would have to be approached not in terms of how Gerhardt was understood, but how he was misunderstood and misinterpreted because of the disregard for his doctrinal presuppositions. Doubtless this would lead to fruitful new insights concerning Gerhardt's place within the "Theologie- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte" of the 17th and 18th centuries, which unfortunately cannot be pursued within the context of this study.

91. Luther too points to an implicit relationship between the commemoration of Christ's death and the Lord's Supper. "Und ist nu alle tage bey uns Christen Ostern, on das man des iars ein mal zum alten gedechtnis sonderliche ostern helt, welchs nicht unrecht, sondern fein und löblich ist, das man auch die zeit behelt, an welcher Christus ist gestorben und auferstanden, ob man gleich das gedechtnis seines leidens und auferstehens nicht an solche zeitgebunden helt, sondern alle tage thun mag, wie er spricht: 'So offft ihr solchs thut, so thuts zu meiem gedechtnis'." WA 31 I, 397,19-24; AE 13,355-6. Cf. WA 18,197,8-32 where Luther distinguishes between the "Gedächtnis" of the Schwärmer and the remembrance which Christ mandated.

Mein Mund streckt sich mit aller Kraft,  
 Damit er dich berühre  
 Und ich den teuren Lebenssaft  
 In Mark und Beinen spüre. 21.4<sup>92</sup>

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92. Gerhardt's "leiblichkeit" is doubtless a matter of offense to twentieth century ears. To stretch one's mouth to drink from the wounds of Christ even sounds somewhat Capernaitic. Yet implicit is Gerhardt's concern for the manducatio oralis, and his Passion hymnody understood in this way may be regarded as fending off spiritualization of what Christ gives. The proprium of Christ's suffering, of the blood which is shed ("den teuren Lebenssaft") has a bodily effect, affecting "Mark und Bein," that is, his entire being. This is a marked contrast to the later Passion hymnody of Pietism, which indeed has spiritualized both the contemplation of Christ and what he gives. Under the heading "Vom Leiden und Sterben JEsu Christi," Frey-linghausen's hymnal has the hymn "Du grüner zweig, du edler reis," in which the writer sings:

"Du grüner zweig, du edler reis,  
 du honigreiche blüthe,  
 du aufgethanes paradeis,  
 gewähr mir eine bitte:  
 laß meine seel ein bienelein  
 auf deinen rosen-wunden seyn.

Ich sehen mich nach ihrem saft,  
 ich suche sie mit schmerzten,  
 weil sie ertheilen stärk und kraft  
 den abegematt'ten hertzen:  
 Drum laß mich doch ein bienelein auf  
 auf deinen rosen-wunden seyn. . . .

Ach! Ach! wie süß'ist dieser thau,  
 wie lieblich meiner seele!  
 wie gut ist's, seyn auf solcher au  
 und solcher blumen-höhle!  
 laß mich doch stets ein bienelein  
 auf diesen rosen-wunden sein.

Nim mein gemüthe, geist und sinn,  
 leib, seel, und was ich habe;  
 nim alles gäntzlich von mir hin,  
 gib mir nur diese gabe,  
 daß ich mag stets ein bienelein,  
 HErr Christ, auf deinen wunden seyn."

Not only is the bodiliness of the believer, and indeed of Christ diminished in this hymn, but it ends on the note of man's bringing to Christ himself. Rather than seeing God's

The manifold descriptions and pictures which Gerhardt consequently employs especially in his Salve hymns may indeed have their roots in the mystic tradition,<sup>93</sup> but they have been emptied of their original inward and upward freight and informed with Christ and his proprium as their sole content, who by his suffering and the shedding of this blood gives the forgiveness of sins.<sup>94</sup>

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judgment over sin and receiving his gift of forgiveness, this poet seeks intimate communion with Christ "mit schmer-tzen." Nor is there a locatedness given for these wounds, or how what he desires might be accomplished.

Gerhardt's sobriety and clear proclamation of the forgiveness of sins which these wounds give, their locatedness and the salvation which is there distributed preclude any but the most superficial comparisons.

93. See pages 75-7 above.

94. Helmut Thielicke, The Evangelical Faith, translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977), p. 386 indicates that Gerhardt stopped short of the full implications of Christ's suffering for humanity: ". . . if we allow only that Christ bore vicariously the wrathful judgment of God, that a collective World judgment was focused on him, and that he bore the great burden of the world's weight (Paul Gerhardt), the very exclusiveness of this dogmatic standpoint opens the door again to Docetism. The physical pain of him who hung thirsty under a tropical sun, the associated torment of waiting, and the final disillusionment with humanity, become only a theatrical symbolism. In fact, however, the sufferings of the Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world find embodiment in these authentically human physical and mental pains. At this point too, we cannot go too deeply into the flesh."

The "authentically human physical and mental pains of which Thielicke speaks are those of "Job," "Socrates," and the "schizophrenic," the "suffering of the oppressed and the old and lonely. All these find their own suffering in what is suffered on Golgotha."

Perhaps Gerhardt does not relate the identification between Christ's sufferings and man's woes in such existential terms. He does in fact stop short of identification altogether. But he does not dissociate man's suffering from

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Christ's suffering either.

"Es dient zu meinen Freuden  
Und kommt mir herzlich wohl,  
Wenn ich in deinem Leiden,  
Mein Heil, mich finden soll." 24.7

Gerhardt does not only find his own pain reflected in Christ's suffering, but he finds all that he is as lap-sarian man and his salvation proclaimed by Christ's passion. In other words, it is not a partim understanding of the various ills of man which Gerhardt sees reflected in Christ's wounds. The whole of man born in sin with all its consequences is found in Christ's suffering, as is his complete salvation which then certainly has physical implications as well:

"Heile mich, o Heil der Seelen,  
Wo ich krank und traurig bin;  
Nimm die Schmerzen, die mich quälen,  
Und den ganzen Schaden hin,  
Den mir Adams fall gebracht  
Und ich selbstem mir gemacht.  
Wird, o Artzt mein Blut mich netzten,  
Wird sich all mein Jammer setzen." 18.3

Is this then really a reflection of ". . . a cold and uninvolved docetic dogmatism?" Such is Thielicke's judgment of orthodoxy which he contends led Lessing and Schleiermacher to attack the orthodoxy of their day since their humanity remained unaffected. The answer to the question which Thielicke raises concerning this alleged docetism which befell orthodoxy cannot be found in the orthodoxy of Gerhardt's time, since it was able to hold together confession and praxis pietatis. This is clearly attested in Paul Althaus's study of the Gebetsliteratur of the 17th and 18th century. Cf. Paul Althaus, Forschungen zur Evangelischen Gebetsliteratur, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), Reprint of Forschungen zur Evangelischen Gebetsliteratur, (Gütersloh: Verlag G.Mohn, 1927). The article in question is that of Paul Althaus the Elder "Übersicht über die weitere Gebetsliteratur bis ins 18. Jahrhundert" which supplemented his study "Zur Charakteristik der evangelischen Gebetsliteratur im Reformationsjahrhundert" of 1914. Even Joh. Gerhard is cited as being a major contributor to this devotional literature, which in no way conflicts with the tenets of orthodox Lutheran doctrine. "Sein eigentliches Gebetbuch (lateinisch und deutsch 1612) ist das 'Exercitium pietatis quotidianum' (Tägliche Übung der Gottseligkeit), das den gelehrten Professor wahrlich nicht erkennen läßt; es zeugt von einem im Gebet bewährten und reich begabten Seelorger, der in schlichter Sprache die Töne anzuschlagen weiß, die un-

Du edler Quell, aus welchem fleußt  
 Das Blut, das so viel Leute  
 Von ihren Sünden wäscht. 21.1<sup>95</sup>

Du zahlst mit beiden Händen dar  
 Die edlen roten Gulden  
 Und bringst die ganze Menschenschar  
 Dadurch aus allen Schulden  
 Ach laß von mir,  
 O Liebster, dir  
 Dies' Hände herzlich drücken,  
 Und mit dem Blut,  
 Das mir zugut  
 Vergossen, mich erquicken. 20.2<sup>96</sup>

mittelbar die Saiten jedes aufrichtig betenden Herzens in Schwingung setzen." p. 153.

This splendid appreciation of Joh. Gerhard as theologian and Seelsorger indubitably can find its counterpart in Paul Gerhardt as well. Not in spite of, but because of their confessional stand were they able to exercise Seelsorge, which was never docetic because the Lord who had given himself pro me with his body and blood.

It would doubtless be of great interest to investigate the causes and the point at which the enlightened theologians of the 18th century abandoned confessional orthodoxy in search of a true humanity, and how Gerhardt contributed or failed to contribute to such an exodus from theology to anthropology. That, however, would far exceed the scope of the present study.

95. Cf. the hymn "Ich danke dir demütiglich,"  
 "Er ist gekommen, hat sein Blut  
 Vergossen und in solcher Flut  
 All unser Sünd ersticket.  
 Wer ihn nur faßt,  
 Wird aller Last  
 Benommen und erquicket." 59.2

96. Cf. Luther had clearly emphasized this "dir zu gut" in his hymn "Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein."

"Vergiessen wird er myr meyn blut,  
 Dazu meyn leben rauben,  
 Das leyd ich alles dyr zu gut,  
 Das hallt mit festem glauben.  
 Den tod verschlingt das leben meyn,  
 Meyn unshlud tregt die sunde deyn,  
 Da bistu selig worden."

WA 35, 424,4-10. See also the hymns: 82.3; 125.4; 12.4; 18.2,3,5; 19.4; 28.1; 60.6; 129.3.

These pictures, and especially the blood terminology therefore speak of Christ bestowing his forgiveness with the giving and shedding of his body and blood, and are far from being ". . . unerhörter barocker Realistik und Drastik bis hin zu Schilderungen der anstößigsten Tändeleien mit den Wunden Christi. . . ."97 Rather than any toying with or fondling the wounds of Christ, Gerhardt finds here the Geborgenheit which only they can provide because they are drastic and real.

Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein  
 In deiner Seiten Höhle!  
 Hier laß mich still und sicher sein,  
 Hier wärme meine Seele  
 Wann mich der kalte Tod befällt,  
 Und wann der höllische Leue  
 Nach mir und meinem Geiste stellt,  
 So laß in deiner Treue  
 Mich dann fein ruhig bleiben. 21.5

Gerhardt therefore stands as John (John 19:34-36; 1.John 5:6) as witness of the water and the blood which poured forth as testimony,<sup>98</sup> indeed as testament and thereby the seal of certainty that "by his stripes we are healed."

Du werte Wunde, sei begrüßt,  
 Du weites Tor der Gnaden,  
 Daraus sich Blut und Wasser gießt  
 Und da all unserm Schade  
 Kann abgeholfen werden. 21.2

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97. Röbbelen, p. 262. Gerhardt's early influence in general is also overstated as pointed out by Blankenburg. See page 56, note 17 above.

98. Cf. BKS (FC/SD VIII) p. 1035, 59. Tappert, p. 602, (3) 59.



Ach er ist für fremde Sünd  
 In den Tod gegeben,  
 Auf daß du, o Menschenkind,  
 Durch ihn möchtest leben, 15.16

The blood which is shed is at the same time the gift and that which distributes to him the treasure of Christ. Gerhardt thereby does not receive a measurable or quantifiable treasure. All the "treasures" which have occupied his heart up to this point have to make way.

Weg mit dem Gold Arabia!  
 Weg mit Kalmus, Myrrhen, Kassia! 12.7

They are replaced by the one gift which Christ bestows to him. Gerhardt therefore rejoices when he sings:

Ich hab ein Bessers funden:  
 Mein großer Schatz, Herr Jesu Christ  
 Ist dieses, was geflossen ist  
 Aus deines Leibes Wunden. 12.7<sup>99</sup>

The continuity of the blood which is shed upon the cross and given in the Lord's Supper is subtly established in the opening line of verse eight:

Das soll und will ich mir zu nutz  
 Zu allen Zeiten machen; 12.8<sup>100</sup>

A plethora of pictures follow which rejoice in the blood of Christ and what it gives:

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99. Cf. CS 78.10:

"Ach Jesu, der du worden bist  
 Mein Heil mit deinem Blute, . . . ."

100. With the word "Nutz" Gerhardt immediately calls to mind Luther's question concerning the Sacrament of the Altar: Was nützet denn solch Essen und Trinken? (Small Catechism) BKS p. 520,22; Tappert, p. 352,5. Cf. Gnädiger, "Die ganze achte Strophe ist ein hymnischer Preis des immer gemeinten, aber noch nicht verbaliter bezeichneten Blutes Christi." p. 94.

Im Streite soll es sein mein Schutz,  
 In Traurigkeit mein Lachen,  
 In Fröhlichkeit mein Saitenspiel,  
 Und wenn mir nichts mehr schmecken will,  
 Soll mich dies Manna speisen.  
 Im Durst solls sein mein Wasserquell,  
 In Einsamkeit mein Sprachgesell  
 Zu Haus und auch auf Reisen. 12.8<sup>101</sup>

Was shadet mir des Todes Gift?  
 Dein Blut das ist mein Leben.  
 Wenn mich der Sonnen Hitze trifft,  
 So kann mirs Schatten geben.  
 Setzt mir der Wehmut Schmerzen zu,  
 So find ich bei dir meine Ruh  
 Als auf dem Bett ein Kranker.  
 Und wenn des Kreuzes Ungestüm  
 Mein Schifflein treibet um und um,  
 So bist du dann mein Anker. 12.9<sup>102</sup>

Another oblique signal that it is the Lord's Supper of which he is speaking may perhaps be found in the first two lines of the above verse, which echo the words of Ignatius

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101. Cf. verse 10 where Gerhardt describes the blood of Christ in terms of the righteousness as the wedding dress which is given for salvation. See also the discussion of joy on pages 79-81 above.

102. Gnädiger, p. 95 comes to the conclusion that Gerhardt here makes an extreme representation of the "Herz-, Blut- und Wundenkult." The hymn "Ein Lämmlein geht" ". . . erreicht mit seinem Herz-, Blut- und Wundenkult einen Extrempunkt in Gerhardts Dichten: weiter kann sich das Ich der Seele und das Gemüt im Leidens- gedächtnis im Gemeindegesang kaum mehr vorwagen." Gnädiger further characterizes this "I" as an "Anima-Figur" which can legitimatize this "Affektivität" within the context of Divine Service. The presuppositional understanding that Gerhardt had the Gemeindegesang as his focus on the one hand and a nebulous human "I" within it on the other is not borne out by the evidence. The "I" of Gerhardt's hymnody is the Glaubensmensch, who is a member of the body of Christ. Within that body all the gifts of Christ are distributed, including the body and blood of Christ of which Gerhardt speaks. It is not the "Ich der Seele und das Gemüt" which is thereby marching forward. Rather it is a devout faith which stands prepared to receive the gifts in its helplessness ". . . als auf dem Bett ein Kranker."

of Antioch, who in his Epistle to the Ephesians (20,4) referred to the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper as ". . . the medicine of immortality, and the antidote which prevents us from dying, but a cleansing remedy driving away evil, [which causes] that we should live in God through Christ."<sup>103</sup>

Gerhardt is unequivocally confessing the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper with these verses. Nor can he confess the Real Presence without confessing the manducatio oralis as well.

Furthermore, Gerhardt's hymns of the Passion, and

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103. The Ante-Nicene Fathers, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, vol.1, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmanns Publishing Company, 1967), p. 57. Cf. Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol.5, (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1894), p. 756, XX(4). Doubtless Gerhardt was well acquainted with this quotation from Ignatius. He was almost certainly familiar with Luther's "Hauspostille" of 1544, where Luther expounds upon this thought of Ignatius: "Denn das leyden Christi ist inn zweierlei weg ein gesund und köstliche Ertzney. Erstlich damit, das man an solchen leyden besser denn sonst inn aller straff lehren kan, wie ein greulich ding es umb die sünde ist. . . Zum andern ists auch ein Ertzney wider den todt. Denn wer da glaubt, das der Sone Gottes für seine sünd gestorben und mit dem todt dafür bezalet hab, der kan ein fridliches hertz auff Gottes güte fassen, und sich wider sünde und den ewigen tod trösten." WA 52, 231,34-36; 232,7-10. Cf. van Andel, p.178 who also argues for Gerhardt's consonance with Luther: "Trotzdem [des reichlichen Gebrauchs des mystischen Anschauungsmaterials] blieb er ein Dolmetscher der Heilspredigt, wie Luther sie damals formulierte." See also Luther's tract "That these Words," from 1527, where he emphasizes what the body and blood of Christ give: "Also wir, so wir Christus fleisch essen leiblich und geistlich, ist die speise so stark, das sie uns ynn sich wandelt und aus fleischlichen sundlichen sterblichen menschen geistliche heilige lebendige menschen macht, . . ." WA 23, 205,20-23; AE 37,101. Cf. (Large Catechism) BKS 721, 14-22; 44- 722,4.

specifically his communion hymn, present decisive evidence for his adherence to Luther's contention for the inseparableness of the manducatio oralis and the manducatio cordis.<sup>104</sup> If in his Passion hymns the emphasis seems to fall on the manducatio cordis, it cannot be more than a mere emphasis, nor can it be dissociated from the manducatio oralis which was of such paramount importance to his confession of Christ elsewhere, especially in his polemical writings. Gerhardt's hymnody confesses a profound incarnationality which precludes the interpretation of the reception of any of the gifts of Christ on some upper spiritual level of faith apart from the external means of the words and the water, bread and wine. It is indeed the mouth which therefore receives the gifts of the body and blood of Christ (21.4; 14.3), and with the body and the blood, the forgiveness of sins, eternal life, and salvation. Accordingly Gerhardt describes nothing other

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104. Cf. Luther who writes against the spiritualizations of the Schwärmer: ". . . Wir aber ja nicht Capernaiten sein, Denn wir beides behalten, leiblich und geistlich essen. Der mund isset den leib Christi leiblich, Denn er kan die wort nicht fassen noch essen und weis nicht was er isset, schmeckt yhm gleich, als esse er etwas anders denn Christi leib. Aber das hertz fasset die wort ym glauben und isset eben dasselbige geistlich, das der mund leiblich isset, Denn das hertz sieht wol, was der unverständige mund leiblich isset. Wo her sihet es aber? Nicht vom brod noch vom essen des mundes, sondern vom wort, das da stehet 'Esset, das ist mein leib.' Und ist doch einerly leib Christi, den beide mund und hertz isset. . . ." WA 23, 191,10-18; AE 37, 93. Cf. Hermann Sasse, This is my Body. Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977), p.274. See also Bente, p. 177, (201).

than the "Nutz" of the bodily eating and drinking when this "Manna" gives him sustenance and the blood is the "Wasserquell" which stills his thirst. This blood alone therefore provides the anchor in face of adversity. In light of this heartfelt conviction, it is hardly surprising that Gerhardt held so tenaciously to this doctrine during the struggles he was to face in Berlin which have been investigated above. In fact, Gerhardt's confessional christology comes supremely to the fore after his struggle in Berlin in the publication of his sole communion hymn "Herr Jesu, meine Liebe." This hymn exquisitely combines confession and Seelsorge. Nor is it outside of its context when it is dealt with here within his devotional Passion hymnody. As has been shown, the suffering and death of Christ are inextricably connected to the gift of his body and blood to eat and to drink. On the other hand even this communion hymn had personal devotion, preparation, and praise as its focus, inasmuch as it appeared first within Johann Georg Ebelings Pauli Gerhardti Geistreiche Andachten in 1667. As all of Gerhardt's hymnody, not the Divine Service of the Gemeinde, but the quiet of the Andacht was its Sitz im Leben. Yet another context may be considered for this hymn, "Herr Jesu, meine Liebe."

As mentioned above, the publication of Gerhardt's only communion hymn followed some years after the end of the colloquy and its subsequent turmoil which had left

Gerhardt without his office. These years had also been the whetstone against which he had sharpened his confessional response against his Reformed opponents. Regretably no documentary evidence exists for the impetus which led to the writing of most of Gerhardt's hymns. His personal life and afflictions never come to the fore. Yet it may not be merely speculation to assume that Gerhardt's communion hymn was written against the background of his struggle for the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper and specifically the manducatio oralis. Whereas his earlier Passion hymnody only intimated and virtually presented this doctrine as given, Gerhardt here seems compelled to clearly and even unpoetically spell out the confessional position of the Lutheran church. Here is the heart, indeed, the sine qua non of his christology.

Nevertheless, even the ardent confessor is not beyond doubt and temptation. He knows of the subtle thoughts which enter his own mind and the uncertainty which also plagues him. Yet he also knows whom to confess these temptations to:

Nun weißt du meine Plagen  
 Und Satans, meines Feindes, List.  
 Wenn meinen Geist zu nagen,  
 Er emsig und bemühet ist,  
 Da hat er tausend Künste,  
 Von dir mich abzuziehn:  
 Bald treibt er mir die Dünste  
 Des Zweifels in den Sinn,  
 Bald nimmt er mir dein Meinen  
 Und Wollen aus der Acht  
 Und lehrt mich ganz verneinen,  
 Was du doch fest gemacht. 34.2

Christ in the manger and Christ upon the cross were clearly before his eyes through the words of the Gospel. Yet it is Christ on the altar who delivers Gerhardt from all uncertainty and doubt as to whether Christ in the manger and on the cross has indeed been given pro me.

Herr Jesu, meine Liebe,  
 Ich hätte nimmer Ruh und Rast,  
 Wo nicht fest in mir bliebe  
 Was du für mich geleistet hast; 34.1

To avert all doubt and uncertainty Christ has instituted his table, where along with the words of forgiveness he gives his body and blood to be eaten and drunk, distributing pro me the forgiveness of sins.

Solch Unheil abzuweisen,  
 Hast du, Herr, deinen Tisch gesetzt,  
 Da lässest du mich speisen,  
 So daß sich Mark und Bein ergötzt.  
 Du reichst mir zu genießen  
 Dein teures Fleisch und Blut  
 Und lässest Worte fließen,  
 Da all mein Herz auf ruht.  
 Komm, sprichst du, komm und nahe  
 Dich ungescheut zu mir,  
 Was ich dir geb, empfahe  
 Und nimms getrost zu dir. 34.3<sup>105</sup>

Gerhardt's source of comfort and certainty is the manducatio oralis of the body and blood of Christ of which his words speak. And as though to preclude any misunderstanding as to what he means, Gerhardt reiterates

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105. Luther too is able to speak of the words of Institution and the body and blood given in the Lord's Supper interchangeably. See (Large Catechism) BKS, p. 711,38-712,5. It is most dubious and indeed not possible to play one off against the other.

this same thought all the more carefully on the basis of  
the words of institution:<sup>106</sup>

Hier ist beim Brot vorhanden  
Mein Leib, der dargeben wird  
Zum Tod--und Kreuzesbanden  
Für dich, dir sich von mir verirrt.  
Beim Wein ist, was geflossen  
Zu Tilgung deiner Schuld,  
Mein Blut, das ich vergossen  
In Sanftmut und Geduld.  
Nimms beides mit dem Munde  
Und denk auch mit darbei  
Wie fromm im Herzensgrunde  
Ich, dein Erlöser, sei. 34.<sup>107</sup>

The hymn might indeed be construed as anti-Calvinist polemics when Gerhardt affirms Christ's death and atonement for the whole world. But Gerhardt's burden is Seelsorge not polemics. The Lord's Supper is given for the strengthening of faith, and gives the certainty that Christ has done the lot.

So hast du auch befohlen,  
Daß, was den Glauben stärken kann,  
Ich bei dir solle holen,  
Und soll doch ja nicht zweifeln dran,  
Du habst für alle Sünden,  
Die in der ganzen Welt  
Bei Menschen je zu finden,  
Ein völlig Lösegeld  
Und Opfer, das bestehet  
Vor dem, der alles trägt,  
In dem auch alles gehet,  
Bezahlet und erlegt. 12.6

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106. Cf. Luther's struggle with Karlstadt for the locatedness of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and the locatedness of its distribution: WA 18, 203,27-204,9; AE 40, 213-214.

107. Cf. (Large Catechism) BKS p. 713, 11-24; 716, 16-20.



The hydra of doubt raises its head once more in the seventh verse. Yet doubt is met by the Savior himself. It is not the priest or the pastor who places the body and blood in my mouth but rather Christ himself who at the right hand of the Father Almighty stretches out his right hand to give for my consolation and light to eat and to drink that which achieved my salvation:

Und daß ja mein Gedanke,  
 Der voller Falschheit und Betrug,  
 Nicht im Geringsten wanke,  
 Als wär es dir nicht Ernst genug:  
 So neigst du dein Gemüte  
 Zusamt der rechten Hand  
 Und gibst mir große Güte  
 Mir das hochwerte Pfand  
 Zu essen und zu trinken.  
 Ist das nicht Trost und Licht  
 Dem, der sich läßt bedünken,  
 Du wollest seiner nicht? 34.7

In his communion hymn Gerhardt is no more the confessor than in the remainder of his hymnody. Yet he is clearly more explicit here, to the point of proclaiming rhymed dogma. The historical circumstances seem to have tempered Gerhardt in such a way, that a communion hymn, which clearly belongs to the realm of the Divine Service should be necessary for the Andacht of the home. From the first verse to the last it is proclamation of Christ's work of salvation pro nobis.

The matter of the bodily eating and drinking of the Lord's body and blood therefore was not simply a matter of dogmatic Rechthaberei. It was the very core of Gerhardt's faith and piety. Neither in his polemics, nor in his hymns

could it be a Nebenartikel. For it was the blood of Christ which was given for him that alone gave him Heilsgewißheit, since he knew that this blood gives him nothing less than the righteousness which lets him stand before God:

Wenn endlich ich soll treten ein  
 In deines Reiches Freuden,  
 So soll dies Blut mein Purpur sein,  
 Ich will mich darin kleiden;  
 Es soll sein meines Hauptes Kron,  
 In welcher ich will vor dem Thron  
 Des Höchsten Vaters gehen,  
 Und dir, dem er mich anvertraut,  
 Als eine wohlgeschmückte Braut  
 An deiner Seite stehen. 12.10

Gerhardt's focus upon the wounds of Christ is therefore not to be equated with a longing for a mystical unio either with Christ or his suffering. He remains beneath the cross, and even at the consummation standing as a bride at the side of her bridegroom.<sup>108</sup>

Nor can the certainty of salvation in which Gerhardt rejoices because of what is given to him with the body and blood of Christ be diminished by the criticism that he presents himself as "zu sicher" or even in the "selbst-gewisse Haltung des Menschen."<sup>109</sup> Gerhardt's concern in his hymnody is not "Sicherung," in the sense of

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108. Cf. Elert, Morphologie des Lutherthums, p. 150, who calls upon Luther when he states: "Bräutigam will Christus heißen, weil er nicht als Herr und Richter, auch nicht als Vater oder Mutter kommt, sondern mit höchster Liebe." WA 41, 553,1; 45, 178,35. See also Elert, The Structure of Lutheranism, p. 171.

109. Röbbelen, p. 417. Cf. Zeller, "Paul Gerhardt," p. 129 who criticises Röbbelen's contention on an historical basis.

a quest for assurance of salvation in one's own piety. Nowhere can Gerhardt's concern be shown as anthropocentric which the term "Sicherung" implies.<sup>110</sup> His focus remains unequivocally the gift of God in Christ,<sup>111</sup> the gift of forgiveness he brings and the response which it elicits in

110. Erich Vogelsang, "Lied und Verkündigung," Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 6 (1933):132 asserts that Gerhardt had succumbed to a clear inversion of the Gospel. His criticism is directed especially at "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," in which he finds Reformational theology, but also ". . . die völlige Verkehrung dessen 'wenn dein Haupt wird erblassen im letzten Todestoß, alsdann will ich (Mensch!) dich (Christum!) fassen in meinen Arm und Schoß! Mit welcher Gedankenlosigkeit singen wir über diese letzte ungeheuerliche Verkehrung des Evangeliums hinweg!" He goes on to bemoan those hymns which have entered the hymnal ". . . die allzusehr die Distanz zwischen Gott und Mensch vermissen lassen und zu einem höchst sublimierten erotischen Spiel werden!"

It is not to be disputed that Gerhardt does rejoice in the fact that in Christ there is no more distance between God and man. Nor can it be denied that he does sing of Christ who comes in the flesh and can be held and killed by this "I," by man. Yet is this indeed an "ungeheuerliche Verkehrung des Evangeliums," or quite the opposite, the confession of the Gospel that the incarnate Christ gives himself pro me? That Gerhardt can presume to want to hold Christ can be understood in terms of his writing from a post-Easter perspective. The disciples flee, for they do not know who dies there. Gerhardt knows he is the Son of God, who dies there for the forgiveness of his sins. And because Jesus took all God-forsakenness upon himself, he can be assured that he will not be forsaken in the hour of his death. Cf. Walter Blankenburg, "Paul Gerhardt 1676-1976," Musik und Kirche, 46 (1976):114.

111. Cf. the Pentacost hymn "Gott Vater, sende deinen Geist":

"Wir halten, Herr, an unserm Heil  
Und sind gewiß, daß wir dein Teil  
In Christo werden bleiben,  
Die wir durch seinen Tod und Blut  
Des Himmels Erb und höchstes Gut  
Zu haben treulich gläuben." 31.4

the praxis pietatis.<sup>112</sup> His Passion hymnody is clearly Heilsfeiernd not Heilsbeschaffend. The praxis pietatis of Gerhardt which comes to expression in his Andachtslieder is therefore neither "Naiv-vertrauliche Jesusfrömmigkeit" nor a "Jesusfreundschaft des menschlichen Herzens."<sup>113</sup> It is the fruit of his Lutheran theology and the consequence of his confessional christology which had given him the courage to confess with certainty:

Ich bins gewiß und sterbe drauf:  
 Nach meines Gottes Willen  
 Mein Kreuz und ganzer Lebenslauf  
 Wird sich noch fröhlich stillen  
 Hier hab ich Gott und Gottes Sohn,  
 Und dort bei Gottes Stuhl und Thron:  
 Da wird fürwahr mein Leben  
 In ewgen Freuden schweben. 25.17

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112. van Andel's criticism is equally spurious when he censures Gerhardt for being too certain of God: "Das Heil ist nicht länger ein Gnadengeschenk, das nun immer wieder mit Verwunderung empfängt, sondern eine Gabe, mit der man rechnet." van Andel, p. 181. The evidence of the Christmas as well as the Passion hymns speaks against van Andel. They are replete with the wonder and marvel of what God has given man in the birth, death and resurrection of Christ.

113. Röbbelen, p. 418.

## CONCLUSION

Paul Gerhardt is the confessor of Christ in both faith and life. His writings and hymns give clear evidence of how only a man rooted in the Confessions and especially the Scripture can give clear expression to the praxis pietatis which remains faithful to the Gospel. Yet the failure to understand the intrinsic continuity between the pro nobis of confession and the pro me of the praxis pietatis can lead to unfortunate misunderstandings of Gerhardt's hymnody. A careful analysis of Paul Gerhardt's polemical writings in light of the Confessions, as well as the influence of Luther and the Frömmigkeitsgeschichte of the seventeenth century, was therefore crucial for the evaluation of his confession of Christ in his hymnody.

Gerhardt's confessional theology was clearly characterized by Rechtgläubigkeit, not Rechthaberei. This Rechtgläubigkeit alone, which had its source in the Lutheran confessional writings, enabled Gerhardt to write his hymnody. In his hymns he found it possible to articulate the faith of the heart in consonance with the confession of his mouth. Though formally products of seventeenth century poetic convention and piety, his hymns stand in unequivocal theological continuity with his confessional heritage. In

Gerhardt's hymnody the essential continuity between a confession characterized by the proclamation of Christ pro nobis and the joy of knowing Christ pro me supremely comes to the fore.

Gerhardt's hymnody as confession and Andacht together make up the praxis pietatis which Gerhardt sought to articulate. The purpose of these hymns was therefore the edification of the individual Christian, not in his own isolated piety, but within the body of Christ. His hymnody is confession and devotion. It sings of the faith and of my faith. Gerhardt proclaims Christ given pro nobis and rejoices that he is given pro me, indeed, that he is there pro me in the arms of the Virgin, on the cross, and upon the altar. This locatedness of the incarnate Christ is utterly extra nos, and it is there that he is given, delivered and distributed to me. The Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper, specifically the manducatio oralis as inseparable from the manducatio cordis, indeed provides the key to the understanding of not only the "blood" terminology of Gerhardt's passion hymnody, but of his whole confession of Christ. The prominence of this article of faith during the Berlin colloquy is striking, as was Gerhardt's preparedness to forfeit his life for this confession. The Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ was indeed the sine qua non of Gerhardt's confession of Christ in his hymnody as well. In contrast to

spiritualizing mysticism, Gerhardt, as Luther, is not afraid to be too incarnational. In fact, Gerhardt knew, as did Luther, that the very reality of the incarnation would be destroyed by even the most subtle spiritualization, which he found in the doctrine of the Reformed. It is therefore most difficult to accept those theses which censure and criticize Gerhardt as having unknowingly succumbed to the blatant spiritualizations of mysticism and as having unwittingly plunged into the error of anthropocentricity. Rather than in spiritualizations, the hymns of Christ's birth and of his suffering and death clearly rejoice in the lowliness of God in the flesh, which proclaims that Christ is there, given pro nobis. And far from anthropocentric affirmation, his hymns bring into consonance confession and the response of faith which proclaims the certainty of Christ having been given pro me. This certainty in Gerhardt's hymnody is never the product of anthropocentric piety or spiritualized devotion, but the fruit of having been given the extra nos Christ in the manger, upon the cross, and upon the altar.

The attempts which have been made to put Gerhardt into the ranks of mysticism or at the very least among the precursors of anthropocentric Pietism, the subjectivity of the Enlightenment, and as pontifex between the Reformed and Lutherans are far from convincing in light of the historical documentary data. For Gerhardt does not stand at the

threshold of a new church era any more than Luther or the church fathers before him. He is a theologian who belongs to the same church as Thomas of Aquinas, Augustine, Tertullian, Bernhard of Clairvaux, Arnulf of Louvain, Luther, Johann Arnd, and Johann Gerhard. Doubtless Paul Gerhardt therefore has something to say to all Christianity, since through his hymns Gerhardt proclaims Christ, the Gospel, the forgiveness of sins, eternal life, salvation.

This proclamation is furthermore a confessional declaration. The Gospel can be clearly heard precisely because Gerhardt is confessional. And in this respect Gerhardt's hymns are truly catholic, because he confesses the faith of the una sancta. Gerhardt cannot be seen as the proponent of a Partikularkirche, either in his hymnody or in his polemical writings. Yet he is not the hymn writer of an "ecumenical" or union church which strives for trans-denominational, indeed, pan-religious unification by ignoring the real present Christ incarnate, who in body and blood is given pro nobis to eat and to drink by mouth and heart. Gerhardt indeed sings of the one Christ, proclaimed in the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church. His hymns teach what Luther taught, and are nothing other than what ecclesiae magno consensu apud nos docent. Because he confesses the one faith, he speaks to the one church.

Undoubtedly the ignoring or disregard of the confessional theology inherent within Gerhardt's hymnody,



specifically Gerhardt's confession of the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper along with the doctrine of the manducatio oralis has facilitated the acceptance of only selected hymns of Gerhardt in the hymnals of many denominations. The slighting and disdain of Gerhardt as a confessor of the church has led to an almost exclusive focus upon Gerhardt as a poet. Accordingly not the historical Gerhardt, but a censured and censored creation divested of his confessional Sitz im Leben has become acceptable in many circles. The consequent appraisals of Gerhardt which have arisen amid these attempts at accommodation have led, at the very least, to an inadequate and frequently a total misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Gerhardt and his hymnody.

The foregoing attempt has endeavored to approach Gerhardt and his hymnody systematically and has found a complete correspondence of his theology and hymnody. There is no contradiction between Gerhardt the confessor of Jesus Christ of the Scripture and the Confessions and Gerhardt who sings of Christ in his devotional hymns. On the contrary, Gerhardt's theologically precise confession of Christ at the Berlin colloquy is supremely reiterated in the language of the praxis pietatis in his hymnody. It was not possible for the people of Berlin to have Gerhardt as pastor without all of the Confessions to which he had committed himself. Nor is it possible to have Gerhardt the

hymn-writer apart from this same confession of Christ which manifestly informs all of his hymnody.

The Jesus Christ whom his hymns proclaim and embrace is therefore the Jesus Christ of the Confessions and of the life of the praxis pietatis. Gerhardt's christology accordingly brings together, without contradiction, the confession of the Biblical-Reformational faith as it comes to expression in the Divine Service and as it is lived in the Andacht and Erbauung of the praxis pietatis. Consequently there is in Gerhardt's confession of Christ the unity and continuity of the Gospel which gives with Christ the forgiveness of sins, eternal life and salvation to the whole world, and at the same time, to each believer. Or, more simply stated, Christ whom Gerhardt proclaims through his songs is both the incarnate Savior pro nobis and at the same time the Savior, friend and brother who is there in body and blood pro me.

APPENDIX A

HYMNS OF PAUL GERHARDT<sup>1</sup>

1. Wie soll ich dich empfangen	F/T 401
2. Warum willst du draußen stehen	F/T 402
3. Wir singen dir, Immanuel	F/T 403
4. O Jesu Christ, dein Kripplein ist mein Paradies	F/T 404
5. Fröhliche soll mein Herze springen	F/T 405
6. Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier	F/T 406
7. Schaut, schaut was ist für Wunder da	F/T 485
8. Kommt und laßt uns Christum ehren	F/T 486
9. Alle, die ihr Gott zu ehren	-----
10. Nun laßt uns gehn und treten	F/T 407
11. Warum machet solche Schmerzen	F/T 384
12. Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld	F/T 386
13. O Welt, sie hier dein Leben	F/T 387
14. O Mensch, beweine deine Sünd	F/T 385
15. Siehe, mein getreuer Knecht	F/T 409
16. Hör an, mein Herz, die sieben Wort	F/T 408
17. Als Gottes Lamm und Leue	F/T 410
18. Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet	F/T 459
19. Gegrüßet seist du, meine Kron	F/T 460
20. Sei wohl begrüßet, guter Hirt	F/T 461
21. Ich grüße dich, du frömmster Mann	F/T 462
22. Gegrüßet seist du, Gott mein Heil	F/T 465
23. O Herz des Königs aller Welt	F/T 466
24. O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	F/T 467
25. Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt	F/T 469
26. Auf auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden	F/T 388
27. Nun freut euch hier und überall	F/T 412
28. Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit	F/T 411
29. Zeuch ein zu deinen Toren	F/T 413
30. O du allersüß'ste Freude	F/T 389
31. Gott Vater, sende deinen Geist	F/T 414
32. Was alle Weisheit in der Welt	F/T 415
33. Du Volk, das du getauft bist	F/T 492
34. Herr Jesu, meine Liebe	F/T 493
37. Die güldne Sonne	F/T 478
38. Nun ruhen alle Wälder	F/T 381

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1. The hymns cited are those used in the text by number according to Cranach-Sichart and Fischer/Tümpel.

40. Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud	F/T 454
59. Ich danke dir demütiglich	F/T 434
60. O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht	F/T 436
65. Jesu, allerliebster Bruder	F/T 471
78. Ach treuer Gott, barmherzigs Herz	F/T 448
81. Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott	F/T 445
82. Ist Gott für mich, so trete	F/T 447
83. Warum sollt ich mich denn Grämen	F/T 426
84. Befiehl du deine Wege	F/T 435
125. Nun sei getrost und unbetrübt	F/T 473
129. Was trauerst du, mein Angesicht	F/T 477

## APPENDIX B

### NAMES OF CHRIST IN THE ADVENT AND CHRISTMAS HYMNS

mein Heil 1.3	Gottes Sohn 4.2
die Hilfe 1.6	höchstes Gut 4.3
Jesus 1.8	ewige Kraft 4.3
ein König 1.9	mein Freund 4.5
o Sonne 1.10	mein Fleisch und Blut 4.5
	der Held 4.5
Gesegneter des Herrn 2.1	Der Himmelsschatz 4.6
mein Stern 2.1	Der Freundquell 4.6
Jesu, meine Freud 2.1	Immanuel 4.6
Helfer in der rechten Zeit 2.1	Gottes Kind 4.7
o Heiland 2.1	Dein Fleisch und Blut 4.9
Herr Jesu Christ 2.6	Dein Bruder 4.11
o Freudenlicht 2.6	die Pfort 4.14
Christus, der sich dir gegeben 2.9	dieser Schatz 4.15
Christus 2.12	
	Christus 5.1
Immanuel 3.1	Gottes Held 5.2
Lebensfürst 3.1	Gottes Kind 5.2
Gnadenquell 3.1	seinen Sohn 5.3
Himmelsblum 3.1	Gottes Sohn 5.4
Morgenstern 3.1	Unser Lamm 5.6
Jungfraunsohn 3.1	den Stern 5.8
Herr aller Herrn 3.1	die Tür 5.9
lang gewünschter Gast 3.2	Süßes Heil 5.12
der Herr aus Zion 3.5	Meine Zier 5.12
die Hilfe 3.5	meines Lebens Leben 5.12
der Engel Lust 3.7	mein Ruhm 5.14
Bist Gott 3.8	edle Blum 5.14
Ursprung aller Freud 3.9	
aller Heiden Trost und Licht 3.9	O Jesulein 6.1
der süße Menschenfreund 3.10	mein Leben 6.1
lauter Heil 3.11	meine Sonne 6.4
O Jesulein 3.15	O Sonne 6.4
mein Haupt 3.19	o Jesulein 6.6
	dein Freund 6.7
O Jesu Christ 4.1	ein Tilger deiner Sünden 6.7
	der Meister 6.8
	ein so lieber Stern 6.10

dies Kindlein 6.10  
 meines Heilands lager 6.11  
 dies Kindelein 6.12  
 mein Heiland 6.14  
 der Schöpfer aller Ding 6.15  
 ein frommer Gast 6.15

Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit  
 7.4

Der helle Stern aus Jakobs  
 Stamm 7.4  
 Der Heiden Licht 7.4  
 des Weibes Sam 7.4  
 das Heil der Welt 7.5  
 Des Herrschaft geht überall  
 (der Herrscherr) 7.8  
 der Jungfrauen Kind 7.8  
 dies Kindelein 7.9  
 Das Wort 7.10  
 selbst Gott 7.10  
 der eingeborne Sohn 7.11  
 unser Gnadenthron 7.11  
 Das A und O 7.11  
 der große Gott 7.11  
 Der Siegesfürst 7.11  
 der Herr Zebaoth 7.11  
 der Sünden Büsser 7.14  
 Den Schlangentreter 7.14  
 des Leben Fürsten 7.14  
 dieses Kindlein 7.16  
 seinen Heiland 7.16  
 seinen Sohn 7.17

Christum 8.1  
 unser Heil 8.2  
 seinen Sohn 8.3  
 Jakobs Stern 8.5  
 o Jesulein 8.7  
 Schönstes Kindlein 8.8

ihres (Marias) Sohns 9.1  
 liebes Jesulein 9.1  
 großer Weltberater 9.2  
 Bräutigam 9.2  
 Sohn 9.2  
 selbst auch Vater 9.2  
 schönstes Kindelein 9.2

trautes Herzelein 9.2  
 mein Krönlein 9.3  
 Licht 9.3  
 Leben 9.3  
 du Ausbund aller Gaben 9.3  
 mein Ehr und Ruhm 9.3  
 o bestes aller Güter 9.4  
 o Perle der Gemüter 9.4  
 mein Trost 9.4  
 edler Herzensgast 9.4  
 werthe Lilienblum 9.4  
 o Kind 9.5  
 o Schatz 9.5  
 Seelen Weide 9.5  
 Herzen Freude 9.5  
 meines (Marias) Leibes Frucht  
 9.5  
 allersüß'stes Lieb 9.5  
 du Lust 9.6  
 du Paradies der Seelen 9.6  
 du wahres Himmelsbrot 9.6  
 Heiland aller Welt 9.6

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