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Martin Luther's Hymn Texts, With Special Reference to Their Use in Some Hymnals

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MARTIN LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR USE IN SOME HYMNALS

COMMONLY USED IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

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

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by

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June 1954

53691

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Reader

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE AND AIM OF THIS THESIS

When one approaches the hymn texts of Martin Luther, one meets
with a unique collection of hymns, few in number but as diverse as the
far more extensive collections of many a later hymn writer. However,
one also meets with the commentators upon those hymns, also relatively
few in number but quite as diverse as the hymns which they discuss. It
is not within the scope of this thesis to add to that diversity or to
try to go beyond the previous Lutherlieder commentators, since I am
hardly equipped to do that. Rather, the justification for this thesis
lies in the fact that in the second part it will deal with material
in which the more competent commentators have not done any work and
indeed, have not been interested, and that in the first part a suitable
setting for the second part is presented. It would hardly do to make
a study of Luther's hymn texts currently in use in English without first
having studied the general background of those hymns. Thus we proceed
from the general to the specific. In the first part, relying largely
upon secondary material, I shall present a generally brief chapter on a
number of the pertinent topics related to Luther's hymn texts. Of
course, most of the secondary material is in German, and, as far as
I know, this is the first time that much of it is appearing in the
English language. Most of the commentators discuss the hymns one by one,
usually grouping them alphabetically or, more often, chronologically.
Thus, my grouping of the material under general topics and types of
hymns is unusual, and one would have to search in many places (as I

have done) in each of many other works on Luther's hymns to find the
material that I have collected and organized in a concerted chapter.
In other words, this thesis is not, in the first part, a mere trans-
lation of the work of the German scholars and <u>Lutherlieder</u> commentators,
but it is rather a complete reorganization of that material together
with my own observations, acute or otherwise. Therein lies the scope
and the justification of the first part of this thesis. I shall make
no attempt at completeness in this section. Thus, I shall not give
the text and background of each of Luther's hymns with suitable
comments. This has been done, in some cases exhaustively, by three
recent editions in German of the <u>Lutherlieder</u>, all of which are
reasonably priced and easily accessible.[1] Where comparison with an
earlier version or translation makes the inclusion of Luther's hymns
imperative, this has been done. Otherwise, I have generally attempted
to avoid rote repetition of material which can be rapidly and easily
located in authoritative commentaries. To obtain the material for
this section, as far as I know, I have used just about all of the more
recent complete commentaries on Luther's hymn texts. Outstanding among
these, of course, is Lucke's treatment in Volume XXXV of the Weimar

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[1] Otto Schliszke, <u>Handbuch der Lutherlieder</u> (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck
& Ruprecht, 1948), 364 pages. This handbook contains the widest range
of material among the currently-available publications on this topic.
It is a very valuable aid to the study of Luther's hymn texts.

Wilhelm Stapel, <u>Luther's Lieder und Gedichte</u> (Stuttgart: Evange-
lisches Verlagswerk, 1950). This volume is admirable in every respect
and is especially outstanding on the problems of Luther's technique,
rhyme and particularly metrics.

Martin Luther, <u>Ausgewaehlte Werke</u>, ed. H. H. Borcherdt and Georg
Merz (Muenchen, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1950), III, 321-366, 466-534. These
sections are also available in pamphlet form, separately. The volume
contains also most of Luther's liturgical writings. It is a very

Edition of Luther's works,[2] which will remain as a landmark in Luther-lieder scholarship even when minor errors in his work are discovered and disproved by new data. Several of the last-century commentaries as well as a few more recent publications, usually on some particular hymn or phase of the hymns, I have been unable to obtain. To my knowledge, there are only two published works in English which are completely devoted to this subject, one of which is antiquated[3] and the other of which is unreliable.[4] One of our students chose the topic of Luther's hymns for his Bachelor of Divinity thesis,[5] while two others used related topics for theirs.[6] I shall attempt to supplement and implement their work, trying to avoid repetition of their material.

In the second part, using material mostly in our library, I shall confine myself mainly to the hymns of or ascribed to Luther in the hymnals which are in common use in English-speaking countries today. In addition to these, for the sake of comparison and to sketch the historical development of their use, I shall also tabulate the use of Luther's

valuable book, with the hymn texts printed in the body of the book and excellent notes, mostly based on Lucke, in the rear.

[2] Martin Luther, Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1923), XXXV. The part on Luther's hymn texts is by Wilhelm Lucke.

[3] Richard Massie, Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs (London: 1854).

[4] James F. Lambert, Luther's Hymns (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1917).

[5] W. Harry Krieger, "Luther's Hymns in English Translation" (Unpublished B.D. thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1939).

[6] Hans F. Bruss, "Lutheran Hymns in English Translation, or The Contribution of Nineteenth Century Translators in England to English Hymnody" (Unpublished B.D. thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1939). Louis Nuechterlein, "Chorale Texts and Tunes in Some Present-day Protestant Hymnals" (Unpublished B.D. thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1953).

hymn texts in some older hymnals of England and America and a larger number of hymnals of the Land of the Reformation. (My original plan to make a survey of the use of Luther's texts in representative hymnals from all parts of western Christendom did not prove feasible.) This has involved original research to discover which hymns are used, how widely and frequently that is done, who translated them, and what their possible influence might be.

The purpose of this thesis is to make a general study of the hymn texts of Martin Luther and then, having set the stage, to make a specific study of their use in English-language hymnals today, with a view toward determining the status and possible influence of this small but very important segment of the work of the great Reformer. In doing this, I shall attempt to show Luther's close relationship with and heavy dependence on the past and his great contribution to his own day and to the future.

If nothing else, I hope that this effort will prove to be an incentive to someone else to produce a more complete and scholarly work for publication to fill the very real need for an English-language hymnological study in this field today.

Special thanks are due to Professor Buszin, my adviser, for his thoughtfulness and patience as well as for the use of his excellent and discriminating library, to Professor Blankenbuehler, my reader, for the use of some of his collection of hymnals, and to Professor Foelber, for making available to me the hymnals in the collection at the Concordia Publishing House.

<u>Jesu juva!</u>

PART II

THE HYMN TEXTS OF MARTIN LUTHER

CHAPTER II

VERNACULAR RELIGIOUS POETRY IN GERMANY BEFORE LUTHER

We know, of course, that Martin Luther was no more the originator
of religious poetry in the German vernacular than his translation of the
Bible was the first in that language. In fact, the great Reformer was
born, raised and trained in a country which had perhaps the richest
heritage of vernacular religious poetry among all the countries under
the domination of the Roman church. This is not to say that the Roman
church ever made use of that poetry in an official way in her liturgies,
but it was there nonetheless, and its presence undoubtedly had a great
influence upon the early reformers. Wackernagel, in the second volume
of his Das deutsche Kirchenlied,[1] one of those not infrequent products
of German scholarship who are pioneers in their respective fields and
yet remain to be surpassed (in this case after over 100 years), has 1448
examples of German vernacular religious poetry from the period beginning
in 868 and ending in 1518. Of course, there are a number of duplications
in those 1448, but the number is still a fair indication of the extent
of the heritage into which Luther was born. Much of the poetry, except
for the Leisen and the translations from the Latin, is not suitable
for congregational singing, but it is difficult to conceive that the
German people would have accepted vernacular hymn singing so rapidly and
readily if vernacular hymns and religious poetry had not had quite

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[1]Philipp Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten
Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag
von B. G. Teubner, 1864-77). 5 volumes.

wide-spread use and acceptance among them before the Reformation.

We have testimony going as far back as Tacitus that the Germans used songs in the vernacular in their primitive heathen rituals.[2] When they became Christians, it is understandable that they might want to continue to worship in their native tongue. However, the cycle from vernacular to vernacular was to take at least eight centuries. St. Boniface, although he recognized the need for a vernacular Baptismal formula so that the people would know what was happening, was nonetheless a staunch supporter of the use of Latin in the Church. Charlemagne, too, was an ardent admirer of the Roman way of doing things, though he did throw some weight behind the use of the vernacular;[3] this gives him a Janus-like character in the history of German religious poetry.[4] At any rate, already in the eighth century there were translations of

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[2] Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche (3rd edition; Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belser'schen Verlagshandlung, 1866), I, 168. In this volume, pp. 168-229, Koch has an excellent survey of pre-Lutheran German religious poetry and vernacular usage in the Liturgy. This chapter is based largely on that section. One of the most complete studies in this field is the study by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luthers Zeit (3rd ed.; Hannover: Carl Rumpler, 1861). An excellent but brief and popular treatment is in Paul Gennrich, Der Gemeindegesang in der alten und mitteralterlichen Kirche (Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlags-Buchhandlung, n.d.).

[3] Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes (3rd ed.; Leipzig and Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 28. He says that Charlemagne wanted the people to join in with the Gloria and Sanctus in the Mass, too.

[4] H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., p. 9. The author provides both sides of the congregational participation question in Germany at this time. Abbot Pirminius feels that the people should be " . . . in ipsa ecclesia cum silentio orantes et psallentes in cordibus. . . ." Charlemagne, on the other hand, ruled " . . . ut Gloria Patri cum omni honore apud omnes cantetur; et ipse sacerdos cum sanctis angelis et populo Dei communi voce Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus decantet."

various liturgical formulae, of the Psalter, and of the well-known Latin hymns (in metrical but unrhymed form).[5] Vernacular preaching (?) was encouraged in the ninth century,[6] and at that time there arose also a number of poetic translations of the Gospels and of other books of the Bible in alliterative form. Chief among these is the Heliand, which was perhaps commissioned by Louis the Pious.[7] It is epic in form and contains a liberal admixture of heathen elements. At about that same time a Benedictine monk, Otfrid, was performing a monumental service to the German language. A pupil of Rhabanus Maurus, who was the pupil of Alcuin, both of whom were advocates of the Roman use but who also recognized the need of the vernacular, Otfrid was not satisfied merely with translating the sermons of the Latin Fathers as his predecessors had done (such translations went back as far as the fourth century); he prepared original German sermons. His greatest contribution, however, was his long poetic history of the Savior, entitled Liber Evangeliorum in theotiscam linguam versus, also called simply Krist.[8] Apparently one of his main reasons for writing Krist was to combat the cantus laicorum obscoenus, one of the most common inspirations for hymn writing ("It's an ill wind. . . !").[9] By desiring "thas wir Kriste

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[5] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 169.

[6] Ibid., p. 170. Liudger had great success in converting the Frisians because of his use of vernacular sermons.

[7] Catherine Winkworth, Christian Singers of Germany (London: Macmillan & Co., 1869), p. 14.

[8] E. E. Koch, op. cit., pp. 171 f.

[9] O. Wetzstein, Das deutsche Kirchenlied im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Neustrelitz: Druck und Verlag der Barnewitz'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1888) n., p. 2.

sungun in unsara zungen,"[10] Otfrid von Weiszenburg earned the title of
"The First German Christian Poet," and his work became the first lay
Bible of his people.[11] This work helped greatly to popularize the
Ambrosian form of rhymed stanzas of four lines, which became the most
popular form for religious poetry in Germany, and its influenced waxed
as that of epic poetry waned.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries Germany was invaded by
successive waves of peoples more barbaric than they.[12] This did not
prove a great stimulus for the production of German religious poetry,
and the fact that this time represents the height of the flowering of
Latin Medieval poetry indicates another factor which was probably not
too encouraging to the vernacular poets.[13] However, some vernacular
religious poetry was produced at this time too, and a development had
begun at the end of the previous century which was to prove decisive in
the history of the use of vernacular hymns in the Liturgy in Germany.
Notker Balbulus, a German monk at St. Gall, a center of Roman allegiance,
popularized the Sequence, a hymn set to the Jubilus, the long, melismatic
a at the end of the Alleluia. Notker, once credited with the invention
of the Sequence, is now rather given credit for helping to perfect the

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[10]Quoted from "Krist" in Wilhelm Nelle, op. cit., p. 15.

[11]E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 172.

[12]C. Winkworth, op. cit., pp. 21 ff.

[13]Otto Schulze, Ausführlichere Erklärung der achtzig Kirchenlieder.
Nebst einen Anhange: Kurze Geschichte des Kirchenliedes (6th ed.;
Berlin: J. A. Wohlgemuth's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1879), pp. 266 f.

the form.[14]   At any rate, the Sequence is just one adaptation of the

practice of "troping," that is, the insertion of foreign elements into

the established liturgical forms, which was very common in the East.

However long a history the practice represented by the Sequence may have

had in either the Eastern or Western Church before Notker, it seems that

the German poets took their cue from him and provided us with a very

early and a most important chapter in the history of the German

Kirchenlied.

The earliest and, for many centuries, the only opportunity which

the German people had to participate vocally in the Mass was the

chanting of the Kyrie, with which they responded to the Latin hymns sung

by the clergy.[15]   We should hardly regard this as much of a concession

on the part of the Church, but the Germans received it gladly and made

full use of it.[16]   They made such full use of it, in fact, and began to

repeat it with such frequency and rapidity that it lost anything but a

passing resemblance to the original form, degenerating into Kyrieles,

Krles, and numerous other forms more or less related to the original.

This can perhaps be understood when one reads that on at least one

occasion, which was probably not an isolated one, the people repeated

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[14]Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W.
Norton & Company, Inc., 1941), pp. 72-74.

[15]E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 89. This right was granted to them al-
ready in the first century of the Christian era in Germany according
to H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., p. 8. Scholars are in agreement that
this usage stems from the Litany, not the regular Kyrie of the Mass.

[16]Von Fallersleben has an excellent section on this topic, giving
various citations of its use at different times and under different
circumstances; see pp. 8-30 of his previously-cited work.

the Kyrie a hundred times, followed this with a hundred Christe's
and completed the cycle with a hundred Kyrie eleison's (on the Feast
of the Assumption of the Virgin).[17] Already in 799 the Synod of
Salzburg enjoined that the people no longer sing so "rustice" as they
had been.[18] Perhaps following the example of Notker, in order that
they might bring some order out of the senseless repetition of Kyrie's
as he had done with reference to the Jubilus (the chronological proximity
of the two has served to strengthen this theory), perhaps as a spontaneous
reaction of religious fervor at the only time in the Liturgy when that
fervor could be articulated, these Kyrie's were extended by the addition
of short vernacular poems. This began to take place at the end of the
ninth century,[19] although very few examples survive from this or the
following "dark" centuries. The main reason for this is that the Leisen,
as these hymns came to be called because of their refrain (less fre-
quently Kirleisen or Leiche), did not come into wide use for several
centuries; also, since this was folk poetry, preserved by oral tradition
only as the form developed, the more perfect Leisen supplanted the
primitive examples in the use of the people, with the result that the
latter were irretrievably lost.

It was first in the twelfth century, that the use of the Leisen

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[17] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 173.

[18] H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., n. p. 14: "Ut omnis populus
honorifice cum omnis supplicationibus devotione, humiliter et cum
reverentia absque praetiosarum vestium ornatu vel etiam inlecebroso can-
tico et lusu saeculari cum laetaniis procedant Kyrieleyson clamare, ut
non tam rustice ut nunc usque, sed melius discant" (Statuta Salisburg,
A.D. 799).

[19] O. Schulze, op. cit., p. 266.

became common, although that use was still confined to extra-church occasions, pilgrimages, festivals, processions, and the like.[20] Prejudice against the inclusion of such elements in the Liturgy was not confined to the vernacular Leisen, since the Latin Sequences too were frowned upon in many circles, an attitude which eventually was formulated at Trent, where all but four were excluded from liturgical use.[21] Just as the simple Kyrie had been utilized by the religiously inarticulate Germans on occasions which stimulated religious emotions, so the Leise naturally supplanted its predecessor and became widely used before battles, before, during, and after voyages, and the like.[22] Leisen were popular also in the extra-church celebrations, especially at Easter time. In this connection, about the middle of the twelfth century, perhaps the most famous Leise was produced, "Christ ist erstanden." This Leise fast became popular, so that in the following century it was sung not only at folk gatherings but also in church by the whole congregation on Easter Day.[23] This hymn was so popular that it achieved the rare distinction of being included in many Latin agendas at the end of the thirteenth century.[24] It was still going strong at the time of the Reformation, when it served as the basis for Luther's "Christ lag in Todesbanden." Even Luther's great Hymn could not

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[20] E. E. Koch, op. cit., pp. 176 f.

[21] P. H. Lang, op. cit., p. 74. C. S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), pp. 92 f., notes that the fifth sequence, "Stabat Mater," was added in 1727.

[22] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 177.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

supplant this one in the hearts of the people, and it was included
along with Luther's version in the hymnals of the Reformation. "Christ
ist erstanden" was an exception, however, and the Leisen were never
officially or even generally accepted as an integral part of the
Liturgy. They were "permitted" more and more frequently as the years
went on, however, and they are rightly considered not only the first real
church hymns in the German vernacular but also one of the most impor-
tant factors in preparing the way for more wide-spread use of vernacular
hymnody. Their importance may perhaps be judged by the fact that
later all vernacular hymns came to be called Leisen whether they had
said refrain or not,[25] just as Thuringian musicians were often called
"Bachs" even though they did not bear that exalted name.

After the poetically barren tenth and eleventh centuries,
religious vernacular poetry in Germany had an almost unbroken develop-
ment, culminating in the work of Martin Luther. The twelfth century,
which gave birth to the first really popular Leisen, also produced
Wernher the Deacon, who translated in rhyme Jerome's Life of the Virgin
Mary, thereby earning for himself the title, "Great-grandfather of German
Church Poetry,"[26] and Spervogel, to whom "Christ ist erstanden" and
"Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist" were often erroneously attributed.[27]

The thirteenth century witnessed the bloody "Crusade" against the
Albigenses and Waldensians of southern France. Those people put out
much devotional literature in the vernacular, learned the New Testament

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[25] H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., p. 46.

[26] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 178.

[27] C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 38.

by heart in their own language, and used the vernacular in their worship services, claiming that "ein lateinisches Gebet nützt nichts."[28] Rome declared not only military but also liturgical war upon them, which did not bode too well for the vernacular hymn even among the orthodox. The use of the vernacular became closely associated with heresy in the minds of the hierarchy, and Innocent III promulgated his famous edicts calling for the burning of all Scriptural translations, for which he perhaps had more justification than we would like to admit. The Synod at Trier in 1231 carried such edicts into effect in Germany, where translations were forbidden and the laity could have only the Psalter and prayers to Mary, and neither of these in the vernacular.[29] Partly as a result of this, the monasteries declined greatly as centers of learning. Not even the abbot at once-glorious St. Gall could write at this time. However, the monasteries no longer held a monopoly on poets. The knights of Germany had a whole new world opened to them by the Crusades. Rather than increase their religious fervor, the Crusades tended to make them more cosmopolitan and also more worldly. Out of the midst of this arose a new form of poetry, Minnegesang.

The Minnesänger were in name and deed dedicated to courtly love and the expression thereof in verse. Minnegesang was primarily a knightly exercise, and through it German poetry seemed to spring into full flower almost over night. Poetry of such polish, such delicacy,

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[28] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 179.

[29] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 179. This action was based on that of the Synod of Toulouse in 1229, which ruled as follows: "Ne laici habeant libros scripturae praeter psalterium et divinum officium, ut eos libros ne habeant in vulgari lingua."

such intricacy of rhyme and meter coming right upon the heels of its
sturdy and powerful but mostly rough and crude predecessors presents
an almost unique picture in the history of poetry. It is not difficult
to understand that, dedicated as they were to chivalry and courtly love,
the Minnesänger would be interested primarily in the Virgin when it came
to religious subject matter. This was the age when Mary was queen not
only of heaven but of western Europe too. Poems were addressed to her,
great churches built to her glory, prayers thrown before her throne.
Since this was the case, it is no wonder that Luther was later able
to claim very correctly: "Die liebe Mutter Gottes, Maria, hat viel
schöneren Gesang und mehr gehat, denn ihr Kind Jesus. . . ."[30] Among
the more notable Minnesänger who devoted their talents also to religious
topics were Gottfried von Strassburg, Hartmann von der Aue, Wolfram von
Eschenbach, and Walther von der Vogelweide. The first of these, Gott-
fried, the author of "Tristan und Isolde," devoted himself to religious
poetry only after age had made him a bit less worldly,[31] but the
great Walther made a really significant contribution to the field,
dedicating his whole life to the praise of the Virgin and her purity.[32]
Fortunately, his religious feelings went beyond that, and he wrote a
number of poems on the Passion of our Lord and on similar topics. A
staunch supporter of Frederick II in his feud with the pope, Walther
addressed the latter august personage at times with language which

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[30]W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 34.

[31]There is some question about his role in religious poetry; cf.
Wetzstein, op. cit., n., p. 3.

[32]E. E. Koch, op. cit., pp. 181-184.

undoubtedly would have warmed Luther's heart;[33] that and his opposition
to the worldliness of the clergy and the like have gained him a place
as a pre-Reformation reformer. Although the majority of the Minnesänger
who did write religious poetry wrote Marienlieder almost exclusively,
producing a great quantity of poetry in that category, we must not for-
get that by thus fostering vernacular religious poetry at a time when
it was in rather bad odor among the hierarchy, they helped to
preserve such poetry among the people also, despite the opposition of
"Rome."[34] Thus Germany at this time in its vernacular hymns possessed
an almost unique heritage among the countries of western Eruope. Some
of the earliest and most popular of these were the pilgrim songs, sung
on pilgrimages to Rome and other places. A disciple and biographer
of St. Bernard recounts how the Germans in the Cathedral of Cologne
broke into hymns in their own language when the saint's miracles were
recounted, something he did not encounter, to his regret, in the
Romanic lands.[35] St. Francis, too, says in wonder:

> There is a certain country called Germany, wherein dwell
> Christians, and of a truth very pious ones, who as you know
> often come as pilgrims into our land, with their long staves
> and great boots; and amid the most sultry heat and bathed in
> sweat, yet visit all the thresholds of the holy shrines, and
> sing hymns of praise to God and all His saints.[36]

Indeed, already in this thirteenth century many poems which were to
appear in enlarged or improved forms during the Reformation had made

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[33] C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 48.

[34] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 184.

[35] C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 40.

[36] Ibid.

their appearance. Luther's heritage was in the making.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, heretics, following the example of the Albigenses and Waldensians, began using vernacular hymns in Germany and disseminated them among the people. A Franciscan monk, Berthold, decided to fight fire with fire, just as men like Chrysostom organized processions to sing orthodox hymns to rival those of the Arians. Preaching in German, Berthold advocated the writing and singing of orthodox hymns in the vernacular, since by the use of hymns in the language of the people the heretics were making them fall into heresy.[37] He did not receive much of a response from his own order, but their traditional enemies, the Dominicans, responded with a vengeance.[38] The Dominican poets, heirs of the mysticism of Hugo of St. Victor, wrote one of the most glorious chapters in the history of the pre-Reformation hymn. Rising at the middle of the thirteenth century, the Dominican mystic poets flourished for about a hundred years and counted among their ranks such great names as Eckhardt and Tauler, men whose influence upon the Reformation was not slight. The most outstanding representative of this group is, of course, Johann Tauler, the monk of Straszburg. Working in Germany at the time when Ludwig the Bavarian was having his famous row with the pope, which involved such men as William of Ockam, Marsiglio of Padua, and the Spiritual Franciscans, Tauler disregarded the interdict which the pope had placed on all Germany and preached to the people in the vernacular and ministered to them, especially during the Black Death, when most

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[37] E. E. Koch, op. cit., pp. 185 f.

[38] Ibid., pp. 186 ff.

priests were happy enough to take advantage of the interdict and neglect their duties.[39] The piety and other-worldliness of such men as the Spiritual Franciscans and the Mystics undoubtedly made a great impression on the people, especially since it was in such direct contrast with the pompous court at Avignon. Tauler's activities in preaching that the the only prerequisite for salvation is the correct Christian faith even though one might oppose the person of the pope soon necessitated action on the part of the bishop, who regretfully banned him from his diocese, since he himself had "often and gladly and with astonishment" heard him preach and since Tauler had influenced even the clergy to be pious.[40] He also advocated the use of vernacular hymns, and his "Es komt ein Schiff geladen" became one of the most popular Christmas hymns of the German people. He inspired a whole school of poets, especially nuns, who wrote Gottesminnelieder. These mystic songs for the most part, however, never made too deep an impression on the people in general.[41]

A group which did influence the people a great deal was the Flagellants,[42] those unique and rather bizarre fanatics who went from town to town, singing hymns in the vernacular and whipping themselves to appease the wrath of God at the supposed last moment in history. Appearing as they did during the height of the Black Death, which supposedly killed more than a million people and denuded 2000 villages and towns beginning in 1348,[43] these unworldly specters had a powerful effect upon the

[39] C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 73. [40] E. E. Koch, op. cit., pp. 189-190.

[41] Ibid., pp. 192 f.

[42] C. Winkworth, op. cit., pp. 71 f. [43] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 194.

frightened Germans, whose fears were hardly lessened by the fact that they were then under the papal interdict. These Flagellants, who eventually fell out of popular favor because of their excesses (and because the plague was dying out) and who were suppressed by Clement VI, helped to spread vernacular hymns and the idea of their use into places which hitherto had not been accustomed to such practices. Thus, after their processions through Germany, the use of hymns in the vernacular became much more common.[44] Their habit of singing folk songs, especially Leisen, gained for them the name of Loiszkenbrüder.[45]

During the fourteenth century also there appeared two of German hymnody's most interesting types, contrafacted hymns and macaronics or Mischlieder,[46] as the German so aptly terms it.[47] The transformation of a secular (and often quite secular) song into a hymn was often a most interesting and sometimes a most ludicrous procedure.[48] At times only the very slightest changes were made, and, although we today would consider them fairly acceptable, the association with the old song in the minds of the people at times was undoubtedly devastating. Of course, Luther later used a similar process in taking over the

[44]C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 72.

[45]E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 194.

[46]Ibid., p. 198.

[47]The best treatment I have found of this type of hymn is an Anhang to H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., entitled Kurze Geschichte der lateinisch-deutschen Mischpoesie.

[48]The opposite procedure, producing what is called a parody, often produced some rather humorous results too; cf. H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., p. 371.

slightly more objective folk tunes, baptizing them and making them members of the Church by setting them to a hymn text, usually with great success. After all, he reasoned, "Why should the devil have all the best tunes?"[49]

During these centuries there were two other developments which greatly affected the use of vernacular hymns both at that time and later: drama and folk songs.[50] The latter, preserving as they did some of the elements of the ancient epic poetry which forms the oldest poetic vernacular heritage of the German people, had a great influence upon Luther and other hymn writers of the Reformation. Naturally, their origin goes back many centuries before this, but it was at this time that secular folk songs began really to flourish in Germany. The origin of the drama in Germany goes back very far also, at least to the tenth century, but it was during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries that it really began to flourish there. Vernacular hymns were often used with these dramas,[51] and they also came to be used in connection with the dramatic ceremonies in the churches.[52]

In the fifteenth century, as the Reformation approached, vernacular religious poetry really flowered. Two-fifths of the pre-Lutheran

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[49]Hans Joachim Moser, Die evangelische Kirchenmusik in Deutschland (Berlin, Darmstadt: Verlag Carl Merseburger, 1953), first fascicle, p. 10. This work is now in the process of publication.

[50]C. Winkworth, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

[51]W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 22.

[52]Among the many hymns which were used in connection with the religious dramas were "Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist," C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 76, and "Christ ist erstanden," H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., p. 181.

vernacular poems in Wackernagel come from this century. One of the most
important developments for the future of German vernacular hymnody was
not a German movement at all, but one that arose in and was largely con-
fined to Bohemia, even though its effects moved all of Europe. This was,
of course, the Hussite or Bohemian Brethren movement.[53] Since Bohemia
had been Christianized from the East, which took Pentecost perhaps
a little more seriously than did Rome, the Bohemians were accustomed to
using the vernacular in their services.[54] Therefore, it is easy to
understand why they might object when Rome later forbade the use of the
vernacular in the Liturgy and required Latin only. Already in the
fourteenth century several Bohemians arose who preached not only against
the depravity of the clergy and work righteousness, but also against the
removal of the vernacular from the Liturgy.[55] Early in the fifteenth
century John Hus followed their lead by preaching the vernacular in his
church, using the vernacular fro the entire service, and preparing
Bohemian hymns for use in it. He valued the use of hymns greatly: "We
preach the Gospel not only from the pulpit, but even our hymns are
homilies."[56] The Council of Constance, 1414-18, in its thirteenth
session forbade such practices, declaring that just as the people are
forbidden to preach and to expound the Scriptures, so are they even more

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[53]Another vernacular movement of great influence was fostered by
the Brethren of the Common Life; cf. H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., pp.
154-159.

[54]E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 199.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Edward S. Ninde, Nineteen Centuries of Christian Song (New York:
Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918), p. 57.

forbidden to sing in congregational worship. This edict, however, was
largely disregarded in Bohemia, and the burning of Hus made the Bohemians
even more determined to follow his teachings also in this respect.[57]
(Luther at the Leipzig debate admitted that he found much that was true
among the teachings of Hus, and undoubtedly this was one of the truths
he discovered therein.) However, Bohemia was not allowed to take this
position unopposed. The Hussites emerged the victors from the battles
which ensued, though, and in the Council of Basle in 1431-49 achieved
a major victory.[58] Rome conceded not only that they could administer
the Sacrament under both kinds, but also that they could use the vernac-
ular in their Liturgy, the first group in the Roman communion to be
allowed to do that.[59] (Rome was less reluctant to make this and other
concessions to certain eastern groups which she was later very desirous
of including in her fold.) Vernacular hymns continued to be used in the
services of the Hussites, and in 1501 a hymnal containing ninety-two
hymns in the Czech language appeared, the first vernacular congregational
hymnal in the history of the western Church (though a few collections of
hymns had appeared late in the previous century, these were not intended
for congregational use).[60] A larger hymnal in the same language,

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[57] The Taborites, the radical group which joined with other rebels
in 1467 to form the Unitas Fratrum, especially fostered the use of the
vernacular, but, because of the nature of this sketch, we shall simply
call them all "Bohemian Brethren"; cf. C. S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 106.

[58] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 201.

[59] Ibid.

[60] The first entry in Philipp Wackernagel, Bibliographie zur Geschichte
des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main:
Verlag von Heyder & Zimmer, 1855), p. 1, is a Gebetbuch, dated around 1470,
which contains, in addition to some liturgical materials, " . . . several

containing 400 hymns, appeared in 1505. Many of the hymns were trans-
lations from the Latin, but many original hymns were included also.[61]
Inspired by the pioneer example of the Bohemian Brethren, undoubtedly
many people in other European lands began to desire more and more strenu-
ously to hear and to participate in the Liturgy in their own tongue.
(The Brethren of the Common Life also helped to promulgate vernacular
hymns in the Netherlands.)[62] The contribution which the Bohemian
Brethren made to the cause of vernacular hymnody and liturgy cannot be
overestimated.

Meanwhile, there was a general movement afoot to incorporate more
religious poems into the Liturgy, especially at festivals, making them
really church songs.[63] This gave rise to the Festleisen, hymns which
had perhaps been used in the church itself (such as "Christ ist erstanden").[64]
The following hymns, not all of which are Leisen, were used: on Easter,
"Christ ist erstanden" and "Ein Königin in den Himmel"; on Pentecost,
"Nu bitten wir den heil'gen Geist" (at the time when a live dove was

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songs and other poems, in part right beautiful. . . ." H. von Fallersleben,
op. cit., p. 482, lists three late fourteenth century hymnals. He gives
some of their contents on pp. 259-270. Most of the hymns are translations
and quite literal ones, at that. One translator even excuses himself from
omitting some rhymes because he wants to adhere to the original: "Item
oft wird der recht Sinn der Wort zerstört, wann man es allenthalben
understeht zu reimen, und darum das zu vermeiden, sind diese Gesänge
nicht allenthalb mit Reimen gesetzt." This quotation is from the preface
to a Heidelberg hymnal of 1494, H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., p. 262.

[61]E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 205.

[62]Helen E. Pfatteicher, In Every Corner Sing (Philadelphia:
Muhlenberg Press, 1954), p. 54.

[63]Especially at this time one can find many (usually local) hier-
archical decisions specifically allowing or forbidding, as the case may
be, the use of the vernacular in the Mass in some way, all of which
testifies to the growing use of the language of the people in the Liturgy.

[64]E. E. Koch, op. cit., pp. 207 ff.

let loose or a wooden one was lowered from the top of the church); on
Ascension Day, "Christ fure zu Himmel" (at the time when a carved figure
of Christ was drawn up to the top of the church and an ignited
caricature of Satan was thrown down); on Christmas, "Gelobet seystu,
Jesu Christ" (sung before the crib with the Christchild) and "Ein
Kindelein so löbelich"; on Trinity Sunday, "Das helfen uns die Namen
drei"; on Good Friday, "Gott ward an ein Kreuz geschla'n" and "Wir
denken dir, lieber Herre, der bitter Marter dein"; on the Birthday of
the Virgin, "Dich, Fraw vom Himmel, ruf ich an." In addition to these
Festleisen, vernacular hymns were occasionally used in some places
before and after the sermon. Even at High Mass the vernacular hymn
began to find a place at the end of the fifteenth century, and that
despite an injunction of the twenty-first session of the Council of
Basle, 1435, specifically forbidding cantilenae seculares or vulgares
during High Mass. One of the hymns which was popular for such use
was "Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet."[65] Outside of the church, at
processions and pilgrimages, more and more hymns came into use.
Hymnologically speaking, the German people were well prepared for the
Reformation.[66]

Several individuals stand out during the fifteenth century for
their contribution to vernacular hymnody. Petrus Dresdensis (Peter
Faulfisch), one-time assistant of Hus in Prague,[67] was one of the
greatest pre-Reformation exponents of the use of vernacular hymns in

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[65]Ibid., pp. 209 f.

[66]In this connection see H. J. Moser, op. cit., pp. 6 ff.

[67]O. Schulze, op. cit., p. 267.

the mass. He hoped that by training his pupils to sing German hymns he could bring them into wider use, and for this purpose he used primarily macaronics.[68] The most outstanding German poet of the century was Heinrich von Loufenberg,[69] who translated[70] and contrafacted older hymns and songs and wrote many original hymns, including a number of macaronics. As might be expected, most of his religious poems were written in honor of the Virgin.[71] Perhaps the most important poetic development of this century, was the rise of Meistergesang. In the years since the Crusades began, the cities were becoming more and more wealthy, powerful, and independent. The opposite trend was true of the knightly class. This development was also somewhat the case in poetry. Although Minnegesang persisted well into the fifteenth century, it was but a shadow of its former glorious self, and the burghers began to take the place of the knights as the poets of the land. The difference between the poetry of the two classes could hardly be greater, the Minnegesang being characterized by intricate rhymes and rhythms, courtly love, and florid sentiment, while Meistergesang was "learned," bound to the rules, counting the syllables, and more down to earth. Most of the poems of the Meistersinger were too academic for the common taste, but nonetheless they exerted a definite influence upon the style of Luther,

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[68] E. E. Koch, op. cit., p. 212.

[69] C. Winkworth, op. cit., p. 91.

[70] Hymn translations became more common at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. The first important translator was John (or Hermann), the Monk of Salzburg, the poetic quality of whose products is not too significant; cf. H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

[71] Ibid., p. 247.

as we shall see. Perhaps the greatest Meistersänger was Hans Sachs, who greeted Luther as the Wittenberg Nightingale, and who, like Dürer, Granach, and others, has a very interesting pre- and post-Reformation artistic history.[72]

A number of the reformers set their hand to the writing of vernacular hymns. Luther was not the first of these. Speratus, Zwingli,[73] Hutten, Münzer, and others had written religious poems in the vernacular before Luther did. Hutten is not important enough to consider in this field. Zwingli's poems were works of art but not suited for congregational use, for which they were hardly intended. Münzer, however, who beat Luther to the vernacular draw both hymnologically and liturgically speaking, made important contributions to vernacular hymnody.[74] Indeed, unknown to Luther, some of his hymns were included in early Lutheran hymnals (e.g., three in the enlarged edition of the Erfurt Enchiridion, printed "zum schwarzen Horn" in 1527).[75] He confined himself to translating Latin hymns, treating three of those which Luther used ("Veni, redemptor gentium," "Hostis Herodes impie," and "Veni, Creator Spiritus"). His choice of hymns is excellent, and it must be said that Luther is not always more successful as a translator.

This, then, is a brief sketch of the pre-Lutheran vernacular hymnody in Germany. That hymnody must be regarded as a very impressive accomplishment on the part of the German people and its poets, especially in

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[72]P. Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied, op. cit., II and III, contains some pre- and post-Reformation poetry of Hans Sachs. Sachs himself "verbesserte" some of his earlier poems.

[73]Wilhelm Nelle, Martin Luther, die Wittenbergische Nachtigall (Hamburg: Gustav Schloeszmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, n.d.), p. 10.

[74]P. Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied, op. cit., III, 440-4.

[75]E. E. Koch, op. cit., II, 140.

comparison with most other nations in Europe. There are several striking
things about this accomplishment. One is the fact that, especially in
the early days, men and institutions which were dedicated to the
propagation of the Roman use still played a decisive role in the
establishment of sermons and hymns in the vernacular. Included among
these are men like Boniface, Charlemagne, Alcuin, and Rhabanus Maurus,
and institutions like St. Gall and many other monasteries. These friends
of the vernacular showed that loyalty to Rome must be tempered by
common sense and by the ways and needs of the people. In this they
showed more wisdom than did the Church, and Rome was the loser for it.
Another striking observation one can make is the consistency with
which the advocates and producers of vernacular hymns were heretics
or dissenters from the Church of Rome. In each of the three centuries
before Luther there were men or movements in that category which made
important contributions to vernacular hymnody: thirteenth--the Albigenses
and Waldensians and some of the Minnesänger (such as Walther von der
Vogelweide) with their nationalistic tendencies; fourteenth--the
Flagellants, frowned upon by Rome, and some of the mystic Dominicans
(such as Tauler); fifteenth--Hus and the Bohemian Brethren. Rome
apparently chose to consider this pattern as indicative of the fact that
the vernacular (whether it be in Scripture, liturgy, or hymnody) and
heresy were inseparable and that the desire for its use showed mostly
perversity and opposition to holy Mother Church, so that the course she
followed was to curtail its use as much as possible. If she had chosen
to interpret that pattern as a result of the natural and inevitable
desires and needs of the people (so obvious from the folk poetry and
practice and the great use to which they put the few vernacular sots

which the hierarchy threw them) and had made greater concessions to those desires and needs as well as to the rising nationalism in many of the countries under her domination, who knows the extent to which she could have made the Reformation a much less "popular" movement, since, by enlisting the language of the people, the reformers took a big step toward enlisting the people themselves and their sentiments. (Basically, of course, this was a doctrinal matter, since Rome's doctrine of the ex opere operato[76] and her abrogation of the doctrine of the Royal Priesthood of All Believers necessitated neither understanding nor participation on the part of the congregation.)

In view of the impressive body of pre-Reformation vernacular hymnody, it may be well to examine the claim so often put forward that Luther was the "Father" of German vernacular hymnody, congregational singing, and the like.[77] If "Father" is merely an historical term, indicating the first one to do something, Luther would hardly qualify for either distinction, since German vernacular hymnody goes back many centuries before him and the renewal of congregational singing in the West began no later than the thirteenth century and was in regular use among the Bohemian Brethren for many years before the time of the Reformation, although, of course, the latter did not take place in Germany. In terms of effect and offspring, however, Luther lays a very strong claim to those titles. His most important move was to make the

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[76]Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch, ed. by J. T. Müller (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1912), p. 249: The "Apology," Article XXIV (XII), Sections 2 and 5.

[77]Such claims occur in virtually every treatment of Luther as a hymnwriter, especially those by Americans.

hymn an integral part of the Liturgy, something which had been done before him but never with such influence and effect. This encouraged and necessitated the writing of many hymns, so that the number of hynological "children" assumed staggering proportions. View, for instance, the eight-volume collection of 5000 hymns which Bach used as a reference work in Leipzig, or the index, huge but probably not exhaustive, of 72,732 evangelical hymns compiled during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[78]   Compared with Luther and his family of hymns,[79] the pre-Reformation vernacular poets seem sterile indeed (although, of course, in the Roman Church a "father" should have no children), and the proposals of German Roman Catholic scholars that the real flowering of the German hymn was in the fifteenth century and that Luther cannot be credited as the real founder of German hymnody[80] must be recognized as academic arguments with a grain of truth but little proof in subsequent history. In giving credit to Luther, we must also give credit to those of his own time and before him who made important contributions to German vernacular hymnody, but in this as in so many things, Luther took the ideas which others had promulgated before him, perfected them, and made them effective in the life and history of the Church. Thus, we can properly call him the Father of German evangelical hymnody and the effective promoter of congregational singing in Germany.

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[78]Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis zur Gegenwart (2nd edition; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1951), p. 11. Philipp Dietz, Die Restauration des evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), p. 13, reckons that they numbered 100,000 by the beginning of the 19th century.

[79]Julius Smend, Das evangelische Lied von 1524 (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1924), p. 5.

[80]O. Wetzstein, op. cit., n., p. 1.

CHAPTER III

LUTHER AND VERNACULAR CONGREGATIONAL HYMNODY

Martin Luther was probably the least iconoclastic or the most conservative of the reformers. This is obvious especially in his liturgical principles. Also in the matter of vernacular hymnody Luther stood upon a firm historical foundation with many precedents both east and west. Thus, Melanchthon could write in the Apology that they were merely doing something that had always been done when they "introduced" vernacular congregational hymns into the Liturgy.[1] (Melanchthon, being even more conservative than Luther, probably took greater comfort in this fact than did his friend.) Going beyond the confines of Germany in this chapter, let us take a broad overview of the use of the vernacular and of hymns, especially by the congregation, in the Church before Luther.

The Old Testament cultus was a vernacular one, and the Psalms and other songs used for worship purposes were naturally in the vernacular. Classical Hebrew continued to be used in Jewish worship even after that tongue became obsolete as the language of the people, but there was no question about whether everyone could understand the Scripture readings. When the dispersion resulted in the loss of even a hearing- or reading-understanding of Hebrew, the Septuagint was produced, which was used by the Jews apparently without a qualm, even by such a scrupulous Pharisee

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[1] Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch, ed. by J. T. Müller (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1912), p. 249: The "Apology," Article XXIV (XII), "De Missa,"

as St. Paul. When the New Testament cultus developed, it followed the Old Testament approach and used the vernacular apparently without any debate. There is a great deal of conjecture as to the number of liturgical forms that are included either completely or fragmentarily in the New Testament. Some of those are undoubtedly present, and some of them were perhaps sung. The Didache does not contain any hymns, but it does have "rhythmical prayer" which Dom Leclercq considers to be "sources and models of Christian hymnography."[2] It is probable that religious poetry was written very soon in the New Testament era, since Eusebius mentions psalms and odes which "from the beginning were written by believers."[3] To what extent the congregation participated in the musical part of the service in both the Old Testament and early New cultus is difficult to determine, but it is certain that it did participate,[4] and it perhaps also had hymns to sing.[5] This would be an advance, since it seems that the participation of the congregation itself in the Old Testament was confined to the use of the "Amen" and

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Section 4. "Hic mos semper in ecclesiis fuit. Nam etsi aliae frequentis, aliae rarius admiscuerunt germanicas cantiones, tamen fere ubique aliquid canebat populus sua lingua." "Der Brauch ist allzeit für löblich gehalten in der Kirchen. Denn wiewohl an etlichen Orten mehr, an etlichen Orten weniger deutscher Gesänge gesungen werden, so hat doch in allen Kirchen ja etwas das Volk deutsch gesungen; darum ists so neu nicht."

[2] Quoted in C. S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), pp. 16-17.

[3] H. E. V, 28, quoted in ibid., p. 20.

[4] Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 39.

[5] C. S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 19.

"Hallelujah."[6] (Really, only generalities in this area will fit within the scope of this thesis and, besides, anything more is risky under any circumstances.) In the Jewish home ceremonies the entire group joined in the singing of the Psalms, and one might also trace the custom of congregational singing to this rather than to the temple or synagogue worship, especially since the chief service of the Church, the Eucharist, is based on a family ritual rather than on a public one.

In the East, the vernacular was used without question in the various churches. The congregation participated in the Liturgy, but to a fairly limited extent. The Psalms maintained their position in the service, but the use of non-scriptural hymns is somewhat hazy (see above). We know that hymns were in use at a very early date, since Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch (ca. 260), was charged with suppressing "the Psalms chanted there in honor of the Lord," to which he replied that they "were not the ancient Psalms of David" but were "new and the work of new men."[7] That defense did not prevent him from being deposed on that and other counts, however. His attitude did not die with him, though, since in the next century the Council of Laodicea (ca. 363), in its fifty-ninth canon, officialized that approach: "Psalms composed by private men (psalmi idiotici or psalmoi idiotikoi) must not be read in the church nor uncanonical books, but only the canonical books of the New and Old Testament."[8] However, following the

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[6]Paul E. Kretzmann, Christian Art in the Place and in the Form of Lutheran Worship (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 314.

[7]Louis F. Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), p. 63; cf. Eusebius above.

[8]Ibid., p. 65.

Old Testament custom, the congregations apparently also chanted verses
of the Psalm responsively in the Liturgy. This too met with the ire
of the Council of Laodicea and in its fifteenth canon it decreed that
". . . beside the Psalmsingers appointed thereto, who mount the Ambo
and sing out of the Book, no others shall sing in the Church."[9]
Despite the bans of Laodicea, which was a very small council and which
did not carry too much weight, a very extensive body of Greek hymnody did
develop, although, as the years went on, congregational participation
became less and less.[10] The Gnostics and Arians made use of hymns to
foster their doctrines, and their practice in general rendered the use
of hymns somewhat suspect. Men like Ephraem and Chrysostom wrote
orthodox hymns to counteract the heretics. These, however, were sung
mostly in processions,[11] although they undoubtedly also found their
way into the churches.

In the Western Church, we meet with the tradition which resulted
in the situation in Germany at the time of the Reformation. Contrary
to the Old Testament, New Testament, Pentecostal, and Eastern usage,
the Roman Church established one language, Latin, for its Liturgy, to
be used in all places no matter what the language of the people was,
and this in a church which originally had had a Greek liturgy! This
led to conflicts in such places as Bohemia, which had been Christianized

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[9] Edwin Liemohn, The Chorale through Four Hundred Years of Musical
Development as a Congregational Hymn (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press,
1953), p. 6.

[10] Unfortunately, as can be seen, most of the evidence is derived from
negative sources, prohibitions and such, from which one can draw positive
conclusions only precariously. Scholars are not in agreement as to the
use of hymnody, especially congregational hymnody in this area, so I have
merely made a few perhaps not too valid generalizations for the sake
of continuity.

[11] L. F. Benson, op. cit., p. 67.

in the vernacular and which was accustomed to using its own language.
However, most of the countries had had contact with Christianity only in
its Roman dress, and they apparently took for granted that the Latin
language was an indispensable part of that religion, so that they
accepted it without too much of a struggle. As we noted above, in
Germany the congregation was limited to the use of the Kyrie eleison
in the Liturgy.[12] There were hymns in the Liturgy, but they were
sung by the clergy only. This was the general situation in Germany at
the time of Luther, although over the centuries congregational hymnody
found more and more footholds in the service, as the many decisions pro
and con by synods and the like testify. Actually, the history of
hymnody in the Western Church begins rather late. Hilary of Poitiers,
at the middle of the fourth century, is considered to be the first
Latin hymnist. As is so often the case, he made use of hymns to combat
false doctrine.[13] The practice of singing hymns in the service was
imported by Ambrose, since Augustine notes that in 386 they observed
the custom of singing hymns in the churches of Milan "after the use of
the Eastern provinces."[14] Ambrose is considered the "Father" of Latin
hymnody, and after him it really flourished, finally achieving its height
during the Middle Ages. The Council of Braga (Spain) in 561, which was
of about as much consequence as the Council of Laodicea, forbade the

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[12] This practice was common throughout the Roman Church from the
earliest times. In its use the Kyrie is really considered a hymn, so
the Romans could perhaps claim that they had retained congregational
hymnody by this custom; cf. G. Dix, op. cit., p. 454 and n., p. 462.

[13] Edward S. Ninde, Nineteen Centuries of Christian Song (New
York: Fleming H. Revell, Co., 1918), pp. 34 f.

[14] C. S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 29.

singing of any poetical composition except those from the Old and New
Testaments.[15] It probably was never widely obeyed, but in the next
century there were still objections to "human" hymns in the liturgy,
since the Council of Toledo felt constrained to offer reasons why they
could be allowed.[16] After the ninth century, when sequences became
popular, the Church was really flooded with material for use in the
various services. It was not until the end of the twelfth century
that hymns of human composure were admitted into the Office as it was
sung at Rome.[17] The development in Germany from then on is traced in
the preceding chapter. The Latin hymns never were widely used by the
congregation. Ambrose's hymns had begun to be sung popularly, but their
use declined when the Divine Office became the sole property of the
clergy, especially the monks.[18] Both the vernacular and congregational
hymnody have but a scattered history in the Western Church.

One can see that the major part of Luther's historical justification
for the use of congregational hymnody and the use of the vernacular in
the Liturgy must go back to antiquity or to the distant East for material.
However, besides the growing trend in his own country, Luther had other
sources, some very close to home, which provided both theoretical and
practical encouragement for his "innovations" and, in one case, which
gave him an incentive for the use of the vernacular and congregational

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[15] Ibid., p. 48.

[16] L. F. Benson, op. cit., p. 72.

[17] Ibid., p. 74.

[18] Ibid., pp. 70 f.

hymnody. The most important of these was the Hussite movement, which gave him "the precedent and encouragement of the successful use of a popular hymnody" in the vernacular.[19] This we discussed in the last chapter. A more immediate and much more stimulating example was that of Thomas Münzer, whose contribution to hymnody was mentioned briefly in the last chapter. Luther had already mentioned the desirability of using German in the service in 1520,[20] but he did little to implement that statement.[21] Even before that and with increasing activity in the early twenties, "Evangelical" masses were being produced in various parts of Germany,[22] and men like Carlstadt and Münzer were quick to rush in where Luther feared to tread. Luther's own principles with regard to changing the traditional forms as well as his estimation of his rash brethren are best expressed in his Formula missae.

> . . . I have undertaken nothing either by force or command;
> nor have I changed old things for new, always being hesitant and
> fearful on account of those souls weak in the faith from whom
> the old and accustomed is not to be taken away suddenly or
> among whom a new and untried method of worshipping God is to

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[19] Ibid., p. 75.

[20] Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes (3rd ed.; Leipzig and Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 52.

[21] Luther was repeatedly asked to prepare a vernacular liturgy, but, with typical German stubbornness, he replied: "Since they press me for it, I will take my time about it." Thus he wrote in his treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets," 1524, quoted in Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, The Philadelphia Edition (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), VI, 167. There were other reasons, too—more valid ones. Luther wrote to Nicholas Hausmann in Zwickau in 1524: "I hope for a German Mass, but can scarcely provide it, for I am unequal to the task, which calls for music as well as the spirit"—Martin Luther, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters, translated and edited by Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1918), II, 259.

[22] Cf. Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 53

be introduced; and especially on account of those light and
fastidious spirits who, without faith, without reason, like
unclean swine, rush wildly about and rejoice only in the
novel, and as soon as the novelty has worn off forthwith
become disgusted with it.[23]

His approach, too, was tempered by his appreciation of the German

people, of whom he said: "For we Germans are an untamed, crude, boist-

erous folk with whom one ought not lightly start anything except under

the compulsion of a very great need."[24]   Luther's faithful adherence to

this dictum in his actions is revealed also in the Formula, where he

expresses the wish again that the entire Mass be celebrated in the

vernacular, suggesting a method of achieving that goal which reveals

a patience and common sense not markedly present in the other liturgical

reformers:

> I also wish as many of the songs as possible to be in the vernacular,
> which the people should sing during Mass either immediately after
> the Gradual, and immediately after the Sanctus and Agnus dei.
> For who doubts that once upon a time all the people sang these,
> which now only the choir sings or responds when the bishop is
> consecrating? But these songs may be ordered by the bishop in
> this manner, they may be sung either right after the Latin songs,
> or on alternate days, now Latin, now the vernacular, until the
> entire Mass shall be made vernacular.[25]

In 1524, the year in which Luther produced his ultra-conservative Formula

missae, Münzer published a complete Deutsch Evangelisch Messze, including

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and Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press,
1947), pp. 73 f.

[23] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 84.

[24] Ibid., p. 173.

[25] Ibid., p. 98.

nine[26] translations of German hymns, and not long after Straszburg followed with one of its own.[27] Luther's Deutsche Messe, coming two years later, far outstripped its predecessors[28] in influence, but here too Luther displayed his customary hesitancy in overthrowing tradition, even when he has ample precedent. Perhaps more than anything else, Luther's dislike for Münzer and his fellows galvanized him into action to counteract what he considered their pernicious influence[29] (an old story in hymnody---only here it is the case of one "heretic" combating another). Münzer probably had more to offer in this respect than Luther gave him credit for, and his hymns found their way very rapidly into "orthodox" Lutheran hymnals. When Luther later discovered this, he exhibited no small amount of chagrin. Nevertheless, Münzer's contribution to the cuase of vernacular liturgy and hymnody was a significant one, not only because he stimulated Luther but also for his work itself. Thus, an admirer of Luther like Strodach can say of Münzer in this connection that he possessed "deep appreciation, a fine sense of the churchly and of the spirit of worship, balance and constructive

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[26]Otto Schlizke, Handbuch der Lutherlieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1948), p. 13. This author mentions ten hymns in this work, but I could only verify nine in Wackernagel. Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 21 has the number ten also.

[27]Philipp Wackernagel, Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heyder & Zimmer, 1855), pp. 52 f. and 543.

[28]Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic, translated by A. G. Herbert (London: S. P. C. K., 1953), p. 122, claims that the first Mass we have in German dates from 1522.

[29]All commentators feel that Münzer thus impelled Luther to write hymns, some with more conviction than others.

conservatism."[30] In his preface to the Alstedt Messze, Münzer has the

following to say:

> Der halben ist mein ernstliche wol maynung noch diesen heutigen tag,
> der armen zurfallenden Christenheyt also zu helffen mit deutschen
> ampten es sey Messen, Metten oder Vesper. . . . I. Corint. 3. so
> wil sich kein vorschonen besser odder füglicher finden lassen, dann
> die selbige lobgesenge im deutschen zcu handeln, auff das die armen
> schwachen gewissdden nit schwinde herab gerissen werden odder mit
> losen unbewerten liedlen gesetiget, sonder mit voranderung des lateins
> ins deutsch mit psalmen und gesengen zum wort gottis und rechtem vorstant
> der Biblien sampt der meynung der guten veter wilche solche gesenge
> etwan zu erbawung des glaubens als zur ankunfft angericht haben
> kommen mögen, ja auch darumb das durch solch gesenge und psalmen
> die gewissen von laruen der kirchen abgerissen, und zum wort gottis
> in der Biblien vorfasset gezcogen werden, und nit so grob und
> unuorstendig wie ein hacke bloch bleyben. . . . Ja er sol das
> wueten der tyrannen nicht an sehn, sondern das Testament Christi
> offenbar handeln und Deutsch singen und erklaren, uff das die
> menschen mügen Christförmig werden. . . .[31]

A comparison of the liturgies of Luther and Münzer is beyond the scope

of this thesis, but it is interesting to note, for instance, that "Nun

bitten wir den heil'gen Geist," which is used as a Gradual in Luther's

Deutsche Messe, follows the sermon in Münzer's version.[32] Viewed also

from the standpoint of the hymns they chose to translate, Luther's and

Münzer's taste for hymns seems to be quite similar.

It can be seen that Luther found ample justification or at least

precedent in the history of the Church for the use of the vernacular,

hymns, and congregational participation in the Liturgy, although all

three of these did not always occur simultaneously. Luther adapted the

example of history to the need of the moment (not that Luther always

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[30]Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 53.

[31]P. Wackernagel, op. cit., pp. 541 f.

[32]Ibid., p. 53.

felt the need of a precedent), but what of the other great reformers?
Zwingli, the Humanist who picked apart the Canon of the Mass because of
its poor Latin[33] and the accomplished musician who played many instru-
ments, undoubtedly faced the Liturgy with mixed emotions. He entered
the scene very early, writing his first liturgical work, De canone
missae epicheiresis in 1523, a year which ranks high in the liturgical
annals of the Reformation since it also marked the appearance of Münzer's
German mass at Alstedt and Luther's "Von Ordenung Gottis Diensts ynn
der Gemeyne." His suggestions in the Epicheiresis are very conservative,
resembling greatly Luther's Formula missae.[34] Although the lections are
read in the vernacular, most of the liturgy is still in Latin. The canon
is replaced by a series of Latin prayers, quite lengthy and very didactic.[35]
However, the music of the Liturgy is severely cut down.[36] Brilioth, who
feels that Zwingli's order "in many respects excels . . . in liturgical
fitness" the Formula missae,[37] feels that it was considered only a
provisional stage. An intermediary stage is represented by his Apologia
to the attacks against it, in which he retreats from his original
position, now giving up vestments and the Latin Altargesang.[38] Two years
after the Epicheiresis Zwingli's Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals was
printed, and this apparently was considered the final stage, since it was
later and the more influential of the two, although its direct influence

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[33]Y. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 159.

[34]Fritz Schmidt-Clausing, Zwingli als Liturgiker (Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), p. 115.

[35]Ibid., pp. 116-120.

[36]Y. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 159.   [37]Ibid., p. 160.

[38]F. Schmidt-Clausing, op. cit., p. 82.

was quite limited.[39] Here Zwingli is much more radical, and in it he went much farther from his Epicheiresis than Luther did from the Formula missae in his Deutsche Messe, his two comparable documents. However, the comparison between the development of the two men certainly presents interesting parallels. His Action,[40] as it was used at Zürich, had no music at all, although Zwingli states in his preface that they did not condemn others for retaining singing and similar practices.[41] It was entirely in the vernacular, and the congregation was quite active (e.g., the men and the women would recite the verses of the Gloria in excelsis alternately following the first verse, which was recited by the pastor).[42] Thus, although Zwingli wrote several hymns and apparently greatly favored music in the home, he banned music from the services of the Church, which must be considered the one great weakness of his Action, which Brilioth, with reservations, calls "a liturgical masterpiece."[43] Koch presents a picture of the Zwingli home which resembles strongly the familiar one of Luther at home, with Papa Huldreich singing his children to sleep to the accompaniment of a lute or directing musical evenings with his friends,[44] while on Sundays his wife gathered the wives of the other clerics of the city to discuss the care of the poor and to sing the hymns of her husband and of Leo Jud.[45] The conflicting

[39]Y. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 164.

[40]F. Schmidt-Clausing, op. cit., pp. 128-141.

[41]Y. Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 160 f.   [42]F. Schmidt-Clausing, op. cit., pp. 131 f.

[43]Y. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 162.

[44]Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche (3rd ed.; Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belser'schen Verlagshandlung, 1866), II, 43.

[45]Ibid., p. 39.

picture of Zwingli in church and at home with regard to music is a
problem that many have tried to answer. Schmidt-Clausing feels that
he was opposed not so much to congregational hymnody, which was more or
less unknown to him, but to the clerus vagabundus with his parodies of
sacred texts, to the nuns with their unintelligible chanting, and to
the paid music for funerals (the more money, the better hereafter).
This he supports with quotations from Zwingli's "Schluszreden." To
those three must be added the Altargesang, which he called a Barbarum mur-
mur and which he eliminated" . . . quod ne hi quidem intelligunt."[46]
It is true that he nowhere specifically opposes congregational hymnody,
but his Action, prepared at a time when he was certainly familiar with
that practice, makes no mention of it, and the Action represents pretty
much Zwingli's conclusive ideas on the subject of the liturgy. His
followers were a bit more broad-minded about music in the Church, and
they took full advantage of his attitude that the Zürich practice was not
binding. Thus Oecolampadius in Basel made use of unaccompanied singing
of Psalms in 1526, and in St. Gall it is first reported in 1527 in the
Reformed churches there.[47] Soon after Zwingli's death, Johannes Zwick
of Constance brought out his Nüw gesangbüchle von vil schönen Psalmen
und geistlichen Liedern (1536-40), which was printed by Christoffel Frosch-
ower in Zürich (!). This hymnal contained hymns by Zwingli and Jud
among others. Its preface contained a convincing argument against the
attitude of Zwingli:

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[46]F. Schmidt-Clausing, op. cit., pp. 82 f.

[47]Ibid.

Um des Miszbrauch willen soll der rechte Gebrauch nicht werworfen
werden. Silber und Gold, Wein und Korn wird auch miszbraucht; soll-
te man darum nicht münzen, säen und pflanzen? Das Predigtamt
wird auch in einen grossen Miszbrauch kommen können; sollte man
darum jetzt vom Predigen lassen? Und wiewohl Singen nicht so
notwendig und geboten ist als Predigen, so bewirkt es doch, sofern
es recht geschieht, Gottes Lob und des Nächsten Besserung ebensowohl
als andere äuszerliche Dinge und ist ebensogut eine herzliche Ver-
mahnung, als sie sonst mit Worten geschehen mag. Und sollte
Vogelgesang Gottes Lob sein dürfen und nicht der Christen Gesang?[48]

The final blow came at the end of the century, since around 1598 an organ
was erected in the Grossmünster at Zürich, whose organ had been torn down
on December 9, 1527.[49] Thus Zwingli, one of the most talented and origi-
nal of the men to work on new forms of the Liturgy, was repudiated by
his own followers even in the city where he had the greatest influence.
In posterity, liturgically speaking, Zwingli was completely overshadowed
by Luther and Calvin.

Jean Calvin was in many ways less gifted liturgically than was
Zwingli, and yet he made important contributions to the history of both
the liturgy and hymnody. When he began his work, the vernacular question
had been settled, and throughout Protestantism the vernacular was used
to varying extents in the services of the Church.[50] However, the

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[48] Ibid., p. 83.

[49] Ibid., pp. 84 and 81.

[50] Calvin, too, felt that understanding the hymns was necessary, and
this in most cases would require the use of the vernacular. He quotes
Paul to the effect that spiritual songs can be sung properly only in
the heart, and, for that, understanding was necessary. He further quotes
Augustine that it is this element, understanding, which makes man's song
superior to that of the birds. These quotations are in J. Smend,
"Calvins Gedanken über das heilige Lied," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst
und Kirchliche Kunst, XIV (1909), 213. Cf. Luther's opinion about the
singing of birds, Christhard Mahrenholz, Luther und die Kirchenmusik
(Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1937), p. 5. Eduard Stricker, "Calvins
liturgische Bedeutung," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche

problem of the use of the hymns in the Liturgy and of congregational
participation remained to be determined, especially outside of Germany.
Calvin greatly respected this power of music, but he was a bit suspicious
of it, knowing how easily it could affect the emotions.[51] Because of
this, he too restricted its use in church, forbidding part singing,[52]
organs, and other instruments,[53] although he was much more lenient
toward music at home. Brilioth points out that, unlike Luther and Zwingli,
Calvin had never been a priest, so that he did not have the thorough
acquaintance with the ancient Liturgy which his colleagues had.[54]
Thus, it is not too surprising that the form of worship which he pro-
mulgated is really the least tradtional of the products of the three
great reformers, being more radical than even Zwingli's Action,[55]
except that it did not ban music from the church entirely. Calvin was

Kunst, XIV (1909), n p. 223, gives Calvin's original: "Il nout faut
souvenir de ce que dit St. Paul, que les chansons spirituelles ne se peu-
vent bien chanter que de cueur. Or le cueur requiert l'intelligence.
Et en cela (dit St. Augustin) gist la difference entre le chant des
hommes et celui des oyseaux."

[51] Ibid., p. 223.

[52] Ibid., pp. 215 and 223. Calvin's principles for each part in the
service were that it must be schriftgemäsz and erbaulich. Part singing
was not erbaulich enough for him. It was too little a means of conveying
God's Word and too much of an esthetic experience, ". . . zu viel Melo-
die und Harmonie and zu wenig Wort und Geist." We must take care that
this is not the case in our Church, since it can happen very easily.
Strangely enough, I think this is more the case in many Calvinistic
churches today, than it is in Lutheran ones.

[53] Robert M. Stevenson, Patterns of Protestant Church Music
(Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1953), pp. 14 ff.

[54] Y. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 171.

[55] Ibid., p. 178.

influenced by the liturgy being used at Straszburg, which was largely
the work of Bucer. In that liturgy, "the sacrament was treated as an
appendage to the preaching-service," and during the service psalms were
sung.[56] The effect this liturgy had on Calvin is obvious. Farel's
order of service, the prevailing one at Geneva when Calvin returned there
from Straszburg in 1541, ". . . had allowed no singing, at least in
the Lord's Supper."[57] This was too much for even Calvin, and Benson's
quotes the reasons he gave for allowing at least the Psalms to be sung:
(1) The example of the ancient Church and of St. Paul. (2) "The warmth
and uplift they would bring to our prayers, now so cold." (3) The
discovery of the benefit and consolation of Psalms, which the Pope
deprived the Church of by having them mumbled.[58] Farther than the
Psalms he would not go, however. Only the inspired Psalms were suitable
for worship,[59] he felt, thus taking a position which was not foreign
to either the Eastern or the Western Church, as we have seen. Whether
or not he did this because he was a "high churchman and a purist," as
one writer would have it[60], he did it, and his action was normative
for the Calvinistic churches for centuries. As was the fate of the
Council of Laodicea in the East and that of Braga in the West, Calvin's
principle of banning hymns of human composition from the service was

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[56] Ibid., pp. 173 f. On Bucer's influence over Calvin, cf. Wilhelm
Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950),
pp. 77-92.

[57] Ibid., pp. 172-174.

[58] L. F. Benson, op. cit., p. 80.

[59] R. M. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 13.

[60] Erik Routley, Hymns and Human Life (New York: Philosophical
Library, 1952), p. 38.

doomed to abrogation, although in this case it took much longer than the others. Starting with Watts and ending with the current popularity of organs in most if not all of the American Presbyterian churches, the heirs of Calvin have repudiated the tenets of their leader which eliminated musical instruments from the churches and hymns of human composition from the services.

Thus we can see that posterity has not been too kind to the liturgical ideas of two of the three great reformers, while Luther's liturgical writings, especially the Formula missae, which he specifically did not abrogate with his Deutsche Messe,[61] hold a firmer place today than they have for 150 years, and the proposed allgemein Liturgy for the evangelical churches of Germany represents pretty much of a return to the principles of the Formula. Luther, the conservative who retained vestments and much of the form of the traditional Liturgy while the others abolished them to a greater or lesser degree, and who advocated and wrote both metrical Psalms and orthodox hymns of "human composure" while Calvin limited himself to the Psalter and Zwingli kept hymns out of church entirely, Luther promulgated liturgical principles to which members of liturgical movements in all Protestant churches today look for guidance. In this instance we are particularly interested in his principles concerning the use of the vernacular and congregational hymnody in the Liturgy, so let us examine more fully Luther's point of view with reference to these.

We can see that Luther had ample precedent in the history of the Church for the use of congregational hymnody and of the vernacular, but

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[61] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 172.

we do not know just how much he knew about those precedents nor how much stock he put in them. Being a conservative, he undoubtedly derived much comfort from the fact that he was not the only person who thought the way in which he did on certain matters, but, being Luther, he hardly required that comfort and was just as inclined to throw over tradition if he had sufficient reason. "Quod bonum est tenebimus" was his principle, but he was the one who determined what bonum was. Just what his decision was on the vernacular and congregational hymnody we can best determine by examining his liturgical writings, his prefaces to hymnals, and his famous letter to Spalatin; and we shall do this in the following paragraphs.

It is interesting to note that Luther, in his first treatise on the Liturgy, written in answer to the request of the congregation at Leisnig "to appoint an order for them according to which they might pray and sing,"[62] does not list the lack of the vernacular and of congregational participation as one of the three "great and serious misuses" which "have entered into divine worship." The three were the silencing of God's word, the substitution of various falsities for it, and work righteousness in connection with it.[63] The word was of primary importance for him, but, since he did not believe in its ex opere operato efficacy, the use of the vernacular for at least the common people was an inevitable consequent of his love for the word. His main concern was not for the German language or for any other particular language, but that the Word of God be understood, in whatever language

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[62] Ibid., p. 55.

[63] Ibid., p. 60 ("Von Ordenung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne").

in which it might be presented, "since the chief and greatest aim of any service is to preach and teach God's Word. . . ."[64] For him it was not important that the Word be *deutsch* but *deutlich*, to use his own pun.[65] This would be achieved in several ways. Thus, in the *Formula missae*, when he complains about the choice of Epistles for the year, feeling that many of Paul's sections on faith had been omitted in favor of those dealing with morals and exhortations, he consoles himself by saying that " . . . in the meantime vernacular preaching will supply this lack."[66] In this he killed two birds with one stone, making the Word meaningful to the people and supplying that which some of the lections lacked. This solution was all right as long as the lections were in Latin, and the people could not understand them, but it could not be considered the final solution. Therefore, he follows the above quotation with the following:

> If it shall come to pass in the future that Mass shall be cele-
> brated in the vernacular (which may Christ grant!), attention
> must be given so that the Epistles and Gospels, chosen from
> the best and more weighty parts of these writings, be read
> in the Mass.[67]

Though in the Formula he retained the Latin language for most of the parts of the Liturgy, he already says, "I also wish as many of the songs as possible to be in the vernacular. . . ."[68] The basic justification for the use of the vernacular is given in the Augsburg Confession as follows: "et non modo Paulus (1 Cor. 14, 2 sq.) praecepit uti lingua

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[64]*Ibid.*, p. 176 ("Deutsche Messe"). [65]*Ibid.*, p. 154.

[66]*Ibid.*, p. 87 ("Formula Missae"). Under any circumstances, Luther desired that the lections be followed by vernacular exposition, which he considered to be a very ancient custom (p. 100).

[67]*Ibid.*, p. 87.   [68]*Ibid.*, p. 98 ("Formula Missae").

intellecta populo in ecclesia, sed etiam ita constitutum est humano iure."[69] In keeping with these principles, Luther's trend is toward more and more use of the vernacular. However, this was to him perhaps a practical, not an ideal solution to the problem. It was obviously easier to preach the Word in a language which they all understood, German, rather than to teach them all to understand Latin and continue preaching in that language, which he probably would have preferred. This is indicated by the reluctant way in which he approached his Deutsche Messe, in which he makes no bones about his regard for the Latin language.

> For I would in no wise banish the Latin tongue entirely from the Service, for the youth is my chiefest concern. If I could bring it to pass and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to us as the Latin, and offered as much good music and song, we would hold Mass, sing and read on successive Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.
> I am not at all in sympathy with those who cling to one language and despise all others. . . .[70] It is proper that the youth should be trained in many languages, for who knows how God may use them in time to come. For this our schools have been established.[71]

Thus Luther in his Latin Formula missae speaks out for the vernacular, and in his Deutsche Messe he lauds Latin, revealing a broad-mindedness which was almost unique in this respect for his time. Many of Luther's

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[69]Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch, op. cit., p. 51: Article XXIV, "De Missa," Section 4.

[70]Luther was at least as much opposed to the complete restriction of the service to the vernacular as he was to the sole use of Latin, as is indicated also in his treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets" (1524), where he wrote: "That the Mass is now held in German, pleases me, but when he (sc. Karlstadt) would make it a law, that it must be so, he goes too far. . . ." This is quoted in Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 167.

[71]Ibid., p. 172 ("Deutsche Messe").

deviations from the historical Liturgy were for the sake of the "weak"
or the unlearned, and among these must be included for the use of the
vernacular. Right in the Deutsche Messe Luther says that it (the German
order of Service)" . . . should be introduced for the sake of the simple
layman."[72] He never intended that the vernacular service should be
the only one used, for he says that both the Formula missae and the
Deutsche Messe types of service " . . . must be used publicly, in the
churches, for all the people."[73] Therefore, we are not surprised that
a description of the service in Wittenberg ten years later follows the
pattern of the Formula with many parts, including the Epistle and
Gospel, in Latin,[74] a pattern which liturgically-conservative Leipzig
was still following 200 years later at the time of Bach.[75] In the
German service, congregational hymnody played a much more integral
part than it did in the Formula, in which it played a rather incidental
role. Apparently Luther regarded vernacular hymns as indispensable
for the German service, since he said that "on festivals like Christmas,
Easter, Pentecost, St. Michael's Day, Purification, and the like, we

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid., p. 163.

[75]Luther reiterated his love for the Latin Mass in 1528, when, in
a letter to William Pravest at Kiel, he wrote the following: "In like
manner we celebrate mass with the wonted vestments and rites, except
that we insert some German hymns in the service and use the vernacular
in the words of consecration; but I would by no means entirely abolish
the Latin mass except under compulsion." This letter is contained in
Martin Luther, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters,
op. cit., II, 433.

must continue with the Latin services until enough German hymns become available for them."[76] The service in use in our Church today is a sort of mixture of Luther's two forms of the Liturgy, and he would probably be a bit disappointed at the uni-lingual capacity of our people.

Luther's use of congregational hymnody is usually considered to be a practical result of his doctrine of the Royal Priesthood of Believers. That is certainly true. He had other reasons too for the use of hymns in general, which I have organized as follows: (1) Their use in the Old Testament cultus, used by prophets and kings to praise God.[77] (2) St. Paul's exhortation in the New Testament (Col. 3, 16) ". . . to sing spiritual songs and psalms heartily unto the Lord in order to that God's Word and Christian teaching might be propagated by this means and practiced in every way."[78] (3) The example of the early Church, especially with regard to psalm singing.[79] (4) Luther did not want the destruction of the arts. Rather, he says:

> Furthermore I am not of the opinion that all arts are to be
> cast down and destroyed on account of the Gospel, as some
> fanatics protest; on the other hand I would gladly see all arts,

[76]Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 185 ("Deutsche Messe"). The use of the term "insert" in the note immediately above also seems to indicate the fact that vernacular hymns were much less an integral part of the Latin Mass of the "Formula," while they were indispensable to the "Deutsche Messe" type service.

[77]Ibid., p. 283 ("Preface" to Walther's Chorgesangbüchlein, 1524).

[78]Ibid. Cf. also the Augusburg Confession, Article XXIV, "De Missa," Section 2: "Servantur et usitatae ceremoniae fere omnes, praeterquam quod latinis cantionibus admiscentur alicubi germanicae, quae additate sunt ad docendum populum. Nam ad hoc unum opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos." This is quoted in Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch, op. cit., p. 51. Of course, hymns and other ceremonies had other uses than to teach the people.

[79]Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 283 ("Preface" to Walther's Chorgesanbuchlein, 1524) and p. 98 ("Formula Missae").

especially music, in the service of Him who has given and
created them.[80]

By putting all of man's talents into the service of the Church, Luther
again appears very broad-minded, especially in comparison with the
other reformers. (5) He saw in them something which could be used to
advantage with the youth, who were his constant concern, since he would
thereby ". . . have something whereby they may be weaned away and freed
from the love ballads and worldly songs, and instead of these learn
something wholesome and beneficial."[81] (6) Luther felt that hymns would
not only praise God and spread the Gospel,[82] but that they would also
strengthen the people's faith[83] and negatively, harm the pope.[84]
(7) He believed that anyone who had the joyous Christian Gospel would
be unable to refrain from singing and speaking about it, and that such
a lack would indicate that he was still in the old, joyless covenant.[85]
(8) Finally, Luther, with Paul, felt that he should use everything at
his disposal, so that by all means he might save some.[86] Hymnody was

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[80] Ibid., p. 284.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Cf. notes 77 and 78 and ibid., p. 100 ("Deutsche Messe").

[83] Ibid., p. 290 ("Preface" to Klug's hymnal, Zum Begrebnis, 1542).

[84] Ibid., pp. 294-295 ("Preface" to Babst's 1545 hymnal). Cf. also
Wilhelm Nelle, op. cit., p. 5, where Luther is quoted as having said in
1520: "Gott gebe uns den Posaunen eine, womit die Mauern Jerichos unge-
worfen wurden." With his hymns he helped to throw down the walls of
Rome.

[85] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 294
(Babst 1545 "Preface").

[86] Armin Haeussler, The Story of Our Hymns, The Handbook to the
Hymnal [1941] of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (St. Louis: Eden
Publishing House, 1952), p. 772: "Our opponents cannot claim ignorance
of the doctrine of the Gospel, since we have preached, written, painted
and sung it."

included in those "all means," as he stated in his preface to the
Deutsche Messe: "For their sake (the non-Christians and the Christians
who needed strengthening) we must read, sing, preach, write and compose,
and if it would help the matter along, I would have all the bells
pealing, and all the organs playing, and ley everything chime in that
has a clapper."[87]   Besides, one might add several more reasons to those
which Luther himself gave. One of these is the example of the radicals,
Thomas Münzer especially, which he viewed with distaste and alarm.
Another is suggested by our Jesuit friend, Grisar, of less than blessed
memory, who claims that the heart of the divine service, the Mass, had
been removed, and that Luther needed something to revive the "corpse"
which was left. However, he concludes, ". . . even the popular religious
hymns now introduced, impressive though they were, failed to inspire
[the service] with life."[88] I suppose one could mention many other
reasons. I shall confine myself to one more; that is, Luther's own
great love for music and his deep understanding of the German people and
its like love. Our first chapter showed how great that love was, and a
man as close to the people as was Luther could not overlook or disregard
such a factor. Also, because of the liturgical result of that love, he
could say with Melanchthon that the use of German songs in the Liturgy
was, after all, "so neu nicht."[89] I do not think that one would be
exaggerating if he said that Luther had sufficient grounds for the use

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[87] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 171.

[88] Hartmann Grisar, Martin Luther, His Life and Work (St. Louis:
B. Herder, 1935), p. 250.

[89] Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche,
deutsch und lateinisch, op. cit., p. 249; "Apology," Article XXIV (XII),
"De Missa."

of hymnody in the service of the Church.

Vernacular hymnody, then, was firmly established in the ranks of the Lutheran Church. Its position in the Liturgy at this time is less definite. Some of the early Kirchenordnungen do not even mention congregational singing.[90] Those orders that followed the Formula missae would not emphasize the hymn as much as the followers of the Deutsche Messe would, so there was hardly any uniformity of approach in Germany. This subject is open to debate and is beyond the scope of this thesis.[91] There was some question too, as to how the congregation could be trained to sing hymns. The KOO have several suggestions on how to solve this problem. If there were a choir, that could lead the singing, or the cantor or some of the schoolboys would stand in the midst of the congregation and support its singing.[92] It seems that the organ was not generally used to accompany the hymns for about a hundred years, and Luther and the KOO offer little information concerning that instrument.[93] The congregations apparently were somewhat slow in picking up the singing of the hymns, and for many years most of the hymnals were printed not for the congregation, but for the clergy, cantor, and schoolchildren.[94]

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[90]Johann Daniel von der Heydt, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik in Deutschland (Berlin: Trowitsch & Sohn, 1926), p. 44.

[91]A. C. Piepkorn, "The Function of the Hymn in Early Lutheran Liturgies," The Lutheran Scholar, V, 1 (January, 1948), pp. 1-8.

[92]J. D. von der Heydt, op. cit., p. 44.

[93]R. Freiherr von Liliencron, Liturgisch-musikalische Geschichte der evangelischen Gottesdienste von 1523 bis 1700 (Schleswig: Druck und Verlag von Julius Bergas, 1893), pp. 84 f.

[94]Friedrich Blume, Die evangelische Kirchenmusik (New York: Musurgia Publishers, 1931), p. 35. However, Dr. Danneil, D. Martin Luthers Geistliche Lieder (Frankfurt am Main: Schriften-Niederlage des

By Luther's death the situation was much improved.[95] Thus, during the space of his working years, his Church had already become the "singing" Church in practice as well as in theory.

As the final step in this rather disjointed chapter, let us consider why Luther himself, busy with the affairs of the Church and pre-occupied with matters doctrinal, should write hymns. Although no one valued the pre-Reformation hymnological heritage more than did Luther, yet he recognized the need of much further work on the part of the evangelicals. Nelle sums up the contribution of the Church before Luther: a good number of the great hymns of the Church appeared before Luther, many fine melodies were also in existence (which Luther prized so highly, despite his disapproval of their texts,[96] and a certain amount of congregational hymnody was permitted if not encouraged in the service.[97] Luther took full advantage of this great heritage, but it needed to be purified and expanded, and Luther was not willing to undertake that task himself, nor apparently, was anyone else. Thus in his Formula missae he complains as follows:

Evangelischen Vereins, 1883), p. 4 f., states rightly that the Erfurt Enchiridion of 1524 was designed for use by the congregation, so that they could read along as the choir sang the hymns and thus learn them.

[95]J. D. von der Heydt, op. cit., p. 45. C. Mahrenholz, op. cit., p. 21, tells of an incident late in Luther's life which displeased him very much. The people ". . . murmelten und brummeten. . . ." the hymns and Psalms of the service, which he thought should be sung clearly and distinctly. "Wollt ihr ja, sprach er, brullen, brummen, grunzen und murren: so gehet hinaus unter die Kühe und Schweine, die werden euch wohl antworten, und lasset die Kirche ungehindert." This incident is recorded in the Tischreden of 1545. Luther would probably be displeased with the singing of some of our congregations (and also choirs) today.

[96]Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., IV, 289 ("Preface" to Klug's hymnal, Zum Begrebnis, 1542).

[97]Wilhelm Nelle, op. cit., p. 34.

But poets are wanting among us,—or they are not known as yet,—who can put together pleasingly pious and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them, which are worthy to be used by all the people in the Church of God.[98]

He tried to rectify the situation by stimulating his friend Spalatin and

another follower, John von Dolzig, to translate some of the Psalms,

". . . but only in case you both have leisure . . .", which shows that

he did not consider the request an urgent one. In the same famous

letter to Spalatin Luther wrote as follows:

> We are seeking everywhere for poets, and since you are gifted with such knowledge of the German language and command so elegant a style, cultivated by much use, I beg that you will work with us in this matter and try to translate some one of the psalms into a hymn. . . .[99]

He sent along one of his own translations as a model of a sorts, stating

meanwhile that "I lack the gift to do what I wish to see done, and so I

shall try you and see if you are a Heman or an Asaph or a Jeduthun."[100]

Spalatin did not respond immediately, so Luther wrote him soon after-

wards: "I have no news to write you, my dear Spalatin, except that I

am awaiting your German poems, of which I wrote you recently."[101]

Apparently Spalatin, and Dolzig too, for that matter, never complied with

Luther's request, and so he had to look farther-afield for those who would

do the work. This he did in the Walter'sche Chorgesangbüchlein, which

contained four of his hymns and which he brought out ". . . to offer this

as an example and an incentive to those who are better able to do this. .

. ."[102]   It would seem that Luther's main purpose in writing hymns, out-

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[98] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 98.

[99] Martin Luther, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters, op. cit., II, 211.

[100] Ibid.   [101] Ibid., p. 212.

[102] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 283.

side of the glory of God, was to stimulate others to do the same.
(However, he had enough pride in his work to object to the treatment it
received at the hands of some printers, consoling himself with the fact
that SS. Jerome and Augustine had suffered the same difficulty and
remarking that " . . . you'll always find mice dirt mixed with the
pepper.")[103]   Luther had other reasons for writing hymns, though, I
believe. In each case, however, that process fulfilled a need, either
a personal need for expression, such as "Ein neues Lied wir heben an"
and "Ein' feste Burg," both of which seem to have poured from him in
moments of great emotion, or the need of the Church for hymns and hymn
writers. This latter does seem the greater impulse, though, since once
he had gotten the hymnological ball rolling, he produced hymns only at
scattered intervals and usually for a specific need.

When it came to the problem of writing hymns, Luther contended that
he himself was no poet and thus was not suited for the job.[104] Although
many, including Preuss[105] and his disciple, Plass,[106] qualify this
statement by saying that Luther meant he was not a poet in the humanistic
sense, I think that it was a sincere statement and means exactly what it
says. Luther felt that he was not a poet,[107] and this shows both how

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[103]Ibid., p. 286.

[104]Martin Luther, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary
Letters, op. cit., p. 211.

[105]Hans Preuss, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: Druck und
Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1931), p. 145.

[106]E. M. Plass, This Is Luther (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing
House, 1948), p. 371.

[107]Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evangel-
isches Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 41, further proves this point by mentioning

truly humble he was and also how God made use of this man in ways of which he was not aware, perhaps even against his will. For, as we have seen, having received no response from Spalatin or others "more qualified," Luther sat down to write a few hymns and finished the task some twenty years later, having completely disproved his own opinion of himself as far as his poetical ability was concerned and having amassed a collection of hymns of unparalleled power, scope, and influence. The "incentive and example" of his hymns in the Walter'sche Chorgesangbüchlein consisted of two-thirds of his total output and accomplished considerably more than their avowed purpose,[108] being of great intrinsic worth, although they also carried out that purpose to the extent that those who were inspired by this incentive and were wise enough to follow this example added their accomplishments to his, giving the Lutheran church a body of religious poetry which, in the opinion of many nonpartisan observers, is unexcelled throughout the world and which has made the Lutheran church, when it is true to itself and to its founder, the "singing church."

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that Luther never brought out an edition of his hymns and other poems, something a "poet" would naturally do.

[108] Martin Luther, The Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 283.

CHAPTER IV

LUTHER'S HYMN WRITING TECHNIQUE

Poetically and stylistically, Luther did not, like Pallas Athene, spring full-blown from the head of Zeus. He was not an isolated genius who started from scratch and ended up with the fully-developed chorale. People used to think that J. Sebastian Bach was one of those isolated geniuses. Today, as we discover more and more how many masters were Bach's teachers in one way or another, we find that our estimation of Bach does not decrease on that account but rather increases, for we see that even when he stands among giants he is still head and shoulders above them. Among midgets, even a normal man would look impressive; among giants, it takes a man of true greatness to stand out. This is also the case with Luther and his poetry. We see that he draws from many sources stylistically,[1] but in the end he is sui generis and has risen above the various factors which influenced him to produce characteristic and distinctive masterpieces. This is not true in every case, of course, but the exceptions merely serve to enhance the truly unique power of his best creations. In this chapter, let us discuss briefly the "Lutheran Synthesis," treating particularly his rhythm, rhyme, and diction.

Stapel writes: "Das Zeitalter Luthers war keine Blütezeit der deutschen Dichtung."[2] It was a transitional period between the age of

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[1] In the next chapter we shall see that he drew on many sources for his content also.

[2] Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evan-

Minnelieder and the Baroque era in German poetry, between ritterlich
and bürgerlich poetry,[3] between Walther von der Vogelweide and Johann
Wolfgang von Goethe, the two glories of German poetry. Even at that
there were many influencing factors prevalent at Luther's time. Although
Spitta[4] and others detect overtones of the Minnesänger in his poetry
occasionally, most authorities feel that he was influenced primarily by
Meistergesang, the Volkslieder, and earlier hymns, both in Latin and in
the vernacular. If this is true, and it seems quite evident that it is,
then virtually every poetical influence in the history of German litera-
ture is represented in the hymns of Martin Luther, who fused them in his
unique synthesis. Here again we see Luther as the heir of a great
heritage who put the inheritance from his fathers to work and produced
an even greater legacy for his own heirs. As has so often been the
case, Luther the conservative here stuck to the old paths and yet
somehow blazed a new trail for the future.

In the first fruits of German poetry there was a very close
relationship between rhyme and meter, much more so than was ever again
the case. This is true because in the old epic poetry of Germany
" . . . war der Stabreimvers die Kunstform der Dichtung;"[5] that is,
accented syllables which carried the sense of the poetry were rhymed

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gelisches Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 23. Rather than give a translation of
the excellent section on mechanics in Stapel's fine volume, pp. 23-39,
I shall refer only to the highlights here and refer to him for further
information. This entire chapter is based largely on his work.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Friedrich Spitta, Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, die Lieder Luthers
in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied (Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), p. 358.

[5]W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 25.

with like-sounding syllables in the same verse. Internal rhyme or alliteration ruled the form, and the number of feet remained rather free, the meter or the length of the verse being determined by the rhyme. "Es herrscht der Logos, nicht das Melos,"[6] This principle continued to affect folk poetry long after it no longer applied in formal composition, and it was thus that epic poetry also influenced Luther's work, even though he was undoubtedly not conscious of the fact. In Meistergesang a new principle came into effect; namely, that the number of syllables became the basic element of the form. That number was closely regulated, and corresponding verses had to have the same number of syllables. Once the poet set his metric scheme, he had to adhere to it. However, the accent remained free within that set number of syllables,[7] and in this way Meistergesang differed from classic poetry, although it was still a step in the direction of formalism. "Das Melos hat im Wesentlichen über den Logos gesiegt;" it could no longer be said that the chief element of the poem was " . . . der Sinn, nicht die Melodie."[8] Later, under the influence of Humanism and men like Opitz, the rhythm began to rule the sense. Both the accent and the number of feet were fixed, and it is poetry in this form with which we are most familiar. Thus, the later poet had to adjust his meaning to a set meter and to a set number of feet, while the Meistersinger had to cater to the latter only and the epic poet

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[6]Ibid.

[7]Hans Joachim Moser, Die Melodien der Lutherlieder (Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, n.d.), pp. 31-33, describes how actually each syllable was accented, although in practice there was a natural rise and fall of accent as Stapel explains it.

[8]W. Stapel, op. cit., pp. 25 f.

to neither.

It is because of this development that we often have trouble scanning Luther's hymns and decide that they are rather crude. We must always remember that Luther adhered quite closely to the form of the Meister-singer; that is, he followed a set pattern in regard to the number of feet in a verse, but the meter remained free--nor can we disregard the other influences upon him, especially the epic-folk tradition. For Luther, the sense almost always regulated the accent.[9] Even though as he grew older he seemed to value a set rhythm more and more,[10] he rarely allowed it to be detrimental to the sense, as was so often the case with the later poets. It is generally agreed that Luther had a remarkable rhythmic sense[11] (Spitta regarded "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" as particularly noteworthy in this respect),[12] but some, especially non-Germans, do not think this is the case. Thus, Armin Haeussler can say that Luther's hymns are " . . . somewhat lacking in meter. . . ."[13] If he confined this statement to the translations of Latin hymns, most

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[9] Hans Preusz, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1931), p. 152.

[10] W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 31.

[11] H. Preusz, ibid.

[12] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 365.

[13] Armin Haeussler, The Story of Our Hymns, The Handbook to the Hymnal of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1952), p. 773. Louis F. Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church (New York City: George H. Doran, 1927), p. 76, damns Luther's technique with the following faint praise: "They are as plain as Ambrose's, with more metrical variety but hardly poetic."

German critics would probably agree with him,[14] but, in general, not.

When it comes to Luther's rhyme, the influence of the old epic poetry is more evident than it is in his meter, for Stabreim, or alliteration, is a basic component of his literary style. We have examples of times when Luther changed his translations of Bible passages to make them more alliterative. One of these is Mark 14:33 which Luther translated in 1522 as " . . . und fieng an zu ertzittern und zu engsten" and in 1534 rendered " . . . und fing an zu ertzittern und zu zagen." Observe the play on l's and i's in the following passage from "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein:"

> Sie lehren eitel falsche List
> Was eigen Witz erfindet . . .

Another example is the following, from "Das deutsche Sanctus:" " . . . auf einem hohen Thron in hellem Glanz."[15] Luther also made considerable use of assonance in his poetry, something common to both epic and classic poetry.

During the ninth century, Endreim came into use in Germany, a result of the influence of Latin poetry. By Luther's time this kind of rhyme was commonly in use, and Luther made use of it as well as Stabreim. Luther is often accused of being very poor at rhyming,[16] or

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[14] One meets with descriptions like steif and schwer in almost every German commentary in connection with the majority of the translations.

[15] These examples are in W. Stapel, op. cit., pp. 36 ff., where he lists many more examples. The rules are as follows: a vowel will alliterate with any other vowel as long as they are both accented syllables and are preceded by identical consonants. In assonance, a dissimilar consonant follows a similar vowel: ihm - hin.

[16] A more complete quotation from A. Haeussler, op. cit., above is that Luther's hymns are " . . . somewhat lacking in meter and rhyme . . .;" in fact, " . . . many have no rhyme."

he is at most credited with being unconcerned about it.[17] However,

to understand Luther's rhymes correctly, we must take a glance at the

state of the German language at this time. In the sixteenth century,

a large number of dialects was in use in German, and these often

differed widely in their pronunciation. In Eisleben and Mansfeld

Plattdeutsch was still in common use in his day. Thus, Luther repeatedly

said that he was " . . . kein Thüring, sondern ein durus saxo."[18] In

Magdeburg also he used Plattdeutsch. However, Luther chose to write

his hymns and his translation of the Bible in a sort of combination of

Hochdeutsch and Mitteldeutsch, making use especially of the Kanzlei-

sprache, the language used in almost all the courts and official offices

of Germany. He felt that this was the most common dialect;[19] as a result

he made it that much more so, and it became the unifying dialect of the

German nation.[20] Nevertheless, there was still a great amount of varia-

tion at his time, with the result that many rhymes which appear to us

[17]Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied von Martin
Luther bis zur Gegenwart (2nd ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt,
1951), p. 24: " . . . so zeigt er sich auf der andern Seite durch die
Sorge um reine Reime so wenig beschwert, dasz er oft genug mit Annäher-
ungen zufrieden ist." Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangel-
ischen Kirchenliedes, edited by Karl Nelle (3rd ed.; Leipzig und
Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 42:
"Im übrigen ist Luther um die Feinheit der Sprache und des Reims un-
bekümmert."

[18]W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 24.

[19]Ibid., pp. 24 f., quotes Luther as follows: "Ich habe keine ge-
wisse, sonderliche, eigene Sprache im Deutschen, sondern brauche der
gemeinen deutschen Sprache, dasz mich sowohl die Ober- wie die Nieder-
länder verstehen können. Ich rede nach der sächsischen Kanzlei, welcher
Fürsten und Könige nachfolgen; alle Reichsstädte, Fürsten-Höfe schreiben
nach der sächsischen Kanzlei unserer Kurfürsten. Darum ist es auch die
allgemeinste Sprache Deutschlands."

[20]Ibid. The author remarks how astounding it is that the language
of Goethe and Schiller should have evolved from a Kanzleisprache.

to be hopelessly impure were either pure or nearly so to the ears
of Luther and his contemporaries.[21]

From "Aus tiefer Not" Stapel, to illustrate the point above,
gives the example of the rhyme of "ruffen" with "offen" in Walther's
Wittenberg Chorgesangbüchlein of 1524. In the Nürnberg Achtliederbuch
of the same year, those words were spelled "rüffen" and "öffen."
In Oberdeutsch it was "Ruoffen" and "offen," while in Niederdeutsch
it was "rôpen" and "ôpen." Thus, that apparently very weak and very
impure rhyme turns out to be rather respectable at that. Besides, as
Stapel points out after going to all the trouble of proving the purity
of Luther's rhyme, they were not nearly so concerned with such a thing
in Luther's day as we are today. He calls purity of rhyme an " . . .
akademisch-literarisch-französiches Postulat," which is about as nasty
a thing as a German could say. In regard to Luther he writes: "Der
Sinn war ihm heilig, die Reim-technik nicht. Er war kein Aesthet, son-
dern ein Prophet."[22] It is interesting to note that one-third of
Luther's poems end with the so-called Waisen, or unrhymed syllables.
This custom was very common in folk poetry, and it is accounted one of
the many influences of that type on Luther. In addition, I believe
that there is eschatological significance in Luther's use of the
Waise, for he felt that everything we do here on earth is somehow
incomplete and will find its consummation only in heaven. The suspense

[21]H. Preusz, op. cit., n. p. 151, lists the study of Risch in this
field: A. Risch, "Sprache und Reim der Lutherlieder als Kriterium ihrer
Entstehungszeit," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst,
1908, pp. 155 ff.

[22]W. Stapel, op. cit., pp. 34 f.

and unfinished quality of a verse ending on an unrhymed syllable somehow
fits marvelously into his theology.

Another place where the influence of the _Volkslied_ upon Luther as
a poet is evident is in his choice of words. In his letter to Spalatin
he wrote:

> But I wish that you would leave out all new words and words that
> are only used in court. In order to be understood by the people,
> only the simplest and commonest words should be sung, but they
> should also be pure and apt and should give a clear sense, as
> near as possible to that of the Psalter.[23]

Luther wanted no elaborate terminology nor artificial "artiness," for
these songs were to be sung by all the people and understood by them.
In general, he tried to keep his words as monosyllabic as possible, and
yet it is amazing what variety and richness he achieved with such
simplicity and economy of means. That is the test for true art, and he
passed with flying colors. He did not become involved in long and
complicated conditional sentences either. Eschewing if's and but's, he
stuck to the simple and direct indicatives and imperatives.[24] Further
to achieve comprehensibility, he tried to make each individual verse a
component in itself and understandable apart from the rest of the
stanza. Nelle describes this as follows: ". . . fast immer ist eine
Zeile ein Satz."[25] That too was a great accomplishment and contributed
greatly to the value of Luther's hymns.

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[23]Martin Luther, _Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary
Letters_, translated and edited by Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs
(Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1918), II, 211.

[24]P. Gabriel, _op. cit._, p. 24.

[25]W. Nelle, _op. cit._, p. 41.

Taking another cue from the Volkslied, Luther attempted to keep
his hymns and hymn stanzas fairly brief. What he said about sermons is
also applicable here: "Lange predigen ist keine Kunst, aber recht und
wohl predigen, lehren, hoc opus, hic labor est."[26] Luther did write
some fairly long hymns (e.g., "Vom Himmel hoch"--fifteen stanzas),
but, if one compares the average length of his hymns with those in the
Freylinghausen Gesangbuch,[27] for instance, where there are more pages
than hymns (1141 octavo pages, 1056 hymns, with about eight to twelve
stanzas per page), one would discover how concise he actually was. As
a preacher Luther expanded his material, as a poet he concentrated it
to become concise and monosyllabic.[28]

As for Luther's stanza form, he was influenced by both the
Volkslied and by the Latin hymns, adhering closely to the latter in
his translations, but more often being influenced by the former in his
more original hymns. However, Spitta is quick to point out that his
form is often more refined and complex than that of his model.[29]

After having made a brief overview of the various influences which
combined to produce Luther's poetic technique, one must surely account
him a master who made use of so many traditions and fused them by the
heat of his own inspiration into a powerful, natural, and yet individual

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[26] W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 22.

[27] Geistreiches Gesang-Buch Den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich
haltend, in gegenwärtiger bequemer Ordnung und Form, Nach denen unter
diesem Namen alhier schon edirten Gesang-Büchern eingerichtet, Heraus-
geben von Jo. Anastasio Freylinghausen (Andere Auflage; Halle: In
Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1737).

[28] W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 38.

[29] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 366.

form. Using the meter mostly of the Meistersinger, the Endreim of
of Ambrosian Latin hymnody, the Stabreim of epic poetry, and the diction
and economy of Volkslieder with an occasional hint of Minnegesang,
Luther produced the chorale in its strongest shape at its very outset,
something which the efforts of pedantic poets like Opitz and "purists"
like Klopstock could suppress neither successfully nor permanently.

CHAPTER V

THE SOURCES AND DATES OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS

Luther, recognizing the force and effectiveness of the hymns
already in circulation, did not hesitate to make use of them. The Latin
hymns he translated, emending them when necessary for purity of
doctrine.[1] The German hymn stanzas then in use and so popular among
the people he elaborated upon by writing further stanzas, which con-
tinued the theme set by the original hymn. Blume lists the three basic
components of the groundwork upon which Luther built his new hymnody:
" . . . die liturgischen Gesänge der alten Kirche, das Volkslied und
das vorreformatorische deutsche geistliche Lied."[2] To these must be
added the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. When we
assemble all these, we can see the vast majority of Luther's hymnological
materials assembled ready for use. The crucial thing, however, was
that he did use them. They were available to everyone else, too, but
who put them to such effective use as did the great Reformer? The
fact that Luther's materials were not new does not rob him of his
originality, however.[3] The material was there, but it had to be
assembled by a master craftsman, a man who could view the needs of the
Church from a commanding position, who could view them with a desire to

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[1] In the next chapter we shall discuss Luther's translations of
Latin hymns.

[2] Friedrich Blume, Die evangelische Kirchenmusik (New York: Musur-
gia Publishers, 1931), p. 6.

[3] Luther probably became acquainted with much of the Latin and
vernacular pre-Reformation hymnody not only in the various liturgical
services of the Church but also through his experiences as a currende
Schuler.

fill those needs and the ability to implement that desire with action. That Luther was that man more than any other of his contemporaries has been the verdict of history. Caught " . . . weder in die Blässe des Experiments noch in die Enge des Purismus,"[4] he could treasure the heritage of the past and yet put that heritage to a new but not radical use. "Sing unto the Lord a new song" was his cry to the Church, and yet for him a "new" song was not one which was lately written but one which truly praised God and instructed the people, whether it be young or old.[5]

While Luther's Latin translations, especially those that are quite literal, are usually considered to be among his weakest and are certainly among his least popular hymns, that is not at all the case with his continuations of the old German stanzas. These latter are generally put near the very forefront of his hymns in poetic quality, and they are definitely among his most-used hymns. Spitta compares Luther's treatment of these hymn stanzas to musical variations on an old theme,[7] for the original stanza truly set the mood, the rhyme scheme, the meter, and the stanza form, and Luther usually continued them very closely and carefully, not at all hampered by such limiting factors. Yet, although he made few changes in the original stanzas and

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[4] F. Blume, op. cit., p. 2.

[5] Christhard Mahrenholz, Luther und die Kirchenmusik (Kassel: Barenreiter Verlag, 1937), pp. 12 f.

[6] Hans Preuss, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1931), p. 151.

[7] Friedrich Spitta, Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott. Die Lieder Luthers in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), p. 371.

followed them quite closely in the further stanzas, he usually achieved

a very "Lutheran" hymn. This is certainly a great indication of his

creative ability, it seems, and not an indication that he needed a

crutch upon which to support himself poetically, as some Roman Catholic

scholars would have us believe. It demonstrates his ability to absorb

completely the spirit and from of his predecessors without hampering

his own creative originality. It was just that complete absorption

of the spirit of the past which enabled him to speak its language

without strained and artificial imitation; yet his concern for the

problems of the present enabled him to speak that language in terms

which were meaningful and helpful to the people of his own era.

Not all of Luther's hymn texts were based upon older hymns,

however. Most of them, as hymns, were original with him, although

here too he found sources for inspiration in many places, such as his

own experience and especially the Bible. As was generally the case

among the reformers, Luther appears at first to have inclined mainly

toward the use of rhymed versions of the Psalms for congregational

hymnody. This is indicated by his letter to Spalatin, whom he begged

to " . . . work with us in this matter and try to translate some one

of the psalms into a hymn."[8] He never lost his regard for the Psalter

as the ultimate in religious poetry. In 1530, in his dedication of

the "Auslegung des 111. Psalms," he wrote the following:

> Und hatte auch Willen, davon ein sonderlich neu Lied zu machen.
> Aber weil der Heilige Geist, der hohest und beste Poet oder

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Martin Luther, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary
Letters, translated and edited by Preserved Smith and Charles M.
Jacobs (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Soceity, 1918), II, 211.

Dichter, zuvoren bereit besser und feiner Lieder - nämlich die
lieben Psalmen - gemacht hat, Gott damit zu danken und loben,
hab' ich meine geistige und schnöde Poeterei oder Gedicht lassen
fahren und diesen Psalm, des Heiligen Geists Lied und Gedicht,
für mich genommen. . . .[9]

It seems that Luther's very first hymns were completely original:
"Nun freut euch" and "Ein neues Lied," but the first hymns he wrote
specifically for congregational use and for publication in a hymnal were
translations of the Psalms, although other types of hymns soon followed
from his pen. His Psalm versions for the most part adhere quite faith-
fully to the content and sequence of the originals, being about as
faithful as poetic paraphrases can be. Luther's practice varied as
the spirit moved him. Sometimes he gave an almost line-for-line
translation, as in his versions of Psalms 128 ("Wohl dem, der in Gottes
Furcht steht") and 67 ("Es wollt uns Gott gnädig sein"); sometimes
he became a little free with the text, as in Psalm 130 ("Aus tiefer
Not"); and sometimes it seems as if he used the Psalm merely for a
starting point for his inspiration rather than as the basis for a
metrical translation, such as in Psalm 46 ("Ein feste Burg ist unser
Gott"). In general, one might say that he treated the inspired hymns
with respect and love, and some of the resulting hymns have found an
abiding place in the hearts of the people.

Other sections of the Old Testament as well as of the New, in addi-
tion to traditional liturgical texts, also presented Luther with material
for his hymns. These are grouped mainly around the Catechism and the
Liturgy. It seems quite logical that Luther, who valued the pedagogic

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[9]Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evangel-
isches Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 20.

quality of poetry highly, should provide metrical versions of the various parts of his Catechism. Some of them are perhaps less appropriate for congregational singing than they are as aids in the learning of the chief parts of our faith, but that can not be helped. They follow the presentation of the chief parts quite closely, and I believe that they could be used much more widely than they are for the purpose of teaching the Catechism. The other hymns based on Biblical texts vary as much as the Psalms do as far as Luther's treatment of them is concerned, some being almost literal translations, like the German "Sanctus" ("Jesaiah, dem Propheten"), and others being quite free, like the "Nunc Dimittis" ("Mit Fried und Freud"). The same is true of his treatment of the traditional liturgical texts, varying from the close translation of the "Te Deum" ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir") to the rather free version of the "Credo" ("Wir glauben all").

In general, one can say that Luther could receive inspiration from almost any source in Scripture or in the history of the Church. His treatment of these sources varied so much that it is impossible to draw any very explicit conclusions from his practice. One might think that he would adhere very strictly to a scriptural text which he might use and treat the traditional hymns less reverently; sometimes the opposite was true. One thing Luther did invariably, and that was to preserve the message of the source of his hymn, which, after all, was the most important element involved.

Some hymns Luther based upon no source except his own faith and experience or perhaps the need of the Church. The fact that the number of these probably does not exceed four indicates to what extent the great Reformer was rooted in the Word and in the traditions of the Church and

of his people.

Below is a list of the hymns according to their sources. They are numbered consecutively; but, since some of them fit under as many as three different categories, each hymn will always retain its original numbering. No attempt has been made to present them in their order of composition, not only because this is impossible to do accurately, but also because there is no value in it. To facilitate matters, the approximate date is listed behind each hymn.[10] This list is intended to show the great variety of sources which Luther used as bases or as inspirations for his hymns.

I. Hymns Based on Latin Sources

1. "Christ lag in Todesbanden," based in part on the sequence, "Victimae paschali laudes," probably written by Wipo during the first half of the eleventh century. — 1524

2. "Christum wir sollen loben schon," a translation of the hymn "A solis ortus cardine," the first seven stanzas (plus a doxology) of Coelius Sedlius' "Paean Alphabeticus de Christo," written about 450 A.D. — 1523-24

3. "Der du bist drei in Einigket," a translation of the hymn "O lux beata, trinitas," ascribed to Ambrose (340-397). — 1543

4. "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," based in part on the sequence "Grates nunc omnes reddamus," ascribed to Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604). — 1523-24

5. "Herr Gott, dich loben wir," based on the "Te Deum," a traditional liturgical text of uncertain authorship but probably of Greek origin. — 1528-29

6. "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns," based in part on the hymn ascribed to John Hus (1369-1415), "Jhesus Christus, nostra salus." — 1524

7. "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist," a translation of the hymn "Veni, creator spiritus, mentes," ascribed to Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604). — 1524

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[10]These dates are a sort of composite of the dates for each of the hymns set by Stapel, Schliszke, Lucke, and Borcherdt and Merz.

8. "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," based in part on   1524
    the anonymous antiphon "Veni sancte spiritus, reple,"
    which is probably of eleventh century origin.

9. "Mitten wir im Leben sind," based in part on the anonymous 1524
    medieval sequence "Media vita," once ascribed to Notker
    Balbulus (ninth century).

10. "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland," a translation of the   1523-25
    hymn "Veni redemptor gentium," ascribed to Ambrose (340-
    397).

11. "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich," a translation of the   1529
    anonymous antiphon "Da pacem domine," written probably in
    the sixth or seventh century.

12. "Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes, sehr," a translation of   1541
    stanzas 8, 9, 11, and 13 (plus a doxology) of Coelius Sedulius'
    acrostic poem "Paean Alphabeticus de Christo" (ca.450),
    beginning here with the words, "Hostis Herodes impie."

13. "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," based on the Nicene Creed, 1524
    originally Greek, of early but uncertain date and authorship.

II. Hymns Based on German Sources

1a. "Christ lag in Todesbanden," based in part on "Christ ist   1524
    erstanden," a Leise probably of twelfth century origin.

4a. "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," a continuation of Leise   1523-24
    of the same name which originated at the latest around
    1370.

14. "Gott der Vater wohn uns bei," an adaptation of numerous   1524
    hymns of this type addressed to the saints, such as "Sancta
    Maria steh uns bei" (1480).

15. "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet," a continuation of the   1524
    Leise of the same name, probably of fifteenth century
    origin.

8a. "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," a continuation of the   1524
    stanza of the same name of fifteenth century origin.

9a. "Mitten wir im Leben sind," a continuation of the verna-   1524
    cular translations of "Media vita" which began to appear
    at the latest around 1420.

16. "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist," a continuation of the 1524
    Leise of the same name which originated not later than
    the 12th- 13th century.

17. "Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her," a contrafaction   1533-35
    of the folk Tanzlied, "Ich komm aus fremden Landen
    her," of old but uncertain origin.

13a. "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," an adaptation and   1524
     continuation of the vernacular translations of the
     first article of the Creed, which began to appear at the
     latest early in the fifteenth century.

III. Hymns Based on Old Testament Texts

18. "Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot," based on   1524
    Exodus 20:3-17.
19.. "Mensch, willst du leben seliglich," based on   1524
    Exodus 20:3-17.
20. "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein," based on Psalm 12.   1523-24
21. "Es spricht der Unweisen Mund," based on Psalm 14.   1523-24
22. "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," based on Psalm 46.   1527-28
23. "Es wollt uns Gott gnädig sein," based on Psalm 67.   1523
24. "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit," based on Psalm 124. 1524
25. "Wohl dem der in Gottes Furcht steht," based on   1524
    Psalm 128.
26. "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir" (four and five   1523-24
    stanzas), based on Psalm 130.
27. "Jesaiah dem Propheten, das geschah," based on Isaiah 6, 1525-26
    1-4.

IV. Hymns Based on New Testament Texts

28. "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam," based on Matt. 3:13 1540-41
    and 17 and Mark 16:15, 16.
29. "Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin," based on Luke 2:   1524
    29-32.
30. "Sie ist mir lieb, die werte Magd," based on Rev. 12.   1535
31. "Vater unser im Himmelreich," based on Matt. 6:9-13.   1538-39
17a. "Vom Himmel hoch da kom ich her," based on Luke 2:10-16. 1533-35
32. "Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar," based on Luke 2:8-11. 1542

V. Catechism Hymns

18a. "The Ten Commandments: "Dies sind die heil'gen zehn   1524
     Gebot."
19a. "The Ten Commandments in Brief: "Mensch, willst du leben 1524
     seliglich"
13b. The Creed: "Wir glauben all an einen Gott".   1524
31a. The Our Father: "Vater unser im Himmelreich".   1538-39
28a. The Sacrament of Holy Baptism: "Christ unser Herr zum 1540-41
     Jordan kam."
 6a. The Sacrament of the Altar: "Jesus Christus, unser   1524
     Heiland, der von uns."
15a. The Sacrament of the Altar: "Gott sei gelobet und   1524
     gebenedeiet."

VI.   Hymn Versions of Parts of the Liturgy

351	13c.	The Creed: "Wir glauben all an einen Gott."	1524
458	31b.	The Our Father: "Vater unser im Himmelreich."	1538-39
349	27a.	The "Sanctus": "Jesaiah dem Propheten, das geschah."	1525-26
	6b.	Eingangslied zum Abendmahl: "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland."	1524
313	15b.	Danklied nach dem Abendmahl: "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet."	1524
137	29a.	The "Nunc Dimittis": "Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin."	1524
	11a.	The Prayer for Peace: "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich."	1529
500	23a.	The Close of Service: "Es wollt uns Gott gnädig sein."	1523
P.35	5a.	The "Te Deum": "Herr Gott, dich loben wir."	1528-29

VII.   Completely Original Hymns

33.	"Ein neues Lied wir heben an."	1523
34.	"Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort."	1541-43
35.	"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod."	1524
36.	"Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein."	1523

One might wonder how we can determine whether the above-listed
thirty-six hymns are really by Luther, since he never published a
"Complete collection" of his poetic works. This is complicated by the
fact that we have only one of Luther's hymns in his own handwriting,
an undated copy of "Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar."[12] Most of his hymns
first appeared in hymnals. However, a number of them, such as "Christ
unser Herr zum Jordan kam," "Ein neues Lied wir heben an," and "Gelobet
sist du, Jesus Christ" apparently were published first on broadsheets,[13]
the so-called "fliegende Blätter," and eventually most of them appeared
in that form for sale to the public. Bainton tells the famous story

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[11] Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs
der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche
(Third edition; Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belser'schen Ver-
lagshandlung, 1867), I, 240-242.

[12] W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 39.

[13] Otto Schliszke, Handbuch der Lutherlieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck

of the arrest of an old man in Magdeburg for selling Luther's hymns in

that form. Two hundred citizens petitioned for his release, and the

petition was granted.[14] The publication of Luther's hymns in this form

assured their popularity and rapid dissemination, especially since most

of the hymnals of the time were not expressly intended for the use

of the people.

The number of hymnals which appeared during the life time of

Martin Luther is remarkable. Strodach estimates the number published

by the Lutherans at forty-seven.[15] The hymns of the great Reformer

undoubtedly formed the core of each of those hymnals. Six of these

hymnals assume special importance: the three hymnals of 1524, including

one with a preface by Luther, and the three subsequent hymnals with

prefaces by the Reformer. The three trailblazers of 1524 are the

Achtliederbuch, the Erfurt Enchiridion, and Walther's Gesangbüchlein,

the last having a preface by Luther. The three other hymnals with

prefaces by Luther are Klug's Gesangbuch of 1529, his Christliche Geseng

Lateinisch und Deutsch, zum Begrebnis of 1542, and Babst's Geystliche

Lieder of 1545. Detailed descriptions of these and other hymnals of

the Reformation era abound also in English literature,[16] so a lengthy

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and Ruprecht, 1948), pp. 116 and 153. Martin Luther, Works of Martin
Luther, The Philadelphia Edition (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932),
VI, 307.

[14]Roland Bainton, Here I Stand (Nashville: Abingdon Cokebury Press,
1950), p. 346.

[15]Paul Zeller Strodach, "Hymnbooks of the Reformation," The Lutheran
XIX, 12 (Dec. 17, 1936), p. 9.

[16]L. Franklin Gruber, "The Lutheran Hymn Books of 1524, The Lutheran
Quarterly, VII, 1 (Jan., 1934), pp. 55-69; Martin Luther, Works of Martin

discussion of this specialized topic is not necessary here. However, a few comments on those which help to determine the correct text of Luther's hymns as well as their authorship are in place.

The first hymnal to appear in 1524 was not authorized by Luther; this was the Achtliederbuch. It contained four of his hymns, but only one was identified as his.[17] The hymnals which contained prefaces by Luther can be assumed to be authentic and authorized by the Reformer and thus our prime source in determining the text and authorship of his hymns. Walther's Gesangbüchlein, the first of these, did not indicate the names of any of the authors. However, during the next few years, a number of unauthorized hymnals were published in which Luther's texts were tampered with and in some of which hymns were included, such as those by Münzer, which were not favored by Luther. This induced him to bring out an edition of hiw own, which resulted in the Klug Gesangbuch of 1529. In his preface to that hymnal, Luther stated his complaints:

> Now some individuals have shown themselves to be rather clever
> and have enlarged and revised the hymns to such a degree that
> they have far surpassed me and they certainly are my masters
> in this sort of thing. But at the same time they have added
> very little of worth to the others. And since I realize that
> this daily, indiscriminate revising and supplementing, according
> to each individual's fancy, will reach no other end than that
> the longer our first hymns are printed the more false they will
> be in comparison with the originals, I fear the same thing will
> happen ultimately to this little book as has been the fate of
> good books in all times, namely that it will be completely sub-
> merged by the additions of bungling heads and made a desolate
> thing so that the good in it will be lost and only the good for

Luther, op. cit., VI, 277-281; E. E. Koch, op. cit., I, 246-257. The most complete coverage of this field is in Philipp Wackernagel, Biblio-graphie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heyder & Zimmer, 1855).

[17] L. F. Gruber, op. cit., p. 61.

nothing will be kept in use. Just as we see in the first
chapter of St. Luke, that at the beginning every one wanted
to write gospels until one had all but lost the true gospel
among so many gospels. The same thing happened to St. Jerome's
and St. Augustine's books. Well, you'll always find mice dirt
mixed with the pepper.

In order that we may be protected as much as possible
against such an experience in the future, I have gone over
this entire booklet once more and have arranged our own hymns
in order by themselves and have printed the name in connection
with them, something which I refrained from doing previously
on account of the distinction or fame but now am driven to this
by necessity so that strange and unfit hymns will not be
sold under cover of our name. . . .[18]

We can almost be thankful that there were a few villains in the

printing business at Luther's time; otherwise we might never have had

such concrete evidence of his authorship of his hymns. After his

early experience, Luther was careful to indicate his authorship, and

he was also anxious that no one should alter his hymns. As he wrote

in the preface quoted at length above, one was welcome to bring out

one's own hymnal, but let him not touch Luther's!

Surely every one can get together his own booklet of hymns to
suit himself and leave ours alone, just as it is, unaugmented,
as we beg, desire, and herewith declare that this is our wish.
For we are zealous to preserve our treasure in the value in
which we hold it,--not grudging any one the privilege of making
a better one for himself,--in order that God's name alone be
praised and our name be not sought after. Amen.[19]

Luther was still concerned with this problem in 1545, when he cautioned

the users of Babst's Geystliche Lieder about a hymn, a good one at that,

which was falsely ascribed to him.[20] Yet for centuries this practice

continued. Luther is not usually slighted by having his hymns ascribed

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[18] Martin Luther, Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 285-286.

[19] Ibid., 286.

[20] Ibid., p. 295.

to others. On the contrary, in many hymnals hymns which appeared in
the early Reformation hymnals, such as "Der Tag, der ist so freuden-
reich," are falsely attributed to his authorship. Indeed, this practice
has even affected America, where "Away in a Manger," written when Luther
had long disintegrated completely according to the body, is often
ascribed to him. We can see that Luther's concern was not just the
result of a figment of his imagination.

When it comes to dating Luther's hymns, we enter into one of the
most controversial areas in the study of Luther.[21] The lack of any
dated manuscripts from the pen of Luther hardly helps the situation.
Spitta, whose work is a masterpiece of German hypothetical scholarship,[22]
goes to great lengths to "prove" that Luther wrote hymns for years
before the publication of the first hymnal. Modern scholarship has
repudiated his views, and those of Lucke in the Weimar edition[23] are
now largely held. These are substantially the same as those arrived at
by Wackernagel one hundred years earlier.[24] However, the problem will

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[21] There are two areas of controversy around which most of the
problems in this matter revolve: when did Luther begin to write hymns and
what is the correct date of "Ein feste Burg?" In the former question,
F. Spitta, op. cit., maintains that Luther began earlier than 1523. W.
Lucke, in Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe
(Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1923), XXXV, pp. 70-78, refutes
Spitta in a convincing manner, and the majority of present-day commenta-
tors agree with Lucke. Concerning the latter question, Prof. Crössler,
Wann und Wo entstand das Lutherlied Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott?
(Magdeburg: Evangelische Buchhandlung, 1904), gives a brief history of
the controversy, about which a volume of about 240 pages was published
already in 1731, and then proceeds in support of Spitta. Cf. also Joh.
Adam, "Zur Datierung des Lutherliedes," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst
und kirchliche Kunst, XIV (1909), 6-9.

[22] F. Spitta, op. cit.

[23] Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, op. cit.

[24] Philipp Wackernagel, Martin Luthers Geistliche Lieder mit den zu

remain a fairly open question until more reliable evidence comes to light, and that evidence seems beyond the realm of possibility right now. Of course, the terminus ad quem is quite securely fixed by the publication dates of the hymns, although even that is a subject of some controversy because of the loss of some early hymnals.

Spitta cannot believe that a poet of the power and originality of Luther could have sprung up overnight. We know, of course, that Luther wrote Latin verses in his youth,[25] but from then until 1523 there is no record at all of any efforts at poetry. Preuss points out that Luther would not have been at all unique if that were the case; for others, including Liliencron and Selma Lagerlöf, had been very late in developing their literary skill.[26] He goes on to point out that the Psalms translation of Luther and his hymns appeared in the same year.[27] "Why could not these have inspired him?" scholars ask. At that time we also have his letter to Spalatin and the Formula Missae, in both of which Luther indicated the lack of poets to write hymns. Scholars feel that he did not write hymns until he was compelled to do so, because he did not feel really capable of it. All in all, it seems better to try to make sense out of the little evidence that we do have, rather

seinen Lebzeiten gebräuchlichen Singweisen (Stuttgart: Verlag von Samuel Gottlieb Liesching, 1848), pp. 114 f.

[25]H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 147, and W. Wackernagel, The Life of Martin Luther, translated by C. W. Schaeffer (Reading: Pilger Book Store, 1883), p. 279.

[26]H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 148.

[27]Ibid., p. 149.

than construct a more logical argument as Spitta does, since there is no direct evidence to disprove it. Thus we have Luther, the poetic phenomenon, responding first of all to his emotions in his first hymn, "Ein neues Lied wir heben an," which resulted from the martyrdom of two Lutherans at Brussels, and then to the need of the church in most of his later hymns.

Nelle aptly sums up the circumstances under which Luther began to write his hymns. Feeling that his poetic inspiration was a direct result of the stimulus of translating the Bible, he makes the following statement:

> Erst das Wort, dann die Antwort, erst Gottes Grusz, dann des Menschen Dank, erst das Evangelium, dann das Kirchenlied, erst die Bibel, dann das Gesangbuch, erst der Frühling mit Licht und Wärme von Oben, dann die Nachtigall mit ihrem süszen, seelenvollen Dank: diese Ordnung sehen wir auch in der Reformation, im Leben Luthers.[28]

One would not readily spoil such a logical and beautiful statement by accepting Spitta's hypothesis.

Earlier in this chapter the approximate date of composition of each of Luther's hymns was given. Those dates are reorganized into groups below to show that, although Luther wrote two-thirds of his hymns within a very brief period of time, his interest in hymns and his inspiration to write them continued until the end of his life.

Date	Number
1523	3
1523-24	6
1524	15
1525-26	1
1527-28	1
1528-29	1
1529	1

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[28]Wilhelm Nelle, Martin Luther, die Wittenbergische Nachtigall (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, nod.), p. 10.

Date	Number
1533-35	1
1535	1
1538-39	1
1540-41	1
1541	1
1542	1
1541-43	1
1543	1
21	36

CHAPTER VI

LUTHER'S AND LATIN HYMNODY

A. Luther's Translations

We have seen that Luther did not introduce anything radically new
when he fostered the use of congregational hymnody in the vernacular
and that, as the practice was not new, just so were the majority of
Luther's hymns not completely new. One of the great parts of his
heritage was Latin hymnody, both texts and tunes, although he prized
the latter more because of the impurity of so many of the texts.[1]
However, many of the texts were precious too, and others could be
improved and purified, and this Luther set out to do. The chief single
source of Luther's hymn texts, whether first or second hand, consisted
of the Latin hymns of the Church. These he considered to be " . . .
das Urbild des Kultusliedes."[2] He told Walther, according to Meurer,
that he " . . . wished that the charity scholars might sing Latin
hymns, antiphons and responses and had not been pleased with their
singing only German hymns. He observed that the Holy Ghost himself had
manifestly influenced both the authors who had composed the Latin, and
also Luther, who wrote German hymns."[3] Luther loved the old hymns dearly

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[1] Martin Luther, Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia Edition;
Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), VI, 289 (Preface to Klug's hymnal
Zum Begrebnis).

[2] Friedrich Spitta, Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, Die Lieder Luthers
in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied (Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), p. 371.

[3] Moritz Meurer, Life of Martin Luther (New York: H. Ludwig, 1848),
p. 460.

and credited them with keeping the light of the Gospel alive in the
darkness of the medieval Church. In order that the people might share
this love with him, he translated these hymns into their language.
Mackinnon sums up the relationship between Luther and the old hymns
in the following words:

> Whilst he thus borrowed and adapted the themes of a considerable
> number of the old hymns, he imparted to them a striking originality,
> both of content and expression, which transformed them into the
> poetic vehicle of his own religious thought and experience.[4]

In this chapter we shall view his relationship with the Latin hymns,
sequences, and the like, compare his treatment with those of others,
take a close look at one specific hymn ("Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland"),
and draw a few general conclusions from this overview.

Luther was not doing anything new, either, when he translated Latin
hymns into the German vernacular. This sort of thing was being done
in the monasteries already in the ninth century when the Old High German
interlinear hymn versions were produced, and great pre-Lutheran
translators include such names as the Monk of Salzburg, Oswald von
Wolkenstein, Heinrich von Loufenberg, Ludwig Moser and many others right
up to the time of Luther and contemporaneously with him.[5] Nor did
Luther make a new selection of hymns to translate. All but one or two
of the baker's dozen or so of his hymns which have some connection with
Latin hymnody had been translated before his time, and many of them were
translated by his contemporaries. Luther was not concerned with

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[4] J. Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation (New York: Longmans,
Green and Co., 1925-30), IV, 326.

[5] Hans Joachim Moser, Die evangelische Kirchenmusik in Deutschland
(Berlin and Darmstadt: Verlag Carl Merseburger, 1953 ff.), 1st
fascicle, p. 4.

originality. He wanted hymns which the people could sing; so he chose hymns which they had sung and tunes which, in many cases, were familiar. The list of his translations practically sounds like a "Who's Who" of Latin hymnody, since he chose mostly hymns which had withstood the test of time; they had not been found wanting.

> Anonymous medieval antiphon:
> Antiphona de morte.
>
> Media vita in morte sumus.
>
> Quem quaerimus adiutorem
> nisi te, domine?
> Qui pro peccatis nostris
> iuste irasceris.
>
> Sancte deus, sancte fortis,
> sancte et misericors salvator:
> amarae morti ne tradas nos.[6]

Perhaps the first use which Luther made of his great Latin heritage was in "Mitten wir im Leben sind," in which he typically made use of both his Latin and his German heritage. The great antiphon, "Media vita," was for many years ascribed to Notker Balbulus, and all sorts of legends had arisen describing the circumstances under which it was written. However, unromatic scholarship has shown that Notker was definitely not the author (since it was known in England before his time[7]), even though it has not provided a substitute. Whoever the author was, the antiphon appealed to the gloomy Germans, and it was translated many times into their language. The most familiar of those translations is the one contained in the Basel _Plenarium_ of 1514, but I

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[6] Philipp Wackernagel, _Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts_ (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1870), I, 94.

[7] Martin Luther, _Ausgewählte Werke_, edited by H. H. Borcherdt and Georg Merz (3rd ed.; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1950), III, 485.

shall give the version found on a fifteenth century Munich manuscript.
All of the versions are very much alike. Wackernagel lists nine of
them, the earliest of which, he believes, did not exist or at least was
not in circulation by the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[8]

Fifteenth century anonymous translator:
Media vita.

En mitten in des lebens zeyt
sey wir mit tod umbfangen:
Wen such wir, der uns hilffe geit,
von dem wir huld erlangen,
        Den dich, herre, al anyne?
der du umb unser missetat
rechtlichen zurnen tuest.
Heyliger herre got,
heyliger starcker got,
heyliger parmhercziger hailer, ewiger got,
lasz uns nit gewalden des pittern todes pot.[9]

Luther varied the earlier stanzas only slightly, and not to make it
more faithful to the original, either, with which his hymn has only an
academic relationship. However, to it he added two further stanzas,
cast in the mold of the first, as follows:

Der Lobsanck, Mitten wir ym leben synd

Mytten wir ym leben synd
mit dem todt umbfangen:
Wen suchen wir der hulffe thu,
das wir gnad erlangen?
    Dz byst du, Herr, alleyne.
uns rewet unser missethat,
die dich, herr, erzurnet hat.
Heyliger herre Got,
Heyliger starcker Got,
Heyliger barmhertziger heyland,
du ewyger Got,
las unns nicht versyncken
yn des pittern todes nott.
Kyrieleyson.

Mitten yn dem tod anfycht
uns der helle rachen:
Wer wil uns aus solcher not
frey un ledig mache?
    Das thustu, herr, alleyne.
es yamert deyn barmhertzigkeyt
unser klag und grosses leyd.
Heyliger herre got,
Heyliger starcker got,
Heyliger barmhertziger heyland,
du ewiger gott,
lasz uns nicht vertzagen
fur der tieffen hellen glutt.
Kyrieleyson.

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[8]P. Wackernagel, op. cit., II, 749-752.

[9]Ibid., II, 749.

Mitten yn der hellen angst
unser sund uns treiben:
Wo soln wir den flihen hyn,
da wir mugẽ bleibẽ?
    Zu dir, herr Christ, alleyne:
vergossen ist dein teures blut,
dz gnug fur die sunden thut.
Heyliger herre got,
Heyliger starcker got,
Heyliger barmhertziger heyland,
du ewiger got,
las uns nicht entfallen
von des rechten glawbens trost.
Kyrieleyson.[10]

We have Law and Gospel, fear and comfort, condemnation and acquittal
in their proper Christian order in this hymn. Death was very near to
the people of Luther's time, and they did not like it. The first half
of each stanza is the dreadful, fearful cry of the desperate soul.
Then comes the response of the Gospel, quiet, reassuring. Each stanza
then closes with the plea that that response be not denied the singer.
The somber majesty of the great antiphon is completely captured by the
old German version and Luther completes one of the great artistic
collaborations in history by creating two further stanzas fully the
equal of the first in power and majesty, capturing the form with a
stroke of genius. Above all comes forth the futility of man and his
efforts, and, like three strokes of lightning in the lowering gloom
media *vita*, the recurring "du, Herr, alleyne," shows where the sole
source of strength lies. This reminds one, too, of the final line of
Luther's "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich." Whether it be for peace or
for comfort from the fear of death, God is the great alleine of Luther
personally and theologically. Even after the three sola's of the

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[10]Ibid., III, 10-11.

Reformation might pass away, this great _solo_, by God and His Christ

alone, remains the comfort and hope of every Christian.

Another early translation of Luther was of the hymn attributed to

John Hus, "Jesus Christus, nostra salus."

John Hus (1369-1415) asc.:
De coena domini

Ihesus christus, nostra salus,
quod reclamat omnis malus,
Nobis in sui memoriam
dedit in panis hostiam.

Non augetur consecratus,
inconsumptus nec mutatus
Nec divisus in fractura,
totus deus in statura.

O quam sanctus panis iste,
tu solus es, Ihesu Christe!
Panis cibus sacramentum,
quo nusquam maius inventum.

Esca digna angelorum,
pietatis dux sanctorum,
Lex moderna approbavit,
quod antiqua figuravit.

Hoc donum suavitatis
caritasque deitatis,
Virtus et eucaristia
communionis gracia.

Salutare medicamen,
peccatorum relevamen,
Pasce nos, a malis leva,
duc nos ubi lux est eva.

Ave, deitatis forma,
dei unitatis norma,
In te quisque delectatur,
qui te fide speculatur.

O quam magna tu fecisti,
qui te, Christe, impressisti
Vini et panis specie
apparentum in facie.

Non es panis, sed es deus
homo, liberator meus,
Dum in cruce pependisti
et in carne defecisti.

Caro cibus, sanguis vinum,
est misterium divinum:
Tibi sit laus et gloria
in seculorum secula.[11]

Starting with this, Luther produced the following hymn, which is

apparently the first translation of this hymn into German.

Das Lied S. Johannis Hus gebessert

Jhesus Christus, unser heylandt,
der von uns den tzorn Gottis wand,
Durch das bitter leyden seyn
halff er uns aus der helle peyn.

Solch gros gnad und barmhertzigkeit
sucht eyn hertz yn grosser erbeit:
Ist dir wol, so bleib darnon,
das du nicht krygest bösen lohn.

Das wir nymmer des vergessen,
gab er uns seyn leib zu essen,
Verborgen ym brott so klein,
unnd zu trincken seyn blut ym weyn.

Er spricht selber 'kompt, yhr armen!
last mich uber euch erbarmen.
Keynn artzt ist dem starcken nott,
seyn kunst wirt an yhm gar eyn spot.

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[11] Ibid., I, 318.

Wer sych zu dem tisch wil machen,   Hettestu dyr was kund erwerben,
der hab woll acht auff sein sachen: was durfft dā ich fur dich sterben?
Wer unwirdig hie zu geht,   Dyser tisch auch dir nicht gyllt,
fur das leben den todt empfehl.   so du selber dir helffen wilt.'

Du solt Got den vatter preysen,   Gleubstu das von hertzen grunde
das er dich so wol wolt speysen   unnd bekennest mit dem munde,
Und fur deine missethat   So bistu recht wol geschickt
yn den todt seyn Son geben hatt.   uñ die speyse deyn seel erquickt.

Du solt glewben und nicht wancken,   Die frucht sol auch nicht aus bleiben:
das eyn speyse sey der kranckẽ,   deynẽ nehstẽ soltn lieben,
Den yr hertz von sunde schweer   Das er dein geniessen kã,
und fur angst ist betrubet seer.   wie dein got hat an dir gethan. [12]

There are two other versions of Hus' poem in Wackernagel, both with

very slight changes except in the number of stanzas, one of which has

seven, the other, nine stanzas. That fact really is of slight con-

sequence, since, as far as I can tell, Luther's translation could have

been based on any of the three or even upon a fourth version containing

little more than the first stanza. Luther's use of the word "gebessert"

with reference to his treatment of Hus'[13] poem is rather weak and falls

quite short of describing adequately what Luther did with it.[14] Perhaps

Luther was trying to avoid originality or the charge of doing something

completely "new"; so he borrowed the title from his renowned but ill-

fated predecessor and went on to write a new hymn on the subject which

Hus had chosen for his poem. Perhaps, too, Luther was here putting into

action the words he had spoken concerning Hust at the Leipzig Debate,

which were to the effect that Hus was a heretic but that there was much

that was Christian among his teachings. Here Luther kept what was worth-

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[12] Ibid., III, 10.

[13] Although this hymn is not ascribed to Hus with any degree of cer-
tainty, for the sake of convenience it is always referred to as "Hus' hymn."

[14] Some conjecture, without any foundation to date, that Luther might
have "gebessert" an earlier German translation of Hus' hymn.

while and "gebessert" that which was heretical, although he and Rome
undoubtedly disagreed on that point also. The two hymns are unlike
in approach, doctrine, purpose, and, of course, language. Hus approaches
the Sacrament metaphysically, delving into the mysteries of the real
presence, wondering greatly at such a mystery. He manages to emphasize
one of his favorite practices, the use of both kinds in the administra-
tion of the Sacrament (although he actually goes no further than does
Aquinas in his great hymns for Corpus Christi Day), but his belief in
transubstantiation is quite obvious.[15] His purpose is a glorification
of Christ and of the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Luther retained
the rhyme scheme and the metre, too, except for the change of the third
verse of each stanza from eight to seven feet. Beyond that, the title,
which is an exact translation, the general similarity between the
first stanza of the Hus hymn and the first two of Luther's, and an
occasional echo of the Hus hymn elsewhere in "Jesus Christus, unser
Heiland," there is scarcely enough of a relationship between the two
to call the latter a translation (even a "gebessert" one) or even an
adaptation. Luther approaches this subject in a very down-to-earth
fashion, not overlooking the mysteries involved, but concentrating
on the more practical side. He shows the comfort, the prerequisites,
the obligation of the Eucharist; his approach is much more didactic
than laudatory. This is truly a "catechism" hymn and fits in perfectly
with the sixth chief part. To no one's surprise, the doctrine of
transubstantiation does not receive poetic formulation at Luther's
hands, although his use of the word verborgen is perhaps more effective

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[15]It seems rather ironical that of all the Latin hymns Luther used,
this one by a pre-reformer was the one which was probably least acceptable
to him doctrinally.

poetically than dogmatically. His purpose, following the Catechism

outline, is to present the entire doctrine of the Eucharist in rhymed

form, beginning with a simple statement of the Gospel and going on

to the purpose of the Sacrament, the danger of receiving it unworthily,

the proper approach to its mysteries, its value, and the obligation

it places upon the partaker.[16] For this great gift, "Gott der Vater"

receives the praise. All in all, it is a remarkably complete and

concise treatment of the subject, even though it perhaps is not one

of Luther's more artistically finished hymns. Polish and form were

not his objects; but a doctrinally correct, easily understandable, and

rapidly memorizable metrical version of one of the great components

of Christianity was, and that he achieved. Hus' poem is hardly a

literary masterpiece either, although a number of his couplets are

very sonorous and quite delectible.

The next translation of Luther which we shall discuss is considerably

older than "Jesus Christus nostra salus;" in fact, it is ascribed to

Gregory the Great, although it probably is much later than that. Most

scholars today simply classify it as a medieval sequence, and it gets

lost in that great shuffle of liturgical poetry.

> St. Gregory (ca. 540-604) asc.:
> In navitate Christi. In galli centum sequentia.

> Grates nunc omnes reddamus
> domino deo,
> Qui sua nativitate
> nos liberavit
> De diabolica potestate:
> huic oportet,

---

[16] Hus seems to be more interested in the "what" of the sacrament;
Luther, in the "how" and the "why" of it.

Ut canamus cum angelis
semper gloria in excelsis.[17]

The oldest German translation of this sequence is traced by Lucke back
to Copenhagen in 1370. It is in low German.

Loust sistu isu crist,
dat du hute gheboren bist
von eyner maghet. Dat is war.
Des vrow sik olde hemmelsche schar. Kyr.[18]

Luther, again taking a single stanza in the vernacular as a starting
point, added six stanzas to it. Scholars, wondering at the loneliness
of those stanzas, have often searched for pre-Lutheran traces of the
continuations which are attributed to him, but without success.
Apparently no one before Luther thought that it was not meet that they
should be alone.

Ein lobgesang von der geburt Christi.

Gelobet seystu, Jesu Christ,
dz du mensch geboren bist
Von eyner yungfraw, das ist war,
des frewet sych der engel schar.

Das ewig liecht gehet da herein,
gibt der welt ein newen scheyn,
Es leucht wol mitten yn der nacht
und uns des liechtes kinder macht.

Des ewigen vaters eynig kind
ytz man ynn der krippen synd,
In unser armes fleisch uñ blut
verkleydet sych das ewig gut.

Der son des vatters, Gott von ard,
eyn gast yn der werlet ward,
Unnd furt uns aus dem yamer tall,
er macht uns erben yn seym saal.

Den aller welt kreyss nye beschlos,
der ligt yn Maria schoss,
Er ist eyn kindlin worden klein
der alle ding erhelt alleyn.

Er yst auff erden komen arm,
das er unser sych erbarm
Und ynn dem hymel machet reich
Und seynen lieben Engeln gleich.

Das hat er alles uns gethan,
seyn grosz lieb zu zeygen an.
Des frew sych alle Christenheydt
uñ danck yhm des ynn ewigkeit.[19]

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[17] Ibid., I, 69.

[18] Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe
(Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1923), XXXV, 147.

[19] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., III, 9.

The Low German popular form of the sequence above is typically
Medieval in tone, putting Mary into the middle of the picture and
retaining the picture of the angels with even greater emphasis than
the original. Both these were favorite Medieval topics, the Virgin
birth and the angels.[20] One might call the original sequence very
evangelical. It contrasts with the German as follows: "Let us give
thanks to our Lord who has *saved us*" and (the German) "Praised be
thou, O Christ, because you have been born of a *Virgin*;" "Therefore,
let us sing 'Glory to God'" and "Therefore, all the *angelic hosts*
rejoice."[21] In this case, Luther put Christ back into Christmas,
by his subsequent stanzas displacing the Virgin and the angels, whose
great and wondrous roles he still retained, but with the proper
emphasis. His continuation is sort of a Lutheran commentary on the
first stanza, and it does not appear that he realized that stanza's
dependence on "Grates." (Martin Luther did not oppose its being a
Leise, since there was a very definite penitential aspect to Christmas
with him,[22] so he retained that refrain for his subsequent stanzas,
perhaps though, too, for the sake of the people, since they could join
in on this even if they could not sing the entire hymn.)

So far we have been dealing with Latin sources with which Luther's
contact was only incidental. His real inspiration came either from
the subject or from earlier German translations. However, the next one

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[20] Otto Schliszke, Handbuch der Lutherlieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck
& Ruprecht, 1948), pp. 154 f.

[21] The italics are the writer's.

[22] Ibid., p. 155.

he used is one of his most literal translations, "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland," based on Ambrose's "Veni redemptor gentium." However, this translation we shall consider later.

About the same time that Luther translated "Veni redemptor gentium," he produced his translation of Bishop Cajus Coelius Sedulius' acrostic poem on the life of Christ, Paean Alphabeticus de Christo. From this poem, produced about the middle of the fifth century, he took the first part, A to G, dealing with the birth of our Lord, and added a doxology to it. As in "Veni redemptor gentium," he stuck pretty closely to the form of the original, if for no other reason than to retain the "köstlich" tunes, which in both cases were simplified.[23]

Coelius Sedulius: (ca.450) Paean Alphabeticus de Christo

In nativitate domini, ad laudes

A solis ortus cardine
ad usque terrae limitem
Christum canamus principem
natum Maria virgine.

Beatus auctor saeculi
servile corpus induit,
Ut carne carnem liberans
ne perderet quos conduit.

Castae parentis viscera
caelestis intrat gratia,
Venter puellae baiulat
secreta quae non noverat.

Domus pudici pectoris
tempum repente fit dei,
Intacta nesciens virum,
verbo concepit filium.

Enixa est puerpera
quem Gabriel praedixerat,
Quem matris alvo gestiens
clausus Iohannes senserat.

Foeno iacere pertulit,
praesepe non abhorruit,
Parvoque lacte pastus est,
per quem nec ales esurit.

Gaudet chorus caelestium
et angeli canunt deo,
Palamque fit pastoribus
pastor, creator omnium.

Gloria tibi, domine,
qui natus es de virgine,
cum patre et sancto spiritu
in sempiterna saecula.[24]

Here again we have numerous pre-Reformation translations, from three of which the first two stanzas are reproduced below.

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[23] Martin Luther, Ausgewählte Werke, op. cit., III, 494.
[24] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., I, 45-46.

Johannes der Münch von Salzburg
(Fourteenth century)
Zw Weynachten, der ymphus A solis ortus

Von anegeng der sunne klar
bis an ein ende der werllde gar
Wir loben den süessen Jhesum christ,
der von der maid geporen ist.

Ain füerer aller werllde prait
der legt an sich des knechttes klait,
Er nam an sich menschleiche wat,
das icht werdurb sein handgetat.[25]

Heinrich von Loufenberg
(? – ca.1459)
A solis ortus cardine

Uerr von der sunne ufegang
untz zu der erden umbeuang
Christum den fürsten dankens ser
den geboren het maria her.

Der schöpfer diser welte breit
knechtlichen lib het an sich gleit,
Dz er mit lib den lip errat
und nüt verlür dz er gschaffen
hat.[26]

Hymnarius. Sigmundslust 1524
(Weihnacht.) Zu der Vesper Hymnus.
A solis ortus cardine

Vom auf und nid'gang d'Suñ
bisz zw dem endt der Erdt mit wuñ
Sing wir fürstlich cristum ain hart,
der von Maria geporn wardt.

Der heylich merer diser welt
In schwärem Cörper sich selbs helt,
Das er dmenschhait leiplichen tröst
und nit verdurb das er erlöst.[27]

Der Hymnus. A solis ortus.

Christum wir sollen loben schon,
der reynẽ magd Marien son,
So weit die liebe sonne leucht
unnd an aller welt ende reicht.

Die edle mutter hat geborn
den Gabriel verhyesz zuvorn,
Dent sanct Johans mit spryngen zeygt,
da er noch lag ynn mutter leyb.

Der selig schepffer aller ding
zoch an eins knechtes leib gering,
Das er das fleisch durch fleisch erworb
und seyn geschepff nicht als verdorb.

Er lag ym hew mit armut grosz,
die krippen hart yhn nicht verdrosz,
Es ward eyn kleyne milch seyn speysz
der nie keyn voglin hungern liesz.

Die götlich gnad von hymel grosz
sych yn die keusche mutter gosz,
Eyn meydlin trug einn heymlisch pfand,
das der natur war unbekand.

Des hymels Chór sich frewen drob
und die engel syngen Got lob,
Den armen hyrten wird vermeld
der hirt und schepffer aller welt.

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[25] Ibid., II, 430.

[26] Ibid., II, 580.

[27] Ibid., II, 1109.

Das zuchting haus des hertzen tzart   Lob, ehr unnd danck sey dir gesagt,
gar baldt eyn Tempel Gottis wart,   Christe, geborn von reyner magd,
Die kein man ruret noch erkand,   Mit vater und dem heylge geist,
von gots wort sye man schwanger fand.   von nu an bysz ynn ewigkeit.[28]

Luther's own translation, "Der Hymnus," given above, is as different
from his predecessors' products as they are from each other. This, too,
is one of Luther's most literal translations, and most of the few
changes he does make are for the sake of the translation, although he
does make one alteration apparently on theological grounds when he
makes nature and not Mary the one who does not know about the secrets
in her womb. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century transla-
tions, the first two stanzas of each of which are given above, also
are quite literal translations and quite serviceable, although, to
my mind, amazingly enough they decline in poetic quality in accordance
with their age. Perhaps Luther was not acquainted with the work
of Johannes and Heinrich, and for that reason made a new translation of
this popular hymn, since I would hesitate to say that his translation
is a notable improvement in any way to the products of his predecessors.

As I mentioned above, the frequency with which Luther's translations
are preceded by the translations of others is not coincidental. Luther
chose those hymns which had found the greatest favor with the people
and used those in his service. The people were accustomed to those
great hymns as well as the psalms as sung by the clergy in the service,
so the change in language was not too difficult for them to swallow,
even though it did take them a while to learn how to sing them themselves.
Later the entirely "new" hymns came, but by that time there was no

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28
   Ibid., III, 13.

longer any novelty to the use of vernacular hymns in the service.
Thus it would seem that Luther followed the pedagogic and psychological
procedure of going from the known to the unknown in order to achieve
his innovations with the least amount of difficulty.

Luther's practice of choosing familiar hymns upon which to base
his hymnological efforts is certainly exemplified in his "Christ lag,"
which is based upon what was probably the most popular and widely used
hymn of the German people, "Christ ist erstanden." Here again we have
a combination of the German and Latin traditions in Luther, however,
since this hymn goes back to the great Easter sequence, "Victimae
paschali laudes," which was written by Wipo in the eleventh century.

> Wipo (first half of the eleventh century):
>   In die sancto paschae, feria secunda
>
> Victimae paschali
> laudes immolent Christiani.
>
> Agnus redemit oves,
> Christus innocens patri
> reconciliavit
> peccatores.
> Mors et vita duello
> conflixere mirando,
> dux vitae mortuus
> regnat vivus.
>
> Dic nobis, Maria,
> quid vidisti in via?
> "Sepulcrum Christi viventis
> et gloriam vidi refurgentis.
> Angelicos testes,
> sudarium et vestes:
> surrexit Christus, spes mea,
> praecedet suos in Galiaea."
>
> Credendum est magis soli
> Mariae veraci
> quam Iudaeorum turbae fallaci.
> Scimus Christum surrexisse
> a mortuis vere: [29]
> tu nobis, victor rex, miserere.

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[29] Ibid., I, 130.

Of the many slightly-varying versions in German, I have selected two,

both from fifteenth century sources.

Osterlied

Christ ist erstanden
von der marter aller,
Des schüll wir allew fro sein,
christ scholl unser trost sein.
Kirioleis.

Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.
des schüll wir allew trost sein,
christ scholl unser trost sein.[30]
Kirioleis.

Osterlied

Christus ist uperstanden
von des todes banden,
Des sollen wir alle fro sein,
got wil unser trost sein.
Kyrie eleis.[31]

This is the oldest German vernacular Easter hymn and one of the very

oldest German hymns in general.[32] Already in the twelfth century there

were a number of versions (Wackernagel gives four),[33] and by the

fifteenth century there were very many of them (Wackernagel has

sixteen).[34] These are very much alike at first, but the later stanzas

differ greatly in length and content, some adhering rather closely

to the Easter sequence, "Victimae paschali." Luther's gebessert version

has a different stanza form and is longer than any other version in

Wackernagel. The stanza form is perhaps to retain the tune used with

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[30]Ibid., II, 43.

[31]Ibid., II, 44.

[32]W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (2nd ed.;
St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), p. 143.

[33]P. Wackernagel, op. cit., II, 43-44.

[34]Ibid., II, 726-733. W. G. Polack, op. cit., p. 143, erroneously
counts seventeen.

the twelfth century version listed first above. The hymn was so
popular that even Luther' gebessert version could not supplant it,
since it is included in the Erfurt, Klug, and Babst hymnals, some of
the earliest Lutheran hymnals, in each of which Luther's version
appeared also and it has retained its popularity down to the present day.
Indeed, Luther's hymn was probably not intended to supplant it, and
those who think that "Christ ist erstanden" would be difficult to
improve might like to agree with Lucke,[35] who thinks that gebessert
referred to the tune, not the text.[36] Luther's hymn is related only
slightly to both the Latin and the German versions which preceded it.
The fifteenth century versions had in common (with slight variations)
the old first stanza and the second stanza as follows (this is the
version of the Babst's Gesangbuch, 1545, which became normative for
later hymnals):

> Wer er nicht erstanden,
> wer die welt vergangen:
> Seid das er erstanden ist,
> so lob wir den vater Jhesu Christ.
> Kyrioleis.[37]

Luther omits this stanza entirely. Actually, the relationship of all
the German versions to the Latin is very slight, and Luther's version

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[35]Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe,
op. cit., XXXV, 158.

[36]Christhard Mahrenholz, Luther und die Kirchenmusik (Kassel:
Bärenreiter Verlag, 1937), p. 13. Here Luther is quoted as having con-
sidered the Holy Spirit to be the author of the melody for "Komm, heiliger
Geist, Herre Gott," an honor which he also seems to accord to "Christ
ist erstanden": "Spiritus sanctus hats ihm eingegeben, qui composuit
haec canticum" ("Christ ist erstanden"). This might call Lucke's hypo-
thesis into question.

[37]P. Wackernagel, op. cit., II, 726.

is in many respects the most faithful translation. Even he, however,

neglects the latter half of the sequence entirely and goes his own

road most of the way, with occasional references to the original.

It is really a combination of the Latin and old German versions with

a strong dose of Luther mixed in.

Der Lobsanck Christ ist erstanden, Gebessert.

Christ lag yn todes banden
fur unser sund gegebẽ,
Der ist widder erstandẽ
und hat uns bracht das leben.
  Des wir sollen frohlich seyn,
Got loben uñ dãckbar seyn,
und syngen Alleluia.

Es war eyn wunderlich krieg,
da todt und leben rungen:
Das leben behielt den sieg,
es hat den tod verschlungen:
  Die schrifft hatt verkundet das,
wie eyn tod den and'n frasz,
ein spot aus dem tod ist worden.

Den todt niemãt zwingen kund
bey allẽ menschẽ kyndẽ,
Das macht alles unser sund,
keyn unschult war zu finden,
  Davon kam der tod so bald
un nam uber uns gewalt,
hielt uns yn seym reich gefangẽ.

Hie yst dz recht Osterlam,
davon Got hat gebotten,
Das yst an des Creutzes stam
ynn heysser lieb gebrotten:
  Des blutt zeichnet unser thur,
das helt der glawb dem todt fur,
der wurger kan uns nicht rurẽ.

Jhesus Christus, Gottes son,
an unser stat yst komen,
Und hatt die sund abgethan,
damit dem tod genomen
  Al seyn recht und seyn gewalt,
da bleibt nichts den todts gestalt,
die stachel hat er verlorẽ.

So feyren wir dysz hoch fest
mit hertzen freudt unnd wonne,
Das uns der herr scheynen lest,
er yst selber die sonne,
  Der durch seyner gnadẽ glantz
erleucht unser hertzẽ gãtz,
der sundẽ nacht ist vergãgẽ.

Wir essen und leben wol
yn rechten Ostern stadẽ:
Der alte saurteig nicht sol
seyn bey dem wort der gnadẽ:
  Christus wil die koste seyn
und speysen die seel alleyn,
der glawb wil keyns andern leben.[38]

One can see how slight the relationship between the two is. The statement

that some make, that "Christ lag" is based on "Victimae paschali" must

certainly be based on historical rather than textual evidence. The

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[38]Ibid., III, 12.

textual relationship, to my mind, is either almost non-existent or at most rather academic. However, when one sings this massive hymn to its great tune, the spirit of the sequence sounds through, and one can see how the "alleluia" at the end of the first stanza of Luther's translation becomes a much better rendering of the "Tu nobis, victor rex, miserere" than the much more literal but un-contextual "Kyrieleis" of the old German versions.

The next translation we shall treat is based on a hymn which apparently is attributed to Gregory the Great upon much stronger grounds than "Grates nunc omnes reddamus,"[39] although many ascribe it to Rhabanus Maurus (776-856).[40]

St. Gregory (ca.540-604) asc.:
In die pentecoste

Veni, creator spiritus,	Hostem repellans longius
mentes tuorum visita,	pacemque dones protinus,
Imple superna gratia,	Ductore sic te praevio
quae tu creasti, pectora.	vitemus omne noxium.
Qui paraclitus diceris	(Da gaudiorum praemia,
donum dei altissimi,	da gratiarum munera,
Fons vivus, ignis, charitas	Dissolve litis vincula,
et spiritalis unctio.	astringe pacis foedera.)
Tu septiformis munere,	Per te sciamus, da, patrem,
dextrae dei tu digitus,	noscamus atque filium,
Tu rite promissum patris	Et utriusque spiritum
sermone ditans guttera.	credamus omni tempore.
Accende lumen sensibus,	Deo patri sit gloria
infunde amorem cordibus,	et filio, qui a mortuis
Infirma nostri corporis	Surrexit, ac paraclito,
virtute firmans perpeti.	in saeculorum saecula.[41]

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[39] Martin Luther, Ausgewählte Werke, op. cit., p. 500.

[40] Aquinas Byrnes, The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), p. 136.

[41] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., I, 9 and 75.

This hymn was one of the prize possessions of the Church, and
it was used on the most solemn days, such as when kings were crowned,
popes elected, syhods opened, and the like.[42]   Therefore, it is not
difficult to understand why there should be so many translations of
it into the German language. It was one of the most frequently
translated hymns of the pre-Reformation period, and Luther followed
a host of others when he selected it for translation. Two stanzas of
some selected translations are reproduced here.

12th century:
Der ymnus. Veni creator spiritus.

Kum schepfaer, heiliger geist,
heimsuch der dinen mut, als du weist,
Erfulle mit der obristen gnaden glast
die herze die du geschepfet hast.

Sit du ein trostaer bist genant,
des obristen gotes gabe erkant,
Ein lebediger brunne, ein fivrin rost,
die ware minne, der sele trost.[43]

15th century:
Veni creator spiritus.

Kum, hailger gaist, mit diner gutt,
begaub und schaw unsrin gemut
Mit den hochsten gnaden din,
tu uns dines gaistes milte schin.

Der welte trost bist du genant,
von gott dem vatter us gesant.
O lebediger brun und götlichs fur,
tu uns gaistlicher salbung stur.[44]

Ludewig Moser (ca.1500)
Der ymps. Veni creator spiritus.

Kum schöpffer gott, heiliger geist,
gemut der dynen heymbeleist,
Mit gnad vom hymel überlast
Deie brust so du geschaffen hast.

Du, der eyn tröster, bist genant,
die gab, vom höchsten gott gesant,
Der lebend brunn, liebe, das fhur,
die geistlich salbung ser gehür.[45]

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[42] A. Brynes, op. cit., pp. 136 f.

[43] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., II, 46.

[44] Ibid., II, 747.

[45] Ibid., II, 872.

Hymnarius: Sigmundslust 1524
Veni creator spiritus.

Khum, schöpffer, O heyliger Geyst,
dye gmüet deiner haymzuechen syest,
Erfüll mit hohen gnaden fast
dye hertz dye dw beschaffen hast.

Der du ein tröster gnennet pist,
ein gab des der höchste ist,
Ain göttlich feür, lieb, leben,
   prunn,
ein ware geystliche salbung. 46

Thomas Münzer (ca. 1490-1525):
Auff das Pfingst Fest

Kum zu uns, scöpffer heylger geyst,
erleucht deyn arme christenheyt,
Efull mit gnaden unser hertz
das zu dir seufftzet mit innerlichem
   schmertz.

Der du ein ware tröster bist,
ler uns erkenne deynen christ,
Im rechten glauben sicherlich
seyner zu nyessen ewiglich. 47

The earlier translations show the usual disregard of those times for the number of feet in a verse, which vary considerably in each of the two examples I have given above. All of the versions adhere quite faithfully to the original, and there is surprisingly little duplication among them. Some perhaps got ideas from the earlier versions, but never plagiaristically so. Luther's translation is very faithful to the Latin, almost painfully so at times. (As Schliszke points out, this makes his deviations from the original all the more important.) 48 Although stanza six in the Latin is in all of the old editions of the hymn, it is not in the Breviary, which was the version followed by Luther as well as Münzer and three of the four others (the fifteenth century anonymous excepted). Luther's switching of stanzas three and four is interesting, although it is difficult to determine whether Luther

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46 Ibid., II, 1119.

47 Ibid., III, 443. Other translations include the long paraphrase by the Monk of Salzburg, ibid., II, 420-421.

48 O. Schliszke, op. cit., p. 215. He discusses the question thoroughly.

had a distinct purpose when he did that. Luther's text is given below.

Der Hymnus Veni creator.

Kom, Got schepfer, heyliger geyst,
besuch das hertz der menschen deyn,
Mit ganden sye full, wy du weyst,
das deyn geschep ff vorhyn seyn.

Denn du bist der tröster genant,
des aller hohsten gabe theur,
Eyn geystlich salb an uns gewand,
ein lebend brun, lieb und fewr.

Zund uns ein liecht an ym verstand,
gyb uns yns hertz der liebe brunst,
Das schwach fleisch yn uns, dir bekand,
erhalt fest dein krafft unnd gunst.

Du bist mit gaben syhenfalt
der fynger an Gotts rechter hand,
Des vatters wort gybstu gar baldt
mit zungen ynn alle landt.

Des feyndes lyst treyb von uns fern,
dē frid schaff bey uns deyne gnadt,
Das wir deym leitten folgen gern
und meyden der seelen schad.

Leer uns den vater kennē wol,
dazu Jhesum Christ seynen sonn,
Das wir des glaubens werden voll,
dich, beyder geyst, zuverstan.

Got vatter sey lob und dem son,
der von den todtē aufferstundt,
Dem tröster sey dasselb gethann,
ynn ewigkeydt alle stundt.[49]

This hymn is filled with expressions which were familiar to the Medieval mind but which passed out of currency after the Reformation. Thus, it came to be considered too "catholic" and passed out of usage almost entirely.[50] The fact that Luther wrote several better hymns on the same topic did not increase its chance for survival, especially since its poetic quality is not of the highest value.[51] However, it too is coming back into use again these days, and there is undoubtedly a place in the worship of the Church for this hymn also.

The hymn which is probably most responsible for the lack of use of "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist" is Luther's own "Komm, heil'ger

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[49]P. Wackernagel, op. cit., III, 14-15.

[50]Even its tune was considered too "catholic." Cf. Christa Müller, "Luthers Pfingstlieder," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXXVIII, 5/6 (May-June, 1934), 114-115.

[51]Julius Smend, Das evangelische Lied von 1524 (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1924), p. 67, calls it mere Reimerei.

Geist, Herre Gott," based on the antiphon, "Veni sancte spiritus, reple."

<div align="center">

11th century anonymous antiphon:
Antiphona in vigilia pentecostes

Veni sancte spiritus,
reple tuorum corda fidelium
et tui amoris in eis ignem accende.
Qui per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum
gentes in unitatem fidei congregasti.
Halleluia, halleluia.[52]

</div>

This, in turn, was translated often into German. Below is the version in the Basel _Plenarium_ of 1514.

<div align="center">

Plenarium, Basel 1514:
Veni sancte spiritus

Kum, heiliger geyst, herre gott,
erfüll unsz mit deinen gnaden gůt
Deiner glaubigen hertz, můt und synn,
inbrünstige lieb entzünd in inn.
Der du durch deines liechtes glast
in einen glauben gesamlet hast
das volck ausz aller welt und zungen,
das sey dir, lieber herr, zů lob und eer gesungen.
Alleluia, alleluia.[53]

</div>

Following the leader, Luther took the work of his predecessors both Latin and German and added a touch of his own, in the form of two stanzas, giant brothers of the first:

<div align="center">

Der gesang Veni sancte spiritus.

</div>

Kom, heyliger geyst, herre Gott,
erful mit deyner gnaden gutt
Deyner gleubgẽ hertz, mut unnd syñ,
deyn brunstig lieb entzund yn yhn.
O herr, durch deynes liechtes glast
zu dẽ glaubẽ versamlet hast
Das volck ausz aller wellt zungen,
dz sey dyr, her, zu lob gesungẽ.
Alleluia, Alleluia.

Du heiliges liecht, edler hort,
lass uns leuchte des lebens wort,
Und lern uns Gott recht erkennen,
vonn hertzen vatter yhn nennen.
O Herr, behut vor frembder leer,
das wir nicht meister suchen meer
Denn Jhesum mit rechtem glawben
und yhm aus gantzer macht vertrawen.
Alleluia, Alleluia.

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[52] P. Wackernagel, _op. cit._, I, 177.

[53] _Ibid._, II, 748.

Du heylige brunst, susser Trost,
nu hylff uns fröhlich und getrost
In deym dienst bestending bleyben,
die trubsall unns nicht abtreiben.
    O herr, durch dein krafft uns bereyt,
und sterck des fleisches blodigkeyt,
Das wir hie ritterlich ringen,
durch tod und leben zu dir dryngen.
    Alleluia, Alleluia.[54]

Although the roots of Luther's hymn extends back to the old Latin antiphon and thought Luther's title indicates that such is the case, yet is it easy to see that the first stanza of his hymn is merely a slightly altered version of the earlier translation of that antiphon and is not based directly upon the Latin. Any changes Luther has made were made for other reasons than to achieve a more faithful rendering of the original. Wackernagel lists three pre-Luther versions of "Veni sancte spiritus" in German, and the one above is that which is most like Luther's and thus probably the one he used, although it is possible that he had one or both of the other versions and perhaps others in addition when he wrote his own version.[55]

Translations by Luther from the Latin which have no German precedent are rare, but his version of the sixth-seventh century antiphon, "Da pacem" seems to be the first of its kind. At least no earlier translation

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[54]Ibid., III, 14.

[55]There is an interesting hymn by Heinrich von Loufenberg given in ibid., II, 606, which seems to be a mostly original hymn with overtones of both the hymn and the antiphon which begin "Veni sancte spiritus":

    Kum, helger geist, erfüll min hercz,
    enzund in mir din mynne,
    Din süssikeit vertrib mir schmercz,
    erlüht minr selen sinne.

has as yet turned up. The antiphon is short, to the point, and orthodox.

<div align="center">

6th-7th century anonymous antiphon:
Antiphona pro pace.

Da pace domine
in diebus nostris,
quia non est alius,
qui pugnet pro nobis
nisi tu, deus noster.[56]

</div>

Luther's translation, also short, to the point, and orthodox, is usually

followed by a couplet and the Collect for Peace in the hymnals.

<div align="center">

Da Pacem Domine. Deudsch.

Verley uns frieden gnediglich,
Herr Got, zu unsern zeiten.
Es ist ya kein ander nicht
der für uns künde streiten
denn du, unser Gott, alleine.

Gott, gib frid in deinem lande,
Glück und heit zu allem stande.

</div>

Herr Gott, hymelischer Vater, der du heiligen mut, guten Rad,
und rechte wercke schaffest, Gib deinen dienern friede, welchen
die welt nicht kan gebē, auff das unsere hertzen an deinen gepoten
hangē uñ wir unser zeit durch deinen schutz stille und sicher [57]
. fur feindē leben, Durch Jesu Christ, deinē son, unsern Herren Amen.

This is a quite literal translation, although Luther was not loathe to

insert a gnadiglich for the sake of the meter, something he probably did

with great gusto and a few "hearty words" for those who would base such

a prayer upon anything but grace.

Perhaps to fill the need for a good Epiphany hymn, perhaps for some

other reason, Luther returned to Sedulius' acrostic hymn on the life

of our Lord and chose the stanzas following the Christmas section, which

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[56] O. Schliszke, op. cit., p. 296.

[57] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., III, 21-22.

he had already translated, to fashion an Epiphany hymn. For this
purpose, he chose the eighth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth stanzas
of the poem and added a doxology.

Coelius Sedulius (ca.450): Paean Alphabeticus de Christo
In epiphania domini, ad vesperas.

Hostis Herodes impie,
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia,
qui regna dat caelestia.

Lavacra puri gurgitis
caelestis agnus attigit,
Peccata quae non detulit,
nos abluendo sustulit.

Ibant magi, quam viderant
stellam sequentes praeviam,
Lumen requirunt lumine,
deum fatentur munere.

Novum genus potentiae
aquae rubescunt hydriae,
Vinumque iussa fundere,
mutavit unda originem.

Gloria tibi, domine,
qui apparuisti hodie,
Cum patre et sancto spiritu
in sempiterna saecula.[58]

The only pre-Lutheran translation of this portion of the hymn
seems to be that by Thomas Münzer, which he designates rather questionably
for Christmas.

Thomas Münzer (ca.1490-1525)
Auff das fest der geburt Christi.

Herodes, o du bösewicht,
mit all deynem ottern getzicht,
Was forchtest du deyns künigreychs
wilchs crist begert in keyner weysz?

Das war ein lemb gottis so zart,
wilchs von joannes getaufft wart,
Von allen sunden frey und reyn,
unser burd trug so alleyn.

Die weysen gingen weyt und fern,
do sie hyn leytet gotes stern,
Zu suchen das ewige liecht,
wilchs sie erkanten jm gesicht.

Ein new gewalt do gesehn ist
von gottis sone jhesu christ:
Wasser in wein verwandelt ward,
domit er sein krafft offenbart.

Drumb gib uns, o herr aller ding,
das uns durch deynem christ geling,
Herodes art zu meyden gar,
deyn reych zu besitzen vorwar.[59]

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[58] Ibid., I, 9 and 45-47.

[59] Ibid., III, 441.

Luther's own version, including the doxology, is reproduced below.

Der Hymnus, Hostis Herodes,
Im Thon, A solis ortus, etc.

Was furchstu, Feind Herodes, seer,
das uns geborn komot Christ der Herr?
Er sucht kein sterblich Konigreich,
der zu uns bringt sein Himelreich.

Die Tauff im Jordan an sich nam
das Himelische Gottes Lam,
Da durch der nie kein Sünde that
von Sünden uns gewaschen hat.

Dem stern die Weisen folgen nach,
solch Liecht zum rechten Liecht sie
    bracht,
Sie zeigen mit den Gaben drey,
dis Kind Gott, mensch uñ könig sey.

Ein Wunderwerck da new geschach:
sechs steinern Krüge man da sach
Vol Wassers, das verlor sein art,
roter Wein durch sein wort draus
    ward.

Lob, ehr und danck sey dir gesagt,
Christ, geborn von der reinen Magt,
Mit Vater und dem heilgen Geist
von nu an bis in ewigkeit.[60]

Münzer, it appears, added a stanza of his own instead of the
doxology. All in all, his is a good translation. Luther is more faith-
ful to the words of the original, while Münzer retains mostly the idea,
paraphrasing rather broadly at times. Luther is sometimes criticized
for disregarding the acrostic pattern of the poem, but the Dominican
Breviary contains the same stanzas which he used, and that seems to
be the way in which this poem was preserved.[61] Perhaps Luther did not
even realize that it was part of the longer poem which he had already
dismembered earlier.

This hymn fits in admirably with the three-fold significance
which Luther and the ancient Church attached to Epiphany: the Magi,
Christ's Baptism, and the First Miracle; our Lord's revelation to the
Gentiles, to the Jews, and to His own disciples.[62] His translation

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[60] Ibid, III, 25.

[61] Wackernagel also has it in this form; ibid., I, 46-47.

[62] O. Schliszke, op. cit., p. 332.

is an accurate yet poetic treatment, although the fourth stanza can hardly be accounted a poetic masterpiece. Since the Lutheran Church no longer generally observes the ancient three-fold significance of Epiphany, this hymn has fallen largely out of use, especially since it seems to fit nowhere else in the Church Year.

One of Luther's first translations was based on Ambrose's "Veni redemptor gentium." For his last translation, Luther once more returned to the "Father of Latin Hymnody" for material; the son, hardly a prodigal, returned home. This time, appropriately enough, he chose an evening hymn, "O lux beata trinitas," another of the dozen hymns definitely ascribed to Ambrose by the Benedictine scholars.[63]

St. Ambrose (?-397) asc.:
Dom. II. post octavam epiphaniae.

O lux beata, trinitas
et principalis unitas,
Iam sol recedit igneus,
infunde lumen cordibus.

Te mane laudum carmine,
te deprecemur vesperi,
Te nostra supplex gloria
per cuncta laudet saecula.

Deo patri sit gloria,
eiusque soli filio,
Cum spiritu paraclito,
et nunc et in perpetuum.[64]

A translation of this hymn is included among the many the Hymnarius of Sigmundslust, 1524.

Hymnarius. Sigmundslust 1524:
O lux beata trinitas.

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[63] John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 842.

[64] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., I, 9 and 52.

O Liecht, sälge Dryualtigkhayt   Zw morgens soll wyer loben dich,
unnd fürtreffliche Aynigkhayt,   am abent auch preysen frölich,
Dye feüren Sunn yetz von uns weycht,   unser andacht dich loben soll,
gib unns dein liecht das unns erleycht. dw pist ewiger zyere voll.

            Glori unnd eer dem Vattern sey,
            dem Sun auch ewigs lob darbey,
            Dem heyling Geyst auch des geleich,
            das gschech imer unnd ewigkhleych.[65]

Luther's own text follows:

            Hymnus, O lux beata, verdeutscht.

Der du bist drey in einigkeit,   Des morgens, Gott, dich lobe wir,
ein warer Gott von ewigkeit: des abends auch beten für dir,
Die Sonn mit dem Tag von uns weicht: Unser armes lied rhumet Dich
las leuchten uns dein Göttlich liecht. jtzund imer und ewiglich.

            Gott Vater dem sey ewig Ehr,
            Gott Son der ist der einig Herr
            und dem Tröster heiligen Geist
            von nun an bis in ewigkeit.[66]

Both translations are quite faithful to the original . Neither
is markedly superior to the other. Really, Luther could not have
written a better hymn with which to close his activity as a hymnwriter
and churchman. He began this activity claiming that he was not suited
for it, urging others to do it. He ends, humbly offering up his "armes
Lied," his armes Leib und Leben also, to the Triune God, whom He had
served not least of all by writing hymns to His glory and praise.

    B. "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland": A Study in Metamorphosis.

    It might be well for us to take one of the translations of Luther
and trace its course through history. For that purpose we shall study

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65 Ibid., II, 1125.

66 Ibid., III, 29.

the use of Ambrose's great hymn for the Nativity, "Veni, redemptor gentium," which has perhaps the most interesting and varied history of all Luther's translations.

St. Ambrose (?-397):
In navitate domini

Veni redemptor gentium,
ostende partum virginis,
Miretur omne saeculum:
talis decet partus deum.

Non ex virili semine,
sed mystico spiramine
Verbum dei factum est caro,
fructusque ventris floruit.

Alvus tumescit virginis,
claustra pudoris permanent,
Vexilla virtutum micant,
versatur in templo deus.

Procedens de thalamo suo,
pudoris aula regia,
Geminae gigas substantiae
alacris ut currat viam.

Egressus eius a patre,
regressus eius ad patrem,
Excursus usque ad inferos,
recursus ad sedem dei.

Aequalis aeterno patri
carnis tropaeo accingere,
Infirma nostri corporis
virtute firmans perpetim.

Praesepe iam fulget tuum
lumenque nox spirat novum,
Quod nulla nox interpolet
fideque iugi luceat.

Gloria tibi, domine,
qui natus es de virgine,
Cum patre et sancto spiritu
in sempiterna saecula.[67]

"Veni redemptor omnium" is one of the twelve hymns which Benedictine scholars attribute definitely to Ambrose, since the historical evidence for its authenticity seems quite secure.[68] Although it did not find its way into the Roman Breviary, it was up for use in many others,[69] and it is still in use today in the Dominican Missal and Breviary.[70] Thus we are dealing with a hymn which has been in use in its original language for over a millenium and a half.

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[67] Ibid., I, 8 and 17.

[68] J. Julian, op. cit., p. 1211.

[69] Ibid.

[70] A. Byrnes, op. cit., pp. 56-60.

This hymn was used in Germany also by the clergy, and evidently it struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the people, since it was translated often into the vernacular. The people of the Middle Ages were greatly interested in the facts of the Virgin Birth of our Lord, and this hymn deals with that subject with perhaps more detail than any other that has achieved popular usage. This very thing, which caused the hymn to be used among the people, was later to be the cause for its falling from favor, in an age when such mysteries were not to be pondered but to be ridiculed—O tempora! O mores! Its strength in one age became its weakness in another, but it was more the weakness of the age than its own inherent weakness. At any rate, the first translation that has come to light so far is a rather crude twelfth century attempt, which begins as follows: "Chume vrloser der diete, zaeige geburt der maide."[71] Crude though this may be, it has real sonority and the alliterative strength of the epic poets. Several centuries later, Heinrich von Loufenberg (?-ca.1459) included this hymn among the many Latin selections which he chose to translate. His translations were some of his earliest attempts at poetry, and he is often criticized for being faithful to the Latin but faithless in regard to his own tongue,[72] but his contribution to German vernacular hymnody was really notable. Here are the first two stanzas of his translation of "Veni redemptor gentium:"

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[71] Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, op. cit., p. 149.

[72] E. E. Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche (3rd ed.; Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belser'schen Verlagshandlung, 1866), I, 214.

Heinrich von Loufenberg (?-ca.1459)
Veni redemptor gentium

Kum gar, erlöser volkes schar,
erzöig die gburd der magde clar,
Da wundert alle welt gemein,
wan solich gburt zimt got allein.

Nüt von mennlichem samen ist,
denn of des helgen geistes frist
Gotz wort die Menscheit an sich nan,
die frucht deslibs hat blüyet schon.[73]

Not long after the death of Heinrich, another translation appeared, an indication of the frequency with which Latin hymns were translated at this time in Germany. The unknown translator who produced the version of which two stanzas are given below also was quite faithful to the original, and yet his work is obviously not dependent on von Loufenberg's. It is dated 1460.

Anonymous, ca.1460:
Veni redemptor gentium

Kom, erloser aller leute,
geburt der jungfrauen uns bedeute.
Alle werlt verwundert sich
dasz aine mait geboret dich.

Nicht von einigem mannes so men,
sunder von gote ist es komen,
Das fleisch ist worden gotes wort
in der reinen mait gebort.[74]

If "Veni redemptor gentium" could write an autobiography, it would undoubtedly consider the years 1523-24 as the greatest in its long life, since at that time no less than three translations appeared. The first to appear was that of Thomas Münzer, the Schwärmer whose work as a hymn writer and liturgiologist is more highly regarded today than ever before.[75] Although the third line of each stanza varies between nine and ten feet in utter defiance of the Meistersinger, his translation is very

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[73] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., II, 580.

[74] Ibid., II, 696.

[75] H. J. Moser, op. cit., p. 33

acceptable.[76]

Thomas Münzer (ca.1490-1525)
Zum Advent

O Herr, erloser alles volcks,
kum, zeych uns die geburt deyns sons,
Es wundern sich alle creaturen,
das christ also ist mensch worden.

Czu solchem werck kam nye kein
man,
der heylge geyst hat solchs
gethan,
Deyn ewiges wort so vormenschet
wardt
der junckfrowen leyb blüet so
zart.[77]

The second translation to appear at that time was in the Hymnarius

published at Sigmundslust in 1524, its translations dating mostly from

the first part of the sixteenth century. Like most of its translations,

the one below is "ungelenk",[78] but it is not too awkward for use, nor

does it stray far from the original.[79]

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[76] Münzer's Teutsche Ampt, in which this hymn is included, is dated
1523, but it may not have appeared until 1524. His translation is
usually accepted as being earlier than Luther's.

[77] P. Wackernagel, op. cit., III, 440.

[78] Philipp Wackernagel, Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen
Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag von Heyder
& Zimmer, 1855), p. 54.

[79] It is interesting to compare the hymns selected for translation
by Münzer, Luther, and the Sigmundslust Hymnarius (those given by Wacker-
nagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied, op. cit., II, 1107-31; III, 3-31, 440-4.)

	Hymnarius	Münzer	Luther
"Veni, redemptor gentium"	x	x	x
"Veni, creator spiritus"	x	x	x
"O lux beata trinitas"	x		x
"Pange lingua gloriosi"	x	x	
"Vexilla regis prodeunt"	x	x	
"A solis ortus cardine"	x		x
"Rex Christe, factor omnium"	x	x	
"Conditor alme siderum"	x	x	
"Vita sanctorum I"	x	x	
"Hostis Herodes impie"		x	x

Hymnarius. Sigmundslust 1524
Veni Redemptor gentium.

Erlediger der völckher, khum,
ertzaig die gpurdt der Junckfraw frum,
Wunder sich alle dise welt,
ain sölch gepurdt dem herren gfelt.

Nit ausz mändlichem samen zwar
kumbt er, sunder gar götlich dar:
Mensch Gottes wort Ist uns worde
und iunckfreiliche frucht
grainen.[80]

Luther's translation, although it also probably dates from 1523, seems

to be the last of the three. Although in this case the last became

first in usage, it is not necessarily the best of the lot.

Hymnus. Veni redemptor gentium.

Nu kom, der Heyden heyland,
der yungfrawen kynd erkanndt!
Das sych wunder alle welt,
Gott solch gepurt yhm bestelt.

Seyn laufft kam vom vatter her
und kert wider zum vater,
Fur hyn undtern zu der hell
und wider zu Gottes stuel.

Nicht von Mans blut noch von fleisch,
allein võ dem heyligen geyst
Ist Gottes wort worden eyn mensch,
und bluet eyn frucht weibs fleisch.

Der du bist dem vater gleich,
fur hynaus dẽ syeg ym fleisch,
Das dein ewig gots gewalt
ynn unns das kranck fleysch
enthallt.

Der yungfraw leib schwanger ward,
doch bleih keuscheyt reyn beward,
Leucht erfur mãch tugẽd schon,
Gott da war yn seynem thron.

Dein kryppen glentzt hell und klar,
die nacht gybt eyn new liecht dar,
Tũckel musz nicht komẽ dreyn
der glaub bleib ymer ym scheyn.

Er gieng aus der kamer seyn,
dem kõnglichen saal so reyn,
Gott võ art uñ mensch eyn hellt
seyn weg er zu lauffen eyllt.

Lob set Gott dem vatter thon,
lob sey got dem eyngen son,
Lob sey got dem heyligen geyst,
ymer unnd ynn ewigkeit.[81]

Luther followed the original, which appears to be quite orthodox,

as closely as was poetically feasible. He was not as squeamish as we

post-Victorians must be about translating the rather frank and unadorned

language of the first couplet of the third stanza, although even he

does not give a completely literal translation of it. Luther also

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[80] Ibid., II, 1107.

[81] Ibid., III, 12-13.

apparently saw no wrong in the opinion of the early Church that
the giants in Genesis 6:4 were born of women and angels, which made
them types of Christ, and that Psalm 19:6 referred both to Christ
and to the Genesis passage.[82] This stanza has been omitted entirely
in The Lutheran Hymnal, while the translation smooths over stanza three.
The doxology cited above is the one commonly attached to this hymn,
although it was probably not with the poem originally. This same
doxology is used at the end of "A solis ortus cardine," and, when
one examines Luther's very literal translation there, one immediately
questions whether Luther's doxology in this case was probably not
one of the other common doxologies, since it is hardly a translation
of the version above, which actually is more suitable for this hymn
than Luther's. All in all, the critics are not too pleased with
this translation. The sentiment of Achelis is typical: "Hier steckte
seine Dichtergabe offenbar noch in den Kinderschuhen."[83] Smend considers
it "schwerfällig" and, especially the first stanza, "völlig dunkel."[84]
Lucke attributes this to the fact that Luther adhered too closely to the
original.[85] Perhaps they feel that it is too doctrinal for the common
Christian and for that reason object to it, although it is more likely
the doctrine itself which gives them the trouble. This entire problem,
of course, is open to a great amount of debate.

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[82] F. A. March, Latin Hymns with English Notes (New York: American Book Co., 1874), p. 227.

[83] Quoted in J. Smend, op. cit., p. 63.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, op. cit., p. 149.

If one examines the various translations of the Latin which are cited above, one would notice that all of them are faithful to the sense of the original, although some adhere to it verbally more closely than others. Of the four listed, it seems that Luther's and Heinrich von Loufenberg's are the most literal, Münzer's the freest, and the Hymnarius version the most devoted to the Virgin, since the translator takes every opportunity to accentuate her role in the Incarnation without going beyond the context of the original.[86]

This hymn, in Luther's translation, found great acceptance among the Lutheran churches. It was the Detemporelied (Graduallied) for the First Sunday in Advent, and it was used throughout that season and also at Christmas time.[87] Indeed, it became so popular that whole books were written about it and its message, which was true of only a small number of chorales. Schliszke lists four titles from the seventeenth century devoted to this hymn, ranging in size up to 400 pages, as follows:[88]

1. Joh. Mochinger "Kurze Anmerkungen über das Lied 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland. . . .'" Danzig 1649.
2. Joh. Fried. Mayer "Kurze und einfältige Erklärung des Liedes 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland'" Greifswald o. J.
3. Ch. de Montaldo "Jesus Christus der einzige und ewige Advents-könig, mit seiner leiblichen Zukunft für uns aus dem alten Gesang 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland. . . .' allen andächtigen

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[86]H. J. Moser, op. cit., pp. 30-32, compares Luther's and Münzer's translations with the original, giving the music of all three. Moser, who seems rather distressed about the way in which Luther treated Münzer, feels that the latter's version is closer to the original metrically, and also that his meter does not conflict with the natural accent of the words as often as do Luther's.

[87]O. Schliszke, op. cit., p. 272, notes that when Advent began to be celebrated in the fifth century, "Veni, redemptor gentium" became the Advent song of the Church.

[88]Ibid., p. 277.

Herzen vorgestellt."

4. Nincent Krull "Jesu sei willkommen oder das geistliche
Adventslied 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland. . . ." erklärt
1668 Hamburg 1670.

Roman Catholic hymnals too soon borrowed Luther's translation,
making several changes. Although it was not necessarily the best
version of the old Ambrosian hymn, it appeared in a "whole row" of
Roman hymnals.[89] Schliszke gives the version in the Leisentritsche
Gesangbuch of 1567,[90] reproducing only those sections in which
significant changes were made:[91]

1 Komm der Heiden treuer Heiland
der Jungfrau Geburt mach bekannt

3,3 voll der Gnaden und Tugend schon
empfing in ihrem Leib Gottes Sohn.

6 Der du Gott dem Vater gleich bist,
und im Fleisch zu dem Sieg gerüst,
stark unsers Fleisches Blödigkeit
mit deiner Kraft in Ewigkeit.

7 Dein Krippen gibt einen klaren Schein,
und ein neues Licht scheint herein,
behüt uns vor der Sünden Nacht,
dasz unser Glaub' schein' durch dein' Macht.

The fact that Roman Catholics used Luther's translation and emended
it as above, despite the fact that there were earlier Roman translations

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[89]Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe,
op. cit., p. 149.

[90]O. Schliszke, op. cit., p. 279.

[91]Philipp Wackernagel, Martin Luthers geistliche Lieder mit den zu
seinen Lebzeiten gebräuchlichen Singwisen (Stuttgart: Verlag von Samuel
Gottlieb Liesching, 1848), p. 139, notes that later editions of this
hymnal had a version which was closer to the original German, with a
first line as follows: "Kom her aller heiden Heylandt."

as well as one from about the same time during which Luther prepared his version, makes one wonder just how much currency the Roman hymnals and religious poetry in general had among the people and even among the clergy. All three of the Roman versions reproduced in part above are very acceptable, none greatly, if at all, inferior to Luther's. Was Heinrich von Loufenberg so rapidly forgotten? Was the Hymnarius an isolated attempt? One cannot say definitely, but it is obvious that Luther's contributions to hymnody were so widely used and accepted or at least adapted that they had influence even outside the circles of the Evangelical Church, sometimes apparently even superseding the efforts of earlier and contemporary Roman Catholic hymn writers and translators.

However, this hymn's history is not always one of wide influence, use, and acceptance. In the days of the Enlightenment it was one of the most cruelly used of Luther's hymns, either being dropped or being revised to conform to the new "enlightened reason,"[92] The height of the Enlightenment extended from 1765-1817,[93] but these dates are merely guidelines for the students of history. When one examines the hymnals of the time, one can see that they do not conform to such exact boundaries. Some hymnals retained the hymn up to the end of the century in its original form, but the more fashionable ones either elided such an archaism entirely or changed it to conform to the spirit of the times. Thus the "Verbessertes" Delitzsch Gesangbuch of 1817 gives the following

[92]Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes, edited by Karl Nelle (3rd ed.; Leipzig and Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 56.

[93]Ibid.

version of stanzas one and four, attributing it to Luther without

any explanation:

> Nun kommt aller Völker Heil,
> nimmt an unserm Elend Theil.
> Alle Welt erstaunt, und rühmt:
> Dieses Werk hat Gott geziemt.
>
> Sein Lauf kann vom Vater her,
> und zum Vater kehrte er;
> fuhr zur Erden Tief' hinab,
> dann zu Gott aus seinem Grab.[94]

Schliszke gives the example of one of the "neu-verbesserte" Reformed

hymnals of the immediate post-Englightenment (1822) period, of which

I give the superscription and the fourth stanza.

> Das alte Lied: Nun komm der Heiden Heiland, verbessert
> und von unvorschriftmäszigen gesaubert, doch ist die
> alte Melodie behalten.

> Er nahm erdwärts seinen Lauf
> stieg auch wieder himmelauf;
> fuhr inab zum finstern Tal,
> kehrt zurück zum Sternensaal.[95]

Some hymnals still have the hymn in its original form even after the

Englightenment, but gradually that and even the "verbesserte" or "neu-

verbesserte" versions dropped from the hymnals of the various Landes-

kirchen of Germany. Thus, Philipp Deitz, in his Tabellarische

Nachweisung, des Liederbestandes der jetzt gebräuchlichen Landes und

Provinzialgesangbücher des evangelischen Deutschlands,[96] does not

mention "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland" even once, even though about 4000

different hymns are listed. It is not contained in any form in any of

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[94]Verbessertes Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauche. Mit gnadigstem Privilegio (Dritte sorgfältig berichtigte Auflage; Delitsch: L. Meyner, 1817), p. 23.

[95]O. Schliszke, op. cit., p. 278.

[96]Philipp Dietz, editor, Die Restauration des evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903). The tabulation is published as a sort of appendix.

the thirty-nine hymnals he lists. And this was after over eighty years during which Die Restauration des evangelischen Kirchenliedes was taking place. Even some hymnologists did not consider this to be such a catastrophe, however, since, as I mentioned above, they view it rather askance.[97] Thus, Nelle classifies it among ". . . minder bedeutenden" hymns,[98] and Spitta states unequivocally that is among those of Luther's hymns which can claim no place in the hymnal.[99] During these years it was only in the United States that the hymn was retained, usually in its original form, in the German hymnals. Our own Synod's hymnals contained this hymn unaltered while every official hymnal in Germany had dropped it completely, retaining not even a watered-down form. As the German hymnals were gradually restoring the great hymns of the Reformation, many of our American hymnals contained a full measure of them. Our German hymnals contained no fewer than thirty-four Lutherlieder, while some of our first English hymnals had thirty-three, an all-time high. (Of course, the English translation of "Nun komm" smoothes over the difficulties of the original.) Grabau, in his unique product,[100] had thirty-five of them, something which was

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[97] All the writers except one in Dietz's volume pass over the omission of "Nun komm" without a single word.

[98] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 56.

[99] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 386.

[100] Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gesang-Buch worin 500 der gebräuchlichsten alten Kirchen-Lieder Dr. Martin Lutheri und anderer reinen Lehrer und Zeugen Gottes, zur Beförderung der wahren Gottseligkeit ohne Abanderungen enthalten sind, für Gemeinen, welche sich zur unveränderten Augsburgischen Confessionen bekennen (Vierte Auflage; Buffalo: F. Reinecke und Sohn, 1865). This hymnal, with a forward by Grabau, is closely modeled after some of the early hymnals of the Reformation,

quite common a hundred years or more before, but which was unique in the world at his time and which would probably not be equalled in any official hymnal again.

During the course of this century, however, "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland" has been finding its way back into use, especially in recent years. It is true that it is no longer retained in its complete original form, but at least the text itself has not been tampered with. Usually the difficult second and third stanzas, which are considered too "catholic" and perhaps even slightly Mariolatrous, and the sixth stanza are omitted. Perhaps it is better to do this than to educate our people as to the real meaning of those stanzas--certainly it is easier--but at least the major part of the hymn is retained to edify God's people during Advent. Luther did not worry about making people think and learn as they sang, since he considered hymns to be a means for doing just that, but in this day and age I suppose that no one can be faulted for avoiding such difficulties. However, one might question such a procedure after reading Christa Müller's eloquent treatment of Luther's Weihnachtslieder:

> Wie ganz anders standen die Reformatoren auch zum Dogma als der heutige, sog. gebildete Christ: was heute in diesen Liedern "dogmatisch" anmuten und darum abstoszen mag, das war für Luther gerade das Lebedige und Herrliche an diesen Liedern; das Dogma ist ihm nichts von Gelehrtenköpfen Erdachtes, Weltfremdes, Poesieloses, sondern Dogma ist ihm Gemälde und Gesang der frohen Botschaft, ist Verkündingung, und darum kann das Dogma nicht nur gesungen, es musz gesungen werden. . . .

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containing both German and Latin hymns. Hymnologically, it is perhaps the best American hymnal I examined, at least as far as German and Latin hymnody was concerned. In 1891, in the seventh edition, it was finally decided to remove the Latin hymns and substitute German ones for them, since the people no longer could understand them.

Luther schied überhaupt Kirchenlied und Dogma nicht als zwei
wesensfremd Dinge, sondern beide waren dasselbe in verschiedener
Ausdrucksform: Verkündingung, menschliches Weiterreden der Rede
Gottes und darum Lob und Preis der Barmherzigkeit Gottes. Darum
brauchte er sich nicht im mindesten zu scheuen vor wörtlichen
Übersetzungen folgender Art:

> "Nicht von Manns Blut noch von Fleisch,
> allein von dem heiligen Geist
> ist Gottes Wort worden ein Mensch
> und blühet ein Frucht Weibs Fleisch."[101]

Yet, this is one of the stanzas omitted in present-day German hymnals.

Perhaps our attitude should be more like Luther's, and we should be

less concerned about the "difficulties" of the text. Be that as it may,

we can derive comfort from the fact that, fifty years after a period

in which "Nun komm" was not included in a single official hymnal of

Germany, it has been placed in the main body of the hymns in the new

allgemein hymnal in that country, which has been accepted by all the

Landeskirchen of Germany, each province having an Anhang for its own

particular favorites. Thus, it is available for use in almost all the

Lutheran churches in Germany, as it is also in our Synod and in the

Norwegian and Augustana Lutheran Churches in America. Such a metamorpho-

sis, life, Tod, und Verklärung, is almost unique in the history of

hymnody.[102]

C. Luther as Translator

These, then, have been Luther's translations, adaptations, etc. of

Latin hymnody. What general conclusions can one draw after such an

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[101]Christa Müller, "Luthers Weihnachtslieder," Monatschrift für
Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXXIX, 12 (December, 1934), 293.

[102]"Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland" is not to be confused with Franck's
"Komm, Heidenheiland, Lösegeld", which is actually based on a poem by
Campanus modeled in part after Ambroses' "Veni, redemptor gentium." This
version is included in most German hymnals.

overview?

In the first place, it has been noted that Luther chose hymns which had an established place in the Church and in the hearts of the people. This meant that most of them had been translated before his time or were translated contemporaneously with him. In general, one must conclude that his treatments were not markedly superior to the average of the other translations, but they were remarkably independent of them on translations, containing almost no parallels.[103] Yet, despite their lack of distinction and superiority, it has been mentioned that they were taken over by "a whole row" of Roman Catholic hymnals, ample testimony to their popularity, use, and usefulness. By the force of his personality and the power of his name, Martin Luther made these translations part of the heritage of the entire German nation, Catholics and Evangelicals alike. From this standpoint, he must be accounted one of the most successful and popular translators whom Germany has ever produced.

As for poetic quality, these translations are rightly accounted as some of his weakest products, although they appear weak perhaps only because one has his other hymns with which to compare them. According to Luther's own standard, they are weak; by almost any other standard, they are strong indeed. The more strictly he adhered to the original, the more his own product and language suffered, and yet the historical and confessional continuity which he thus obtained must be counted a great treasure, perhaps a greater treasure than esthetic, poetic standards. On the altar of such a boon, the continuation of

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[103] Cf. Paul E. Kretzmann, "Luther's Use of Medieval Latin Hymns," Concordia Theological Monthly, II, 4 (April, 1931), 260-273.

of the grand tradition of the Church in a purified form, Martin Luther could well sacrifice the hardly unblemished lamb of the German language, especially since he did not confine himself to this form, as Münzer and others did.

These translations for the most part were among Luther's least used and least popular products, perhaps because of the medieval air of some of them, their occasionally extremely doctrinal content, or their weak poetic quality. Those which had been transmitted from the Latin into folk poetry before his day and which he subsequently extended were among his most popular and greatest hymns, it is true, but those which he translated directly from the Latin did not fare so well. A few, such as "Komm, heil'ger Geist, Herre Gott," have been loved and used throughout the history of the Evangelical Church, but others, like "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland," "Christum wir sollen loben schon," and "Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes, sehr," were the first to disappear from the hymnals and the last to reappear (if, indeed, they did). If the German Church thus lost contact with its pre-Reformation heritage, it did not seem too concerned about it; it was hard enough pressed to preserve its Reformation heritage to become panicky about anything older than that.

As was the case with his treatment of the Psalms which he versified, Luther's relationship with his Latin models is extremely varied, ranging from almost verbatim translations like "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland" and "Christum wir sollen loben schon" to hymns like "Christ lag," whose connections with both the Latin original and the German derivation are very slight. Luther revered the Latin hymns, but he was a slave

to nothing but his Lord, and what he wanted to change, adapt, improve, etc., he did, perhaps not always with the desired result. However he treated them, he did treat them, with the result that they became an integral part of the "new" hymnody. Nelle thinks that he alone can be credited with the fact that our hymnals contain not only sixteenth century hymns, but also those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[104] Luther saw the glint of precious metal in the earlier hymns and preserved them:

> Lyriker, Liturg, Musiker ist Luther zugleich auch H y m n o l o g e . . . darin ist er der Begründer der Hymnologie, dasz er, wie kein anderer Reformator und Liederdichter seiner Zeit, mit wunderbarem Tiefblick das Wertvolle in den Liedern früherer Zeiten erkannt. . . .[105]

Present-day hymnals are perhaps quite in agreement with Luther as to what is "wertvoll" in Latin hymnody, since many of his translations are included in the latest hymnals, but during and after the Enlightenment and up until the last few decades, his choices were largely repudiated. Thus, Spitta[106] can exclude five ("Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland," "Christum wir sollen loben schon," "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist," "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit," and "Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes, sehr") out of the six translations of Luther based directly upon the Latin hymns from the hymnal, leaving only "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich." Spitta has been repudiated to some extent by later hymnal committees, however, which has brought about the improved situation today.

Luther, in his preface to Klug's hymnal of 1545, had the following

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[104] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 46.

[105] Ibid., p. 45.

[106] F. Spitta, op. cit., pp. 386-387.

to say about some Latin hymns:

> The songs and the notes are precious; it would be a shame and
> a loss were they to disappear; but the texts or words are un-
> christian, unfit and absurd; these should perish.[107]

He did not have this opinion about all the texts, however, and some he

enabled not to perish by putting them into use in the Evangelical

congregations. What were the principles which guided him in translating

the Latin hymns into his own tongue? The most important requisite

was that the translations have " . . . eine rechte deutsche Art."[108]

This was particularly true of translations of parts of the Liturgy.

Thus, for his "Formula Missae" he prepared no music, since the Latin

music was suitable for the Latin texts. However, for his "Deutsche

Messe" he made new musical settings to fit the German words. In his

treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets" he specifically criticized

the inaugurators of earlier vernacular services for not observing this

principle:

> I really want to have the Mass in German now, and I am working
> on it, but I also want it to be cast in a true German mould. . . .
> I do not forbid that one should translate the Latin text into
> German and retain the Latin music, but it does not work out
> artistically or properly. Both,—text and notes, accent, neums,
> and form,—must proceed from mother tongue and voice; else all
> is mere imitation like the apes.[109]

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[107]Martin Luther, Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., VI, 289.

[108]Ibid., VI, 154.

[109]Ibid., VI, 154, 167. Cf. also Martin Luther, Luther's Correspon-
dence and Other Contemporary Letters, translated and edited by Preserved
Smith and Charles M. Jacobs (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication
Society, 1918), II, 298 - a letter to Nicholas Hausmann: " . . . it
does not altogether please me that Latin music has been kept for German
words."

However, either Luther did not apply this to hymns also, or he was
guilty of a bit of "aping" himself, since he preserved many of the
tunes almost intact and often stuck by the original much too closely for
the good of his "mother tongue."[110]   Nevertheless, Luther's translations
are good "translations;" he cannot be denied that.[111]   When he did this
work of preparing vernacular versions of the Latin hymns, he had already
had considerable experience at translating from foreign languages into
German, and this experience stood him in good stead at that time. Luther
was a very careful translator, sometimes spending weeks trying to
decide on the proper translation of a single word,[112]   and it was perhaps
just such concern that gave some of his translations a stiffness which
is much more noticeable in poetic form. However, Luther was very aware
of the unique character of the German language, an awareness which he
perhaps displays least often in his translations but which is still there.

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[110]Martin Luther, Ausgewählte Werke, op. cit., III, 343: "Der
Hymnus 'A solis ortus.' Der deutsch Text singt sich wohl auch unter die
lateinischen Noten." This is the title to his hymn, "Christum wir sollen
loben schon"!

[111]Martin Luther, Luthers schriften und Dichtungen in Auswahl,
edited by K. Staedler (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, n.d.), pp. 57 ff. In his
famous "Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen," written to W. Linck in Nürnberg in
1530, Luther expressed an attitude which undoubtedly included also
his hymns: "Zum andern mögt Ihr sagen, dasz ich das Neue Testament ver-
deutscht habe nach meinem besten Vermögen und Gewissen; habe damit
niemand gezwungen, dasz er es lese, sondern frei gelassen, und allein zu
Dienst gethan denen, die es nicht besser machen können. Ist niemand
verboten, ein besseres zu machen."

[112]Ibid., p. 59. Here Luther states that he hunted very often for
fourteen days or three and four weeks for the correct translation of a
single word; perhaps he was not quite this careful in his translating of
Latin hymns.

His letter to Spalatin of January 1, 1527, is of great interest in
this connection:

> But to the matter in hand. Tell our very dear Dolzig, if he can
> bear a friendly disagreement (as he can), that we have good reason
> for maintaining that darumb should be written sometimes darumb,
> sometimes drumb. For why should not we Germans imitate the Greeks,
> Latins and Hebrews in the matter of contractions and syncopes,
> since no other language is more syncopated than German? We say
> by syncope, Du sollts mirs thun; Dolzig's severity would make us
> say, Du solltest mir es thun. See what grace there is in the
> syncope and what nausea in the rule? If you ask, Warumb thust du
> das? we say according to the rule, Darumb, because the word
> stands alone. But if other words are added, we say in an elegant
> syncope, Ich wills drumb nicht lassen. Away with these barbarous
> Germanisms! You see how clever we, too, can be. Therefore let
> Dolzig beware of a battle about words, especially if he tries
> to exasperate us, for we think ourselves twice, thrice, four times
> the man that Aristarchus was. This in jest.[113]

(That for Opitz and Klopstock!) Luther undoubtedly had some difficulty

in finding elegant German syncopes at all times for use in his transla-

tions of hymns, and, when working on the grand products of Ambrose, he

perhaps had a similar complaint to the one he made in a third letter

to Spalatin, February 23, 1524, as follows:

> We have so much trouble in translating Job, on account of the
> grandeur of his sublime style, that he seems to be much more
> impatient with our efforts to turn him into German than he was
> of the consolation of his friends. Either he always wishes to
> sit on his dunghill, or else he is jealous of the translator
> who would share with him the credit of writing his book. This
> keeps the third part of the Bible from being printed.[114]

Ambrose and the others were perhaps zealous too, since their products

often found wider use in the translations of Luther than they ever did

in the original, but Luther never lets us know about that.

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[113] Martin Luther, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary
Letters, op. cit., II, 389.

[114] Ibid., II, 221-222.

A final note on Luther's use of the word verbessert. As far as
I can discover, Luther used this word only with his version of "Jesus
Christus nostra salus" and "Christ ist erstanden" ("Victimae paschali").
With his other translations he used expressions like the following:
"Hymnus, O lux beata, verdeutscht" and "Da Pacem Domine. Deudsch". One
will immediately recall that these two hymns are Luther's freest treat-
ments of the hymns written before his time. This leads one to the pos-
sible conclusion that for Luther verbessert did not really mean "improved"
but merely that his version was a very free treatment of some earlier
hymn. This would help to clear up the puzzle of just what he meant by
"gebessert," especially in connection with "Christ ist erstanden," one
of his favorite hymns and virtually beyond improvement in his eyes.[115]

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[115] On this matter, Professor Buszin has the following comment:
"Did it not mean also that he likely felt that he was trying to make
available a version which represented an attempt to put the hymn to
wider use? Other versions had failed in this, in some cases (e.g.,
Münzer) despite their excellencies; Luther's name helped put his own
across. Luther may ever have been aware of that (i.e., the power of
his name), though he naturally never mentioned it. It would have been
strange had he not known this by 1524 and after."

CHAPTER VII

THE PURPOSE AND USE OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS

Although Luther's first hymn was inspired by the martyrdom of the
two Lutherans in Brussels, which is indicated in its superscription, and
although Preuss conjectures as to other possible specific incidents in
his life which may have provided the inspiration for several of his
other hymns,[1] it is obvious that Luther wrote most of his hymns with a
definite purpose in mind. Stapel goes so far as to say that only two,
"Sie ist mir lieb, die werte Magd" and "Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht
steht," were not written with a definite "Zweck" in mind.[2] There is
some question as to whether or not Luther were a "Gelegenheitsdichter"
in Goethe's sense. Stapel objects to the rather subjective connotations
of that classification and would rather call Luther a "Zweckdichter."[3]
Nelle, on the other hand, would probably not object to the former term,
as is indicated in the following quotation: "Bei Luther ist das Dichten
nicht Lebensberuf, es ist nur ein unwillkürlicher Ausflusz seines
Lebenserkes. . . ."[4] This is a relatively minor point, and Luther

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[1]Hans Preuss, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann,
1931), p. 150. There has been any number of attempts to place each of
Luther's hymns with a specific incident in his life. There is little
value and less certainty in this procedure.

[2]Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evangelisches
Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 17.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes,
edited by Karl Nelle (3rd ed.; Leipzig and Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 24.

himself undoubtedly would have disregarded the entire matter.

Whatever kind of poet Luther may have been, it is not difficult to classify his poetry, since, as Preuss writes, most of his hymns have " . . . einfach ihren Ursprung in dem kirchlichen Bedürfnis."[5] Stapel arranges them according to three "Zwecke": "Lehre," "Gottesdienst," and "Kampf (Polemik)."[6] There are other possible divisions of the hymns, but, no matter what division one might make, there will be some overlapping, so the grouping is relatively pliable.

The main use of Luther's hymns is liturgical. A glimpse at the title and sources in Chapter V will indicate that fact very rapidly. Luther's liturgical hymns fall into two general categories. The first consists of hymns more or less for the ordinary of the service. This includes the "Vater unser," the Creed, the "Sanctus," and others, such as the pre- and post-communion and the hymns for the opening and closing of the service. The other category consists of the seasonal, "proper," hymns. In this classification are hymns for almost every season of the Church Year.

Another use of Luther's hymns is didactic, corresponding to Stapel's "Lehre" category. This includes the Catechism Hymns especially. However, most of Luther's hymns are very doctrinal and serve this use also, if only indirectly. Luther regarded the didactic value of poetry very highly, even though he had a rather low opinion of most poets and made many disparaging remarks about them.[7] The *locus classicus*

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[5] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 150.

[6] W. Stapel, op. cit., pp. 17 f.

[7] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 161.

of Luther's opinion concerning the pedagogical value of poetry is as

follows:

> Wo aber jemand tüchtig und lustig wäre, solche Sprüche in gute
> feine Reim zu stellen, das wäre dazu gut, dasz sie desto leichter
> behalten und desto lieber gelesen würden. Denn Reime oder Vers
> machen gute Sentenz oder Sprüchwort, die man lieber braucht,
> denn sonst schlechte Rede.[8]

However, most authorities believe that this didactic purpose seriously

hampers the poetic quality of Luther's verse. It is only when he rises

above this purpose, Boehmer states, that Luther really excels, but

" . . . at such times he always rings like a truly great poet in strains

the like of which had never been heard before him in the German tongue."[9]

Mackinnon agrees that " . . . his poetic feeling is rather handicapped

by the didactic purpose of expressing his distinctive theology in verse."[10]

With Luther, the purpose always came first, the poetic quality second,

although many believe that he was not nearly so hampered by the didactic

purpose of his hymns as Boehmer and Mackinnon would have us believe.

Luther wrote two hymns expressly for children. These are "Vom

Himmel hoch" and "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort." The second line of

the latter, "Und steur des Papsts und Türken Mord," is admittedly rather

strong and perhaps not too suitable for children. This line has been

changed to a milder version in virtually all of the hymnals of Germany

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[8] Friedrich Spitta, Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, die Lieder Luthers
in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied (Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), p. 362. This is a quote from Luther's
preface to Klug's hymnal Zum Begrebnis.

[9] Heinrich Boehmer, Luther in the Light of Recent Research, trans-
lated by Carl F. Huth (New York: Christian Herald, 1916), p. 186.

[10] J. Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation (New York: Longmans,
Green and Co., 1925-30), IV, 327.

for over a hundred years, but it was retained by most of the German
hymnals of our country much longer. Preuss remarks concerning how many
expressions there are in "Vom Himmel hoch" which are typical of children
and which reveal how well Luther understood them.[11] This prompts Preuss
to apply the following quote very aptly to Luther: "Kind und Held in
eins, wie Dürer und Bach uns alle grossen deutschen Männer."[12]

Another main category of Luther's hymns is the polemical group.
Spitta notes that some of the didactic hymns also have an indirect
polemical use; among these he classifies "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland,
der von uns" and "Vater unser."[13] The hymns which belong in the po-
lemical category proper he lists as follows:

> Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein
> Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott
> Ein neues Lied wir heben an
> Es spricht der unweisen Mund wohl
> Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar[14]

Christa Müller concurs on the first three of that list but replaces the
last two with "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort" and "Wär Gott nicht mit
uns diese Zeit."[15]

The four general categories into which Luther's hymns may be

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[11] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 155.

[12] Ibid., p. 158.

[13] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 362.

[14] Ibid., p. 363.

[15] Christa Müller, "Luthers kirchliche Streit und Bekenntnislieder,"
Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, XXXIX, 10/11 (Oct.,
Nov., 1934), p. 242.

grouped, then, are liturgical, didactic, polemical, and children's hymns. Within those categories Luther's hymns very widely in subject matter, so that they serve many uses. In his thirty-six hymns there is such variety that Nelle remarks that one could compile a virtually complete hymnal from them alone.[16] Luther wrote hymns for almost every part of the church service and for almost every season of the Church Year. It is well known, of course, that he did not write any Lenten hymns. This is truly in keeping with his theology of joy and happiness. His Savior was the risen triumphant Christ, the Lord of the Church, and whatever he had to say about our Lord's Passion he included in his Easter hymns.

It may be of interest to see the many uses to which _Lutherlieder_ commentators have put his hymns. The first of these is the list of Lambert.[17]

Advent:	"Nun freut euch"
	"Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland"
	"Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ"
Christmas:	"Vom Himmel hoch"
	"Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar"
	"Christum wir sollen loben schon"
	"Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ"
	"Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland"
Epiphany:	"Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes, sehr"
	"Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ"
Easter:	"Christ lag"
	"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod"
Pentecost:	"Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott"
	"Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist"
	"Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist"
Trinity:	"Gott, der Vater, wohn uns bei"
	"Der du bist drei in Einigkeit"

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[16] W. Nelle, _op. cit._, p. 41.

[17] James F. Lambert, _Luther's Hymns_ (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1917), pp. xiii-xiv.

Commandments:	"Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot"
	"Mensch, willst du leben seliglich"
Creed:	"Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"
Prayer:	"Vater unser im Himmelreich"
Baptism:	"Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam"
Confession:	"Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir"
Communion:	"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns"
Post Communion:	"Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet"
Home and Family: (Wedding)	"Wohl dem der in Gottes Furcht steht"
The Church:	"Sie ist mir lieb, die werte Magd"
Word of God:	"Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein"
	"Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl"
	"Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit"
Public Worship:	"Der du bist drei in Einigkeit"
	"Gott, der Vater, wohn uns bei"
Closing Hymns and Hymns for Peace:	"Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich"
	"Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein"
	"Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort"
Reformation:	"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"
	"Ein neues Lied wir heben an"
	"Nun freut euch"
Missionary:	"Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein"
Te Deum:	"Herr Gott, dich loben wir"
Sanctus:	"Jesaiah, dem Propheten, das geschah"
The Dying:	"Mitten wir im Leben sind"
	"Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin"
Martyr Hymns:	"Ein neues Lied wir heben an"
	"Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist"
	"Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott"
	"Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"

Sometimes rather negligible or at least secondary elements in Luther's hymns have been used as the basis for assigning a certain use to them although they are primarily something else. Thus, Lambert notes the Trinitarian tone of the first part of "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit" and assigns this hymn to Trinity Sunday, although it is primarily an evening hymn and should be used only in the evening of even _that_ day. Another case in point is "Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein," which is called a mission hymn because of its passing references to the _Heiden_,[18] although it was really designed to be sung at the close of the service.

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[18]It is listed among the hymns for missions in The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), No. 500.

Schliszke's list is more explicit when it comes to the Sundays of the Church Year.[19]

The Service

Opening: "War Gott nicht mit uns"
The Creed: "Wir glauben all'"
Before the
   Sermon: "Nun bitten wir"
Eucharist: "Gott sei gelobet"
                "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns"
Elevation: "Jesaiah, dem Propheten"
After the Distribution: "Mit Fried und Freud"
Close: "Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein"

Baptism

"Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam"

Marriage

"Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht"

Burial

"Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir"
"Mit Fried und Freud"
"Mitten wir im Leben sind"
"Nun bitten wir"
"Wir glauben all'"

The Church Year

Advent: "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland"
Christmas: "Gelobet seist du"
                "Vom Himmel hoch"
                "Vom Himmel kam"
Second Sunday after Christmas: "Mit Fried und Freud"
Epiphany: "Was fürchst du"
Sexagesima: "Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein"
Lent: "Dies sind die heil'gen zehn gebot"
                "Mensch, willst du leben seliglich"
Easter: "Christ lag"
                "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod"
Cantate: "Nun freut euch"
Rogate: "Vater unser"
Exaudi: "Wär Gott nicht mit uns"
Pentecost: "Komm, heil'ger Geist, Herre Gott"
                "Komm, Gott Schöpfer"
                "Nun bitten wir"
Trinity: "Wir glauben all'"
                "Gott der Vater wohn und bei"
First Sunday after Trinity: "Nun bitten wir"
Eleventh Sunday after Trinity: "Aus tiefer Not"
St. Michael's and All Angels: "Herr Gott, dich loben wir"
Second Sunday after St. Michael's: "Ach Gott, vom Himmel"

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[19]Otto Schliszke, Handbuch der Lutherlieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948), pp. 357-358.

Reformation Day: "Ein feste Burg"
                          "Erhalt uns, Herr"
Third Last Sunday in Trinity: "Mitten wir"
Day of Humiliation and Prayer: "Aus tiefer Not"

It is interesting to see the use to which Luther's hymns are put
in modern hymnals. Especially interesting is a recent German hymnal,
in which the Graduallieder of the Church Year and hymns for the various
parts of the service and these only are given, a total of one hundred
and ten hymns.[20]   This is particularly significant because only one
hymn is given for each Sunday, and we can be certain that Luther's hymn
is used if it is listed, since there is no other choice. We have no
such assurance in hymnals which contain a wise selection of hymns for
each season and purpose.

The Graduallieder of the Church Year

First Sunday in Advent:	"Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland"
Christmas Day:	"Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ"
Sunday after Christmas:	"Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar"
Sexagesima:	"Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein"
Invocavit:	"Gott der Vater wohn uns bei"
Maundy Thursday:	"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns"
Easter:	"Christ lag in Todesbanden"
Quasimodogeniti:	"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod"
Cantate:	"Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein"
Rogate:	"Vater Unser im Himmelreich"
Exaudi:	"Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit"
Pentecost:	"Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott"
Trinity:	"Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist"
First Sunday after Trinity:	"Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist"
Eleventh Sunday after Trinity:	"Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir"
Twentieth Sunday after Trinity:	"Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein"
Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity:	"Mitten wir im Leben sind"
Presentation (Feb. 2):	"Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin"

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[20] Kirchengesänge-Lieder für den Gottesdienst und den Sonn- und Fest-
tagen (Gutersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1949), pp. 117-122.

St. John the Baptist (June 24:   "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan
kam"

Opening Hymn
Pentecost and Trinity: "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre
Gott"

Before the Sermon
"Erhalt uns Herr, bei deinem Wort"

Hymn after the Kanzelsegen
From Christmas to Epiphany: "Christum wir sollen loben schon"
Trinity: "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit"

Eucharist
"Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns"
"Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet"

Hymn Versions of Parts of the Liturgy
The Creed: "Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"
The Sanctus: "Jesaiah, dem Propheten, das geschah"
The Te Deum: "Herr Gott, dich loben wir"
At the Close: "Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich"
The Litany: "Kyrie eleison"

The fact that there are twenty-eight of Luther's hymns in a total

of one hundred and ten liturgical hymns shows just how suitable Luther's

hymns are for the services of the Church.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARACTER OF LUTHER'S HYMNS

"Kontinuität des Lebens ist mehr als Verständigkeit des Kopfes," writes Stapel.[1] He wants us to go back to the hymns as Luther wrote them, feel their strength, and derive from them a sense of the continuity of life and faith, even though we might not understand him at all times. Klopstock disagreed; and, feeling that Goethe's description of Luther's verse as "barbarisch grosz"[2] was hardly complimentary, he tried to improve on Luther, refining his poetry and removing some of the "crudities." To us, "barbarisch grosz" is a marvelous description of the truly monumental strength and scope of Luther's work, and we agree with McGiffert when he writes:

> It was characteristic of him that he liked strong and rugged
> rather than smooth and musical verse, and was fond of unsymmetrical
> rhythms and stanzas closing with an unrhymed line.[3]

Thus we discover the real Luther and his character by studying his hymns, for as they were, so was he and so thought he and so believed he, for we must agree with Gabriel that " . . . so spiegelt sich in seinem Liede das ganze Wesen des Reformators."[4]

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[1] Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 14.

[2] Hans Preuss, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1931), p. 152. Goethe was referring to "Jesaiah dem Propheten" when he said these words.

[3] A. C. McGiffert, Martin Luther - The Man and His Work (New York: The Century Co., 1910), p. 316.

[4] Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied von Martin

However, there has been much controversy about whether or not we find the real Luther in his hymns. Some believe that they were merely an objective statement of the truths of Scripture and only represented Luther himself in a very secondary way. They call this the time of the Bekenntnislied,[5] and they believe that the development of the hymn from the time of the Reformation was not much more than a decline from the heights of the objective Bekenntnislied to the lower level of the subjective Glaubenslied in its various manifestations.[6] Of course, there is a grain of truth in this theory, and all of us deplore the obnoxious subjectivity of many of the pietistic hymns and especially of the sectarian gospel hymns. However, one can easily go too far in his enthusiasm for objectivity and underrate some very essential and important parts of Luther's hymns. For instance, W. Wackernagel can write the following statement: "His (Luther's) personal feelings never appeared in his hymns."[7] On the other hand, Mackinnon writes: "Where he excels in beautiful and touching expression is in depicting his personal experience of God's love and goodness in Christ."[8] Nelle

Luther bis zur Gegenwart (2nd ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1951), p. 41.

[5] Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes, edited by Karl Nelle (3rd ed.; Leipzig and Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 49.

[6] Friedrich Spitta, Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, Die Lieder Luthers in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), p. 4.

[7] W. Wackernagel, The Life of Dr. Martin Luther, translated by C. W. Schaeffer (Reading, Pa., The Pilger Book Store, 1883), p. 233.

[8] J. Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925-30), IV, 327.

supports the latter with the following words:

> Luthers Poesie ist echte Lyrik. Als solche ist sie, was man
> auch dagegen sagen möge, subjectiv. . . . Wir haben wenige
> Kirchenlieder, in denen die Persönlichkeit des Dichters uns so
> unmittelbar und eigentümlich, sg scharf und voll ausgeprägt
> entgegentritt, wie die Luthers.[9]

However, Nelle successfully straddles the fence by removing all the

dark connotations from the subjective element of Luther's poetry:

> . . . dies persönlichste Lied Luthers ("Ein feste Burg") ist
> zuglich sein objectivstes, sofern das was seine Zeit und seine
> Kirche zu seiner und zu allen Zeiten bewegte, darin einen klassischen
> Ausdruck gefunden hat.[10]

Luther's feelings were larger than himself, and thus his subjectivity

was rendered historically and theologically objective. Gabriel applies

to Luther the inscription written over an old German organ: "Du spielst

hier nicht for dich, du spielst for die Gemeine."[11] After all, Spitta

states, if we agree that Luther's hymns are merely objective, we are

acceding to the correctness of the Roman Catholic assertion that Luther

merely imitated the old hymns.[12] It is just that subjective element

which is Luther's original contribution to hymnody, he believes.[13] This

expression of personal feeling gives his hymns power and effectiveness.

When hymns are only metrical recitations of objective truths, their value

is negligible for the most part, and Spitta cites several hymns which

he thinks were preserved only because of the quality and popularity of

the tunes to which they were sung.[14] Nelle aptly characterizes Luther's

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[9] W. Nelle, op. cit., pp. 38 f.

[10] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[11] P. Gabriel, op. cit., p. 34.

[12] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 367.

[13] Ibid., pp. 3, 4, and 15.   [14] Ibid., p. 375.

hymns as "lyrisch-liturgisch,"[15] Luther's feelings adapted to the need of the Church.

Luther consistently valued content over form. We saw this before in relationship to the hymn writing technique. Here is the difference between an "Aesthet" and a "Prophet," as Stapel would have it.[16] The form merely serves the content; it is a tool to render the content more effective. Plass neatly calls it the triumph of "matter" over "manner."[17] Yet we must not underestimate Luther's mastery over form also, as he himself once did when he compared Carlstadt, Erasmus, Melanchthon, and himself in relationship to their ability to express their "matter" in a polished "manner":

> Res et verba Philippus, verba sine re Erasmus, res sine verbis Lutherus, nec res nec verba Carolostadius.[18]

Luther's hymns are didactic, simple, concise. They are eminently singable. Nelle makes the following statement:

> Denn Luther ist, was jeder Kirchenliederdichter, ja jeder Lyriker sein sollte, Musiker in dem Sinne, das er sein Lied lediglich und ausschlieszlich für die Wiedergabe im Gesange dedichtet hat. Keiner nach Luther ist hierin so ganz Musiker gewesen wie er. "Die Noten machen den Text lebendig," sagte er.[19]

His hymns were designed to be sung, not read. Thus, Smend can make the following assertion:

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[15] W. Nelle, op. cit., pp. 41 f.

[16] W. Stapel, op. cit., p. 35.

[17] E. M. Plass, This Is Luther: a Character Study (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948), p. 373. Cf. also F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 367.

[18] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 302.

[19] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 44.

Luther hätte keine Gesangbücher ohne Noten zugelassen; er würde
darin eine gewaltsame Zerreiszung des unbedingt Zusammengehörigen
gesehen haben.[20]

Luther was certainly concerned about the music of his hymns, but
the text ruled above all. Meurer relates the amazement of Walther at
Luther's masterful setting of the text of "Jesaiah dem Propheten." He
asked Luther where he learned such an art and Luther replied:

> The poet Virgil has taught me this, for he in all his poetry
> admirably understands how to adapt the words to the subject
> which he describes. So, in music also, all its notes and melody
> should be adapted to the text.[21]

This is undboutedly the reason why he objected to the mere translation
of Latin texts into German and adapted to the original tune rather than
vice versa, which was usually his practice.

Luther's hymns are often very dramatic. Preuss thinks that that
is quite natural, since Luther's whole life was a drama.[22] Certain it
is that his poetry has great strength and power. Concerning his diction,
Nelle makes the following statement: "uberall aber ist die Sprache rein
und von schlagender Kraft."[23] Preuss admits that Luther's language is
rough at times, but, according to him, this is not a detriment:

> Dies ist doch nur die Auszenseite der starken unbändigen
> Mannlichkeit der deutschen Reformation, die im Unterschied von
> der oft so femininem mittelalterichen Frömmigkeit so erquickend
> anmutet und die deutsche Frömmigkeit damals einfach vor dem
> Versinken gerettet hat.[24]

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[20] Julius Smend, Das evangelische Lied von 1524 (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1924), p. 10.

[21] Moritz Meurer, Life of Martin Luther (New York: H. Ludwig, 1848), p. 460.

[22] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 155.

[23] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 42.   [24] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 158.

All in all, strength and power are perhaps the most characteristic
elements of Martin Luther's hymns. There is a certain massiveness about
them which reveals the measure of the craggy, gigantic person who wrote
them.[25] They have the quality of having been hewn from a rock, and
Luther most often selected hymns of that type when he treated the
pre-Reformation hymns. These hymns are the products of a man who knew
where he stood and who was not afraid to let the whole world know that
stand.

Another major quality of Luther's hymns is that they are "volkstüm-
lich." Luther specified this as one of the qualifications of the hymns
which he asked Spalatin to write, and he followed his own specifications
admirably. These were hymns not only for the church service but also
for the lives of the people. Thus Ninde can describe their use as
follows:

> The artisan sings them at his work, the maid as she washes the
> clothes, the peasant on his furrow, the mother to the child
> that cries in the cradle.[26]

Or, as Nelle describes the situation: "Luther ist auch darin der Mann,
der mitten im Volke steht. Sein Lied ist Volkslied durch und durch."[27]
This quality was a major factor in making Luther's hymns as effective

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[25] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 37. "Die Tränen in den Liedern des 16.
Jahrhunderts sind Mannestränen, der Ton des Spielens und Springens in
ihnen ist der Manneston. Im Heldenschritt schreiten diese Rhythmen
und Weisen einher. Was sie singen und klingen, ist von Heldenart. Denn
der den Ton angibt in diesem heiligen Gesange, ist Luther."

[26] Edward S. Ninde, Nineteen Centuries of Christian Song (New York:
Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938), p. 62.

[27] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 42.

and popular as they were.

Preuss thinks that, although many of Luther's characteristics may be found in his Latin poetry, such as "seine Kraft, seine Anmut, seine Streitbarkeit, Derbheit, Kindlichkeit, Bildkräftigkeit, Sinnig-keit . . . ," yet one can find the real Luther only in his vernacular hymns.[28]   Concerning one of Luther's earliest hymns, "Nun freut euch," Preuss says the following:

> Im übrigen steckt natürlich in diesem Lied der ganze Luther:
> Verzicht auf alles Eigene, radikales Vertrauen auf Jesus
> Christus, Kampfeslust und Kühnheit bis zur Keckheit, trotziger
> Humor (wie sauer er sich stellt, man denke sich das Bild!).[29]

So, to discover the character of Luther's hymns, we need only study Luther himself, for they are the mirror of his thoughts, feelings, and beliefs.

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[28] H. Preuss, op. cit., p. 147.

[29] Ibid., p. 156.

CHAPTER IX

THE INFLUENCE OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS

The influence of Luther's hymns is many faceted. The most obvious
one is their influence on hymnody itself. The avowed purpose of Luther's
hymns was to inspire others to write hymns also. This purpose was
achieved admirably and voluminously. Spitta points out that no other
poet of distinctive originality arose in Luther's own time,[1] but many
of them did arise soon after. Some scholars, such as Wackernagel,
believe that, as a hymnwriter, Luther was " . . . never equalled, not
even by Gerhardt."[2] Nelle agrees in the following statement: "Luther
ist nicht nur Bahnbrecher, sondern auch Vorbild alles Kirchengesanges,
in gewissem Sinne unerreicht und unerreichbar."[3] However that may be,
Luther under any circumstances inspired many other hymn writers to pro-
duce hymns of greatness and originality to be sung to the glory of
God and the edification of His people.

However, before Luther could inspire others to write hymns, he had
to establish the congregational hymn itself in the Liturgy of the Church,
so that there would be some purpose in writing hymns. This in itself
was perhaps Luther's greatest single accomplishment as far as the sub-

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[1]Friedrich Spitta, Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, Die Lieder Luthers
in ihrer Bedeutung für das evangelische Kirchenlied (Göttingen:
Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), p. 377.

[2]W. Wackernagel, The Life of Dr. Martin Luther, translated by C. W.
Schaeffer (Reading, Pa., Pilger Book Store, 1883), p. 283.

[3]Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes,
edited by Karl Nelle (3rd ed.; Leipzig and Hamburg: Gustav Schloessman's
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), p. 37.

sequent history of hymnody is concerned. Grisar, a Jesuit, credited

Luther with this accomplishment as follows: "By his successful

practical compositions he created a permanent and efficacious position

for the religious hymn within the Protestant cult."[4] Drawing upon

the resources of his heritage, Luther gave the hymn a new significance,

as Routley states: "It was the medievals who showed us what hymns could

do; it was the Reformers who showed us how to use them."[5] What had once

been just one more element in the service to which the people could only

listen, sung in a language which many of them did not understand, now

became the common property of the entire Royal Priesthood and that in

the vernacular. Benson states this as follows:

> . . . he took it away from the closed hands of the clergy and
> choristers and put it into the hands of the people. . . . He
> took it out of liturgies and put it into people's hearts and
> homes, that when they had learned it and loved it they might
> bring it to the church and sing it together.[6]

This had been done before Luther's time, yet never so effectively and

with so much influence. Even a modern Mennonite admits this in the

following statement: "The followers of Hus pioneered in congregational

singing; but it was Luther and his followers who brought it into full

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[4]Hartmann Grisar, Martin Luther, His Life and Work (St. Louis:
B. Herder, 1930, 1935), pp. 477 f.

[5]Erik Routley, Hymns and Human Life (New York: Philosophical
Library, 1952), p. 32. On pp. 31-32, Routley says the following: In
the Middle Ages there were examples of every kind of later hymnody—
liturgical, ecstatic, controversial, and devotional, with the last three
in contrast with the first and excluded from the service. The reformers
took the last three and developed a new kind of congregational hymnody
from them.

[6]Louis F. Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church (New York:
George H. Doran Co., 1927), p. 77.

fruition."[7] Luther provided a wonderful setting for vernacular hymns and thus also provided the greatest incentive for the writing of hymns to fit into that setting.

Having established the congregational vernacular hymn in the Liturgy, Luther went on to set the pattern for future hymns and hymn writers. By writing hymns other than those based on the Psalter, he set a distinctively different pattern of subject matter from that followed by the majority of other Protestant groups which used congregational hymns. This, too, was nothing new, but it became normative for the Evangelical Church because of Luther's example and provided that Church from its inception with a hymnological richness not achieved by the Calvinistic churches until over two hundred years later. Luther's hammer blows at the Castle Church of Wittenberg echoed throughout Europe, and those echoes soon took musical form in "Nun freut euch," in whose seventh stanza occurs the words, "Denn ich bin dein und du bist mein," which Nelle calls the " . . . Thema des evangelischen Kirchenliedes aller Zeiten."[8] This expression, in different contexts, occurs also in the works of Walther von der Vogelweide and Paul Gerhardt,[9] binding together three of the great lights of German

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[7] Lester Hostetler, Handbook to the Mennonite Hymnary (Newton, Kansas: General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America, Board of Publications, 1949), p. xvi.

[8] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 51. Cf. Philipp Dietz, Die Restauration des evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), p. 3, where the author calls "Nun freut euch" "Das Hauptlied der ganzen Reformation."

[9] Paul Gabriel, Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis zur Gegenwart (2nd ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1951), p. 39. Walther von der Vogelweide--"Du bist min, ich bin din,

poetry. Luther's influence extended beyond setting the pattern of using
hymns of human composure besides translations of the Psalter and other
portions of Scripture. In every way he was the Bahnbrecher and Vorbild
of the new hymnody, as Dietz also asserts when he writes of Luther's
hymns, " . . . die der eigentliche Boden für das evangelische Kirchen-
lied sind, und für dasselbe den unveränderlichen Maszstab und die blei-
bende Richtschnur bis auf diesen Tag abzugeben haben."[10] One specific
way in which Luther influenced evangelical hymnody was with the
eschatalogical note which is so common especially in the final stanza
of many of his hymns. This set the pattern for one of the most
distinctive characteristics of the Lutheran chorale: the ending on a
note of death and eternity.

In the seventeenth century, under the influence of Opitz and others,
the form of the chorale began to change in keeping with the new princi-
ples of poetic writing, but Luther's influence in content and approach
was still strongly felt. In the following century the influence of
Pietism and of men like Klopstock seriously diminished the effect of
Luther's hymns. It was at this time that some of Luther's hymns were
not included in a number of hymnals for the first time.[11] Up until then
and even after that not only were Luther's hymns included virtually
in toto in the evangelical hymnals but his name was also included in
their titles as a matter of course. Klopstock's work was particularly

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des solt du gewis sin." Paul Gerhardt--"Du bist mein, ich bin dein,
niemand kann uns scheiden." With reference to Gerhardt, Julius Smend,
Das evangelische Lied von 1524 (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger
and Sievers, 1924), p. 6, writes: "Aber Gerhard steht auf Luthers
Schultern . . . ."

[10]P. Dietz, op. cit., p. 3.

[11]Friedrich Blume, Die evangelische Kirchenmusik (New York:

pernicious, since the people thought that they still possessed the hymns of the great Reformer, only in "improved" form. "Gott der Vater wohn uns bei" became "Vater, Vater, steh uns bei" in his version; "Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist" became "Des Vaters und des Sohnes Geist."[12] Klopstock was content with changing the form of Luther's hymns; those who followed him made changes also in their content.[13] The hymnal compilers of the Enlightenment worked havoc among the hymns of Martin Luther and of those who followed his example.. Beginning with Johann Samuel Diterich's Berlin hymnal of 1765, hymnals contained fewer and fewer of the Kernlieder of the Reformation except in verwässerte forms, until a nadir was reached around 1805.[14] The influence of this movement remained until around 1820, when the reaction set in to restore the old hymns in their original form, the reaction which produced Germany's greatest hymnologists.

The dates above, of course, are only approximate. The influence of the Enlightenment continued well beyond 1820, and elements of rationalism are evident even in the neuverbesserte hymnals which tended to return to the old hymns and their tunes. An example of this is a German hymnal put out for seamen by the Liverpool Seaman's Friend Society and Bethel Union in 1829, which contained in its foreword the following statement, which expresses very clearly the attitude of the "modern," enlightened mind toward Luther's hymns:

Musurgia Publishers, 1931), p. 20.

[12]P. Dietz, op. cit., pp. 11 f.

[13]W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 254.

[14]P. Dietz, op. cit., pp. 12 f.

Die Lieder des seligen Doktor Martin Luther haben hier nicht aufgenommen werden können; denn so sehr ihr kräftiger, echt kirchlicher Gehalt ihre Aufnahme auch wünschen liesz, so eignet sich die Sprache, in der sie geschrieben sind, nicht mehr für unsere Zeit.[15]

Luther's hymns were not included despite their admitted worth because they were archaic, "not for our time." At least the omission of Luther's hymns seemed to require an explanation, and in general it must be admitted that Luther's hymns received more respectful treatment than most, undoubtedly because of their great prestige. Yet Nelle mentions one Lutheran hymnal containing six hundred and six hymns in which the entire output of Luther, Heermann, and Gerhardt was represented by a total of four altered hymns.[16] Even "Ein feste Burg" was not inviolate, and in one hymnal it was changed to begin as follows: "Der Kirche feste Burg ist Gott, ist ihr selbst Wehr und Waffen."[17] On the other hand, in some hymnals the hymns of Luther and the other Kernlieder of the Church were preserved throughout the Enlightenment.[18] Above all, in the hearts and homes of the people the old hymns had found a secure place, and they apparently were retained and used there even while the official hymnals repudiated them.[19] Luther's hymns had gone underground during the Enlightenment, but they returned to exert their salutary influence upon people and hymnody after that movement itself was

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[15] Karl Gustav Fellerer, Das deutsche Kirchenlied im Ausland (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), p. 103.

[16] W. Nelle, op. cit., pp. 254 f.

[17] Ibid., p. 255.

[18] Ibid., p. 257.

[19] Ibid. Cf. also P. Dietz, op. cit., p. 12 and n., p. 12.

repudiated. From 1820 until the present, Luther's hymns have steadily regained their old preeminent position, so that today many more than the fourteen to sixteen which Spitta graciously regarded as suitable for congregational use [20] are included in the hymnals of Germany. The cycle has been completed.

An accomplishment subsidiary to the propagation of congregational hymnody was the development of the hymnal. Although the Hussites had brought out two hymnals early in the sixteenth century and although even before that, toward the close of the previous century, the Romanists had published several collections of spiritual poems which might be called hymnals, Luther's work was so decisive in promulgating the hymnal that Nelle calls him " . . . der Schöpfer des Gesangbuchs." [21] In the hymnal Luther's characteristics as Lyriker and Liturg found their ultimate fusion, since his verse was sung by the congregation. The hymnal became the natural companion of the Bible, as Nelle indicates: "Er hat der Christenheit nicht nur die Bibel in die Hand gelegt, sondern auch das Gesangbuch." [22] Smend expresses the relationship between the two as follows: "Er gibt dem Christenvolke und seiner Feier zum Worte das Lied, zur Bibel das Gesangbuch." [23] In the very first hymnal in which he participated, Walther's Gesangbüchlein of 1524, the music was included together with the texts.

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[20] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 394.

[21] W. Nelle, op. cit., pp. 41 and 49.

[22] Ibid., p. 41.

[23] J. Smend, op. cit., p. 5.

The great importance which the Reformer attached to the tunes of
the hymns made the Lutheran hymnals very influential in the art of
music also. Nelle states this as follows:

> Für das Gesangbuch ist ihm also hier die Musik das Bestimmende.
> Sie war ihm für den Gemeindegesang so wichtig als die Poesie.
> Nicht Buch-, nicht Leselyrik sollen die Kirchenlieder sein.
> Kirchenlied ist nur, was in singenden Munde der Gemeinde lebendig
> ist und lebendig gemacht werden kann. Das hervorgehoben zu
> haben, darin schon liegt Luthers Bedeutung für die Kirchenmusik. . . .[24]

The influence which both texts and tunes of the hymns of Luther and his
associates had upon the cantatas and the various organ treatments of
the chorale by evangelical composers cannot be overestimated. It is
interesting to note that as long as the Kernlieder of the Reformation
were used, as long as Luther's hymns and spirit were strong, the music
of the Lutheran Church was strong. This was the Golden Age of
Lutheran Music. When in the eras of Pietism and Nationalism, theological
disintegration caused those hymns to be watered down or no longer used,
at the very time when Luther's hymns were weakened and his spirit
forgotten, the music of the Church became weak,[25] never to regain its
vigor even after his hymns were restored to the hymnals. However, once
more today, after the resurgence of interest in Luther and the readmit-
tance of his hymns into the hymnals of Germany, evangelical composers
are beginning to capture his faith and spirit in their compositions,
so that we can look forward to a Golden Age redivivus perhaps still
in our own century, something which is well on its way especially in
Germany today.

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[24] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 45.

[25] Cf. F. Blume, op. cit., pp. 2 f.

Luther's hymns influenced not only the hymns and hymnals of the Church, they influenced also the people of his own time and later. They became an effective means for spreading the Gospel and Luther's interpretation thereof. Tileman Heshusius testified to this fact as follows:

> Es ist nicht zu zweifeln, durch das eine Liedlein Luthers "Nun freut euch liebe Christen gemein" werden viel hundert Christen zum Glauben gebracht sein, die sonst den Namen Lutheri vorher nicht hören mochten. Aber die edeln theuren Worte zu dem Liedlein haben ihnen das Herz abgewonnen, dasz sie der Wahrheit beifallen muszten, so dasz meines Erachtens die geistlichen Lieder nicht wenig zur Ausbreitung des Evangeliums geholfen haben.[26]

"Cases are on record," Ninde notes, "where whole towns were so moved that the people in a body went over to the new faith."[27] Such things did not escape the notice of the Romanists, and one complained that the people " . . . singt sich in die Ketzerkirche hinein."[28] A Jesuit, Adam Conzenius, wrote as follows: "Hymni Lutheri animos plures, quam scripta et declarationes occiderunt."[29] Thomas a Jesu, a Spanish Carmelite monk, also testified to the effect and use of Luther's hymns when he wrote " . . . dasz das Luthertum vielfach durch die Lieder verbreitet sei, welche, aus Luthers Magazin hervorgegangen, in Häusern und Werkstätten, auf Märkten, Gassen und Feldern gesungen würden."[30]

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[26] P. Dietz, op. cit., n., p. 2.

[27] Edward S. Ninde, Nineteen Centuries of Christian Song (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1938), p. 62.

[28] O. Wetzstein, Das deutsche Kirchenlied im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (Neustrelitz: Druck und Verlag der Barnewitz'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1888), n., p. 11.

[29] Ibid.

[30] J. Smend, op. cit., p. 16.

Since this was the case, it is not surprising that " . . . die Werkzeuge der Gegenreformation waren nicht einmal der Bibel so gram wie den evangelischen Gesangbüchern."[31]

Luther wrote his hymns for the people, and they responded by taking them into their hearts and often by becoming part of the Reformation of which he was the leading figure. The people commonly accepted the old hymns which he had translated or supplemented as being his own original creations. The Roman Catholics, even some of those who compiled hymnals, did the same, to the great distress of their leaders.[32] Luther's hymns became so popular and influential that Spitta can make the following statement: "Mit seinen Augen sahen sie, mit seinen Gedanken dachten sie, mit seinem Liede sangen sie."[33] Luther's hymns were truly evangelical, so much so that Plass writes: "Luther the evangelist was often more evident than Luther the poet."[34] This evangelical quality reaped many fruits, as it is indicated above, and Bellarmine echoed the complaint of his fellow Jesuit, Conzenius, when he moaned that " . . . the fine songs of Luther have seduced more souls from the church than the archheretic with his preaching."[35] Wackernagel ranks Luther's hymns with his Bible and Catechism as a means for spreading the Reformation--"alle guten Dingen sind Drei."[36] Certain it

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[31] J. Smend, op. cit., p. 16.

[32] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luthers Zeit (3rd ed.; Hannover: Carl Rümpler, 1861), p. 451.

[33] F. Spitta, op. cit., p. 372.

[34] E. M. Plass, This Is Luther; a Character Study (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948), p. 373.

[35] Ibid., p. 374.　　　　[36] W. Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 278.

is that his hymns were effective beyond the confines of the Church
building and service. Grisar writes as follows:

> It supplemented the sermon and the defective liturgy within
> the church and aroused the minds of the faithful with a religious
> and also a militant fervor outside the church walls.[37]

Stapel supports Wackernagel in the following statement: "Die Refor-
mation hat sich in die Herzen des Volkes nicht weniger hineingesungen
als gepredigt."[38] From the other side of the fence, the Jesuit Grisar
supports Stapel and Wackernagel:

> His compositions—liturgical and other hymns—are models of
> popularity and unadorned, natural force. They served to edify
> the people and became a mighty lever in the spread of Lutheranism.[39]

This is high praise, and yet, the account of history requires it.

The influence of Luther's hymns soon spread beyond the borders of
Germany by means of translations. The Luther of Sweden, Olaus Petri,
translated many of them into his native tongue, producing versions which
are used to this day. Another Scandinavian reformer of later years,
Grundtvig, did the same in the Danish language. Of special interest
to us are the English translations of Luther's hymns.[40] Already during
Luther's own lifetime a total of twenty-one of his hymns were trans-
lated by Miles Coverdale and the Scottish priest, John Wedderburn.
Miles Coverdale's translations appeared in his Goostly Psalmes and
Spirituall Songes drawn out of the Holy Scripture, for the comforte

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[37]H. Grisar, op. cit., pp. 477 f.

[38]Wilhelm Stapel, Luthers Lieder und Gedichte (Stuttgart: Evan-
gelisches Verlagswerk, 1950), p. 16.

[39]H. Grisar, op. cit., p. 250.

[40]The rest of this paragraph is taken almost literally from James
Mearns, "Luthers Lieder in englischen Uebersetzungen des 16. Jahr-
hunderts," Blätter für Hymnologie, September, 1885, pp. 133-137.

and consolacyon of such as love to reioyse in God and his worde, which appeared in London apparently between 1536 and 1540. At least thirty-six of the forty-one hymns contained in that book were versions of German hymns. The translations, for the most part, adhered very closely to the original. It was probably for that reason that they were rather unsuccessful and were not used for congregational purposes. Ane Compendious buik of godlie Psalmes and spirituall Sangis, the work of three Scottish brothers named Wedderburn, appeared either in 1540 or in 1546. This book contained one hundred and forty-one religious songs of various types, including at least thirty-four hymns based on German sources. These translations are commonly attributed to John Wedderburn, who had visited Wittenberg between 1539 and 1543. Several of his translations are quite literal; others are very free. Although the Wedderburn book, commonly known as Gude and godlie Ballates, was widely loved and circulated, it is uncertain whether the translations of Luther's hymns were used in the church services. Below is a list of Luther's hymns which were translated by Coverdale (C) and Wedderburn (W).

1. Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein.
    C - Helpe, now, O Lorde, and Loke on us.
    W - Saif us, gude Lord, and succour send.
2. Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir.
    C - out of the depe cry I to the.
    W - Fra deip, o Lord, I call to the.
3. Christ lag in Todesbanden.
    C - Christ dyet and suffred gread payne.
4. Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam.
    W - Christ baptist was be Johne in Jordan flude.
5. Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot.
    C - These are the holy commaundments ten.
    W - Moyses upon the Mont Sinay.
6. Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.
    C - Oure God is a defence and towre.

7. Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl.
      C - The foolish wicked men can saye.
8. Es wollt uns Gott gnädig sein.
      C - God be mercyfull unto us, And sende.
      W - O God be mercyfull to us.
9. Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ.
      C - Now blessed be thou, Christ Jesu.
10. Gott der Vater wohn uns bei.
      C - God the Father, dwell us by.
11. Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns.
      W - Our Saviour Christ, King of Grace.
12. Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott.
      C - Come, holy Spirite, most blessed Lorde.
13. Mensch, willst du leben seliglich.
      C - Man, wylt thou lyve vertuously.
14. Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin.
      C - With peace and with joyfull gladnesse.
      W - Lord led thy servand now depart.
15. Mitten wir im Leben sind.
      C - In the myddest of our lyvynge.
16. Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist.
      C - Thou holy Spirite, we pray to the.
17. Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein.
      C - Be glad now, all ye christen men.
      W - Be blyith, all Christin men, and sing.
18. Vater unser im Himmelreich.
      W - Our Father God omnipotent.
19. Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her.
      W - I come from hevin to tell.
20. Wir glauben all' an einen Gott.
      C - We beleve all upon one God.
      W - We trow in God allanerlie.
21. Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht
      C - Blesset are all that feare the Lorde.
      W - Blissit ar they that sit in Goddis dreid.

There were also several other sixteenth century translations of Luther's
hymns as well as a few from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but
it was not until the nineteenth century that Luther's hymns really came
into their own in England. Within about twenty years, at the midpoint
of the century, four complete sets of translations of his hymns were
produced, those by J. Anderson, 1846, J. Hunt, 1853, R. Massie, 1854,
and G. Macdonald, 1867. In addition to this there were many translators
who treated a number of Luther's hymns, notably Catherine Winkworth.

In this century there even appeared a complete collection of his hymns with music: The Hymns of Martin Luther. Set to their original melodies, with an English Version, edited by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, assisted by Nathan H. Allen (New York and London: n.p., 1884). In this century, the hymns of Luther which were most often included in English and American hymnals were "Aus tiefer Not," "Christ lag," "Ein feste Burg," "Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ," "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," "Mitten wir im Leben sind," "Vater unser im Himmelreich," and "Vom Himmel hoch."

Perhaps one of the strongest indications of the influence of Luther's hymns was the reaction of the Roman Church. Although a number of collections of hymns had appeared before it, that which is generally considered the first Roman Catholic hymnal, Michael Vehe's Ein New Gesangbüchlin Geystlicher Lieder, appeared in 1537, containing forty-five hymns. In 1550, Georg Witzel's Chorbuch appeared, and in 1567 Johannes Leisentrit published his Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen, with one hundred and ninety-nine German and twenty-two Latin hymns.[41] Rome could not approximate the flood of hymnals of Lutheran origin which appeared in the sixteenth century and later, but she was stimulated to greater activity nonetheless by the example of Luther. Some of the Roman hymnals used Lutheran hymns. The more scholarly editors included them as hymns "incerti auctoris", undoubtedly knowing that they were of "heretical" origin. Other less scholarly editors included Lutheran hymns in their collections, claiming them to be hymns of the old church.[42]

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[41]H. von Fallersleben, op. cit., pp. 486 f.

[42]Ibid., n., pp. 489 f.

By the nineteenth century, Nelle informs us, the Roman Catholics had used twenty-six of Luther's thirty-six hymns in their hymnals,[43] and, we are told, the latest Roman hymnal published in Germany also contains a number of the Reformer's hymns. Of course, Luther's hymns were not generally taken over intact into Roman hymnals. The changes which were made were often very interesting. The first Roman alteration of "Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein," made in 1538, fought Luther with his own weapons:

> Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein,
> Und lasz dich des erbarmen,
> Wie sehr hat Luther dein Volk verführt,
> Betrogen sind die Armen.[44]

Baruch Mollinthoräus' version of "Ein feste Burg," produced in 1604, was almost a parody of the original, and some of the significant and almost ludicrous changes it contained are reproduced below:

> Ein festes Haus ist die Römisch' Kirch . . .
> Und wenn die Welt voll Ketzer wär . . .
> Ob es gleich leid wär Calvin und Luther
> auch des Teufels Mutter . . .[45]

Even "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort" was turned against its author:

> Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort,
> den Ketzern wehr, die Türken mord,
> die Christum und die Kirche schon
> wollen stürzen von ihrem Thron.[46]

The Romans not only altered "Erhalt uns"; they also parodied it as follows:

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[43] W. Nelle, op. cit., p. 57.

[44] Otto Schliszke, Handbuch der Lutherlieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948), p. 18.

[45] Ibid., p. 103.   [46] Ibid., p. 133.

> Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deiner Wurst,
> Sechs Masz, die löschen einen den Durst. . . .[47]

Even the earliest post-Reformation Roman hymnals contained versions of Luther's hymns, mostly his continuations of the old German hymn stanzas. Thus, the Vehe hymnal of 1537 contained altered versions of "Aus tiefer Not," "Gelobet seist du," "Gott der Vater wohn uns bei," "Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott," "Nun bitten wir," and possibly others, and Leisentrit's hymnal of 1567 contained "Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot" and "Von Himmel hoch" in altered form.

Luther's hymns also had an influence on the culture of Germany. It is generally accepted that Luther's use of the <u>Oberdeutsch Kanzlei-sprache</u> was the biggest single instrument in making that dialect the common language of Germany. Because of that, he is generally accounted the "Father" of the modern German language. Luther's translation of the Bible was perhaps most influential in effecting this, and yet his hymns were sung and memorized by many people who were unable to read the Bible. Much speculation takes place concerning what other possible influence Luther might have had on the culture of Germany. Luther's concentration on music, literature, and poetry certainly coincides with the artistic course of Germany after his time. Music certainly is the artistic glory of Germany, which outranks all other countries in the greatness and variety of its musical compositions, and much of the music of Germany was produced by men who followed the tents of Luther and who often also treated his texts and their tunes in their composi-tions. Perhaps the two most important forms of Lutheran music, the

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[47]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 135.

various organ treatments of the chorale and the cantata, are both

directly associated with the hymns of the service, which Luther

fostered. In connection with the latter, Boehmer writes the following:

> From the German chorale, which according to his (Luther's)
> arrangement was to be sung before the Gospel, there evolved
> in the sixteenth century the anthem, from the anthem which with
> its alternating texts attracted all the interest of musicians,
> the musical sermon or cantata.[48]

It is interesting to note the use to which the greatest of Lutheran

composers put the hymns of the "founder" of the Church which he

served so well. In Terry's collection of Bach's four-part chorales,

Luther's hymns are represented by fifty-six settings of twenty-nine

hymns. This is the largest number in both categories. The next in

frequency, and the only one who even approaches Luther, is Gerhardt,

twenty-five of whose hymns Bach set forty-four times.[49] Truly the

finest of church composers was greatly influenced by the greatest

of evangelical hymn writers. Next in importance to music in the

cultural history of Germany are literature and poetry, which developed

in the atmosphere of the Lutheran Church and which spoke Luther's

language. It is interesting to note also how many sons of Lutheran

pastors became great poets and authors. In these fields, too, the

influence of Luther's hymns was felt. Luther has sometimes been faulted

for causing the decline of the plastic and pictorial arts in Germany

because of his lack of interest in them and because the artistic genius

of his church directed its efforts mainly into the fields of music and

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[48] Heinrich Boehmer, _Luther in the Light of Recent Research_, translated by Carl F. Huth (New York: Christian Herald, 1916), p. 172.

[49] C. S. Terry, _The Four-Part Chorals of J. S. Bach_ (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

hymnody. This may be true, but it pales into insignificance when compared with the salutary influence which he had on the culture of Germany.

We must never forget that, above and beyond the influence which the hymns of Luther exerted on various phases of German life and thought, they are of value in themselves. Grisar begrudgingly admits:

> Luther supplied his followers with an ample collection of beautiful hymns. Owing to his efforts they flourished among his followers and in their churches became part of the divine service in lieu of the liturgical hymns of the ancient church.[50]

Luther's hymns are valuable and beautiful in themselves. They were used and are used not because of their influence or historical significance, but because they present the truths of the Scriptures in a powerful, meaningful way, a way which has never been excelled by any other hymn writer. Their influence was indeed great and almost continuous, but in addition their inherent value is also great and lasting.

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[50] H. Grisar, op. cit., p. 251.

PART III

THE USE OF MARTIN LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS

IN SOME COMMONLY-USED ENGLISH AND AMERICAN HYMNALS

CHAPTER X

THE USE OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS

This chapter and the two following it are, for the most part,
brief summaries of the material contained in the various appendices.
Those tables are largely self-explanatory, and extended commentary
and interpretation is unnecessary. Therefore, these chapters are
merely for rapid reference.

In the land of their origin, Luther's hymn texts found an enthu-
siastic reception. They soon became known to all school choirs, and
already by the death of their author they were the property of the
common people too. Virtually every hymnal in evangelical Germany con-
tained all or most of his hymns in their contents and his name in
their titles as a matter of course. For about two hundred and fifty
years after the appearance of the first Lutheran hymnals, Luther's
hymns maintained an honored place in the Gesangbücher of his land.
However, the poetry itself was not above criticism, and the rigid dicta
of an Opitz and the puristic poetical prudery of a Klopstock could
not leave such grandly monumental and often irregular hymns alone—
they must be "verbessert." Thus, "improved" versions came into vogue,
and, during the height of the Enlightenment, these for the most part
were the only versions which were considered acceptable. All the while,
however, the original hymnal and especially in the hearts and homes of
the people. When the Enlightenment proved to be unsatisfactory to both
the common people and the theologians, religious leaders found an answer
to the spiritual drought and famine, which had been brought on by the

rationalistic era, not only in the theology but also in the hymnody of the Reformation era. Thus began the period of the restoration of those hymns, including Luther's, a process which has reached its climax in the last decade with the almost complete restoration of Luther's hymn texts to the hymnals of all Germany. Not all of his hymns are included in the new _allgemein_ hymnal, but virtually everything that is of use is contained in it. Some hymns, such as "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland" and "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort," are retained only in altered form, but this is perhaps for the better, especially with reference to the latter. Danneil, in 1883, considered twenty-one of Luther's hymns to be "indispensable" for every good evangelical hymnal.[1] Twenty years later Spitta chose fourteen to sixteen of them as qualifying for use at that time. The Church of Germany selected eight more than the former and almost twice as many as the latter scholar for inclusion in the new hymnal. This is certainly an encouraging development. It remains to be seen, however, just to what use this newly-rediscovered treasure will be put by the pastors of the Church in its services. It would be tragic indeed if the inclusion of Luther's texts in the hymnals would be merely an acknowledgment of their historical importance or a sop thrown to blind lovers of tradition and the past. Let us hope that Luther's hymns will remain in the German hymnals, something which can happen only if they are put to use, so that the people have an opportunity to see their worth not

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[1] Fr. Danneil, "Wie stellen sich die neueren evangelischen Gesangbücher zu den Liedern Luthers?", _Blätter für Hymnologie_, 1883, _passim_. Ten are considered questionable and five unsuitable for congregational use, including "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland," which " . . . wird am besten ganz weg-gelassen."

only hymnologically but also practically.

In America Luther's hymn texts have had a varied history also. The first German hymnals of the Lutheran Church in America were naturally brought over from Germany, and the first German hymnal published in this country was merely a reprint of the Marburg hymnal. In 1786, Muehlenberg produced the first German hymnal of real American origin. This hymnal had a fair but not too complete selection of Luther's hymns, despite the fact that the Pennsylvania Ministerium, when it decided to produce it, made the following directive: " . . . soweit wie möglich der Ordnung des Halle'schen Gesangbuches zu folgen und keines der alten Kernlieder, besonders von Luther und Paul Gerhardt fortzulassen."[2] It was a fair start, at any rate, and many hymnals worse than this have been produced by Lutherans in our land. The influence of the Enlightenment, which was approaching its height at this time, can be detected in some of the early American Lutheran hymnals. In those sections of the Lutheran Church which fled from Germany for doctrinal reasons, that cannot be said. People like the Saxon Lutherans left Germany to escape just those things which were represented in the mutilation and emasculation of the hymnals. The German hymnal which perhaps influenced the American Lutherans the most was the Freylinghausen Gesangbuch, which, despite its weaknesses, had an almost complete store of Lutherlieder. Thus, it is not surprising that the hymnals especially of the German Lutherans in America contained most of Luther's hymns, the sole exceptions being the two that are least suitable for congregational use: "Eine

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[2] Karl Gustav Fellerer, Das deutsche Kirchenlied im Ausland (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), p. 116.

neues Lied" and "Sie ist mir lieb." The texts were retained in their original form also, something which could be said of virtually no hymnal in Germany. Thus, while Germany was struggling to regain its heritage, the historic Lutheran tradition was being maintained across the seas in a land about which Luther knew nothing. A truly unique hymnal in America was produced by the Buffalo Synod under the direction of its "bishop," Grabau.[3] This hymnal, modeled after the classical hymnals of the century after the death of Luther, contained thirty-five of the Reformer's hymns together with many Latin hymns and the like. This hymnal went through six editions until, in 1892, German hymns were substituted for the Latin, because "the people no longer understand the Latin language." One wonders just in what manner this hymnal was used, but there is little doubt that it was the most outstanding hymnal which has ever appeared in our country as a representative of the finest German evangelical hymnological traditions, and there was probably nothing in Germany during the nineteenth century which could surpass it. Today, however, fewer and fewer German hymnals are in use in our country, and it is left up to the English hymnals to maintain our Lutheran heritage.

The English hymnals of the American Lutheran Churches have not

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[3]Ev.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch worin 500 der gebräuchlichsten alten Lieder Dr. Martin Lutheri und anderer reinen Lehrer und Zeugen Gottes, zur Beförderung der wahren Gottseligkeit ohne Abänderungen enthalten sind, für Gemeinen, welche sich zur unveränderten Augsburgischen Confessionen bekennen. (Vierte Auflage; Buffalo: F. Reinecke & Sohn, 1865). Its version of "Nun komm" is particularly interesting, as stanza seven will show:

7. Dein Krippen glänzt hell und klar[a]), die Nacht
   giebt ein neu Licht dar[b]), Dunkel muss nicht
   kommen drein[c]), der Glaub' bleibt immer im Schein[d]).

a) Heb. 1:3; b) Luke 2:9; c) Rom. 13:12; d) Matt. 5:16.

always been kind to the hymns of Martin Luther.[4] The first English
hymnal to be used in this country, the Psalmodia Germanica, published
in London, was very acceptable, and it was later reprinted in this
country, much as the German Marburg hymnal was. However, despite
the excellence of its contents, (eleven of its ninety-four hymns were by
Luther) the translations were rather inadequate, and its influence
seemed somewhat limited. In 1795, Dr. Kunze produced the first English
hymnal of American origin, a commendable project but not with most
commendable results. In the early 1800's, a number of other English
hymnals appeared, none of which seemed to be distinctly Lutheran in
character or content. Rationalism is evident in many of them, and
Calvinism or the influence of Watts is often more apparent than
the Luther element.[5] At this time, of course, the number of English
translations of Luther's hymns was quite limited, but that was not
an insurmountable barrier. After the middle of the century, even that
excuse was removed by the flood of translations of chorales, including
Luther's texts, which came from England. These translations were,

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[4] For brief histories of American Lutheran hymnals, see Luther D.
Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1947)
and Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (New York: George H. Doran Co.,
1915).

[5] Cf the following selections from A Collection of Hymns and a
Liturgy, the New York Ministerium's 1814 hymnal and its 1834 revision:
            No. 351: Christian Unity.
            1. Let party-names no more
                The Christian world o'erspread.
                Gentile and Jew, and bond and free,
                Are one in Christ their head.
            No. 648: Moderation.
            3. To sect or party his large soul
                Disdains to be confin'd:
                The good he loves of ev'ry name.
                And prays for all mankind.

for the most part, not brilliant but very adequate and usually quite singable. However, the bodies which now make up the United Lutheran Church in America never made extensive use of their heritage in translation, as is evident also in its present hymnal. The Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Church, on the other hand, for many years used hymnals which contained almost as many of Luther's hymns in translation as their German hymnals had in the original language. The former body, our own Church, even retained the original form of "Erhalt uns, Herr" in its English hymnal long after the hymnals of Germany had rejected that reading. Thus, the following translation of the controversial part of that hymn was used in our churches until the publication of the new hymnal in 1941:

> Lord, keep us in Thy Word and work,
> Restrain the murd'rous Pope and Turk . . .

However, our Church has reversed the process that has been transpiring in Germany in that each new hymnal which appears has a smaller number of Luther's hymns in it. In our three major English hymnals, the "Baltimore," the 1912, and the 1941, we have retreated from thirty-four, an amazing number, to thirty to twenty-four selections of Luther's hymns. The American Lutheran Church too has shown a decline in the number of Luther's hymns in its hymnals, and, if the new Common Service Book, which it will use in the future, is anything like the old one, then the ALC will soon achieve an all-time low in the number of Luther's hymn texts that are available for use in its services. It is to be hoped that this trend will soon be reversed, and apparently it will be our Church which must do the reversing.

The other Protestant churches in America know Luther's hymns chiefly through one representative, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." Some of them with greater German background, such as the Mennonites and the Evangelical and Reformed Church, have a wider acquaintance with them. However, the latter has been loathe to put that acquaintance to much use, and her hymnals, which once contained six of Luther's hymns, now contain only half that many. On the other hand, it is encouraging to note that at least one hymn by Luther appears in almost every hymnal published in our country, including some Gospel hymnals which usually avoid chorales in every form as a matter of course.

England has always been noted for her antipathy to Luther, and that has shown itself in her hymnals. Although many complete sets of Luther's hymns have appeared in England in translation, yet they have never come into official or popular use, and they seem to be more accepted in this country than they are in England. The recent development of interest in Luther on the part of English theologians may change this situation. At present, most of the English hymnals contain only one hymn by Luther, and there is no recognizable trend to improve that situation. The more recent collections contain an increasingly larger number of chorale tunes, however, and it is to be hoped that these tunes, which were originally intended to make the text "lebendig," will do just that and bring them back to life again in England. The tremendous vogue of Baroque music and of Bach in particular, with his frequent use of Luther's texts, as well as the increasing dissatisfaction with the products of the nineteenth century may cause that to happen, especially since suitable texts are not always so easily found in the English tradition to fit many of the fine chorale tunes with their irregular meters.

CHAPTER XI

THE SCOPE OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS IN USE

In the hymnals of Germany, the scope of Luther's hymns in use is complete, since each of them has been in use at some time. At the present time, about thirty of them are contained in official and privately-published hymnals. Those that are least frequently encountered are "Ein neues Lied" and "Sie ist mir lieb," which is very understandable, since neither is a congregational hymn. The other hymns that are not in use are not too suitable for church use, although they could be included for use in the home. The part of "Ein neues Lied" which begins, "Die beste Zeit im Jahr ist mein," has recently come into vogue and is included in the supplement to several recent hymnals.

In American hymnals in German, every hymn except "Ein neues Lied" has occurred at least once. In the English-language American hymnals only "Sie ist mir lieb" is missing, since several hymnals contain an altered version of part of Massie's translation of "Ein neues Lied" beginning with "Flung to the heedless winds." This completeness is a result of the extended use of Luther's hymns in translation in the past, and it is only the hymnal of the Missouri Synod which retains as many as two-thirds of Luther's hymn texts today. If one views the American Lutheran churches in general, the scope narrows down to between ten and twenty Kernlieder. The translations from the Latin and the Catechism hymns are the least popular, with the Psalm versions close behind.

In other American hymnals, the scope narrows to ten hymns, ten
of the best, perhaps as many of Luther's hymns which are really suitable
for most Protestant churches. It is strange that a hymn like "Savior
of the nations, come" should be used by several non-Lutheran churches
at a time when most Lutheran hymnals did not contain it.

The scope of the use of Luther's hymns in British hymnals totals
a highly unimpressive four, "Aus tiefer Not," "Ein feste Burg," "Komm,
heiliger Geist," and "Vom Himmel hoch." These are four of Luther's
best hymns, but, if these are suitable, then there are many others which
could make a real contribution to the British people at home and in
church.

It might be interesting to note the scope of the use of Luther's
hymn texts in some other countries, as recorded by Fellerer in his
unique opus.[1] The hymnal used by Chinese Lutheran congregations in
middle China contained twelve hymns by Luther. The Zulu hymnal had
the same number, while the South African and the Togo hymnals had five
each. The use of Luther's hymns is world-wide, and in most cases the
people have an opportunity to hear and sing at least several of the
Reformer's great hymns.

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[1] Karl Gustav Fellerer, Das deutsche Kirchenlied im Ausland
(Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), pp. 307 ff.

CHAPTER XII

THE FREQUENCY OF THE USE OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS

In the German hymnals tabulated in the appendices, only "Aus tiefer Not" and "Erhalt uns, Herr" were used in every instance. "Ein feste Burg" was omitted from one liturgical hymnal because it does not fit into the Church Year. Also omitted from only one of the sixty-nine German hymnals tabulated were "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ" and "Mitten wir im Leben sind." Others, in addition to those, which occur in at least sixty of the hymnals are "Es wollt Gott uns gnädig sein," "Herr Gott, dich loben wir," "Nun bitten wir den heil'gen Geist," "Verleih uns Frieden," and "Wir glauben all'." Those which occurred least were "Sie ist mir lieb," which was contained in only two old hymnals, and "Ein neues Lied," part of which three present-day hymnals retain. The average Lutherlied occurred in about sixty per cent of the hymnals tabulated, and the average German hymnal had about twenty-five of Luther's hymns in it. The present-day averages are about the same.

In American Lutheran hymnals, "A mighty fortress" occurred most frequently. Other very popular hymns include "Aus tiefer Not," "Erhalt uns, Herr," "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," "Komm, heiliger Geist," "Nun freut euch," and "Vom Himmel hoch," a slightly different list from the most popular German selections. As in Germany, "Ein neues Lied" and "Sie ist mir lieb" occurred least frequently. The average hymn by Luther occurred in about fifty percent of the hymnals tabulated, and the average hymnal contained about eighteen of his hymns. The present-day

average is twelve.

In the other American hymnals, "A mighty fortress" was the most popular by far, occurring in thirty-one of the thirty-three hymnals tabulated. "Vom Himmel hoch" is second, contained in twelve hymnals. "Aus tiefer Not" and "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ" also occurred fairly frequently, but all the others appear only once or twice or not at all. The average American Protestant hymnal contains about two of Luther's hymn texts. The average Luther text appears in about five per cent of the American hymnals.

In England, Luther's two finest hymns occur most frequently. "Ein feste Burg" is contained in ten of the twelve hymnals in the appendix, and "Aus tiefer Not" occurs in four. A total of thirty-two of his hymns occur least in the British hymnals; that is, they are omitted entirely. The average British hymnal contains about one and one-half of Luther's hymns, which is symbolical of the fragmentary treatment Luther's hymns have received in England. The average Luther hymn text appears in about four per cent of the English hymnals. In fairness to the English, it must be pointed out that, as a result of the Tractarian movement and men like John Mason Neale, a number of the great Latin hymns which Luther translated are in use in English hymnals in versions translated directly from the original. This would naturally eliminate a large number of Luther's texts from use in British hymnals.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TRANSLATIONS OF LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS[1]

The appendices indicate what a wide variety of translations are available to the hymnal editor. The force and power of the original German will never be able to be captured fully, but many faithful and poetic translations have been produced which convey all that is necessary of the original for congregational use. After all, the poetry becomes secondary when a hymn is sung, and the matter and meaning become the sole point of attention.

The excellent translations by Richard Massie and Catherine Winkworth are most widely used, although William Reynods, too, has a large following. For individual translations, F. H. Hedge's version of "Ein feste Burg" leads all the rest by far, since it is used in almost every Protestant hymnal in this country. Carlyle's rugged translation, while widely admired, is considred less singable; it is found mostly in English hymnals.

Usually each hymnal with a fairly wide selection of Luther's hymns has a translation peculiar to itself. It must be said that, as a rule, these translations are not below the prevailing standard. It is to be hoped that more of these translations, especially of the less familiar hymns which are not engraved in the minds and memories of the people in a set form, will appear as new hymnals are brought out. By far

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[1] For detailed comments on the various translations of Luther's hymns, cf. Louis Nuechterlein, "Chorale Texts and Tunes in Some Representative Present Day Protestant Hymnals," (Unpublished Bachelor's

the majority of the translations now in use originated in the middle of the last century, and many of Luther's hymns could be made much more meaningful in a new translation.

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Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1953) and Harry Krieger, "Luther's Hymns in English Translation" (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1939).

PART IV

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XIV

MARTIN LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Even before Luther had published any of his hymns, Hans Sachs pro-
phetically hailed him as "The Wittenberg Nightingale." Martin Luther
soon lifed up to that title, and the songs of the Wittenberg nightingale
have charmed the ears and hearts of Christians throughout the world
from his time until ours. The past has contained a number of brilliant
and some not so brilliant chapters in the history of Martin Luther's
hymn texts and their use and influence. The present is in part encourag-
ing and in part discouraging with reference to Luther's hymns. The
pattern of the past and the present, with their lights and shadows, will
undoubtedly be repeated in the future. For the sake of the Church,
however, it is to be hoped that the future will have fewer and fewer
instances of neglect and abuse of the unsurpassable hymnological heritage
which the great Reformer has put at the disposal of the Church and her
people.

Luther's interest in and use of congregational hymnody is a definite
indication of his belief in and practice of the doctrine of the Royal
Priesthood of All Believers. After his time, Christians could take an
ever more active part in the services of the Church, raising their own
voices to God in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving. The kind of hymns
Luther wrote and the way in which he used them were a natural outgrowth
of the "new" theology, and yet he was not at all in this respect an un-
historical iconoclast or a flaming revolutionary. He stood squarely
on the foundation of the finest and oldest traditions of the Church,

and thus Preuss is justified when he ranks das Luthertum with the Greek and the Latin as the third great era of the Christian Church.[1] This fact is best illustrated by the "Te Deum," which had been originally Greek, had been translated and preserved in the Latin language, and was translated into German by Luther. This new era is the age of the Royal Priest, and one of the greatest contributions of Luther's hymns was the role they played in helping to bring that about and emphasizing it.

Testimonies concerning the greatness of Luther as a hymn writer abound. Nelle gives him high praise in the following statement: "Seit des König Davids Tagen ist kein Mann gekommen, der, zugleich ein Sänger und ein Held, so beide das Schwert geführt und die Leyer gerührt hätte wie Luther."[2] Coming from a Lutheran, that is not too surprising. Roman Catholics and Protestants, too, however, join Nelle to praise Luther as a hymnodist; Benson's judgment is typical: "Luther's equipment was unique, combining his knowledge of the rich resources, Latin and German, his ability to handle them, his sympathy with plain people, his saving common sense."[3] Luther's position as one of the great hymn writers of history is secure.

Luther's hymns themselves and those modelled after them, the great hymns of the Evangelical Church, have also been highly praised. Some critics are particularly impressed by the chorale tunes which have been

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[1] Hans Preuss, Martin Luther der Künstler (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1931), p. 157.

[2] Wilhelm Nelle, Martin Luther, die Wittenbergische Nachtigall (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, n.d.), p. 1.

[3] Louis F. Benson, The Hymnody of the Christian Church (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), p. 241.

used as a vehicle for the texts over the years. Phillips shows himself
to be a part of that class in the following statement:

> From a purely musical point of view it would be hard to
> deny to the hymns of Lutheran Germany pride of place over all
> others. The words of these hymns, however, are normally on a
> much lower level than the music.[4]

The opposite viewpoint is taken by Routley, as follows: "We owe the
passion of words to Luther, but we owe the poise and simplicity of our
best hymn-tunes to John Calvin. . . ."[5] The two should really not be
considered apart from each other, since the texts were written to be
sung and the tunes are not of much significance apart from the texts.
Thus it must be said that, although there are many stiff and dry texts
and many uninspired and difficult tunes, the fusion of the finest hymn
texts with the best tunes (and the two often go together) in the vast
collection of evangelical hymns forms an unsurpassable heritage, the
Lutheran chorale. For variety, force, purity of doctrine, sheer
quantity, and also for the quantity of hymns which have a high quality,
the Lutheran chorales, both texts and tunes, remain as God's pre-
eminent hymnological gift to the Christian Church.

When one surveys the use of Luther's hymns since the Reformer's day,
one is struck by the relationship in history between Luther's hymns, his
theology, and theology in general. This indicates how truly theological
those hymns are. When Luther's theology was neglected, his hymns helped
to preserve his doctrine and teachings. When his theology once more

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[4] C. S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (London: Society for
Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), pp. 100-101.

[5] Erik Routley, Hymns and Human Life (New York: Philosophical
Library, 1952), p. 39.

became the center of attention and study, then more of his hymns were brought back into the use of the Church. The two seem to foster each other with mutual aid and abetment. When one studies Luther's theology, his hymns take on a new dimension, become more profound and meaningful. When one sings and learns his hymns, his teachings are drawn together, synthesized, stated simply and succinctly. In them one finds in capsule form what must be gleaned from many pages of treatises, sermons, and exegetical commentaries. In many ways, Luther's hymns are the closest he ever came to systematics. For this reason, even though some of them are not too suitable for liturgical use, all of them should be included in our hymnals so that they can be used at least in the home and in catechetical instruction. When Luther's theology and thelogy in general are strong and healthy, such as in the early days of the Reformation and more recently during the upsurge of Confessionalism and the Luther Renaissance, at those times Luther's hymns have been retained almost intact. At other times, such as the Enlightenment, rationalism, personalism, etc., Luther's hymns disappeared together with true theology.

How influential are Luther's hymns in America and England today? To be influential, his hymns must be used. To be used they must be in the hymnals. To be effective, they must be used in quantities of more than one or two. Yet the vast majority of Protestant hymnals in our land and in England contain only one or two of Luther's texts. Thus, we must conclude that their influence is rather slight. Not all of Luther's hymns, it is true, are suitable for all churches; yet many of them are truly ecumenical. Those hymns that are retained are the best ones, and Luther's hymns have at least a toe-hold in most hymnals. It should be

part of the mission of the Lutheran Church, for the sake of the entire
Church, to make use of that start and increase that small number to a
more representative one. This must be done first of all by making use
of Luther's hymns ourselves in our own worship services and then by
using them and our other great hymns in every way possible in our con-
tacts with the outside world. Thus, instead of catering to the popular
taste by providing hymns which can be heard on the religious broadcasts
of any other Protestant church or sect, our radio broadcasts should use
chorales, our distinctive possession and one which we want to share with
others rather than to share their less valuable heritage. Our music
publications, periodicals, books, television programs, movies, all
these should make use of chorales to achieve the above purpose. They
are one of the most effective means for spreading the Gospel, and we
should not lay ourselves open to the charge that we neglected this means
to help carry out the work of the Church.

Louis Nuechterlein, in his Bachelor of Divinity thesis, stated the
following as part of his thesis proper: "There is a serious lack of
chorale texts from the period of the Reformation in the hymnals of the
church bodies which claim to be heirs of that Reformation."[6] This is
only too true, and one wonders how much our own Church has been responsible
for this condition. We have too often been followers when we should
have been leaders. We use the translations of Englishmen of a hundred
years ago; we dilute our hymnals with subjective texts and sentimental
tunes; we wait for others to discover our heritage and then belatedly

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[6] Louis Nuechterlein, "Chorale Texts and Tunes in Some Representative
Present-day Protestant Hymnals" (Unpublished B.D. thesis, Concordia
Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1953), p. 4.

jump on the bandwagon. This process should be reversed. In 1915, Louis F. Benson made the following statement:

American Lutheranism presents a curious case of an immigrant Church merging its inheritance and traditions in its new surroundings until spurred by the pressure of new immigrations to recover what it had lost. And it may be that the real influence on American Hymnody lies in the future.[7]

To this day the latter sentence still remains to be fulfilled.

Our Church certainly does present a curious case. Some American Lutheran Churches, which in the last century stood squarely in the middle of Luther's theology and retained almost all of his hymns while Germany, beset by rationalism, higher criticism, personalism, and all sorts of other isms, was struggling to regain what it had lost in both areas, have relinquished their heritage just as the Church of Germany has begun to get a firm grip on it again. Some of the very things for which our forefathers came to this land to preserve have been given up while the land which they left has regained them. If our fathers were living today, we might have the unique spectacle of seeing them reverse their former action by returning to Germany to regain that for which they originally left that land.

The hymnals of most American Lutheran Churches contain fewer hymns by Luther today than they ever have in their entire history. (The only exception is the Common Service Book, which is better than the rationalistic hymnals produced by some of the antecedents of the United Lutheran Church early in the last century, but that is the most that can be said for it, hymnologically speaking.) Does this mean that we are also at our lowest

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[7] Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1915), p. 563.

ebb theologically, since we have seen the correlation between Luther's
theology and hymns in the history of the Church? The resurgence of
Confessionalism and the Luther Renaissance have by-passed large sections
of the American Lutheran Church. Have we become too interested in
practical matters, expansion, statistics, and the like and have thus
neglected theology? One cannot draw the parallels of history too
closely, but we should at least take warning from the example of the
past and look to our heritage, lest we lose it. The scarcity of Luther's
hymn texts in some Lutheran hymnals is almost alarming.

The prime arguments against the use of Luther's hymn texts are that
they are too Catholic, too Medieval, archaic, poor poetry, too didactic,
too doctrinal, do not fit into the Church Year, and the like. Most of
those objections can be removed by the simple process of education,
since they are, for the most part, completely unfounded. Some of
Luther's hymns need to be explained, it is true, but so the Scriptures.
We should like to adhere as closely as possible to the original form and
language of Martin Luther's hymns, but we must agree with Spitta that
they are no _noli_ _me_ _tangere_,[8] inviolable to those who would like to make
them of more use and value to the modern Christian. After having
received some basic education, all that the people must do is to come
in contact with Luther's hymns, read them, sing them, become acquainted
with them. That will do the rest. Both in Church and at home, Luther's
hymn texts are eminently usable, and they have probably a higher average
of excellent tunes than the hymns of any other poet of our or any other

[8]Friedrich Spitta, _Ein_ _feste_ _Burg_ _ist_ _unser_ _Gott,_ _Die_ _Lieder_ _Luthers_
_in_ _ihrer_ _Bedeutung_ _für_ _das_ _evangelische_ _Kirchenlied_ (Göttingen: Vanden-
hoeck & Suprecht, 1905), p. 396.

Church. These hymns were once a mighty influence upon the people of Europe; they can still be that upon the people of our land. To be that, however, they must be used. It is only when we regain the appreciation and understanding of the best part of our hymnological heritage and put it into use, supplementing it with new translations and entirely new, fresh and timely hymns written in the spirit and with the character and perhaps even the form of that heritage, that we can become the influence on American hymnody that Benson predicted was possible.

The conclusions which I reached in the course of this thesis may be summarized as follows:

1. Luther's hymns, because of their content and use, are an important aspect of the Reformer's **theological** and **personal** legacy, and they show that he was firmly rooted in the traditions of the Church, even though he also struck out on new paths.
2. Because of their influence as well as their inherent value, Luther's hymns and their author occupy a unique position in modern **hymnody**.
3. There has been a direct ratio between the state of theology in a given era and the use of Luther's hymn texts in that era.
4. There are pitifully few of Luther's hymns in use in the Protestant hymnals of England and America, a situation which can be rectified only by the Lutheran Church.
5. American Lutheran Churches preserved Luther's hymns almost intact when they were only partially retained in the land of their origin.
6. That situation has been reversed in the course of this century, which warns us to look to our present theological health.
7. It is only when we return to the heritage represented by Luther's hymn texts and add to it that we can become the influence on hymnody which we could and should be.

S. D. G.

APPENDICES

Explanatory Note

These tables do not purport to be completely comprehensive or completely accurate. The former was impossible to attain because a complete selection of hymnals was not available for examination. The latter was not achieved (it is taken for granted) because of the great variety of translations which are used, because of the fragmentary use to which some of Luther's hymns are put, and, above all, because of the poor and incomplete indexing of hymns and especially of their authors in many of the hymnals tabulated. This led to inevitable inaccuracies. The explanatory notes are not complete either, but they are merely offered in the hope that they will help to present a more complete picture of the use to which Luther's hymn texts have been put. The purpose of these appendices is to give a general overview of the use of Luther's hymns, and, I believe, they achieve that purpose despite any other deficiencies.

The number attached to each hymnal corresponds to its number in the Bibliography, Parts II, III, and IV. Following the abbreviation of the title of the hymnal are its date (usually of the latest printing); the language, if there might be a question (German-G, English-E); and, usually, the number of hymns (not including doxologies and other liturgical materials) it contains.

In the appendix on German hymnals I have used the tabulations of Dietz and Danneil, as indicated, for more complete representation.

Whenever possible, the date of the translation is given.

APPENDIX A: THE USE OF MARTIN LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS IN GERMAN HYMNALS[1]

	93. Frey.-1737-1056	94. Vop.-1780	95. Chem.-1783-1373	96. Leng.-1786-1031	97. Witt.-1790-917	98. Weim.-1795-595	99. Dres.-1813-878	100. Deli.-1817-712	102. Hann.-1832-1019	103. Kpapp.-1837-3572	104. Wurt.-1843-651	105. Leip.-1844-676	106. Erfu.-1858-1150	107. Weim.-1918-674	Dannell, B. f. H.	Dietz, Restauration[16]	108. Beye.-1931-667	109. Juge.-1948-497	110. Rhein.-1948-540	111. Gute.-1949-110	112. Allg.-1950-394	113. Allg.-1951-483	114. LWF.-1952-71	115. WSCF. 1951-120[14]	Frequency in 69 hymnals
Ach Gott vom Himmel	x	x	x	x				x	x	x				x	9	34	x	x	x	x	x	x			58
Aus tiefer Not	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	39	x	x	x	x	x	x	x(x)		69
Christ lag in Todesbanden	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x			x	8	28	x	x	x	x	x				53
Christum wir sollen loben	x	x	x	x											1				x		x				8
Christ, unser Herr	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x					5	13	x	x[7]	x	x	x				31
Der du bist drei	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x					4	5		x		x	x	x	x		22
Dies sind die heil'gen zehn	x	x	x	x	x	x				x			x	x	6	13					x	x			30
Ein feste Burg	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	39	x	x	x		x	x	x(x)[10]		68
Ein neues Lied															1										
Erhalt uns, Herr	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	39	x	x	x	x	x	x	x(x)[8]		69
Es spricht der Unweisen	x	x	x	x					x	x					2	2									11
Es wollt Gott uns gnädig	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x			9	35	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[9]		64
Gelobet seist du, Jesu	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[1]	9	39	x	x	x	x	x	x			68
Gott der Vater wohn uns	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x[1]		5	20		x	x[1]	x	x	x			43
Gott sei gelobet	x	x	x	x	x			x	x			x	x		6	18	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[9]		41
Herr Gott, dich loben wir	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	37	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[11]		67
Jesaia, dem Propheten	x	x	x		x					x					2	2	x	x		x	x	x			14
Jesus Christus . . . der den	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x				x	6	13	x	x	x[1]	x	x	x			35
Jesus Christus . . . der von	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x					3	13				x	x	x	x[12]		29
Komm, Gott Schöpfer	x	x	x	x	x	x	x								3			x		x	x	x	x[9]		16
Komm, heiliger Geist	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	38	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[8]		68
Mensch, willst du leben	x	x	x	x	x			x							2	2									11
Mit Fried und Freud	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	7	30	x	x	x	x	x				55
Mitten wir im Leben sind	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	38	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[10]		60
Nun bitten wir	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9	36	x	x	x	x	x	x	x(x)		63
Nun freut euch	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x				x	9	31	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[13]		55
Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland	x	x	x	x	x			x	x						1			x[1]		x[1]	x[1]	x[1]			15
Sie ist mir lieb	x	x																							
Vater unser im Himmelreich	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x			x	x	9	30	x	x	x	x	x				53
Verleih uns Frieden	x	x	x	x	x					x			x	x	9	34	x	x	x	x	x	x	x[10]		62
Vom Himmel hoch	x	x	x	x	x			x	x					x	9	33	x	x	x		x	x		(x)	53
Vom Himmel kam	x	x	x	x	x			x	x					x	6	23	x	x	x	x	x	x			45
Wär Gott nicht mit uns	x	x	x	x	x								x	x	5	20	x	x	x	x	x	x			38
Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes	x	x	x	x									x		2										
Wir glauben all'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	34	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		67
Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht	x	x	x										x		3	4		x					6.7		1
Total	33[2]	35[2]	34[2]	12	26[2]	14[2]	19									23av.	22	23	29	15					
	35[2]	33[2]	27[2]	17	27[3]	15	23									19av.	29	27	29				(5)		

NOTES TO APPENDIX A.

1. Often other hymns are erroneously ascribed to Martin Luther in these hymnals.

2. Retains the original version of "Erhalt uns, Herr" and "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland."

3. "Erhalt uns, Herr" is altered in virtually every hymnal after this time.

4. Altered.

5. 2nd and 3rd and sometimes 6th stanzas omitted.

6. Includes "Die beste Zeit" from "Ein neues Lied."

7. In the Anhang.

8. Translated by Catherine Winkworth (1829-1878).

9. Translated by Richard Massie, 1853.

10. Composite translation.

11. Translated by Walter E. Buszin, 1951; altered, 1952.

12. Stanza 9 translated by Margaret Fuhlbohm.

13. Translated by Hermann Brueckner, 1923.

14. Not tabulated.

15. Friedrich Danneil, "Wie stellen sich die neueren evangelischen Gesangbücher zu den Liedern Luthers," Blätter für Hymnologie, 1883, pp. 1-6, 37-44, 55-9, 71-5, 87-92.

16. Die Restauration des evangelischen Kirchenliedes, edited by Philipp Dietz (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903).

APPENDIX B: THE USE OF MARTIN LUTHER'S

	A. Mo. Synod												B. Wisc.		C. ALC							
	1. KGB-1847- G-457	2. KGB- 1857-G-443	3. KGB-1862-G-443	4. KHED-1889-E-400	5. KEMS-1895-E-450	6. KEIM-1905-E-199	7. KEMD-1912-E-557	8. TEM-1941-B-660	9. KEM-1907-B-335	10. HSC-n.d.-G.E.-215	11. LSH-n.d.-B-69	Frequency-German-3 / English-5 / Total - 8	14. KLGB-1872-G-695	15. CHLS-1910-E-115	16. KLGB-1848-G-491	17. CHPN-1855-E-354	18. KLGB-1865-G-500	19. KEM-1879-B-535	20. KEM-1908-458-E	22. AEH-1930-E-650	Frequency-German-2 / English-4	Total -6
Ach Gott von Himmel	x	x	x	x	C		x	C				3 4 7	x		x	D	x	x	C		2 3	5
Aus tiefer Not	x	x	x	x	G	x	x	b				3 5 8	x	x	x		x	x	A	b	2 3	5
Christ lag in Todesbanden	x	x	x	x	C		x	a				3 4 7	x	x	x		x	x	C C	2 3	5
Christum wir sollen loben	x	x	x	x	a		a	a				3 4 7			x			x	x		2 1	3
Christ, unser Herr	x	x	x	x	a			a				3 3 6	x		x		x	x	A I	2 3	5
Der du bist drei	x	x	x	x	A	x	A	(x)				3 4 7	x		x		x	x	A A	2 3	5
Dies sind die heil'gen	x	x	x	x	a		A	a				3 4 7	x		x		x	x	A I	2 3	5
Ein feste Burg	x	x	x	x	E	x	x	C(x x x)				3 5 8	x	x	x	x	x	x	C K	2 4	6
Ein neues Lied								G				1 1			x			G G		3	3
Erhalt uns, Herr	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	B(x)				3 5 8	x	x	x	D	x	x	C B	2 4	6
Es spricht der Unweisen	x	x	x	x	a			a				3 3 6			x		x	x	A	2 2	4
Es wollt Gott uns gnädig	x	x	x	x	C		x	a (x)				3 4 7	x		x		x		2	2
Gelobet seist du, Jesu	x	x	x	x	a	x	A	x				3 5 8	x	A	x		x	A I	2 2	4
Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	x	x	x	x	a		x	a				3 4 7	x		x		x	x	H H	2 3	5
Gott sei gelobet	x	x	x	x	a		a	C				3 4 7	x	A	x		x	x	A C	2 3	5
Herr Gott, dich loben wir	x	x	x	x	a							3 2 5	x		x	H	x	x	C	2 3	5
Jesaia, dem Propheten	x	x	x	x	A	x		C				3 4 7	x		x		x		2	2
Jesus Christus ... der den	x	x	x	x	F		x					3 3 6			x		x	x	2 1	3
Jesus Christus ... der von	x	x	x	x	C		x	(x)				3 3 6			x		x	x	D	2 2	4
Komm, Gott Schöpfer	x	x	x	x	F		F					3 3 6			x		x	x	A a	2 3	5
Komm, heiliger Geist	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	B(x x)				3 5 8	x	x	x		x	x	A C	2 3	5
Mensch, willst du leben	x	x	x	x	a			a				3 3 6			x		x	x	A	2 2	4
Mit Fried und Freud	x	x	x	x	F		x	F				3 4 7	x		x		x		2	2
Mitten wir im Leben sind	x	x	x	x	a		x	C				3 4 7	x		x		x	A C	2 2	4
Nun bitten wir	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	C (x)				3 5 8	x	x	x		x		x 2 1	3
Nun freut euch	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	a(G)				3 5 8	x	x	x	D	x	x	A I	2 4	6
Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland	x	x	x	x	C		x	d				3 4 7	x		x	x	2 1	3
Sie ist mir lieb													x		x		2	2
Vater unser im Himmelreich	x	x	x	x	C		x	C				3 4 7	x		x		x	x	A	2 2	4
Verleih uns Frieden	x	x	x	x								3 1 4			x		x	x	2	2
Vom Himmel hoch	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	b(x) (x)				3 5 8	x	x	x		x	x	B C	2 3	5
Vom Himmel kam	x	x	x	x	a		a	a				3 4 7	x		x		x	x	A	2 2	4
Wär Gott nicht mit uns	x	x	x	x	a		a	c				3 4 7	x		x		x	x	A	2 2	4
Was fürchst du, Feind Herodes	x	x	x	x	C							3 2 5			x		x	x	A	2 2	4
Wir glauben all'	x	x	x	x	C	x	x	C				3 5 8	x	x	x		x	x	B I	2 3	5
Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht	x	x	x	x	a		a					3 4 6			x		x	x	2	2
Total	34	34	33	30	7	2							23	11	35	35	26					
	34	34	11	24	4										61		27	17				

ON TEXTS IN AMERICAN LUTHERAN HYMNALS

D. ULCA																				E. MISC.						
23. Ps. Ger.-1765-E-94	24. KLSG-1795-G-718	25. GHL-1814-E-520	26. GHL-1834-E-700	27. DGB-1849-G-710	28. GHB-1850-E	30. HSO-1857-E-1024	33. GB-1868-E-588	34. GB-1872-E-650	36. BWH-1899-E-607	37. DGB-1902-G-650	38. KH-1902-G-595	39. Wart.-n.d.-E-375	40. GB-1915-E-650	41. GSB-1917-8-E-578	42. CH-1929-E-251	43. AFGB-1941-E-985	Frequency-Ger.-4	English-11	Total-15	44. Nor.-1913-E-618	45. Aug.-1925-E-670	46. Dan.-1927-E-393	Frequency-Ger.-10	English-24	Total-34	Hymnals now used (10,22,41,45-6:5)
x		x	D										x	x			3	2	5	0			9	10	19	1
x	x		x	Q	B	B						x	x	B	B		4	7	11	P		B	10	18	28	4
x	x									x	x			A			3	2	5	A		x	9	12	21	4
																							5	5	10	1
	x									x	x						4		4				10	6	16	1
			C	C	C	x	x	a	C								2	5	7				8	12	20	1
								x	x								2		2				8	7	15	2
x	x		x	x	x	T		x	C	x	C	(x)	3	8	11					M	x	K	9	21	30	5
				x				x					1	1	2					1			5	6		2
	x		D	B	B	B		x	B	B	B	(x)	2	7	9					B		B	8	19	27	4
x								x					1	1	2					6	6	12		0
							x	x					2	0	2					A			8	4	12	2
x	x		x	U	U	V	x	x	a	U	V		4	7	11	N	I		10	17	27	4
x	x		x				x	x					4	1	5					10	8	18		2
	x						x	x					3	0	3					A			9	9	18	2
	x		x				x						3	0	3					9	5	14		0
							x						1	0	1					7	4	11		1
x							x						2	0	2					7	4	11		0
							x						1	0	1	x	x		6	7	13	2
							x	S					1	1	2	x	x		6	9	15	2
x	x		x	b	b	b	x	x	B	b	b	(x)	4	7	11			x		10	17	27	4
													-	-	-					5	5	10		0
							x						1	0	1					7	4	11		1
x		x					x	x					4	0	4	A			10	7	17	1
x		x					x	x	A				4	1	5	L	J		10	10	20	3
x	x		x	D			x	x					4	2	6	A		x	10	14	24	3
x	x		D	D	D		D	D					1	6	7	D		d	6	13	19	2
							x						1	0	1					3	0	3		0
x	x	x	x				x	x	B				3	4	7	B			9	11	20	1
							x	x					2	0	2					7	1	8		0
x		x	R	R	x	x	x	R	R	R			4	6	10	C	x	C	10	18	28	5
x		x					x	x					4	0	4					10	6	16		0
	x	x					x	x					2	2	4	A			7	9	16	1
							x						1	0	1					6	4	10		0
x		x					x	x					4	0	4	b			10	10	20	0
							x						1	0	1					6	3	9		0

```
11   2  15   7   8  22  10   7 (3)        18  9  5   28av.   18av.
   18  2   0   8   7  31   8  0                      13av.   12av.
```

NOTES TO APPENDIX B.

Translators:

A. Richard Massie, 1853; a. altered.
B. Catherine Winkworth (1829-1878); b. altered.
C. Composite
D. W. M. Reynolds, 1860.
E. Church Book, altered.
F. L. W. Bacon, altered.
G. J. A. Messenger, altered.
H. M. Loy.
I. Hermann Brueckner.
J. P. C. Paulson (based on Grundtvig's translation).
K. Paul E. Kretzmann.
L. O. G. Belsheim (translated from the Norwegian?).
M. Book of Praise, Canada, altered.
N. A. T. Russell, 1851, altered.
O. Miss Frances E. Cox, 1841, altered.
P. New Congregational Hymn Book, 1859.
Q. Mills.
R. A. T. Russell and Catherine Winkworth.
S. E. Caswall.
T. Joel Swartz, 1879.
U. J. A. Seiss, 1890.
V. Anonymous, 1858.

Additional Notes:

[1]A number of other old Lutheran and pre-Lutheran hymns are attributed to Martin Luther in this hymnal.

[2]"Christ ist erstanden" is attributed to Martin Luther in this hymnal. In it there are eighteen original hymns by Paul E. Kretzmann and twenty by Paul Gerhardt, both larger numbers than that of Luther's hymns. Of course, this is generally the case with the latter.

[3]There may be more of Luther's hymns in this hymnal. It was produced before most of the well-known translations appeared, and the authors are in no way indicated.

[4]There are only thirty hymns translated from the German in this hymnal.

[5]Not tabulated.

	47. The PE Hymnal-1889-679	48. PE Ch. Hymnal-1906-679	49. The PE Hymnal-1930-561	50. The PE Hymnal-1940-600	51. Ev. Hymnal-1899-888	52. Ev. Hymnal-1917-434	53. Ev. Hymnal-1941-481	54. X. Sc. Hymnal-1910-241	56. Mormon Hymns-1927-421	57. Presby. Hymnal-1929-496	58. Congr. Hymnal-1931-510	59. Meth. Hymnal-1939-564	60. X. Ref. " - 1934
tiefer Not					H	H	H						
rist lag in Todesbanden													
feste Burg	F	F	E	E	E	E	E			E	E	E	E
halt uns, Herr					B								
heiliger Geist, Herre													
lobet seist du, Jesu Christ	X	X											
bitten wir													
freut euch					I	I							
komm, der Heiden Heiland					D	D							
Himmel hoch					G	B	B	B_1			B_2		
Total	2	2	1	2	6	5	3^3	0	0	1	2^2	1	1

Translators

A. Richard Massie, 1853
B. C. Winkworth (1829-1878)
C. Composite
D. W. M. Reynolds, 1860
E. F. H. Hedge, 1852
F. H. J. Buckoll, 1850
G. Winfred Douglas, 1939

H. New Congr. Hymn Book, 1859
I. C. G. Haas, 1897, alt.
J. Sabbath Hymn Book, 1858
K. Thomas Carlyle, 1831
L. A. T. Russell and C. Winkworth
M. Miles Coverdale, ca. 1536
N. Margaret Barclay, 1950

X. No translator noted

[1] "Away in a Manger", asc. to M. Luther.
[2] "Away in a Manger", by M. Luther, 1530!
[3] Not tabulated.

APPENDIX D: THE USE OF MARTIN LUTHER'S HYMN TEXTS IN BRITISH HYMNALS

	81. Ch. of Ireland-1883	82. Eng. Hymnal-1906-646	83. Oxford- 1920-350	84. Anc. & Mod. -1922-779	85. Songs of Syon-1923-431	86. Ch. Hymnary-1927	87. Hymns of W. Eu.-1927-280	88. Songs of Praise-1931-703	89. Clarendon-1948-300	90. Anc. & Mod. Rev.-1950-636	91. Scot. Ep. Ch.-1950-646	92. BBC Hymnal-1951-498	Frequency: 12 hymnals
s tiefer Not	E				F	B	A^1						4
n feste Burg	D	C	C	H		C		C	C	C	C	C	10
...heiliger Geist	G												1
...Himmel hoch						A^2						A	2
Total	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	Av. 1½

Translators:

A. Catherine Winkworth : 1) 1863, 2) 1855
B. Richard Massie, 1853
C. Thomas Carlyle, 1831
D. William Gaskell, 1885
E. Benjamin Latrobe, ca. 1786
F. G. R. Woodward
G. J. C. Jacobi, 1722, varied by John Swertner, 1789
H. Elizabeth Wordsworth

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3. Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, darin des seligen Dr. Martin Luthers und anderer geistreichen Lehrer gebräuchlichste Kirchen-Lieder enthalten sind. St. Louis: Verlag der ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten, 1862. 45th ed., 1875; 29th ed., 1882; 30th ed., 1883. No change except make-up and spelling.

4. Ev. Lutheran Hymn Book. Published by order of the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States. Baltimore: 1889. This is the so-called "Baltimore Hymnal."

5. Ev. Lutheran Hymn Book, by authority of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States. Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1895. This is the so-called "Pittsburgh Hymnal."

6. Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, darin des seligen Dr. Martin Luthers und anderer geistreichen Lehrer enthalten sind. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1897. Cf. No. 2 and 3.

7. Hymnal for Ev. Lutheran Missions. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905. This is a reprint of the so-called "Grey Hymnal of 1895."

8. Ev. Lutheran Hymn-Book, by authority of the English Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States. Abridged edition. Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1905. Cf. No. 5.

9. Ev. Lutheran Hymn-Book. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912.

10. The Lutheran Hymnal. Authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941.

11. Hymns of the Ev. Lutheran Church for the Use of English Lutheran Missions. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907. This is a reprint of the first English hymnal of the Missouri Synod.

12. Hymns for Synodical Conventions, Pastors' and Teachers' Conferences,
    Circuit Meetings, and Similar Occasions. Selected by L. Fuerbringer.
    English-German edition. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House,
    n.d.

13. Lutheran Service Hymnal. Issued under the Auspices of the Army-
    Navy Commission of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 221 North
    LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. Edited by Otto E. Sohn. St. Louis,
    Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.

B.   Wisconsin Synod

14. Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gesangbuch. Herausgegeben von der
    Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten.
    Milwaukee: Verlag von Georg Brumder, 1872.

15. Church Hymnal for Lutheran Services. Milwaukee: Northwestern
    Publishing House, 1910.

C.   American Lutheran Church

16. Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gesang-Buch, worin die gebräuchlichsten
    alten Kirchen-Lieder Dr. Martin Lutheri und anderer reinen Lehrer
    und Zeugen Gottes, zum Beförderung der wahren Gottseligkeit ohne
    Abänderungen enthalten sind, fur Gemeinen, welche sich zur un-
    veränderten Augsburgischen Confessionen bekennen. Zweite, vermehrte
    Ausgabe. Buffalo: Druck und Verlag von Brunck und Domedion, 1848.

17. Collection of Hymns for Public and Private Worship. Published
    by order of the Ev. Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio. Columbus: Ohio
    State Journal Company, 1855.

18. Evangelish-Lutherisches Gesang-Buch worin 500 der gebräuchlichsten
    alten Kirchen-Lieder Dr. Martin Lutheri und anderer reinen Lehrer
    und Zeugen Gottes, zur Beförderung der wahren Gottseligkeit ohne
    Abänderungen enthalten sind, für Gemeinen, welche sich zur unverän-
    derten Augsburgischen Confessionen bekennen. 4th edition. Buffalo:
    Gedruckt bei F. Reinecke und Sohn auf Kosten der luth. Synode von
    Buffalo, 1865.

19. The Ev. Lutheran Hymnal. Published by Order of the Ev. Lutheran
    Joint Synod of Ohio and adjacent states. Provisional copy.
    Columbus, Ohio: n.p., 1879.

20. Ev. Lutheran Hymnal. Published by Order of the First English
    District of the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States (with Music).
    Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1908.

21. Ev. Lutheran Hymnal. Published by Order of the Ev. Lutheran
Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. 7th edition. Columbus,
Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. Cf. No. 20.

22. American Lutheran Hymnal. Music Edition. Compiled and edited
by an Intersynodical Committee. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran
Book Concern, 1930.

D. United Lutheran Church in America

23. Psalmodia Germanica: or, The German Psalmody. Translated from
the High German. Together with their Proper Tunes, and Thorough
Bass. London: J. Haberkorn, 1765.

24. Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung zum Gottesdienstlichem Gebrauch in
den Vereinigten Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Pennsylvanien
und den benachbarten Staaten. Gesammlet, eingerichtet und zum
Druck befördert durch das hiesige Deutsche Evangelische Ministerium.
Zweyte Auflage. Germantaun: Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, 1795.

25. A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy, for the Use of Ev. Lutheran
Churches; to which are added Prayers for families and individuals.
Published by order of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of the State of New
York. Philadelphia: G. and D. Billmeyer, 1814.

26. A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy, for the Use of Ev. Lutheran
Churches; to which are added Prayers for families and individuals.
New edition. Published by order of the Ev. Lutheran Ministerium
of the State of New York. New York: H. Ludwig, 1834.

27. Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in der
Vereinigten Staaten. Herausgegeben mit kirchlicher Genehmigung.
Philadelphia: Druck und Verlag von L. A. Wollenweber, 1849.

28. Church Hymn Book, consisting of Hymns and Psalms, original and
selected; adopted for public worship, and many other occasions,
by the Rev. Paul Henkel. Published by order of the Ev. Lutheran
Tennessee Synod. Newmarket: Solomon Henkel and Brothers, 1850.

29. Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Luterische Kirche in den
Vereinigten Staaten. Herausgegeben mit kirchlicher Genehmigung.
7th edition. Philadelphia: Druck und Verlag von Joh. Dorothea
Wollenweber, 1856. Cf. No. 27.

30. Hymns, Selected and Original, for Public and Private Worship.
Published by the General Synod for the Ev. Lutheran Church.
70th edition; 10th revised edition. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz,
1857.

31. Hymns, original and selected, for Public and Private Worship, in the Ev. Lutheran Church. Published by Direction of the General Synod. Revised edition. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1859. Cf. No. 30.

32. Hymns, Selected and Original, for Public and Private Worship. Published for the General Synod of the Ev. Lutheran Church in the United States. Revised edition. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board Of Publication, 1868 and Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1868. Cf. Nos. 30 and 31.

33. Church Book for the use of Ev. Lutheran Congregations. By authority of the General Council of the Ev. Lutheran Church in America. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1868.

34. Church Book for Ev. Lutheran Congregations. By Authority of the General Council of the Ev. Lutheran Church in America. With music. Arranged for the Use of Congregations by Harriet Reynolds Krauth. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1872, 1893.

35. Church Book. For the use of Ev. Lutheran Congregations. By authority of the General Council of the Ev. Lutheran Church in North America. Philadelphia: General Council's Publication Board, 1893. Cf. No. 34.

36. Book of Worship with Hymns. Published by the General Synod of the Ev. Lutheran Church in the United States. 69th thousand. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1899.

37. Deutsches Gesangbuch für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten. Verbesserte Ausgabe. Veröffentlicht auf Anordnung der Generalsynode der ev.-luth. Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1902.

38. Kirchenbuch fur Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden. Herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen Versammlung der Ev.-Lutherischen Kirche in Nord Amerika. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1902.

39. Wartburg Hymnal for Church, School and Home. Edited by O. Hardwig. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d.

40. Church Book for the Use of Ev. Lutheran Congregations. By Authority of the General Council of the Ev. Lutheran Church in North America. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1915.

41. Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church. Authorized by the United Lutheran Church in America. Philadelphia: The Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1917-1918.

42. The Children's Hymnal and Service Book. Authorized by the United Lutheran Church in America. Philadelphia: The Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1929.

43. Armed Forces Service Book for Public and Private Use. Revised edition. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1941.

E.   Other Lutheran Churches

44. The Lutheran Hymnary. Published by Authority of the Norwegian Ev. Lutheran Synod, the Hauge's Ev. Lutheran Synod, and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1913. This hymnal has been replaced by The Lutheran Hymnal of 1941.

45. The Hymnal and Order of Service. Authorized by the Ev. Lutheran Augustana Synod. Lectionary Edition. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1925. Third edition, 1927.

46. Hymnal for Church and Home. Published by the Danish Ev. Lutheran Synods in America. Blair, Neb.: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1927.

F.   Protestant Episcopal Church

47. The Hymnal, Revised and Enlarged, as adopted by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in the Year of our Lord 1892. New York: James Pott and Company, 1889.

48. The Church Hymnal. Revised and Enlarged. In accordance with the action of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1892. Edited by Charles L. Hutchins. Boston: The Parish Choir, 1906.

49. The Hymnal, as authorized and approved for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in the Year of Our Lord MCMXVI. New York: Church Pension Fund, 1916, 1930.

50. The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1940.

G. Evangelical and Reformed Church

51. Hymnal of the Evangelical Church. St. Louis and Chicago: Eden Publishing House, 1899.

52. The Evangelical Hymnal. Edited by David Bruening. St. Louis and Chicago: Eden Publishing House, 1917.

53. The Hymnal, Containing Complete Orders of Worship. Authorized by the General Synod of the Ev. and Reformed Church. St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1941.

H. Other Official Church Hymnals

54. The Christian Science Hymnal. With five hymns written by Reverend Mary Baker Eddy, Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science. Boston: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1898-1909.

55. Christian Science Hymnal, a Selection of Spiritual Songs. Boston: The Christian Science Publication Society, 1910.

56. Latter-Day Saint Hymns. A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, containing words and music, for use of Choirs and Congregations of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1927.

57. The Presbyterian Hymnal. Published by authority of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1929.

58. The Pilgrim Hymnal. Chicago and Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1931. This is the official hymnal of the Congregational Church.

59. The Methodist Hymnal. Official Hymnal of the Methodist Church. New York: The Methodist Publishing House, 1932, 1935, 1939.

60. Psalter Hymnal, Doctrinal Standards and Liturgy of the Christian Reformed Church. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Publication Committee of the Christian Reformed Church, Publishers, 1934.

61. The Hymnal, published by Authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1933. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1935.

62. The Church Hymnal. The Official Hymnal of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. 11th edition. Prepared by Edmund S. Lorenz. Dayton, Ohio: The Otterbein Press, 1935, 1952.

63. <u>Services of Religion for use in the Churches of the Free Spirit.</u>
Boston: The Beacon Press, Inc., 1938.

64. <u>Christian Worship, a Hymnal.</u> Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1941.
This is a joint publication of the Baptists and Disciples of Christ.

65. Mennonite <u>Hymnary.</u> 6th edition. General Conference of the Mennonite
Church of North America, Board of Publications. Newton, Kansas:
Mennonite Publishing Office, 1948.

I. Miscellaneous Hymnals

66. <u>Hymns of the Faith with Psalms for the Use of Congregations.</u> Edited
by George Harris, William Jewett Tucker and Edward K. Glezen.
Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1887, 1890.

67. <u>The Church Hymnal, a Book Which Meets Every Demand of Common Worship</u>
<u>and Emphasizes the Spirit of Church Unity.</u> Edited by George
Whelpton. New York: The Century Company, n.d.

68. <u>In Excelsis, Hymns with Tunes for Christian Worship.</u> 17th edition.
New York: The Century Company, 1902.

69. <u>The American Hymnal.</u> Edited by W. J. Dawson. New York: The
Century Company, 1919.

70. <u>Christian Song.</u> Edited by Louis F. Benson. New York and London:
The Century Company, 1926.

71. <u>The New Cokesbury Hymnal.</u> For General Use in Religious Meetings.
Nashville, Tenn.: The Cokesbury Press, 1928.

72. <u>The Oxford American Hymnal for Schools and Colleges.</u> Edited by
Carl F. Pfatteicher. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930.

73. <u>Hymns of the Kingdom of God.</u> Edited by H. S. Coffin and A. W.
Vernon, assisted by Seth Bingham. New York: A. S. Barnes and
Company, 1931.

74. <u>Hymns of the Christian Life.</u> A book of worship in song emphasizing
Evangelism, Missions, and the Deeper Life. Harrisburg, Pa.:
Christian Publications, Inc., 1936.

75. <u>Inter-Church Hymnal, a Treasury of Hymn and Worship Material for</u>
<u>Public and Private Use.</u> Compiled by Frank A. Morgan. Chicago:
Biglow-Main-Excell Company, 1938.

76. The Broadman Hymnal. Great Standard Hymns and Choice Gospel
Songs New and Old, for Use in All Religious Services, such
as the Worship Hour, Sunday School, Young People's Meetings,
Assemblies, and Evangelical Services. Nashville, Tenn.:
Broadman Press, 1940.

77. Tabernacle Hymns Number 4. A choice collection of hymns and
songs for every religious use. Chicago: Tabernacle Publishing
Company, 1941.

78. Hymns for Worship. Prepared for the Council of North American
Christian Movements of the World's Student Christian Federation.
New York: Association Press, 1943.

79. The Service Hymnal, Compiled for general use in all religious
services of the Church, School and Home. Chicago: Hope Publishing
Company, 1949.

80. At Worship, a Hymnal for Young Churches. New York: Harper
and Brothers, 1951.

British Hymnals

81. Church Hymnal. By permission of the General Synod of the Church
of Ireland. 7th edition. Dublin: The Association for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, 1883.

82. The English Hymnal with Tunes. London: Oxford University Press,
1906.

83. The Oxford Hymn Book with Tunes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press,
1920.

84. Hymns Ancient and Modern for Use in the Services of the Church.
The edition of 1889 reset with the supplement of 1916. London:
Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1922.

85. Songs of Syon. A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual
Songs set, for the most part, to their Ancient Proper Tunes.
Edited by the Rev. G. R. Woodward. 4th edition. London:
Schott and Company, 1923.

86. The Church Hymnary. Authorized for Use in Public Worship by The
Church of Scotland, The United Free Church of Scotland, The
Presbyterian Church in Ireland, The Presbyterian Church of
England, The Presbyterian Church of Wales, The Presbyterian
Church of Australia, The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand,
The Presbyterian Church of South Africa. London: Oxford
University Press, 1927.

87. Hymns of Western Europe. Selected and edited by Sirs H. W. Davies, W. H. Hadow, R. R. Terry. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

88. Songs of Praise. Enlarged edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.

89. The Clarendon Hymn Book. London: Oxford University Press, 1936, 1948.

90. Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised. London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1950.

91. Hymnal for Scotland. Incorporating the English Hymnal and authorized for use in the Episcopal Church in Scotland. London and Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1950.

92. The BBC Hymn Book with Music. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.

German Hymnals

93. Geistreiches Gesang-Buch, Den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich haltend, in gegenwärtiger bequemer Ordnung und Form, Nach denen unter diesem Namen alhier schon edirten Gesang-Büchern eingerichtet. Herausgegeben von Jo. Anastasio Freylinghausen. Andere Auflage, Halle: In Verlegung des Waysenhauses, 1737.

94. Das privilegirte Vollständige und vermehrte Leipziger Gesangbuch vormals von Vopelio, itzo aber aufs neue verbessert, und durchgehends geändert. Edited by Carl Gottlob Hofmann. Leipzig: Christian Gottlieb Barnbeck, 1780.

95. Neu-vermehrtes vollständiges Chemnitzer Gesangbuch. Chemnitz: Joh. David Erben und Putscher, 1783.

96. Vollständiges, neu aufgelegtes und vermehrtes Evangelisches Gesang-Buch, darinnen 1031 geistreiches alte und neue Lieder und Psalmen des hocherleuchteten Mannes Gottes D. Martini Lutheri, auch vieler andern geistreichen Lehrer und Gottselig-gelehrten Personen, wie solche sowohl in denen Chur- und Fürstlich-Sächsischen als auch Thüringischen Landen beym öffentlichen Gottesdienst und Privat-Andachten gebräuchlich, nebst einem geistreichen Gebet-Buch zu finden. Langensalza: Johann Andreas Siering, 1780.

97. Wittenbergisches Gesangbuch. Langensalza: Martin Friedrich Meerbach, 1790.

98. Weimarisches Gesangbuch. Nebst einem Anhang, enthaltend Einige Gebete zur öffentlichen und häuslichen Andacht. Weimar: Verlag der Hoffmannerischen Hofbuchhandlung, 1795.

99. Dresdenisches Gesangbuch. Dresden: Die Königl. Hofbuchdruckerey, 1813.

100. Verbessertes Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauche. Delitsch: L. Meyner, 1817.

101. Dresdener Gesangbuch. Dresden: Die Königliche Hofbuchdruckerey, 1826.

102. Hannoverschen Kirchen-Gesang-Buch nebst einem Anhange neuer Gesänge und einem Gebtbuche. Auf Sr. Königl. Grosz-Brittanischen Majestät Allergnädigsten Befehl herausgegeben. Hannover: Verlag des Moringschen Waysenhases, 1832.

103. Evangelischer-Liederschatz für Kirche und Haus. Eine Sammlung geistlicher Lieder aus allen christlichen Jahrhunderten, gesammelt und nach den Bedürfnissen unserer Zeit bearbeitet von M. Albert Knapp. I and II. Stuttgart and Tubingen: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1837.

104. Gesangbuch für die ev. Kirche in Württemberg. Stuttgart: Verlags-Comptoir des neuen ev. Gesangbuchs, 1843.

105. Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauche in den Stadtkirchen zu Leipzig. Leipzig: im Verlage des Georgenhauses, 1844.

106. Evangelisches Gesangbuch und Gebete für den kirchlichen Gottesdienst und die häusliche Andacht. Neue Ausgabe. Mit landesherrlichem Privilegio. Erfurt: zu finden im evangelischen Waisenhause, 1858.

107. Gesangbuch für die ev. Landeskirche im Groszherzogtum Sachsen. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1918.

108. Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Bayern. Ansbach: C. Brügel & Sohn, 1931.

109. Ein neues Lied. Ein Liederbuch für die ev. Jugend, herausgegeben vom Evangelischen Reichsverband weiblicher Jugend. 7. Auflage. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1948.

110. Evangelisches Gesangbuch für Rheinland und Westfalen. Dortmund: Druck W. Crüwell, 1948.

111. Kirchengesänge. Lieder für den Gottesdienst an den Sonn- und Festtagen. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1949.

112. Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch. Stammausgabe. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag: 1950. This is the new allgemein hymnal of the German Landeskirchen.

113. Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch. Ausgabe für die ev.-lutherischen Kirchen Niedersachsens Hannover. Hannover: Schlüterische Verlagsanstalt and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951.

114. Laudamus, Hymnal for the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation. Hannover: Schlütersche Verlagsanstalt und Buchdruckerei, 1952.

115. Cantate Domino, World's Student Christian Federation Hymnal. Geneva, Switzerland: n.p., 1951.