

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

6-1-1960

The Influence of the Thirty Years War on the German Lutheran Hymnists of that Perod

John Koch

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Koch, John, "The Influence of the Thirty Years War on the German Lutheran Hymnists of that Perod" (1960). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 253.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/253>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

SHORT TITLE

THE IMPACT OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR
ON THE GERMAN LUTHERAN HYMNISTS
OF THAT PERIOD

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Historical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
THIRTY YEARS WAR AND LUTHERAN HYMNISTS

By
John S. Beck

June 1950

3174

Approved by

Carl S. Meyer
Professor

Carl S. Meyer
Dean

3174

THE INFLUENCE OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR
ON THE GERMAN LUTHERAN HYMNISTS
OF THAT PERIOD

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

by
ENAMIN
John B. Koch

June 1960

3174

Approved by:

Carl S. Meyer
Advisor

Phil. J. Schroeder
Reader

BV
4070
C69
M3
1960
no.7
C.2

3174

THE INFLUENCE OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR ON THE
LITHUANIAN LUTHERAN MINISTERS 1

1. Introduction and Scope of the Problem 1
2. Method 2
3. Limitations in Research 3
4. Method of Procedure 4

II. THE THIRTY YEARS WAR PERIOD 5

The Dawn of the Age 5
The Approach of War 6
The Revolt in Bohemia 10
The War to the Palatinate 12
Intervention of the King of Sweden 14
The Rise of Coloman 16
Sweden's Religious Support of the Protestant Cause 17
Sweden Enters the War 19
The Peace of Westphalia 21
The Revival of the War 23
The Results of the Conflict 25

III. LITHUANIAN MINISTERS OF THE FORTIES OF THE THIRTY YEARS
WAR 27

Thomas Skovran 31
Paul Skovran 33
John Skovran 34
John Skovran 36
Anthony van Leuven 40
John Skovran 41
Thomas Skovran 43
John Skovran 45
John Skovran 47
John Skovran 49
John Skovran 51

IV. LITHUANIAN MINISTERS' RESPONSE TO THE HIGHNESS OF
WAR 53

The Peace between Poland and Sweden 1629 55
The Battle of Alcen 1632 57

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE INFLUENCE OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR ON THE GERMAN LUTHERAN HYMNISTS	1
Definition and Scope of the Problem	1
Thesis	2
Limitations in Research	2
Method of Procedure	3
II. THE THIRTY YEARS WAR PERIOD	5
The Character of the Age	5
The Approach of War	7
The Revolt in Bohemia	13
The War in the Palatinate	19
Intervention of the King of Denmark	23
The Rise of Wallenstein	25
Gustavus Adolphus Supports the Protestant Cause	27
France Enters the War	35
The Peace of Westphalia	36
The Atrocities of the War	40
The Results of the Conflict	44
III. LUTHERAN HYMNISTS OF THE PERIOD OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR	51
George Neumark	51
Paul Gerhardt	55
John Frank	61
John Heerman	64
Matthaeus von Löwenstern	70
Heinrich Held	71
Michael Altenburg	73
Martin Rinkart	75
Paul Flemming	81
Simon Dach	82
Andreas Adersbach	85
John Rist	85
Christian Keimann	89
Summary	91
IV. HYMNS HAVING DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR	92
The Peace between Poland and Sweden 1629	92
The Battle of Lützen 1632	93

Chapter	Page
CHAPTER I	
The Peace between Poland and Sweden 1635	95
The Peace between Saxony and Sweden 1645	97
The Peace between Denmark and Sweden 1645	97
The Peace of Westphalia 1648	99
The Persecution of the Protestant Church	101
 V. HYMNS REVEALING SENTIMENTS PERTINENT TO THE TIMES .	 104
Klagelieder and Thränenlieder	104
Trostlieder and Hymns of Trust	107
Sterbelieder	114
Kriegeslieder	116
Hymns Desiring Peace	120
Danklieder	122
Hymns For Other Varying Occasions	125
The Personal Nature of Hymns	127
Conclusion	130
 VI. VERDICTS ON THE RELATION OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR TO THE LUTHERAN HYMNISTS	 132
The Opinion of Authorities	132
The Conclusion on the Basis of the Evidence Presented in the Body of the Paper	 134
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 138

CHAPTER I

THE INFLUENCE OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR ON THE GERMAN

LUTHERAN HYMNISTS

Definition and Scope of the Problem

The influence which the Thirty Years War had on the spiritual life of Germany has been a matter of conjecture for many scholars. Various opinions have been offered ranging from a verdict of little influence, to that of profound importance for the spiritual growth of Germany in the ensuing decades. The problem is a large one. A thorough investigation would require much more time and study than is possible within the limitations of the present paper. So that the writer of the present paper might make a worthwhile contribution to this area, he has investigated only one facet of the problem; otherwise a superficial presentation would be the result. Consequently the present investigation will be concerned with the influence of the Thirty Years War on a limited group, namely that of the German Lutheran hymnists. The influence of the War did not end in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia, but extended beyond this date, and therefore the productions of the hymnists after this event will be admitted as evidence. A very important area of influence which will be disregarded in the present study is that of Lutheran Orthodoxy, which was exemplified during the period of the Thirty Years War by John Gerhardt. The influence of the Lutheran Orthodoxy on the hymnists could

very well be the theme of an independent thesis. For the purpose of the present investigation it has seemed unnecessary to examine the influence of the style of Martin Opitz on the hymnody of the period, although some of the Lutheran hymnists do reflect his return to classical style and illustrations. Owing to the limitations of time involved in the producing of the present study only a select number of Lutheran hymnists have been chosen for investigation. It is a very small representation of the total number of names which could have been included.

Thesis

The writer will endeavour to show by the presentation of pertinent material that it seems highly probable that the Thirty Years War had a definite influence on the German Lutheran hymnists in the themes which they stressed.

Limitations in Research

Part of the limitation on the accuracy of the study lies in the nature of the original sources themselves. The effects of the Thirty Years War on Germany as recorded by contemporaries have become increasingly suspect of exaggeration, and consequently it is difficult at times to determine the actual extent of hardship and persecution suffered by a given individual. Then there is the scarcity of accurate records on the lives of some of the hymnists themselves. Sometimes only probable generalizations are possible where there exists a dearth of complete factual

material.

The use of sources in the present work has been limited to those available in the Fritzlaff Memorial Library, St. Louis, Missouri. This is not as great a limitation as it might first seem for the material existing in the above mentioned library on the pertinent areas is fairly adequate.

Method of Procedure

The second chapter is designed to give a brief outline of the age of the Thirty Years War, coupled with the course of the War itself, and the results of the conflict. It is hoped that the reader of this chapter will receive a little of the atmosphere of the period against which the Lutheran hymnists are to be set.

The third chapter enters onto a brief description of the lives of the Lutheran hymnists themselves, placing them into their respective roles during the progress of the Thirty Years War. As has been mentioned, only a select group of hymnists has been chosen. The selection is designed to give a fair representation of how the hymnists fared during the War, some suffering much, and others being on the borders of the conflict. Several names are included in this section because the author wrote a significant hymn, which is quoted later on in the paper. The order of treatment of the hymnists is based on the plan of Eduard Emil Koch who places the hymnists in various circles. So George Neumark, Paul Gerhardt, John Frank belong to the Gerhardt'sche Dichterkreis; John Heerman, Matthaues von Löwestern, Heinrich

Held belong to the Schlesische Dichterkreis; Michael Altenburg, Martin Rinkart, Paul Fleming belong to the Sächsische Dichterkreis; Simon Dach, Andreas Adersbach are representatives of the Preussische Dichterkreis; John Rist belongs to the Niederdeutsche Dichterkreis; and Christian Keiman is assigned to no particular circle. The order within the circles as presented in the paper is based on precedence due to birth date.

The fourth and fifth chapters are calculated to present a representation of the poetical works of the hymnists which have a bearing on the investigation, ranging from hymns which have definite reference to the Thirty Years War, to those which reflect a spirit consistent with the times.

The concluding chapter presents a few of the views of reputable scholars on the subject of the paper, as well as the opinion of the writer on the problem, being conditioned by the material presented in the body of the study.

The generation which preceded the Thirty Years War may not have been more virtuous than its predecessors, but it certainly was more devout. The reaction from the materialism of the Renaissance which had begun towards the middle of the previous century had now reached its widest limits; the spiritual revival had penetrated to the very roots of society, and religion was a reality among those to whom politics were meaningless and public events unknown.¹

¹ C. F. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), p. 17.

CHAPTER II

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR PERIOD

The Character of the Age

The dawn of the seventeenth century was an era of social, economic, and political unrest. The changes of the material world through discoveries, the breakdown of old traditions, and the insufficiency of dying conventions all helped to drive men and women to seek relief in the spiritual and the inexplicable. The cult of the Rosicrucians flourished in Germany and spread across the borders of the Empire into France. Illuminism gained a hold in Spain. Black magic was practiced as far north as Scotland and as far south as the Mediterranean islands. Witchcraft influenced the educated, and devil worship was rampant among the populace. In established church circles theological controversy occupied the minds of all classes, sermons directed the politics of the people, and moral tracts beguiled their leisure. Wedgwood says of the period:

The generation which preceded the Thirty Years War may not have been more virtuous than its predecessors, but it certainly was more devout. The reaction from the materialism of the Renaissance which had begun towards the middle of the previous century had now reached its widest limits; the spiritual revival had penetrated to the very roots of society, and religion was a reality among those to whom politics were meaningless and public events unknown.¹

¹C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 17.

Consistent with the character of the age a pseudo-scientific interest in astrology was the fashion. Kepler himself is reported to have said that an astronomer could only support himself by administering to the folly of astronomy, namely astrology.²

The discovery of the ocean route to the East by the Portuguese was still having its effect on the European world of the early seventeenth century. The center of trade was completing its move from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic with the resulting rise of areas which had previously not been very active commercially, and the decline of others which had depended on trade coming from the South.³

Political machinery in the age was far from being perfect. The routine of government was ill organized. Honesty, efficiency, and loyalty were comparatively rare qualities amongst officials, and the average statesman seems to have worked on the assumption that a perpetual leakage of funds and information was inevitable. The diplomatic tempo of Europe was that of the horse traffic on which all communications rested. Contrary winds or heavy snows often played their part in averting or precipitating international crises. The faulty transmission of news greatly excluded public opinion from any real dominant part in politics. The insecurity and the discomfort of life in general encouraged

² Ibid., p. 181.

³ Robert Ergang, The Myth of the All-Destructive Fury of The Thirty Years' War (Pocono Pines, Pennsylvania: The Craftsman, 1956), p. 8.

a measure of irresponsibility in the rulers and leaders. Robbery, and violence of all kinds were common enough amongst the populace, even in peace time. Horrible and prolonged executions were performed before great audiences. Even amongst those who were supposed to be educated the outlook on life was harsh, and under the veneer of courtesy, manners were often very primitive.⁴

In general the seventeenth century was characterized by change.

In this century the Empire and Papacy were definitely relegated to positions of little more than academic interest, the religious motive was overshadowed by the economic, the first practical proposals for religious toleration were formulated⁵

An increasing absolutism in the theory and practice of government was taking place during the period together with revolutionary progress in philosophic and scientific thought.⁶

Because of all of these elements it is not so very strange that the pages of history of this era should tell of a war which implicated most of the powerful nations in Europe, for man does not seem to be very apt at receiving change peacefully.

The Approach of War

Germany's disaster in the drama which was soon to be enacted was in the first place due to geography, and in the second

⁴C. V. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 12f.

⁵David Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1954), p. 1.

⁶Ibidem.

place due to tradition. From remote times she had been a highway rather than an enclosure, the marching ground of tribes and armies, and when at last the tides of movement ceased, the traders continued the ancient custom of using Germany as a cross-roads. The political traditions of Germany also helped to emphasize the growth which had originally developed in a geographical change. Pursuing the shadow of universal power the German rulers forfeited their chance of forming a national one.⁷ Because of this policy the chief princes in Germany were diplomatically in an ambiguous position; they were nothing more than minor pawns in the European chess game, but giants at home. Their politics reflected both the pettiness and the grandeur of their position, veering from dignified diplomacy to backstairs intrigue, from ostentation to parsimony as their interests dictated.⁸ Each prince was concerned primarily with the welfare of his own state, which did little to encourage a national spirit. The fact that so many foreign interests were represented in Germany was partly due to the selfish policy of the leading rulers. John Rist recognized this when he wrote

Teutschland hat zu seinem Schaden
(O du grossen Raserei)
Fremde Völker eingeladen,
Dasz es ja bald dienstbar sei;
Fremde Völker, welche leider
Bringen nichts, als fremde Kleider,

⁷C. V. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 32f.

⁸Ibid., p. 40.

Fremde Sprachen, fremdes Geld,
Desz verdirbt die teutsche Welt.⁹

Accompanying this recognition, Rist also included an appeal to Germany to awake from her sleep and beware of the impending danger.

Tolles Teutschland, deiner Ruh'
Eilet Krieg und Auffruhr zu,
Ach hör' auff zu schlaffen.
Alle Kreaturen gleich
Kommen dich zu straffen;
Wach' auff, du Teutsches Reich.¹⁰

Besides the political, there was also the religious unrest in Germany. The question of religion which the Peace of Augsburg had sought to regulate in 1555 had in reality remained unsettled. Now in the seventeenth century the aspirations of the Catholic reaction and the militant sections of the Protestants were dissatisfied with the status quo. The age was enamoured of religious controversy which was fostered by the higher education at the universities in Germany. Even the secondary schools provided the opportunity for the inculcation of religious propaganda. Rome was especially intent upon strengthening her position through education. The Jesuit order was very active, particularly in south Germany. Catholic and Protestant polemics made frequent appearances.¹¹

⁹Theodor Hansen, Johann Rist und seine Zeit (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872), p. 100.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 102.

¹¹A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, editors, The Thirty Years' War, in the Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1906), IV, 4f.

The fluctuations in the importance of religion in the course of the Thirty Years War may be debated, but the religious question was undoubtedly prominent at the turn of the century. In 1608 a riot of reaction by Protestants against Catholics occurred at Donauworth, a free city on the Danube. This, coupled with the still greater panic caused among the Protestant princes in Germany by the imperial occupation of Cleves, made it possible for some at least of the princes and cities to be persuaded to sink their personal animosity and to join together in the alliance called the "Protestant Union" which was formed in 1608. This Union, although theoretically Protestant, was basically Calvinist, and it formed the nucleus of an opposition to the Hapsburgs in Germany. The Union was not a negligible force, and gained the moral support of the Venetians, and the financial support of the Dutch.¹² Maximilian of Bavaria, in opposition to the Protestant alliance, formed the Catholic League in 1609. Later Maximilian dissolved this League altogether, and reformed a new one consisting only of princes subservient to his influence with the result that the League became his own personal force.¹³

The economic picture in Germany at this time was not a very healthy one. The rise of Dutch trade affected German commerce adversely. Lübeck had failed in her struggle for trade supremacy with the Scandinavian powers. Other north German cities shared

¹²C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., pp. 50f.

¹³Ibid., pp. 64f.

in this defeat. The Hanseatic League no longer had the power and vitality of which it could once boast so that, as an Englishman is reported to have said, the Hansa towns in 1601 were sitting very loosely in the head from which most of the teeth had already fallen.¹⁴ There was a lessening of productivity in Germany, a rise in prices, and a crippling debasement of the coinage.

So terrible was the distress caused by the systematic deterioration of the monetary system, that in the decade preceding the Thirty Years' War a very different war seemed on the eve of breaking out - an insurrection of the lower classes at large both in town and country, not only impoverished but frenzied by their utter uncertainty as to the value of the money with which they had to purchase their hard earned bread.¹⁵

Internally Germany was not at rest, and from the outside the great powers of Europe were greedily eying its boundaries. From Spain to Poland, from France to the eastern confines of Swedish Finland and the ice-bound ports of the Baltic, the arch of European politics rested on the keystone of Germany. That immense conglomerate of independent states which went by the name of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation formed both the geographical and the political center of Europe. This was Germany's predicament. In the contest between the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon, between the King of Spain and the Dutch, between Catholics and Protestants, the part that Germany could be induced to play would be decisive. The governments of Europe

¹⁴Robert Ergang, op. cit., pp. 8f.

¹⁵A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 7.

realized this and each established an interest in the much-divided country. The Spanish King wanted the Rhine so that his troops and money would have sure passage from the North of Italy to the Netherlands. Naturally the King of France, as well as the Dutch, wanted allies on the Rhine to prevent this. The Kings of Sweden and Denmark each wanted allies against the other on the Baltic coast, as well as against the King of Poland and the Dutch. The Pope attempted to form a Catholic party in Germany in order to oppose the ever increasing power of the Hapsburg Emperor.¹⁶ Even the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I, intrigued in German politics with a view to gaining the imperial throne for himself.¹⁷

Internally and externally there was much to indicate the high probability of war breaking out in Germany. Within the country the religious tensions, the decline in economic prosperity, the hard lot of the common people, and the pretensions and selfishness of the princes boded ill for the uneasy peace existing. Outside of the country the great powers of Europe were looking for an opportunity to appropriate those parts of Germany which were important in their own political schemes. And above all the House of Hapsburg loomed too large in Europe so that the need was felt, especially by France, that its power was to be clipped. This involved Germany, as the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was also a Hapsburg.

¹⁶C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁷A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 18.

The political world of Europe was in a state of nervous exasperation awaiting what seemed inevitable. The probability of war was a commonplace among the well-informed, and there was only doubt as to the immediate cause and scope of the conflict. The material and moral antagonisms which divided political life were clear for all to see. Then suddenly in 1618 the spark was struck which history has recorded as the opening of the Thirty Years War. The revolt in Bohemia was the immediate cause of the outbreak of the War, and although at the beginning it may have appeared as an incident of purely local dimensions, it was not long before the events in Bohemia became identified with the real problems of the European situation. It was from these problems of the balance of power, of the tension between Catholics and Protestants, and of the changing economic scene, that the War gained its extent, severity, and importance.

The Revolt in Bohemia

The coup d'etat of the revolt in Bohemia against imperial authority was heralded to the world when the insurgents, under the leadership of Thurn, threw the two regents, Martinitz and Slavata, out of the upper story window of the royal palace in Prague. Comparatively speaking the revolt in Bohemia was a quiet one at first, achieved with a minimum of violence. It is unfortunate that the leader, Count Heinrich Matthias Thurn, was not more capable. As history reveals he was not great enough to bring the revolt to a successful conclusion.

[He] . . . was of that type which is often thrown into a position of leadership in times of unrest. A German-speaking nobleman with lands outside Bohemia as well as the small estate which gave him his seat in the Estates, he knew no Czech and had been educated in Italy: at first a Catholic, he had become a Lutheran and was now verging towards Calvinism. A soldier by profession, he was quick in decision, resolute and unscrupulous in action, endowed with all too much of that quality in which Schlick (the other leading nobleman in Bohemia at the time) was lacking - self-confidence. He fancied himself both a diplomat, a political leader and a general. Unhappily he possessed few of the qualities on which he prided himself; his diplomacy was mere intrigue, his political acumen a blundering guesswork, his soldiering largely bluster. He was brave and according to his own peculiar standards honorable, but he had neither tact, patience, judgment nor insight; moreover he was covetous, overbearing and boastful, so that although he had many supporters, he had few friends.¹⁸

Once the revolt was in the open, a provisional revolutionary government was set up in Bohemia, which was made up of thirty directors.

It did not take long for the Emperor to try to suppress the insurrection. On August 13, 1618, the Emperor's general, Bucquoi, invaded Bohemia. To meet this threat the Bohemians needed outside help. The Count of the Palatine and the Duke of Savoy offered them the services of the professional soldier, Count von Mansfeld, who had just recently entered the employ of Charles Emmanuel I, after having fought for the Hapsburgs in Hungary and in Julich-Cleves. The Bohemians accepted the proffered help.¹⁹

Mansfeld himself was the bastard son of a nobleman, Peter von Mansfeld, onetime governor of Luxembourg. Birth and education

¹⁸ C. V. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁹ A. Ward, and G. Frothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit. p. 24.

combined to make him an adventurer. The world was his oyster and the sword was for him the best tool to open it. His professional ability rested on his organizing ability. He was not a gifted tactician, but he had the genius for putting the money of his employers to the best advantage in recruiting and quartering the troops. He could raise an army in record time and maintain it at very reasonable cost.

The first thing that Mansfeld and his army did in Bohemia was to take the Catholic stronghold of Pilsen. The presence of Mansfeld in Bohemia deterred the Imperial army from marching on Prague itself. Then on March 20, 1619, the Emperor, Matthias, died. The Bohemians here saw their opportunity. Thurn besieged the capital of Vienna, and Ferdinand, the then Duke of Styria, and the probable next Emperor, was threatened by a deputation from the Estates of Lower Austria. Fortunately for Ferdinand he was delivered from danger by a regiment of horse, and Thurn raised the seige on Vienna. On August 28 of this same year Ferdinand was formally elected Emperor, and as such he also technically became the King of Bohemia. His election boded ill for the Bohemians.

He had been educated by the Jesuits, was an ardent Roman Catholic, and on dynastic and religious grounds was determined to make himself master of Bohemia and eliminate Protestantism.²⁰

²⁰ Kenneth S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), p. 886.

His policy which he had followed in Styria should have been a warning to the rest of Germany. Here he had combined cunning with boldness, undermining the Protestants by civil disabilities, seducing the younger generation by education and propaganda, and so gradually tightening the screw until the Protestants there realized, but only too late, that they no longer had the means to resist.²²

In the same month that Ferdinand became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick, Elector of the Palatine, was chosen as King of Bohemia. The Bohemians had refused to acknowledge Ferdinand as their ruler by reason of his being the Emperor. They wished to make their own choice of King. When they invited Frederick V of the Palatine to accept the throne he is reported to have said, "We considered that if we came to reject this rightful calling, the effusion of much blood and the wasting of many lands must have been laid to our account"²³ As it turned out much less blood might have been shed had Frederick refused the crown. Frederick's election as King of Bohemia was recognized by the United Provinces and Venice, as well as by Sweden and his fellow members of the Union.²⁴

Frederick was a slender, well made figure, with pleasing features, and singular charm of expression. He was gentle,

²²C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 46

²³Ibid., p. 68.

²⁴A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 30.

trustful, equally incapable of anger, hatred, or resolution. As far as he was capable he strove conscientiously to fulfil his responsibilities, although the pleasures of hunting, playing tennis, swimming, and even lying in bed were very tempting to him. Despite the fact that he had no great vices, he was not suited to be a ruling prince as he also lacked those virtues needed to conduct affairs of state. In politics he allowed himself to be moulded into the pattern his elders chose, subjecting his judgment completely to theirs.²⁵ This then was the King whom Bohemia elected for itself. Now, like the two chief actors in a play, Emperor Ferdinand II and Frederick V, King of Bohemia, Elector of the Palatine, entered the wings of the stage and faced each other. The time for action had come.

Maximilian of Bavaria began to prepare for war. He was an important figure in German politics, and he realized that with the army of the Catholic League behind him he stood to gain from the hostilities if he handled his cards cleverly.

As the leader of the Catholic League and the master of one of the best professional armies in Europe, he could afford to sell his alliance dearly. On October 8, 1619, he signed an agreement with Ferdinand by which he was to have absolute control of all operations in Bohemia and was to hold in pledge against the repayment of his expenses all such lands as he conquered.²⁶

In 1619 Bethlen Gabor entered the war, and with his barbarian horde made an unsuccessful attempt to storm Vienna. Frederick

²⁵C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., pp. 52f.

²⁶Ibid., p. 99.

meanwhile was seeking for more outside help, but received none from the Protestant Union, and in March of 1620 the north German princes meeting at Mühlhausen decided on neutrality in the Bohemian conflict. Spinola, the Spanish general, began marshalling his forces to attack the Palatinate, and when the Protestant Union learned of this threat they agreed to observe neutrality towards the movements of the Catholic League. The time was now ripe, and Maximilian, with Count Johann Tzerclaes Tilly in command of the army, entered Austria and compelled the Austrian Estates to submit to the Emperor. Spinola at this time was active in the Western Palatinate. Next Tilly joined Bucquoi and entered Bohemia. The end of King Frederick's short reign was swiftly coming to a close. On November 8, 1620, the Bohemian forces under Thurn and Anhalt were defeated at the battle of White Hill by Tilly's army and the Emperor's forces under Bucquoi. The following day the victorious armies began their entry into Prague, and Maximilian received, on behalf of the Emperor, the provisional homage of such of the Estates as were assembled there.²⁷

Bohemia was once more under the power of the Emperor, and Frederick himself was put under the ban of the Empire. Ferdinand proceeded to concentrate on a policy which was aimed at reforming, but not depopulating his reconquered territory. Both in Moravia and in Bohemia stringent measures were taken to prevent the emigration of Protestants. Ferdinand's policy was three-sided.

²⁷A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 66.

He desired the political and economic destruction of all who had been connected with the revolt, the extinction of natural privileges, and the extermination of Protestantism.²⁸ But the same mistake as was made in the Netherlands, where a policy of torture and violence had lost the country to the Catholic Church, was not repeated in Bohemia, and the persecution of the Protestants took on the form of civil and economic hardships which tightened like a vice from which the only means of escape was the denial of faith. Reform was soon achieved in the main towns and areas, but the outlying villages proved more difficult and towards them sterner methods were directed. It was found here that heavy taxes and extraordinary levies, as well as the billeting of imperialist troops, proved a very effective form of coercion.²⁹

Frederick, beaten and banished, still refused to abandon hope of regaining Bohemia. He maintained to the end of his life that he was the rightful King of Bohemia, attacked unlawfully there and in his German lands. Striving to regain his lost crown, he endeavoured to arrange alliances and treaties for this purpose, but his efforts were doomed to ultimate failure.

The War in the Palatinate

Mansfeld, who had been sent to help Bohemia, was left alone in the field after the battle of White Mountain. Deciding to take

²⁸C. V. Wedgewood, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 175.

the offensive he marched across Germany to the Upper Palatinate. There he found it impossible to hold out against the forces of the Empire; he agreed to disband, but managed to escape with his army to Alsace.

In May of 1622 a conference was held at Brussels where Frederick once more prepared for war, with the help of Mansfeld, the Margrave of Baden, and Christian of Brunswick. On April 12 Frederick joined with the forces of Mansfeld and the fight for the Lower Palatinate began. Tilly and the forces of the League were successful in defeating the Margrave of Baden at Wimpfen. A treaty was offered to Frederick, but he, still hopeful of success, refused to accept it, and seized the Landgrave of Darmstadt. Tilly dislodged Frederick from his position. Then in June of 1622 Christian of Brunswick was defeated at Höchst. Mansfeld, seeing how the war was progressing, decided to abandon the Palatinate and Frederick, and after taking refuge at Sedan, retired safely to the Hague.³⁰

Tilly was now left unopposed in the Lower Palatinate where he proceeded to reduce the fortified places. In these early years of the war, the Imperial cause was furthered mainly by Tilly and the forces of the League. As a young man Tilly had no idea of being a soldier, but wished to enter the Society of Jesus. Deciding that such a life was not for him, he resolved to fight

³⁰ Samuel R. Gardiner, The Thirty Years War (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co., n.d.), pp. 56ff.

God's battles in another field and so took up a military career. Throughout his life in the camps of war he maintained so strict a morality and so unfailing a devotion to his Patroness, the Virgin Mary, that he was popularly known as the "monk in armour."³¹ But despite his piety he was as ruthless a general in battle as any of his contemporaries.

In August of 1622 Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick established themselves in Lorraine, from whence they tried to cut their way through the Spanish Netherlands to meet the Protestants. Mansfeld succeeded in establishing himself in East Friesland; and Christian, after losing his arm at the battle of Flerus, proceeded to the Lower Saxon Circle where, together with William of Weimar, he encouraged the rulers to join Mansfeld against Tilly.³² At the same time as the Circle received the overtures from Christian, Tilly was urging them to join the Imperial cause. The princes and people wished to stay out of the war, but when Christian began to march into their lands they had to choose between "the lesser of two evils and threw themselves on the mercy of Tilly . . . his was the larger army and the more likely to win in the long run."³³ Christian was expelled from the Circle and on August 6, 1623, he was defeated by Tilly at the

³¹C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 121.

³²A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 81.

³³C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 29.

Battle of Stadtlohn. In February of this year the Electorate of the Palatinate had been taken away from Frederick and had been given to Maximilian of Bavaria in consideration of his services on behalf of the Empire. Frederick's loss of territory was now complete.³⁴

In August of 1624 in France, Louis XIII made Richelieu his chief minister. Richelieu's policy at home was to reduce the Huguenots, and his strategy abroad was to combat Spain and the power of the Hapsburgs. He soon put his foreign policy into effect when he launched a French attack on the Spanish garrisons in the Val Telline. This was not an insignificant skirmish, but a blow at the very life-line of the Spanish Netherlands, and the Austrian Hapsburgs. In fact this valley was the essential pivot of the whole Hapsburg Empire. It was the passage through which convoys of men and money from northern Italy reached the upper waters of the Rhine and the Inn, thence to descend either to Austria or the Netherlands. The structure of the Hapsburg Empire was cemented mainly by Spanish money and supported by Spanish troops. Once the Val Telline was blocked it was highly probable that the House of Hapsburg, at least in the North, would fall. Besides its value as a strategic center, the Val Telline was also very important as an area for the recruiting of armies. The Grisons encouraged this practice being a warlike state

³⁴ Samuel R. Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 60ff.

themselves.³⁵ And so the French intervention in the area of the Val Telline amounted indirectly to participation in the war in Germany.

Intervention of the King of Denmark

An alliance was formed in 1625 between Denmark and England for the purpose of intervention in Germany. Gustavus of Sweden had also been approached, but his demands for participation seemed so exorbitant at the time that he was bypassed, and he concentrated his forces instead against Poland. Meanwhile with the help and approval of James I of England, Mansfeld had tried between January and June of 1625 to recover the Protestant cause, but he failed. Soon after the agreement between Denmark and England to support the Protestant cause in Germany, James the first of England died, and with the accession of Charles I to the throne there was little hope of much actual help being given in the proposed intervention.

Christian IV of Denmark, however, continued with the original idea of actively aiding the Protestant cause. It can not be said that his concern in German affairs was unwarranted, because as overlord of Holstein in the Lower Saxon Circle he had an important foothold in northern Germany. His interest in German affairs was evident as far back as the Bohemian question when he

³⁵ A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 136.

had himself come forward with an offer to mediate at Vienna between Frederick and the Emperor. Christian IV probably feared at that time that the destruction of the Protestant opposition in Bohemia would increase Hapsburg power on the head-waters of the Elbe and encourage them to push their dominion northward to the Baltic.³⁶

In July of 1625 Christian IV, at the head of the Lower Saxon Circle, entered into war with the army of the Catholic League under Tilly.

At this time another figure also strode onto the stage of the Thirty Years War. His name was Wallenstein. Left an orphan at an early age, he was educated a Lutheran at Altdorf, but was later converted to Catholicism. At the death of his wife he was left a wealthy man. He managed his estates well and he showed a judgment and discretion which grew with his wealth. In the progress of the Thirty Years War he proved to be as good a general as he was a manager of his own affairs.

In 1626 Wallenstein, enabled by profitable speculation in confiscated Protestant estates in Bohemia to raise a private army, chose to devote it to rescuing the Emperor from his sole dependence on the Catholic League under Tilly.³⁷ He wintered in the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt before the campaign of

³⁶C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 136.

³⁷W. F. Reddaway, A History of Europe 1610-1715 (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1952), p. 149.

1626. As yet Wallenstein was an unknown quantity as a general, but when he defeated Mansfeld at the bridge of Dessau on April 25, the matter was no longer in doubt. Coupled with this disaster the Protestant cause was further hindered when the promised supplies from Charles I of England failed to reach Christian IV. Following up the advantage, Wallenstein pursued Mansfeld into Hungary, and on August 27 the last hope of ultimate victory vanished when the King of Denmark was defeated by Tilly at Lutter.

The Rise of Wallenstein

The rise of Wallenstein continued in meteoric fashion. He began to disagree with the policy of the Catholic League, advocating religious equality for all and the formation of a strong army. He succeeded in persuading Ferdinand to increase the standing army, and was also made the Duke of Friedland, despite the opposition by those who began to fear his power. In August of 1627 Wallenstein marched into Silesia and reduced the area. In October Christian decided that the only course now open to him was to retreat, and so leaving Jutland to Wallenstein, he sought refuge on the Island of Fünen.

Wallenstein seemed to be everywhere. But his rise to fame was bound to bring repercussions. In October, 1627, the Electors of Germany met at Mühlhausen, their complaints being directed against Wallenstein. The commercial towns in north Germany were also jealous of Wallenstein and the vast trade empire he was

carving out for himself. To offset this Wallenstein tried in 1628 to win the remaining towns of the old Hanseatic League over to his side, but failing in this he attempted to establish himself by force on the coast of the Baltic by seizing towns there. Stralsund on the Baltic refused to receive one of his garrisons and so it was attacked by Wallenstein's order. In May help came from Denmark and Sweden for the besieged city, and Wallenstein's men were forced to withdraw. Tilly, meanwhile, had been concentrating on stamping out Protestant opposition.

Hostilities ceased for a period in the Thirty Years War when the Peace of Lübeck was signed on May 22, 1629, between Christian IV of Denmark and the Emperor Ferdinand. Christian was to give up the north German bishoprics and accept the imperial sovereignty over Holstein, Stormarn and Ditmarschen.³⁸ Ferdinand used this opportunity very cleverly so that he did not make the terms of the Peace too severe hoping that thereby he would detach the Danish King from Sweden. He also returned some of the conquered provinces wishing not only to win the favour of Denmark, but also to emancipate himself from dependence on the Catholic League.³⁹

Finding himself in an advantageous position in Germany following the Peace of Lübeck, Ferdinand took the opportunity to reissue the Edict of Restitution, but taking 1552 as the normal

³⁸C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 251.

³⁹W. F. Reddaway, op. cit., p. 150.

year. In this year the Catholic holdings were even greater than they had been at the time of the Peace of Augsburg.⁴⁰ The enforcing of this Edict by Ferdinand brought suffering to many a Protestant, and also created an atmosphere conducive to a fresh outbreak of the Thirty Years War.

Wallenstein during 1629 had been gradually increasing his forces and consolidating his position. The Catholic Electors were violently jealous of his success and were anxious to cut off the head of this fast growing flower which looked far too lofty in their commonwealth. At the Assembly of Ratisbon in 1630 the demand was made that Wallenstein be deprived of his command over the Imperial forces. In September of this year Wallenstein was officially dismissed, and Tilly was placed in complete charge of the forces of the Emperor once more.⁴¹

Gustavus Adolphus Supports the Protestant Cause

One phase of the Thirty Years War may have indeed ended in 1629, but another was about to begin. On July 4, 1630, the Lion of the North set foot on German soil. Sweden had entered the war. Gustavus Adolphus himself was a tall man, but broad in proportion so that his height seemed less. His short hair and pointed beard were of tawny colouring. Coarsely made and immensely strong, he was slow and rather clumsy in movement, but

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 151.

⁴¹ Samuel R. Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 125ff.

he could swing a spade or pick-axe with the sapper in his army. The general opinion was that he was a king in every action. Ambassadors were often shocked by his too easy manners and the tactless directness with which he expressed his opinions, but they quickly overcame their initial repugnance when they discovered the concentrated thought and practical knowledge behind his rapid judgments.⁴²

The Swedish army which Gustavus landed on the Baltic coast of Germany was well trained and disciplined. The Duke of Pomerania was the first to submit to Gustavus. The Elector of Brandenburg announced his intention of remaining neutral in the conflict. Gustavus, despite this, continued to gain support on the Baltic coast. In March, 1631, the Elector of Saxony held a Protestant assembly at Leipzig where an ultimatum was given to Ferdinand indicating that there could be settlement in Germany without foreign intervention. The Protestants asked for the revocation of the Edict of Restitution and the dissolution of the Imperial army and the forces of the Catholic League. If Ferdinand did not comply the Protestants would not be responsible for what might develop in the future with the Swedish forces on German soil. While the Emperor was considering this ultimatum, Tilly made an attack on the Swedes, but was forced to retreat. On May 15 Gustavus held another meeting with the Elector of Brandenburg seeking his support, but again Gustavus was disappointed.

⁴²C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 270.

A rise in the popularity of Gustavus among the Protestants came with the tragedy of Magdeburg. Pappenheim, one of Tilly's cavalry leaders, made a sudden attack on the city without orders to do so. On May 20, 1631, Magdeburg was stormed, plundered and burnt. The fall of this proud and important city, together with the terrible atrocities which were committed here, did much to arouse the Protestants in favour of Gustavus. On top of this the Emperor refused to listen to the Leipzig ultimatum and would not consider cancelling the Edict of Restitution or disbanding the Imperial forces.⁴³

On June 21, 1631, Gustavus compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to form an alliance. This prepared the ground for the march of Gustavus towards the South. Tilly made a very opportune move in Gustavus' favour at this time, for Tilly demanded that the Elector of Saxony should submit to him, and when he refused, Tilly attacked Saxony. Not having the martyr's temperament, and seeing from his capital, Dresden, the villages burning in the distance, the Elector wrote to Gustavus imploring his help. Gustavus had been heading for Vienna, but at the call from the Elector, he turned into Saxony.⁴⁴

Tilly had just taken Leipzig and was turning north with his army when he was met by the combined Swedish and Saxon forces near Breitenfeld. Tilly was not anxious for a pitched battle, but he

⁴³ Samuel R. Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 153ff.

⁴⁴ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 323.

was forced into it by the impetuosity of his cavalry leader, Pappenheim. Soon after the battle was joined on September 18, 1631, the Elector of Saxony, together with his cavalry, fled to Eilenburg, thinking that the battle had been lost. The Swedish army was left alone in the field, but by the end of the day it had won the battle. Undoubtedly the new order of battle which Gustavus used had much to do with the Swedish success. Instead of using a solid wing of cavalry as was the general practice, Gustavus drew up squares of cavalry interspersed with squares of infantry. Such a unit was much more mobile than the regular block of cavalry. Gustavus also arranged his musketeers in files of five, and when the front line had fired it went to the rear to reload while the new front line discharged its fire. This method of firing proved three times as fast and as effective as the firing of Tilly's forces.⁴⁵

With the victory of Gustavus at Breitenfeld the tide of fortune changed for the Protestants in Germany. From this day no man again feared the conquest of the Fatherland by the Hapsburg dynasty or the Catholic Church. Following the battle Wallenstein made an attempt to negotiate with Gustavus, but nothing resulted from this overture. Gustavus now proceeded to march into the south of Germany. Early in 1632 he attacked Bavaria, despite the objections of the French who were afraid that the warrior from the North might become too powerful. Gustavus, in a chance

⁴⁵C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., pp. 298ff.

meeting with Tilly at the Lech, won the day, and in the course of the battle Tilly himself received a wound which was to prove fatal. By Maximilian's orders the army of the League withdrew to Neuberg and Ingolstadt.⁴⁶

Tilly did not die on the battlefield but was taken to Ingolstadt by part of the army where a small but loyal garrison guarded him in his last days. The past few years in Tilly's life had not been very pleasant. Wallenstein had tried in every way possible to ruin Tilly and his army so that he, Wallenstein, could take over the supreme command of the Emperor's forces. Ironically enough in the same month that Tilly received his mortal wound, Wallenstein was given the permanent appointment as the commander of the Imperial army by Ferdinand himself.

On his sick-bed, hearing the news of Wallenstein's appointment, he (Tilly) had the strength of body and character left to write a letter of good wishes to the man who, having ruined him, now stepped in over his dying body to rescue the imperial cause.⁴⁷

At the appointment in April, 1632, of Wallenstein as the supreme commander of the Imperial army, Gustavus and the Protestants found that they had a fresh opponent to face. Wallenstein's first move in the month following his appointment was to drive the Saxon's out of Bohemia. At this time he offered peace terms to Gustavus, but the latter would not agree to the conditions. In

⁴⁶A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 214.

⁴⁷C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 317.

June Gustavus found himself opposed at Nurnberg by the forces of Wallenstein. After some fruitless activity on both sides, the combined forces of Wallenstein and Maximilian's League marched into Saxony. Gustavus followed.

On November 16, 1632, the opposing forces met outside of Lützen. Despite a mist covering the entire battlefield, Gustavus decided to join battle. The result was a victory for the Swedish-Saxon army, but the price of the victory was very dear. Gustavus himself fell in the conflict.⁴⁸ Wedgewood, describing the search for the King's body after the battle, says:

In the dank November darkness the Swedes were seeking the body of their King. They found him at last; he had been shot between the ear and the right eye, the wound that killed him, but he had other wounds, a dagger thrust and a shot in the side, two balls in the arm and one - which caused great rumour of treachery - in the back. He lay on what had been the enemy's side of the contested ditch, naked, under a heap of dead. That night, over his whole camp, among Swedes and Germans, Scots, English, Irish, Poles, French and Dutch, among mercenaries as among his subjects, there hung the silence of unutterable sorrow.⁴⁹

Another phase of the Thirty Years War had drawn to a close. The Lion of the North would roar no more. The bright sun had shone briefly on German soil from Sweden, but now a cloud had drifted across it, and had cut off the warm rays. The Protestants in Germany went into mourning at the news of the death of their deliverer. Historians may debate the motives which Gustavus

⁴⁸A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., pp. 220f.

⁴⁹C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 53.

had for intervention in Germany, they may also debate the effectiveness of this intervention, but general opinion seems to agree with the sentiments expressed by Egelhaaf.

Und wenn wir erwagen, dasz unser heutiges Reich nicht denkbar ist ohne den Protestantismus und die Freiheit des Gewissens, so werden wir mit dem Urtheil nicht zögern, dasz der heldenhafte König aus Norden, der uns vor spanisch-habsburgischer Verknächtung bewahrt hat, auch zu den Männern gehört, welche die Grundlagen des neuen Deutschland von lange her gelegt haben.⁵⁰

Early in 1633 Wallenstein again attempted to dictate peace negotiations with the Swedes and Saxons. Failing to achieve a suitable outcome for himself, he turned into Silesia in October and drove the Saxons out. In November, Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, a very capable general, and now leading an army for the Protestants, took Ratisbon. At this stage Wallenstein seems to have been inclined to make peace once more, even without the Emperor's consent. This arrogant attitude on the part of Wallenstein in the waging of the Empire's affairs was frowned upon by those in authority. In January, 1634, Count Onate, the Spanish ambassador, persuaded the Emperor that Wallenstein by his actions had shown himself to be a traitor. Ferdinand was now anxious to displace Wallenstein. On February 18, he was officially declared a traitor. Wallenstein, trusting in the loyalty of the army, engaged the commanders to support him. But he was not as popular with the army as he thought he was, and on February 21,

⁵⁰ Gottlob Egelhaaf, Gustav Adolf in Deutschland, in the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1901), LXVIII, 144.

the garrison at Prague declared against him. Wallenstein then proceeded to the strong fortress of Eger, but he was assassinated there on February 25.⁵¹

Ferdinand had finally rid himself of the swiftly growing flower which had looked far too lofty and strong in his Empire. But in his own right Wallenstein was a great figure of the Thirty Years War. His greatness lies in the inmost purposes of his statesmanship, and above all in his supreme ambition to become the pacificator of the Empire, in the interests of that Empire as a whole, liberating it both from the encroachments of the foreigner and from the internal dominion of the reaction.⁵²

Following the death of Wallenstein, there was hasty re-organization of the Imperial army by the King of Hungary. This army in conjunction with the forces of the Cardinal-Infant of Spain defeated the Protestant forces under Bernard and the Swedish general, Horn. This battle of Nordlingen, which took place on September 6, 1634, emphasized that there was need for increased French intervention if the power of the Hapsburgs was to be kept down. The prestige and political advantage which had been won at Lützen was lost at Nordlingen. In 1635 the so-called Peace of Prague was issued, but besides the fact that it was not universally accepted, it was "metamorphosed into an alliance for war, and

⁵¹ Samuel R. Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 170ff.

⁵² A. Ward, and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, op. cit., p. 243.

those who signed it bound themselves to fight the battle of the House of Austria."⁵³

France Enters the War

From 1635 to the close of the conflict in 1648 the Thirty Years War is purely a political affair. It is essentially a struggle between the Bourbons and Hapsburgs on German soil. The armies became largely composed of mercenaries of no particular nation or religious belief. Because of the nature of this last phase of the War the writer has thought it unnecessary to enter into a detailed account of its progress. A few highlights will suffice.

On May 19, 1635, France officially declared war on Spain. The Hapsburgs were not to be left alone. In Germany the Swedes under Baner, now in alliance with France, won an important victory at Wittstock in October, 1636. In February, 1637, Ferdinand II died, and Ferdinand III, the King of Hungary, came to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. The following year Bernard of Saxe-Weimar was again making his presence felt with victories over the Imperial forces in the Breisgau and the Alsace, but his career was cut short by his death on July 8. This was a great blow to the Protestant forces, but the struggle for the Rhineland continued unabated. In 1641 and 1642 the French defeated the Imperial army at Wolfenbüttel and Kempten. On May 19, 1643,

⁵³C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 391.

the French general Enghien gave the death blow to the Spanish army at Rocroy. The tradition of the invincible Spanish infantry was destroyed. And so the Thirty Years War raged on, Enghien and Turenne combining to win bloody battles at Freiburg and Nordlingen in 1644 and 1645. The Swedish forces gained an important victory at Jankow in 1645. Even while peace negotiations were in progress the war continued its terrible career. But finally, in 1648, the bells of peace could be heard.⁵⁴

Jauchzet, jauchzet alle Welt,
 Singet Gott mit Freuden, Ewiges Lob werd' ihm bestellt
 Der itzt unser Leiden
 Hat in Lieb' und Lust verkehrt,
 Ja den Frieden uns verehrt,
 Alle Welt müsse dem Herren lobsingem,
 Lasset Trompeten und Pauchen itzt klingen.⁵⁵

The Peace of Westphalia

The last phase of the Thirty Years War had amounted to little more than political fencing. Sweden and France were combined against the House of Hapsburg.⁵⁶ The struggle took on the sordid aspects of a battle for power. This spirit is seen also in the negotiations for peace designed to end the war.

The congress which was to prepare for the conditions of the peace came together already as early as December of 1644. The congress was divided roughly into two groups. Sweden and the

⁵⁴Samuel R. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 187ff.

⁵⁵Theodor Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁵⁶Karl Heussi, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1957), p. 363.

German Protestants convened at Osnabrück, while France, the Emperor and the German Catholics came together at Münster. The negotiations for peace dragged on for over three years. It seemed as though the representatives gathered here were oblivious to the war ranging on around about them. They were more concerned with gaining concessions in the proposed peace which would be advantageous to their own countries. Basically the ambassadors of each country had a double task. First, they had to negotiate a peace as profitable as possible for their own land, and second, they had to divide their enemies from one another during the process.⁵⁷

The Peace of Westphalia which finally came into effect in 1648, was the embodiment of two treaties, those of Osnabrück and Münster. The important religious provisions are contained in the Treaty of Osnabrück which was agreed between the Emperor and Sweden. The Treaty of Münster was concerned chiefly with political matters. Basically the Peace of Westphalia confines itself to obtaining a practical compromise settlement, especially in the area of religion.⁵⁸

Under the political provisions of the Peace, France was confirmed in its possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, as well as much of the territory of Alsace. Sweden was given a portion of the German lands in the north, and obtained a

⁵⁷ C. V. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 480f.

⁵⁸ Sidney Ehler and John Morrall, editors, Church and State through the Centuries (London: Burns and Oates, 1954), p. 189.

voice in the conducting of affairs in the Holy Roman Empire. The branch of the Hohenzollern family which was ruling in Brandenburg was given additional territory, notably the bishoprics of Minden and Halberstadt, as well as the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Of great importance in the conditions of this Peace was that the strength of the Holy Roman Empire was considerably weakened. The princes in Germany could now make independent alliances, and both France and Germany had a say in the affairs of the Empire. Outside of Germany, Spain formally recognized the independence of Holland, and legality was granted to the already existing independence of Switzerland.⁵⁹

One of the most important conditions in the religious area of the Peace was the changing of the Edict of Restitution promulgated by Ferdinand II in 1629. The normal year was to be 1624.

Art. V, sec. 14. As for ecclesiastical possessions . . . with the revenues, rents and all other things of whatever description, situated inside or outside the towns; the Catholic Estates or those following the Augsburg Confession, whichever possessed them on the first day of January, 1624, shall possess them entirely, unreservedly . . . until a settlement is reached . . . over the conflicts concerning religion; and it shall not be lawful for either of the parties to disturb the other judicially or by any other means, nor cause it any trouble or annoyance.⁶⁰

This was a far cry from the normal year of 1552 set by Ferdinand, but the date still favoured the Catholics. The bishoprics that had become secularized were granted representation on the Diet.

⁵⁹Kenneth S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, pp. 888f.

⁶⁰Sidney Ehler and John Morrall, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

The principle of cuius regio, eius religio was given some validity in the terms of the Peace, but much more toleration was evident.

Art. V, sec. 34. It has also been decided that those adherents to the Confession of Augsburg who are subjects of Catholics, as also Catholics who are subjects of Estates of the Confession of Augsburg, which did not enjoy before 1624 at any time the public or private practice of their religion, or who after the publication of peace at any time in the future shall profess and embrace a different religion from the Lord of their territory, shall be allowed patiently and with a free conscience to frequent privately their place of worship without being subjected to enquiry or disturbed;⁶¹

Provision was also made for the possibility of a ruler changing his faith.

if any prince or any lord of territory, or patron of any church, would pass hereafter to the religion of another party . . . he shall be permitted to have near him and in his residence special preachers of his own confession for his court; this however shall not be at the expense and to the prejudice of his subjects. But it shall not be lawful for him to change the religion officially practised or the ecclesiastical laws or constitutions which were in force previously⁶²

There were some exceptions, however, to the general rules for religious peace, notably in the regions ruled by the Austrian Hapsburgs. Here there was no free exercise of religion, and such freedom was not to be admitted, although a measure of laxity was shown towards the Protestant duchies in Silesia, the city of Breslau, and the nobility of lower Austria.

It was in the Peace of Westphalia that Calvinism was recognized for the first time as an official religion.

⁶¹Ibidem.

⁶²Ibid., p. 192.

Art. VII, sec. 1. By the unanimous consent of his Imperial Majesty and of all the Estates of the Empire, it has been found good that the same right or privilege which all other Imperial constitutions, the religious peace, the present public treaty, and the settlement of grievances contained therein, accord to Catholic Estates and subjects and to those of the Confession of Augsburg, be also accorded to those who call themselves the Reformed;⁶³

Legislation was also passed in the Peace of Westphalia stipulating that no religious order founded since the Reformation was allowed to bring missions among the Protestants. This regulation was aimed at curtailing the activity of the Jesuits.⁶⁴ Summing up the religious agreements of the Peace one might say that they tended to confirm Protestant domination in the north of Germany, and Catholic supremacy in the south.⁶⁵ The conditions of the Peace of Westphalia remained valid and was the fundamental law of the German Constitution until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 by Napoleon Buonaparte.⁶⁶

The Atrocities of the War

As the years dragged on, the atrocities of the war became progressively worse. The German land and people found it increasingly difficult to support the professional armies which ravaged the country like so many wild animals. The original

⁶³ Ibid., p. 192.

⁶⁴ Kenneth S. Latourette, op. cit., pp. 888f.

⁶⁵ David Ogg, op. cit., p. 179.

⁶⁶ Sidney Ehler and John Morrall, op. cit., p. 190.

strength and fortitude of Germany declined as the war continued, and the license of the soldiery increased.⁶⁷

In Thuringia a father who had appealed for justice against a soldier who had raped and killed his daughter was coarsely informed by the commanding officer that if the girl had not been so niggardly of her virginity she would have still been alive.⁶⁸ In many cases the generals could not be held responsible for the actions of their men. They had enough trouble just to keep the army together, without trying to enforce any kind of strict discipline. The irresponsible actions of the soldiers became legends. Again in Thuringia a party of Wallenstein's men, after they had dined a little too well, discovered that they could have very fine sport by firing at the feet of the passers-by through the low-set windows of the cellar in which they had eaten.⁶⁹ Even in 1630, when there was a slight lull in the progress of the Thirty Years War, the soldiers continued their ravaging.

No matter what the destitution of the people, the soldiers continued their exactions and plied their nefarious sports. The sword to till the land, and plunder for their harvest, such was the burden of their outspoken songs, and they practised what they sang. At Kolberg alone they burnt five churches with all the barns and storehouses belonging to them, and this as often for the fun of the bonfire as for any other purpose; they would let off their pistols into haystacks, and once they deliberately set fire to a quarter

⁶⁷W. F. Reddaway, op. cit., p. 174.

⁶⁸C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 475.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 257.

of the town and came back when the houses were in ashes to plunder the people who were camping in the church with all that was left of their goods.⁷⁰

Grimmelshausen, a contemporary of the war, has recorded a number of scenes illustrating atrocities. Undoubtedly there is much exaggeration as these descriptions are in a dramatic setting, but not all of what he describes can be blamed on a novelist's imagination. He gives the following description of how a band of soldiers treated the peasants after pillaging their home.

Da fieng man erst an, die Steine von den Pistolen, und hingegen an statt deren der Bauern Daumen aufzuschrauben, und die arme Schelmen so zu foltern, als wann man hatte Hexen brennen wollen, massen sie auch einen von den gefangenen Bauern bereits in Backofen steckten und mit Feuer hinter ihm her waren, unangesehen er noch nichts bekannt hatte. Einem andern machten sie ein Sail um den Kopf und raitelten es mit einem Beugel zusammen, dasz ihm das Blut zu Mund, Nas, und Ohren herausz sprang. In Summa, es hatte jeder seine eigne Invention, die Bauern zu peinigen⁷¹

In this same section Grimmelshausen leaves the fate of the women to the imagination.

Von den Gefangenen Weiberen, Mägden, und Töchtern weisz ich sonderlich nichts zu sagen, weil mich die Krieger nicht zusehen lassen, wie sie mit ihnen umgingen. Das weisz ich noch wohl, dasz man theils hin und wieder in den Winckeln erbärmlich schreyen hörte⁷²

In another part of Grimmelshausen's narrative he tells of a man who had been buried alive. A group of soldiers, hearing strange sounds coming from the ground, began to dig and discovered a

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 256.

⁷¹ Felix Bobertag, editor, Grimmelshausens Werke (Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, n.d.), I, 17f.

⁷² Ibid., p. 18.

barrel.

[Sie] . . . fanden einen Kerl darinn, der weder Nasen noch Ohren mehr hatte und gleichwol noch lebte. So bald sich derselbe ein wenig ermunterte und vom Hauffen etliche kante, erzählte er, was massen die Bauern den vorigen Tag, als einzige seines Regiments auff Fütterung gewesen, ihrer 6. gegangen bekommen, davon sie allererst vor einer Stund fünffe, so hinter-ein ander stehen müssen, tod geschossen; und weil die Kugel ihn, weil er der sechste und letzte gewesen, nicht erlangt, indem sie schon zuvor durch fünf Körper gedrungen, hätten sie ihm Nasen und Ohren angeschnitten und hätten sie ihn in gegenwärtig Fasz gesteckt und also lebendig begraben,⁷³

Near the close of the war the army ruled all, and the people fled before its approach.

In the country at large the soldier ruled, without mercy and without regard. Torstensson himself compared the sack of Kremsier in June 1643 to that of Magdeburg; Baner [another Swedish general] spoke lightly of shooting down civilians and sacking a town for the mere offense of refusing food and drink, which it could probably not have supplied to his men in any case. In Olmütz the daughters of the richest burghers were forcibly married to careerist officers at the request of their colonel.⁷⁴

One can not but help pity the lot of the common villager who although he was not directly concerned with the war in many cases, yet often had to suffer the consequences of the conflict.

When an invading host descended on a village, it became more and more likely, as the war dragged on, to seize the villager's whole store of food, together with all useful household effects. Not seldom the women were outraged, the children tortured, and the houses burned. Survivors might seek shelter in the nearest town, but they were by no means sure to find it.⁷⁵

⁷³ Ibid., p. 42.

⁷⁴ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 475.

⁷⁵ W. F. Reddaway, op. cit., p. 175.

A favourite practice of an approaching army was to demand tribute from the villages which they passed. The army promised protection if this tribute were paid, but even if a town could supply all that was demanded it frequently turned out that the money and provisions handed over were not used to satisfy the soldiers, with the result that the town was not immune from marauding attacks by bands of the army.⁷⁶

From the church's point of view, however, there is much comfort in this that throughout the terrible period of the Thirty Years War the people were generally faithfully cared for by the ministers of the villages and the towns.

Inmitten der furchtbarsten Drangsale des Krieges hat die Mehrzahl der Geistlichen mit unerschütterlicher Treue und Aufopferung bei ihren Gemeinden ausgeharrt und durch Trostpendung an die Unglücklichen und Bedrängten, durch furchtlose Fürsorge für die Kranken lindernd und mildernd auf die unsäglichen Leiden der Bevölkerung eingewirkt,⁷⁷

The Results of the Conflict

After thirty years, peace had come to Germany. At Prague the clanging of Church bells all but drowned the last thunders of the cannon, and beacons of joy could be seen flaming high in the night sky on the hills along the Main, but all the world was not happy. At Olmütz in Moravia where the Swedish army had lived for eight years the dazed soldiers were sunk in gloom, and in the fields

⁷⁶C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., pp. 356f.

⁷⁷Georg Winter, Dreissigjährigen Krieges (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Separat-Conto, 1893), p. 635.

about the town the camp women collected in small desolate groups. One of these women is recorded as saying, "I was born in war, I have no home, no country, and no friends, war is all my wealth and now whither shall I go?"⁷⁸ The camps of the soldiers had become a way of life for many.

It was an immense task which now faced the authorities to disband and disperse the Swedish and Imperial armies in Germany. There was the continual danger that the soldiers, taking affairs into their own hands, would cause the war to flare up afresh. It took five and a half years after the Peace of Westphalia for the last hostile garrison to leave the shores of Germany. Some of the soldiers were drafted to the land, others deserted to the hills and formed robber bands, while still others hired out again as mercenaries. It is to the credit of the Swedish general Charles Gustavus Wrangel, and the Imperial general Piccolomini, that the disbanding of the armies took place as quietly as it did.⁷⁹

There were others who were not happy with the Peace of Westphalia. Pope Innocent X condemned the religious clauses of the Peace in his bull Zelo domus Dei.⁸⁰

we, of our own initiative, from our certain knowledge and mature deliberation, and from the plenitude of the Apostolic power, state and declare by the present document that the aforesaid articles of these Treaties, whether considered singly or together, and all other things contained in the

⁷⁸C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 505.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 506f.

⁸⁰Sidney Ehler and John Morrall, op. cit., p. 193.

said Treaties, which in any way injure or carry even the slightest prejudice - or which could be said, understood imagined or considered to be able to harm or cause annoyance in any way - to the Catholic religion . . . are and shall be from a legal point of view perpetually null, void, invalid, wicked, unjust, condemned, reprobated, futile, and without strength and effect; and that no one is bound to observe them all or any of them⁸¹

It also appears as though a number of Lutheran theologians were against the Peace of Westphalia because of the recognition which it accorded to the Reformed.⁸²

The territory changes contained in the Peace of Westphalia boded ill for the future permanent settlement in Germany.

The political effects of the war were more distinct than its social and economic results. The actual boundaries of the Empire had changed. The acceptance of the independence of Switzerland and the United Provinces merely confirmed an already existent situation. Alsace and Hither-Pomerania, on the other hand, although still technically part of the Empire, were virtually under the control of the foreign powers, a cession which in the case of Alsace at least was to become permanent. The mouths of the four great rivers were thus in foreign hands: the delta of the Rhine under Spanish and Dutch control, the Elbe under Danish, the Oder under Swedish, the Vistula under Polish.⁸³

It was to be expected that in time German commerce, as well as German self-respect, would react unfavourably to the restrictions of the Peace.

In recent years there has been a re-evaluation of the evidence pointing to the economic and social destruction which the Thirty Years War was thought to have inflicted on Germany. Robert

⁸¹Ibid., p. 196.

⁸²Karl Heussi, op. cit., p. 364.

⁸³C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 520.

Ergang considers that the notion of the all-destructive fury of the War, which was once popularly held, is really a myth. He gives a number of reasons for the growth of the popular belief. The tendency in the seventeenth century was towards exaggeration, and consequently the contemporary reports on the War probably reflect this. Political propaganda, and confessional hatred undoubtedly played a part in the way reports of the destruction caused by the War were formulated. Historians in the past have also tended to generalize on the basis of limited local information which is not a valid process. The accounts of Grimmelshausen have helped to further the theory of the terrible destruction incurred by the progress of the conflict, but it is highly doubtful whether he observed anything of what he records. Ergang considers that the creation of the myth of the all-destructive nature of the Thirty Years War was due largely to the writings of the Romanticists.⁸⁴ Undoubtedly much of what Ergang says is true, although some of his objections may be debated.

The loss of population in Germany during the War is a controversial question. It seems as though it is impossible to arrive at a reliable figure until more records have been critically examined. The figures that have been popularly accepted in past centuries are probably exaggerated in many cases. Nevertheless it is interesting to look at some of them. In a certain district of Thuringia 1,717 houses in 19 villages were said to have been

⁸⁴Robert Ergang, op. cit., pp. 4ff.

standing at the commencement of hostilities, while in 1649 there were only 627 of these houses left. Originally there had been 1,773 families living in the area, but at the close of the War only 316 families could be found to occupy the 627 homes.⁸⁵ The Swedes were accused of destroying nearly 2,000 castles, 18,000 villages, and over 15,000 towns. Bavaria claimed that she had lost 80,000 families and 900 villages. Bohemia reported that five sixths of her villages and three quarters of her population had been wiped out. The Palatinate is supposed to have suffered terribly. It is recorded that the population was only one fiftieth of its original size at the close of the War. Wolfenbüttel was one eighth its original size; Magdeburg one tenth; Hagenau one fifth; and Olmütz one fifteenth.⁸⁶ While some areas certainly suffered heavy population losses, other parts of Germany gained in numbers. For example the population of Wurzburg, Strassburg, Hamburg and Bremen increased during the War. The population of Saxony increased from 25,965 in 1608 to 46,317 in 1659.⁸⁷

The economic decline in Germany at the time of the Thirty Years War has often been blamed on its destruction to centers of production. Ergang points up clearly that this economic decline was well in progress by the time the War began in 1618, and is traceable to the shift in trade from the Mediterranean to the

⁸⁵ Samuel R. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 218.

⁸⁶ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., pp. 510ff.

⁸⁷ Robert Ergang, op. cit., p. 26.

Atlantic.⁸⁸ At the same time that this is true it is also probable that the War helped the decline. But it is interesting to note that, as is generally the case in war, some areas of trade in Germany benefited. Bremen contrived through the fluctuations of the war to secure a monopoly of the English linen market. Hamburg took over the sugar and spice trade of its rivals. In fact Hamburg came out of the Thirty Years War one of the finest towns in all Europe.⁸⁹ In general Ergang seems to be close to the truth when he says that the destruction caused by the War would in itself have interfered only briefly with the economic progress of the German states if their economy had been basically healthy.⁹⁰

The War seems to have given the existing feudal institutions in Germany a longer lease on life, and the peasants continued to remain serfs. The decrease in population in some areas probably prevented the necessity of the breaking up of large estates and so the prerogatives of the landlords were largely kept intact.⁹¹

The Peace of Westphalia also helped to confirm the narrow provincialism of the numerous petty states for by making the imperial power in Germany nominal it meant that it was almost impossible for a national and distinctive culture to emerge.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸⁹ C. V. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 513f.

⁹⁰ Robert Ergang, op. cit., p. 30.

⁹¹ David Ogg, op. cit., p. 168.

The effects of the Thirty Years War on the life of Germany may still be an area of debate and research for the historians, but it is certain that the War itself brought much suffering to the people as it ranged across the country. And perhaps the greatest tragedy of all is that Germany was not deciding her own fate in the War, but foreigners were dictating it for her.

The destinies of the land of Luther and Göthe, of Frederick II and Stein were decided by a few men of foreign birth. Wallenstein was a Slavonian, Tilly a Walloon, Gustavus a Swede, Richelieu a Frenchman.⁹²

⁹² Samuel R. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 219.

CHAPTER III

LUTHERAN HYMNISTS OF THE PERIOD OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

Lutheran hymnody flourished during the period of the Thirty Years War, and there are many hymnists who could be fruitfully investigated. In order to present a cross-section of the Lutheran hymnists against the background of the war within the limits of the study, it has been found necessary, however, to choose only thirteen men for investigation. They represent hymnists who suffered in varying degrees during the progress of the conflict. Two lesser known men, Andreas Adersbach and Christian Keiman, have been included in this section because hymns attributed to them are quoted in later chapters. The order of treatment of the hymnists is based on the plan of Eduard Emil Koch who places the hymnists in various circles.¹

No attempt has been made to enter into the theological background of the hymnists, nor to analyse or explain to any great extent the reasons for the stresses which were brought to the fore by the events in their lives. This is worthy of a separate study.

George Neumark

George Neumark was a child of the age of the Thirty Years

¹Supra, pp. 3f.

War. Koch lists him in the Gerhardt'sche Dichterkreis. He was born at Langensalza in Thuringia on March 16, 1621. His father was a clothier in the town. At the Gymnasiums of Schleusingen and Gotha he received his education, acquiring the certificate of dimission in September of 1641. In the Autumn of that year he left Gotha in the company of merchants who were going to the Michelmas fair at Leipzig. From here he joined up with a similar party of merchants going from Leipzig to Lübeck. His ultimate aim was to go to the University at Königsberg where he hoped to matriculate. But as he was passing through the city of Magdeburg, which had suffered so much in the war, he was plundered by a band of highwaymen and was robbed of all that he had, except for a prayer book and a little money which had been sewed in his clothes. Forced to look around for work, he finally obtained a position as the tutor in the family of Judge Stephen Henning. The relief from anxiety after having found work prompted Neumark to write a hymn of thanksgiving.² After he had saved enough money Neumark proceeded to Königsberg, the centre of an important school of poets headed by Simon Dach. Here Neumark matriculated on June 21, 1643, as a student of Law, and remained five years, maintaining himself by serving as a family tutor. While in Königsberg he also took the opportunity of studying poetry under Dach. In 1646 he once more lost all his wordly possessions, and two years later he left Königsberg. After having been at Warsaw

²Infra, pp. 110f.

for a short time, he spent two years in Thorn, then traveling on to Danzig. September of 1651 found Neumark in Hamburg, but from here he returned to Thuringia. It was not long before he came under the notice of Duke Wilhelm II of Saxe-Weimar. In 1652 he was appointed court poet, librarian, and registrar of administration at Weimar, and finally he became the secretary of the Ducal archives. In the last year of his life he became blind, and died on July 18, 1681, at Weimar.³

Although Neumark's later life was successful and rather uneventful, in his youth he undoubtedly saw and felt many of the horrors of the Thirty Years War. Thuringia itself, his home state, suffered much.⁴ Leipzig, through which he passed after leaving Gotha, had seen much of the action of the War. Tilly had taken the city on September 15, 1631, and after gathering immense booty had camped here just prior to the fateful battle of Breitenfeld.⁵ The following year the battle of Lützen was fought, only 15 miles to the west of Leipzig. In 1633 Holk, with a detachment of Wallenstein's army reached Leipzig. Typhus and the bubonic plague were raging among his men, which then infected Leipzig.⁶ Then again in 1637 the gates of Leipzig were stormed, but Baner

z

³John Julian, editor, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), pp. 795f.

⁴Supra, p. 41.

⁵Supra, p. 30.

⁶C. V. Wedgewood, The Thirty Years War (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939), p. 350.

and his Swedish army did not take the city.⁷ Neumark, after having seen Leipzig, traveled on to Magdeburg which had suffered one of the worst fates of any of the cities that were sacked and burnt during the Thirty Years War.⁸ After the fall of Magdeburg there were only 5,000 inhabitants left of the original population of 30,000.⁹ The scars of the War must have left lasting memories on the poetic imagination of Neumark. Then he himself was robbed by a hand of robbers which were so common during the last years of the war. In many cases these robber bands were soldiers who had deserted from the regular armies, or even peasants who had themselves lost their all in the progress of the War. The impressions of the War had plenty of opportunity to imbed themselves in the heart and mind of the young man, and these can be seen reflected in his poetical works. Julian says, "The best of Neumark's hymns are those of trust in God, and patient waiting for His help under trial and suffering" ¹⁰ The following stanza illustrates well Neumark's trust that God would never forsake him.

Denk nicht in deinen drangsalshize,
 Dasz du von Gott verlassen bist,
 Und dasz ihm der im schoose size,
 Der reich und grosz und mächtig ist.

⁷ Ibid., p. 415.

⁸ Supra, p. 29.

⁹ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 290.

¹⁰ John Julian, op. cit., p. 796.

Die zukunfft andert oft sehr viel,
Und setzet jeglichem sein ziel.¹¹

Paul Gerhardt

Paul Gerhardt, who has given the name to the Dichterkreis in which Neumark is placed, is perhaps the foremost of German hymn writers. He was born at Gräfenhainichen, a small town 10 miles south-west of Wittenberg in Electoral Saxony. His father, Christian Gerhardt, was the mayor of the town.¹² The date of his birth is sometimes given as March 12, 1607,¹³ but one does not actually know the exact day or year in which he was born because the city of Gräfenhainichen was destroyed with fire by the Swedes on April 11, 1637. The church register perished in the conflagration.¹⁴ Büchner in describing the destruction of Gräfenhainichen which had a great effect on the thirty-year-old Gerhardt, says,

In seine Heimstadt Gräfenhainichen waren die Schweden im Jahre 1637 eingebrochen, sie hatten 3,000 Gulden Kriegsteuer gefordert und dann die Stadt in Asche gelegt. 166 Wohnhäuser, 167 Ställe und 59 Scheunen waren ein Raub der Flammen geworden. Von der Kirche waren die Grundmauern und ein Rest des Turmes übriggeblieben. Dann war die Pest gekommen. Für das Jahr 1639 zeigt das Totenbuch die Notiz:

¹¹Wirtembergisches Gesangbuch (Stuttgart: bey Christoph Friedrich Gotta, Hof-und Kanzleybuchdrucker, 1793), p. 602.

¹²E. Langbecker, editor, Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt (Berlin: Verlag der Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841), p. 3.

¹³Carl Berthau, "Paul Gerhardt," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1950), IV, 463.

¹⁴E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 3.

"Sonst^e sind ihrer viel Hundert gestorben und durch den Totengraber allein begraben worden."¹⁵

Despite the progress of the Thirty Years War, Gerhardt graduated from the Gymnasium at Grimma, leaving the city in 1627.¹⁶ Up to this time the area around Grimma had not been effected by the War, but only a few years later Wallenstein closed in on the city.

Die Grimmaer Fürstenschule, die Paul Gerhardt einst besucht hatte, hatte Wallenstein mit seinen Scharen in Besitz genommen, die Alumen waren verjagt worden, auf der Flucht waren viele ausgeraubt, der Sohn eines Pfarrers erschlagen worden. Auch hierher kam die Pest, in den Jahren 1637 und 1638 musste die Schule völlig geschlossen werden.¹⁷

On January 2, 1628, Gerhardt entered the University of Wittenberg as a student of Theology.¹⁸ Among his teachers at this famous Lutheran university were Balduin, Meiszner, Jakol, Martini and Paul Röber.¹⁹ It was, however, only in 1651 that Gerhardt obtained the post of provost in Mittenwalde. This unusual length of time before graduation was undoubtedly caused by the disorders of war. Kaiser suggests that perhaps Gerhardt's study was interrupted by vicarages in places and areas where the congregations were without pastors because of the war.²⁰ It is known that Gerhardt was

¹⁵ Arno Büchner and Siegfried Fornacon, editors, Die Lieder unserer Kirche (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958), p. 581.

¹⁶ Paul Kaiser, Paul Gerhardt (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1906), p. 20.

¹⁷ Arno Büchner and Siegfried Fornacon, op. cit., p. 581.

¹⁸ August Ebeling, editor, Die Gedichte von Paulus Gerhardt (Hannover und Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1898), p. VIII.

¹⁹ Paul Kaiser, op. cit., p. 25.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 26.

in Berlin in 1643. Here is recorded the first printed poem of the great hymnist. It was a Hochzeitsgedicht written for Diakonus Fromm and Saline Barthold, who was the sister of Gerhardt's later wife. Gerhardt seems to have been at home in Berlin, and he probably moved here because of the threat of violence which was offered by the Swedes in Saxony.²¹ Then he moved to his first charge at Mittenwalde in 1651.

Mittenwalde hatte durch den Krieg, besonders durch Brand und Pest, schwer gelitten, die Bevölkerungszahl war vorübergehend von 1,000 auf 250 gesunken. Gerhardt fand reichlich Gelegenheit, des Trosteramtes, das er als Dichter mit weitreichendem Erfolge versah, nun auch im Pfarramt zu warten.²²

So even in his first parish, after the Thirty Years War had officially ended, Gerhardt had to face the task of healing the wounds which the conflict had produced. In 1657 he was called to the church of St. Nicholas in Berlin. Here he ran into more sorrow because when the Elector required that all the clergy should sign a pledge to follow his edicts of 1662 and 1664, Gerhardt refused and was dismissed from office in 1662. But the Elector of Brandenburg recalled him and agreed that Gerhardt need not sign the declaration. It seems as though Gerhardt was now anxious to leave Berlin, following the unpleasant incident, and in 1668 he took a call to Lubben where he spent the last seven years of his life as archdeacon.²³

²¹August Ebeling, op. cit., pp. VIII f.

²²Wilhelm Lueken, editor, Lebensbilder der Liederdichter und Melodisten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), p. 189.

²³Carl Berthau, op. cit., p. 464.

Gerhardt did not himself collect or publish his own hymns. Some of his hymns appeared for the first time in a collection by John Crüger under the title Praxis Pietatis Melica. The third edition of this work was produced in 1648, but it is not known at what time the first and second editions appeared.²⁴ In 1667 a friend of Gerhardt made a thorough collection of his songs and printed them. There were 120 hymns listed at this time. The name of the friend was John George Ebeling. The printing was done in Berlin by Christoff Rungen.²⁵ It is unfortunate that in later years the critics, being somewhat shocked by the language which Gerhardt used at times, were not satisfied to remove real blemishes, but in their emendations they often ruthlessly trod underfoot all that was most beautiful in the garden of Gerhardt's poesy and succeeded only in transplanting their own thistles.²⁶

Gerhardt's life was not a happy one from outside standards. He went from the horrors of the Thirty Years War to a period of more personal trials.

The outward circumstances of Gerhardt's life were for the most part gloomy. His earlier years were spent amid the horrors of the Thirty Years War. He did not obtain a settled position in life till he was 44 years of age. He was unable to marry till four years later; and his wife, after a long illness, died during the time that he was without office in Berlin; while of the five children of

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ E. Langbecker, op. cit., pp. 244f.

²⁶ Carl Berthau, op. cit., p. 464.

the marriage only one passed the period of childhood.²⁷ He was a man well acquainted with grief and trouble, from his youth on, but he knew also where to obtain strength for the troubles of his life.

Wenn man bedenkt, dasz Gerhardt kaum das zwölfte Jahr seines Lebens erreicht hatte, als die Sturme des dreissig-jährigen Kriegs mit allen ihren Schrecknissen herein-brachen, so kann man wohl annehmen, dasz er schon in früher Jugend gewöhnt worden war, mit manchen Kummernissen bei seinen Ausbildung zu ringen, und sein Auge zu den Bergen zu erheben, von deren allein Hülfe herabkommt.²⁸

The attitude shown in Gerhardt's hymns has to be understood from the view point of the age in which he lived.²⁹ He learnt to accept the trials which he was called upon to suffer, and as he himself says, "Ich will des Herren Straff und Zorn mit stillem Hertzen tragen . . ."³⁰ Despite all the sorrow which seemed to gravitate towards him, he was convinced that if God was for him he had nothing to fear.

Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr,
Meine Seele, sei betrübt,
Dasz dir Gott Glück, Guth und Ehr
Nicht so viel wie andern gibt,
Nim verlieb mit deinem Gott.
Hast du Gott, so hats nicht Noth.³¹

With God by his side Gerhardt was ready, willing, and able to

²⁷ John Julian, op. cit., p. 409.

²⁸ E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 4.

²⁹ Ibid., p. VII.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 448.

³¹ Ibid., p. 357.

meet any and all trouble with which he was afflicted, from the horrors of the Thirty Years War to the personal loss of the members of his own family.

Die Welt die mag zerbrechen,
Du stehst mir ewiglich:
Kein brennen, hauen, stechen
Soll trennen mich und dich:
Kein Hunger und kein Dürsten,
Kein Armuth, kein Pein,
Kein Zorn der grossen Fürsten
Soll mir ein Hindrung sein.³²

Gerhardt was determined that nothing would ever separate him from the comfort which he found in God, and the knowledge that he was a child of the Ruler of the universe.

Thu als ein Kind, und lege dich
In deines Vaters Arme:
Bitt Ihn und flehe, bis Er sich
Dein, wir Er pflegt, erbarme,
So wird er dich durch seinen Geist
Auff Wegen, die du jetzt nicht weisst,
Nach wohlgehaltne Ringen
Ausz allen Sorgen bringen.³³

Nelle says in this connection,

Gerhardt hat die Vaterliebe Gottes im Sohne erfahren, der heilige Geist hat Jesum in seinem Herzen verkläret und ihm bezeugt, dasz wir Gottes Kinder sind. Das ist das Zentrum seines Lebens. In diesem Zentrum steht er fest. Und weil er unverrückbar darin steht, so kann er nun frei und weit ohne Angst und Enge das Auge schweifen lassen über alle Gebiete göttlichen und menschlichen Lebens. Er ist ein weltöffener Dichter. Er hat die innere Freiheit, alle Seiten des natürlichen und sittlichen Lebens poetisch zu verklären, wie nur wenige Dichter sie gehabt haben.³⁴

³² Ibid., pp. 344f.

³³ Ibid., p. 456.

³⁴ Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), p. 126.

Before concluding this brief look at the life of Gerhardt it is to be noted that although many of his hymns are concerned with the storms and trials which he himself experienced, yet he was very much aware of the happenings in this world. So he sings of the harvest, of travel, of marriage, and indeed of the whole of life in nature.³⁵ After having read Gerhardt's hymns dealing with the storms of life his versatility is realized when one turns to one of Gerhardt's Abend-Lieder, "Nun ruhen alle Wälder, Vieh, Menschen, Städt und Felder, Es schläfft die gantze Welt" ³⁶

John Frank

(Another member of the Dichterkreis, to which Paul Gerhardt has given his name, is John Frank. In the same year that the Thirty Years War commenced, he was born in Guben in Niederlausitz. His father, a lawyer, died two years later in 1620. He was then taken into the home of a relative by the name of Tielke. The early schooling which he received was obtained in Guben, and then in the Gymnasium at Gottbus, but because of the storm of the Thirty Years War was forced to leave the area and continue his education at Stettin and Thorn. His footsteps seemed to be dogged by the progress of the War. Even Stettin, to which he went to escape the conflict, had been entered by Gustavus on July 20, 1630, and the Duke of Pomerania had been forced to become an ally of the

³⁵ Carl Berthau, op. cit., p. 464.

³⁶ E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 684.

Swedes. The troops overran the whole of Pomerania and in 1632 the Swedes left the plague at Stettin and Spandau.³⁷ Around the year 1637 Frank went to the University of Königsberg there to study law. Here in this city, which escaped most of the ravages of the war and which was important as a center of German poetry, Frank also spent part of his time learning the poet's art.³⁸ Meanwhile his home town of Guben had been ravaged both by Saxon and Swedish intrusions, and at the request of his mother Frank returned home. At Guben he met a person from Wunschwitz and was invited to stay in Prague for awhile. And so he visited the birthplace of the Thirty Years War. But returning to Guben he was elected as the town councillor in 1648, the year of the Peace of Westphalia. In 1661 he became the mayor of the town. On April 24, 1668, his wife died; he himself followed nine years later on June 18, 1677. Frank was survived by an only daughter.³⁹

During his life-time he had numbered among his friends August Buchner, the professor of poetry at Wittenberg; Andreas Tscherning from Rostock; Nicolaus Feuker in Cölln on the Spree; Simon Dach, who had come as a professor to Königsberg in 1639; and John Crüger and Christoph Peter who gave the melodies to the hymns of Frank.⁴⁰ It will be remembered that John Crüger had

³⁷C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 277.

³⁸Julius Leopold Pasig, Johann Franck's geistliche Lieder (Grimma: Verlag von J. M. Gebhardt, 1846), pp. VI f.

³⁹Julius Leopold Pasig, op. cit., p. VII f.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. X.

also been the first one to make a collection of the hymns of Paul Gerhardt.⁴¹

John Frank may not have suffered so much from the Thirty Years War as some of the other Lutheran hymnists of the period, but he was not unaffected by it. His schooling had been interrupted by the progress of the war. His mother and home town had been threatened with destruction. And he had ample opportunity to see at first hand the ravages which war in those days could bring to the people of a town or village.

In the trouble which he had seen in his life he trusted alone in God for comfort and protection.

Gott ist mein Trost und Zuversicht
Sobald ich ward geboren:
Ihm hab' ich alle Treu' und Pflicht
Vom Taufstein an geschworen.

Auch hat Er bis auf diese Zeit
Mich gnädiglich beschirmt,
In Trübsal mich gar oft erfreut
Hat gleich die Noht gestürmet.⁴²

In his hymns one does not find the objectivity and congregational character of the older German hymns springing from the previous century, but in its place one sees and hears a more personal and individual tone. Especially in Frank this is revealed by a longing for the inward and mystical union of Christ with the believer's soul.⁴³

⁴¹Infra, p. 58.

⁴²Julius Leopold Pasig, op. cit., p. 64.

⁴³John Julian, op. cit., p. 386.

Jesu! meine Freude, Jesu, meine Zier!
 Ach wie lang, ach lange, ist dem Herzen Bange,
 Und verlangt nach dir!
 Gottes Lamm, mein Bräutigam, auszer dir soll mir auf
 Erden nichts sonst Liebers werden.

Unter deinen Schirmen bin ich für den Stürmen aller
 Feinde frey. Lasz den Satan wittern, lasz den Feind
 erbittern, mir steht Jesus bey. Ob es itzt gleich knacht
 und blitzt, ob gleich Sünd und Hölle schrecken; Jesus will
 mich decken.⁴⁴

The later productions of Frank, after the Thirty Years War, became more and more artificial and affected, long-winded and full of classical allusions, which was the style favoured at Königsberg and had been practiced there by Dach. But the standard of Frank's productions was much inferior to those of the founders of the tradition at Königsberg.⁴⁵

John Heerman

John Heerman, the first representative of the Schlesische Dichterkreis chosen for investigation, was born in Raudten near Wohlau in Lower Silesia on October 11, 1585. His father was a furrier. Both of his parents were God-fearing so that he was brought up in a religious atmosphere. Already in his youth Heerman showed himself to be very sickly and his mother had to take special care of him. His early education was received at Raudten, Wohlau, and Freistadt. In 1603 he went to the Gymnasium of St. Elizabeth at Breslau. The following year he continued his

⁴⁴Leipzig Gesangbuch (Leipzig: bey Christian Gottlieb Barnbeck, 1784), p. 35.

⁴⁵John Julian, op. cit., p. 386.

education at Brieg. It seems as though in his youth Heerman was a wanderer. In 1609 he accompanied the two sons of Baron Wenzel von Rothkirch to the University at Strassburg. While on the way to the University he visited Leipzig and Jena. In 1610 he traveled down the Rhine to Frankfort on the Main, but because of an eye infection he returned to his home town of Raudten. From here he was called as the diaconus of Köben where he took up office on Ascension day, 1611.⁴⁶ In this same year he was married to Dorothea Feige from Raudten. She died in 1617, and in 1618 he married Anna Teichman from Gurau. His second wife outlived Heerman by many years, dying only in 1680 in Zedlitz.⁴⁷

At the little town of Köben, which was only about three miles east of Raudten on the left bank of the Oder, Heerman worked hard and well. But in this town Heerman was to suffer much in the conflict which was soon to engulf Germany. Early in the Thirty Years War the Elector John George of Saxony had sent his army into Silesia. In the years 1622 and 1623 the Polish mercenaries of the Emperor, Ferdinand II, invaded the country. In 1629 the Lichtenstein dragoons under the leadership of Baron von Dohna persecuted the Protestants in Silesia forcing them to go to Confession and to receive the Sacrament after the Catholic fashion.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Karl F. Ledderhose, Das Leben Johann Heermans (Heidelberg: Universitätsbuchhandlung von Karl Winter, 1857), pp. 1ff.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 144ff.

⁴⁸ Philipp Wackernagel, Johann Heermans geistliche Lieder (Stuttgart: Verlag von S. G. Liesching 1856), pp. XXIXf.

Heerman was forced to flee K^öben for a time because of the persecution. Koch describes these incidents in the following way,

Schon im Jahr 1623 hatte K^öben von dem Durchzug der wilden Kosackenschaaren, die der Polenkönig dem Kaiser zur Unterdrückung der Böhmer gesandt hatte, Unsägliches zu leiden. Aber im Jahre 1629 brach erst vollends der ganze Kriegsjammer herein. Die Lichtensteinischen Dragoner im Dienste der die katholische Gegenreformation in Schlesien durchführenden Commissarien nahmen den Evangelischen die Kirche weg, vertrieben die Geistlichen und zwangen die Leute mit allerlei Brandschatzung unter Staupen und Morden, ja mit Schandthaten selbst an Kranken, Schwangern und Kindern sich einen Beichzettel über den Besuch der katholischen Messe zu verschaffen, wenn sie der schrecklichen Quälereien los sein wollten. Das musste sich Heerman aus K^öben retten und an einem sichern Ort über siebzehn Wochen lang als Verbannten verbergen.⁴⁹

It was in these years that Heerman composed many of his Thränenlieder in which he places all his confidence in the help of God amidst the trials in which he finds himself.

Wann alle Welt im H^ärnisch w^är,
Kannst du bald mitten durch das Meer
Ein freien Pasz uns machen.
Du kannst mit deiner starken Hand
Den Löwen, die für Grimm erbrannt,
Zuschlieszen ihre Rachen.⁵⁰

In another hymn he calls upon Jesus to build a wall of protection around them so that the enemy may beware.

Jesus, der die Jesus heisst,
als ein Jesus Hilfe leist!
Hilf mit deiner starken Hand,
Menschenhilf hat sich gewandt.
Eine Mauer um uns bau,

⁴⁹ Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belfer'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1867), pp. 21f.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

Dasz dem Feinde davor grau 51
Und mit Zittern sie anschau.

The persecution which the Lichtenstein dragoons carried out was severe and their deeds became well known. "Die Dragonaden, mit denen Louis XIV die Hugenotten peinigte, Louvois, 'gestiefelte Missionare' sind Nachahmungen der schlesischen."⁵² Between 1629 and 1634 Heerman's Köben was plundered four times by the Lichtenstein dragoons and the rough hordes under Wallenstein.⁵³ The coming of Gustavus did little to alleviate the situation in Silesia for in the end the towns suffered from both sides, the Protestants and the Imperialists. So for example in Glogau one finds Arnim giving the church of the town over to the Protestants, but only two years later Wallenstein came along and took the church away from them.⁵⁴ The three times that Wallenstein's men plundered the city of Köben Heerman lost everything. Heerman himself was often in serious danger. Once the sabre of a Croatian soldier was swung dangerously close to his head. Another time some soldiers threatened him with bared daggers. Once he was forced to flee the town in a small boat, together with some friends, across the river Oder, while the enemy followed them and fired at them. Two of the bullets whistled past the head of Heerman.

⁵¹ Philipp Wackernagel, op. cit., p. XXXI.

⁵² Georg Loesche, Zur Gegenreformation in Schlesien in the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte (Leipzig: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1901), CXVII/CXVIII, 8.

⁵³ John Julian, op. cit., p. 504.

⁵⁴ Philipp Wackernagel, op. cit., pp. XXXVf.

Perhaps his flights from the enemy and the loss of his possessions prompted him to write,

Wie oft hast du, O Gott, uns flüchtig werden laszen
von denen, die dein Volk und Kirche grimmig haszen.
Wir sind so oft und viel geplündert ganz und gar,
nicht einen Biszen Brot lässt uns der Feinde Schar.

But despite the danger which he encountered Heerman stayed with his flock of parishoners. His constant prayer was

Hilf, dasz ich öffentlich mich Christi Diener nenne und
zeuge von der Lehr, wozu ich mich bekenne; Musz ich dar-
über gleich viel leiden, wirst du doch erträglich machen
mir des schweren Kreuzes Joch.⁵⁵

In addition to the trials described, a plague visited Köben in 1631 and 550 people died.⁵⁶ Heerman, having suffered much from a throat infection since 1623, was forced to resign from preaching because of this complaint in 1634. In 1638 he retired to Lissa in Posen and died there on February 17, 1647, without seeing the end of the Thirty Years War.

(The life of Heerman amounted to a veritable chain of trials and tribulations which ranged from his own ill health to the suffering brought through persecution in the War. Consequently the cross of suffering which the Christian has to bear in life is a recurring theme in Heerman's hymns.⁵⁷ Heerman was content to bear the trials which were sent him:

Jesu, gerne will ich leiden Alles,

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. XXXVIff.

⁵⁶ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., pp. 22f.

⁵⁷ Karl F. Ledderhose, op. cit., p. 111.

was ich leiden soll.
 Dort im Reiche deiner Freuden
 wird mirs ewig gehen wohl.
 Leichtre mir nur meine Plagen,⁵⁸
 so dasz ich sie kann ertragen.

Heerman had great comfort in the fact that he belonged to the people of God who have frequently to suffer much.

Disz macht uns freudig in der Noth,
 dasz wir nicht gar verzagen.
 Wir sind dein Volk, du unser Gott,
 auf dich getrost wirs wagen.⁵⁹

Politically Heerman followed a path of neutrality making no outcry against the persecutions which he suffered at the hands of the Emperor. But he does, however, desire that God would change the hearts of the men who are creating such hardships.

Du hast des Königs Herz allzeit,
 o Gott, in deinen Händen:
 Du kannst zu Grad und Guetigkeit
 mit einem Wörtlein wenden.⁶⁰

Summing up concerning the hymns of Heerman, Ledderhose says:

Die meisten seiner Lieder sind Erzeugnisse des innern Dranges, gezeitigt durch die Noth der Zeit. Der dreissigjährige Krieg mit seinem namenlosen Elende trieb die Gemüther in's Wort, in die Erfahrungen des vom Geist Gottes geheiligten Herzens.⁶¹

Throughout his life Heerman trusted in the protection of God asking Him to preserve him in true faith. In all things Heerman was able to see God at work. He knew that God could end the war if it was

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 218.

⁵⁹ Philipp Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 130.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. XXXIV.

⁶¹ Karl F. Ledderhose, op. cit., p. 37.

His Will.

Und weil ich selbst nicht weisz, was mir kann widerfahren
 so bitt ich dich, du wollst vor Abfall mich bewaren;
 Gib mir den heiligen Geist, durch welches Kraft ich kann
 getröst verteidigen dein Wort vor jedermann,
 Und leiden, was du wirst nach deinen Rath und Willen
 zulassen über mich. Du kannst bald alles stillen,
 Du hast des Königs Herz, Herr Christ, in deiner Hand:
 wenn du ein Wörtlein sprichst; so hat sichs umgewandt.⁶²

And as death approached, Heerman looked forward to the fulfillment of a life of perfection with God, freed from all the troubles of this present life.

Bald wird mir Gott selbst legen an
 Ein Kleid, das nicht veralten,
 Ein Kleid, das kein Dieb stehlen kann,
 Das mich nicht lässt erkalten.
 Hie bin ich nur ein Wandersmann,
 Der nichts Erbeignes haben kann:
 Dort aber werd ich haben
 Das Vaterband mir zugewandt
 Mit allen seinen Gaben.⁶³

Matthaeus von Löwenstern

Matthaeus von Löwenstern, another member of the Schlesische Dichterkreis, was born April 20, 1594, at Neustadt, in the principality of Oppeln in Silesia. His father was a saddler. At an early age Löwenstern began to reveal his musical abilities, and in 1625 he was appointed by Duke Heinrich Wezel of Münsterberg as the music director and treasurer at Bernstadt. Six years later he was made the Councillor and Secretary, as well as the director of finance. After these appointments Löwenstern entered directly

⁶² Philipp Wackernagel, op. cit., p. XXXV.

⁶³ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., pp. 27f.

into the service of first, Ferdinand II, and second, Ferdinand III. In the last part of his life he became the Staatsrath at Oels to the Duke Carl Friedrich of Münsterberg. He died on April 11, 1648, at Breslau.⁶⁴

Löwenstern was greatly affected by the Thirty Years War moving in areas and circles of people directly connected with the conflict. Silesia itself was not treated kindly by the Thirty Years War.⁶⁵

Schau, wie hat der Feind das Land
Allenhalben so verheeret,
Durch sein Rauben, Mord und Brand
Allen Vorrath aufgezehret.
Tröste mich in solcher Noth,
O mein Gott.

Löwenstern was not a stranger to the horrors of the age. But he found comfort through his faith in God's guidance and help.

Deiner Hülfe tröst ich mich
Mitten unter solcher Ruthe;
Denn mein Herz versichert sich,
Sie gereiche mir zu gute.
Sei meiner Trost in aller Noth,
O mein Gott.⁶⁶

Heinrich Held

Heinrich Held is grouped together with John Heerman and Matthaeus von Löwenstern in the Schlesische Dichterkreis. Not so very much is really known about the life of Heinrich Held,

⁶⁴John Julian, op. cit., p. 699.

⁶⁵Supra, p. 67.

⁶⁶Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 55.

"One of the best Silesian hymn-writers, [who] . . . was taught in the school of affliction, having many trials to suffer in those times of war."⁶⁷ He was the son of Valentin Held of Guhbrau in Silesia. His education was commenced in Guhbrau, but when the plague broke out here his father sent him to Glogau. In 1628 his parents were forced to go to Fraustadt, and then to Grasz-Polen, in order to escape the persecution of the "römische Priester."⁶⁸ Around the years 1637 and 1640 Held studied at Frankfurt on the Oder and then in Leyden, Frankfurt itself had seen much of the War in 1631 when Gustavus had taken the city by assault after having driven a number of Wallenstein's men into it for shelter. The Swedes had replenished their own stores by sacking the town and either killing or capturing the remnant of the enemy.⁶⁹ The year 1647 found Held in Rostock where he became a licentiate of law. He returned to his own home town and died there around 1659, or at least before Christmas, 1661.⁷⁰ Koch says of the life of Heinrich Held,

Weiters ist "über seinen Lebensgang nicht bekannt, als dasz er nach den in seinen Gedichten vorhandener Andeutungen in den Kriegszeiten ofters den schwersten Todesgefahren ausgesetzt war, aus welchen ihn aber Gott immer wieder, wie er sagt, "dadurch seiner Engel Heer errettet hat, damit er keinen Schaden nehme zur rechten und zur linken Seiten."⁷¹

⁶⁷ John Julian, op. cit., p. 507.

⁶⁸ Wilhelm Lueken, op. cit., p. 149.

⁶⁹ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 278.

⁷⁰ John Julian, op. cit., p. 507.

⁷¹ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 55.

In his hymns Held reveals the trust that with God strengthening him he has the courage and comfort needed to endure the hardships of life, which in reality are for the Christian's good.

Come, oh, come, Thou quick'ning Spirit,
 God from all eternity!
 May Thy power never fail us;
 Dwell within us constantly.
 Then shall truth and life and light
 Banish all the gloom of night.

.
 With our spirit bear Thou witness
 That we are the sons of God
 Who rely upon Him solely
 When we pass beneath the rod;
 For we know, as children should,
 That the cross is for our good.

.
 If our soul can find no comfort,
 If despondency grows strong,
 And the heart cries out in anguish:
 "O my God, how long, how long?"
 Comfort then our aching breast,
 Grant it courage, patience, rest.⁷²

Michael Altenburg

Leaving the representatives of the Schlesische Dichterkreis, one now turns to Michael Altenburg, who being born in Thuringia, is therefore placed in the Sächsische Dichterkreis. He studied for the ministry, and following graduation, his first charge was at Ilvershofen, after which he was employed at Trdchtelborn. His portrait is to be found today in this last mentioned church.⁷³ In 1621 he went to Groszen Sommern near Erfurt. Here he suffered

⁷²The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), hymn number 226.

⁷³Altenburgisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch (Altenburg: in der Herzogl. Sachs. Hofbuchdruckerei, 1793), p. A3.

much from the Thirty Years War.

Hier . . . hatten der als sehr "andächtiger, exemplarischer und geistlicher Prediger" gerühmte Mann in den nun herein- gebrochenen Kriegszeiten durch Truppendurchmärsche, Ein- quartirungen und Plünderungen viel zu leiden, - waren bei ihm doch einmal nicht weniger als 300 Soldaten und Pferde einquartirt.⁷⁴

He was finally forced to flee to nearby Erfurt for refuge. How much escape from the war he found here may be imagined when one realizes that in 1631 the town was entered by Gustavus and was occupied by Swedish soldiers for a time;⁷⁵ then in 1637 the vanguard of Baner's army occupied the town;⁷⁶ and in 1640 Baner marched here with his army to effect a junction with the Bernadine army under the French general Guebriant.⁷⁷ In Erfurt Altenburg became the deacon of St. Andrews. He died there in 1638.⁷⁸

The theme of Altenburg's life was "In keiner Noth verzagen," and it was his firm belief that "Der Goliath musz doch noch dran, Unser David ihn dampfen kann."⁷⁹ The chief claim to fame that Altenburg has lies in this that he is supposed to have written the hymn which became the battle hymn for Gustavus

⁷⁴ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 115.

⁷⁵ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., p. 305.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 415.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 444.

⁷⁸ Altenburgisches Gesang-und Gebetbuch, p. A3.

⁷⁹ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 116.

Adolphus and his army.⁸⁰

Während des Siegeslaufes Gustav Adolfs durch Deutschland, zwischen der Schlacht bei Breitenfeld und der bei Lützen, also 1631 oder 1632, schuf Michael Altenburg das Lied, das wir als "Gustav Adolfs Feldlied" kennen: "Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein."⁸¹

There is some debate as to whether Altenburg actually wrote the hymn, and in general the songs attributed to him are also considered as being written by Tobias Kiel, a student of theology, while Altenburg himself provided only the tunes.⁸² But such hymns as "Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein" and "Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan" which bear Altenburg's name, reflect well the suffering which he went through during the years of war.

Martin Rinkart

A contemporary of Michael Altenburg, and a member of the same Sächsische Dichterkreis is Martin Rinkart, the "Goldmund und Ambrosius des Dreiezigjährigen Krieges,"⁸³ who was born at Eilenburg on the Mulde, in Saxony, on April 23, 1658. He was the fourth child of George and Salome Rinkart, his father being a cooper. At five years of age he began attending school in

⁸⁰ Supra, pp. 93ff.

⁸¹ Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), p. 97.

⁸² Altenburgisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch, p. 45.

⁸³ Adolf Brüssau, Martin Rinckart (Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936), pp. 68f.

Eilenburg. At eight he was going to advanced school where he studied the classics, the Bible, and music. In November, 1601, Rinkart went to Leipzig where he became a foundation scholar and chorister of the St. Thomas School. Brüssau says that

Rinckart lernte hier die scharfe Ausdrucksweise gegen Andersdenkende und die enggefaszte Darstellung lutherischer Lehre, wie sie sich später in Predigt und Dichtung bei ihm geltend macht.⁸⁴

The scholarship which he had in Leipzig also allowed him to attend the university there. In 1602 he matriculated as a student of theology. After completion of his studies he remained in Leipzig for a period. In March, 1610, he offered himself as diaconus at Eilenburg, but the superintendent of the Town Council refused to sanction the appointment. So Rinkart then applied for the vacant mastership in the Gymnasium at Eisleben, and he took up duties here in June, 1610, as a sixth master and cantor at the St. Nicholas church. The following year he became diaconus of St. Anne Church in Neustadt of Eisleben. In 1613 he took up the position of pastor of Erdeborn and Lyttichendorf near Eisleben. On December 11, 1617, at the invitation of the Town Council, Rinkart returned to his home town of Eilenburg as the archdiaconus. He remained in this town for the remainder of his life. In 1612 he had married Christine Morgenstern, and in 1619, two of his first children died, and a third followed in 1624. Thus Rinkart was acquainted with grief even before the ravages

⁸⁴ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 29.

of the Thirty Years War descended upon Him and the city of Eilenburg.

The greater part of Rinkart's professional life was passed amid the horrors of the Thirty Years War. Eilenburg being a walled town became a refuge for fugitives from all around, and being so overcrowded, not unnaturally suffered from pestilence and famine.⁸⁵

But amidst the troubles of the age he remained with his congregation faithfully caring for the needs of the people.

Aber in seiner Gemeinde stand er mit hellem Auge und fester Hand seinen Mann, eine Feldherrngestalt im geistlichen Kleide, erfolgreich bemüht, die Drangsale des Krieges von seinen Pfarrkindern abzuwenden.⁸⁶

Following the Edict of Restitution,⁸⁷ Germany was in need of a saviour for the Protestant cause. Then Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the scene. It seems as though Rinkart had a great affection for Gustavus calling him the "mitternächtiger Alexander," and following the battle of Breitenfeld⁸⁸ he wrote,

Dies ist der Wundertag, da wir erlöst worden
Von Babels grimmer Hand und Jesu-wider Orden.
Gelobet sei der Herr, der Tag und Nacht gewacht
Und uns der Wunder land gewünschten Tag gebracht.⁸⁹

It was also at this time of the battle of Breitenfeld that Eilenburg itself felt the war, for John George of Saxony and his

⁸⁵ John Julian, op. cit., p. 962.

⁸⁶ Wilhelm Nelle, op. cit., p. 98.

⁸⁷ Supra, pp. 26f.

⁸⁸ Supra, pp. 29f.

⁸⁹ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 40.

cavalry fled here from the battle.⁹⁰ Later Wallenstein's men were in the area creating havoc. A son of Rinkart was almost killed in Eisleben. The Emperor's general Breda came to Eilenburg and demanded shelter, food, and 7,000 talers as "Akkordgeld." At one stage Rinkart almost perished but he was protected by Swedish soldiers quartered at his home. Breda left the area when he learnt of the battle of Lützen.⁹¹ Gustavus' body was brought to Eilenburg and Rinkart is supposed to have written "Die gut schwedischen Klage-weiber." And for the victory of Lützen he composed "Der Evangelischen Heldenpanier und Siegesfahnen." But the texts of these two songs have not been found.⁹² Following the battle of Lützen conditions became so bad in Eilenburg that most of the citizens fled, and at one time there were only about fifty citizens left. The people fled to nearby Wittenberg. In 1635 the Elector of Saxony made peace with the Emperor at Prague and conditions were somewhat better around Eilenburg for awhile. But now the Swedes returned as enemies. Baner threatened Eilenburg in 1637 and it was only through the intervention of Rinkart that the town was saved from burning. There were debris of war everywhere, however, and the plague broke out in Pentecost of this year.

During the great pestilence of 1637 the Superintendent went

⁹⁰ Supra, pp. 29f.

⁹¹ Supra, p. 32.

⁹² Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., pp. 41f.

away for a change of air, and could not be persuaded to return; and on August 7 Rinkart had to officiate at the funerals of 2 of the town clergy and 2 who had had to leave their livings in the country. Rinkart thus for some time was the only clergyman in the place, and often read the [burial] service over some 40 to 50 persons a day, and in all over about 4,480. At last the refugees had to be buried in trenches without service, and during the whole epidemic some 8,000 persons died, including Rinkart's first wife, who died May 8, 1637.⁹³

The death of Rinkart's first wife occurred four months before their silver anniversary. After the death of his first wife, Rinkart married a widow, Barbara Scheffler, who had lost her own husband in the plague. And in the wake of this plague came a terrible famine. Many people died. Rinkart himself bought two bushels of corn a week, baked it into bread and shared it amongst the poor.⁹⁴ Following these terrible years of 1637 and 1638 Rinkart wrote,

Willst du uns kein Brod mehr geben,
Oder ist zu kurz dein' Hand?
Wovon sollen wir denn leben?
Feind und Freund verheert das Land;
Alles lieget brach und öd',
Alles ist voll Krieg und Feld;
Ach, soll denn kein Feind' auf Erden
Nimmermehr geheget werden?⁹⁵

As if all this was not enough, Dörfling, leading the vanguard of Baner's army back from Pommern on the way to Bohemia, took Eilenburg again in 1639. He demanded a tribute of 30,000 talers. Rinkart again attempted to intercede for the city, but it seemed

⁹³ John Julian, op. cit., p. 962.

⁹⁴ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 45.

⁹⁵ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 92.

as though Dörfling would not listen. It is said that Rinkart then called his people to the church saying, "Kommt her, ihr lieben Kirchkinder, wir haben bei den Menschen kein Gehör, noch Gnade mehr, wir wollen mit Gott reden."⁹⁶ Dörfling was moved to reduce the amount of tribute. But after Dörfling left the gates of Eilenburg, Königsmarck came with his force and demanded 800 talers. In 1642 Wrangel arrived with six companies and entered the city. Another time Torstenson arrived with the whole Swedish force. And after the Swedes left, the Imperial troops came under Piccolomini. In 1643 Königsmarck was back with 7,000 men.⁹⁷ It was no wonder that Rinkart ardently longed for peace to come to Germany.

Hilf uns, Herr, aus allen Fluthen.
 Der betrubten Kriegesnoth,
 Wirf einmal dein's Zornes Ruthen
 In die Glut, die feuernoth.
 Lasz uns ohne dieses Joch
 Nur im Frieden sterben noch.
 Hilf uns, Herr, in allen Dingen
 Und lasz Alles wohl gelingen.⁹⁸

Rinkart lived to see the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia on December 10, 1648. The following year in December he died. Little is know about his final sickness.⁹⁹

Rinkart's attitude towards the events in his life, conditioned by his theological background, is seen clearly in his classic

⁹⁶ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 45.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

⁹⁸ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 95.

⁹⁹ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 61.

hymn of thanksgiving, "Nun danket alle Gott," in which he shows his trust that God is continually taking care of him.

Paul Flemming

Still another member of the Sächsische Dichterkreis is Paul Flemming, the son of Abraham Flemming, a schoolmaster at Hartenstein near Zwickau, Saxony. He was born in October, 1609, and entered the St. Thomas School at Leipzig in 1623, the same school which Martin Rinkart had attended some twenty years before.¹⁰⁰ Flemming matriculated at the University of Leipzig and here studied medicine and poetry. He was laureated in 1631. In 1632 he received his M. A. degree. But then because of the activity of the War in the area at this time he was forced to seek refuge in Holstein in 1633. In this same year he joined the Embassy which the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein was sending to his brother-in-law, the Czar of Russia. In 1635 he returned from this mission. Then the Duke decided on sending another embassy to the Shah of Persia with the idea of opening up trade with central Asia. Flemming returned from this journey in 1639 with his health ruined. Nevertheless he studied medicine at the University of Leyden and received his M. D. degree in 1640, but shortly after returning to Hamburg he died.¹⁰¹

His poetry in general follows the Silesian school of Martin

¹⁰⁰ Supra, p. 76.

¹⁰¹ John Julian, op. cit., p. 378.

Opitz and suffers through the faults of this style. He is known chiefly through his hymns, and especially through his masterpiece, "In allen meinen Thaten"¹⁰² which he wrote in November of 1633 following his experiences in the Thirty Years War.¹⁰³ In this hymn he looks to God for guidance and help in all the problems of life, and he trusts and has faith that God will bring all things to a successful conclusion. As the hour of his death drew near Flemming commended himself to God gladly leaving the vale of tears in which he had found himself. The life on earth is no longer worth living.

Verzeiht mir, bin ich's werth, Gott, Vater, Liebster, Freund,
 Ich sag euch gute Nacht und trete willig ab.
 Sonst Alles ist gethan, bis an das schwarze Grab.
 Was frei dem Tode steht, das thut er seinem Feinde.
 Was bin ich viel besorgt, den Athem aufzugeben?
 An mir ist minder nichts, das lebet, als mein Leben.¹⁰⁴

Simon Dach

With the name of Simon Dach the Preuszische Dichterkreis is introduced. He was born in Memel on July 29, 1605, his father being the court interpreter here. Early in life Dach had been destined for the ministry, and he obtained an insight into music in his youth through playing the violin.¹⁰⁵ Always studious, he

¹⁰² Infra, pp. 109f.

¹⁰³ John Julian, op. cit., p. 378.

¹⁰⁴ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁰⁵ H. Oesterly, editor, Simon Dach (Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, n.d.), p. VII.

was encouraged to go from schooling in Königsberg to attendance at the University of Magdeburg, where a relative, archdeacon Christian Vogler, gave him room and board. But in 1626 he was forced to leave Magdeburg because of plague and the progress of the Thirty Years War. After many kinds of danger, which pursued him, he finally arrived back in Königsberg having traveled via Hamburg and Danzig.¹⁰⁶ Koch says of this journey, "Nur auf vielen Umwegen und unter groszen Gefahren, da er sich mitten durch die wilden Wallensteinischen und Mansfeldischen Soldaten hindurch schlagen musste . . . ," was he able to return to Königsberg.¹⁰⁷ Back at Königsberg in 1627 he gave himself over to the study of the humanities at the university. He studied especially Latin and Greek poetry. To support himself he did much private tutoring. He was given a post at the Königsberg cathedral school in 1633 where he advanced himself through industrious application to his work.¹⁰⁸ In 1636 Dach joined in forming the Poetical Union of Königsberg, and was its poetic soul. Actually he was the most important poet of the Königsberg School, which was patterned on the style of Martin Opitz.¹⁰⁹ In 1638 he received an appointment at the University of Königsberg.¹¹⁰ Even though

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. IX.

¹⁰⁷ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 183.

¹⁰⁸ H. Oesterly, op. cit., p. IX.

¹⁰⁹ John Julian, op. cit., p. 277.

¹¹⁰ Supra, p. 62.

"Königsberg was comparatively unaffected by the Thirty Years War, yet in Dach's later years he was again to experience the troubles of conflict, for the effects of the War began to make themselves felt in Königsberg by the depression of trade, famine, and the general deterioration of living standards.¹¹¹ Dach looked forward to the release from the transitoriness of life in the present world. When a friend of his, Robert Roberthin, was looking for a new place to live, Dach wrote:

Diesz Pilger-Land lässt keinen ruhig bleiben,
Wir müssen stets umbher uns lassen treiben;
So schickt es Gott, damit wir uns bei Zeiten
Zur letzten Fahrt aus deiser Welt bereiten.¹¹²

After having been ill for many years from a chest ailment, Dach died in Königsberg on April 15, 1659.¹¹³ Oesterly, in looking at the life of Simon Dach says:

Dach hatte von Jugend auf mit der Sorge und Not des Lebens zu kämpfen gehabt, wenig Glück und Freude genossen, desto mehr unter Kriegsnot, Pest und Verheerung gelitten.¹¹⁴

Perhaps this is why so many of his hymns are written in preparation for death, or are composed for the funerals of friends.¹¹⁵ So most of his compositions come under the heading of Sterbelieder. For example, at the death of Hiob Leprer in 1635 Dach wrote:

¹¹¹ John Julian, op. cit., p. 227.

¹¹² H. Oesterly, op. cit., p. 163.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. XVI.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. IX.

¹¹⁵ John Julian, op. cit., p. 277.

Musz man hie¹¹⁶ doch wie im Kercher leben,
 Da nur Sorge, Furcht und Schrecken schweben;
 Was wir hie¹¹⁶ kennen,
 Ist nur Mü¹¹⁶h und Hertzleid zu nennen. ¹¹⁶

Andreas Adersbach

Little is known of the life of Andreas Adersbach who was born in 1610, in the same city of Königsberg in which Simon Dach spent so many years of life. With Dach he is classified under the Preuszische Dichterkreis. At the age of twenty he embarked on a many-year¹¹⁶ed journey which took him to numerous places and gave him a first hand experience of the Thirty Years War. In 1645 he became the diplomatic agent in Warsaw. He rose to the position of advisor and resident at the Polish court in 1650. He died in the city in which he was born in June of 1660.¹¹⁷ Andreas Adersbach has been included for investigation because of his hymn commemorating the peace between Poland and Sweden in 1635 which is included in the following chapter.¹¹⁸

John Rist

Leaving Adersbach and the Preuszische Dichterkreis, one now turns to John Rist (of the Niederdeutsche Dichterkreis) who was born on March 8, 1607, at Ottensen, near Hamburg. His father,

¹¹⁶H. Oesterly, op. cit., p. 3.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 222.

¹¹⁸Infra, pp. 95f.

Kaspar Rist, was the pastor there.¹¹⁹ John Rist first studied at the Johanneum School at Hamburg under Sperling, Schester, and Starcke. Then he went to the Gymnasium Illustre at Bremen where he studied under Martini. Rist was a quiet man and not so very much is known about the exact details of his early years. His next stop after Bremen was the University at Rinteln where he studied law. Here it was that under the influence of Justus Stegmann Rist received an impulse towards hymnwriting. Leaving Rinteln he continued on to Hamburg where he acted as the tutor of the sons of a merchant. Together with his pupils he went to the University of Rostock where he studied Hebrew, medicine, mathematics, and botany. It was during his residence at Rostock that he was first introduced to the terrors of the Thirty Years War. The War threat almost emptied the University and Rist was ill there for weeks from the plague. Leaving Rostock he continued on to Leiden and Utrecht, and then came to Leipzig. Here he concentrated on theology. Little is known between the time of his coming to Leipzig and his becoming the minister at Wedel. In fact it is not even known when he actually became pastor here. But during the years from about 1624 to 1635 he traveled and suffered much as the list of cities he visited attests.¹²⁰

Auf den deszhalb gemachten Hin-und Herreisen hatte er oft grosse Lebensgefahr auszustehen; auf dem Baltischen Meer

¹¹⁹ John Julian, *op. cit.*, p. 965.

¹²⁰ Theodor Hansen, *Johann Rist und seine Zeit* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872), pp. 7ff.

litt er Schiffbruch, und als er von Leipzig wegreste, lag er unterwegs etliche Wochen an der Pest in einem unbewohnten Haus¹²¹

Around 1633 Rist became a tutor in the house of a lawyer, Heinrich Sager, at Heide, in Holstein. Here he became betrothed to Elizabeth, sister of Judge Franz Stapfel. In the spring of 1635 he married her and settled at Wedel as the pastor there.¹²² Wedel was a small town on the Elbe a few miles below Hamburg. Here in the shadow of the great city of Hamburg Rist spent the remainder of his life.

He became famous as a hymnist even in his own age being called the "nordischer Apoll," "Furst der Poeten," "Gott des deutschen Parnasses," and "zweiter Opitz."¹²³ His chief strength in hymn writing lay in songs for the great church festivals such as Christmas, New Year, and Easter. Compare the following verses of one of his New Year hymns "Hilf, Herr Jesu, lass gelingen" translated into English by Catherine Winkworth.

Help us, O Lord! Behold, we enter
Upon another year today;
In Thee our hopes and tho'ts now center,
Renew our courage for the way.
New life, new strength, new happiness,
We ask of Thee, oh, hear and bless!

May ev'ry plan and undertaking
This year be all begun with Thee;
When I am sleeping or am waking,
Still let me know Thou art with me.

¹²¹ Eduard Emil Koch op. cit., p. 212.

¹²² John Julian, op. cit., p. 965.

¹²³ Theodore Hansen, op. cit., pp. 13ff.

Abroad do Thou my footsteps guide,
At home be ever at my side.

.
And grant, Lord, when the year is over,
That it for me in peace may close;
In all things care for me and cover
My head in time of fear and woes.
So may I when my years are gone¹²⁴
Appear with joy before Thy throne.

During his pastorate at Wedel he was not free from the Thirty Years War which had effected him so much prior to his marriage.

In 1644 Wrangel, the Swedish marshal, came into his life.

Im Jahre 1644, beim ersten schwedischen Krieg, als der wilde Helm Wrangel Holstein plündernd und verheerend durchzog, raubten ihm die "Kriegsgurgeln" seine ausgefertigten Schriften "unverhoffterweise erbärmlich hinweg" und im Jahre 1658, als die Schweden und Polen in den Marschen schrecklich hausten mit Rauben, Sengen und Morden, wurde er zweimal ganz ausgeplündert¹²⁵

So even after the Thirty Years War was ended he had to suffer from the ravages of another conflict. It seems as though Rist may have regarded the invasion of Wrangel into Holstein in 1644 as divine judgment on the state, because he wrote on the condition of Holstein in this year:

Man betet nicht zu Gott, man singet keine Lieder,
Die Schulen gross und klein, die liegen auch danieder,
Die Jugend wird versäumt, es fliehen Kunst und Zeit,
Und lernet mancher nichts als Schand' und Ueppigkeit.¹²⁶

Rist wrote many secular plays during his lifetime. Perhaps the most interesting of these for the general reader are the

¹²⁴ The Lutheran Hymnal, hymn number 120.

¹²⁵ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., pp. 214f.

¹²⁶ Theodor Hansen, op. cit., p. 64.

"Friede wünschende Teutschland,"¹²⁷ which he wrote in 1647, and the "Friede jauchzende Teutschland,"¹²⁸ which appeared in 1653. In the former play Germany is depicted as a beautiful young woman who is despoiled by four cavaliers. In both of the plays Rist portrays vivid scenes of the times, especially of the condition of the lower classes during the Thirty Years War.

He is acutely aware of the problems of the War and feels with the suffering of Germany. But at the proclamation of Peace he can also rejoice with the people. John Rist was well capable of rising to a poetical description of the high points of the conflict which consumed Germany, but, as also in his hymn writing, he lacked something of the inner feeling necessary to paint adequately the feelings of the oppressed people.

Christian Keimann

Belonging to no particular "circle" is Christoph Keimann. He was born at Pankratz, in Bohemia, on February 27, 1607. His father was the Lutheran pastor in the town. In the autumn of 1627 Keimann went to the University of Wittenberg. He graduated from here with his M. A. degree in 1634. Needless to say, having been born in Bohemia, and having studied in Saxony during the hectic years of the early 1630's, Keimann was well acquainted with the progress of the Thirty Years War, as well as having

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 90.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

first hand experience of its horrors. Perhaps he witnessed some of the devastation which Holk, one of Wallenstein's lieutenants, created in Saxony in 1632 when with 6,000 Croations he earned the title of one of the "entsetzlichsten Landverwüster jener Zeit."¹²⁹ In 1634, after Keimann's graduation, he was elected the Corector of the Gymnasium at Zittau, and four years later he became the rector. He died here on January 13, 1662. Keimann was known as a distinguished teacher, being the author of a number of scholastic publications. His interest in poetry was seen in the writing of some Scriptural plays and the composing of about 13 hymns.¹³⁰ One of these hymns, "Freuet euch, ihr Christen alle," composed for Christmastide, shows the great joy and comfort which Keimann found in the knowledge that Christ was his Saviour. The translation is by Catherine Winkworth.

Oh, rejoice, ye Christians, loudly,
 For our joy hath now begun;
 Wondrous things our God hath done.
 Tell abroad His goodness proudly
 Who our race hath honored thus
 That He deigns to dwell with us.
 Joy, O joy, beyond all gladness,
 Christ hath done away with sadness!
 Hence, all sorrow and repining,
 For the Sun of Grace is shining!

 Jesus, guard and guide Thy members,
 Fill Thy brethern with Thy grace,
 Hear their prayers in ev'ry place.
 Quicken now life's faintest embers;

¹²⁹ Gottlieb Egelhaaf, Gustav Adolf in Deutschland, in the Verein für Reformationgeschichte (Halle: Verein für Reformationgeschichte, 1901), LXVIII, 135.

¹³⁰ John Julian, op. cit., p. 613.

Grant all Christians, far and near,
 Holy peace, a glad New Year!
 Joy, O joy, beyond all gladness,
 Christ hath done away with sadness!
 Hence, all sorrow and repining,
 For the Sun of Grace is shining!¹³¹

Summary

The above presentation has given a picture of the Lutheran hymnists living their lives amidst the problems and difficulties of the age of the Thirty Years War. All were not equally effected. Simon Dach was able to lead a comparatively peaceful existence in Königsberg, while Martin Rinkart and John Heerman were greatly involved in the progress of the War, being called upon to suffer much. But no matter what the area in which they lived, none of the hymnists could escape the tenseness and uncertainty which was part of the atmosphere of the day. Despite this, the hymnists seemed to have found, without exception, a modus vivendi which was anchored in God and his protection and the fact that Christ, the Son of God, was their own personal saviour. Since God was for them, they believed they had nothing to fear from the troubled times.

¹³¹The Lutheran Hymnal, hymn number 96.

CHAPTER IV

HYMNS HAVING DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR

Many hymns and verses of poetry were written during the progress of the Thirty Years War, but it is often rather difficult to associate a particular hymn or verse with a definite event in the War. In the present chapter hymns and verses are presented which, in most cases, have a clear reference to some recorded event of the War. The Lutheran hymnists were not exclusively taken up with their own parochial concerns, but were also vitally connected with, and interested in, the larger happenings of the War, which often took on international aspects.

The Peace between Poland and Sweden 1629

In 1625 Gustavus Adolphus had concentrated his forces on an attack of Poland.¹ But in 1629, just prior to Sweden's entrance into the Thirty Years War in Germany, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon by Poland and Sweden, and a peace was signed. George Werner, who was born in Holland in 1589 and who died in Königsberg in 1643, celebrated the signing of the peace on September 13, 1629, with the writing of a hymn, "Ihr Alten mit den Jungen, erhebet eure Zungen."² In this hymn Werner exhorts all

¹ Supra, p. 23.

² Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belfer'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1867), p. 206.

to praise God for the Peace which has come. To God alone is due honour and thanksgiving for the event. He is the one who makes the sun to shine again after the storms of sadness.

Ihr Alten mit den Jungen, Erhebet eure Zungen,
 Lobt Gott mit süßem Klang, Den himmels-König preiset,
 Der uns den Fried jetzt weiset,
 Gebt seinem Nahmen Ehr und Danck.

 Der Krieg ist weg genommen, Der Friede wieder kommen:
 Gott sey Lob Ehr und Preis! Jetzt scheint uns die Sonne,
 Und Bringt nach Trauren Wonne:
 Drum lobet Gott mit Höchstem Fleisz.³

The Battle of Lützen 1632

Three years after the Peace between Poland and Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus fought his last battle--a battle which was to go down in the pages of world history.

Fletcher says that on the morning of the Battle of Lützen⁴ prayers were read at the head of each of Gustavus Adolphus' regiments, after which Luther's hymn "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott" was sung, which was in turn followed by the King's own hymn, "Verzage nicht du Häuflein klein."⁵ This hymn is generally attributed to the pen of Michael Altenburg, although there is some debate on this point.⁶ Schamelius says concerning the

³ Coburgisches Gesang-Buch, (Druckts und verlegts Moritz Hagens, F. S. Hof-Buchdr. sel. Wittib und Erbe, 1739), p. 839.

⁴ Supra, p. 32.

⁵ C. Fletcher, Gustavus Adolphus (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), p. 281.

⁶ Supra, p. 75.

composing of this hymn and its use by the Swedish army,

Altenburg . . . hat dieses Herz-freudige Trost-und Feld-Lied in der kläglichen Zeit des 33 jährigen Krieges, da er viel erlitten, zu sein und anderer Christian Trost v^erfertiget, sonderlich aber auf die bey der Leipziger Schlacht, An. 1631. den 7, Sept. von der Evangelischen Armee gebrauchte Losung: Gott mit uns gesehen . . . Der Schwedische Armee war es auch wohl bekannt, daher liesz es König Gustavus Adolphus Glorw. Gedächtn. An. 1632. den 19. Nov. in der durch D. Fabricium frühe gehaltenen Bet-stunden vor dem Antritt zu der Lützner Schlacht bey der Armee singen.⁷

It is debated too as to whether "Verzage nicht du Häuflein klein" was really a regular battle hymn for Gustavus. No matter what the real truth might be, the hymn appears in the Coburg Hymn Book of 1739 with the superscription, "Freudiges Trost-Lied, auf das von der Evangel. Armee in der Schlacht bey Leipzig 1631. geführte Losungs-Wort."⁸ It seems as though the hymn was used frequently by the Swedish forces as well as the Protestant contingents. The text of the three verses of the hymn is:

Verzage nicht du Häuflein klein,
obgleich die Feinde willens sein,
dich ganzlich zu storen,
und suchen deinen Untergang,
davon dir wird sehr angst und bang,
er wird nicht lange währen.

Tröste dich nur, dasz deine Sach ist Gottes,
dem befehl die Rach, und lasse ihn nur walten,
der wird durch seinen Gideon, den er wohl weisz
dir helfen schon, dich und sein Wort erhalten.

So wahr Gott ist und sein Wort, musz Welt
Teufel und Höllenpfort, und was ihn'n thut

⁷ J. Martinus Schamelius, Commentarius, Evangelischer Lieder (Leipzig: zu finden bey Friedrich Lanckischens Erben, 1737), pp. 571f.

⁸ Coburgisches Gesangbuch, p. 838.

anhangen, endlich werden zu Schand und Spott,
Gott ist mit uns, und wir mit Gott, den Sieg woll'n wir
erlangen.⁹

After the battle of Lützen in which Gustavus lost his life, a
certain Dr. Ludwig Hörnigk composed a hymn over the corpse of
the champion of the Protestant cause.¹⁰

Mein' Wallfahrt ich vollendet hab in diesem bösen Leben;
itzund legt man mich in das Grab, darauf thut sich anheben
ein' neue Freund und Seligkeit bey Christo, meinem Herren,
die allen Frommen ist bereit, diesz ist die Kron der Ehren.

.
Darum laszt fahr'n all' Traurigkeit thut mich nicht mehr
beweinen, in mir ist nichts denn lauter Freud, weils Gott
so wohl thut meynen: mein' Seele preiset Gott den Herrn
für solch freudenreich Leben, das könne ich herrlichers
begehren? Gott wolls euch allen geben.¹¹

The Peace between Poland and Sweden 1635

After the victory at Lützen, it was not long, however, before the fortunes of the Protestant forces began to decline. In 1635 the prestige of the Swedish troops in Germany was at a low ebb and it was almost a necessity that Sweden make a fresh peace with Poland so that additional men could be sent to Germany to alleviate the situation.

By October [1635] he [Baner] was in despair; whole regiments disregarded his orders, and he frankly admitted to Oxenstierna that he intended either to surrender in person to John George or at least bluff it out and make a private settlement for

⁹ Altenburgisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch (Altenburg: in der Herzogl. Sachs. Hofbuchdruckerei, 1793), column 685.

¹⁰ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 136.

¹¹ Leipzig Gesangbuch (Leipzig: bey Christian Gottlieb Barnbeck, 1784), p. 202.

himself and his few loyal Swedes, letting the mutineers go their own way. The imminent catastrophe, which would have meant the loss of the Elbe valley and the final cutting of communications between Stockholm and the Chancellor in the Rhine, was averted at the last minute of the eleventh hour. The truce signed with Poland released a great number of newly recruited Swedish troops who had been held in readiness against a possible Polish war, and these joined Baner just in time to swing the balance narrowly in his favour.¹²

At the signing of this new peace or truce between Poland and Sweden, Andreas Adersbach¹³ wrote a hymn commemorating the event. All men are to give thanks to God who has brought this peace to pass.

Ruhmet ihn in seiner grossen Krafft,
Preiset seine Wunderthaten,
Denn er hat uns wohl gerathen,
Er ist, der uns dieser Frieden Schafft;
Er ist unser Friede-Fürst,
Den nach unser Wohlfahrt dürrst.

Gott sei Dank für solches Gnadenwerck;
Nun ist Fried in allen Standen,
Fried' ist hier in allen Erden,
Fried' ist über gantzes Königsberg,
Friede rufen allzumal,
Fried' in Preussen überall.

Lobet diesen Herren alle Welt,
Alles, was auf Erden lebet,
Was nur immer schwebt und webet,
Lobe diesen starcken Krieges-Held;
Alles, was nur Odem hat,
Werde nimmer Lobens satt!¹⁴

¹²C. V. Wedgewood, The Thirty Years War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 398.

¹³Supra, p. 85.

¹⁴H. Oesterly, Simon Dach (Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Speemann, n.d.), pp. 222f.

The Peace between Saxony and Sweden 1645

In the latter stages of the Thirty Years War the German states which had been allied with the Imperial forces found it increasingly difficult to maintain this allegiance. One by one they thought it expedient to desert the Emperor. In June of 1644 Frederick William of Brandenburg had made his peace with Sweden. This truce left John George of Saxony alone to fight against the Swedish general Torstenson in the north-east. His family urged him to follow the example of Brandenburg and sign a truce with Torstenson. This move was made easy when good terms of peace were offered to Saxony, and so a preliminary truce was settled at Kotschenbroda in August of 1645.¹⁵ In this same year Christian Keimann wrote "Freuet euch, ihr Christen alle," and it is thought that stanza four of this hymn may refer to the truce between Saxony and Sweden signed in 1645.

Von oben her uns sende der Geist, den edlen Gast;
 der Stärke uns behende, wenn uns drückt Kreuzeslast;
 Tröst uns in Todes-Pein, mach auf die Himmelsthüre,
 uns mit einander führe zu deinem Freudenschein!¹⁶

The Peace between Denmark and Sweden 1645

Christian of Denmark, during the last years of the Thirty Years War, made himself very unpopular with Sweden by raising of

¹⁵ C. V. Wedgewood, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

¹⁶ Leipzig Gesangbuch (Leipzig: bey Christian Gottlieb Barnbeck, 1784), p. 202.

the Sound tolls which he extracted from the merchant navy, thus injuring Swedish trade. He also harrassed the Swedish positions along the Baltic on the German coast. In answer to this the Swedish general, Torstenson, invaded Holstein in 1643, and had overrun Jutland before the end of January, 1644. Wrangel continued to prosecute the war in Jutland after Torstenson left. Peace was finally concluded between Denmark and Sweden at Bromsebro.¹⁷ John Rist¹⁸ refers to the cessation of hostilities which had been due to the animosity of Denmark and Sweden by some verses of poetry in his Spiegel. Peace had returned to Holstein. Once more the cities can stand forth in their glory and enjoy the prosperity which peacetime alone can bring. When all is said and done, peace is the best state for all concerned.

Und du, o Schönes Schloß, du Gottdorff an den Hügel,
 Das Fame hat gebracht auff seinen schnellen Flügeln
 Bis gar in Persen-Land, der Höchste steh' dir bei,
 Dasz lauter Fried' un Ruh' in, umb und auf dir sei.

Ihr Städt, preiset Gott, so viel in unsern Landen
 Bei dieser Sicherheit und Frieden sein verhanden,
 Du Hamburg sonderlich, dasz du durch Müh' und Macht
 Den Handel bisz so gar in China hast gebracht.

O Schleswig, Mofium, Kiel, ihr Fackeln der Holsaten,
 Bedencket, wie im Fried' euch aller ist gerahten;
 Du Renszburg, Itzehoe, du Crempe, die du fest
 Von Wall und Wasser bist, Fried' ist eur' allerbest.¹⁹

¹⁷ C. V. Wedgewood, op. cit., pp. 472f.

¹⁸ Supra, pp. 85ff.

¹⁹ Theodor Hansen, Johann Rist und seine Zeit (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872), p. 52.

The Peace of Westphalia 1648

At the close of the War, needless to say, the joy of the Peace of Westphalia provided the inspiration for many hymns of thanksgiving among the Lutheran hymnists. John Rist,²⁰ always one to rise to meet the great occasions with poetical expressions, wrote "Jauchzet, jauchzet alle Welt," appending to the work this note, "Nur Gott, und niemand mehr sei Lob, Preis, Dank und Ehr."²¹

Jauchzet, jauchzet alle Welt,
Singet Gott mit Freuden,
Ewiges Lob werd' ihm bestellt
Der itzt unser Leiden
Hab in Lieb' und Lust verkehrt,
Ja den Frieden uns verehrt,
Alle Welt musse dem Herren lobsingem,
Lasset Trompeten und Pauchen itzt Klingen.²²

Paul Gerhardt,²³ the great Lutheran hymn writer, was not silent at the news of Peace once more in Germany.

Gottlob nun ist erschollen
Das edle Fried-und Freuden-Wort,
Dasz nunmehr ruhen sollen
Die Spiesz und Schwerter und ihr Mord.
Wol auf und nim nun wieder
Dein Saitenspiel hervor
O Teutschland! und sing Lieder Im hohen vollen Chor.²⁴

²⁰ Supra, pp. 85ff.

²¹ Theodor Hansen, op. cit., p. 131.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Supra, pp. 55ff.

²⁴ Langbecker, editor, Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt (Berlin: Verlag der Sonderschen Buchhandlung, 1841), p. 703.

John Frank²⁵ gave thanks and praise to God for the arrival of the longed-for peace.

Herr Gott, dich loben wir, regier', Herr, unsre Stimmen,
 Lasz deines Geistes Gluth in unsern Herzen glimmen.
 Komm, komm, o edle Flamm', ach komm zu uns allhier,
 So singen wir mit Lust: Herr Gott, dich loben wir.

.....
 Herr Gott, dich loben wir für deine grosze Gnaden,
 Dasz du das Vaterland von Kriegeslast entladen,
 Dasz du uns blicken lässt des guldnen Friedens Zier,
 Drum jauchzet alles Volk: Herr Gott, wir danken dir.

.....
 Herr Gott, dich loben wir, dasz du die Pheil und Wagen,
 Schild, Bogen, Spiesz und Schwert zerbrochen und zerschlagen.
 Der Strick ist nun entzwei, darum so singen wir
 Mit Herzen, Zung' und Mund: Herr Gott, wir danken dir.

.....
 Herr Gott, wir danken dir, und bitten, du sollst geben,
 Dasz wir auch künft'ig stets in stolzer Ruhe leben,
 Krön' uns mit deinem Gut, erfüll jetzt nach Begier,
 O Vater, unsern Wunsch. Herr Gott, wir danken dir.²⁶

Looking beyond the peace, Frank wrote a hymn for the New Year following 1648.

Es erhielt der Herr der Zeiten
 Unse bisher in stolzer Ruh.
 Nun sind tausend Widrikeiten
 Und wohl tausend noch dazu
 Und zehntausendfache Noth
 Mit dem alten Jahre todt.

.....
 Er hat mit dem Eintrachtbände
 Unse Obrigkeit imschränkt,
 Dasz ein Jeder in dem Lande,
 Den der Krieg vor hat gekrankt,
 Nunmehr sicher und beschützt
 Unter seinem Weinstock sitzt.

Theurung sammt der Pestilenze,
 Wassernoth, Raub, Mord und Brand

²⁵Supra, pp. 61f.

²⁶Julius L. Pasig, Johann Francks geistliche Lieder (Grimma: Verlag von J. M. Gebhardt, 1846), pp. 77f.

Hat der Herr von unsrer Grenze
 Bloss aus Gnaden abgewandt,
 Hat mitt Full' uns ausgerüst't
 Dasz er nicht zu sagen ist.

.
 Gieb nun mit den neuen Tagen
 Neue Herzen, neuen Geist,
 Dasz wir Lust zu deisem tragen
 Was dein Will' und Wort uns heisset,
 Gieb ein'n dir ergebenen Sinn,
 Nimm die alten Sunden hin.²⁷

Wilhelm II, the count of Sachsen-Weimar, who was born in 1598 and who died in 1662, also wrote a verse commemorating Westphalia.

Gott, der Friede hat gegeben
 Lasz den Frieden um uns schweben.
 Friede, Friede in dem Lande.
 Glück und Heil zu allem Stande.²⁸

The Persecution of the Protestant Church

Throughout the progress of the Thirty Years War, which ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Protestants were often persecuted, and perhaps one of the best qualified to write hymns for a persecuted church was John Heerman.²⁹ At Köben in Silesia he suffered much from religious intolerance, and so it is little wonder that one should find hymns dealing with persecution prominent in his writings.

Man zeucht uns unsre Kirchen ein,
 verjagt die dein Wort lehren,
 Man zwingt zum Abfall Grosz und Klein,
 die deinen Namen ehren.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 79ff.

²⁸ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 113.

²⁹ Supra, pp. 64ff.

Disz ist die Zeit, disz ist der Tag
 voll Truebsal, Scheltens, Flag und Klag,
 voll Angst und voll Beschwerden,
 wir sind jetzt wie ein kleines Kind,
 bei dem sich keine Kraft mehr findt,
 wanns soll geboren werden.³⁰

Heerman calls to God to rescue the church from its plight.

Rett, O Herr Jesu, rett dein Ehr,
 dasz Seufzen deiner Kirchen hör,
 Der Feind Anschlag und Macht zerstör,
 die jetzt verfolgen deine Lehr.

.
 Steh deinen kleinen Häuflein bei,
 aus Gnaden Fried und Ruh verleih,
 Lasz jedermann erkennen frei,
 dasz hier die rechte Kirche sei.

Lasz sehen, dasz du seist unser Gott,
 der unser Feinde setzt zu Spott,
 Wirft ihre Hoffart in den Koth
 und hilft den Seinen aus der Noth.³¹

There is complete confidence in the heart of Heerman that God
 can protect the church from the enemy.

Und schaff uns Beistand wider unsre Feinde,
 wann du ein Wort sprichst, werden sie bald Freunde,
 Sie mueszen Wehr und Waffen niederlegen,
 kein Glid mehr regen.

Wir haben niemand, dem wir uns vertrauen,
 vergebens ists auf Menschen Hilfe bauen:
 Mit dir wir wollen Thaten thun und kämpfen,
 die Feinde dampfen.³²

But if God should leave them, Heerman can see nothing but des-
 truction for the church in the view of the weight of persecution.

³⁰ Philipp Wackernagel, Johann Heermans geistliche Lieder
 (Stuttgart: Verlag von S. G. Liesching, 1856), p. 128.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 115f.

³² Ibid., p. 111.

Schau, wie grosze Noth und Qual
trifft dein Volk jetzt überall!
Täglich wird der Truebsaln mehr:
helf, ach hilf, schütz deine Lehr!
Wir verderben, wir vergehn,
nichts wir sonst vor Augen sehn,
wo du nicht bei uns wirst stehn!³³

³³ Ibid., p. 112.

CHAPTER V

HYMNS REVEALING SENTIMENTS PERTINENT TO THE TIMES

The German Lutheran hymnists of the period of the Thirty Years War have produced much which reflects the times in which they lived. Although specific events can not often be indicated as the cause of the writings of the hymnists, yet what they wrote can be understood at its best when viewed against the atmosphere created by the War. In this chapter a presentation of selected hymns will be listed under seven headings: Klagelieder and Thränenlieder; Trostlieder and Hymns of Trust; Sterbelieder; Kriegeslieder; Hymns Desiring Peace; Danklieder; and Hymns Coloured by War Pictures.

Klagelieder and Thränenlieder

Neumark, even when he reached Königsberg, which was comparatively free from the progress of the Thirty Years War, was not relieved from hardship.¹ Here he lost all his belongings in a fire. It is little wonder that he wrote a hymn following this event which expressed a desire to depart this life of troubles to be with God.

Ich bin müde mehr zu leben,
Nimm mich, liebster Gott, zu dir,
Muss ich doch im Leben hier
Täglich im Betrübnuß schweben.

¹Supra, pp. 51ff.

Meines Lebens grösste Zeit
Läuft dahin in Traurigkeit.

But as he looked at all of the misfortunes which had beset him in life he acknowledged that his own sins were the source of it all, and he alone was to blame.

Ich muss es dir mein Gott, bekommen,
Dasz meine Sünd und Missthat
Die rechte Quell sei zu nennen
Dasz was mich nun befallen hat.²

John Heerman, who suffered much from persecution,³ expressed the helplessness that was felt in the face of the unsettled and dangerous times.

Man zeucht uns unsre Kirchen ein,
Verjagt, die dein Wort lehren;
Man zwingt zum Abfall Grosz und Klein,
Die deinen Namen ehren.

Dies ist die Zeit, dies ist der Tag
Voll Trübsals, Scheltens, Plag und Klag,
Voll Angst und voll Beschwerden.
Wir sind jetzt wie ein kleines Kind,
Bei dem sich keine Kraft mehr find't,
Wann's soll geboren werden.⁴

John Gerhardt looked at life and wrote a hymn telling of the transitoriness of man on this earth which is so full of care and trouble.

Was ist mein gantzes Wesen
Von meiner Jugend an
Als Müh und Noth gewesen

² Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte der Kirchenlieds und Kirchen-
gesangs (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belfer'schen
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1867), p. 414.

³ Supra, pp. 64ff.

⁴ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 22.

So lang ich dencken kann:
 Hab' ich so manchen Morgen,
 So manche liebe Nacht
 Mit Kummer und mit Sorgen,
 Des Hertzens zugebracht.⁵

While man is on this earth he can not escape suffering. This
 is man's lot.

Es kan und mag nicht anders werden,
 Alle Menschen müssen leiden.
 Was webt und lebet auf Erden
 Kan das Unglück nicht vermeiden.⁶

As far as Simon Dach was concerned the life of man, from youth
 on to old age, produced nothing but work, care, trouble, and
 sickness.

Der Jugend lässt die Zucht nicht Ruh,
 Ein Mann ist von dem Morgen
 Bisz auf den späten Abend zu
 In Arbeit, Müh' und Sorgen,
 Dem Alter wohnt mancherlei
 Furcht, Argwohn, Geitz und Krankheit bei.⁷

Man may bloom for a short time, but the inevitable end is death.

O, wir armen Leute,
 Unsers Lebens Zier
 Brustet sich zwar heute
 und ist rosenröth,
 Morgen krank und todt.⁸

Dach believes that there is no one who lives only in good days.

Everyone has his own troubles which he can relate. The pangs of

⁵ E. Langbecker, editor, Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt
 (Berlin: Verlag der Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841), p. 362.

⁶ Ibid., p. 328.

⁷ H. Oesterly, editor, Simon Dach (Berlin und Stuttgart:
 Verlag von W. Spemann, n.d.), p. 42.

⁸ Ibid., p. 53.

suffering which men are called upon to endure are innumerable.

Wer aber lebt so wol allhie
 Und nur in guten Tagen?
 Ein ander weisz von seiner Mü^h,
 Von meiner ich zu sagen;
 Viel ist der Stern' am Himmels-Sal
 Und viel der Meeres-Wellen,
 Mehr aber ist der Menschen Qual
 In mehr als tausent Fäll^en.⁹

As one looks at these verses by a few of the Lutheran hymnists one realizes that they here wrote in a tone which was consistent with the times in which they lived. Life often was a very sorry existence in that era, and the hymnists were aware of this fact and gave expression to it in poetical fashion. These writers felt with the sufferings of the common people. They did not live in a realm which was removed and set apart from the happenings of every day life. They did not shut themselves off in a spiritual compartment which was unaware of the physical sufferings to be endured. At the same time as it is realized that these hymnists wrote in a manner in the given instances which reflected well the time of the Thirty Years War, the possibility is not to be denied that these same men in a different era and age may have expressed similar thoughts in their poetical writing.

Trostlieder and Hymns of Trust

Hymns of comfort and confidence form a large number of the productions of the Lutheran hymnists of the period of the Thirty Years War. In the trials in which they found themselves they wrote

⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

hymns to comfort themselves, as well as others who were in similar straits. Part of their comfort lay in this that they placed their trust in God for deliverance and help, and they had faith that this trust would in no way be disappointed. No matter how hopeless the situation looked, no matter how severe the danger in which one might find oneself, a Christian could always rest secure in the knowledge that God was looking after him. Through the sure salvation that was the possession of every Christian through Christ, the believer really had nothing to fear.

Perhaps the classic example of a hymn of trust is the one by John Frank in which he rejoices in the sure knowledge that his Redeemer lives and therefore he has no need to fear any tribulation which might come his way.

Ich weiß, dasz mein Erlöser lebt,
Trotz Sünde, Tod und Höllen,
Wie grausam sie sich stellen.
Trotz Allem, was mir widerstrebt,
Mein Jesus hat gesiegt
Und ihre Macht bekrieget,
Ich weiß, mein Heiland lebt gewisz
Was wollt ich mich denn qualen?
Kein' angst, kein Schmerz, kein Todesbisz
Soll mir den Trost nicht stehlen.¹⁰

Looking forward to the inheritance of eternal glory which will be his after death, Frank comforts himself amid the trials of his present life.)

Im Leben und im Sterben
Trost' ich mich jederzeit,
Dasz ich bald werd' ererben
Die ew'ge Herrlichkeit.

¹⁰ Julius L. Pasig, Johann Francks geistliche Lieder (Grimma: Verlag von J. M. Gebhardt, 1846), p. 23.

Drum schliesz ich meinen Willen
 In Gottes Willen ein,
 Der mag in mir erfüllen,
 Was mir wird selig sein.

.....
 Hier lebt' ich stets im Leide,
 In Angst, Noth und Gefahr,
 Dort leb' ich stets in Freude
 Zusammt der Engel Schaar.¹¹

Matthaeus von Löwenstern turned to Christ as the source of aid for the fellowship of Christians as they faced the troubled times.

Christe, du Beystand deiner Kreuzgemeine,
 eilends mit Hülff und Rettung uns erscheine:
 Steure den Feinden, ihre Blutgerichte mache zu nichte:

 Friede bey Kirch'n und Schulen uns Beschere:
 Friede zugleich der Polickey gewahre:
 Friede dem Herzen, Friede dem Gewissen gieb zu geniessen.¹²

Löwenstern was convinced that Christ was the one who could bring peace to light once more.

Paul Flemming looked to God to guide and counsel him in all that he did. He relied on God to lead him through the ways which he might be called upon to travel. Flemming is content for God to outline his life. "Let Thy Will be done," seems to be Flemming's prayer.

In allen meinen Thaten
 Lasz ich dich, Höchster, rathen,
 Der alles kann und hat;
 Du musz in allen dingen,
 Soll etwas gelingen,
 Mein Helfer seyn mit rath und that.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 128f.

¹² Leipzig Gesangbuch (Leipzig: bey Christian Gottlieb Barnbeck 1784), p. 240.

Nichts hilft mein banges sorgen
 Vom abend bis zum morgen,
 Nichts meine ungeduld;
 Du magsts mit meinen sachen
 Nach deinem willen machen;
 Ich traue deiner vaterhuld.¹³

John Rist, although he finds himself surrounded by trouble which he refers to by saying, "Jammer hat mich ganz umgeben," still recognizes that he really should not be unduly worried. He tells his heart to be still and trust confidently in God.

Was betrübt du dich mit Schmerzen?
 Stille doch und harr auf Gott!
 Danken will ich ihm von Herzen,
 Dasz ich werde nichts zu Spott.
 Ob er mich gleich würde tödten,
 Hilft er mir dennoch aus Nöthen
 Er der starke Zebaoth.¹⁴

Rist has a Saviour who has conquered all, so there is no need to despair.

So nimm doch, arme Seele, hin
 Dies, dasz Ich dein Versöhner bin,
 Dasz Ich den Rath gefunden,
 Durch den so schnell Tod, Teufel, Höll'
 Und alles überwunden.¹⁵

After having experienced many vicissitudes, George Neumark gained some respite and security during the Thirty Years War when he was taken into the service of Stephen Henning in Kiel in 1641 as a tutor.¹⁶ He is said to have written the following

¹³ Württembergisches Gesangbuch (Stuttgart: Bey Christoph Friedrich Gotta, Hof-und Kanzleybuchdrucker, 1793), hymn no. 548.

¹⁴ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 214.

¹⁵ Theodor Hansen, Johann Rist und seine Zeit (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872), p. 307.

¹⁶ Supra, p. 52.

hymn at this stage in his life, in which he exclaims that he who trusts in God at all times will not be disappointed, no matter how serious the danger appears to be.

Wer nun den lieben Gott lässt walten
Und hoffet auf ihn allezeit,
Den wird er wunderbar erhalten
In aller Noth und Traurigkeit.
Wer Gott, dem Allerhöchsten, traut,
Der hat auf keinen Sand gebaut.¹⁷

A wealth of hymns are to be found amongst Gerhardt's works in which he expresses the reason why he can remain calm despite the storms of the times. His haven of refuge is Christ himself.

Christi Unschuld ist mein Ruhm,
Sein Recht meine Krone;
Sein Verdienst mein Eigenthum,
Da ich frei in wohne,
Als in einem festen Schloß,
Das kein Feind kan fallen,
Brächt er gleich davor Geschos,
Und Gewalt den Höllen.¹⁸

The protection of God is Gerhardt's sure comfort. Because of this protection and the comfort which flows from it, Gerhardt remains unafraid.

Dennoch blieb ich ungeschreckt
Und mein Geist ist unverzagt,
In dem Gotte, der mich decket
Wenn die arge Welt mich plagt.
Auf den harret meine Seele,
Da ist Trost, den ich erwähle,
Da ist Schutz, der mir gefällt,
Und Errettung, die mich hält.¹⁹

¹⁷ Württembergisches Gesangbuch, p. 602. See THH 598, St. 1

¹⁸ E. Langbecker, editor, Leben Und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt (Berlin: Verlag der Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841), p. 368.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 504.

In everything that occurred Gerhardt found comfort in this that it was happening because it was God's will.

Was Gott gefällt, mein frommes Kind,
Nimm fröhlich an: Stürmt gleich der Wind
Und braust dasz alles knackt und bricht,
So sei getrost, dann dir geschickt
Was Gott gefällt.²⁰

There was only one source of comfort amid the trials of life.

for Gerhardt, and this was in God.

Nach dir O Herr verlanget mich,
Du bist mein Trost ich trau auf dich:
Ich hof und bin der Zuversicht
Du werdest mich beschämen nicht.

Die Angst die mir mein Hertze dringt
Und daraus so viel Seufftzer zwingt
Ist grosz: Du aber bist der Mann,²¹
Dem nichts zu grosz entstehen kan.

Simon Dach was powerfully moved by the knowledge that he was sustained in life by God himself. He was content to rest secure in the knowledge that his life, in all its parts, was in the care of God.

Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht,
Du hast mich an diesz Licht gebracht,
Du unterhältst mir auch has Leben,
Du kennest meiner Monden Zahl,
Weist, wenn ich diesem Jammerthal
Auch wieder Gotte Nacht musz geben;
Wo, wie und wann ich sterben soll,
Das weist du, Vater, mehr als woll.²²

Joining his voice with the other Lutheran hymnists, Michael

²⁰ Ibid., p. 443.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 733f.

²² H. Oesterly, editor, Simon Dach (Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, n.d.), p. 50.

Altenburg proclaims the comfort he finds in knowing that God is well able to sustain his children in time of trial.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan:
 Es bleibt gerecht sein wille;
 Wie er fangt meine sachen an,
 Harr ich sein, und bin stille.
 Er ist mein Gott, Der in der noth
 Mich wohl weisz zu erhalten:
 Drum lasz ich ihn nur walten.

Was Gott thut, das ist wohl gethan:
 Das soll mein trost stets bleiben,
 Es mag mich auf die rauhe bahn
 Noth, tod und elend treiben,
 So wird Gott mich Doch väterlich
 In seinem armen halten:
 Drum lasz ich ihn nur walten.²³

The Lutheran hymnists in general found comfort in the knowledge that they were in God's care and protection throughout life. From the cradle to the grave the hand of God was guiding them. What they were called upon to experience in life was according to God's divine will and providence. And death itself was only a release to perfect existence with God. What comfort such a view must have been to these hymn writers, and their parishoners, as they looked out at the changing scene in Germany. Gustavus Adolphus might have been the saviour of the Protestant cause in Germany, but then he was only a mortal who quickly made his entrance and exit on the stage of the Thirty Years War. The Lutheran hymnists had a divine Saviour in whom they had a comfort which was not dependent on the fortunes of any battle.

²³ Wirttembergisches Gesangbuch, pp. 588f.

Gott ist mein Trost und Zuversicht
 Von Jugend an gewesen,
 Auf ihn hab ich mein Thun gerecht't
 Und ihn zum Schatz erlesen.
 Er Gab sich mir an Vaters Statt,
 Als mich noch in der Wiegen
 Mein Vater schon gesegnet hat
 Und mich liesz trostlos liegen.²⁴

Sterbelieder

Among a few of the hymnists is revealed a concern that the right attitude towards death should be preserved. It is true that these hymns might be appropriate for Christians at any time in the world's history, but they appear as especially fitting in the age of the Thirty Years War when the loss of a loved one was not an uncommon occurrence.

Paul Gerhardt stands out as a hymnist who emphasized that death is not something to be feared, for in Christ death leads to the promised land of eternity.

Der Tod ist mein rohtes Meer,
 Dadurch auff trockenm Sande
 Dein Israel, das fromme Heer, ²⁵
 geht zum gelobten Lande,

Death is no longer to be regarded as a source of horror. For the Christian death brings blessed release from care.

Was trauerst du mein Angesicht,
 Wann du den Tod hörst nennen?
 Sei ohne Furcht: er schadet hir nicht:
 Lern ihn nur recht erkennen.

²⁴ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 380.

²⁵ E. Langbecker, op. cit., pp. 399f.

Kennst du den Tod, So hats nicht Noth,
All Angst wird sich zertrennen.²⁶

In some of the hymns of Simon Dach is revealed an ardent desire to leave this earth with all of its troubles. Even the pleasures that may be experienced in this life are spiced with sorrow.

O Erde, Gut Nacht,
Dein' höchste Lust und Pracht
Ist doch versaltzt mit Leiden;
Ich ende meinen Lauff,
Mein Heiland nimmt mich auff
In seine Himmels-Frieden.²⁷

In fact the desire which Dach may have once had to live and enjoy life here on earth has been extinguished by the troublesome times he has witnessed.

Es vergeht mir alle Lust,
Länger hie zu leben,
An der Erden Koht und Wust
Mag ich nicht mehr kleben.
Dasz ich, Christe, für und für
Lasse so viel Thränen,
Macht, dasz ich hinauf nach dir
Hertzlich mich musz sehnen.²⁸

John Frank wrote many hymns in which he endeavoured to give comfort in times of death. Such hymn titles as "Verlangen nach einem seligen Ende," "Trostrede eines sterbenden Kindes an seine Eltern," "Sterbelied eines Knaben," "Sterbelied eines Jünglings," "Gespräch christlicher Eltern mit ihrem sterbenden Kinde," bear

²⁶ Ibid., p. 396.

²⁷ H. Oesterly, op. cit., p. 59.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

adequate witness to Frank's concern in the area of death.²⁹

The Lutheran hymnists looked beyond the spectre of death, which so often stood on the threshold of families during the Thirty Years War, and gloried and triumphed in the picture of eternal peace and happiness which they saw in the life to come.

Kriegeslieder

The Lutheran hymnists, being very much aware of the state of affairs around about them, refer to the war frequently in their compositions. Paul Gerhardt seems to have been especially aware of the havoc which was wreaked during the Thirty Years War.

Die Last die ist die Kriegesfluth
So itzt die Welt mit rothem Blut
Und heissen Thränen füllt:
Es ist das Feuer, das hitzt und brennt
So weit fast Sonn und Mond sich wendt.

Grosz ist die Last doch ist darbei
Dein stancker Schutz und Vater-Treu
Uns gar nicht unbekannt.
Du strafft, und mitten in dem Leid
Erzeigst du Lieb und Freundlichkeit.

Wie oftmahls hat bei Tag und Nacht
Der Feinde List und grosse Macht
Uns deine Heerd umbringt.
Du aber, o du treuer Hirt
Hast unsern Wolff züruck geführt.

Viel unserer Brüder seind geplagt,
Von Haus un Hoff darzu gejagt
Wir aber haben noch
Beim Weinstock und beim Feigen Baum
Ein jeder seinen Sitz und Raum.³⁰

²⁹ Julius L. Pasig, *op. cit.*, pp. 112ff.

³⁰ E. Langbecker, *op. cit.*, p. 699.

And so Gerhardt gives an indication that although many of his fellow Germans had suffered, he had been remarkably free of many of the difficulties of the times. This did not, however, relieve Gerhardt from the tension of the period.

Wir gehn dahin, und wandern
 Von einem Jahr zum andern:
 Wir leben und gedeien,
 Vom alten zu dem neuen.

Durch so viel Angst und Plagen,
 Durch zittern und durch zagen,
 Durch Krieg und grosse Schrecken,
 Die alle Welt bedecken.³¹

In the hymn which Gerhardt composed to commemorate the Peace of Westphalia, he includes a vivid description of the war.³²

Das drückt uns niemand besser
 In unsre Seel und Hertz hinein,
 Als ihr zerstören Schösser
 In Städte voller Schutt und Stein
 Ihr vormals schönen Felder
 Mit frischer Saat bestreut,
 Itzt aber lauter Wälder
 Und dürre wüste Heid;
 Ihr Gräber voller Leichen,
 Und tapffen Helden Schweisz
 Der Helden, derer gleichen
 Auf Erden man nicht weisz.³³

John Heerman, acknowledging his sinfulness, looks to God's grace to lead him during the dangers of the war. As in other of his hymns, he also asks that God would protect the Church.

Wir liegen hier vor dir, betrauren unsre Sünden:
 ach, lasz uns Gnade doch vor deinen Augen finden!

³¹ Ibid., p. 542.

³² Supra, p. 99.

³³ E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 703.

Trieb ab die Griegsgefahr durch deine starcke Hand,
gib uns den lieber Fried, schütz unser Vaterland.

Erhalte deine Kirch in diesen letzten Zeiten,
da Teufel, Höll und Welt sie plagt auf allen Seiten.
Dein ist die Sach, O Gott, drum wach und mach dich auf,
Schlag eine Wagenburg um deinen kleinen Hauf.³⁴

The cry for help from God is very insistent in the works of
Heerman.

Schau, wie grosse Noth und Quall
Triff dein Volck jetzt Überall:
Täglich wird der Trübsal mehr:
Helff, ach! helff, schütz deine Ehr:
Wir verderben, wir vergehn,
Nicht wir sonst vor Augen sehn,³⁵
Wo du nicht bei uns wird stehen.

Regarding the war as being very oppressive, John Rist sees the
troubles of the times as being traceable to the progress of the
hostilities. Amidst this thought he also beseeches God to help
him out of the difficulties in which he finds himself.

Nun schmeckt ich erst die Bitterkeit,
Welch uns der Krieg erregt,
Kein Unglück fühlt man weit und breit,
Das nicht der Krieg auch heget,
Krieg stürtzet uns in harten Zwang,
Krieg schaffet, dasz der Friedens-Gang
Wird gantz-lich hingelegt.

.
Herr, zeigt uns wiederum deine Güt,
Und hilf uns aus dem Leiden,
Lasz ja dein väterlichs Gemüth,
Hier nimmer von uns scheiden,
Herr hilf, Herr hör, Herr sich auf mich,

³⁴ Philipp Wackernagel, Johann Heermans geistliche Lieder
(Stuttgart: Verlag von S. G. Liesching, 1856), pp. 134f.

³⁵ Coburgisches Gesang-Buch (Druckts und verlegts Moritz
Hagens, F. S. Hof-Buchdr. sel. Wittib und Erbe, 1739), p. 824.

Ich will dich preisen ewiglich,
Und dancken dir mit Freuden.³⁶

Another hymnist, Martin Rinckart, turns toward heaven for relief from the oppression of the war.

Hilf uns, Herr, aus allen Fluten
der betrubten Kriegesnot-
Hilf uns, Herr, aus allem Jammer
der besorgten Hungersnot.³⁷

Endeavouring to interpret "Give us this day our daily bread" from the Lord's Prayer in terms of the period, John Frank shows another approach to the problems of wartime.

Gieb uns heut' unser täglich Brod
Und was den Leib ernähret,
Wend' ab die schwere Kriegesnoth,
Die Leut' und Land verheeret,
Dasz wir gesund mit guter Ruh
Das kurze Leben bringen zu,
Gesegen' all' unsre Sachen.
Treib Theurung ab und Pest gefahr,
Hilf, dasz wir dir uns trauen gar,
Und dich nur lassen machen.³⁸

Concluding this section on Kriegeslieder it may be stressed once more that the age of the Thirty Years War was not an easy one in which to live, and the hymnists felt and expressed the turmoil which was often round about them.

Man zanckt noch immer fort und fort
Es bleibet Krieg an allem Ort,
In allen Winckeln Hasz und Neid,
In allen Ständen Streitigkeit.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 835.

³⁷ Adolf Brüssau, Martin Rinckart (Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936), p. 11.

³⁸ Julius L. Pasig, op. cit., p. 45.

Es ist ein hochbetrübte Zeit,
 Man plagt und jagt die armen Leut,
 Eh' als es Zeit, zum Gruben zu,
 Und gönnet ihnen keine Ruh.³⁹

Hymns Desiring Peace

It is natural that in an age when the storms of war were sweeping across Germany the people should long for peace to come and settle the turmoil. The Lutheran hymnists shared in this feeling which was common in the land, and they expressed this desire in their verses.

In his play in which he describes a Germany longing for peace, John Rist prays that God will not cast the country away from his throne of mercy for ever.

Lob, Ehr und Preisz sei Dir gesagt
 Von mir, der armen Teutschen Magd,
 Ach mein Gott hasse mich
 Doch nicht von Deinem Gnadentrohn
 Verstossen bleiben ewiglich.⁴⁰

The pleas for peace, which are prominent in the hymns of Paul Gerhardt, look to God to still the noise of war,

Ach, dasz ich hören soltt das Wort,
 Erschallen bald auf Erden,
 Dasz Friede soltt an allem Ort,
 Wo Christen wohnen, werden!
 Ach, dasz uns doch Gott sagte zu
 Des Krieges Schlus, der Waffen Ruh
 Und alles Unglücks Ende!⁴¹

³⁹ E. Langbecker, op. cit., pp. 478f.

⁴⁰ Theodor Hansen, op. cit., p. 107.

⁴¹ August Ebeling, Die Geschichte von Paulus Gerhardt (Hannover und Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1898), p. 24.

Gerhardt longs to see the face of peace again which has been hidden behind the clouds of sorrow.

Lasz auch einmal nach so viel Leid
 Uns wieder scheinen unsre Freud,
 Des Friedens Angesicht,
 Das mancher Mensch noch nie einmal
 Geschaut in diesem Jammerthal.⁴²

Instead of rivers of blood, Gerhardt prays that the streams of peace should flow.

Schleusz zu die Jammer-Pforten,
 Und lasz an allen Orten
 Auf so viel Blut-vergiessen
 Die Frieden-Ströme fließen.⁴³

John Heerman, like the other Lutheran hymnists, looks upward to God for the coming of peace. From here is the only true source of peace which will break the weapons of war.

Du bist ja der Held und Mann,
 der den Kriegen steuren kann,
 Der da Spiesz und Schwert zerbricht,
 der die Bogen macht zu nicht,
 Der die Wagen gar verbrennt
 und der Menschen Herzen wendt,
 dasz der Krieg gewinnt ein End.

Jesus, wahrer Friedefürst,
 den der Schlangen hat zerknirscht
 Ihren Kopf durch seinen Tod,
 wiederbracht den Fried bei Gott:
 Gib uns Frieden gnädlich!
 so wird dein Volk freuen sich,
 dafür ewig preisen dich.⁴⁴

Together with the desire for peace in Germany, Heerman couples

⁴² Paul Kaiser, Paul Gerhardt (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1906), p. 28.

⁴³ E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 543.

⁴⁴ Philipp Wackernagel, op. cit., pp. 114f.

the prayer that God would sustain his children in the light of the Gospel. Earthly peace without the retention of a Christian life would be of little value.

Ach, gib uns frieden doch, O Gott, und bring uns wieder
in unser Vaterland, uns, die wir Christi Glider
Und deine Kinder sind. Erhalt uns auch das Licht
des Evangeliums, auf dasz wir irren nicht.⁴⁵

Danklieder

Although the hymnists ardently desired peace, they were not despondent when it did not seem to come to pass. They knew that they had many other things for which they could be thankful to God. Perhaps the classic Lutheran hymn of praise is "Nun danket alle Gott," which Martin Rinkart composed. There is much conjecture as to the actual occasion for the writing of this hymn. Popularly it was held to have reference to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Rambach in seiner "Anthologie christlicher Gesänge" (1817) ist sehr geneigt, zu vermuten, dasz die vorläufige Feier des Westfälischen Friedens am 10 Dezember 1648, die Rinckart, der am 8 Dezember 1649 starb, noch erlebte, ihm die Veranlassung dazu gegeben habe.⁴⁶

But this belief has been altered since it was discovered that the hymn appeared in a work printed in 1636.

Gedruckt steht es in seinem Jesus-Herzbüchlein, das 1636 erschienen. Er selbst sagt, dasz die Handschrift dieses Buchleins schon 1630 oder 1631 vollendet vorlegen habe. So

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 246.

⁴⁶ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 12.

wird man nichts anders können, als das "Danklied nach dem Essen" der Zeit von 1630 oder 1631 zuzuweisen.⁴⁷

Some who wish to give the hymn a greater occasion for its composition assign 1630 as the year in which it was written commemorating the one hundred years anniversary of the appearing of the Augsburg Confession.⁴⁸ Whatever the original inspiration for this hymn by Rinkart, it will be readily agreed that this hymn has, down through the years, been applied to many and varied occasions.

Im "übrigen ist es natürlich wahr, dasz das Lied im deutsche Volke immer wieder bei allerlei Gelegenheit sein klangvolles Echo gefunden hat. Den "Choral von Leuthen" hat man es ja Bekanntlich längst genannt. Ebenso gut kann es aber auch der "Choral von Waterloo" oder der "Choral von Tannenberg" heissen. Den auch damals, als 1815 das Schicksal des fliehenden Korsen entschieden und Preuszen gerettet war, als die russische Dampfwalze aufgehalten ward und Deutschland vor ihn bewahrt blieb - immer an einem Wendepunkt preuszisch-deutscher Geschichte - entquoll es zu nachtllicher Stunde ganz spontan den Kehlen der Krieger und wurde selbst nach den Verwundeten und Sterbenden eine innere Hilfe.⁴⁹

Routley in reference to "Nun danket alle Gott" says that arising in the turmoil of the Thirty Years War it stands out like a page from the book of Isaiah.⁵⁰

Nun danket alle Gott,
Mit herzen, mund, and händen,
Der grosz dinge thut,
An uns und allen erden;

⁴⁷ Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), p. 98.

⁴⁸ Adolf Brüssau, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

⁵⁰ Erik Routley, Hymns and Human Life (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), p. 43.

Der uns von mutterlieb
 Und Kinderbeinen an
 Dis diesen augenblick
 Unzählich guts gethan.

Der ewig reiche Gott
 Woll uns in diesen leben
 Ein immer fröhlich herz
 Und edlen Frieden geben,
 Und uns in seiner gnad
 erhalten fort und fort,
 Und uns aus aller noth
 Erlösen hier und dort.⁵¹

There are numerous songs of thanksgiving composed by the Lutheran hymnists at the time of the return of peace.⁵² John Frank writes such a hymn thanking God that He, in His grace, has taken the burden of war from the fatherland.

Herr Gott, dich loben wir Für deine grosse Gnaden,
 Dasz du das Vaterland Von Krieges Last entladen,
 Dasz du uns blincken lässt Des güldnen Friedens Zier.
 Drum jächzet alles Volck: Herr Gott, dich loben wir.⁵³

In similar vein Michael Behm (1612-1650) composed a hymn commemorating the return of peace.

Dankt Gott an allen Erden,
 Der hier an unsrer Stadt
 Den Unfall wollen werden,
 So uns erschreckt hat,
 Der uns mit seiner Hulff erscheint,
 Und reisset uns gar unvermeynt
 Dem Unglück aus dem Rachen,
 Und will nach Trauren machen
 Dasz unser Mund soll lachen.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Württembergisches Gesangbuch, p. 482.

⁵² Supra, pp. 99ff.

⁵³ Coburgisches Gesang-Buch, p. 842.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 845.

With one accord the hymnists look to God and give thanks to him for the cessation of hostilities.

Paul Gerhardt gives thanks to God that he has always been rescued from the troubles round about him.

Du hast mich aus dem Brande
 Und aus dem Feuer gerückt,
 Und wenn der Hölle Bande
 Mich umb und umb bestrickt,
 So hast du auf mein bitten
 Dich, Herr, zu mir gesellt,
 Und aus des Unglücks mitten⁵⁵
 Mich frei ins Feld gestellt,

The eyes of the hymnists seem to have only one direction to turn in their Danklieder and that is heavenward towards the One whom they regard as having brought all their blessings to pass.

Hymns For Other Varying Occasions

A number of hymns composed by the Lutheran authors in the time of the Thirty Years War for other varying occasions could apply just as well to any other period. But by taking into consideration the needs of various people in different situations which are common in life, the Lutheran hymnists, especially John Rist and John Frank, showed their awareness and concern for what was happening to Christians as they faced life.

John Rist is strong in this area of writing hymns which are to be used by Christians in their various occupations in life. So for example he writes a hymn for a soldier.

⁵⁵ E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 801.

Du mächtiger Herr Jesu Christ,
 Du Held von groszen Thaten
 Der Du nicht zu bezwingen bist
 Durch Streiten oder Rathen
 Du Kraft, Du Wunderbar,
 Du Helfer in Gefahr,
 Sei Du mein Schild und Schutz,
 Auf dasz der Feinde Trutz
 Mir gar nicht könne schäden. ⁵⁶

Turning to the plight of a Christian who finds himself in the position of being in command of an army, Rist writes:

Ich bin ein Mensch, der Obrigkeit
 Zu Diensts ganz ergeben;
 Dich müssen andre Kriegsleut'
 Auch unter mir noch leben,
 Drum ruf' ich, Herr, zu Dir:
 Lasz ruhen über mir
 Der Geist der Stärk' und Kraft,
 Der dasz Vermögen schafft,
 Dasz ich Dir recht kann dienen! ⁵⁷

The seaman too is remembered by Rist as he writes a mariner's hymn which looks to God for protection and favourable winds.

Wir hören Deinen Zorn und Grimm:
 Du aber merk' auf unsre Stimm'
 Und hilf, sobald die Wassernoth
 Uns drauet den so nahen Tod!
 Verleih' uns aus Barmherzigkeit
 Bequenen Wind und schöne Zeit
 Den Sturm lasz bald verüber gehn
 Und uns ein lieblich Wetter sehn! ⁵⁸

The plague was often to be felt in Germany. Rist composed a hymn to be used in time of plague in which he asks God to give strength to endure it and that God may restore health to the

⁵⁶ Theodor Hansen, op. cit., p. 224.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 254.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 255.

afflicted community.

Ach Herr! wir haben diese Plag
 Uns auf den Halsz gezogen:
 Die Pest ist Leider! diese Tag
 Uns scheunigst zugeflogen,
 Es hat die Seuch uns angesteckt,
 Das Grab hat manchen schon bedeckt,
 Eh man es recht erwogen.

.
 Hilf mir und andern diese Last
 Jetzt gnädig auch ertragen

.
 Sei gnädig, Herr, und lasz uns bald Gesunde⁵⁹
 Leiber und Gestalt durch deine Gut, erwerben.

To show the concern of John Frank for the common occurrences
 in life one need only look at the titles of some of his hymns:
 "Um fruchtbaren Regen,"⁶⁰ "Zur Zeit groszer Dürre,"⁶¹ "Zur Zeit
 grosser Nässe,"⁶² and "In Krankheit."⁶³

The Personal Nature of Hymns

It is true that perhaps the development of hymns from a
 corporate nature to a more personal emphasis might have been a
 natural evolution, but nevertheless the personal and individual
 stress to be found in some of the Lutheran hymnists of the period
 of the Thirty Years War fitted well the need of the time. Person-
 al assurance and comfort were needed greatly by the individual

⁵⁹ Coburgisches Gesang-Buch, p. 865.

⁶⁰ Julius L. Pasig, op. cit., p. 100.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 102.

⁶² Ibid., p. 107.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 50.

as he found himself fleeing before the onrush of war and persecution. As a fair representation of the works of a number of the Lutheran hymnists has been given there is no need to give any more additional examples of the "personal" trend. But a few opinions of authorities on this point may be of value. Julian says that John Heerman marks the transition from the objective standpoint of the hymnwriters of the Reformation period to the more subjective and experimental school that followed him.⁶⁴ The hymns of John Rist are regarded by Julian as being originally meant more for private use than for public worship.⁶⁵ Berthau is of the opinion that Paul Gerhardt marks the beginning of a new era in the history of religious poetry for with him a strongly personal character becomes evident. Out of the 120 hymns which appeared in the first collection devoted to his works, 16 begin with "I" and more than 60 of the remainder concern only Gerhardt's heart and its relation to God.⁶⁶

Hymns Coloured by War Pictures

In a number of the hymns of the period of the Thirty Years War there is evidence of the taking over of war pictures into the realm of theological content. It can not be said that the

⁶⁴ John Julian, op. cit., p. 505.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 965.

⁶⁶ Carl Berthau, "Paul Gerhardt," Scaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1950), IV, 464.

Thirty Years War caused this, for not only was such a practice common before this period (compare "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott" by Dr. Martin Luther in the previous century), but such language may find its background in the New Testament concept of the "Christus Victor." Nevertheless it is interesting to see the language of war employed at a time when war itself was very real for the people.

Paul Gerhardt frequently makes use of war pictures. He envisions the devil as waving the flag of victory after having apparently conquered Christ with death.

Er war ins Grab gesenkt,
 der feind trieb grossz Geschrei
 Eh ers vermeint und denket,
 ist Christus wieder frei,
 Und ruft Victorial
 Schwingt fröhlich hier und da
 sein Fähnlein, als ein Held
 der Feld und Muth behalt.⁶⁷

Opposed by the forces of evil, Gerhardt is yet confident of victory in God.

Wenn mich die böse Rott anfällt
 Und mein Fleisch wil verschlingen,
 So kan sie dieser starcke Held
 Gar leicht zu Boden dringen:
 Wenn sich auch gleich ein gantzes Heer
 Legt umb mich her, was ist's denn mehr?
 Mein Gott kann sie bald schlagen.⁶⁸

Death is pictured by Gerhardt like an arrow which is aimed at his heart, but because of Christ, this arrow has been broken and no longer holds any dread.

⁶⁷ Philipp Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 44.

⁶⁸ E. Langbecker, op. cit., p. 739.

O tod, o Tod, schreskliches Bild,
 O ungeheure Larve:
 Wie machst du dich so gross und wild
 Mit deinen Pfeilen scharfe:
 Hier ist ein Hertz, das dich nicht acht,
 Und spottest deiner schroden Macht,
 Deiner verbrochnem Pfeile.⁶⁹

John Frank makes use of a war picture when he asks God to teach him to fight so that he might be able to overcome the opposing forces of the devil, world, and his flesh.

Verleih' auch einen Heldenmuth,
 Wenn wir jetzt sollen k"ampfen
 Mit Teufeln, Welt und unserm Blut,
 Hilf, dasz sie uns nicht d"ampfen.
 Sei du der rechts Mittelsmann
 Und nimm dich unsrer treulich an,
 Lehr' uns Arme kriegen,
 Dasz wir behalten Oberhand,
 Und, wenn der Feind ist ubermannt,
 Mit groszen Freuden siegen.⁷⁰

Conclusion

The Lutheran hymnists reveal in their works a lively concern for life as it meets them in their age. They are not only concerned, but they also act under the stresses imposed by the atmosphere of war. In their Klagelieder and Thranenlieder they reveal their essential human nature which feels with the times; in their Trostlieder and Hymns of Trust they point to God as the true source of comfort for a Christian; in their Sterbelieder they prepare themselves and others for a Christian reception of death, which is not an event to bring dread and fear; in their

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 600.

⁷⁰ Julius L. Pasig, op. cit., p. 46.

CHAPTER VI

VERDICTS ON THE RELATION OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR TO THE LUTHERAN HYMNISTS

The Opinion of Authorities

It is generally agreed that the Thirty Years War period was one of great productivity for the Lutheran hymnists. Instead of the poetic expression of religion suffering an eclipse, the reverse was true and many new hymns came into being. Adversity brought forth fresh attempts to interpret the meaning of Christianity for the individual in life as he found it effecting him.

Koch says:

Statt dasz die Dichtkunst im Kriegslärm verstummt und durch den Greuel der Verwüstung zum Schweigen gebracht worden wäre, ist dadurch gerade die Schwungkraft des Glaubensgeistes am mächtigsten erregt worden.¹

The War brought forth the expression of that which was inmost in the hearts of the hymnists; it revealed their strength of faith, the peace which they found through trust in the promises of God.

Koch sums up this idea well when he writes:

die äusere Trübsal und das namenlose Elend, das mit dem dreissigjährigen Religionskrieg über Deutschland und die hoch bedrängte evangelische Kirche kam . . . bildete sich eine renste, tief gehende religiöse Stimmung, und die in der Trübsal Geubten und Bewährten sprachen die Innigkeit ihres Glaubens, die Ruhe ihres Vertrauens auf Gottes Verheisungen, die Freude ihres Herzens an dem trostreichen

¹Eduard Emil Koch, Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belfer'schen Verlagshundlung, 1867), p. 2.

Wort des Herrn und die ganze Lebendigkeit ihrer Christen-
hoffnung in salbungreichen Liedern im Gewande einer ächten
Volks und Bildersprache aus.²

Nelle is of the opinion that "die deutsche Kirchenliederdichtung
durch nichts so sehr gefördert worden ist, als durch den dreis-
zigjährigen Krieg" ³ Preusz, after positing the time of
Luther as the first great period for Protestant hymnology, re-
gards the Thirty Years War as the second great age.

Aber gerade auch diese unselige Zeit des Dreissigjährigen
Krieges erschlieszt wieder einer überreiche Quell des
Kirchenliedes. Das evangelische Kirchenlied erlebt seine
zweite grosse Periode.⁴

Brandi indicates that it is often through adversity that the
inner spirit of man flourishes and blossoms forth, and so it is
never safe to disregard the influence of difficult times on the
spiritual life.

Wer will es wagen, die Wirkungen schwerer Zeiten auf das
geistige Leben unmittelbar darzutun? Das Geistige lebt in
langeren Rhythmen als die materielle Kultur und zieht in
Gegensatz zu ihr oft genug gerade aus Elend und Not höhere
Werte, als aus Wohlstand und Lebenssicherheit.⁵

Kaiser, too, indicates that the adversity of the times did much
to influence the writing of hymns, although the War was also

² Ibid., pp. 1f.

³ Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen
Kirchenliedes (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessman's Verlagsbuchhandlung,
1904), p. 83.

⁴ Hans Preusz, Das Kirchenlied in den geschichtlichen
Stunden der deutschen Nation (Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav
Schloeszmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937), p. 12.

⁵ Karl Brandi, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation
und Gegenreformation (Leipzig: Koehler und Ameland, 1941), p. 566.

responsible for many losing their faith.

Viele kamen zwar in jenen furchtbaren Schreckensjahren immer mehr ab von Sitte und Glauben, aber die ihre Religion nicht verloren hatten . . . wurden nur noch mehr in die Arme des himmlischen Tröstens getrieben. Darum sind auch zu keiner Zeit in unserem deutschen Lande so viele glaubensvolle Lieder gemacht worden und so viele fromme Dichter aufgestanden wie in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges.⁶

Routley provides an interesting insight when he lays stress on the pastoral aspect which he finds in the German hymnody of the period and goes on to say that the Thirty Years War provided an ideal opportunity for this exercise of pastoral concern by the hymnists.⁷ Concluding this very brief section on the opinions which authorities hold on the relation of the Thirty Years War to the Lutheran hymnists, one might record the view of Heussi who says that the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy, which includes the years of the War, was the golden age of Hymnology for the Lutherans.⁸

The Conclusion on the Basis of the Evidence Presented in the Body of the Paper

The Lutheran hymnists were vitally concerned with life as it affected them during the age of the Thirty Years War. They

⁶ Paul Kaiser, Paul Gerhardt (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1906), p. 28.

⁷ Erik Routley, Hymns and Human Life (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), p. 42.

⁸ Karl Heussi, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1957), p. 368.

did not seek refuge in an escape mechanism which would divorce them from the realities of the troublesome times, but turned to meet the events which came rushing to meet them and their country. Largely their concern was parochial, however they often raised their vision and concern beyond this level rejoicing with the nation when peace came and sorrowing with the people when this respite from hostilities was taken away. Corporate concern can be seen evidenced in the hymns which long for peace, which rejoice at specific events in the progress of the War in Germany, and which offer advice and comfort to people in particular situations.

Many of the hymns seem to have arisen out of events which influenced the lives of the authors. These events may have happened while living in their home town, while traveling, while studying in certain cities, while teaching, or while taking charge of a parish. A number of the occurrences which are recorded by the Lutheran hymnists in poetic form can be directly traced to the progress of the Thirty Years War, but in many cases this can not be done and in general it is the condition of the whole country which provides the background. In as much as the Thirty Years War had an effect on the condition of the states in Germany one can speak of an influence being exerted on the Lutheran hymnists by the War.

The conditions of the age gave an opportunity for the Lutheran hymnists to express what the Christian faith can mean at such times. It was this faith which seems to have given the strength for the hymnists heroic expressions. Resting secure in the

knowledge that through faith in Christ, their Redeemer, they had nothing really to fear, even from death itself, they found comfort for themselves and for their fellow Christians. Christ had died for them and because of this, if death should come their way, they had the glory of a perfect life and peace to look forward to, which would be free of all the cares that now afflicted them. They had a sure trust in the providence of God, and they were certain that whatever happened to them was happening because it was God's will. God would not forsake them in their hour of need. Whatever blessings came into their lives were due solely to God. The gift of peace itself, which they all longed for so ardently, could only come to Germany through God's grace.

The Thirty Years War, through its influence on the German states, and thus on the lives of the Lutheran hymnists, provided the background for the expression of faith by these hymnists. It seems to the author that in this sense one can speak of an influence of the Thirty Years War on the Lutheran hymnists of the period. The form of the expression of faith by the hymnists was governed by the Lutheran belief in which they were educated, but the areas of concern which called forth particular stresses were influenced by the War. One can not say that the hymnist would not have been so productive in this period if it had not been for the hostilities, but one can say, or so it seems, that the areas of their productivity were outlined in part by the War and the conditions it helped to produce. The Lutheran hymnists rose to meet the challenge of the times in which they lived, and in

so doing reached great insights for the application of the Christian faith to the problems of the day. Perhaps they would have reached such depth of expression even without the trials of the Thirty Years War, but the author has a feeling that the influence of the period had much more to do with the poetic expressions of the hymnists than can ever be proved.

Je gröszer Kreuz, je stärker Glaube,
Die Palme wächset bei der Last;
Die Süszigkeit fleuszt aus der Traube,
Wenn du sie wohl gekeltert hast.⁹

⁹ Eduard Emil Koch, op. cit., p. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altenburgisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch. Altenburg: in der Herzogl. Sächs. Hofbuchdruckerei, 1793.
- Berthau, Carl. "Paul Gerhardt," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. IV. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1950. Pages 463-64.
- Bobertag, Felix, editor. Grimmelshausens Werke. Vol. I. Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, n.d.
- Brandi, Karl. Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation. Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1941.
- Brüssau, Adolf. Martin Rinckart. Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloeszmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936.
- Büchner, Arno, and Siegfried Fornacon, editors. Die Lieder unserer Kirche. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958.
- Coburgisches Gesang-Buch. Druckts und verlegts Moritz Hagens, F. S. Hof-Buchdr. sel. Wittib und Erbe, 1739.
- Ebeling, August. Die Gedichte von Paulus Gerhardt. Hannover und Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1898.
- Egelhaaf, Gottlob. Gustav Adolf in Deutschland. Vol. LXVIII of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1901.
- Ehler, Sidney, and John Morrall, editors. Church and State through the Centuries. London: Burns and Oates, 1954.
- Ergang, Robert. The Myth of the All-Destructive Fury of The Thirty Years' War. Pocono Pines, Pennsylvania: The Craftsman, 1956.
- Fletcher, C. Gustavus Adolphus. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.
- Gardiner, Samuel R. The Thirty Years War. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co., n.d.
- Hansen, Theodor. Johann Rist und seine Zeit. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872.
- Heussi, Karl. Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1957.

- Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892.
- Kaiser, Paul. Paul Gerhardt. Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1906.
- Koch, Eduard Emil. Geschichte der Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs. Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag der Chr. Belfer'schen Verlagshandlung, 1867.
- Langbecker, E., editor. Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt. Berlin: Verlag der Sander'schen Buchhandlung, 1841.
- Latourette, Kenneth S. A History of Christianity. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953.
- Ledderhose, Karl F. Das Leben Johann Heermans. Heidelberg: Universitätsbuchhandlung von Karl Winter, 1857.
- Leipzig Gesangbuch. Leipzig: bey Christian Gottlieb Barnbeck, 1784.
- Loesche, Georg. Zur Gegenreformation in Schlesien. Vols. CXVII/CXVIII of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. Leipzig: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1915.
- Lueken, Wilhelm, editor. Lebensbilder der Liederdichter und Melodisten. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957.
- Lutheran Hymnal, The. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941.
- Nelle, Wilhelm. Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes. Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904.
- Oesterly, H. Simon Dach. Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Speemann, n.d.
- Ogg, David. Europe in the Seventeenth Century. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1954.
- Pasig, Julius Leopold. Johann Francks geistliche Lieder. Grimma: Verlag von J. M. Gebhardt, 1846.
- Preusz, Hans. Das Kirchenlied in der geschichtlichen Stunden der deutschen Nation. Leipzig und Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937.
- Reddaway, W. F. A History of Europe 1610-1715. New York: Burnes and Noble Inc., 1952.

- Routley, Erik. Hymns and Human Life. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953.
- Schamelius, J. Martinus. Commentarius, Evangelsicher Lieder. Leipzig: zu finden bey Friedrich Lanckischens Erben, 1737.
- Wackernagel, Philipp. Johann Heermans geistliche Lieder. Stuttgart: Verlag von S. G. Liesching, 1856.
- . Paulus Gerhardtts geistliche Lieder. Stuttgart: Verlag von Samuel Gottlieb Liesching, 1849.
- Ward, A., and G. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, editors. The Thirty Years' War. Vol. IV of the Cambridge Modern History. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1906.
- Wedgewood, C. V. The Thirty Years War. New York: Yale University Press, 1939.
- Winter, Georg. Dreissigjährigen Krieges. Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Separat-Conto, 1893.
- Wirtembergisches Gesangbuch. Stuttgart: bey Christoph Friedrich Gotta, Hof-und Kanzleybuchdrucker, 1793.