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Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm*

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John Williamson Nevin

ART. III.—CHRISTIAN HYMNOLOGY.

[COMPOSED FROM ALT'S "DER CHRISTLICHE CULTUS."]

To begin with the Apostolical period, it is acknowledged on all hands that Christians then, as was the case with the Jews in general, made use of the *Psalter* for singing, both in public and private worship; and so when the Reformed Church, in the time of Calvin and Beza, confined itself to the same psalmody, it may be considered in one view to have been a return to the primitive usage. St. Paul himself, however, (Eph. 5: 19; Coloss. 3: 16,) along with psalms makes mention of "*hymns and spiritual songs*;" and the opinion of the Reformed theologian, Le Clerc, that these passages also refer simply to the *Psalter*, designating with these three names only three different sorts of psalms, is not likely to be sanctioned now in any quarter. As naturally as the term "psalms" in both passages, refers to the sacred songs contained in the *Psalter*, so plainly are we required to conceive of the "hymns and odes" as referring to other compositions. Nor need we be at any loss with regard to these. Such *hymns* we meet with in the Old Testament; for example, the triumphal song of Moses (Ex. 15.), the songs found in the 32nd and 33rd chapters of Deuteronomy, the victory chant of Deborah (Judges 5.), the thanksgiving of Hezekiah (Isaiah 38.), &c; and still later specimens of Jewish composition in the same line, are presented to us in the book of Sirach (ch. 44-50.), and in the song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. As regards the "spiritual songs," or "odes," mentioned by St. Paul, we need only call to mind the custom which prevailed among the heathen, of joining with their religious sacrifices and banquets all kinds of songs, the contents of which could not fail to be in many ways offensive to those who were converted to Christianity. In

opposition to these heathenish songs, the followers of Christ are called upon to sing such as were spiritual and edifying; a practice not without some precedent, as we may learn from Philo, even among the serious minded *Essenes*, at whose meals in common some one always chanted a hymn of praise to God, either composed by himself or borrowed from some older poet. Similar songs of praise are found in the New Testament; the anthem of the blessed Virgin, for instance, (Luke 1: 46-55,) and that of Zacharias, (Luke 1: 68-79,) which, according to Schleiermacher, are to be regarded as hymns, that existed in the time of the Evangelist, and were thus incorporated by him into his historical narrative.

It is not so clear that Muenther is right, in taking certain passages of the Apocalypse, (such as the new song of the Lamb, c. 5: 9-13; the heavenly act of praise, c. 11: 15-19; the song of Moses, c. 15: 3, 4,) to be fragments of ancient hymns. For, since the book bears throughout the character of lofty poetical inspiration, there does not seem to be any sufficient reason for singling out from it in this way, particular parts as poetical quotations, where the rythmical form may be owing simply to the nature of the subject. There is better reason for admitting the supposition of such a fragment in the words used by St. Paul, Eph. 5: 14:

“Awake, thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead;
And Christ shall give thee light!”

because the passage is introduced by the clause, “Wherefore he saith,” implying a distinct citation, which, however, is not to be found in the Old Testament. Two other passages, 1 Tim. 3: 16, and 2 Tim. 2: 11, have been represented also to be such fragments; but the most we can say of them is, that they may be, not that they must be, of this character.

Holding ourselves to the express voice of history, our attention is carried first to the *Syrian* Church, which, so far as our knowledge of Christian antiquity goes, had its first hymnologists in Bardesanes and his son, Harmonius, who belong to the last half of the second century; whilst of the Greek hymnologists of the first and second centuries, (with the single excep-

tion of Athenogenes, whom Basil the Great mentions as the author of a doxology,) we know not even the names, to say nothing of their songs.

From such dearth of information, it might seem natural to infer a dearth of authors. In the opinion of Muentzer, however, we have no right to come to any such conclusion. Rather we have no reason to be surprised, he thinks, that we should know next to nothing of the hymnologists, which may be supposed to have belonged to this early period; because, in the first place, our notices of the first centuries of the Christian Church, in general, are very meagre and fragmentary; and then, again, we know that in the Pagan persecutions one thing especially aimed at, was to destroy the ecclesiastical books, to which belonged, of course, any collections which might have been made of hymns. Augusti refers besides to the *disciplina arcani*, which must have made it an object with Christians carefully to keep secret such hymns as had for their theme the Trinity, or the Divine Majesty of Christ; whilst he reminds us, at the same time, that there was in the ancient Church a difference of opinion, with regard to the lawfulness of using for Church purposes, any compositions of this sort, not taken directly from the sacred Scriptures.

How precarious all such reasonings are, hardly needs to be shown; and one who should choose to dispute the existence of church hymns in the Greek Church of the first two centuries, would not be likely to alter his mind from having it explained ever so clearly, how and why they *might* have perished so as to leave for us no trace of their use. So much is certain, that the great body of Christians, in the earliest times, belonged to the ruder class of people, and that such church hymns as are here in consideration, regarded at least as the property of the laity, cannot well be thought of as in use, till such a measure of cultivation had come to prevail, on the part of the people, as would create for them some proper need and demand. Whilst then, there may have been occasional effusions of Christian devotion here and there, in the form of original song, the worship of these first times confined itself in the main, no doubt, to the psalms; which were regarded as songs given by God.

and the use of which was the more easy and welcome, as almost every one of them was found to include a reference to Christ.

Just this, however, served to put the heretics out of humor with the psalms; and as it did not seem expedient to question the correctness and necessity of such interpretation in which Jews and Christians agreed, both referring the psalms to the Messiah, with only the difference that the latter saw already fulfilled in Christ those representations which the former applied to a Messiah who was expected still to come, it became naturally enough an interest with the antichristian tendency in question, to have the biblical psalms superseded by others that might better comport with its own doctrinal views.

When Ephraim, the Syrian, tells us, therefore, of the already mentioned Gnostic philosopher, Bardesanes, (about a. 172,) that in imitation of David he had composed one hundred and fifty psalms, we may infer that it was his purpose, not just to bring in some new hymns, but to furnish the Church in form with another Psalter altogether, which it was hoped might take the place of that previously in use. Such as adhered to the true doctrine of the Church, however, could not be pleased with the pretended improvement. The new psalms abounded with Gnostic dreams and fancies; and it was plain enough, that by coming into popular use they were in danger of becoming a vehicle of wide-spread ruinous error.

Still they struck a chord in the common mind, from which they seem to have met a welcome response. They suited a want of the time, and fell in with the popular feeling and taste. Hence they were not to be set aside by mere authority; nor would it answer now to fall back simply on the psalms of David. For, not to speak of the advantage the new hymns had over the Jewish psalmody in point of well sounding melody and rhythm, they had already begun to diffuse the poison of various false sentiments, which needed to be counteracted in a more direct way. Ephraim saw all this; and courageously addressed himself to the task of meeting the evil in the only manner in which it could be done with full success. Being possessed of poetical talent himself, he undertook to compose

orthodox hymns of his own, in opposition to those of Bardesanes and Harmonius; and so well did he succeed, that not only the heretical hymns at that time fell into disuse and oblivion, but his own came into such enduring credit that they continue to be used in the East even down to the present day. Many of them are alternative songs, and some almost dramatic dialogues, as for instance the song in parts between the Virgin Mary and the Wise Men at the birth of Christ. As regards number, the Syrians ascribe to him 12,000 hymns, the Copts as many as 14,000, with the express remark, at the same time, that this is to be understood, not of single verses, but of whole songs consisting of several stanzas. It must be borne in mind, however, that he stands as the general representative of the whole Syrian hymnology, and that many hymns from less distinguished later authors have thus been attributed to his name.

A similar influence of the heretics in the ecclesiastical hymnology, appears to have had place also in the Greek Church. Eusebius, in his Church History, quotes an older writer against Artemon, who denied the divinity of Christ, as appealing to "many psalms and odes, written of old by believing brethren, in which Christ is extolled as the Divine Logos." Origen expresses himself to like effect, when he says to the heathen philosopher, Celsus, among other things: "We celebrate with hymns God and his Only Begotten Son, as do also the sun, moon and stars, and all the heavenly host; for all these, as a divine choir, join with just men in singing the praises of God over all and his blessed Son."

Whether such hymns proceeded, in the first place, from polemical interest, or were the free effusions of faith in Christ, cannot now be certainly known. But it is clear enough, at all events, that they were in use before the middle of the third century; and we need not be surprised, therefore, to find Paul of Samosata, a decided opposer of all the *later* hymnological productions. The more directly and plainly they gave utterance to the true Church faith in regard to the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ, the less agreeable were they, of course, to his heretically disposed mind. As a bishop, however, he could not declare openly the real ground of his dissatisfaction; and

so he was fain to cover it over with a show of zeal for David's Psalms. These the Church had all along held to be of Divine inspiration, and could not, therefore, reasonably find fault with him for giving them the preference over the hymns in question, which were after all the product of only human art. To his own mind, at the same time, the Psalms seemed to be in a great measure free from all that he found offensive in the reigning Church faith, as distinctly enunciated in the orthodox hymns. These proved not less offensive in a somewhat later period to the heretic Arius; and he, accordingly, more bold than Paul of Samosata, was not contented with trying to set them aside by insisting on the exclusive use of the Psalter, but believed himself called to make a better provision for the religious wants of the people by hymns of his own composition. And as it was the general character of Arianism, by rejecting all that was mysterious, to bring Christianity as near as possible to the practical understanding of men, and to lay stress on its moral virtues more than upon its incomprehensible dogmas, the hymns of Arius seem also to have been mainly of this turn, referring to practical rather than doctrinal themes; so that even zealous opponents of the man were constrained, not only to acknowledge his own strict personal morality, but to allow also, that, by his hymns for travelers, sailors, &c., he had exerted a salutary moral influence likewise upon others. Supposing the orthodox hymns of the time to have been combinations simply of doxological and dogmatical formulas, as was probably the case, it is easy enough to understand how, in comparison with them, the popular practical songs of the Arians, might, for a time, meet with more favor from the common world. These were out and out intelligible, while the Church hymns, by their prevailing doctrinal character, appeared to be both obscure and less suited for the purposes of edification. With this was joined the great pains which the Arians took with their public worship, contriving especially by the singing of their hymns, to render it very solemn and impressive; for they held their processions, we are told, in the deep silence of the night, by the light of torches, with sounding chants and antiphons—which had the effect of drawing to them crowds of people.

Whether with reference or not to such heretical hymns, we find the Council of Laodicea, in its 59th canon, decreeing, "that thenceforward no private psalms, (*ᾠαί μὴ ἰδιωτικαί*;) and no uncanonical books should be used, but only the canonical books, of the Old and New Testament."

That these "private psalms" stand immediately opposed to the psalms of David, is clear enough. Still it is a question, whether the prohibition is to be regarded as extending at once to all hymns without exception which were not taken from the Scriptures, or only to such as were held to be doctrinally unsound, like the Psalter, for instance, of the Apollinarists. In the first case, the Council would have declared itself against all that had been done in the way of such composition after the time of the Apostles; in the last case, it must be understood as condemning only the works of those hymnologists, who, as private persons, held no charge in the Church, and so were not to be trusted as caring properly for the purity of doctrine, without meaning at all to reject the hymns of orthodox teachers; and this second view seems to be the one which it is necessary to accept in fact, as the true sense of the canon. Gregory of Nazianzum, at least, did not allow himself to be restrained by the Laodicensian decree, from composing ecclesiastical hymns; neither did his contemporary Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, (about a. 400;) and Chrysostom of the same period thought he could perform for the Church no better work, than when he sought to outdo the Arians, if possible, by bringing out more excellent hymns than theirs, in the service of the right faith. It might be said, indeed, that as the Council of Laodicea was only a Provincial Synod, these bishops paid no regard to its prohibition, as being of no universal or permanent force. But the Council of Chalcedon, (a. 451,) it must be remembered, sanctioned and confirmed the proceedings of this very Synod, making them to be thus of general authority. When we find the Church then, notwithstanding, making use of new hymns afterwards, along with the Psalter, it shows clearly enough that the prohibition in question was considered as referring only to heretical productions.

True, neither the hymns of Gregory, nor those of Synesius,

have remained a permanent property to the Greek Church, and their use was not perhaps at any time altogether general. But this is to be ascribed, not so much to any prejudice against their novelty, as to their peculiar form and the altered circumstances of the Church in subsequent times. It has often been asked, how it comes, that the Greek Church, which glories so much in the high antiquity of its Liturgy, and has shown itself so true to the ancient forms in general, should, nevertheless, in the matter of hymnology, have given preference to the later poets of the eighth and ninth centuries, over those of the fourth—more especially as the advantage of poetical merit is unquestionably on the side of these last. Let the following serve for answer. Gregory of Nazianzum, was in truth not only a deservedly celebrated theologian, but so distinguished a poet also, that philologists, like Grotius and Valkenaer, have not hesitated to place him beside the best among the classics. But, of his many poems, a few only were properly church hymns; and even these were too much cast into the peculiar mould of the author's cultivated and scientific thinking, to be adapted for common popular use. Still more was this the case with the hymns of Synesius, of which we have ten still extant. With their palpable imitation of the Pagan forms of poetry, and their characteristic vein of philosophical and theological speculation, they might pass indeed as respectable samples of the Alexandrian taste in their day; but they lacked popular simplicity too far, to be fitted for the edification of plain persons. This of itself, would account for their not coming into much use in the Church. Another circumstance, however, of no less weight, made itself felt in the case. In the time of these writers, when Arianism prevailed, the controversies concerning the Trinity and the Divine nature of Christ, and so also such hymns as referred to them in a strong and marked manner, were of general interest. Afterwards, these questions having come to a close by the full triumph of orthodoxy, attention was drawn more to other points. It was disputed concerning the veneration of the "Mother of God" and the Saints; and in proportion as the mind of the Church went in favor of this, there was a disposition to welcome hymns of

which they were made the subject and theme. These seemed indeed to be what was now mainly needed, inasmuch as the new heretics attacked not the doctrine of Christ's person, but the honor which was held to be due to the Virgin and Saints. The want began to make itself felt especially in the eighth century; from which time, accordingly, we find a series of hymnologists, who labored for its satisfaction. Of these, the principal were, Cosmas, Bishop of Majuma, (730,) Andreas, Bishop of Crete, (724,) Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, (740,) John Demascenus, (750,) Theophanes, Metropolitan of Nice, (854,) and Joseph, Deacon at Constantinople, (880,) who was the author of forty hymns to the Virgin.

They furnish what the Church wanted, a rich number of compositions devoted to Mary, or in honor of the Saints, suitable to the numerous festivals of the year; and for this service, they were not only praised as "sacred singers" by their grateful cotemporaries, and compared to the "tuneful cicada" or the "musical nightingale," but have secured for themselves besides also an abiding reputation with posterity.

Over against these Oriental hymns, those of the Western or Latin Church, are distinguished for a beauty and dignity peculiarly their own, however little claim they may have to the character of poetry in its more finished forms. The philologist who has been accustomed to classical elegance is often ready to smile, on reading the first verses, at their barbarisms and awkwardness of expression; but as he proceeds farther, his features become more earnest, and almost involuntarily he finds himself disposed to devotion. Hundreds of skilful poets have tried to translate them, and have employed all the charms of diction and rhythm to give the seemingly artless and simple monkish rhymes in modern version. But all their artistic efforts in this way have failed entirely to come up to the effect, which the originals have produced for centuries, wherever read and understood. And what is it that arrests us here with so much power? "Simplicity and truth," replies Herder, rightly. "Here sounds the language of an universal confession, of *one* heart and faith. Most of them are so constructed as to answer for singing at all times, or are fixed to regular festi-

vals and return with these continually in the circuit of the year. They never confine themselves exclusively to a particular feeling only or thought ; everywhere rather they offer us the language of Christian devotion in grand accents."

Take for instance the well known morning hymn :

Jam lucis orto sidere
Deum precamur supplices,
Ut in diurnis actibus
Nos servet a nocentibus ;
Linguam refrænans temperet,
Ne litis horror insonet ;
Visum fovendo contegat,
Ne vanitates hauriat ;
Sint pura cordis intima,
Absistat et vecordia ;
Carnis terat superbiam
Potus cique parcitas ;
Ut, quum dies abscesserit
Noctemque sors reduxerit,
Mundi per abstinentiam
Ipsi canamus gloriam.
Deo patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli filio,
Cum spiritu paraclito,
Nunc et per omne sæculum, Amen.

How simple and general the thoughts ! It is a hymn for all ages and conditions of life, and for every day alike. It has never been new ; and just for this reason it can never grow old.

This character of broad proportioned generality meets us at once in the compositions of Hilary of Poitiers, the oldest Latin hymnologist, († 368 ;) for whom also, in all probability, the thought of using his talent in this way was suggested by the Arian hymns, with which he had become acquainted in Phrygia, during his banishment there, for holding the true faith. It is true, indeed, that most of the hymns which have come down to us under his name, are rejected by modern criticism as spurious. Against the genuineness, however, of the morning hymn : "*Lucis largitor splendide*," no reasonable doubt can be urged ; and this of itself is sufficient to prove, that what has now been said of the Latin hymnology in general, applies in full force also to his productions.

Better known to us, through his sacred poetry, is the celebrated Ambrose, of Milan; who, in like manner, as he tells us himself, wrote hymns in honor of the Holy Trinity, in order to defend the Catholic faith against the false doctrine of the Arians. At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish here also between the genuine and the spurious. Even in the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo had to complain, that many worthless compositions had been attributed to Ambrose to give them credit; and while, in the older editions of his works, and in the Breviaries, over thirty hymns are assigned to him, his Benedictine critics felt themselves bound to acknowledge as genuine not more than twelve. Among these, the first place belongs to the following: "*Aeterne rerum conditor;*" "*Deus creator omnium;*" "*Splendor paternæ gloriæ;*" "*O lux, beata Trinitas;*" "*Veni redemptor gentium.*" One of the rejected hymns is the magnificent *Te Deum*, the so called Ambrosian chant, which he is reported to have composed for the baptism of Augustine. As the first ascription we have of it to Ambrose, is in a writer of the eleventh century, while his biographer, Paulinus of Milan, and others belonging to the same age, say nothing on the subject, it seems more reasonable, with Usher, to hold Nicetus, Bishop of Treves, (535,) for its author.

Prudentius, the cotemporary of Ambrose, was likewise a distinguished hymnologist; besides being the author of different larger poems, of a theological and philosophical character. Of his proper church canticles, particular mention is due to the lovely hymn for the Festival of the Innocents: "*Salvete flores Martyrum,*" and to the funeral song: "*Jam moesta quiesce querela.*"

From the poetical compositions of Sedulius, (about 450,) the Church has borrowed only the two Christmas hymns: "*A solis ortus cardine,*" and "*Hostis Herodes impie.*"

Not less beautiful are the hymns of Fortunatus, (600;) particularly the two celebrated Passion hymns: "*Pange lingua, gloriosi prælum certaminis,*" and "*Vexilla regis prodeunt.*"

Gregory the Great also († 604) rendered good service to the Church in this department. His hymn for Thursday before

Easter : "*Rex Christe, factor omnium,*" was pronounced by Luther, the best of all hymns; more, however, with reference to its genuine evangelical sentiment, probably, than to its poetical form.

Among the hymnologists of the eighth century, may be named particularly the pious and learned Bede, († 735;) of whose eleven hymns, one on the Ascension, has continued in Church use.

To the age of Charles the Great, belongs Paul the Deacon, († 799,) the author, among other pieces, of a festival hymn for John the Baptist, commencing with the stanza :

*" Ut queant laxis
Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum
Famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti
Labii reatum,
Sancte Ioannes !"*

from which, Guido of Arezzo, is known to have borrowed the first syllables, *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La*, as names for tones or notes in music, the use of which, in some countries, continues to the present day.

To the same age, probably, is to be assigned also the hymn for Pentecost, improperly attributed to Ambrose : "*Veni creator Spiritus.*"

Especially deserving of notice in the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is Robert, King of France, (997–1031,) famous both as a poet and a komponist, and the author, according to Durandus, of the exquisitely beautiful Pentecostal hymn : "*Veni Sancte Spiritus.*"

To this period belongs also the antiphon : "*Media vita in morte sumus,*" (In the midst of life we are in death, &c. ;) the original of Luther's "*Komm hei'iger Geist, Herre Gott,*" "*Veni Sancte Spiritus, Reple tuorum corda fidelium,*" &c. ; and the celebrated address to the Virgin : "*Salve Regina, mater misericordie.*"

From the twelfth century, we have the justly prized compositions of the pious Peter Damiani, and those also of the genial and glowing Bernard of Clairvaux. It is interesting to

compare with Paul Gerhard's "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," the hymn of this last "Ad faciem Jesu," beginning :

"*Salve caput cruentatum,
Totum spinis coronatum
Conquassatum, vulneratum,
Arundine verberatum,
Facie sputis illita.*"

The great scholastic doctor, Thomas Aquinas, of the thirteenth century, (†1274,) is the author of the hymn for high mass : "*Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*, &c. ; also of the longer production : "*Lauda Sion salvatorem*," devoted in like manner to the awful sacrament of the altar.

To the thirteenth century also belongs what has been well denominated the "gigantic hymn," once ascribed by some to Gregory the Great, or Bernard of Clairvaux, but composed in reality by the Minorite friar, Thomas of Celano, the world-renowned : "*Dies iræ, dies illa Solvet sacellum infavilla*," &c.

To another Franciscan monk, Giacomo Benedetti, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we are indebted for the beautiful : "*Stabat mater dolorosa Juxta crucem lacrimosa, Dum pendebat filius*," &c. No one can say how many translations of this hymn, and of the *Dies iræ*, have been made into the modern Christian tongues. It is acknowledged, however, on all hands, that no one of them has ever succeeded in doing anything like full justice to either of the originals.

Excellent, however, as these and other hymns in the Catholic Breviaries might be, of what account were they for the mass of the people, unacquainted, as they were of course, with the Latin tongue ? We find this a subject of complaint, more particularly among the Germans, as far back as the ninth century. We need not be surprised, then, that efforts were made in certain quarters to form and bring into use hymns in the vernacular dialects. Quite early, as we may learn from Jacob Grimm and Wackernagel, a number of such compositions made their appearance in Germany. In the course of time, these were followed by others ; so that altogether this country was by no means so destitute of popular religious songs, in the period before the Reformation, as many might be disposed to

imagine. We may distribute them into the four following classes or kinds:

I. *Versions and reproductions of the old Latin hymns.* Among those who did good service by such translations, may be mentioned in particular John, "the monk of Salzburg," (toward the close of the fourteenth century;) by whom as many as eleven hymns were reproduced in this way. A certain brother Dietrich, after him, translated three; and subsequently others also lent their hand to the same work, to whom it may be sufficient merely to refer in this general way.

II. *Mixed songs, half Latin and half German.* These prevailed especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the best known specimens, is the Christmas hymn, ascribed to Peter Faulfisch, († 1440,) commencing with the verse:

*"In dulci jubilo
Nu singet und seid froh,
Aller unser Wonne
Liegt in præsepio;
Sic leuchtet vor die Sonne
Matris in gremio,
Qui est A et O."*

It was once pretended that this Peter Faulfisch, (otherwise Peter of Dresden,) being the first who proposed to introduce German hymns into church use, was only allowed after much entreaty, as a particular favor from the Pope, to bring in such as might be mixed with the Latin in this way; and that he set himself accordingly to the task of composing the one just mentioned, and a number of others in similar style, for that purpose. But better inquiry has shown the whole representation to be false. For, in the first place, this very hymn, "*In dulci jubilo*," has been proved much older than the time of Peter of Dresden, being plainly referred to and named in a manuscript of the previous century; whilst the origin of mixed poetry itself lies as far back as the tenth. The thirteenth century in particular was rich in compositions of this fantastic style, both comic and serious. Neither is it difficult at all to account for them. They grew naturally enough out of the position of the writers, who as men of education found themselves, on the one hand, familiar with the Latin and more or less helpless in the use of

the common tongue, while, on the other hand, they sought to make their Latin intelligible to the people by joining with it words and phrases from the vernacular as a sort of running key to its hidden sense. Such poetry was common in France and England, as well as Germany. It sounds strangely ludicrous now ; and we are apt to think of it only as a species of childish and wilful buffoonery. But every such phenomenon needs to be judged from the platform of its own age and time. Considered in this way, as the product of what we may call the transition period of the middle ages, this mongrel versification is not without its claims to respect.

III. *Original German hymns.* Some such there were, which were actually sung by the people, though it might be only on great occasions, such as high festivals, processions, pilgrimages, &c. Among them may be quoted as one of the oldest, the popular favorite :

*Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist
Umbe den rechten Glauben allermeist,
Dass er uns behuete an unserm Ende,
So wir heim suln fahrn aus diesem Elende. Kyrieleison."*

To this class belong also the old Easter song: "*Christ ist erstanden ;*" the Christian's song: "*Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ ;*" the Pilgrim song: "*In Gottes Namen fahren wir ;*" the Pentecostal verse: "*Christ fuhre zu Himmel ;*" together with the hymns to the Virgin: "*Ave Maria, ein Ros ohn alle Dorn,*" "*Ave Morgensterne, erleucht uns mildiglicht,*" "*Dieß Frau vom Himmel ruf ich an,*" and others.

IV. *Accommodations of the popular secular songs.* These, however, belong more to the period of the Reformation itself, than to the time going before. An interesting example of this species of composition is found in the spiritual variations of the familiar drinking song :

*" Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich han,
Der liegt beim Wirth in keller,
Er hat ein hoelzern Roecklein an
Und heisst der Muscateller," &c.*

In one of these new versions, the theme is made to be Christ : "*Den liebsten Herren den ich han,*" &c ; in another we have

the "Muscateller" boldly transformed into the Virgin Mary:

*"Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich han,
Der ist in des Himmel's Throne,
Maria heisset sie gar schon," &c.*

Altogether, however, the hymns here spoken of did not amount to very much for the people. In the ordinary church services, use was still made exclusively of the established Latin chants; only on some special occasions, as before remarked, the people were allowed to bring forward, not the vernacular versions of these, nor hymns of the mixed order, or of the sort last mentioned, but their old native rhymes, short and quaint, formed originally for such use. Processions and pilgrimages, in which a number of persons, with some religious object in view, moved together from one place to another, gave opportunity especially for such popular singing. We read of companies of persons in this way, during the middle ages, passing from country to country, or from town to town, on foot, with strange dress and staff in hand, to visit particular churches or shrines, and causing the air to resound, wherever they came, with songs in praise of God and his saints. The "*Flagellants*," as they are called, who traversed all Germany, during the time of the great plague in the fourteenth century, had a number of penitential hymns which they sung in such fashion, along with their other strange observances, to excite contrition in the public mind. But these were cases confessedly aside from the common practice and rule. It was reserved for the Reformation to open the way fully for popular singing in the churches; and it was Luther himself, more than any one else, who took the lead in this revolution, and by his influence contributed to settle its character and form.

He put his own hand to the work of providing both hymns, and suitable melodies, for popular use. By his example and exhortation he stirred up others to take part in the same work. Later poets took from him their spirit and tone; and he is to be regarded as laying the real and true foundation, in this way, of the almost boundless structure of the German hymnology in later times.

He wrote himself thirty-seven hymns. Of these, a number

were translations of Latin hymns in common use, such as : "*Da pacem Domini*," "*O lux, beata Trinitas*," "*Veni redemptor gentium*," &c. Several were versifications of particular psalms, or other bible passages, among the rest, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments ; four were old German hymns wrought into new and improved shape ; while as many as six, it would seem, not more, were strictly original and free in their composition.

Of the merits of these hymns it is not necessary here to speak. This is sufficiently attested by their enduring reputation, and the power which has been felt to go with them down to the present time. Their effect, when they first appeared, was very great. With their proper melodies, they fell in so exactly with the popular religious feeling of the time, that it was not easy to set any bounds to their influence and use. Tileman Hesshuss does not hesitate to say, that by the one single hymn of Luther, "*Nun freut euch, liebe Christen-gemein*," many hundred persons were brought to the right faith, who might have had no knowledge otherwise even of Luther's name. The Carmelite monk, Thomas a Jesu, in like manner testifies, "that the cause of Luther had been astonishingly promoted by the fact that his hymns were sung by all classes of people, not merely in the churches and schools, but also in the houses and work-shops, in the markets, on the streets, and in the fields." Nay, they found favor even among his declared enemies. Of this class was Duke Henry of Wolfenbuettel, who, notwithstanding, as Selnecker informs us, caused the hymns : "*Es woll' uns Gott gnaedig sein*," "*Eine veste Burg ist unser Gott*," and some others, to be sung in his court chapel. The Catholic priest represented to him, that he ought not to tolerate such hymns. On his being asked, however, to say what hymns he meant, and having in reply, begun with naming the first of the two just mentioned : "*Es woll' uns Gott gnaedig sein*," the Duke is reported to have cut him short with the sharp interrogation : "*Ei, soll uns denn der Teufel gnaedig sein? wer soll uns denn gnaedig sein, denn Gott allein*." So the priest was silenced, and Luther's hymns continued to be sung as before.

At Lubeck, in the year 1529, as a Catholic priest, having preached, was about to offer the prayer following sermon, two small children suddenly struck up the Lutheran hymn : "*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein,*" when the whole congregation at once fell in and carried it through. And so afterwards, also, whenever a sermon was preached in opposition to the new doctrines, the people followed it spontaneously with the same hymn; till finally the government yielded to their earnest entreaty, and consented to recall the Protestant ministers who had been previously banished from the place.

It was in somewhat similar style, that the Reformation was sung into Heidelberg. The Elector Frederick, through fear of the Emperor, was slow in making up his mind to abolish the mass, and it remained in use, accordingly, as late even as 1646. In that year, however, on a certain occasion, as the priest stood at the high altar in the Church of the Holy Ghost to perform the service, a solitary voice first, and then at once the entire congregation, began to sing aloud the familiar hymn of Paul Speratus : "*Est ist das Heil uns kommen her ;*" thus plainly showing how deeply the popular mind and will were bent on having a change of worship. In view of which fact, we are told, the Elector hesitated no longer, but forthwith gave order that the mass should be set aside, and the Lord's Supper administered in both kinds after the Protestant fashion.

The first hymn book in the service of the Reformation was published by Luther in the year 1523, and consisted of simply two plain quarto leaves, containing the two hymns : "*Nun freut euch, liebe Christen-g'mein,*" by himself, and "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her,*" by Dr. Paul Speratus. In the following year, a collection of eight hymns appeared, text and melody together as before. In 1526 the number published was thirty-nine; and from that time on additions were made almost every year, till they came to be counted at last not only by hundreds but by thousands. The Danish statesman, Moser, had in his possession in 1751, a collection of 50,000 printed German hymns; and now the number is considered to be more than 80,000. Nearly every ten years, from the time of the Reformation, has produced a new, more or less

classic poet in this line, or at all events, some new classic composition; whilst single writers, such as Schmolck and Hiller, have alone produced over a thousand hymns, to swell the general stream.

The hymnology of Germany since the Reformation, like its religion and theology in general, has a history—not simply a numerical heaping together of names and dates—but a regular process or movement in which the subject is comprehended as a whole from one period to another. Its main periods are, 1st, From Luther to Paul Gerhard (1524–1650); 2nd, From Paul Gerhard to Gellert (1650–1754); 3rd, From Gellert to the present time.

With all the poets of the first period, the so called “older school,” the distinguishing characteristic is *objectivity*. It was the period of faith and youthful religious life. Its hymns are taken up with the great objects of Christian devotion, the facts and realities in which it properly terminates, rather than with the frames and feelings simply of those that sing. Firm, evangelical trust in the truths of the Bible forms their reigning tone and spirit throughout. The human sinks out of view, to make room for that which is held to be immediately divine. Hence their essentially popular nature; their enduring suitability, like the old Latin hymns of the middle ages, to all classes of persons and to all times. They are not of an order to wear out or grow old.

Among the more important hymnologists of this period, after Luther himself, may be named, according to their countries and tendencies, the following:

First the Saxon Reformers: Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology at Wittenberg, († 1552,) author of the hymns, “*Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns haelt, wenn unsre Feinden toben*” (after Ps. 123.); “*Der Herr rhoer euch in der Noth*” (after Ps. 20.); “*Herr Jesu Christ, dein Erb wir sind*” (after Ps. 79.).—John Agricola, of Eisleben, († 1566,) who composed two hymns after Ps. 2 and Ps. 117.—Paul Eber, Doctor of Theology and General Superintendent, († 1569;) he wrote several hymns, among others, the well known lines for a dying person, “*In Christi Wunden schlaf ich ein, Die machen mich von Suenden rein, &c.*”

Friends of the Reformation in Nuremberg: Lazarus Spengler, a leading member of the city council, († 1534;) Hans Sachs, the celebrated minstrel, († 1576;) he exercised his art in turning hymns to the Virgin or saints, into hymns to Christ, as "*Dich Frau vom Himmel ruf ich an,*" into "*Christum vom Himmel ruf ich an,*" "*Sanct Christoph du heiliger Mann,*" into "*Christe wahrer Sohn Gottes fromm,*" and so in other cases, which served to show his sympathy with the cause of the Reformation; as did also indeed his versions of familiar secular songs into a religious form, such as, for instance, "*Rosina, wo war dein Gestalt Bei Koenig Paris Leben,* &c., into "*O Christe, wo war dein Gestalt Bei Papst Sylvesters Leben.*" Sebaldus Heyd, the author of a number of hymns. John Hesse, who, among other things, turned the popular song, "*Insbruch ich muss dich lassen,*" into a hymn commencing, "*O Welt ich muss dich lassen.*"

Prussian Reformers: Paul Speratus, († 1554,) author of "*Es ist des Heil uns kommen her,*" and a number of hymns besides. John Graumann, (Poliander,) assistant of Speratus in the Prussian Reformation († 1541). Albert Junior, Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach († 1557). Erasmus Alberus, († 1553,) a poet, whose hymns are placed by Herder and Gervinus in the same rank with Luther; he wrote, "*Gott hat das Evangelium,*" "*Wer Gotts Wort hat, und bleibt dabei,*" &c.

Cotemporary with these, in different parts of Germany, were: Nicolaus Decius, Preacher at Stettin. John Schneessing, (Chiomusus,) Preacher at Gotha. Adam Reussner. John Matthesius, who produced, among other compositions, the beautiful morning hymn, "*Aus meines Herzen's Grunde.*" Nicolaus Hermann, the "old pious precentor" of Joachimsthal in Bohemia, and the intimate friend of his pastor, the excellent Matthesius just named; whose custom it was, we are told, when the pastor preached a good sermon, forthwith to turn its leading sentiments into the form of a hymn; the result of which, in the end, was Hermann's "*Evangelia auf alle Sonn-und Festtage in Gesaengen aufgestellt*"—a book first published at Wittenberg in 1560, and formerly much used.

The first main period from Luther to Paul Gerhard may

itself be distributed into three subdivisions. In that case, the first closes with Hermann (a. 1560). After this, follows what may be styled the "time of controversy among the disciples of the Reformers," (1560—1618;) in the course of which, the hymnology, without parting with its objective character, is found gradually losing the inspiration of vigorous and joyous faith which it had in the beginning, and assuming the form of dry doctrinal statement in conformity with the too often barren polemics of the day. In many cases, they degenerated into short dogmatical tracts in verse, or became mere bible texts and passages turned into flat and worthless tissues of rhyme.

Among the crowd of such tame versifiers, however, there were not wanting, during this time, names of true poetical merit. As such we may mention: Bartholomew Ringwaldt, († 1598,) from whom we have, among others, the valuable hymn, "*Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit*," formed after the *Dies irae*. Nicolaus Selnecker, († 1592,) the intimate pupil and friend of Melancthon, whose moderate Melancthonian tendency drew upon him the fierce hostility both of the rigid Lutherans, (they nicknamed him "Seelhenker,") and of the Crypto-Calvinists, a bitter trial that lasted all his days; as a monument of his spirit, he has left, in addition to other productions, behind him, composed in the heat of the sacramental controversies, the tenderly affecting hymn, "*Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesu Christ*." His cotemporary, Ludwig Helmbold, († 1598,) Pastor and Superintendent at Mühlhausen, who has been styled the "German Asaph," on account of his many hymns and who was publicly crowned as poet at the Diet of Augsburg, a. 1566, by the Emperor, Maximilian II., continues to be still favorably known, especially by his popular composition, "*Von Gott will ich nicht lassen*." Caspar Bieneman, (Melissander,) who was a disciple of Matthias Flacius in the Synergistic disputes, was called to suffer hard persecution from his opponents, reaching even to many years of banishment, and from whom we have the hymn, written in the time of his sore trouble, "*Herr wie du willst, so schicks mit mir*." Martin Schalling, another disciple of Melancthon, who, notwithstanding his dis-

position to pursue a conciliatory course, was yet, for refusing to sign the Form of Concord, thrown into prison and deprived of his office of Superintendent in Amberg, though he found a peaceful settlement afterwards again in Nuremberg, († 1608,) is favorably known by the hymn, "*Herzlich lieb hab ich, dich o Herr.*" To Martin Moller, († 1606,) we owe the hymn, "*O Jesu Gottes Laemmelein.*" Martin Behemb wrote one hundred and fifty sermons on the Passion, which he afterwards converted into one hundred and fifty prayers in rhyme. From Philip Nicolai of Hamburg, († 1608,) we have the two celebrated hymns, "*Wie schoen leucht uns der Morgenstern*" and "*Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme.*" Valerius Herberger, († 1627,) deserves to be named as the author of "*Valet will ich dir geben.*" Here must be named also Louis, Duke of Wurtemberg, († 1593,) a prince, more theological it seems, than political, who often assisted his own Tübingen divines, it is said, by whispering into their ear the right bible texts which they could not always at once call to mind; he is the author of the hymn, "*Die weil mein Stund vorhanden ist.*"

Fruitful as the time was, however, in the production of sacred songs, it continued very sparing, thus far, in their church use. Only the most solid and approved hymns were sung in public service; and these stood for the most part unchangeably fixed, not simply for the festival seasons, but even for the common Sundays. So, for example, on all the Sundays between Easter and Ascension, it was customary to sing regularly the same hymn: "*Vater unser im Himmelreich.*" With such practice, the whole congregation were of course perfectly familiar with these standing songs; so that it would have been considered a sort of unbecoming affectation for any one in singing to use a book, *reading* from it "like a precentor." With regard to this, however, a change began to prevail during the latter portion of the main period now under consideration.

The "Thirty Years War" fell heavily on Germany and the Protestant Church; but it was not without its salutary influence in the sphere of religion. It served to draw off the minds of men from dry theological disputes, and to give a more inward and earnest turn to their Christian thinking. One effect

of this was, a new character, to some extent, in the hymnology of the Church, opening the way for what has been considered the third subdivision of the general period ending with Paul Gerhard (1618-1650). Koch's estimate of it is too favorable, when he pronounces it the "Schöne Blüthenzeit," both of church music and church song; although it is not to be denied, that we are indebted to it for many truly excellent hymns, distinguished particularly for their pathos and inward unction. It must be admitted, however, that a considerable improvement took place about the same time in the German language and versification. But whatever superiority the hymns of this period may have over the older ones, in point of pure and flowing style, they fall behind these decidedly in true Church worth; being characterized not unfrequently by a certain diffusiveness, and a sort of didactic preaching moreover, that does not compare to advantage with the more brief, full, and direct heart-utterances of the earlier school.

One of the earliest and most distinguished hymnologists of this period, is John Heermann, of Silesia, († 1647,) the author of about forty hymns, which have found general and enduring approbation. Still more worthy of note is the truly poetical Andreas Gryphius, († 1664,) whose sixty-four hymns, although they cannot be said to keep always within the bounds of proper Church simplicity, are always replete with sound Church sense. Henry Held, († 1643,) deserves mention also, a lawyer, and one of the best poets of the older Silesian school. The richly gifted Paul Flemming belongs to the same time († 1640); to him the Church owes the admirable hymn, "*In allen meinen Thaten*," composed as he was setting out upon his journey to Persia. John Rist, († 1667,) stood in high credit among his cotemporaries as a religious poet; was crowned with the imperial laureate in 1664; became a member of the so-called "Fructiferous Society," in 1645, with the honorary title of "Der Rüstige;" and founded himself, in 1660, the poetical "Swan Order of the Elbe." He wrote six hundred and fifty eight sacred songs; many of them indeed not of much worth; as his great popularity tempted him to write too much, and the wonderful facility with which he made hymns, led him too of-

ten to substitute verbosity for strength, mere breadth of language for depth of thought. By way of justification for this, indeed, he tells us in the preface to his "*Seelenparadies*," that it is only through much bruising, the heavenly spices of the Bible give forth their full force and odor ; but it must be allowed, that the process in his own hands results too often in a sort of hollow bombast, merely made to supply the place of the true spirit and power of devotion. With all this, however, he has left behind him a number of truly beautiful hymns. John Hüfel, his friend, Doctor of Laws and Counsellor in Schweinfurt, († 1683,) was also one of the better poets of the time ; a most earnest minded man, who had his own coffin made in the eighteenth year of his age, and in his later life read little else than funeral sermons, of which he had a collection of four thousand ; the author, among other hymns, of these two : "*O suesses Wort, das Jesus spricht zur armen Wittwe, weine nicht*" and "*Was traur'ich noch.*" Another eminent poet is Dr. Joshua Stegmann, († 1632,) the author of the truly classic composition, "*Ach, bleib mit deiner Gnade.*" From David Denike, († 1680,) we have about twenty hymns ; among them, "*Wenn ich die heiligen Zehn Gebot,*" and "*Hilf Gott, wie hat der Teufel itzt die Leut in seinen Stricken.*" Justus Gesenius, his colleague, († 1671, as Dr. of Theology and General Superintendent in Hanover,) wrote also several hymns of the better class. He and Denike published besides, the Hanoverian Hymn Book, remarkable as being the first that ventured to give older hymns in an altered form. The alterations, it is true, regarded only faults in the versification and language of these earlier compositions, leaving their sound Christian matter and substance untouched ; but still they were a small prelude in their way to the more serious rage for innovation which came to prevail at a later time. With these may be named Tobias Clausnitzer, the author of the universally familiar hymn, "*Leibster Jesu wir sind hier ;*" and the noble minded Martin Rinkart, who composed, on the occasion of the Westphalian Peace, that stirring, trumpet toned anthem, "*Nun danket alle Gott, mit Herzen, Mund und Haenden.*"

As forming the Königsberg or Prussian school of the time,

the subject requires us to notice : Simon Dach, its proper master and head, († 1659,) worthy of imitation, less through his poetical genius, however, than his cultivated style, as a pattern of contemplative lyrical composition ; we have from him about one hundred and fifty hymns. Henry Alberti, organist to the Cathedral Church in Königsberg ; he distinguished himself, not merely as the componist of a number of excellent choral melodies, but also the author himself of several good hymns. Valentin Thilo, Professor of Rhetoric, († 1662,) to whom we owe the hymn, "*Mit Ernst ihr Menschenkinder.*"

The most brilliant position here, however, belongs to the pious and devoted Paul Gerhard, († 1676, as Pastor at Lübben,) in whose person finally we have the transition from the first leading or main period of the German hymnology over to the second. He was at home himself, we may say, in both, worthily closing the older stadium as he worthily introduced also the new. "Gerhard's poems," Wackernagel aptly remarks, "mirror the transitional character of his age, in which the subjective tendency, the power of individual feeling began to make itself felt in connection with the more objective confessional spirit of the time going before ; so that we may look upon him as the last and most complete of the religious poets, whose minds moved strictly in the confession and faith of the Church, as a system of facts beyond themselves, while he is seen also to lead the way for the succession of that different class, in whose hymns the adoration of God, and homage to the revelation of his attributes and works, yield to the expression of those sentiments, with which the soul is overpowered in view of its own relations to the High and Holy One. He stood on the summit of the age, and both tendencies were united in him with the fullest life." Of the one hundred and twenty hymns composed by him, more than thirty are classic models for all time ; such as : "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund ;" "Ich weiss, dass mein Erbeser lebt ;" "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden ;" &c.

Dividing again, as is variously done, the second main period of the German hymnology, from Gerhard to Gellert, (1650–1760,) into subordinate sections, we may include in the first,

the immediate discipleship of Gerhard himself, a school whose lyrical productions in general bear the character of popular believing devotion. As belonging to this circle, we name: The pious princess, Louisa Henrietta of Brandenburg, († 1667,) who composed four hymns; among these the two of classic celebrity, "Jesus meine Zuversicht" and "Ich will von meiner Missethat." William II., Duke of Saxe-Weimar, honored with the title of "Der Schmachhafte," († 1662;) the author, among several other hymns of the one still in common use, "Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend." John Maukisch, († 1669,) author of "Ach Jesu gieb mir sanften Muth." George Neumark, ornamented as a member of the "Fructiferous Society" with the title of "Der Sprossende;" he composed the well known hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," and furnished it also with its proper melody or tune. John Frank († 1677); he wrote about one hundred and ten hymns, which bear a close relation to those of Gerhard, but at the same time give much more prominence to the subjective element, and first begin to strike the chord of that longing after inward union with Christ, whose vibrations enter so largely soon afterwards into the poetry of the Church. Ernst Christoph Homburg, known in the Poetical Society before named, under the title of "Der Keusche," and possessing much of the same character, († 1681;) among his one hundred and fifty sacred lyrics is included the beautiful Passion hymn, "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben." We mention besides only John George Albinus, and Michael Schrimmer, with whom this particular circle may be regarded as coming to a close.

Next follows the Nuremberg circle, members for the most part of a particular Poetical Fraternity established in that place, the leading characteristic of whose compositions may be given as devotional sentimentalism. We have in the case, as Gervinus well remarks, a transition from David to Solomon; and what the Psalms had been before, Solomon's Song became now with the class before us, in the way of type for sacred poetry. As writers of this sentimental pastoral order, it may be sufficient simply to name: George Philip Harsdörf, the original founder of the order; Sigismund von Birken; Andre-

as Ingolstetter; Christopher Wegleiter; and George Christopher Schwümmlein. From these we have quite a number of hymns; some of which are acknowledged to be of lasting merit.

The third circle is formed by the poets of what has been styled, "the second Silesian school;" the character of which Koch, the author of this classification, makes to be a certain mystical habit joined to the sentimentality of the previous class. This holds good in truth, however, only of some few among the Silesian poets; and these are to be regarded as solitary harbingers of the tendency which was afterwards brought out by the influence of Spener, rather than as the proper representatives of the Silesian hymnology in general. The succession of the proper mystical sentimentalists opens with John Scheffler, († 1677,) the title of whose poetry, "*Heilige Seelenlust, oder geistliche Hirtenlieder der in ihren Jesum verliebten Psyche*," is of itself sufficient to show the contact of his mind with the writings of Schwenkfeld and Weigel, as well as the influence which had been exercised upon it by the lyrical school of Nuremberg. He passed over finally to the Catholic Church. Then we have Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, († 1689,) a kindred spirit, known by his alchymistic and cabalistic studies, the results of which were embodied in his famous "*Kabbala Denudata*." Of his seventy-five hymns, glowing throughout with desire for union with Christ, one of the best known is, "*Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit*." A similar character belongs to the two hundred and fifteen hymns of Ludämilia Elizabeth, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, († 1672,) who, even in early youth, despised the world and held "to her Jesus;" as a specimen of her composition, we may mention the sacramental hymn, "*Jetzt kommt mein Gott, ein armer Gast*." Her friend and counselor, Dr. Ahasuerus Fritsch, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Jena, († 1701,) known as the founder of the "*Jesusgesellschaft*," and as the author of "*Hundert ein und zwanzig neuen himmelsüßen Jesusliedern*," belongs to the same mystical tendency.

In proportion, however, as the Christian faith in the latter

part of the seventeenth century, stiffened into cold dead orthodoxy in one direction, and ran into transcendental mysticism in another, there was felt to be both occasion and need for a renovation in the hymnology of the Church as well as in its religious life generally; such as now arose in fact, through the agency mainly of the celebrated Philip Jacob Spener, († 1705;) who opens the way accordingly for a new and widely important era in the history which we have here in hand. He himself composed nine hymns, all pervaded with the deepest Christian feeling. As belonging to his immediate school, and breathing the same spirit with himself, we name: John Caspar Schade, (1698,) so true a servant of the Lord, Spener tells us, that he knew not any his like. The pious and excellent Scrivener, (1693,) author of the celebrated hymn, "Jesu meiner Seelen Leben," in which every verse ends with the refrain, "Ich bin dein, und du bist mein," allerliebstes Jesulein." Baron von Kanitz, († 1699,) Prussian Privy Counsellor, and the intimate friend of Spener in Berlin, distinguished for the union of clear, sound judgment, with the spirit of deep and earnest devotion. John Jacob Schütz, († 1690,) author of the truly churchly and beautiful hymn, "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut." Joachim Neander, German Reformed preacher of St. Martin's church, in Bremen; without poetical brilliancy, his hymns, nevertheless, abound in hearty fervor, are biblical in thought and expression, and avoid all unclean mysticism. Christopher Titius, († 1703,) the writer of fifty-four hymns. Adam Drese, organist in Weimar; suddenly converted from a gay worldly life in 1680, by Spener's writings, and known afterwards as a decided Pietist, († 1718;) author of the hymn, "Seelen bräutigam, Jesu Gotteslamm." Caspar Frederick Nachtenhöfer († 1685). Samuel Rodigast († 1708). Laurentius Laurenti, († 1722;) he wrote a collection of one hundred and forty-nine hymns, under the title, "Evangelia Melodica." Cyriacus Günther († 1704).

These represent what may be regarded as the sound and legitimate form of the Spenerian movement. It is well known, however, that there was a tendency in it also to aberration and excess. This gave rise even in his own lifetime, to three dif-

ferent lines of thinking, which afterwards became more fully developed as so many separate offshoots from his religious system namely, the Mystico-Separatistic, the Pietistic, and the Moravians. These exerted severally an important influence in the sphere of hymnology, and produced in fact three different types of religious poetry, each bearing its own distinctive character and stamp.

Among the writers of the first class, it may be sufficient to mention the names simply of the celebrated Gottfried Arnold, Conrad Dippel, ("Christianus Democritus," as he styled himself,) and Gerard Tersteegen. This last has been pronounced the best lyrical poet of the Reformed Church. His hymns are characterized by a most artless simplicity, but possess at the same time an inimitable depth and force. From Arnold we have one hundred and thirty hymns; "divine love sparks," according to his own title in one case, "sprung and collected from the great fire of God's love in Christ Jesus." Altogether the school was very active in hymnological efforts, as appears from its various collections; among which may be cited in particular, "*Jesuslieder für seine Glieder, sönderlich für die Kleine und Reine, die mehr im Wesen haben als im Scheine*," a work published in two parts, 1720 and 1723.

A far wider field, however, opens before us in the hymnology of the Pietists. Here, also, as in the case of the Mystics, the reigning character is subjectivity, and what we may call the intensification of personal experience, in the form of love to the Saviour and daily soul conflicts with the power of indwelling sin. The tendency groups itself again into three divisions or branches.

First, we have the Pietistic school of Halle. This includes: The celebrated founder of the Orphan House, Aug. Herm. Franke, († 1727,) whose praise is in the whole Christian world; he wrote the two hymns in common use, "Gott Lob, ein Schritt zur Ewigkeit" and "Was von aussen und von innen." His son-in-law, John Anastasius Frelinghausen, († 1730.) Joachim Justus Breithaupt, († 1732.) Joachim Lange, the distinguished defender of the Pietists against Valentine Löschner and the philosopher Wolf, († 1744.) John Daniel Herrn-

schmidt, († 1723.) Christ. Fred. Richter, the pious physician, of the Orphan House, († 1711.) John Henry Schröder, († 1728.) John Eusebius Schmidt, († 1745.) Peter Lackmann, († 1713.) John Joseph Winkler, († 1722.) Wolfg. Christ. Dessler, († 1722.) Ludw. And. Gotter, († 1735;) a most fruitful writer, who turned the whole Psalter into a rhyme, wrought the history of the Passion into a poem of sixty-seven verses, and composed altogether as many as two hundred and thirty-one hymns. Barthol. Crassius, († 1724.) Michael Müller, († 1704.) John Muthmann, († 1747.) Ernst Lange, († 1727.) Emily Juliana, Countess of Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, († 1706;) she wrote five hundred and eighty hymns; among them, "Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende." The whole collection appeared after her death, under the title "*Der Freundin des Lammes geistlicher Brautschmuck*;" and may be considered a sort of connecting link between the older and younger fashions of this school; participating largely as it does in the forms of thought and expression which give to the last its distinctive peculiarity.

This peculiarity consists in the great extreme, to which the subjective tendency is allowed to proceed. Sound Christian feeling, under its influence, degenerates more and more into a sort of fond love-sick sensibility; and for the proper gravity and simplicity of true devotional language is substituted a more affected diction, forced and obscure, abounding in images and allegories drawn from the Old Testament, in which more particularly the bridal relation of the soul espoused to Christ is portrayed frequently in an unbecoming manner.

The best specimens of the style are: Charles Henry von Bogatzky, the author of the widely famous "*Güldenes Schatzkästlein*," († 1774,) who wrote upwards of four hundred hymns. Ulrich Bogislaus von Bonin, († 1752;) originally a soldier, who afterwards studied theology at Halle. Benigna Maria, Countess of Reuss-Ebersdorf, († 1751;) a woman, in whom an unusual extent of learning, such as embraced even a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was joined with the most truly child-like humility and love to the Saviour.

It is, however, in what is known as the Cothen circle, that

we are to look for the most decided expression of this later style of the Halle Pietism. One of its leading representatives was John Louis Conrad Allendorf, Court Preacher at Cothen, afterwards School Inspector in Halle, († 1773 ;) he wrote one hundred and thirty-two "Love Songs to Christ, the Lamb of God and Bridegroom of Believing Souls;" and published also the so-called Cothen collection of hymns, which, from a comparatively small beginning, grew into continually larger size, till at last we find it brought out at Halle in three parts. To the same circle belong : Leopold Francis Frederick Lehr, († 1744,) whose hymns were collected under the title, "Heavenly Delight in God and Christ." Samuel Lau, († 1746,) author of the hymn, "Ach Herr, du wollest die Wehmuth stillen." Christ. Ludw. Scheitt, Court Counsellor and Librarian at Hanover, († 1761,) whose hymns were taken into the Cothen collection. John Sigism. Kunth, († 1779,) to whom we owe the fine hymn, "Es ist noch eine Ruh vorhanden." Ern. Gottlieb Woltdersdorf, († 1761,) the writer of two hundred and eighteen hymns, which he published under the title of "Evangelical Psalms."

The second branch of the Pietistic school takes its name from Wurtemberg. Its poetry preserves throughout a more sound and healthful character than that of the Halle school ; avoids the too amorous tone especially of its later development, as this appears in the Cothen circle ; adheres mainly to the strong and pithy language of the Bible, and instead of losing itself with Tersteegen, and the other mystics of Northern Germany, in the dark and hidden depths of the soul's own life in God, seeks joy and freedom rather after the example of Bengel, and in the true spirit of Suabian hopefulness and faith, in the contemplation of things to come and the prospect of everlasting life. "I have taken pains," says Phil. Fred. Hiller, one of the leading poets of this school, "to cultivate simplicity ; avoiding the exaggerated expressions of a high flowing fancy, and those quite too familiar terms in which some allow themselves to speak of Christ as a brother, of kisses and embraces, of single souls as though each were separately a bride of Christ, or of child-like fondlings of Jesus considered as a little child.

For such reverence towards the majesty of our Saviour, I shall not be blamed certainly by serious minds." He died as pastor in Steinheim, a. 1769; having written no less than one thousand and seventy-nine hymns, most of them of very considerable merit. In particular his "*Liederkästlein*," found universal popularity, and next to the Bible and Arndt's "*Wahres Christenthum*," Knapp tells us, contributed by its general use to form that peculiar style of piety which is associated with the name of Old Wurtemberg. To the same school belong: John Reinhard Hedinger, Court Preacher in Stuttgart, († 1704,) distinguished both for his learning and piety. John Alb. Bengel, († 1752,) who, with his other large claims to praise, is favorably known also by his hymns. William Gottlieb Tafinger, († 1757.) John Christian Storr, († 1773,) one of Bengel's most worthy disciples. John Jacob von Moser, the noble martyr for truth and right, († 1785;) he produced upwards of one thousand excellent hymns; part of which were composed by him during his imprisonment at Hohentwiel, and written with a pair of snuffers on the white wall of the room in which he was confined. Christ. Charles Louis von Pfeil, († 1784;) a zealous admirer particularly of Bengel's apocalyptic ideas, which he wrought accordingly into the form of a series of hymns. He resembles Bogatzky at times.

The third branch of Pietism is that of Upper Lusatia. Here there is an approximation again, in sacred poetry, to the later school of Halle. As belonging to it we may name: Henrietta Catharine von Gersdorff, the grandmother of Zinzendorf, († 1726,) from whom comes the beautiful hymn, "*Befiehl dem Herren deine Wege*." John Mentzer, († 1734;) author, among others, of the New-Year's hymn, "*Nur Jesus, nichts als Jesus heisset*." John And. Rothe, Pastor at Berthelsdorf, under the patronage of Count Zinzendorf; with whom he labored a number of years, till at last their difference of views constrained him to resign his situation, and seek another place, († 1758.) One of his best hymns is the well known "*Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden*."

We come now to the hymnology of the Moravians. Unduly lauded in one direction, it has been as unreasonably disparaged

in another. Devotion to the Redeemer, the overwhelming sense of his love, the apprehension of his spiritual beauty as it shines through the cross, may be said to form its reigning tone. To the rich fulness of this feeling it owes its strength; to the absorbing exclusiveness of it again, as feeling merely apart from doctrine, may be attributed in a certain sense its weakness. On the whole, it is characterized by a large amount of lyrical simplicity, force, and beauty; although at times running into strange fantastical conceits and the most wonderful vagaries of enthusiastic nonsense. Zinzendorf himself composed upwards of two thousand hymns; many of which are deserving of all praise. His productivity was so great in this kind of composition, we are told, that he sometimes improvised verses for his congregation to sing as he gave them out. His son, Christ. Renatus von Zinzendorf, († 1752,) holds a place also among the Moravian poets. We add here besides, as belonging to the list: The celebrated Bishop Aug. Gottlieb Spangenberg, the author of the "*Idea Fidei Fratrum*," († 1792;) who, for his learning and gentleness combined, was rightly styled the "*Melancthon*" of the communion. His successor in the episcopal office, the respectable and worthy Organist, Christian Gregory, sometimes named the "*Asaph of Herrnhut*;" a title which was earned by the composition of a large number of hymns, as well as by his services rendered to the cause of Church music in other ways. Finally, Henry von Bruiningk († 1795).

So much for the Mystics, Pietists, and Moravians. All this, however, gives us only one side of the hymnological history of the period now under consideration. To make it complete, we need to take into view what was going forward in this line at the same time among the Orthodox, the party which made a merit of honoring and obeying the authority of the Church in its established form.

Here we find, in the first place, what deserves to be honored as a sound conservative interest, which made itself felt with salutary force in the way of at least partial counterpoise to the extreme subjectivity of the opposite unchurchly and unconfessional tendency. We may name as its highest respectable rep-

representatives : “ John Jacob Rambach, Professor of Theology in Giessen, († 1735;) one of the most distinguished divines of the age, in whom the love of sound doctrine, and zeal for practical piety, were blended together in the most happy combination. This is shown in his hymns; which are so formed as to address at once both the understanding and the heart. Erdmann Neumeister, Pastor in Hamburg, († 1756;) a very fruitful writer, from whom we have about seven hundred hymns; in which, for the most part, a genuine sense of personal practical Christianity prevails, free alike from dry didactic formality and high wrought spiritual sentimentalism. To his collection belong the universally popular “Eitle Welt, ich bin dein müde,” and “Jesus nimmt die Sünder an;” hymns, which would hardly have led one to guess, that the author was known all his life as the foe of Pietism, and one of the most earnest opponents of “Spener’s errors.” Valentine Ernst Löscher, Pastor in Dresden, († 1749;) known as a more earnest champion still of the unadulterated Lutheran faith; the very learned and highly celebrated leader and head of the orthodox party for years, in opposition to the Spenerian movement. Bernard Walther Marperger, († 1746;) a man of mild Melancthonian spirit, whose moderation drew upon him, with some, the reproach of being himself too favorably inclined to the Pietistic interest. Solomon Frank, of Weimar, († 1725;) the author of about three hundred hymns. Benjamin Schmolck, († 1737;) styled sometimes the “Silesian Rist,” or the “Second Apitz,” in compliment to his poetical merits; who has left us in all eleven hundred and eighty-eight sacred songs, the greater part of them good, both as to matter and style. He took for his pattern Paul Gerhard; and although not equal to him in poetical elevation, he succeeded very well for the most part in seizing his popular homelike tone; which has caused his hymns to be used among pious families in Silesia, in their morning and evening devotions, down to the present time; making him in this respect for Silesia, what Hiller has been to Wirtemberg.

Looking in another direction, however, we find the spirit of sacred poetry in a process of marked deterioration and decline.

Witness such monuments as these following : The collection of Pastor Henry Cornelius Hecker, († 1743;) made up of hymns which he composed as recapitulations of his own sermons, with the view of reducing, as he said, all the articles of faith and morals to verse. The “*Evangelisch Liedertheologie*” of Peter Busch, Pastor in Hanover, († 1744,) in like strain. The “*Theologia in Hymnis*,” published about the same time by Jacob Gottschald, containing a number of metrical tracts on single points of morality, such as the love of dress, the passion for gaming, the use of tobacco, dancing, &c. Finally, though of somewhat earlier date, the collection of Laurence Hartmann, of Critzkow, under the title of “*Des geistlichen und evangelischen Zions neue Ständeslieder*,” made up of hymns for the different professions and trades, clerks, farmers, barbers, &c., taken in alphabetical order.

The period that commences so brilliantly with Paul Gerhard, is to be regarded as dying out in these manifestations. The time called for a new genius, who might be the creator of a new era in the history of sacred song. Such in fact was the pious Christian Fürchtegott Gellert; who died a. 1756, as Professor of Philosophy in Leipzig.

Gellert is to be judged from his own age. We do not find in him the tone of strong vigorous faith, which characterizes the compositions of Luther or Paul Gerhard. But it must be borne in mind, that the time also in which he lived had become altogether different. The objective power of Christianity, considered as a system of pure outward revelation, was in large measure broken. To the subjectivity of mere feeling, the Pietistic tendency, in one direction, there had come to be opposed the strangely kindred subjectivity of mere intellect, the Rationalistic tendency, in another. It was the age of skepticism and of little faith. Gellert's poetry is addressed throughout to this habit of mind; and his merit lies in the power and skill, with which he was able to adapt himself to its religious necessities and wants. Correct, grave, clear, at once didactic and pathetic, his hymns commanded the respect of those who affected to despise the antiquated ideas of previous times, and went at once both to the understanding and heart of all

classes of people. Hence their wide popularity, continuing down to the present time.

But, however good and useful his hymns may have been found, in the view now mentioned, it is still certain that the author stood himself in the bosom of the general religious life, to whose infirmities his mission called him to condescend ; and it is not, therefore, wholly without cause, we may believe, that he has been sometimes represented as one, whose influence served powerfully after all to help forward the reigning rationalistic tendency of the seventeenth century, as it comes out more fully in the mere moralizing tone of others, who feebly attempted to imitate his manner and style. Be this as it may, it is certain at all events that Rationalism now began to make itself felt in the field of hymnology more and more in this way. It became the fashion to take exception to the older hymns, as being out of taste, when the objection lay in fact to their theological heart and life. They must be either modernized or allowed to go into decay. It was the time for moralities rather than mysticisms. Virtues and duties seemed fitter themes for sacred song than the facts of grace or the objects of faith.

Along with Gellert, it is common to name Klopstock, the celebrated author of the "Messiah," († 1803,) as a leader also in the new era of poetry, of which we are now speaking. His own conception of the significance of his supposed vocation in this view, seems at any rate to have been sufficiently high. "I have entered upon a business," he writes in one of his letters, "which I consider my second calling ; namely, the composition of hymns for public worship, one of the hardest things, in my judgment, which a man can undertake. One must be intelligible to the general mass of people, and still do justice to the dignity of religion. It seems to me, however, that God has given me grace to do the work with some success." But in truth his qualifications for any such service were very small. He participated eagerly in the general disposition of the age to substitute reflection, or mere imagination, for faith. He lacked, besides, altogether that hearty popularity of style, which is needed to carry thoughts home to the common mind.

His hymns are elaborate, high sounding odes ; rhapsodies rather, that move on exclamation points like stilts. It is a significant commentary, indeed, on the spirit of the age, that such compositions were able at all to command its admiration. In fact, however, he *was* admired far and wide. With many his hymns were held to be master-pieces of art, "sounding like the resurrection trumpet to the lowest depths of the earth and, far above the stars." With such reputation, Klopstock had, of course, as well as Gellert, many imitators.

To the Klopstock circle belong : John And. Cramer, Chancellor of the University of Kiel, († 1788 ;) known principally by his translation of the Psalms ; his hymnological style loses itself at times in the clouds of mere pathetic declamation. John Casp. Lavater, († 1801 ;) the genial and eloquent pastor of St. Peter's church at Zurich ; who has left behind him as many as seven hundred hymns. Christopher Christian Sturm, († 1786 ;) the "singer of God's greatness and goodness in Creation and Providence ;" some of whose works have been widely popular, through translations, in other countries. He preached Christ and the Atonement, we are told, in his pulpit at Hamburg ; while in his writings, both poetry and prose, before the world at large, his religion seems to run out for the most part into the sentimental contemplation of mere nature ; in compliment of course to the polite but wretchedly shallow "Aufklärung" of the period to which it was his misfortune to belong. Christian Fred. Dan. Schubart, († 1791 ;) he composed a number of hymns, chiefly during his imprisonment of ten years in the castle of Hohenasperg ; whose declamatory pathos, however, was shown clearly enough to have been the fruit of mere transient religious impressions, when he himself soon after forgot all, and lent his talent to the service of the world as theatrical poet in Stuttgart.

The tendency which affected to carry out the spirit of Gellert, was only the same imbecility of faith under another and somewhat different form. Having no power to say, "I believe, and therefore I speak," the religious weakness in question was put to the necessity of making up for such absence of positive Christianity in some other way ; and for this the choice seemed

to lie necessarily between the theatrical parade of sentimental feeling, in the style of Klopstock, on the one hand, and the moralizing tone of mere naturalism, which miserably aped the style of Gellert, on the other. Under this latter character, accordingly, the rationalistic spirit of the age made itself felt in the sphere of hymnology, still more broadly than under the former. It is not necessary here to go into details, or to quote names. All who took part in the movement were not of course equally deficient in the right sort of purpose and ability. But even the better poets and best hymns, belonging to it, were not free, generally, from some mark of the dreary and sickly atmosphere in which they had their growth; while altogether the process was such as to involve, more and more, an entire corruption of the sacred interest, unhappily subjected to its power. New hymn books appeared, with all sorts of so-called "*Verbesserungen*," suited to the culture of the age; in the use of which the congregations were taught and encouraged everywhere, to sing themselves genteelly into full forgetfulness of the faith once sung by their fathers.

With the general religious reaction of later years, which it is usual to date from the "tricentennial jubilee" of the Reformation in 1817, and to regard as the result, at least in part, of the overflowing social and political calamities of the time going before, there has appeared, as might naturally be expected, a sounder feeling also in regard to the hymnology of the Church, and a disposition to see it reanimated once more, if possible, with something of the power of its old life. To what the efforts, which are made for this purpose, may at last come, remain yet to be seen. The great difficulty is, that they are too much the offspring of mere artistic judgment and taste. What is thus composed, with reflection and calculation, can never be popular poetry, in the full sense of the term. It is *for* the people only, not *from* the people, the unconscious outbirth, as it were, of their own life. "However elegant and correct these modern compositions may be," says Gervinus, "and allowing them also to be the product of genuine piety and belief, no one can persuade me that they carry in them the same old faith which gave birth to the old hymns, and

along with this the young fresh strength which sung those old hymns as shield and sword against all evil. Our Christian convictions simply taken may have become intellectually better grounded, our taste more cultivated, our versification and music more artificially complete; but the imposing power of that old faith, the grandeur of that unpretending simplicity, which works far more deeply than the most finished refinement of the modern hymns, is for the present lost to us in religion, poetry and music." This is a melancholy judgment, coming from so high a source; but it is one, for which we fear that there is but too good reason in the actual state of the Church at this time in Germany.

This article leaves out of view entirely the hymnology of Protestant Christianity in other countries. Historically considered, this cannot be said to deserve indeed much separate consideration. The history of hymnic poetry, as an art, has continued to flow ever since the Reformation, with by far its broadest and deepest stream, in Protestant Germany; and here also, what is curious to observe, almost, though not altogether, exclusively in the bosom of the Lutheran Church.

Lancaster, Pa.

J. W. N.

ART. IV.—HISTORICAL PRETENSIONS OF FREE-MASONRY.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the merit or demerit of Masonry as an existing institution. It may have one or the other of these, for aught we know, or wish to inquire at this time. It is well known that honest, and respectable, and religious men in almost every community are members of the order, and to these we hope to say nothing offensive, as they will have the discrimination to perceive that the discussion to

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Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm*  
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Mercersburg Quarterly Review.

PROSPECTUS FOR 1856.

THE MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW will be continued for the year 1856, under the same arrangement as that of the volume just closed. It will maintain the position heretofore occupied. In compliance with the wishes of many of its friends and patrons, it will seek to be popular in style, and to present as much variety in its contents as possible. It is not designed to be exclusively theological, but to take such a range as will embrace the various objects usually contemplated in a well conducted Literary and Theological Review. Whilst the Quarterly will afford an opportunity for the expression of various shades of theological opinion, it expects nevertheless to maintain substantially the same general tendency as that with which the Review commenced, as announced in its Prospectus, the substance of which is here re-affirmed.

Its motto, taken from Anselm, remains the same. According to this, faith precedes knowledge, and not the reverse. In its religious character it will be made to rest on the basis of the Apostles' Creed, taken in its proper and original sense. The last evidence of all truth will be acknowledged to hold only in the person of Jesus Christ, out of which, with irresistible necessity, the articles of this wonderful symbol flow.

But faith, as thus going before knowledge, seeks not to exclude it. It is properly in order to science. It will be assumed thus, always, by the Mercersburg Quarterly, that the mystery of Christianity is objectively in full organic harmony with the constitution of the world as otherwise known, and that it is capable, accordingly, of scientific apprehension under such form. Room will be made in this way for the idea of theology as a living process in the life of the Church, and not a tradition simply in its outward keeping.

Science, so rooted in the realities of faith, can accomplish its growth only as it remains perpetually bound, in the midst of all progress, to the authority of the past. Christianity involves necessarily, as in the Creed, the idea of one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. The Quarterly will continue to be historical and churchly in its character, and it may be expected to lay emphasis on all that truly and properly appertains to religion on this side.

It will be *Protestant*, of course, in opposition to the corruptions of Rome; but *Catholic*, at the same time, in striving to honor and save the glorious and sublime truths out of which these corruptions for the most part spring. In its controversy with Rome, it will allow no companionship with the radical and rationalistic spirit of the age, engaged ostensibly in the same cause.

Though not strictly denominational, the Quarterly, as an exponent in some degree of German Theology and German methods of thinking, will have more or less reference to the religious communion, in which it is most widely circulated. As the German Reformed Church occupies, in many respects, a peculiar position in this country, and her theological character, as derived from her relation to the Church of Germany, is frequently misunderstood or misrepresented, it has become necessary, more so now than at any previous time, that she should have some organ through which she may be heard, and be enabled to defend herself. It is believed that the present publication can be made to meet this want, without interfering with a just attention to other objects of a more general character, which it proposes to promote, and it is hoped that the service thus proffered will be generally appreciated.

With full confidence, therefore, in the past character and present standpoint of the Review, it is commended to the support of its old friends and patrons, and to the favor of the Religious and Literary public generally.

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

SECOND SERIES.

(FOR PROSPECTUS, SEE THIRD PAGE OF COVER.)

THE REVIEW is published quarterly, in the months of January, April, July and October, on the following terms:

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