

THE RECEPTION OF PAUL GERHARDT'S HYMNS
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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by

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Abstract

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Despite the prominence of the hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676) in the liturgical works of J. S. Bach and in churches today, scholars like Irmgard Scheitler and Walter Blankenburg have argued that Lutherans in the seventeenth century used new hymns like Gerhardt's only for private devotion, and did not sing them in public liturgies until the eighteenth century, under the influence of Pietism. In contrast, Christian Bunner argues that church choirs introduced the liturgical use of these hymns before Pietism. This thesis explores the role of Gerhardt's hymns in Lutheran communities in the three spheres of home, school, and church. It critically examines numerous hymnal publications, and presents new evidence from school and church manuscript collections and inventories, not considered by the other scholars, arguing that Gerhardt's hymns were not relegated to domestic use, but were also sung in church in many places by school choirs and perhaps also congregations.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Ann, with love and gratitude.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ebeling 1667 Johann Georg Ebeling, *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten*, 1st ed. (1667)

Ebeling 1669 Johann Georg Ebeling, *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten*, 2nd ed. (1669)

GK 1649 Johann Crüger, *Geistliche Kirchen-Melodien* (1649)

MGG *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*

PPM *Praxis Pietatis Melica*

SLUB Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden

PREFACE

This thesis is an investigation of “The Reception of Paul Gerhardt’s Hymns in the Seventeenth Century.” Each part of this title merits explanation. First, what kind of reception, and by whom? This thesis will focus on how Gerhardt’s hymns were used among German-speaking Lutherans of “orthodox” confession, particularly how people learned them and where and when they sang, played, and prayed them.

Second, why Gerhardt? Gerhardt is one of many other hymn writers of this period, including Johann Heermann, Johann Rist, and Johann Franck; but Gerhardt stands out because of the high theological and poetic quality of his work, and because of his strong influence on later ecclesiastic and musical history—most notably, the prominence of his hymns in the works of J. S. Bach. Bach’s use of Gerhardt’s hymns makes the question of when these became well known as congregational hymns especially important to musicologists. Gerhardt is also important not only because of the continued use of his own hymns in churches today (especially Lutheran ones), but also because Gerhardt can be considered the fountainhead of a deep stream of later hymnody. As the hymnologist Carlton R. Young has pointed out, Gerhardt had a profound influence on John Wesley (who translated some of his hymns) and his brother Charles, and through them, on the later hymnody of the Methodist and evangelical movements, especially in the United States.¹ Gerhardt’s hymns provided the Wesleys with a model for a type of hymnody that was more

¹ Carlton R. Young, lectures on White Gospel Hymnody delivered at the annual conference of the Presbyterian Association of Musicians, Montreat, NC, June 2005.

emotional and subjectively-oriented than traditional Protestant hymnody, and through the Wesleys' influence, Gerhardt's hymns led to the great tradition of American "white gospel" hymnody, which is still flourishing. This stream of devotional hymnody is taking on new forms today as a result of the development in the last thirty years of "contemporary Christian music." Understanding the function of Gerhardt's hymns in the spiritual lives of Gerhardt's contemporaries may lead to a deeper understanding of the role of devotional hymns in the lives of Christians of our own time.

Another reason to focus on Gerhardt is that he had the advantage of having his hymns set to music by personal acquaintances, both of whom focused their publications specifically on his works. Chief among these were Johann Crüger and Johann Georg Ebeling, the two successive music directors at Berlin's St. Nicholas church when Gerhardt was the pastor there. Crüger's most important publications were his famous hymnal *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (PPM), which, starting in 1647, included more Gerhardt hymns in each successive edition, and his two collections of hymn arrangements for chorus and instruments in 1649 and 1657. Ebeling's most significant publications were his 1667 "complete works" edition of Gerhardt's hymns, with mostly original musical settings for chorus and instruments, and his 1669 second edition with the same music rearranged for only two voices, in a similar format to Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica*.

The third part of the title refers to Gerhardt's *hymns* specifically. This study will focus on Gerhardt's metrical, strophic German religious verse, which constitutes most of his output; it is not concerned with his Latin poems, sermons, or other writings that have never been set to music. Looking at *hymns* means studying not only the texts, but also their musical settings by Crüger, Ebeling, and many others, though the investigation is not limited to any particular type of musical settings.

Finally, why the seventeenth century? This thesis will focus on this time period in order to investigate the reception of Gerhardt's hymns before the rise of Lutheran Pietism in the eighteenth century. The present study begins with the first publication of Gerhardt's hymns in 1647 and ends around 1704, the year of publication of Anastasius Freylinghausen's Pietist hymnal, *Geistreiches Gesangbuch*. The Pietist movement is usually said to have begun after the publication of Philip Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria* in 1675, but the first unambiguously Pietist hymn collection is Freylinghausen's. Practical limitations limited the study to only those publications that have been published in facsimile or on microfilm, and that are available for lending in the United States. I acknowledge the severe limitation that this imposes on the work, and I encourage readers who are able to examine these books in person to verify my conclusions.

The orthography of Gerhardt's German hymn titles has been modernized according to the list given in Christian Bunner's *Paul Gerhardt: Weg—Werk—Wirkung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 110–112. All translations in this thesis are my own unless otherwise indicated; I have included the original language in a footnote wherever I thought it would be helpful.

Since very little has been written in English on Gerhardt, and since I was determined to keep this thesis in English as much as possible, a few comments are necessary about how I have translated some of the German terms. In English-language musicology, the word *hymn* usually refers to a strophic, metrical poem that is sung in religious worship. German does not have one word that covers all the types of texts and music denoted by the word *hymn*. I have translated the word *Lied* as “song” or “hymn” depending on the context; *Kirchenlied* is always “hymn.” I have translated *Gesangbuch* (literally, “song book”) throughout as “hymnal,”

since it refers to a printed collection of what are known in English as hymns. These books were not necessarily or even not usually used in church, the way modern hymnals are.

Irmgard Scheitler uses the term *geistliches Lied* to refer to strophic, metrical, religious verse in the seventeenth century, not intended for or used in the public liturgy; she distinguishes this category of poetry from the traditional, liturgically-oriented *Kirchenlied* of the sixteenth century. In my discussion of her work, I translate *geistliches Lied* as “sacred song” and *Kirchenlied* as “church hymn,” in keeping with the distinction she is trying to make, though I disagree with it. Unfortunately for Scheitler, no seventeenth-century hymnals I examined make a clear distinction like this. Hymnal editors of that period did not use any of these terms in the technical way that scholars do today. *Gesang*, *Lied*, *Kirchenlied*, *Kirchen=melodey*, *Kirchengesang*, *geistliches Lied*, and other terms seem to be nearly interchangeable. Hence I have been much freer in my rendering of these terms when translating seventeenth-century sources, generally translating all of the above as *hymn* if it seemed appropriate.

Since much of the debate addressed in this thesis revolves around questions of private versus public worship, it is also necessary to look at the German terms for these. *Gottesdienst* (literally, “God’s service,” often translated in American Lutheranism as “Divine Service”) refers to the public church service. It most commonly refers to the Sunday Eucharistic liturgy, also called the Mass. In seventeenth-century texts, it can also mean a religious service generally, as in *Hausgottesdienst*, a worship service held at home. The term always indicates a formal liturgy of some kind.

The word *Andacht* has a variety of meanings both now and in the seventeenth century, which can cause confusion, especially when dealing with Gerhardt. The term can refer either to the recollection of one’s thoughts in prayer, which would be translated as

“meditation,” “contemplation,” or “devotion”; or to a short religious service, especially a prayer service. *Hausandacht* refers to a domestic religious service held by the family circle. Based on the way Johann Georg Ebeling uses the term in the title of his publications of Gerhardt settings, *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten*, it seems that Ebeling sees his settings of Gerhardt’s poems themselves as little liturgies for devotional practice. They can be used in the *Hausandacht*, and they can be performed with an attitude of *Andacht*, but most importantly, they themselves are a form of *Andacht*.

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Most importantly, I owe sincere and heartfelt thanks to my wife Ann for her love, support, and encouragement throughout this year-long project. Thank you for always helping me to remember what really matters.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), most notably *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* (“O Sacred Head, Now Wounded”), have exerted a strong influence on the liturgy, music, and devotion of Western Christianity. Today Christians of many denominations and languages sing Gerhardt’s hymns in their worship services, such as *Nun ruhen alle Wälder* (“Now Rest Beneath Night’s Shadow”) and *Warum sollt’ ich mich denn grämen* (“Why Should Cross and Trial Grieve Me?”). Gerhardt looms large in the musical world because of the many fine settings of his texts by Johann Crüger, Johann Georg Ebeling (the two successive music directors at the St. Nicholas Church in Berlin, where Gerhardt was pastor), and especially, J. S. Bach. The theological message of Bach’s passions and oratorios is intricately connected to the way Bach or his librettists integrated Gerhardt texts into the structure; “O Sacred Head” is so closely associated in this country with the *St. Matthew Passion* and with Good Friday that many American hymnals simply call the Hassler tune it is paired with PASSION CHORALE. Contemporary interest in this hymnody seems to be increasing, as exemplified by the Rev. Dr. D. Richard Stuckwisch’s ongoing project to produce a supplement to current Lutheran hymnals with new translations of Gerhardt’s hymns.

But while Gerhardt’s texts are used today primarily as congregational hymns, Irmgard Scheitler and Walter Blankenburg have argued that Gerhardt’s poems, most of them

first published between 1647 and 1667, were not sung in public church services until the eighteenth century. As Traute Maass Marshall summarizes this argument in the current Grove article on Gerhardt, in the seventeenth century, “the relatively fixed canon of hymns used in the service did not easily incorporate new ones, and [Gerhardt’s] hymns were used—and probably intended—mainly for private devotional practice. Only with the rise of Pietism in the last quarter of the 17th century did they become part of the regular church service.”¹ This argument is part of a larger debate about the influence on public worship of the “new piety” or “reform orthodoxy” movement in seventeenth-century Lutheranism, which sought to balance the doctrinal rigor of Lutheran orthodoxy with an emphasis on the practice of personal piety of a mystical, affective character; Gerhardt and his contemporaries Rist, Heermann, and Franck, among others, applied the emphases of this movement to poetry, and composers like Crüger and Ebeling gave these texts musical expression, but how and where these texts and settings were used is still very much an open question.

Scheitler, a literary scholar, makes a rather strict distinction between what she sees as the traditional genre of Lutheran hymns primarily from the sixteenth century, which she calls *Kirchenlied* (the church hymn), and the new type of seventeenth-century hymnody, which she calls *geistliches Lied* (sacred song); unlike the church hymn, she claims, the sacred song was only used at home. Since parishioners did not normally bring hymnals with them to church during this period, Scheitler insists that it would have been impossible for them to learn new hymns like those by Gerhardt.

¹ Traute Maass Marshall, “Gerhardt, Paul [Paulus],” in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (accessed June 23, 2008).

Blankenburg accepts Scheitler's claims and credits Pietism with introducing Gerhardt's hymns into the public worship of orthodox Lutheran churches, though he argues that these hymns may not have been widely known even in the time of Bach. This is why, in his view, there are so few seventeenth-century organ chorale preludes and cantatas associated with Gerhardt texts. Since Blankenburg also believes that congregation members did not bring hymnals with them to church in this period, he is skeptical of the frequent advertisements in hymnal titles that the book is to be used "both in church and home," such as those in the publications of Johann Crüger, in which Gerhardt's hymns were first disseminated, and in the "complete works" edition of Gerhardt published by Johann Georg Ebeling. Blankenburg thinks that "both church and home" means that the old hymns in the book (Scheitler's "church hymns") were intended for church use, while the new hymns were for use in home devotions. Based on his analysis of the musical style of Ebeling's melodies, which Blankenburg views as too artful, subtle, and soloistic for a congregation to be able to do them justice, Blankenburg concludes that Ebeling's settings were probably only used in home devotions or house-music sessions, and that Ebeling's advertisements that the settings could be used in church were little more than wishful thinking.

These arguments, based largely on questionable interpretations of circumstantial evidence and misconceptions about how hymns and hymnals were used in this period, fall flat in the face of the new discoveries presented in this thesis, which strongly suggest that musical settings of Gerhardt's hymns were in fact sung in public church services by the choirs of various church Latin schools. Since these musical settings were composed in a style intended for leading congregational singing, it is reasonable to conclude that already in the seventeenth century, congregational members in these places were becoming familiar with Gerhardt's hymns through the singing of the choir, reinforced by the use of these hymns in

their home devotions, and it is quite possible that they sang them in church along with the choir.

This argument was first proposed by the theologian and prolific Gerhardt scholar Christian Banners, who argues that Gerhardt's hymns were sung in the liturgy in some places during the seventeenth century, first by the choir, and later by the congregation. Banners argues that churches in some places, most notably Gerhardt and Crüger's Berlin, were more open to new hymnody in the public service than other places. As Crüger's hymnal prefaces show, Crüger's own theology of worship was strongly ecclesial—that is, he envisioned his hymnals as serving the corporate church, not just catering to private groups like the later Pietist conventicles. Banners points out that Crüger published choral settings of the same hymns that he had included in his hymnals, and suggests that Crüger used these settings to introduce the hymns to the congregation by means of the choir. Banners cites an intriguing statement by the Nuremberg pastor Conrad Feuerlein in the preface he wrote to Ebeling's 1683 Gerhardt collection, in which Feuerlein describes this very method for introducing new hymns. While Feuerlein does acknowledge that in Nuremberg new hymns are not being sung in church as much as he would like, he proposes that the school choir could introduce them to the congregation:

The lack [of new hymns] [...] is not so much in books, as it is in our will, in that we do not introduce more of the good hymns, and after the example of our forebears, make these known first in the school, then also in the church congregation. For that very reason one should not complain about an innovation. For these hymns that we now sing, and our fathers introduced into the church, were also once new in their time, though by now they have become well known and used. So could many a good hymn, one that is pure and beyond suspicion, still furthermore be introduced, if one would first make it known in the schools to the children (though with the consent and judgment of the authorities), and then through these youths as well to those at home (as is happening more and more), but finally to the whole church congregation as well (such as is quite properly practiced with one and another good hymn during the distribution of communion). [...] What thus far has not been able to occur in such a manner, publicly, though, is nevertheless not completely neglected among

various pious Christians at home. And that transmits the spirit-filled hymns that the blessed Mr. Paul Gerhardt [...] has written and that Mr. Ebeling has published with his new melodies.²

There is no doubt that in many places, as Feuerlein says, Gerhardt's hymns were mostly sung at home, but there is new evidence that suggests that the process outlined by Feuerlein and articulated by Banners was in fact the way that these hymns were introduced in some places in the seventeenth century. First, there is a large number of collections of hymns or hymn arrangements containing Gerhardt hymns from the first few decades after those hymns were first published, and second, there are inventories and manuscript collections of Latin school choirs in Saxony and a binder's collection of liturgical music containing Gerhardt settings by Crüger, Ebeling, and others. These inventories and manuscript collections provide hard evidence for how musical settings of Gerhardt's poems were actually used in schools and churches, which challenge the speculative, circumstantial arguments proposed by Blankenburg and Scheitler. This evidence strongly supports

² “Da doch der Mangel nicht so wol in Büchern/ als in unserm eignen Willen ist/ in dem wir nicht der guten Lieder mehrers einführen/ und dieselbe/ nach dem Vorgang unserer Vorfahren/ zu erst in den Schulen/ hernach auch in der Kirch=Versammlung bekandt machen. Man hätte sich deswegen über keine Neuerung zu beschweren. Denn diese Lieder/ die wir jetzt singen/ und unsere Vätter in der Kirche eingeführet/ sind zu ihren Zeiten auch neu gewesen/ und doch bishero wol bekandt und gebrauchet worden. So könnte manches gutes Lied/ welches rein und unverdächtig ist/ noch ferner eingeführet werden/ wenn man dieselbe erstlich in den Schulen denen Kindern/ (doch mit höhern *Consens* und *Gutachten*) hernach durch solche Jugend auch wol den Ihrigen zu Hause (wie schon mehr geschehen) endlich aber auch der gantzen Kirch=Gemein (als bey hiesiger Communion und H. Abendmahls= Handlung/ mit einem und dem andern guten Lied/ gar füglich *practicirret* worden) bekandt machen/ und solchemnach geflissener massen thun wolte/ was der H. Apostel längst geheissen/ mit diesen Worten: *Lasset das Wort Christi unter euch reichlich wohnen/ reichlich/ mit aller Weißheit/ lehret und vermahnet euch selbst/ mit Psalmen und Lobgesängen/ mit geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern/ und singet dem HERrn in eurem Hertzen!* Coloss. 3. 16. Doch/ was bisher auf solche Weise öffentlich nicht hat geschehen können oder wollen; das ist gleichwol/ bey unterschiedenen frommen Christen/ zu Hause nicht gar unterlassen worden. Und das vermittelst der geistreichen Lieder/ die der seel. Herr (*Tit.*) Paul Gerhard/ nach seiner gar besondern/ *sententiosen/ kurtz= und schmackhafften Art/* vor diesem aufgesetzt/ und Herr Ebeling/ mit seinen neuen Melodeyen/ im Druck heraus gegeben.” Conrad Feuerlein, Preface to Johann Georg Ebeling, *Pauli Gerhardi Geistreiche Andachten...* (Nuremberg, 1684), folio iv, verso.

Bunners's thesis that Gerhardt's hymns were not only used in home devotions, but that school choirs introduced them to the congregation even before the rise of Pietism.

In this thesis I will use Gerhardt's hymns as a case study to explore the role of the hymns of the “new piety” movement in Lutheran community life in the seventeenth century, in the three mutually reinforcing spheres of home, school, and church. After reviewing and critiquing the arguments of Scheitler, Blankenburg, Albrecht, and Bunners (chapter 2), I will critically examine the evidence for the dissemination and reception of Gerhardt's hymns before Pietism, focusing on the hymnals and collections of hymn arrangements in which these hymns were first published (chapter 3). Next, I will present new evidence, not considered by these scholars, from the manuscript collections and inventories of churches, courts, and Latin schools throughout the Lutheran lands, that strongly suggests that in addition to their use at home, Gerhardt's hymns were used by school choirs already in the seventeenth century, and therefore also in church (chapter 4). This leads into a discussion of the various ways that hymns and hymn books like those examined in this study were used in the three spheres of home, school, and church (chapter 5). This evidence provides a new perspective on the important early publications of Gerhardt's hymns by Johann Crüger and Johann Georg Ebeling (chapter 6): I suggest that each composer produced hymn publications in two complementary genres, one intended for use by the school choir to lead congregational singing, and another intended primarily for use at home, to practice at home the hymns that were sung in church. I then briefly discuss the rest of seventeenth-century hymnal publications considered in this thesis according to this genre distinction.

CHAPTER 2:

THE SCHOLARLY CONTROVERSY OVER THE USE OF GERHARDT'S HYMNS

2.1 Irmgard Scheitler

2.1.1 Scheitler's Argument against the Liturgical Use of New Seventeenth-Century Hymns

The prevailing view on the new hymnody of the seventeenth-century is still that it came into the public church service only very slowly, if at all, before the rise of Pietism in the eighteenth century. One of the most frequently-cited sources for this view is the literary scholar Irmgard Scheitler, whose 1979 dissertation formed the basis for her book *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock (The Sacred Song in the German Baroque)*.¹ She has summarized her argument in an article, “Sacred Song and Personal Edification in the Seventeenth Century,”² on which the following discussion is based. Much of Scheitler’s research focuses on Opitz, Dach, and Gryphius—all figures earlier in the century than Gerhardt, and more focused on high-art poetry than on hymnody—but she does look at Gerhardt’s contemporary Rist. Though she does not specifically address Gerhardt’s poetry,³ her theories

¹ Irmgard Scheitler, *Das Geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock*, Schriften zur Literaturwissenschaft, Band 3 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1982).

² Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied und persönliche Erbauung im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Frömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zur religiösen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, ed. Dieter Breuer, Band 2 of *Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis*, ed. Martin Bircher et al. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984): 129–155.

³ In fact, in the above-cited article (136), Scheitler mistakenly identifies *Jesu, meine Freude* (by Johann Franck) as being “one of the best-loved songs of Paul Gerhardt.”

are worth examining here because other scholars like Blankenburg and Banners treat her as an authority on seventeenth-century sacred poetry.

Scheitler argues that sacred poetry of this period should be understood in two distinct genres: the “sacred song” (*geistliches Lied*)⁴ and the “church hymn” (*Kirchenlied*). The two genres have distinct uses, the latter obviously being used in the public church service, and the former being used almost exclusively in the private worship service (*Privatgottesdienst*). “Most of the sacred songs produced in the seventeenth century,” she argues, “find their *Sitz im Leben* [function in life] not in the public church service, but in the private exercise of piety.”⁵ The sacred song, she claims, has a more artful character and uses a style closer to chamber music than to “the church style.”⁶ These poems were promulgated in seventeenth-century *Erbauungsbücher*, the “edifying books” of prayers and mystical devotional texts prevalent since the Middle Ages; thus for Scheitler the sacred song is connected to a more internal, personal, individual type of devotion that she says is characteristic of the seventeenth-century movement known as “the new piety” (*neue Frömmigkeit*) or “reform orthodoxy” (*Reformorthodoxie*). Many Lutheran hymn books, Scheitler argues, were primarily intended for domestic use, from the Erfurt *Enchiridion* (handbook) of 1524 to Johann Rist’s *Frommer und Gottseliger Christen Alltägliche Haußmusik* (*The Pious and Godly Christian’s Daily*

⁴ A better translation might be “spiritual song,” referring to Colossians 3:16. Writers on music in the seventeenth century and still today frequently interpret the apostle Paul’s Biblical exhortation to “sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs to God” (NRSV; in Luther’s translation, “Psalmen und Lobgesängen und geistlichen lieblichen Liedern”) as referring to three distinct categories of religious music, though no two writers can agree on what repertoire to assign to each category. See note 11 below.

⁵ “Wie wir gesehen haben, finden die meisten der im 17. Jahrhundert entstandenen geistlichen Lieder ihren Sitz im Leben nicht im öffentlichen Gottesdienst, sondern in der privaten Frömmigkeitsübung.” Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied,” 140.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

House-Music) of 1654.⁷ These books were used as part of a tradition of home music-making with both voices and instruments, as exemplified by the collections of compositions intended for such use by Leonhard Lechner and Johann Staden.⁸ This type of recreational music played an important social role for the educated classes.

According to Scheitler, “if one understands *Kirchenlied* [church hymn] to mean a song of the congregation in a public worship service, and a *Kirchengesangbuch* [church hymnal] to mean a collection of just this type of *Kirchenlieder*, most of them approved by the religious hierarchy, then the common idea that baroque poets like Dach, Rist, Scheffler, and others wanted to create *Kirchenlieder* [church hymns] and that the many *Lied* collections that appeared in the seventeenth century were *Kirchengesangbücher* [church hymnals], is an error.”⁹ Using arguments familiar to many English-speaking readers from Joseph Herl’s *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*,¹⁰ she claims that congregational singing in the Lutheran regions was very slow to take root, and that even in the seventeenth century it was not widespread; in general, she says, the quality of congregational singing was poor and the repertoire small. Especially in the city churches, where the tradition of the Latin Mass remained strong, she says, the congregation had a limited singing role in the liturgy and sang a very small body of hymns, basically limited to the *Stammteil* (main section) of Valentin Babst’s hymnal of 1545. Though this hymnal was reprinted again and again with an appendix containing newer hymns, Scheitler, like Herl, argues that only the hymns in the main section were being sung

⁷ Ibid., 131.

⁸ Ibid. Scheitler cites Lechner’s *Neue Teutsche Lieder mit fünff und vier Stimmen* of 1582 and Staden’s *Haußmusic Geistlicher Gesang* of 1628.

⁹ Ibid., 133.

¹⁰ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

in church.¹¹ Together with Herl she also argues that the rise of concerted figural music (that is, art music for the choir or soloists alone, including cantatas) “pushed back”¹² the congregational singing and further limited its role, rather than supporting it or complementing it.

Thus she writes that “until 1660 practically no new hymns (*Lieder*) came into [the liturgy], and after that only very seldom.”¹³ During the sixteenth century a system of “hymns of the day” related to each Sunday’s Epistle and/or Gospel reading arose that according to many scholars had become fixed in most places. Citing official church ordinances

¹¹ Scheitler’s distinction between *Kirchenlied* and *geistliches Lied* is parallel to her distinction between the *Stammteil* and the *Anhang* of the Babst hymnal. Scheitler’s understanding of how the Babst hymnal was used may have been influenced by the way some nineteenth- and twentieth-century hymnals are organized, where “church hymns” are grouped separately from “spiritual songs.” For example, the rigorously conservative editors of The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America’s *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941) organized their hymnal around the Colossians 3:16 distinction between “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs,” beginning with the texts of the Biblical Psalms, then including a large section of hymns (dominated by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German texts and tunes), and then concluding with a somewhat puzzling section of “Carols and Spiritual Songs,” which includes a miscellany of hymns from *Silent Night* to *Beautiful Savior* and *Onward, Christian Soldiers*. I can determine no clear criterion for which hymns were included in this section at the end except that the editors deemed them to be unworthy of the stature of “true church hymns” because of their comparatively more subjective, individualizing, or “folk-like” character.

These editors also may have been following an older tradition from nineteenth-century hymnals: at a flea market I examined a Lutheran hymnal published in Berlin in 1900 that similarly concludes with a section labelled “Geistliche Volkslieder”—sacred or spiritual folk songs. The contents of this section include very few actual anonymous “folk hymns,” but in fact includes many of the same hymns as the corresponding section of *The Lutheran Hymnal*, with no more clear sense of why they were selected; the first hymn in the section is Gerhardt’s *Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe*. The editors of these two hymnals apparently used the term *spiritual songs* to denote hymns of a more personal, simple, folk-like character than those “sturdy old” hymns included in the main body of the hymnal, which they deemed more appropriate for liturgical use.

While the reprints of the Babst hymnal did contain a *Stammteil* with hymns of Luther and his contemporaries, followed by an *Anhang* with newer hymns, these divisions do not correspond to those in these nineteenth- and twentieth-century hymnals. The Babst reprints’ divisions likely had more to do with the exigencies of printing and with the desire to maintain the hymns of Luther in a special category. In any case, these distinctions do not apply at all to seventeenth-century hymnals like Johann Crüger’s *Praxis Pietatis Melica*, which makes no distinction at all between old and new hymns. None of the seventeenth-century hymnals I examined makes a distinction in its contents between “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs,” though many of the hymnals’ prefaces do quote that verse.

¹² Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied,” 135.

¹³ “Bis 1660 traten so gut wie keine neuen Lieder hinzu, danach nur sehr vereinzelte.” Ibid., 135.

(*Kirchenordnungen*, usually called “church orders”), Scheitler insists that this “*de tempore*”,¹⁴ sequence of hymns was considered “sacrosanct”¹⁵ and allowed no room for new additions. Thus poets of new hymns had to plead in print for their contributions to be considered worthy to be sung alongside the old hymns. But since the congregation had only slowly come to learn these hymns through oral tradition, there was no way for the new flood of hymns in the seventeenth century to make their way into the service. She cites Christian Gerber’s comment in 1737 that as a child he knew only eight hymns and that no one but the cantor had a hymnal.¹⁶

The use of a hymnal would have been necessary, she argues, for the expansion of the hymn repertoire, and hardly anyone, she claims, used hymnals in church in this period. Here Scheitler cites the work of R. Engelsing¹⁷ on the contents of middle-class home libraries in Bremen: in the first half of the seventeenth century, he found, half the contents of these libraries were spiritual books, but only a few libraries contained copies of the Lobwasser psalter,¹⁸ and none of them contained hymnals; books of hymns did not start to enter middle-class collections until the eighteenth century. Thus, she argues, in the seventeenth

¹⁴ Using this term is a way of saying that the hymns functioned as additional “propers of the time,” along with the Introit, Gradual, etc., from which they originally developed. For example, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* is based on the Sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* (and also on another hymn related to the same sequence, *Christ ist erstanden*); Sequences are supposed to have developed from the jubilus of the Alleluia, one of the proper chants of the Mass. Thus in medieval western Christianity the Sequence took on the function of an additional proper chant before the Gospel, and in Lutheranism, hymns based on the Sequences took over this function. Later, freely-composed hymns could fill this role as well.

¹⁵ Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied,” 137.

¹⁶ Ibid., 135.

¹⁷ She cites R. Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser. Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974).

¹⁸ That is, Ambrosius Lobwasser’s German translation of the Reformed Genevan Psalter, which contained the Biblical Psalms set in metrical verse with new tunes by Claude Goudimel, Guillaume Franc, and others.

century hymnals played hardly any role at all in public worship; instead they found their use in the homes of the wealthy and educated.

Scheitler lists several characteristics that she claims indicate the distinction between the genres of hymnal, which we might call “church hymnal” and “home hymnal”:

1. The church hymnal has a simple title like *Sacred Psalms and Hymns*, while the home hymnal has longer, baroque title.
2. The home hymnal uses figured bass, while the church hymnal does not, because, she claims, there was no keyboard accompaniment in church.
3. The hymns in home hymnals have more stanzas than those for church.
4. Home hymnals contain a larger total number of hymns, so that the head of the household has a variety of choices to use on the many different occasions of home prayer.
5. The church hymnal is divided into a main section (*Stammteil*) with older hymns and an appendix (*Anhang*) with newer hymns, while the home hymnal contains new and old hymns mixed together, or just new hymns.
6. The church hymnal primarily contains hymns related to liturgical celebrations, while the home hymnal focuses on hymns for other topics, like Passion meditation, issues of personal life, or specific dogmatic topics.

These distinctions remained in place, Scheitler argues, until the rise of Pietism, when the new hymnals of that movement increasingly blurred them.

Scheitler goes on to describe the function of the “house-church,” which played an important role in seventeenth-century “reform orthodoxy” as the place of not only catechetical instruction of the young (as had been the emphasis in the sixteenth century), but also of personal devotion and prayer. This kind of private edification (*Erbauung*) in the

family, circle of friends, or also in isolation played a significant role in the seventeenth century even before the onset of Pietism. Private worship was closely related to corporate worship, including an emphasis on preparation for Holy Communion and on reflecting on the sermon. It was the place where the faith was internalized and experienced personally.¹⁹ The form of the *Hausandacht*, the home worship or prayer service, was as follows: a *de tempore* hymn (*Lied*); a Scripture reading; a sermon, postill, or other reading; spiritual conversation; prayer; and concluding hymn (*Lied*). This service generally took about a quarter of an hour. The hymns used would be those used in church as well as those contained in the home hymnals.

The musical style of the hymns used in the home, Scheitler argues, is another distinctive feature: these hymns can be recognized by “a musical form that cannot be realized through congregational singing,”²⁰ usually because it contains multiple voice and instrumental parts, and is too complex for a congregation to sing. The dominant musical style, she says, was the “aria” in monodic style for a soloist or an ensemble with basso continuo accompaniment (also known as “continuo song,” *Generalbasslied*). The aria, she says, was the most important form of house-music in the seventeenth century.²¹ Polyphonic continuo songs were connected to social music-making in the home. She groups the settings of Johann Rist’s poems by Johann Schop and the settings by Nikolaus Hasse for Heinrich Müller’s *Geistliche Seelen=Musick* in this category. The melodies of these settings, she says, are richer, more expressive, and more soloistic than allowed in what she calls the “modo ecclesiastico.” These new hymn settings were prized for their emotionally-moving qualities,

¹⁹ See §5.2.1 below.

²⁰ Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied,” 143.

²¹ Ibid. 145.

and they were seen as fulfilling a distinct function from church hymns. Thus new hymn books advertised that they contained “completely new” melodies, a feature that seems to have made them attractive.²² The texts of the hymns were emotional as well, based most commonly on the medieval mystical poetry attributed to Bernhard of Clairvaux, the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*, and the Song of Songs. This choice of texts and topics, Scheitler claims, makes it clear that these hymns were intended for private piety.

The sacred song, according to Scheitler, was almost exclusively written for and enjoyed by the educated classes. Religiously engaged educated people enjoyed patronizing the production of new spiritual songs by contemporary authors and composers. Only they could read both words and musical notes and play instruments. As Johann Rist wrote in a hymnal preface in 1655, “The new [hymns] really pertain to the learned and those who understand music.”²³ Furthermore, Scheitler argues, the books were too expensive for anyone else to afford, as Engelsing has shown. These home hymnals usually bore dedications to the nobility or the wealthy bourgeoisie, and their sophisticated form and visual layout appealed to the connoisseur. Scheitler thus relegates the new hymnody of the seventeenth century to private use in wealthy, educated homes.

2.1.2 Problems with Scheitler’s Argument

Scheitler may be an excellent literary historian, but from a hymnological perspective her argument is lacking. She attempts to make an argument about the use of *Lieder*, referring to both the texts and their musical settings, but her treatment of the musical aspect is poorly

²² Ibid.

²³ Quoted in ibid., 150.

founded, since she ignores a great deal of musical evidence. For primary sources she relies heavily on church ordinances and very brief citations from only a few hymnal prefaces, and for secondary musical sources she depends almost completely on articles by Blankenburg and others in the 1955 edition of the encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, which she cites uncritically. The limitations of her research focus also hinder her argument, since she does not deal with Gerhardt and Heermann, two of the most important hymn writers of the period, but instead focuses on earlier poets like Gryphius whose work is more in the genre of art poetry, not texts intended to be sung as hymns or songs. Even worse, she gives hardly any attention to the composers of *Lied* settings in this period.

Scheitler's apparent lack of musical knowledge leads her to make a false dichotomy between the hymn repertoire of home and church. Many of her statements in the list above about the supposed distinction between books intended for home and those intended for church are overgeneralized or completely inaccurate. It is not true that all church hymns have fewer stanzas than home hymns: Paul Speratus's *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* has thirteen stanzas, and Luther's *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein* has ten—both are standard sixteenth-century *de tempore* hymns. Her assertion that church hymnals are divided into a main section and an appendix might be true in the sixteenth century, but starting with Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica*, it becomes very difficult to enforce this distinction, because hymnals in this period do not generally make a distinction between old and new hymns. Calling PPM a house hymnal simply because it doesn't have a *Stammteil* just does not fit with the actual contents of the book and what we know about its distribution and use, as I will discuss later in this thesis. Besides, Scheitler's category of “church hymnal” makes little sense in light of the strong evidence that congregation members did not normally bring hymnals with them to church in either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. If even the so-called

church hymnal was used at home, then the term is largely meaningless. Further, if the use of a hymnal would have been necessary for the expansion of the hymn repertoire, how did the congregations learn the old hymns in the first place? If one acknowledges that sixteenth-century Lutherans learned the old “church hymns” through oral tradition, it does not follow that in the seventeenth century they could not learn new hymns unless they could read them out of a book.

Scheitler’s claim that the new poetry of the period was never intended for church use ignores the prevalent advertisements to the contrary in the title pages and prefaces of the books in which much of this poetry was published. This claim may be true of Gryphius, but it cannot be proven conclusively with Gerhardt, whose works were first published in books that advertised that they could be used in both home and church. Why would new poets plead that their hymns be considered worthy of singing alongside the old standards, as Scheitler says they did, if there was never any possibility that they could get their wish, if, in fact, the new poetry was designed specifically for home use?

With regard to the musical style of seventeenth-century *Lied* settings, Scheitler’s oversimplified view ignores the genre of sacred art music in the liturgy. The question we are investigating is not as simple as “these hymns were sung at home” versus “these hymns were sung by congregations in church,” because there is a third party to consider, the church choir and soloists. Arias and continuo songs were not only sung at home, but had been sung in church since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Most often, solo singing in the liturgy was in the form of sacred concertos, which differed from continuo songs in that they were generally more complex and were not usually strophic. But strophic songs for chorus and soloists did play a role in the liturgy. Many of the texts for this liturgical art music were taken from exactly the same sources—Bernhard, *Jesu dulcis memoria*, the Song of Songs—that

Scheitler claims unmistakeably stamp the seventeenth-century sacred song as being intended for private piety.²⁴ Composers of this type of sacred music had been using “richer,” “more expressive” melodic and harmonic techniques than the old *prima prattica* style of composition since the very beginning of the century. In light of the rich variety of the music composed for and performed in Lutheran liturgies from this period, it is impossible to speak of one “modo ecclesiastico”²⁵ or “the church style.” To be fair, Scheitler is trying to contrast the new continuo song with the older congregational hymn, and without doubt, there is a great contrast in style and technique. But the style of the songs was not foreign to the public church services of the time within the genre of sacred art music. Like Herl, Scheitler also seems to ignore the fact that such sacred art music was a part of the liturgy in Lutheran city churches from the beginning of the Reformation. The style of the music may have been changing in the seventeenth century, but the presence of choral art music in the liturgy was hardly a new phenomenon.

Furthermore, Scheitler does not seem to know about a style of sacred music that may have provided the bridge between sacred art music and the congregational hymn: the cantional style. When Scheitler describes the musical settings of the sacred songs of Rist and others as “a musical form that cannot be realized through congregational singing,” it seems that she is trying to describe the cantional style. The strophic continuo song for multiple voices in homophony style is related both to the traditional genre of German secular partsongs, and to the tradition going back to Praetorius, Schein, and others, of homophony

²⁴ For example, the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* of Schütz or the cantatas of Albrici and Peranda. For the latter pair of composers, see Mary Frandsen’s *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁵ Is this supposed to refer to the old system of church modes, in contrast to the beginnings of functional tonality in some of the continuo song repertoire?

hymn settings for the choir to use in leading congregational song. A setting in cantional style could not be realized by congregational singing *alone*, because its purpose was for the choir to sing harmonizations of the chorales to help lead the monophonic singing of the congregation. The style was not designed to “push back” the congregational singing, but to support it. It is not actually clear that figured bass accompaniments were never used in church in the seventeenth century, especially given that the first reference to organ accompaniment comes from the 1604 Hamburg hymnal.²⁶

The example Scheitler gives of this supposedly new and non-congregational style shows how poorly she makes use of musical evidence. Scheitler cites a “1668 arrangement of the Lobwasser [Psalter] by Johann Crüger for four vocal and three instrumental voices (including basso continuo).” The first problem here is that Crüger died in 1662; apparently she is referring to a reprint (or mistook the date) of Crüger’s 1658 *Psalmodia sacra* (Crüger 1658). The second problem is that this particular volume contained not settings of seventeenth-century sacred songs, but of Lobwasser’s translations of Marot and Beza’s sixteenth-century French verse psalm paraphrases. Crüger did publish a collection of Lutheran hymn settings in 1657, but Scheitler overlooks it. The third problem is that Crüger produced the *Psalmodia Sacra* specifically for the Calvinist court of Berlin, where all of these questions of genre and style had a different significance, since nothing but monophonic psalm singing was allowed in the public church service. Crüger’s settings of sacred songs by Rist, Heermann, and Gerhardt would have been a better example, since his collection of cantional-style settings in 1649 (GK 1649) are clearly intended for use by the church choir.

²⁶ Klaus Ladda and Klaus Beckmann, eds., *Melodeyen Gesangbuch Hamburg 1604* (Singen: Bodensee-Musikverstand, 1995).

Further, these settings were likely used not to supplant congregational singing, but to support it.

Finally, Scheitler also does not make a clear distinction between *Hausandacht* (home devotions) and *Hausmusik* (home music-making). These two activities were done at different times and by different people: home devotional services were generally a time for simple, monophonic singing, while “house-music” involved more sophisticated music performed with instruments in wealthy households.²⁷ Middle- and lower-class people did engage in home worship, as evidenced by the large number of devotional books found in their libraries by Engelsing, but they did not all participate in home music-making, at least not on the level of the aristocratic circles Scheitler is discussing. Engelsing’s findings about Bremen would hardly seem to apply, however, since Bremen was a Reformed city at the time, where extra-Biblical hymns were not sung at all in church.

2.2 Walter Blankenburg and Christoph Albrecht

2.2.1 Blankenburg and Albrecht’s Argument against the Liturgical Use of Gerhardt’s Hymns

Walter Blankenburg and Christoph Albrecht also argue that Gerhardt’s hymns were used primarily in the home before the rise of Pietism. Blankenburg, trained as both a theologian and a musicologist, was uniquely positioned to study this interdisciplinary question, and he was the dominant voice on the topic from his contributions to MGG in 1955 until his death in 1986. In a series of articles, he developed his position on the

²⁷ See §5.2 below for more on music in the home.

reception of Paul Gerhardt's hymns in particular.²⁸ Christoph Albrecht has also written on the topic, focusing on Ebeling, and his conclusions are similar to Blankenburg's.²⁹

Blankenburg's argument may be summarized as follows. The new hymns of the seventeenth century grew out of the “new piety” movement that began in the late sixteenth century, but they did not spread rapidly and were not commonly used in the church service until the eighteenth century. In his view, Paul Gerhardt's hymns were not that influential on his contemporaries, for three primary reasons: (1) each region had its own hymnal, and the hymn repertoire did not circulate well between regions; (2) the strong tradition of *de tempore* hymns left no room for new ones, and composers focused on their efforts on these proper hymns; (3) individual churchgoers, if they owned hymnals, did not use them in church; and (4) these texts, with their very personal tone, appear to be intended more for home-worship than for the public church service.

The new hymns of the seventeenth century represented new type of devotional song, which Blankenburg claims was intended for personal edification in home devotional services. The new type of hymn text led to a new type of hymn tune, which in turn led to a split in genres between the traditional church hymn (*Kirchenlied*) and the “aria,” or sacred continuo song, where the distinguishing feature of the aria was that it was not suitable for

²⁸ Walter Blankenburg, (1) “Johann Georg Ebeling: der Herausgeber und musikalische Bearbeiter von Paul Gerhardts *Geistlichen Andachten*,” in *Paul Gerhardt: Geistliche Andachten [1667]*, ed. Friedhelm Kemp (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975), 5–12; (2) “Die Lieder Paul Gerhardts in der Musikgeschichte,” in *Kirche und Musik: gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der gottesdienstliche Musik*, ed. Erich Hübner and Renate Steiger (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1979), 93–104; (3) “Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes des 17. Jahrhunderts auf die Geschichte des evangelischen Gesangbuches und der Kirchenmusik,” in *Das protestantische Kirchenlied im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Text-, musik-, und theologisch-historische Probleme* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, vol. 31), ed. Alfred Dürr and Walther Killy (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 73–85.

²⁹ Christoph Albrecht, “Die Vertonung der Lieder Paul Gerhardts, insbesondere durch Johann Georg Ebeling (1637–1676),” in *Paul Gerhardt: Dichter, Theologe, Seelsorger, 1607–1676; Beiträge der Wittenberger Paul-Gerhardt-Tage 1976 mit Bibliographie und Bildteil*, ed. Heinz Hoffman (Berlin: Evangelische Verlaganstalt, 1978), 83–106.

congregational song. Gerhardt's poems, Blankenburg claims, are for the most part "individual devotional songs," which are less suited to a polyphonic treatment than to a continuo-song treatment. Since in fact the published settings of these poems by Crüger and Ebeling were scored for multiple voices and instruments, Blankenburg has to claim that these settings were really intended to be sung by a vocal soloist accompanied by continuo and perhaps other instruments. Blankenburg then goes on to claim that such "non-congregational," soloistic settings were favored by the Pietists, and it was through the Pietists' use of these hymns and the Pietists' popularization of hymnal usage in worship that these hymns came into the orthodox Lutheran liturgy.

According to Blankenburg, almost all of the early publications of Paul Gerhardt's texts were intended more for home use than church use. He acknowledges that Crüger's 1649 cantional collection was definitely intended for use by the church choir, but says that we do not know how it was actually used (and rather than seek out any evidence to answer that question, Blankenburg dismisses it). On the other hand, Blankenburg argues that Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica* was intended for both home and church use: it was designed to be used for unison singing accompanied by a keyboard instrument, either at home (with harpsichord or another instrument) or in church (with organ). Parallel to Scheitler, Blankenburg claims that when the title pages of hymnals like this proclaim that they are intended for "church or home worship" (as in PPM, for example), they mean that one part of the hymnal's contents (the old "church hymns") are meant for church, and the other part (the new "sacred songs") are meant for home.

Ebeling's 1667 publication of Gerhardt's hymns, Blankenburg argues, was not a congregational hymnal, and probably not even primarily a choirbook for the church choir, but an edition for sacred house music. Ebeling's publication was influenced by the books he

encountered during his youth in Lüneburg, especially the editions of Johann Rist's poems set to music by Johann Schop and Thomas Selle. Blankenburg claims that these books were clearly intended for personal home devotions. Ebeling was also influenced by Crüger's 1649 publication with the same instrumentation and voicing, but for Blankenburg, Ebeling's choice to publish his volume in choirbook rather than partbook format proves that Ebeling had domestic use in mind rather than use by the school choir, which usually used partbooks.

Ebeling's real focus, Blankenburg says, was on aria-style settings, not congregational hymns. His edition, like the Rist publications, is primarily a collection of sacred arias for individual, domestic devotional use. In Blankenburg's view, the word *Andacht* in a book title is always tipoff for recognizing books in this genre ("home hymnals"). Ebeling can not have realistically intended his book to be used in the congregation, in part because individual worshippers did not use hymnals in church at this time; besides, he claims that the style of the melodies is not suitable for a congregation. These publications were designed "not for the public church service, but for music-making at home and above all as well in the *collegia musica*."³⁰

Ebeling's 1667 edition can not be regarded as a cantional, Blankenburg argues, despite the similarity in format and its imitation of the style of Crüger's 1649 collection. A cantional was used by the *Cantorei* (the choir in city churches made up of boys from the church's Latin school), not only in the school, but also in the public service, where the people were expected to sing along; but Blankenburg insists that Ebeling's book was intended only for home use. For one, while Crüger scored his two instrumental parts for

³⁰ "...nicht für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst, sondern für das Musizieren im Hause und vor allem auch in den Collegia musica." Blankenburg, "Die Lieder Paul Gerhardt," 97.

“violins or cornetts” (the violin being a domestic or church instrument, and the cornett being only used in church), Ebeling scored his only for violins, the domestic instrument. Further, the large folio format of Ebeling’s publication, he says, indicates a house book, not as school book, which would usually have been in octavo format.

In Blankenburg’s view, Ebeling published his second edition (Ebeling 1669) in a smaller format with two-voice settings in order to make his settings more accessible as continuo songs for home use.³¹ The bass is unfigured, but most players would not have needed the figures. The rearrangement of the new edition’s contents according to the liturgical year only further showed how much Ebeling was influenced by Rist’s collections, which were often similarly organized; thus according to Blankenburg this seemingly more liturgical emphasis is really just another connection to the practice of home devotions.

The bulk of Blankenburg’s argument rests on internal arguments about the style of Ebeling’s melodies, which he says show the split between church hymn and aria, where aria predominates. Ebeling’s melodic style was influenced by that of Crüger, whose melodies Blankenburg says were appropriate for congregational singing. Crüger’s style was influenced by that of the Genevan Psalter, the Italian triple-meter *balletto*, and non-metrical early-seventeenth-century hymns. Ebeling’s influences are the Genevan Psalter by way of Crüger, the same Italian dance music, and “folk songs”; occasionally, Ebeling imitates Crüger

³¹ The speculation about why Ebeling published this second edition is a good example of the fruitlessness of arguments in the absence of evidence. Bunnens, in contrast, claims that Ebeling published the second edition because the first edition *was* successful. Albrecht thinks Ebeling was motivated to publish a second edition because the first edition was not commercially successful. Blankenburg, more speculatively, suggests that perhaps in Stettin, where Ebeling published this edition and where Crüger’s 1649 collection was not well known, Ebeling felt less need to imitate its form than he had in his role as Crüger’s successor in Berlin. Blankenburg is unaware that the city *cantorei* in Stettin owned a copy of Crüger’s collection—see chapter 4.

directly.³² While Blankenburg acknowledges the influence of “modern” Italian style on Crüger, he says that Ebeling was much more heavily interested in aria-type melodies. Most of Ebeling’s melodies, he says, are of this type, intended either for choral singing (as *Chorlieder*) or songs for the domestic circle; he asserts several times that despite the six-part settings in Ebeling 1667, Ebeling’s settings are really intended to be solo songs with instrumental accompaniment. Just as Scheitler lists features of publications that she claims distinguish home hymnals from church hymnals, Blankenburg lists melodic features that distinguish between congregational hymn style and aria style. The aria has an extended melodic range, wider intervals, more modulation, metrical changes, dotted and tied notes, triplets, and often a slower tempo indicated by an “Adagio” marking. These melodies have a greater expressivity, inwardness, and sensitivity than church hymn tunes. A congregation, he says, cannot do justice to Ebeling’s aria-style melodies. Albrecht gives the following examples of melodies by Ebeling, first a “congregational song type” melody, then an “aria type” melody:³³



Example 1. Ebeling 1667, *Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund* (no. 111, p. 250)



Example 2. Ebeling 1667, *Nun ist der Regen hin* (no. 42, p. 106)

³² His melody for *Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen* can be aligned note for note (with trivial changes) to Crüger’s *Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen*. Blankenburg, “Johann Georg Ebeling,” 11.

³³ Albrecht, “Die Vertonung der Lieder Paul Gerhardt,” 93–94.

Albrecht follows Blankenburg in most respects, but thinks the books in question were used both at home and in church. Albrecht also has a more precise definition of *aria* than Blankenburg. He says that an aria of the type used for Gerhardt settings is a simple choral song (*Chorlied*), too difficult for congregational singing, and intended for choir or especially for solo voices (not one soloist, but an ensemble of soloists).

Blankenburg and Albrecht conclude that Gerhardt's hymns, and especially Ebeling's settings of them, were slow to be received into the church. Albrecht points out that Ebeling himself indicates in a dedication that Gerhardt's hymns were not really as well known by all as they deserved to be. But he says Ebeling's tunes were not successful because (1) many PG poems already had tunes, especially by Crüger; (2) the aria style was not primarily intended for the congregation, but for performance by a choir or soloists; and (3) Gerhardt hymns are personal "I" songs (*Ich-Lieder*) that lend themselves best to home use. The only book that reprinted many of Ebeling's settings was Freylinghausen's, which was not a congregational hymnal. Albrecht suggests that these hymns were adopted by Freylinghausen because of this association with individual, personal devotion (even though Gerhardt, Albrecht says, meant the "ich" to be the whole church). The Pietist hymnals, Blankenburg says, were the first ones intended for the hands of congregational worshippers, and thereby introduced the singing of Gerhardt hymns in their conventicle worship meetings; this practice later flowed back into the orthodox Lutheran congregations in the eighteenth century. As evidence that Gerhardt's hymns were not used liturgically in the seventeenth century, Blankenburg cites the lack of sacred concertos, cantatas, or organ music based on Gerhardt texts or tunes until the early

eighteenth century, after the rise of Pietism. Buxtehude sets a Gerhardt text only once,³⁴ but he treats it the same way as other cantata texts, not as a hymn with an associated cantus firmus. Thus Blankenburg concludes that “the new hymns of the seventeenth century have arrived in the congregational hymnal” not directly, but “by a ‘detour’ through domestic worship and the indirect route through devotional literature.”³⁵

2.2.2 Problems with Blankenburg and Albrecht’s Argument

Much like Scheitler, Blankenburg and Albrecht do not base their arguments on any hard evidence of how seventeenth-century hymn publications were used, but rather on circumstantial arguments primarily focused on their own evaluations of the style of the musical settings of Gerhardt’s texts. Blankenburg in particular relies too often on his own subjective assertions about how Gerhardt’s texts “should” be set to music. For instance, he makes the remarkable, indefensible claim that “Gerhardt’s hymns are, surely not exclusively, but certainly for the most part individual devotional songs (*Andachtslieder*), which as a rule *one would want to sing* not polyphonically, but with thoroughbass accompaniment.”³⁶ It does not matter if a text is “really” more suited to setting as a solo aria; what matters is if that text was actually composed and performed as a solo aria, and we know from the Saxon manuscript collections that Ebeling settings were performed in Löbau polyphonically by school choirs.

³⁴ Buxtehude, cantata, *Wie soll ich dich empfangen*.

³⁵ “Mann kann sage, daß das neue geistliche Liedgut des 17. Jahrhunderts weithin auf dem ‘Umweg’ über die Hausandacht und auf indirekte Weise über die Erbauungsliteratur in das Gemeidegesangbuch [sic] gelangt ist...” Blankenburg, “Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes des 17. Jahrhunderts,” 78.

³⁶ “...Gerhardts Lieder sind, sicherlich nicht ausschließlich, aber doch zu einem großen Teil individuelle Andachtslieder, die man in der Regel nicht mehrstimmig, sondern mit Generalbaßbegleitung singen wollte.” Blankenburg, “Johann Georg Ebeling,” 8. Emphasis mine.

Blankenburg is also too concerned about the *intent* of the publications, and not enough about their actual use. Ironically, though, he is thoroughly skeptical of the authors' own statements about their intentions in their titles and prefaces. For example, Blankenburg acknowledges that Ebeling described in 1667 edition as being useful for both church and home, but Blankenburg says that Ebeling's wish for his settings to be used in church was "more or less an illusion."³⁷ This judgment then leaves Blankenburg free to invent his own idea of the "real" intent of the publication. Blankenburg thus claims that Ebeling "doubtless" intended his settings "for sacred house-music, for *canto* solo,"³⁸ but Ebeling's frequent statements on the title page and in the twelve prefaces of the 1667 edition that the music was intended also for use in church, Ebeling's title-page reference to his settings as "six-voiced melodies" (implying a unity of conception with all the voice parts), and above all, the presence of these settings copied out for practical use in the manuscript collections of school choirs in Saxony (see chapter 4) would all seem to induce more than enough doubt about Blankenburg's claim.

Given that Crüger, not Ebeling, was the first publisher of Gerhardt's hymns, one would think that Blankenburg would pay more attention to Crüger's publications. If, as he says, Crüger's hymnals were intended for congregation use (and his tunes suitable for that purpose), then perhaps he might consider that the 89 Gerhardt hymns included in PPM 1664 (for example) could be intended for congregational use as well. Blankenburg acknowledges that Crüger intended his 1649 cantional collection for church use, but then quickly moves this fact to the side. That collection includes five tunes that Crüger wrote

³⁷ Ibid., 7.

³⁸ Blankenburg, "Die Lieder Paul Gerhardts," 95.

specifically for Gerhardt texts, which had only previously been published in PPM 1647, as well as settings of many other traditional tunes that Crüger had assigned to the 13 other Gerhardt texts he had published in PPM 1647. As we will see in chapter 4, this collection was owned by a large number of churches and church schools throughout the German-speaking realms.

Blankenburg also puts too much emphasis on the supposed genre distinction between melodies in “congregational” versus “aria” style. To make the determination of which category a melody belongs in, Blankenburg relies on his own judgment about whether a tune is suitable for congregational singing, without giving any evidence that the tunes he finds unsuitable were not in fact used in the liturgy. Ebeling’s tunes are not in general more difficult to sing than Crüger’s, or than the “church hymns” of the previous century. Is there really that much difference between the following hymn tunes, from the mid-sixteenth century, the late sixteenth, and from Ebeling in the late seventeenth?



Example 3. *Nun lob mein Seel' den Herren*, 1540 (as given in Zahn *Die Melodien*, no. 8244)



Example 4. Gastoldi, *In dir ist Freude*, 1591 (Zahn no. 8537)



Example 5. Ebeling, *Die güldne Sonne*, 1667 (Zahn no. 8013)

With regard to the supposed difficulties of the “aria style,” is the melody for *Nun ist der Regen hin* that Albrecht cites (example 2) actually that much more difficult to sing than, say, *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*, which Lutheran congregations everywhere sang weekly?



Example 6. *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*, 1524 (Zahn no. 7971)

In fact, most of the characteristics that Blankenburg cites as diagnostic of the “aria” style are in fact common traits of seventeenth-century music in general. These features are common, not just in Ebeling, but also in Crüger’s supposedly more “congregational” tunes. Where Ebeling is more “aria-like” than Crüger, it may be simply the result of his younger age, much like the difference between the music of Böhm and Bach.

Besides, what is Blankenburg’s basis for judging which tunes are suitable for a congregation? While it may have taken longer than previously thought, Lutheran congregations everywhere did manage to learn *Wir glauben all an einem Gott* and myriad other tunes, without printed hymnals in church or accompaniment—tunes that congregations today (even many Lutheran ones) find to be forbiddingly difficult to sing, even with a hymnal in front of them and organ accompaniment.³⁹ There is no reason to assume that the same methods of oral transmission that familiarized the Lutheran populace with Luther’s Creed hymn could not have functioned just as well for Gerhardt’s hymns. Blankenburg is speaking normatively, not historically, when he says that even if a congregation can learn the

³⁹ See Herl, *Worship Wars*.

“aria” style melodies, they cannot “do justice” to the expressive qualities of such tunes: as an aesthetic judgment this is fine, but it contributes nothing helpful to our historical knowledge. His judgment is dubious, anyway, given that many seventeenth-century tunes with the features Blankenburg labels as “aria” style are in fact sung by congregations today. For instance, since at least 1941, many American congregations of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod have been singing a lilting triple-meter setting of the Offertory verse “Create in me a clean heart, O God” from the Freylinghausen hymnal.⁴⁰

The whole question of congregational feasibility is beside the point, though, if Blankenburg and Scheitler are right that such hymns were not sung in church to begin with. If hardly any new hymns were introduced into the public service in the seventeenth century, then one cannot say that Ebeling’s tunes “failed” because they were unsuitable for congregational singing; if these scholars are right, then the tunes failed because they were never given a chance in the first place.

Furthermore, Blankenburg’s argument that these settings are “non-congregational” does not fit with his other argument, that these settings were popularized by the Pietists. The Pietists rejected liturgical art music, and would not have embraced these tunes if they viewed them (as Blankenburg does) as being in an ornate style with operatic or secular associations. Blankenburg also never explains how Pietist practices are supposed to have infiltrated the orthodox congregations.

In his zeal to relegate these publications to domestic use, Blankenburg overlooks the fact that arias and other works in the new, more expressive style were performed in church by the choir and soloists as sacred art music. The word *Andacht* is not always a tipoff that a

⁴⁰ Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal*, 22–23.

work was intended for home use, since Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Musicalische Andachten*, a collection of sacred choral works, was included in the collection of nearly every church choir in Germany. Church choirs did own and use the choral publications by Crüger and Ebeling. The liturgical rearrangement of Ebeling's second edition in 1669, which Blankenburg insists does not mean the book was used in church, would have served these choirs well as they performed the works throughout the liturgical year. Blankenburg's claim that there was no liturgical music based on Gerhardt texts in the seventeenth centuries is only true if one focuses exclusively on cantatas, sacred concertos, and organ preludes, but the presence of Crüger and Ebeling's Gerhardt settings for chorus and instruments in the collections of church choirs suggests that these works functioned as sacred music. The style of these settings, as chapter 5 will explain, contained elements of both congregational music and choral art music. Finally, like Scheitler, Blankenburg seems to conflate home worship with house music, and further conflates house music with the activities of the *Collegium musicum*, which was something completely distinct.

2.3 Christian Banners

2.3.1 Banners's Argument for the Liturgical Use of Gerhardt's Hymns

Scheitler and Blankenburg's argument still prevails among scholars today, as evidenced by Traute Maass-Marshall's article in *Grove Music Online*, but the theologian and prolific Gerhardt scholar Christian Banners has consistently challenged this view. In a long series of articles and in his recent biography of Gerhardt, Banners has increasingly asserted his belief that Gerhardt's poems and their musical settings by Crüger and Ebeling were intended from the beginning to be used liturgically, and that they were in fact sung by choirs

and congregations before the rise of Pietism.⁴¹ Bunner's opposes the opinion that Gerhardt's poems were intended solely for individual and social home worship, that their liturgical use in the public service became common only decades after their creation, and that the essential impetus for their introduction into the service was Pietism. The primary question for him is, "Were the new songs by Michael Schirmer, Johann Franck, Paul Gerhardt, and others, published for the first time in part by Crüger, soon after also sung in the public service in Berlin? Or were they a song repertoire that remained specifically ordained for the private worship service? Were, then, Crüger's own melodies also specifically intended for domestic use?"⁴² Though his methods have their limitations, Bunner's attempts to pull together a variety of sources of evidence to make the argument that Gerhardt's hymns were in fact sung in the public liturgy in some places during the seventeenth century, first by the choir, and later by the congregation.

Bunner's attempts to show that there is a connection between liturgical celebration, private piety, and musical worship. On the one hand, he says, Gerhardt was near in thought to "orthodox early Pietism"⁴³ (which would be more accurately called "new piety"): according to Bunner's, Gerhardt was concerned with private devotion, many settings of his texts are in the more domestically-oriented "aria" style, he was beloved by the Pietist theologian Spener, and Freylinghausen's Pietist hymnal did much to popularize these texts.

⁴¹ Of the ten entries in this bibliography alone, three form most of the basis for the discussion that follows: (1) "Singende Frömmigkeit: Johann Crügers Widmungsvorreden zur 'Praxis Pietatis Melica,'" *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 52 (1980): 9–24; (2) "Zum liturgischen Gebrauch von Paul Gerhardts Liedern in deren Frühzeit, besonders bei Johann Georg Ebeling," in *Festschrift für Frieder Schulz: Freude am Gottesdienst*, ed. Heinrich Riehm (Heidelberg: Heinrich Riehm, 1988), 273–282; (3) *Paul Gerhardt: Weg—Werk—Wirkung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006).

⁴² Bunner's, "Singende Frömmigkeit," 16.

⁴³ Bunner's, "Zum liturgischen Gebrauch," 274.

On the other hand, Bunner claims that the work had a liturgically-oriented intention and had an influence on the public service early on.

Bunner somewhat skeptically acknowledges Scheitler's strict distinction between the "church hymn" and the "sacred song," and her claim that it was through Pietism that the sacred song later came into the public church service. But Bunner thinks both kinds of hymns were used in the service; he claims that there was an open attitude to new hymns. Crüger and Ebeling both state a double intention for the books; they did not intend their publications exclusively as collections of "house-songs" (*Hauslieder*) as Scheitler asserts. Instead, Bunner argues, there was a strong correspondence between public worship and private devotions, just as there was interchange between the musical genre categories of art song and congregational hymn. In response to Scheitler and Blankenburg's insistence that the contents of seventeenth-century hymnals were divided between "church hymns" and "sacred songs," Bunner argues that title-page advertisements like "for church or home use" mean that all the contents of a hymnal could be used in either place.

Bunner argues that Johann Crüger desired to introduce new hymns not only into domestic devotions, but also into the congregational service, and sought to do this not only through the song of the school choir, but also through the independent singing of the congregation. Because Bunner believes that Gerhardt was personally involved with the editions containing his hymns, he makes the claim that we can extrapolate from Crüger's intentions to Gerhardt: Gerhardt's poems written in Berlin, he says, were from the beginning on always intended also for the public service.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Elsewhere Bunner acknowledges (as he must) that the extent and nature of Gerhardt's involvement in these editions remains unclear. The textual variations between the publications of Crüger and

In his article “Singende Frömmigkeit” (“Singing Piety”), Bunner uses Crüger’s prefaces as a source for his theology of music, and also as a clue to the intentions he had in mind for his hymnals. The title *Praxis Pietatis Melica* indicates that Crüger connects “the practice of piety” (the emphasis of the “new piety” movement going back to Arndt and Moller) with singing and music. He wants to foster “melodic piety,” or the musical practice of prayer. The goal of such “practice” is “the awakening of devotion” or of true prayer (*Erweckung von Andacht*).⁴⁵ This devotion is not just personal, but also communal.

Bunner argues that Crüger has a profoundly ecclesial, communal understanding of music and singing. His 1640 hymnal is dedicated not to any nobleman, but “to Christ, his bride, and all her members.”⁴⁶ His preface to PPM 1661 incorporates sacred art music, including instrumental music, into this churchly view of music. Crüger portrays singing as a dialogue between Christ and his bride. In Bunner’s view, Crüger does not advocate breaking away from the established, public church into private groups, as the Pietists later did (and as they expressed in their prefaces to editions of PPM printed after Crüger’s death). Thus Crüger has a strong interest in the congregational singing, and this is why, Bunner argues, his hymn tunes are “popular” in tone (compared to the more “aristocratic” Schütz).⁴⁷ He makes a connection between objective, public church life through the means of grace and the inner, personal, emotional spiritual life; thus he connects the move toward personal piety of the reform orthodoxy movement going back to Arndt with congregational life in the corporate church.

Ebeling are at times quite difficult to explain. See Winfried Zeller, “Zur Textüberlieferung der Lieder Paul Gerhardts,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 19 (1975): 225–228.

⁴⁵ Bunner, “Singende Frömmigkeit,” 13.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13.

Bunners thinks it is clear that Crüger wanted new hymns to be sung in church. PPM has a stated double goal for use in both church and home, he says, and both must be taken equally seriously. Bunners points out that Crüger's musical arrangements include both old and new hymns, and says that his settings moderate between the style of the old church hymn and the new aria. These settings, he says, were intended for both public church use and private home use, and PPM was important in the process of introducing these hymns into the public service. Bunners cites the preface to PPM 1656, where Crüger acknowledges that many of the new hymns in the book are so far only known in house worship, but according to Bunners, Crüger is trying to say, "There are new hymns that up to now have been connected only with the house service; these I am taking up, so that they also will become well-known."⁴⁸ For Bunners, when Crüger speaks of "learning" and "practicing" these new hymns, as he does in the PPM 1656 preface, we must understand these actions as occurring in the context of public church worship. The fact that Crüger organized all the contents of PPM, including the new hymns, according to the liturgical year proves for Bunners that all of its hymns were intended for liturgical use.

When Bunners speaks of "liturgical use," he does distinguish between the singing of new hymns and their arrangements by the choir alone and an active singing along of the congregation. He cites advertisements Crüger made in his 1640 and 1656 hymnals of forthcoming publications of choral harmonizations of the hymns in each book⁴⁹ as examples of the relationship between choral arrangements and congregational singing.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁹ See §6.2.2 below.

In his article “On the Liturgical Use of Paul Gerhardt’s Hymns in Their Early Period, Especially with Regard to Johann Georg Ebeling,”⁵⁰ Bunner argues that Ebeling, like his predecessor Crüger, was also interested in congregational song, not just in household devotions or house-music. The “Ode” at the beginning of Ebeling’s 1667 edition describes “pulpit, church, and choir” (“Cantzel/ Kirch und Chor”) singing together. Ebeling’s second edition in 1669, Bunner argues, was not primarily intended for home use, but rather it was published in a smaller format for the hand of the churchgoer. In this view, the book was intended to foster congregational singing. It was ordered by liturgical year so that when Gerhardt hymns were sung in the service by the choir with instruments, those in the congregation who owned this book could look up the hymn and sing along as the choir would lead the congregational song. On the other hand, though, Bunner says that the two-voice arrangements in this edition were aimed at home use: the 1667 book was so popular the Ebeling now wanted to make it accessible for home use.

Bunner acknowledges that not everyone used hymnals, but, he says, the congregation learned new hymns when they were led by the choir. The school children learned them first, then they took them home to their families, and then they sang them in the church choir and eventually the adults would sing along. Of course, the children also would eventually grow up to become adults who knew these hymns. Both Crüger and Ebeling taught at the Gymnasium of the Grauen Kloster in Berlin and would have followed this process. Bunner cites the statement by Conrad Feuerlein given above in the Introduction, where Feuerlein acknowledges that thus far, new hymns have not been much sung in church, but that the new hymns have been sung at home by pious families. Feuerlein

⁵⁰ Bunner, “Zum liturgischen Gebrauch.”

suggests that the new hymns should be introduced first to the school choir, and thereby to the congregation. Feuerlein says the place to introduce and practice these new hymns is during communion distribution. Thus, even though the market for the Crüger and Ebeling books themselves was mostly the upper and middle classes, the high development of a “mouth-to-ear culture,” a close relationship of communication between school, church, and home, and the many different forms of singing in the service made new songs known to people who were not able to read.

Bunners argues that the use of new hymns in the service varied in different places, though he acknowledges that little is known about the actual hymn repertoire of that time (that is, about what hymns were actually sung): “There is a lack of research into the repertoire of hymns in the public service at that time over a wide [geographical] range.”⁵¹ Perhaps, Bunners suggests, Berlin was progressive. After all, when Gerhardt lost his preaching office, his defenders argued in his behalf by claiming that his songs were on everyone’s lips; this could only be possible, Bunners says, if his hymns were used in the liturgy. Further, Ebeling’s 1669 preface expresses concern that the old songs not be completely overrun by the new ones, indicating that many new ones were in fact being sung. The liturgical use of hymns was not as rigid as has been supposed; there was a dynamic with new hymns. The publication of Gerhardt’s hymns in hymnals from other cities shows that Berlin was not alone in singing these new hymns. Bunners claims that Ebeling’s liturgical ordering of his 1669 edition was a testament to the openness of the orthodox Lutheran service to new formal elements. Doubtless, Bunners says, Pietism increased the use of

⁵¹ Bunners, “Singende Frömmigkeit,” 17.

Gerhardt's hymns in the service, but the Pietists were really only continuing a tradition that the orthodox had begun.

2.3.2 Problems with Bunnens's Argument

Bunnens is to be commended for challenging the theories of Blankenburg and Scheitler and proposing a plausible counterargument. Unfortunately, since Bunnens, like the scholars he is responding to, does not refer to any hard evidence of how Gerhardt's hymns were used, he can only propose alternative interpretations of the same circumstantial evidence that the other scholars have used. This problem leads Bunnens at times to overinterpret this data in the effort to prove his point.

Like Blankenburg, Bunnens is too concerned with the intentions of Gerhardt, Crüger, and Ebeling, and not enough with the actual reception of their creations. Where Blankenburg is too skeptical of hymnal prefaces, Bunnens is too trusting of them. While

Bunnens's explication of Crüger's theology of music and worship as revealed in his hymnal prefaces certainly is helpful in answering the question of what Crüger's intentions were, it does not necessarily, as Bunnens claims, give us a window into Gerhardt's intentions.

Additionally, the fact that Crüger's theology of worship was strongly oriented toward the public liturgy does not prove that Crüger's hymnals were used in church. Because Crüger advertised that his books could be used in church does not mean that they were. The real issue is not what Gerhardt or Crüger wanted, but how their creations were actually used.

Like Scheitler, Bunnens also seems unaware of important musicological evidence that would significantly bolster his argument. He does not make use of the inventories and manuscript collections that could actually prove his point. His statements about musical styles and genres lack technical precision, and he does not seem to know about the cantional

style. Bunner thus misses the important fact that Crüger and Ebeling's settings are written in a version of the cantional style, which was associated with congregational singing.

2.4 Summary

To get beyond the impasse created by the conflicting theories of Scheitler, Blankenburg, and Albrecht on the one hand, and Bunner on the other, we need to carefully review all the available evidence for how Paul Gerhardt's hymns and their musical settings were disseminated and used in seventeenth-century Lutheranism. We need to look critically at the publications in which Gerhardt's hymns first appeared, and we need to seek hard evidence for how those publications were actually used in the three spheres of home, school, and church. When all the evidence is considered, it should become clear that even without overinterpretation, Bunner's hypothesis is correct. Gerhardt's hymns played a prominent role in Lutheran life in this period, not only in the home, but also in school and in church. The school choir, coupled with home devotions, was the means of entry of new hymns into the public liturgy before the onset of Pietism.

CHAPTER 3:
THE PUBLICATION AND DISSEMINATION OF PAUL GERHARDT'S HYMNS
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

3.1 The Focus of this Study

Most of Paul Gerhardt's poems were first published in books of hymns, with tunes assigned for each text. A few poems, such as Gerhardt's Latin poems or German ones such as *Der aller Hertz und Willen lenckt*, were first published in individual prints without a tune indication; these texts were never included in a hymnal, but were only reprinted in the text-only complete works editions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since this study is primarily an investigation of the use of Gerhardt's poems as congregational hymns, it will focus on those publications that paired Gerhardt's texts with musical settings (by printing the name of a tune or musical notation). This excludes those published only in collections of funeral sermons (*Leichenpredigten*), even with a tune indicated; the presence of these hymns in *Leichenpredigten* may mean that they were sung at the funeral, or just that they were composed in memory of the deceased, but in either case, those hymns that were never reprinted in a hymnal do not seem to have had a life beyond the immediate circumstances of their creation. This study also excludes text-only “complete works” editions such as that of Johann Heinrich Feustking in 1707, since this study is concerned with the practical use of musical settings of Gerhardt's texts.

Numerous scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have attempted chronologies of the first publications of Gerhardt's works, a task rendered problematic because many important seventeenth-century sources have been lost or are difficult to find.¹ Friedhelm Kemp has incorporated and surpassed the work of these scholars in his facsimile edition of Ebeling's *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten* of 1667, where he includes a detailed list of the first publications of Gerhardt's writings, together with the tunes first paired with each poem.² With the exception of a few poems subsequently discovered by Christian Banners, Kemp's account is complete and up-to-date.³ (Please refer to appendix A for more details of this publication history.)

3.2 The Publications of Johann Crüger

3.2.1 Crüger's Relationship with Gerhardt

Johann Crüger (1598–1662), the cantor of the church of St. Nicholas (*Nikolaikirche*) and teacher at the Gymnasium of the Grauen Kloster in Berlin, was the first to publish Gerhardt's poems. According to Banners, “Crüger deserves to be esteemed as Gerhardt's discoverer, as his most important first editor and melodist.”⁴ Crüger and Gerhardt probably

¹ These scholars include Koch, Langbecker, Bachmann, and Fischer-Krückeberg. As stated in the preface, this study is limited to those sources available in the United States in facsimile reprints or microfilms, with the addition of a few sources of which I was able to obtain partial photocopies.

² Friedhelm Kemp, ed., *Paul Gerhardt: Geistliche Andachten [1667]* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975), 44–55.

³ I have consulted the work of several other scholars, but the discussion that follows relies for the most part on Kemp's more current and complete information.

⁴ “Crüger darf als Entdecker, als wichtigster Ersteditor und Melodist Gerhardts gelten.” Banners, “Crüger, Crügerus, Krüger, Johann, Johan, Johannes,” In *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2005), Personenteil, vol. 5: col. 142.

met during Gerhardt's first time of residence in Berlin, 1643–1651. When Gerhardt was later called to Berlin to serve as pastor at St. Nicholas in 1657, he and Crüger worked together.⁵

3.2.2 *Newes vollkommliches Gesangbuch* (1640) and *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1647)

Crüger's most important publication is his hymnal *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (The Musical Practice of Piety; PPM), in which, starting in 1647, he accorded Gerhardt the most prominent place. Scholars today generally agree that the 1647 PPM was in fact the second edition of a hymnal Crüger had published in 1640, the *Newes vollkommliches Gesangbuch/Augsburgischer Confession...* (New Complete Hymnal of the Augsburg Confession).⁶ That hymnal included all the older, traditional Lutheran hymns, but also emphasized new hymns, especially those by Johann Heermann. As Crüger advertised on the title page, this hymnal included “not only hymns rich in spirit and comfort principally by Mr. Luther and by other learned people, such as have by now become commonly used in Christian churches, but also many beautiful new songs of comfort (“Trostgesänge”), in particular by the esteemed theologian and poet Mr. Johann Heermann.”⁷ This publication was the first Lutheran

⁵ Bunner, *Paul Gerhardt*, 41–45.

⁶ Blankenburg, Buelow, Bunner, Fischer-Krückeberg, Marshall, and others all hold to this view, in rebuttal of the earlier opinion of Johann Friedrich Bachmann, who believed that the first edition of PPM had been lost (Bachmann, *Zur Geschichte der Berliner Gesangbücher: Ein hymnologischer Beitrag* [Berlin: Wilhelm Schultze, 1856. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970], 47, 49). One primary source for the current theory is a statement by the Pietist theologian Philipp Jakob Spener in his preface to an edition of PPM (Berlin 1702): “After the so-called *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (the title of which I suppose to have been borrowed from the *Praxis Pietatis Bailii* [...]), gathered together and appointed with musical notes by the late Mr. Johann Crüger [...] was first published by the late Mr. George Runge's heirs in 1640, it has found so many admirers, that one edition after the other has constantly had to be offered in all kinds of formats [...] by the late Mr. Christoph Runge [...] So also the number of hymns was increased through the addition of more hymns and new hymns, so that, while in 1640 there were only 248, in the most recent 27th and in this 28th edition the number has grown to 1163 and 1220” (quoted in Bachmann, *Zur Geschichte*, 46–47). The reference to *Praxis Pietatis Bailii* is to Lewis Bayly's *Practise of Piety* (c. 1612), published in German with the Latin title in 1628. See §5.2.1 below.

⁷ The full title, which includes this passage, is as follows: *Newes vollkommliches Gesangbuch/ Augspurgischer Confession, Auff die in der Chur= vnd Marck Brandenburg Christliche Kirchen/ Fürnemlich beyder*

hymnal to print the music for each hymn tune in two voices, a melody and a figured bass line, a practice Crüger continued in all the subsequent editions. Only the first few words of the text were laid under the melody.

Crüger continued his commitment to publishing new hymns when he published a revised second edition of this hymnal in 1647 under the new title, *Praxis Pietatis Melica*,⁸ but now he shifted his emphasis from Heermann to Gerhardt. In this new edition, Crüger printed eighteen Gerhardt hymns for the first time. The high value Crüger put on Gerhardt's hymns can be seen in the fact that Crüger chose to make Gerhardt's *Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe* the first hymn in this and every subsequent edition of PPM. This book, like the 1640 hymnal, was published in hand-sized octavo format, and included printed music above the text of the hymns the first time each tune appears. Crüger assigned familiar chorale tunes to most of these texts, but also assigned his own tunes to four texts (in a few cases, melodies he had written for other texts, and in the others, new tunes).⁹ In the title, Crüger states that the printed musical settings for melody and *basso continuo* are “for the advancement of the church

*ResidenzStädte Berlin vnd Cölln gerichtet/ In welchem nicht allein vornemlich des Herrn Lutheri, vnd anderer gelehrten Leute / Geist= vnd Trostreiche Lieder / so bißhero in Christl: Kirchen bräuchlich gewesen, sondern auch viel schöne neue Trostgesänge/ Jnsonderheit des vornehmen Theol: vnd Poeten Herrn Johan Heermanns / zu finden, mit / außenlassung hingegen der vnnötigen vnd ungebeygesetzten Melodien, nebst dem Gen: Bass, / Wie auch absonderlich, nach eines oder des/ andern beliebung in 4 Stimmen verfertiget, Von/ Johan Criiger, Direct. Mus: / Berol: ad D. Nicol: // Gedruckt und zu finden in Berlin bey Georg: Rungens Sel: Witw; 1640. (Berlin, 1640). Portion in bold from Bunner, “Crüger, Johann,” MGG, 144. Rest from Bachman, *Zur Geschichte*, 20.*

⁸ According to Kemp (*Paul Gerhardt*, 44) this edition is now lost. Kemp gives the title as follows: *Praxis Pietatis Melica. Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und Trostreichen Gesängen/ Herrn Dr. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich/ und denn auch anderer vonehmer und gelehrter Leute. Ordentlich zusammen gebracht/ und Mit vielen schönen auferlesenen neuen Gesängen geziert: Auch zu Beforderung des KirchenGottesdienstes mit beygesetzten Melodien/ Nebest dem Basso Continuo verfertiget Von Johann Crügern... In Verlegung des Auctoris und Christophori Runge/ Gedruckt zu Berlin Anno 1647.* The title could be translated as follows: *Praxis Pietatis Melica, that is, the Exercise of Piety in Christian Songs that are Rich in Comfort, Principally by Herr Dr. Martin Luther and Then Also by Other Distinguished and Learned People. Collected in an Orderly Manner and Adorned with Many Beautiful and Choice New Songs: Also, for the Advancement of the Church Service, With Melodies and the Basso Continuo Set Beside Them, by Johann Crüger.*

⁹ Kemp, *Paul Gerhardt*, 45. Crüger prints the music over the first appearance of each hymn tune, and then refers the reader back to an already-printed tune if he wishes to reuse it for another text. The new Crüger tunes can be identified because he prints the music over the text (since it is appearing for the first time in the book) and signs them with his initials, ‘JC.’

service” (“zu Befoderung des KirchenGottesdienstes”). Crüger arranges both the traditional and new hymns according to the liturgical year, making no distinction between them. *Praxis Pietatis Melica* would go on to be published in 64 editions between 1640 and 1736,¹⁰ becoming the most reprinted Lutheran hymnal in history.

3.2.3 *Geistliche Kirchen=Melodien* (1649)

Crüger’s next publication was a collection of arrangements of the hymn tunes from PPM 1647 for four-voice chorus, two obbligato violins or cornetts, and basso continuo, *Geistliche Kirchen=Melodien* (Sacred Church-Melodies), published in Leipzig in 1649 (hereafter, GK 1649).¹¹ Crüger states in the title that he made the musical arrangements “to glorify the Divine Majesty and for the practical use of [the] Christian Church” (“Der Göttlichen Majestät zu Ehren/ und nützlichem Gebrauch seiner Christlichen Kirchen”). This collection was published in individual partbooks (that is, a separate book for each vocal or instrumental part). The style of these settings is an enriched version of the cantional style: that is, the choral parts are homophonic, with the hymn tune in the highest voice, and then these parts are embellished by the two instrumental parts, which play figuration rather in the style of contemporary sacred concertos. Crüger only prints the first stanza of each hymn, which

¹⁰ Bunner, “Singende Frömmigkeit,” 9. Today 45 editions are still extant.

¹¹ Johann Crüger, *Geistliche Kirchen=Melodien/ Uber die von Herrn D. Luther Sel. und anderen vornehmen und Gelehrten Leuten/ aufgesetzte Geist= und Trost=reiche Gesänge und Psalmen/ Der Göttlichen Majestät zu Ehren/ und nützlichem Gebrauch seiner Christlichen Kirchen In vier Vocal= und zwey Instrumental=Stimmen/ als Violinen oder Cornetten übersetzt von JOHANNE Crügern Gub: Lusato Directore der Music in Berlin ad D. N. BASSUS CONTINUUS. Cum Privilegio Sereniss. Elector. Brandenburg. Leipzig: In Verlegung Daniel Reichels Buchhändlers in Berlin, 1649.* Partbooks in binder’s collection at Annenberg Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (M2018.R36 Z8 1652). The title translates as follows: *Sacred Church-Melodies: Songs and Psalms Rich in Spirit and Comfort Set by the Blessed Herr Dr. Luther and Other Esteemed and Learned People, To Glorify the Divine Majesty and [for the] Practical Use of His Christian Church, Arranged in Four Vocal and Two Instrumental Voices Such as Violins or Cornetts by Johann Crüger.*

underlays the musical notation; this means that the user would have to refer to PPM 1647 for the full texts. The collection includes arrangements of Crüger's original melodies for five of the Gerhardt hymns he had included in PPM 1647, along with settings of traditional chorale tunes that Crüger had paired with the other Gerhardt texts in PPM 1647.

3.2.4 Christoff Runge, *D. M. Luthers [...] Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (1653)

The next book of hymns to include Gerhardt's poems was a collection edited by Crüger's publisher Christoff Runge in 1653 in Berlin, the title of which translates as *Sacred Songs (Geistliche Lieder) and Psalms by Dr. M. Luther and Other Esteemed, Spirit-filled and Learned Men* (hereafter, Runge 1653).¹² This book was commissioned by the Electress Luise Henriette, and reflects her Reformed confession.¹³ Ironically, given that Gerhardt later lost his ministerial post because he refused to compromise doctrinally with the Reformed, this hymnal contains the most Gerhardt texts yet (occupying over 25 percent of the total contents): in addition to reprinting all but one of those included in PPM 1647, it includes twenty new ones.¹⁴ Crüger was clearly involved with this hymnal: of the twenty new Gerhardt texts in this hymnal, thirteen have Crüger tunes, and of these thirteen, ten were newly-composed by Crüger. Since it was forbidden for Reformed Christians to sing

¹² Bachman (*Zur Geschichte*, 31) gives this title: *D. M. Luthers | Vnd anderer vornehmen geistreichen und gelehrten Männern | Geistliche Lieder | und Psalmen. | Auff sonderbarem | Jhrer Churfürstl. Durchlaucht. | zu Brandenburg | meiner gnädigsten Churfürstin und Frauen | Gnädigstem Befehl, | Zu Erweckung mehrer Andacht | bey frommen Hertzzen | zusammen getragen. | Darin die fremde und zum Theil annoch | unbekandte Lieder, mit iheren nothwendigen | Melodien | versetzen. | Zu Berlin, | Gedruckt und verleget von Christoff Runge, | Im 1653 Jahre. | | in kl. 8.*

¹³ This is the conclusion of Bachmann, Koch, and many others. According to Bachmann (*Zur Geschichte*, 45), the hymnal contains the Lobwasser Psalms and the “Pfälzer Catechismus,” and makes certain changes to the texts of hymns to conform with Reformed usage; thus he concludes that this is Berlin's “first reformed, or indeed more rightly, *united* hymnal” (“So erhielt denn unsere Stadt hiermit ihr erstes *reformirtes*, oder wohl richtiger *unirtes* Gesangbuch.”)

¹⁴ Kemp, *Paul Gerhardt*, 46–48.

extrabiblical texts in the liturgy, the electress and her Reformed circle likely used these new Gerhardt texts and tunes only in private devotions or domestic music-making.¹⁵ In the title Runge promotes the book “for the awakening of more devotion among pious hearts” (“zu Erweckung mehrer Andacht bey frommen Hertzen”).

3.2.5 *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1653 and 1656)

Crüger had a broader intention for the new settings that he had written for this Reformed publication, and so republished the twenty new Gerhardt texts from Runge 1653 in the same year in another edition of PPM,¹⁶ along with the eighteen Gerhardt hymns from PPM 1647. Crüger now also added 44 new Gerhardt hymns; Crüger paired ten of the new hymns with his own tunes, six of which were newly-composed. The next edition of PPM in 1656¹⁷ (printed in Frankfurt) contained three more new Gerhardt texts, paired with familiar tunes. In the title of this edition Crüger expanded the explanation of his goal in providing the musical settings from “for the advancement of the church service” to “for the advancement of both the church service and private services” (“zu Befoderung des so wohl Kirchen= als Privat=Gottesdienstes”).

¹⁵ This use is implied by the title given to a later new edition of this hymnal, published without musical notation in 1880 (Verlag L. Schleiermacher, Berlin), *Andachtsbuch Luise Henrietten's von Brandenburg...* (Luise Henrietta of Brandenburg's Book of Devotion). The uncommon term *Andachtsbuch*, in this Reformed context, would seem to indicate primarily private usage.

¹⁶ Title from Kemp, *Paul Gerhardt*, 48: *Praxis Pietatis Melica. Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und trostreichien Gesängen, Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich... mit gar vielen schönen/ neuen Gesängen (derer insgesamt 500) vermehret ... versfertiget Von Johann Crügern ... Editio V. Gedruckt zu Berlin/ und verleget von Christoff Runge / Anno 1653.*

¹⁷ *PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA. Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und trostreichien Gesängen/ Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich/ wie auch anderer seiner getreuen Nachfolger/ und reiner Evangelischer Lehre Bekennnerer. Ordentlich zusammen gebracht/ und über vorige Edition mit noch gar vielen schönen Gesängen de novo vermehret und verbessert. Auch zu Befoderung des so wohl Kirchen= als Privat=Gottesdienstes mit beygesetztem bißhers gebräuchlichen/ und vielen schönen neuen Melodien/ nebenst dazu gehörigen Fundament/ versfertiget Von Johan Crügern/ Gub. Lusat. Direct. Musico in Berlin. In Verlegung Balthisaris Merv. [?] Wittenb. Gedruckt zu Franckfurt/ bey Casp. Rötsch Anno 1656.* British Museum, microfilm by British Museum Photographic Service, London, in University of Washington Library.

The influence of the “new piety” movement is especially strong in the new hymns included in these two editions. PPM 1653 includes for the first time Gerhardt’s paraphrases of prayers from Johann Arndt’s *Paradiesgärtlein* (1612). The same edition also included the first portion of Gerhardt’s set of paraphrases of the medieval Latin *Rhythmica Oratio* poems formerly attributed to Bernhard of Clairvaux; the three new texts in PPM 1656 completed the set, including the famous *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* (“O Sacred Head, Now Wounded”) (see table 1).¹⁸

TABLE 1. THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF GERHARDT’S *RHYTHMICA ORATIO*
PARAPHRASES IN *PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA*

Subject	Latin Poem	Gerhardt’s German Paraphrase	Date Published
To the feet	<i>Salve, mundi salutare</i>	<i>Sei mir tausendmal gegrüßet</i>	1653
To the knees	<i>Salve Jesu, rex sanctorum</i>	<i>Gegrüßet seist du, meine Kron</i>	1653
To the hands	<i>Salve Jesu, pastor bone</i>	<i>Sei wohl gegrüßet, guter Hirt</i>	1653
To the side	<i>Salve Jesu, summe bonus</i>	<i>Ich grüße dich, du frömmster Mann</i>	1653
To the breast	<i>Salve, salus mea, Deus</i>	<i>Gegrüßet seist du, Gott, mein Heil</i>	1656
To the heart	<i>Summi regis cor aveto</i>	<i>O Herz des Königs aller Welt</i>	1656
To the face	<i>Salve caput cruentatum</i>	<i>O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden</i>	1656

3.2.6 D. M. Luthers [...] *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (1657)

Crüger next turned his attentions again to choral arrangements. In 1657 he published another collection of hymn arrangements in the same voicing and style as GK 1649, and, like

¹⁸ This famous and influential set of Latin poems, also called *Membra Jesu Nostri*, is now ascribed to Arnulf of Louvain (thirteenth century) and Hermann Joseph von Steinfels. It is a series of contemplations of the crucified Jesus, each of which directs the reader’s meditative gaze toward a different part of Christ’s body (See Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung: Eine Blütenlese aus den Analecta Hymnica*, part 1 [Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909]: 323-327). Crüger paired each of these texts with a familiar hymn tune (most famously, coupling *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* with *Herzlich tut mich verlangen*).

that publication, printed in partbooks (hereafter, Crüger 1657).¹⁹ The title, like those of Crüger's other publications, emphasizes the practical use of the book's contents, and the inclusion of both old and new hymns: *Spiritual Songs (Geistliche Lieder) and Psalms by Dr. M. Luther and Also by Other Upright and Christian People, As They Have Been Used Up Till Now in the Evangelical [Lutheran] Churches of This Land. To Which Are Also Added Certain Choice Spirit-Filled Songs, Both Old and New.* Of the 319 hymns included, Crüger includes arrangements of thirty previously published Gerhardt hymns. The next year, Crüger published a complete setting of the Lobwasser psalter in the same voicing and style, which, like Runge 1653, he dedicated to the Reformed Electress Luise Henrietta (hereafter, Crüger 1658); obviously this book did not include any Gerhardt hymns.²⁰ In a copy in the Sibley Music Library at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, these two hymnals are bound together in one volume, suggesting that they were used by the same group or family, which might have been either Lutheran or Reformed.

¹⁹ *D. M. Luthers nie auch anderer gottseligen und Christlichen Leute Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen: Wie sie bisher in Evangelischen Kirchen dieser Landen gebrauchet warden. Denen auch anitzo etliche außerlesen so wol alte als neue geistreiche Gesänge beygefügert sind. In 4. Vocal- und 3. Instrument-Stimmen übersetzt von Johann Crügern.* TENOR. In Berlin Gedruckt bey Christoff Runge/ Im 1657. Jahre. Tenor part book. Sibley Music Library Preservation Microfilm 120, PM #1055-1060. In the microfilmed copy, this 1657 hymnal is bound together with Crüger's 1658 *Psalmodia Sacra*, but most of the signatures (that is, groups of pages) of the two books have been accidentally interchanged, so that the contents are jumbled between the two.

²⁰ *Psalmodia sacra, das ist: Des Königes und Propheten Davids Geistreiche Psalmen; durch Ambrosium Lobwasser/ D. aus dem Französischen nach ihren gebräuchlichen schönen Melodien; in Deutsche Reim-Art versetzt: Denen auch des H. D. Lutheri und anderer Gottseliger und Christlicher Leute Geistreiche – so wol alte – als neue Lieder und Psalmen; wie sie in Evangelischen Kirchen gebräuchlich beygefügert. Zu nützlichem Gebrauch der Christlichen Kirchen/ fürnemlich Sr. Churfürstl: Durchl: zu Brandenburg/ in derer Residentz/ auf eine gantz neue= und vor niemals hervorgekommene Art mit 4. Vocal und (pro Complemento) 3. Instrumental-Stimmen/ nebenst dem Basso Continuo auffgesetzt von Johann Crieger/ Direct. Music. In Berlin. TENOR. Berlin/ Gedruckt bey Christoff Runge/ Im Jahr/ 1658.* Tenor part book: Sibley Music Library Preservation Microfilm 120, PM #1055-1060.

3.2.7 Later Editions of *Praxis Pietatis Melica*

The tenth edition of PPM in 1661,²¹ the last to be published during Crüger's lifetime, brought the number of Gerhardt texts published in one hymnal to ninety. The eleventh edition of PPM in 1664²² contains the same Gerhardt hymns. Both contain all eighteen hymns from PPM 1647, all twenty new hymns from Runge 1653, all 44 new ones from PPM 1653, and the three new ones from PPM 1656, along with *Herr, dir trau' ich all' meine Tage*, which had been published in a funeral sermon in 1655.²³ To this number Crüger adds four new Gerhardt hymns; Crüger paired three of these with his own tunes, one of which was newly composed. Hymns by Paul Gerhardt thus made up about fifteen percent of the 617 hymns in PPM 1664.

After Crüger's death in 1662, Christoff Runge and others continued to publish new editions of *Praxis Pietatis Melica* well into the eighteenth century. Runge and Crüger appointed the Berlin composer Jacob Hintze to carry on the musical editing of PPM; he was responsible for the 12th through the 28th editions (1666–98). Late in the century this hymnal became a favorite of the Pietists, as evidenced by the Pietist theologian Philipp Jakob Spener's preface to the 29th edition of PPM in 1702.

²¹ Kemp (Paul Gerhardt, 52) only gives this abbreviated title: *Praxis Pietatis Melica... Von Johann Crügern ... Editio X. Gedruckt zu Berlin ... Christoff Runge/ Anno 1661.*

²² PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA. *Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und trostreichen Gesängen/ Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich/ wie auch anderer seiner getreuen Nachfolger/ und reiner Evangelischer Lehre Bekennenre: Ordentlich zusammen gebracht/ und über vorige Edition mit noch über 60. schönen trostreichen Gesängen von neuen vernebret und verbessert. Auch zu Beforderung des so wol Kirchen= als Privat=Gottesdienstes/ mit beygesetzten bissher gebräuchlichen und vielen schönen neuen Melodien/ nebst dem dazu gehörigen Fundament/ verfertiget Von Johann Crügern/ Gub. Lusat. Direct. Mus. in Berlin/ ad D. N. Mit Churf. Brand. Freyheit nicht nachzudrucken. EDITIO XI. In Berlin gedruckt und verleget von Christoff Runge/ Anno 1664.* Microfilm, Yale German Baroque Literature Collection, reel no. 100, no. 467. Bound with *Geistreiches Gebärbüchlein für Gottesfurchtige Fromme und Andächtige herzen...* (Berlin, 1665).

²³ Kemp, Paul Gerhardt, 51. Kemp also claims that this text (with a tune) was published in a 1657 edition of PPM, about which I have no other information.

3.3 Publications of Christoph Peter

3.3.1 *AndachtsZymbeln* (1655)

Almost as soon as they were first published, Crüger's hymnals began to disseminate the hymns of Gerhardt beyond the environs of Berlin. Already in 1655, a cantional collection from Guben, east of Berlin in Lower Lusatia²⁴ (published at Freyberg in central Saxony), contained eight Gerhardt texts with tunes.²⁵ Christoph Peter, the composer of the collection, who describes himself on the title page as the “singing master at Guben” (“Sangmeister zu Guben”), included in his *AndachtsZymbeln*²⁶ 275 hymns arranged for four and five voices; the repertoire included the core of familiar hymns by Luther and others as well as a strong component of new hymn texts by Heermann, Rist, and Franck with new tunes and settings by Selle, Schop, and from the *Cantional* of Schein (1627/1645), plus the texts by Gerhardt. In this octavo-format book, Peter also includes a full setting of the communion liturgy in Latin (from the Preface on), printing the pastor's traditional chant and providing polyphonic choral responses (e.g., “Et cum spiritu tuo” arranged for SSATB).²⁷ Jürgen Grimm considers this publication to be a “choir hymnal” (“Chorgesangbuch”),²⁸ which is really another way of

²⁴ Guben today is situated directly on the border between Germany and Poland.

²⁵ The information in this section comes from Jürgen Grimm, “Die ‘Andachts-Zymbeln’ des Christoph Peter (1655),” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 14 (1969): 152–179. The title according to Grimm is as follows: *AndachtsZymbeln/ || Oder || Andächtige und geistreiche/ für- || nemlich des Sel. Herrn D. Martin Lu- || thers/ hernach auch nebenst andere bekan- || ten und gebräuchlichen/ der fürnemsten itzigen || Teutschen Tichter/ mit Gottes Wort und unver- || änderter Augspurgischer Confession || übereinstimmende Lieder/ || Zu des allerhöchsten Gottes Lobe/ und || Erwekkung briünstiger Andacht bey from- || men Christen/ in vier und fünf Stimmen || lieblich zusammen gesetzet || Von || Christoph Peter Sangmeister || zu Guben. || Z || Zu Freyberg in Meissen || drukt es auf Kosten des Herausgebers/ || George Beuther/ || Jm Jahr 1655.*

²⁶ The main title would translate literally to *Cymbals of Devotion*, which may allude to Psalm 150:5, “Praise him with sounding cymbals; praise him with loud clashing cymbals” (English Standard Version).

²⁷ Grimm, “Die ‘Andachts-Zymbeln’,” 175.

²⁸ Ibid., 153.

calling it a cantional collection. In the title, Peter describes the hymns in the collection as “familiar and commonly used” (“bekanten und gebräuchlichen”), and dedicates the musical settings “to the praise of allmighty God and for the awakening of ardent devotion” (“Zu des allerhöchsten Gottes Lobe/ und Erwekkung brünstiger Andacht”).

All eight of the Gerhardt texts Peter prints had already appeared in a hymnal of Crüger and Runge.²⁹ In some cases Peter assigns a traditional chorale tune to these texts, and some of these assignments are the same as Crüger’s. On the other hand, where Crüger had written a new tune for a Gerhardt text, Peter generally substituted his own.³⁰ Three of the Gerhardt texts appear with printed musical arrangements for four voices. All of these three texts had been published for the first time in Crüger’s PPM 1647 and reprinted in Runge 1653 and PPM 1653. One of these, *O Mensch, beweine deine Sünd*, is set to the same tune as Crüger specifies,³¹ but the other two (*Wach auf, mein Herz*³² and *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*) have different tunes apparently newly composed by Peter himself.

The other five Gerhardt texts appear without printed music. Four of these were first published in Runge 1653 (and reprinted in PPM 1653), and one was first published in PPM 1653. Of the four from Runge 1653, one has the same tune as in that book; the others have different tune assignments. The one hymn from PPM 1653 has the identical tune

²⁹ Without being able to examine this hymnal personally, I can only speculate as to whether Peter took his texts and some of his musical settings directly from one of these hymnals, or whether there are enough differences in the material to suggest that Peter acquired the texts from an independent manuscript source. Given the similarity of the title and contents of Peter and Crüger’s publications, it seems most likely that Peter took the texts from Crüger.

³⁰ Though elsewhere (for non-Gerhardt texts) Peter does make use of original Crüger melodies.

³¹ This is the tune associated with *O Mensch, bewein dein’ Sünde groß*, which text was clearly the model for Gerhardt’s text. The tune was written by Greiter for *Es sind doch selig alle*, and is also known as OLD 113TH. This hymn appeared in GK 1649 in a four-voice arrangement; without being able to examine Peter directly, I can only suggest the possibility that Peter’s setting might have been taken from Crüger directly.

³² Also included in GK 1649.

assignment. It seems most likely that Peter took his texts from the various editions of the PPM—or took them all from PPM 1653—but felt at liberty to assign different tunes.

3.3.2 *Geistliche Arien* (1667)

In 1667 Peter published *Geistliche Arien* (Sacred Arias), a collection of 24 settings of poems by Gerhardt, Franck, Hermann, Rist, and others, set for one singer and five violins or other instruments, with basso continuo.³³ Peter gives thanks to God in the preface that the praise of God “with psalms, songs of praise, and all kinds of instruments” has been unhindered “in the public service.”³⁴ He says that he has set the texts for one singer “so that the words may be that much better understood.”³⁵ These statements, together with the title and the instrumentation, suggest that these settings are specifically in the genre of sacred art music, intended for use in church, but not by the congregation.

3.4 The *Dresden Hymnal, Dresdnerisch Gesangbuch* (1656)

By 1656 Gerhardt’s hymns had spread into Saxony, with 23 hymns appearing in the *Dresden Hymnal* of that year (Dresden 1656), alongside other new hymns by Heermann and

³³ Christoph Peter, *Geistliche Arien, Ettlicher auf die hohen Jahres Feste und Psalmen Davids/ theils bekanten/ theils neu=heraus=gegebenen Lieder/ Mit einer Stimme zu singen/ und mit fünff Violen oder anderen Instrumenten/ benebenst dem Basso Continuo Abwechselungsweise zu spielen/ aufgesetzt von Christoph Petern/ Cantore zu Guben* (Guben: Gruber, 1667). In the Düben collection at Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden. Information from Mary Frandsen, University of Notre Dame, personal e-mail, Sept. 3, 2008.

³⁴ “Wenn wir denn/ nächst Gott/ (welchem sey ewig Danck gesaget) unter Ew. Hoch=Fürstl. Durchl. Schutz und Schirm allhier zu Guben/ nicht allein das seeligmachende Wort Gottes/ und die heiligen Sacramenta/ rein und unverfälschet behalten/ welches/ leyder! an vielen Orten mangelt; sondern auch ungehindert in stoltzer Ruhe mit Psalmen/ Lob=Gesängen und allerley Instrumenten unsren Gottesdienst bestellen/ Gott damit zu loben und zu dancken.” Ibid., vocal part book, vii–viii.

³⁵ “Als habe ich nach meinen verliehenen Pfündlein diese Geistliche Arien mit einer Stimme zu singen/ damit die Worte desto besser können verstanden werden/ und mit fünff Violen oder andern Instrumenten/ benebenst dem General=Bass zu spielen/ zu dem allerheiligsten Lobe Gottes aufgesetzt...” Ibid., vocal part book, vii–viii.

Rist, and the standard corpus of older hymns.³⁶ The Gerhardt selections all seem to have been taken directly from PPM 1653 (or 1656), since this hymnal includes the new Gerhardt hymns from PPM 1653 that had not been included in Runge 1653 or earlier editions of PPM. The textual readings are identical to those in PPM 1653, as are almost all of the assignments of topical categories (that is, the section headings, such as “Von der Geburt Jesu Christi,” “On the Birth of Jesus Christ”). The hymnal was in quarto format,³⁷ and printed only the melody line (C1 clef) of the music. All of the tune assignments are identical to Crüger’s, including eight original Crüger melodies taken directly from PPM 1653 or 1656 (though Crüger is never credited as the composer). This hymnal does not make any use of Christoph Peter’s independent settings. The intended use of the hymnal in all three spheres of Lutheran musical life is indicated on the title page: “To be made very practical use of by all Christian house-fathers and house-mothers, both in homes and in churches and schools.”

3.5 Heinrich Müller and Nikolaus Hasse, *Geistliche Seelenmusik* (1659)

It only took a few more years for Gerhardt’s hymns to spread to northern Germany. Though Gerhardt is not represented in a 1656 Lüneburg hymnal,³⁸ in 1659 the Rostock

³⁶ *Dresdensch Gesangbuch Christlicher Psalmen und Kirchenlieder/ Herrn D. Martini Lutheri/ und anderer Gottseligen Lehrer und frommen Christen/ theils mit den Noten und ihren rechten Melodeyen gesetzt/ wie sie in der Churfürstl. Sächs. Schloß-Kirchen zu Dressen gesungen werden/ Jetzo aufs neue revidirt/ nach der Jahr-Zeit und Herrn Lutheri Catechismo ordentlich zugerichtet/ und mit etlich 100. neuen Liedern/ neben den vorigen Gesängen vermehret und verbessert/ Allen Christlichen Haussvättern und Haussmüttern/ so wohl in Häusern/ als in Kirchen und Schulen/ sehr nützlich zugebrauchen. Cum gratia & privileg. Elector. Saxon. special. Dresdien/ verlegt und gedruckt durch Christian und Melchior Bergen/ Gebriudere/ Churfürstl. Sächs. Hofe Buchdruckere/ im 1656 Jahre.*

³⁷ Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien des Deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt* (Gütersloh, 1889; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), vol. 6: 193 (#636).

³⁸ *Neu Lüneburgisch= vollständig= wolverbessertes Gesangbuch/ D. Martini Lutheri, E. Alberti, P. Eberi, Nicolai Hermanni, Ph. Nicolai, B. Ringwalds, D. Selnecceri, und anderer reinen Lehrer/ und Gottgelehrten Männer/ (derer Namen und Melodei/ so viel zuerfahren möglich/ stracks beygefügt.) Nebenst H. Job. Arndts Paradys Gärtlein/ und Herrn Philip. Kegelij zwölf Andachten. Wie noch nie in solchem Format und Druck gesehen. Mit Churf. Sächs. Fürstl. Braunsch. und Lüneb.*

theologian Heinrich Müller (1631-1675) published 53 Gerhardt hymns in his influential book *Geistliche SeelenMusik (Sacred Soul-Music)*.³⁹ Müller focused this collection on texts from the “new piety” movement of the seventeenth century; the Gerhardt texts alone make up thirteen percent of his collection. Müller seems to have taken his Gerhardt texts from PPM 1656, since he includes Gerhardt’s entire set of seven *Rhythmica Oratio* paraphrases, including *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*. The music was printed as melody and figured bass, like PPM. Müller collaborated with the Rostock organist Nicolaus Hasse (c. 1617–1672), who contributed fifty melodies and perhaps also their harmonizations.⁴⁰ Hasse paired many familiar tunes to the Gerhardt texts, along with Crüger’s melodies and his own original settings.⁴¹ Hasse’s melodies are in a freer, more artful and soloistic style than Crüger’s. This may be related to the fact that the emphasis in Müller’s preface is strongly on worship in the home, giving specific instructions for how to conduct devotions in the home, so that a Christian can “build a little church in his house.”⁴²

Durchl. Privilegiis. Lüneburg/ Bey den Sternen. Anno M.DCLVI. [1656] Bound with Johann Arndt, *Morgen- und Abend-Öpffer...* (Lüneburg, Bey den Sternen, 1656). Microfilm, Yale University German Baroque Literature collection, reel 26, no. 107. The above title may contain errors, since the text on the title page was partially obscured.

³⁹ The information in this section comes from Christian Bunnens, “Paul Gerhardts Lieder in mecklenburgischen Gesangbüchern: Ein gesangbuchgeschichtlicher Beitrag,” *Mecklenburgia Sacra: Jahrbuch für mecklenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 3 (2000): 60–76. Several of the hymns from this book were edited by Karl Isenberg in *Geistliche Sololieder des Barock. Zweites Heft: Lieder von Nicolaus Hasse nach Dichtungen von Heinrich Müller, Paul Gerhardt, Angelus Silesius u. a. für eine Singstimme und Generalbaß 1659* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955).

⁴⁰ David J. Nichols and Sven Hansell, “Hasse: (2) Nikolaus Hasse,” in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (accessed April 3, 2009).

⁴¹ Bunnens reports that Müller and Hasse assigned 41 of the 53 Gerhardt texts to familiar tunes; 8 texts were assigned original Crüger melodies; and 9 texts have printed musical settings, 5 of which are marked “N.H.” (Hasse’s initials). Obviously, $41 + 8 + 9 = 58$, not 53; unfortunately, Bunnens does not specify whether the 8 Crüger melodies are to be included among the 41 familiar tunes or the remaining 12 not set to familiar tunes; nor does he say in which categories are the printed musical settings, or whether Hasse’s initials indicated original melodies or original harmonic arrangements. Bunnens, “Paul Gerhardts Lieder in mecklenburgischen Gesangbüchern,” 62.

⁴² “..ein Kirchlein bauet in seinem Hause.” Quoted in Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied,” 147.

3.6 Publications of Johann Georg Ebeling

3.6.1 *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten* (1667)

The next person to publish Gerhardt's poems was Crüger's successor as Music Director at St. Nicholas in Berlin, Johann Georg Ebeling (1637–1676). In 1666 Gerhardt was removed from his preaching office because he refused to sign an agreement not to preach about the doctrinal differences between the Lutheran and Reformed confessions. In what appears to have been a public display of support (or possibly even a fundraising campaign) for his pastor, Ebeling published a lavish “complete works” edition of Gerhardt's hymns, *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten* (hereafter, Ebeling 1667),⁴³ which contained 120 Gerhardt hymns with new musical arrangements in the same “enriched cantional style” as Crüger used in GK 1649 (that is, four voices, two violins, and continuo). In 1666 Ebeling had the 120 hymns printed in ten “dozens,” each of which he dedicated to a different circle of wealthy Berlin aristocrats and nobility, seeking their funding to print each new set; when his fundraising was successful he brought out the whole collection in one volume in 1667, which he published and sold himself. The result is a fascinating source, with twelve prefaces filled with erudite, witty expositions of Ebeling's theology of music and worship.⁴⁴ In the

⁴³ PAULI GERHARDI *Geistliche Andachten Bestehend in hundert und zwanzig Liedern/ Auff Hoher und vornehmer Herren Anfoderung in ein Buch gebracht/ Der göttlichen Majestät zu foderst Zu Ehren/ denn auch der werthen und bedrängten Christenheit zu Trost/ und einer jedweden gläubigen Seelen Zu Vermehrung ihres Christenthums Dutzendweise mit neuen sechstimmigen Melodeyen geziert. Hervor gegeben und verlegt Von JOHANN GEORG EBELING/ Der Berlinischen Haupt=Kirchen Music: Director. Berlin/ Gedruckt bey Christoff Runge/ Anno M DC LXVII [1667]. Facsimile reprint, *Paul Gerhardt: Geistliche Andachten* [1667], ed. Friedhelm Kemp (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975). The title translates as follows: *Paul Gerhardt's Sacred Meditations, Consisting of 120 Hymns (Liedern), Published in a Book at the Expense of High and Esteemed Lords, To Advance the Glorification of the Divine Majesty, as well as for the Comfort of the Precious and Oppressed Christendom, and for the Enrichment of each Believing Soul, thus Published in Dozens with New Six-voiced Melodies. Edited and Published by Johan Georg Ebeling, Music Director at the Principal Church of Berlin.**

⁴⁴ See chapter 6 below for further discussion of the prefaces.

title page to the second “dozen,” Ebeling advertises that the musical settings are “to be used practically in the worship service at home and in church” (“Bey Kirch= und Hauß= Gottesdienst füglich zu gebrauchen”).⁴⁵

Ebeling scores his musical settings for four voices, two violins, and basso continuo; he published the instrumental parts separately.⁴⁶ The folio-sized vocal book includes printed music for all four voice parts in choirbook format—that is, instead of the parts being printed in separate partbooks, they are all printed on two facing pages, with the cantus and alto on the left-hand page and the tenor and bass on the right-hand page. Ebeling prints the words of the first stanza beneath the musical notes in all four parts, and the other stanzas as block text below.

Twenty-six of the texts included were published here for the first time.⁴⁷ Several previously-published texts have altered readings and a few have additional stanzas; scholars do not agree on whether these additions and changes came from Gerhardt himself. In the case of the extra stanzas, it is possible that Crüger had simply omitted some of the stanzas when he published the texts, or that Gerhardt himself added the stanzas for Ebeling’s publication. Ebeling arranged the texts in each dozen according to general themes, not according to the liturgical year: for instance, the first dozen contains mostly passion hymns,

⁴⁵ The full title of the second dozen is as follows: *Das Ander Dutzet Geistlicher Andacht=Lieder Herrn PAUL GERHARDTS, mit neuen Melodeyen/ Bey Kirch= und Hauß=Gottesdienst füglich zu gebrauchen; Mit vier Stimmen und zwey Violinen/ nebest dem General-Bass: zu singen und spielen gesetzet von JOHANN. GEORG. EBELING/ der Berlinischen Haupt=Kirchen Music. Director. Gedruckt Zu Franckfurt an der Oder Durch Erasmus Rösner im MDCLXVIsten Jahre/ verlegts J. G. E. bey welchen sie auch zu finden.* Ebeling 1667, [33]. The title for the last dozen is different in the first part: *Das Zehende und Letzte Dutzet Geistlicher Lob= und Dancklieder/ HERRN PAUL GERHARDTS...*.

⁴⁶ The instrumental parts have been reprinted in Ebeling, *Instrumentalstimmen zu den Geistlichen Andachten von Paul Gerhardt [1667]* (facsimile, Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975). Twelve of Ebeling’s settings have been edited by Konrad Ameln in Johann Georg Ebeling, *Zwölf geistliche Lieder Paul Gerhardts: für vierstimmigen gemischten Chor, zwey Violinen und Generalbass* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956).

⁴⁷ Kemp, “Zu dieser Ausgabe,” in *Paul Gerhardt*, 3.

including the entire *Rhythmica Oratio* set; the fifth dozen has hymns appropriate for Advent, Christmas, and the Circumcision of Christ; the seventh dozen has hymns related to Jesus' suffering and death, his resurrection, and also hymns for Pentecost and Trinity; the ninth dozen is mostly Psalm paraphrases; and the tenth dozen has hymns about baptism, the Lord's Supper, and songs of thanksgiving.

The most distinctive feature about Ebeling's collection in comparison with the others we have examined is that Ebeling wrote fully 112 new melodies for Gerhardt's hymns.⁴⁸ For almost every hymn, Ebeling gave a tune indication like such as, "To the tune of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen*, or as follows"⁴⁹ and then printed the music for his own original setting of the text. In the cases where Ebeling provided a new tune, he marks his initials at the top-left corner of the left-hand page and again at the top-right corner of the right-hand page. For the other hymns, where Ebeling has used other composers' tunes, he puts his initials on the right-hand page as usual, but on the left-hand page, he puts his initials not at the top but instead above the alto part. This indicates Ebeling is only responsible for the harmonic setting, not the melody.

For his assignments of familiar tunes (like *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen* above), Ebeling uses the same tune as Crüger in more than sixty cases; for two of these, he uses Crüger's own newly-composed tunes. In about 25 cases, Ebeling replaces Crüger's tune assignment with a different familiar tune. For 21 of the 26 texts published here for the first time in a hymnal, Ebeling gives both a familiar tune suggestion and a new tune and setting with printed music; for the other five he gives only the new tune.

⁴⁸ According to Kemp, "Zu dieser Ausgabe," in *Paul Gerhardt*, 3. I count 113 new melodies.

⁴⁹ "Im Thon: Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen Oder wie folget." Ebeling 1667, 104-105 (hymn no. 41).

3.6.2 Pauli Gerhardi *Geistliche Andachten*, Second Revised Edition (1669)

In 1668, perhaps for reasons related to the controversy over Gerhardt's dismissal, Ebeling left Berlin and became cantor and professor of music and Greek at the electoral Gymnasium Carolinum in Stettin (in modern Poland). The next year Ebeling published there a second edition of his Gerhardt collection with the same main title as the first edition (hereafter, Ebeling 1669).⁵⁰ This time he printed the book in smaller octavo format, much like PPM, and rearranged the contents according to the liturgical year; he reduced the musical settings to just cantus and bass parts (the bass part may be intended for *basso continuo*, but there are no figures). The two voice parts are presented on facing pages, with text underlaid for both. In the title, Ebeling states that his motivation for producing the new edition: though the collection was “previously edited and published in Berlin with six voices in folio, for greater convenience” (“Umb besserer Bequemlichkeit”) it has now been “edited and published a second time, put into this format with two voices, along with an appendix of certain choice prayers.” In addition to the collection of prayers, mentioned in the title, Ebeling also includes before the first hymn an “Instruction on Prayer” consisting of Bible verses relating to prayer. The hymn section itself is titled “Spirit-rich Meditations (*Andachten*) Set in Rhyme, Appointed for All the Epistles Throughout the Whole Year, and for Particular Seasons.”⁵¹ In 1683, Ebeling reprinted this volume with a slightly different title, *Pauli Gerhardi Geistreiche Andachten* (“spirit-filled” meditations instead of “sacred” ones); this

⁵⁰ PAULI GERHARDI *Geistliche Andachten Bestehend in hundert und zwanzig Liedern. Auf alle Sontage/ und gewisse Zeiten im Jahr gerichtet/ vor diesem mit sechs Stimmen in folio heraussgegeben und zu Berlin gedrucket; Umb besserer Bequemlichkeit aber bey sich zu haben in sothanes format gebracht mit zwey Stimmen zum andern mahl/ nebst einem Anhang etlicher ausserlesenen Gebehte/ hervor gegeben und verleget Von JOHAN. GEORG. EBELING/ des Gymn. Carolini Profess. Music. Alten Stettin/ gedruckt bey Daniel Starcken des König. Gymn. Carolini. Büch[drucker].* [1669]. Microfilm, Yale Univ. German Baroque Literature Collection, reel 100, no. 468a.

⁵¹ “Geistreiche In Reime verfaßte Andachten/ Auf alle Evangelia durchs gantze Jahr/ und auf sonderbahre Zeiten gerichtet.” Ebeling 1669, the page before 2.

volume included the important new preface (quoted in chapter 1) by Conrad Feuerlein, a pastor in Nuremberg who recommends using the school choir to introduce Gerhardt's hymns to the congregation.⁵²

Ebeling's publications do not seem to have done as much as Crüger's to further the spread of Gerhardt's hymns throughout Germany. Most hymn publications printed after the death of both Gerhardt and Ebeling in 1676 generally did not include the new Gerhardt texts or tunes that Ebeling had printed for the first time, but most often continued to reprint the existing oeuvre as published by Crüger.⁵³

3.6.3 The Nuremberg Hymnal, *Nürnbergisches Gesang=Buch* (1676)

Published in the year of Gerhardt's death, the *Nuremberg Hymnal* (Nuremberg 1676)⁵⁴ is a good example both of a hymnal specific to a particular city or territory, and, with 1160

⁵² PAULI GERHARDI *Geistreiche Andachten Bestehend in CXX. Liedern. Auf alle Sonntage/ und gewisse Zeiten im Jahr gerichtet/ Samt einer nutzlichen Vorrede Conrad Feuerleins/ Predigers zu unser Lieben Frauen in Nürnberg. Vor diesem mit sechs Stimmen in folio gedrucket/ Um besserer Bequemlichkeit aber bey sich zu haben in sothanes format gebracht/ und mit zwey Stimmen/ zum drittenmal/ nebst einem Anhang etlicher auserlesenen Gebete/ herfür gegeben Von Johann Georg Ebeling/ des Gymn. Carolini Profess. Music. Nürnberg/ In Verlegung Christoff Riegels. Gedruckt bey Job. Michael Spörlin. Anno M DC LXXXIII [1683].* Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh.

⁵³ A few new Gerhardt hymns did appear in funeral sermon collections in this period.

⁵⁴ *Nürnbergisches Gesang= Buch/ Darinnen 1160. außerlesene/ so wol alt als neue/ Geist= Lehr= und Trostreiche Lieder/ auf allerley Zeit= Freud= und Leid = Fälle der ganzen Christenheit gerichtet/ und mit Voransetzung der Autorum Namen / auch theils vortrefflich= schönen Melodien/ Noten und Kupffern geziert/ zu finden. Denen beygefügter ein Christliches Gebet = Büchlein/ in welchem Morgen= Abend= Buß= Beicht= Communion= Rä ~~~ [Regen?]= Wetter= Krancken / und Sterb= Gebet ~~~lich enthalten. Alles zu Gottes Her/ darin ~~~ Beförderung frommer Christen Hauf= und Kirchen= Andachten/ aus vieler geistreicher Lehrer und berühmter Lente Schriften mit besonderm Fleiß zusammen getragen. Mit einer Vorrede Herrn Johann Sauberts/ der H. Schrift Doctoris, Prof. Prima, und Predigers in Altdorf. Nürnberg; In Verlegung Christoff Gerhards und Sebastian Göbels. A. C. M.DC.LXXVI [1676].* DKL 1676, 15. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: Th Lt E 83. Microfiche: Harald Fischer Verlag, 2003. Parts of text marked ~~~ were obscured by seal stamp. Translation of title: *Nuremberg Hymnal, in which there can be found 1160 choice hymns, both old and new, rich in spirit, teaching, and comfort, appointed for all seasons and cases of joy and sorrow of the whole Christendom, and prefixed with the authors' names, also adorned in part with especially lovely melodies, notes, and engraving. To which is added a little Christian prayer book, which contains prayers for morning, evening, repentance, confession, communion, rain[?], weather, sickness, and death. All collected with particular diligence to God's glo[ry], ~~~ for the advancement of pious Christian home and church devotions*

hymns, of how large hymnals of this period could be. The physical size of such a book would have made it impossible to carry any significant distance (this is also the case for the *Dresden Hymnal* of 1656). Gerhardt is represented with 77 hymns; this number does not include any that had only been published thus far by Ebeling. The book includes printed music for melody and figured bass, just like PPM. The collection of hymns is supplemented by a prayer book, and the title page suggests that both the hymns and the prayer book are intended “for the advancement of devotions [or worship services] in pious Christian houses and churches” (“Beförderung frommer Christen Hauß= und Kirchen= Andachten”).

3.7 The *Husum Court Hymnal* (1676)

Another territorial hymnal from much farther afield is the so-called *Husumer Hofgesangbuch* (*Husum Court Hymnal*) of 1676 (Husum 1676).⁵⁵ This fascinating source contained hymns “collected from various hymnals” by the Duchess Maria Elisabeth, originally of Saxony, and her court preacher Petrus Petraeus for use at her court in Husum (in far north Germany), “for the advancement of both public liturgies [*öffentlichen Gottesdienstes*] in her court chapel and also for private devotion [*geheimen Andacht*].”⁵⁶ Since the

from the writings of many spirit-filled teachers and famous people. With a foreword by Mr. Johann Saubert, Doctor of Holy Scripture, Professor Prima and Preacher in Altdorf.

⁵⁵ *Das Husumer Hofgesangbuch: Schleswig 1676*, original title: *Außerlesene Geistliche Lieder/ Auf unterschieden Gesangbüchern zusammen getragen. Und Auff gnädigste Anordnung Der Durchläuchtigsten Fürstinn und Frauen Fr. Maria Elisabeth/ Gebohrnen auf Churfürstlichen Stamm zu Sachsen/ verwittweten Hertzogin zu Schleswig Holstein/ Stormarn und der Dithmarschen/ Gräffin zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst/ etc. Zu beförderung des so wol öffentlichen Gottesdienstes in dero Hoff=Capelle/ als auch geheimen Andacht aufgesertiget. Schleswig In der Fürstl. Druckerey gedruckt durch Johan Holwein/ Im Jahr 1676*, facsimile reprint edited by the Stiftung Nordfriesland, with an afterword by Ada Kadelbach (Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986). Translation of title: *Select Sacred Songs, collected from various hymnals and ordered in the most graceful way by the enlightened Princess And Lady Maria Elisabeth, born from electoral line of Saxony, the widowed Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein...etc. prepared for the advancement of both public liturgies in her court chapel and also for private devotion.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, title.

duchess personally selected the contents, mostly from PPM, the *Dresden Hymnal* (Dresden 1656) and Heinrich Müller's *Geistliche Seelen-Musick* (Müller 1659), this hymnal is "an important document for the reception history of [these] significant sources."⁵⁷ In addition to hymns, the book also contains a section of prayers, including the text of complete communion liturgy. Of about 293 hymns from the seventeenth century included, 75 are by Gerhardt.⁵⁸ Like the *Dresden Hymnal*, this book prints the melody line only of the tunes when they first appear, and like the *Nuremberg Hymnal*, it does not make any use of Ebeling's newly-published texts or tunes.⁵⁹ The size of the book is 17.5 cm x 23 cm x 6 cm, in between octavo and quarto.

The *Husum Court Hymnal* is especially interesting for its detailed registers. Nearly all of the hymnals in this study include registers of the hymns appointed according to liturgical season or specific liturgical festivals, but the liturgical-year register in this hymnal is much more detailed and specific. While other hymnals (like PPM) might include six or seven hymns for a particular Sunday (including both old and new hymns), this hymnal specifies only two hymns for each Epistle and each Gospel reading for every Sunday of the church year, and indicates exactly which verses are to be read; the list, then, functions as a lectionary.⁶⁰ The register is entitled, "Register of the psalms and church-songs, which can be sung most suitably on each Sunday and feast day as a reflection on the texts of the Gospels

⁵⁷ "Wenn das Husumer Hofgesangbuch selbst auch keine nachhaltige Wirkung hinterließ, so ist es um so wertvoller als Dokument für die Wirkungsgeschichte bedeutender Quellen wie des Dresdener Gesangbuchs von 1656, Müllers *Seelenmusik* von 1659 und Crügers *Praxis pietatis melica*." Ada Kadelbach, "Das Husumer Hofgesangbuch," in *Das Husumer Hofgesangbuch*, 18.

⁵⁸ One (*Ich weiß, mein Gott*) is printed twice (as nos. 200 and 347), leading Kadelbach to list 76 Gerhardt hymns.

⁵⁹ It does contain variant textual readings of several Gerhardt hymns, though the source of these changes is unclear.

⁶⁰ Kadelbach, "Das Husumer Hofgesangbuch," 7-8.

and Epistles, or which are the most suitable to the season.”⁶¹ There is also a register for each day of the week, where the hymns for each day are organized around a particular theme.

The title of the register indicates that it was meant to serve the actual liturgical practice at the Husum Court, which was somewhat innovative. For instance, the duchess has appointed specific segments of a harmonized Passion narrative to be read successively in the midweek services and Sunday afternoon preaching services in Lent; each of these readings, she specifies, is to be followed by a hymn,⁶² and the hymns she assigns include many of the contemporary Passion hymns by Gerhardt, Heermann, and others, which are emblematic of the “new piety” movement. Several of Gerhardt’s *Rhythmica Oratio* paraphrases are included, including *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, which is appointed to be read during the afternoon preaching service on the third Sunday in Lent, after the account of Jesus’s trial before Pilate and Pilate’s command that Jesus be scourged.⁶³ Table 2 shows the large number of Gerhardt hymns appointed to be sung during the season of Lent.

Since the duchess published this register for use at her own court, the *Husum Court Hymnal* provides strong evidence that the duchess did indeed have new hymns by Gerhardt and others sung in the public liturgies at her court. According to Ada Kadelbach, these

⁶¹ “Register über die Psalmen und Kirchen=Gesänge/ welche an jedem Sonn= und Fest= Tage bey betrachtung der Evangelischen und Epistolischen Texte am füglichsten können gesungen werden/ oder sich zum besten auff die Zeit schicken.”

⁶² The instruction in the register is as follows: “Wenn hierauff am Mittwochen nach *Esto mibi* der Anfang gemacht wird zur Erklärung des zugleich Schmertz= und tröstlichen Geschicht von dem Leyden und Sterben unsers Hochverdienten Heylandes und Seligmachers Christi JEsu/ und dieselbe in unser Schloß=Kirche in 12. Stück eingetheilt abgehandelt wirt/ theils am Mittwochen/ theils am Sontage an stat der ordentlichen Epistel in der Nachmittags=Predigt/ ist umb guter Ordnung willen beliebt worde/ bey einem jeglichen Passion=Text fügliche Gesänge hinbey zu fügen.”

⁶³ Incidentally, this is the same portion of the passion narrative that precedes *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* in Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*.

registers show the efforts of the duchess to make new hymns known in the church service through regular, repeated use.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ibid., 8.

TABLE 2. GERHARDT HYMNS APPOINTED TO BE SUNG DURING LENT (PLUS QUINQUAGESIMA AND EASTER SUNDAY) AT THE COURT OF HUSUM

Liturgical Day	Reading, as Listed in the <i>Husum Court Hymnal</i> , “Register über die Psalmen und Kirchen=Gesänge...”	Gerhardt Hymn Appointed after the Reading
<i>Esto mibi</i> (Quinquagesima, the last Sun. before Lent)	Gospel, Lk. 18	<i>Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld</i>
Wed. after <i>Esto mibi</i> (Ash Wednesday)	Passion narrative, from “Und da sie den Lobgesang” to “Betet aber/ auff das ihr nicht in Anfechtung fallet”	<i>Siehe, mein getreuer Knecht</i>
<i>Reminiscere</i> (2nd Sun. in Lent), afternoon	Passion, from “die Hohepriester aber und die Eltesten” to “Wir habens selbst gehört auß seinem Munde”	<i>O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben</i>
Wed. after <i>Reminiscere</i>	Passion, from “Und der gantze Hauffe stund auff” to “welches Todes er sterben würde”	<i>Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld</i>
<i>Laetare</i> (4th Sun. in Lent), morning	Gospel, John 6	<i>Der Herr, der aller Enden regiert</i>
<i>Laetare</i> Sunday, afternoon	Passion, from “Da nam Pilatus JEsum” to “daß er gecreutziget würde”	<i>O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden</i>
Wed. after <i>Laetare</i>	Passion, from “da nahmen die Kriegs=Knechte JEsum” to “das Volck stund und sahe zu”	<i>Sei wohl gegrüßet, guter Hirt</i>
<i>Judica</i> (5th Sun. in Lent), afternoon	Passion, from “Es stund aber bey dem Creutz” to “und gab seinen Geist auff”	<i>Hör an, mein Herz, die sieben Wort</i>
Palm Sunday, morning	Gospel, Mt. 21	<i>Siehe, mein getreuer Knecht</i>
Palm Sunday, afternoon	Passion, from “sihe da der Fürhang im Tempel” to “in welchen sie gestochen haben”	<i>Ich grüsse dich, du frömmster Mann</i>
Easter Sunday, morning	Epistle, Acts 10	<i>Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden and Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit</i>

3.8 The *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of Gottfried Vopelius (1682)

Another territorial hymnal that also emphasizes the public church service is the *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* (New Leipzig Hymnal) edited in 1682 by Gottfried Vopelius, cantor at the Nicolaischule (St. Nicholas School) in Leipzig (hereafter, Vopelius 1682).⁶⁵ The long title explains that this hymnal contains “the loveliest and best hymns [*Liedern*]” by Luther and “other songs [*Gesänge*], Latin hymns [*Hymni*], and Psalms [*Psalmi*] that are in accord with God’s Word and the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and that have been introduced and are commonly used in Christian congregations all around here and also in other pure evangelical [Lutheran] places and lands.” Compared with other hymnals in this study, Vopelius’s collection seems rather conservative; Vopelius includes only two Gerhardt hymns among his total of 473 hymns. Vopelius treats both of these hymns as though they are by a new hymn writer, providing a full title for the author so as to introduce him to the reader: “Paul Gerhard, minister at Lübben in Lower Lusatia.”⁶⁶

Even though Vopelius only includes two Gerhardt hymns, this inclusion is especially significant because the overall character of the hymnal is so strongly oriented toward the public church service and choral music. Vopelius includes more than just hymns: for the

⁶⁵ Gottfried Vopelius, *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch/ Von den schönsten und besten Liedern verfasset/ In welchem Nicht allein des sel. Herrn D. Lutheri und andere mit Gottes Wort/ und unveränderter Augsburgischer Confession überein stimmende/ und in Christlicher Gemeine allhier/ wie auch anderer reinen Evangelischen Orten und Landen eingeführte und gebräuchliche Gesänge/ Lateinische Hymni und Psalmen/ Mit 4. 5. bis 6. Stimmen/ deren Melodeyen Theils aus Johann Herman Scheins Cantional, und andern guten Autoribus zusammen getragen/ theils aber selbsten componiret; Sondern auch die Passion nach den heiligen Evangelisten Mattheo und Johanne/ die Auferstehung/ die Missa, Praefationes, Responsoria und Collecten/ auf die gewöhnlichen Sonn= und hohen Festtage/ das Magnificat nach den 8. tonis, Te Deum laudamus, Symbolum Nicaenum, &c. Choraliter, Und was sonst bey dem ordentlichen Gottesdienste gesungen wird/ zu finden: Mit Fleiß verfertiget und herausgegeben von Gottfried VOPELIO, von Zittau/ itziger Zeit bey der Schule zu S. Nicol. Cantore. Mit einer Vorrede D. Georgii Moebii, Theol. Prof. Publ. und dero Zeit der Theologischen Facultät Decani, welcher auch nach der Vorrede viel nützliche Anmerckungen hinzü gethan / und darinnen gewiesen/ wie in unterschiedlichen Liedern an gewissen Orten falsch und unrecht gesungen/ und wie darneben viel dunckete und undeutliche Redensarten recht sollen verstanden warden. Mit Churf. Sächs. Durchl. Gnädigstem Privilegio. Leipzig/ In Verlegung Christoph Klingers/ Buchb. Druckts Gallus Niemann/ 1682. Microfilm, Yale Univ. Jantz German Baroque literature collection, no. 2596.*

⁶⁶ “Paul Gerhard/ Pfarrer zu Lübben in der Nieder=Lausitz.” Ibid., 553.

Mass he also includes polyphonic (*figuraliter*) settings of the choir's responses at the Collect (before the Epistle), at the Gospel, the Preface, and at the final Benediction, as well as a six-voice Sanctus, and for Vespers he includes the response to the opening Versicle, along with monophonic (*Choraliter*) versions of all of these same items.⁶⁷ Vopelius also includes the Passion according to Matthew and John, the Resurrection account, the Magnificat, Te Deum, "and whatever else is sung in the orderly church service."⁶⁸ The musical settings in four through six voices are taken from Schein's *Cantional*⁶⁹ and other sources. They are generally printed in choirbook format, with all the voice parts appearing on facing pages, with text underlaid for all parts. It seems most appropriate to call this a "choir hymnal" intended for use in the worship service.

In addition to a foreword with theological notes to the hymns by Georgius Moebius, Vopelius writes in his own preface that he has produced this book because older publications by Vulpius and others had not generally been well-received, because copies of the excellent cantionals of Gesius, Calvisius, and Schein had become increasingly hard to find, and, most tellingly for the purposes of this investigation, because other contemporary hymnals "cannot well be used in church and school, either because of too many new songs or an inconvenient [*unbequem*] format and printing." Vopelius says that hymnals are "drawn from Israel's spring" (that is, the Biblical Psalms), and are used for church and home worship (*Kirche und Haus=Andacht*). He includes Latin hymns not only for the school youths

⁶⁷ Ibid., 1074–1101.

⁶⁸ Ibid., title: "Und was sonst bey dem ordentlichen Gottesdienste gesungen wird."

⁶⁹ Johann Hermann Schein, *Cantional: oder Gesangbuch Augsburger Konfession 1627/1645*, 2 vols., ed. Adam Adrio (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965).

to use, but also for those who know Latin, to “enhance their devotion (*Andacht*) in the public service.”⁷⁰

3.9 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Das grosse Cantional* (1687)

Like Nuremberg, Husum, and Leipzig, the territory of Hesse also received its own hymnal in *Das grosse CANTIONAL, Oder: Kirchen=Gesangbuch* (The Great Cantional or Church-Hymnal), published in 1687 by Henning Müller and his father-in-law, the composer Wolfgang Carl Briegel (Briegel 1687).⁷¹ The editors do not use the word *Cantional* in the title in the technical sense used by modern musicologists: as the subtitle explains, this book is simply a traditional “church hymnal” that prints only the melodies. The book uses large type for music and words and has rather lavish decorations. Müller’s preface suggests that he envisioned the contents of the book being used in church. He expresses his desire for uniformity within his region in terms of both hymn repertoire and hymn tunes, and he sees himself as answering the desire of many preachers and cantors for this type of book. Nothing about the preface or title indicates anything other than a public-service use of the hymns. Out of 411 hymns, 31 are by Gerhardt. Again, none of Ebeling’s new hymns is included.

⁷⁰ Could this mean that Vopelius intended for them to bring the hymnal to church with them?

⁷¹ Briegel, *Das grosse CANTIONAL, oder: Kirchen=Gesangbuch/ In welchem Nicht allein D. Martin Luthers/ sondern auch vieler anderer Gottseliger Lehrer der Christlichen Kirchen/ geistreiche Lieder begriffen: Mit sonderbahren Fleiß zusammen getragen/ in gewöhnliche Melodien gesetzt/ und auff vielfältiges verlangen in Druck gebracht.* Darmstadt: Drucks und Verlags Henning Müllers/ Fürstl. Buchdr. Im Jahr Christi 1687. British Museum Music Dept., catalogue #K10d4, order Ps4\8446. Microfilm by British Museum Photographic Service, London, in University of Washington Library.

3.10 *Andächtiger Seelen geistliches Brand= und Dank-Opfer*, A Leipzig Compendium (1697)

A very different type of hymnal from Briegel's is found in a massive, eight-volume compendium of hymns published in Leipzig in 1697 (Leipzig 1697).⁷² The collection is titled *Spiritual Burnt- and Thank-Offering of the Worshipful [Andächtige] Soul, That Is, Complete Hymnal in Eight Separate Volumes*. With some 88 texts by Gerhardt, this collection contains the largest number of Gerhardt hymns published apart from Ebeling's books; but that is out of a total of perhaps five thousand hymns. The book includes only the texts and textual tune indications for all of the hymns, and each volume is published in a small, hand-sized octavo format. The first volume largely exhausts the common hymn repertoire found in the other hymnals in this study, leaving seven more books for hymns on specific topics, including almost an entire volume of “Jesus-Hymns” (*Jesus-Lieder*). J. S. Bach kept a copy of this hymnal (along with Vopelius 1682) in his personal library.⁷³

⁷² *Andächtiger Seelen geistliches Brand= und Dank-Opfer/ Das ist vollständiges Gesangbuch/ in Acht unterschiedlichen Theilen/ Derer*
I. *D. Martin. Lutheri und andere in unsere Evangelische Kirchen gewöhnliche Gesänge.*
II. *Fest=Lieder durch das ganze Jahr hindurch.*
III. *Evangeliums= und Epistel = Lieder auf ieden Sonn= Fest und Apostel=Tag gerichtet/ item JEsus=Lieder/ von der Christlichen Kirche und Feyrung des Sabbaths/ wie auch Psalm=Lieder nach der Ordnung des ganzen Psalter = Buchs.*
IV. *Morgen= Abend= und Tisch Lieder/ ingleichen vom Christlichen Leben und Wandel.*
V. *Bufß= und Catechismus= Lieder/ wie auch vom H. Abendmahl samt einigen Liedern über die vornemsten Texte im Jesus Sprach.*
VI. *Creutz= Trost= Lob und Danck= Lieder.*
VII. *Stand= Lieder nach den drey Haupt=Ständen eingerichtet/ Reise= Lieder zu Land und Wasser/ item Krieg = Hunger = und Pest = Lieder.*
VIII. *Krancken und Sterbe= Lieder wie auch vom Jüngsten Gericht/ Himmel und Hölle in sich begreiffet.*
Jegliches Theil hat sein eigen / wie auch das gesamte Werck ein allgemein Register/ welches beym Ersten; wie denn auch beym Achten Theil ein absonderlich Register zu finden ueber diejenigen Lieder derer Anhang vormals geändert worden. Aus vielen Gesangbüchern und andern Autoren mit guter Unterscheidung und Sorgfalt zusammen getragen/ durch eine grosse Menge nie gedruckter Lieder vermehret/ insgesamt fleissig übersehen / und was ausser dem ersten Theil/ die neuern Lieder betrifft/ manigfaltig verbessert/ und nun an der Zahl nahe 5000. Mit approbation der hochlöblichen Theolog. Facult. albier Zu GOTtes Ehren und des Nechsten Erbauung herausgegeben. LEIPZIG/ Gedruckt und zu finden bey Andreas Zeidlern/ Anno 1697.

⁷³ Wilhelm Martin Luther, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Documenta* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950), 42.

This intriguing source merits a much more detailed study than is possible here, but for the present purposes it should suffice to note that the preface (by Johann Günther, deacon at St. Nicolai) makes absolutely clear that this book is intended for use at home. The book is a complete home shelf reference of hymns for use in home worship services. The octavo format was chosen “so that as needed one could conveniently take a single volume to bring along on a journey, or also to the sick-bed, or also when the members of one’s household are gathered together in a private hour of prayer,” and the size of type was chosen so that even “older readers” would be able to read it.⁷⁴ Günther prays that the hymnal will create a “strongly leaping flame for devotion [*Andacht*] and the praise of God in many houses and families.”⁷⁵ The book can also function in relationship to public worship, though: Günther stresses that the texts of the hymns are presented without any corruptions, “so that the singer in the congregation [...] might not lead himself and others into error.”⁷⁶ In other words, the book is not designed actually to be carried to church, but it can be used to check the words of hymns sung in church. The preface also emphasizes that new hymns are not to be feared.

⁷⁴ “Allein es hat denjenigen/ so mit Herausgebung des gegenwärtigen Gesangbuches beschäftigt gewesen/ füglicher gedaucht [sic]/ den Format in *Octav* zu erwehlen/ und zwar darumb/ damit man zur Noth einen Band von demselben entweder auff der Reise bequemer fortbringen/ oder auch beym Krancken=Bette; ingleichen wenn die Haußgenossen in einer Privat Beth = Stunde beysammen sind/ desto leichter sich dessen bedienen können. Die Schrift hat man deßwegen nicht kleiner nehmen wollen/ damit diß Gesangbuch auch ältlichen Leuten/ welchen die Schärfte des Gesichts abgelegt hat/ anstehen möge.” Ibid., “Vorrede,” vol. 1, fol. c 2, recto.

⁷⁵ “Er wolle [...] daß hiedurch gleichseam eine starcktreibende Flamme zur Andacht und zum Lobe GOttes in viele Häuser und Familien gebracht [...]” Ibid., “Vorrede,” last page.

⁷⁶ “[...] der Text und dessen eigentliche Worte auch gäntzlich unverrückt blieben/ damit der Sänger in der Gemeine/ wenn er sich etwas anders angewehnet/ nicht sich und andere irre machen möge.” Ibid., fol. c, recto.

3.11 The *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* (1710)

One early eighteenth-century publication, the *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* of 1710 (Leipzig 1710),⁷⁷ merits inclusion in the study because of its strong liturgical orientation and its clearly “orthodox” affiliation. This publication contains, according to the title, “a specific instruction on the church service [*Gottes=Dienst*] in Leipzig.” This book contains no printed music, but a detailed liturgical formulary and an accompanying volume of prayers to use during the public service. Among its 274 hymns, it includes eight by Gerhardt.

3.12 Critical Review of the Evidence of Printed Publications

The wide range of seventeenth-century publications that included Gerhardt’s hymns provides strong evidence that these hymns played a prominent role in all three spheres of Lutheran community life—home, school, and church. While some publications (such as Leipzig 1697) are unambiguously geared toward a domestic market, others (such as Husum 1676 or Briegel 1687) are strongly oriented toward use in public worship. Not a single source in this study makes the kind of distinction between old and new hymns that Scheitler suggests was common, but rather, all of these books intermingle both old and new together. Even those sources that are more focused on home worship do not reject the possibility of using new hymns in public worship. While these books themselves, without any external evidence of their actual use, can only provide circumstantial evidence, there are simply too

⁷⁷ *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat/ Das ist Deutlicher Unterricht vom Gottes=Dienst in Leipzig/ wie es bey solchem so wohl an hohen und andern Festen/ als auch an denen Sonntagen ingleichen die gantze Woche über gehalten wird/ Nebst darauff eingerichteten Andächtigen Gebeten und denen dazu verordneten Teutsch= und lateinischen Gesängen. Welchem zuletzt noch mit beygefügten Geistreiche Morgen= und Abend= Segen auf jeden Tag in der Woche. LEIPZIG : verlegt Friedrich Groschuff/ 1710.*

many publications including Gerhardt's hymns that claim to be intended for use in church to insist that none of them were in fact used in that way.

These publications also show how strong was the influence of Johann Crüger's hymnals, not only in disseminating Gerhardt's hymns, but also in the printing format, method of arranging the contents, and even the style and content of the title pages and prefaces. By tabulating the contents of all these hymnals, we can gain a sense of which Gerhardt hymns were most widely distributed and well known (see table 3). Gerhardt's hymns appear with extraordinary frequency in these books, which represent a broad sample of geographical origins and types of publications.

TABLE 3. THE MOST FREQUENTLY PRINTED GERHARDT HYMNS
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

	A	B	C
1	First line	Number of books that include this hymn	Rank
2	Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe	21	1
3	Nun ruhen alle Wälder	19	2
4	Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr	18	3
5	O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben	17	4
6	Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden	16	5
7	Herr, der du vormals hast dein Land	16	5
8	Nach dir, o Herr, verlanget mich	16	5
9	Nun danket all und bringet Her	16	5
10	Nun laßt uns gehn und treten	16	5
11	Ich erhebe, Herr, zu dir	15	6
12	Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn	15	6
13	Ist Ephraim nicht meine Kron	15	6
14	Lobet den Herren alle, die ihn fürchten	15	6
15	O du allersüß'ste Freude	15	6
16	Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott	15	6
17	Warum willst du draußen stehen	15	6
18	Wie soll ich dich empfangen	15	6
19	Zweierlei bitt ich von dir	15	6
20	Der Herr, der aller Enden	14	7
21	Die Zeit ist nunmehr nah	14	7
22	Du meine Seele, singe	14	7
23	Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen	14	7
24	Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund	14	7
25	Kommt, ihr traurigen Gemüter	14	7
26	Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet	14	7
27	Warum macht solche Schmerzen	14	7
28	Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen	14	7
29	Was Gott gefällt, mein frommes Kind	14	7
30	Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken	14	7
31	Wie der Hirsch in großen Dürsten	14	7
32	Wie lang, o Herr, wie lange soll	14	7
33	Zeuch ein zu deinen Toren	14	7

Except perhaps in the case of the *Husum Court Hymnal*, none of these sources provides sufficient evidence by itself to prove that its contents were actually used in the way the compiler recommends. We must never forget that the hymnal and songbook “industry” in the seventeenth century was above all a commercial enterprise. Title page advertisements and prefaces, which form the bulk of evidence used by Scheitler, Blankenburg, Albrecht, and Banners, do not by themselves prove anything except that the author and publisher wanted to sell as many copies as possible. This is still true today: for the new hymnal of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, *Lutheran Service Book*,⁷⁸ Concordia Publishing House offers no fewer than nineteen different available versions, including the “Hymn Accompaniment Edition,” the “Liturgy Accompaniment Edition,” the “Pew Edition,” and the “Guitar Chord Edition.”⁷⁹ What modern publishers do by releasing different versions, seventeenth-century publishers did by listing all possible uses on the title page. Like Baroque predecessors of Ron Popeil (“It slices! It dices!”), it is as though they are calling out to the potential buyer, “It can be used at home! It can be used in school! It can be used in church! But wait—there’s more! You can sing the music, or you can play it on instruments, or both, and you can use violins, cornetts, organ, clavichord, or lute!”

This is why the question of publishing format is almost irrelevant, because seventeenth-century musicians were limitlessly flexible in their use of printed books. Both Crüger and Ebeling published their hymn arrangements in two different, but complementary formats (one in small format with melody and bass line, and another in partbooks or choirbook format for four-voice choir and instruments). The melody and bass lines are the

⁷⁸ Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod Commission on Worship, *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2006).

⁷⁹ These may be found by going to <http://www.cph.org> and searching for “Lutheran Service Book.”

same in both editions, so they could be used simultaneously. In the twelfth edition of *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1666), Jacob Hintze carried this idea a step further when he appended a set of his own hymn settings that “can be performed either as four-part pieces or as songs for one voice and continuo: one book gives the melody and the bass (which is figured), a second the alto and tenor parts.”⁸⁰ In 1695, Hintze published a separate edition of these settings “in which, as the title-page makes clear, the possible ways of performing them are still more varied.”⁸¹ Even where such flexibility was not built into the publication, however, musicians were free to copy out the music into any format they chose, as the cantor in Löbau did when he copied Ebeling’s 1667 arrangements into partbooks for his school choir to sing (see chapter 4). Almost any format could be used in almost any setting, whether at home, in school, or in church. The one possible exception to this rule would be hymnals with no printed music, which could only have been used in house-music (*Hausmusik*) or school choirs if enough participants already knew the melodies, a likely enough situation given that most hymnals paired new texts with familiar chorale melodies, or provided traditional tunes as alternatives to the new melodies printed.

Title-page advertisements and statements of authorial intent can provide useful data if viewed with the proper amount of skepticism, since they must reveal something about the market for which they were intended. The frequency of title-page advertisements about “usefulness” in the public service would seem to suggest that this was a quality the market audience found desirable. According to Christopher Boyd Brown, “hymnal printers were to a large extent free to print what they believed their public wanted to buy [...] This means that

⁸⁰ Adrio, “Hintze, Jacob.”

⁸¹ Ibid.

the genre was formed not only ‘from above,’ but also to a considerable extent ‘from below,’ by the tastes and religious interests of the lay reading public.”⁸² The strong influence of Crüger’s hymnals on other hymnals throughout Germany suggests that Crüger’s publications sold successfully, which in turn suggests that Crüger’s advertisements, which emphasize both public and private use of old and new hymns, hit their mark.

To return to the analogy to the marketing of *Lutheran Service Book*: Concordia’s choice to publish a “Guitar Chord Edition” of this rather conservative hymnal does reflect the reality that many Lutheran congregations are using guitars to lead the singing in their worship services. The advertisement corresponds to a real market audience. On the other hand, the advertisement does not guarantee how the actual audience will use the book. After all, how many of the congregations who buy the “Guitar Chord Edition” (most of which sing predominantly music in contemporary popular styles) are actually going to use every hymn it includes? How many praise bands are going to use this edition to lead the singing of a modal, non-metrical chorale like “To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord” (Luther’s *Christ, unser Herr, zu Jordan kam*)? In this respect, the “Guitar Chord Edition” seems to reflect a bit of wishful thinking on Concordia’s part. Blankenburg is basically making the same argument about Ebeling, that even though Ebeling says his settings are for use in church, their style was not appropriate or commodious for church use, and so his advertisement must be wishful thinking. On the other hand, just because it might seem unlikely that praise bands will perform Luther’s baptism hymn does not prove that they will *not* do so in fact. Without hard evidence, one can only guess.

⁸² Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 14.

What is most sorely needed, then, is hard data about what hymns were actually sung in particular parishes. While recorded orders of worship are rare in this period, we can get an idea of at least what church choirs were singing from the inventories and manuscript collections of churches and schools. As the next chapter will show, the Gerhardt arrangements of Crüger, Ebeling, and similar works by Hasse, Peter, Briegel, and others can be found in the collections of churches and church schools all across the German-speaking realm. In particular, the widespread ownership of Crüger's 1649 *Geistliche Kirchen-Melodien* and the inclusion of manuscript copies of Ebeling's 1667 Gerhardt arrangements in partbooks used in Latin schools in Saxony strongly suggests that choirs in the seventeenth century did sing Gerhardt hymn settings in the liturgy. The cantional style of these settings makes it likely that congregations sang along.

CHAPTER 4: THE EVIDENCE OF INVENTORIES AND MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

4.1 Inventories

Johann Crüger's 1649 collection of choral arrangements, *Geistliche Kirchen=Melodien*, can be found in the inventory of churches and church schools throughout the German-speaking realm; as shown table 4, the locations range from Brandenburg an der Havel, Görlitz in Saxony, and Lower Lusatia in modern Poland, to Bavaria, Thuringia, Baden-Württemberg in the west, and even as far north as Lüneburg.¹ Crüger's hymnal *Praxis Pietatis*

¹ These inventories are found in the following sources, listed by city and institution:

- (1) Brandenburg an der Havel, St. Gotthard-Kirche/Gelehrtenschule: Stadtarchiv Brandenburg (Havel), Sign. 10.03.02–17, *Album Salderianum pro informatione et notitia praceptorum omniumque in hac schola docentium ... extractum a. e. 1673 a. M. Joachimo Frommen, Scholae tunc temporis Rectore. M.DC.LSSIII*, fol. 71r–v: “Catalogus operum musicalium, quae in Musaeo Cantoris inveniuntur,” here fol. 71v.
- (2) Brandenburg an der Havel, St. Katharinen-Kirche: Johann Friedrich Täglichsbeck, *Die musikalischen Schätze der St. Katharinenkirche zu Brandenburg a. d. Havel* (Brandenburg: Müller, 1857), 39–50, here 48.
- (3) Elbing, Marienkirche: Theodor Carstenn, “Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek zu Elbing,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1896): 40–49, here 47.
- (4) Görlitz, Peterskirche: Max Gondolatsch, “Ein alter Musikalienkatalog der Peterskirche in Görlitz,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1928–29): 507–10, here 509.
- (5) Langenburg, Court: Andreas Traub, “Ein Musikalien-Inventar des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Langenburg,” *Musik in Baden-Württemberg: Jahrbuch* 1 (1994): 143–77, here 152.
- (6) Lüneburg, St. Johanniskirche: Horst Walter, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Lüneburg vom Ende des 16. bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1969), 285.
- (7) Rudolstadt, Court: Philipp Heinrich Erlebach, *Harmonische Freude musikalischer Freude, Erster und Anderer Theil*, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, ed. Otto Kinkeldey (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), 1st series, vols. 46–47, xxvii.
- (8) Schneeberg, St. Wolfgangskirche: Eberhard Möller, “Schütziana in Chemnitz, Freiberg und Schneeberg,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 13 (1991), 56–90, here 84.

Melica was also owned by church choirs, such as that of St. Catherine's in Zwickau, in Saxony, and St. Mary's in Elbing, in modern Poland. Banners has discovered a handwritten remark in a 1666 edition of PPM, formerly in the church of Werben/Altmark, that reveals that *Praxis Pietatis Melica* was used in the school there, if not also in church, though this seems to have caused some controversy.² The principal church in Sorau also owned a copy of Christoph Peter's *Sacred Arias (Geistliche Arien)* from 1667, which contained settings of Gerhardt texts.

More evidence for how Crüger's 1649 collection was used comes from a copy of the print in a binder's collection now in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania, in which a compiler has bound each partbook together with partbooks from other prints of vocal music of a distinctly liturgical and pedagogical nature.³ Alongside Crüger's 1640 collections, the "Bassus Continuus" partbook includes collections of undeniably liturgical

(9) Schweinfurt, St. Johannis (Stadtkirche): Peter Wollny, "Materialen zur Schweinfurter Musikpflege im 17. Jahrhundert: Von 1592 bis zum Tod Georg Christoph Bachs (1642–1697)," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 19 (1997): 113–63, here 130.

(10) Sorau (Niederlausitz), Hauptkirche: G. Tischer and K. Burchard, *Musikalienkatalog der Hauptkirche zu Sorau N./L.* (Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte 1902, vol. 34) (Langensalza: Beyer & Söhne, 1902?), 7–8.

(11) Stettin, Stadtkantorei: Werner Freytag, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Stettin im 18. Jahrhundert* (Greifswald: Universitätsverlag Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg, 1936), 138.

(12) Zwickau, Katharinenkirche: Eberhard Möller, "Neue Schütz-Funde in der Ratsschulbibliothek und im Stadtarchiv Zwickau," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 6 (1984): 5–22, here 16.

I am grateful to Prof. Mary Frandsen for making these materials available to me.

² "Im Jahre 1669, den 25. Juni auf Johannis Markt, hat die Kirche allhie zu Werben gegenwärtiges Crügeri Gesangbuch gekaufet auf Zuraten und Anregung H. Hieronymi Bremeri, Scholai huius per triennium ferme Conrectoris [seit etwa drei Jahren Konrektor der hiesigen Schule], welcher allsofort einen guten Anfang gemachet, neue Gesänge daraus zu singen, ob sich gleich viele Tadeler deswegen gefunden. Gott gebe, daß alle Successores fortfahren und ihre Widersacher nicht achten." Quoted in Banners, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg—Werk—Wirkung*, 214.

³ Johann Crüger, *Geistliche Kirchen-Melodien/ Über die von Herrn D. Luthero Sel. und anderen vornehmen und Gelehrten Leuten/ auffgesetzte Geist- und Trost-reiche Gesänge und Psalmen/ Der Göttlichen Majestät zu Ehren/ und nützlichem Gebrauch seiner Christlichen Kirchen In vier Vocal- und zwey Instrumental-Stimmen/ als Violinen oder Cornetten übersetzt von JOHANNE Crügern Gub: Lusato Directore der Music in Berlin ad D. N. BASSUS CONTINUUS. Cum Privilegio Sereniss. Elector. Brandenburg. Leipzig: In Verlegung Daniel Reichels Buchhändlers in Berlin, 1649.* Partbooks in binder's collection at Annenberg Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (M2018.R36 Z8 1652).

music by Crüger (his first publication, a set of motets), Sigismund Ranisius, Tobias Michael, Andreas Hammerschmidt, and Ambrosius Profe, along with a pedagogical treatise by Profe, as shown in table 5.

The inclusion of Crüger's 1649 choral collection alongside works in bound volumes intended for use by a school *Cantorei* strongly suggests that Crüger's arrangements were sung in the liturgy. Crüger's publication includes arrangements of five new tunes that were only associated with texts of Gerhardt, along with settings of traditional tunes that Crüger had also paired with Gerhardt texts. A choir that owned this collection would have had ample opportunity to perform settings of Gerhardt hymns. These hymns would have fit in well with the texts for the other works in the binder's collection, such as those of Hammerschmidt, which are representative of the most current strands of the “new piety” movement.

TABLE 4. CRÜGER'S *GEISTLICHE KIRCHEN=MELODIEN* (1649)
IN CHURCH INVENTORIES

Region (Modern)	City	Church or Institution
Brandenburg	Brandenburg an der Havel	St. Gotthard church and school
Brandenburg	Brandenburg an der Havel	St. Katherine
Saxony	Görlitz	St. Peter
Western Poland (Lower Lusatia)	Sorau	Principal Church
Western Poland	Stettin	City <i>Cantorei</i>
Bavaria	Schneeberg	St. Wolfgang
Bavaria	Schweinfurt	St. Johannes
Thuringia	Rudolstadt	Court of Rudolstadt
Baden-Württemberg	Langenburg	Court of Langenburg
Lower Saxony	Lüneburg	St. Johannes

TABLE 5. CONTENTS OF BINDER'S COLLECTION AT UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, "BASSUS CONTINUUS" PARTBOOK (ORIGINAL ORDER)

Composer or Editor	Title	Publication Date
Sigismund Ranisius	<i>Zu den allerheiligsten Lobe und Ehren Gottes in die Musik gesetzte Sprüche, Lieder und Psalmen</i> (Verses, Hymns, and Psalms Set to Music, to the Praise and Glory of the Most Holy God), part 1	1652
Johann Crüger	<i>Geistliche Kirchen-Melodeien</i>	1649
Tobias Michael	<i>Musicalische Seelenlust</i> (Musical Joy of the Soul), parts 1 and 2	1634 & 1637
Andreas Hammerschmidt	<i>Musicalische Andachten</i> (Musical Devotions), part 5	1653
Ambrosius Profe	<i>Compendium musicum, das ist, Kurtze Anleitung</i> (Musical Compendium, that is, Short Introduction)	1641
Ambrosius Profe	<i>Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien</i> (Sacred Concertos and Harmonies), parts 1 through 3	1641–2
(Unknown)	<i>Varii variorum tam in Italia quam Germania excellentissimorum musicorum Concertus</i> (Italian and German Sacred Concertos)	1643
Johann Crüger	<i>Meditationum musicarum paradisus secundus</i> (Second Paradise of Musical Meditations)	1626

4.2 The Saxon Manuscript Collections

4.2.1 Overview

Further evidence that settings of Gerhardt's hymns were sung by church school choirs comes from their inclusion in a remarkable collection of manuscripts from churches and Latin schools, housed today at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und

Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden.⁴ This collection includes a large number of manuscript partbooks copied out by cantors for use by the school choirs in several towns in Saxony and Thuringia, including the electoral school of St. Augustine in Grimma (which Gerhardt attended as a child), the Latin school in Löbau, and a few examples from Colditz and other places. Like the binder's collection, these partbooks contain the sung repertoire of a particular ensemble during a specific period of time, copied out for practical use. In addition to Latin liturgical music, these collections include a surprising number of settings of new hymns of the seventeenth century, including settings of Gerhardt texts by Crüger and Ebeling. Whether or not the congregation ever joined in the song, these manuscripts strongly suggest that settings of Gerhardt texts by Ebeling, Crüger, and others were not only used at home, but were sung by the school choir; and their context in collections of clearly liturgical music provides strong evidence that the choir sang them in the public church service.

4.2.2 Ebeling Settings in the Manuscripts

Three manuscripts, originally from the collection of the Latin school in Löbau, contain Gerhardt settings by Ebeling. The earliest, *Mus. Löb 10*,⁵ contains two Ebeling settings, indicated in the manuscript as follows:

Nicht so traurig nicht so sehr 4 v.

Warum wolt [sic] ich mich denn grämen 4 v.

⁴ Wolfram Steude, ed., *Die Musiksammlhandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1974).

⁵ Ibid., 121.

According to Steude, the music is by Ebeling, from the 1667 edition. There are five vocal partbooks in the collection, but no instrumental parts. A note in the tenor partbook after no. 99 (the Ebeling settings are no. 103 and 104) gives a date of 1669.⁶ The other pieces in this collection are clearly liturgical, including a set of *de tempore* Mass propers set for four voices by Clemens non Papa, Mass settings by Jacob Haßler, propers by Jacob Händl, motets by Gastoldi, Hammerschmidt settings, two pieces based on the *Rhythmica Oratio*,⁷ and, just before the Ebeling settings, a four-voice setting of Schütz.

Another manuscript, *Mus. Löb 66*,⁸ contains the same two Ebeling pieces as *Mus. Löb 10* (with the same miscopied title on *Warum sollt' ich*), and like it, does not include the violin parts; but many of the partbooks have either been lost or were never finished. According to Steude manuscript 66 was copied between 1600 and 1670 by Christoph Nostwitz and others. The rest of the collection includes Latin proper settings by Handl and Senfl, German motets of Johann Walter, and hymn settings of Hammerschmidt, including *Jesu, meine Freude* (using the tune by Crüger).

The manuscript *Mus. Löb 53* includes the largest number of Ebeling settings, and includes the violin parts. A note before no. 124 in the manuscript (the first Ebeling setting is no. 125) indicates that it was copied in 1674, apparently by Christian Mauke (several of whose compositions are included).⁹ It contains seven pieces by Ebeling, shown in table 6 in

⁶ Ibid. “Zacharias Limmer descripsit Anno 1669.” After no. 100 there is another note, “Christianus Nehe descripsit,” which may indicate that Nehe was the transcriber of the Ebeling settings as well.

⁷ The first is an anonymous setting of Christian Keimann’s paraphrase *Sey gegrüßet, Jesu gättig* (no. 72 in the manuscript). The second a six-voice setting by Ahle labelled with the original Latin *Salve cordis gaudium*, and apparently also including the German text *Sey gegrüßt ins Himmels Saal* (no. 95).

⁸ Ibid., 169.

⁹ Ibid., 147, 154 n. 1.

the order in which they appear in the manuscript and with the titles and spelling as written in the manuscript.¹⁰

Partbooks from this manuscript only exist for cantus 1 and 2, alto 1, tenor 1 and 2, and bass 1, but it is evident from the written titles that all six parts written by Ebeling were originally included. It is clear that these are taken from Ebeling 1667 because of the instrumentation and because of a note in the cantus 2 partbook on *Nicht so traurig*, “J. G. Ebelings Lieder num: 16,” since that hymn is number 16 only in the 1667 edition.

The settings in *Löb 53*, like those in the other manuscripts, appear in the context of liturgical art music, including many composers and genres we have discussed. It contains motets for eight voices and more in German and Latin, a twelve-voice Mass setting of Hammerschmidt, a setting by Ahle of one of the Latin *Rhythmica Oratio* poems with an additional German text (not by Gerhardt),¹¹ an “Aria” by Isabella Leonarda for Cantus solo and four violins,¹² pieces from the Genevan psalter of Goudimel/Lobwasser, two settings of Heinrich Müller poems by Nikolaus Hasse,¹³ a hymn setting ascribed to “J P Guben” that Steude thinks indicates Christoph Peter,¹⁴ pieces by Briegel,¹⁵ and a collection of settings of German poems entitled *Johann Kessels Geistliche Andachtslieder* (apparently for four voices)—notable for the similarity of its title to that of Ebeling’s publications. In sum, then, the Löbau Latin school collection includes seven Ebeling settings, all copied from the 1667 edition

¹⁰ Ibid., 151.

¹¹ Ibid., 149, no. 47 in the MS: *Salve cordis gaudium*, German text, *Sey gegrußt ins Himmels Saal*.

¹² Ibid., 151, no. 134 in the MS: *Aria: Jesu komm doch selbst zu mir*.

¹³ Ibid., 149, no. 69 in the MS: *Lebt jemand so wie ich so lebt er jämmerlich* and *Lebt jemand so wie ich so lebt er seeliglich*, with a note in the Bassus 1 partbook: “D. Heinrich Möllers SS. th. prof. Rostock. Melod. à Nicol. Hase.”

¹⁴ Ibid., 151, no. 132 in the MS: *Komm Gott schöpffer heiliger Geist*, Cantus and 5 instruments.

¹⁵ Ibid., 153, no. 187–189.

within two to seven years of its publication, and all in the context of other liturgical choral or solo vocal music.

TABLE 6. GERHARDT SETTINGS BY EBELING
COPIED IN SLUB *MUS. LÖB* 53 (1674)

Composer Listed	Title Listed
J. G. Ebeling	Nicht so traurig nicht so sehr 4 v. et 2 Viol.
J. G. Ebeling	Warum solt ich mich denn grämen 4 v. et 2 Viol.
	23. Psalm Gerhard: Der Herr der aller Enden regiert 4 v.
	Psalm 121 Gerhard: Ich erhebe Herr zu dir 4 v.
	Auff Pfingsten [At Pentecost]: Zeuch ein zu deinen Thoren
	Auff Weihnachten Christ wieg. liedl. [At Christmas, little lullaby for Christ]: Alle die ihr Gott zu ehren 4 v.
J. G. E.	Auff Pfingsten [At Pentecost]: O du allersüßte Freude

4.2.3 Crüger Settings in the Manuscripts

The Löbau collection also includes cantional settings by Johann Crüger. *Mus. Löb* 67¹⁶ is a one-volume collection of hymn settings (that is, there are no partbooks) in what appear to be cantional-style settings, copied between 1680 and 1700. Arrangements by Demantius, Schein, Rosenmüller, Ahle, and Hammerschmidt appear alongside those of Crüger. The settings are for four to eight voices (mostly four and five), but only the cantus and bassus are written out for most of them.¹⁷ A few hymn texts appear without music.

¹⁶ Ibid., 171.

¹⁷ Ibid., 171, “Von den Sätzen sind vorwiegend C. und B. notiert, Partituren treten vereinzelt auf.”

Only one complete setting of Crüger is included, *Du o schnödes [sic] Weltgebäude*¹⁸ for four voices, but there is also an anonymous setting of *Jesu meine Freude*, which likely uses Crüger's famous tune. The textual repertoire includes a great many other new hymns of the seventeenth century, though there are no Gerhardt texts.

Another similar manuscript, *Mus. Löb 71*,¹⁹ contains the same Crüger setting, *Du o schnödes Weltgebäude*. The collection also contains other hymn settings for four and five voices, copied by the same hands as *Mus. Löb 67*, with only three extant partbooks, cantus, altus (really tenor), and bassus. The texts include old and new repertoire; the settings are by Schein, Hammerschmidt, Rosenmüller, and others. The source for these four-voice settings of *Du o schnödes/schönes Weltgebäude* is unclear, since Crüger did not include this hymn in either of his extant cantional collections, GK 1649 or Crüger 1657. It is possible they were harmonized from the figured bass in PPM; if so, this would provide yet another example of the flexibility with which seventeenth-century musicians made use of printed hymnals.

Two manuscripts from other Saxon Latin schools also contain Crüger pieces, including Gerhardt settings.²⁰ The first, *Mus. Sche 35*²¹ from Schellenberg, copied between 1640 and 1660, contains Crüger's *Du o schnödes Weltgebäude* for four voices, in a collection of four- and five-voice hymn settings by Schein and others. The second, *Mus. 1/D/504*,²² is of Saxon origin, probably copied in Colditz between 1590 and 1700, and contains two Rist

¹⁸ The name of this tune is also given in different publications as *Du geballtes Weltgebäude* or *Du, o schönes Weltgebäude*. See Zahn, *Die Melodien*, vol. 4: 175.

¹⁹ Ibid., 176.

²⁰ Another manuscript, a “collection of four-voice motets” from Thuringia, *Mus. 1/D/8* (Steude 8) includes a setting of Gerhardt's *Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier*. It was copied between 1715 and 1742, probably in the 1720s, putting it outside the timeframe of this study. This setting could be by Crüger, Ebeling, or someone else.

²¹ Steude, *Die Musiksammlhandschriften*, 106.

²² Ibid., 11.

settings and two Gerhardt settings, *Warum sollt' ich mich denn grämen* and *O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben*.²³ The copyist does not credit a composer for the Gerhardt settings, but both appear to be by Crüger.²⁴ For *Warum sollt' ich*, the copyist only notated the cantus and bassus parts. The music for *O Welt* might have been taken either from PPM (1647 on) or from Crüger's 1657 cantional collection; *Warum sollt' ich* never appeared in a cantional setting, but only in melody-and-bass notation in PPM, which may be why the copyist only wrote cantus and bassus parts.²⁵

4.2.4 Indications of the Liturgical Use of New Hymns in the Manuscripts

The liturgical designations given to the hymns in these manuscript collections (such as "At Pentecost" in *Mus. Löb 53*, as shown in table 6) show that the hymnody of the seventeenth century played an important role in the liturgical life of many school choirs. Two Löbau manuscripts (*Mus. Löb 13* and *42*) include settings of hymns by Gerhardt's contemporary Johann Rist by Johann Schop and Thomas Selle, appointed for specific liturgical celebrations. This is especially interesting because one of Blankenburg's arguments for the domestic use of Ebeling's settings was their similarity to the settings of Rist by Schop and Selle that Blankenburg claimed were clearly intended for use at home. *Mus. Löb 13*²⁶ from about 1650 includes a four-voice Schop setting "Auß Jo. Ristens himmels Liedern" (from the *Himmelsliedern* of Johann Rist, published 1641), *Ich will den Herren ewig loben*,

²³ The book is in one volume in folio format.

²⁴ Steude, *Die Musiksammlhandschriften*, 41. The tune Steude lists for the first is Zahn 6455a, composed by Crüger; for the second, a variant of Zahn 2293c (the familiar tune based on *Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen*), which Crüger paired with this text.

²⁵ One of the Rist hymns, *Jesu, der du meine Seele*, was written in only cantus and bassus as well.

²⁶ Steude, *Die Musiksammlhandschriften*, 127.

alongside such undeniably liturgical music as Latin *hymnus* settings of Händl and Gesius, and the Schütz *Historia Resurrectionis Dominicae*, his Resurrection History. The manuscript *Mus. Löb* 42 contains two settings of Rist by Selle and two by Schop, copied around 1660. It also includes a *Te Deum* in German (*Herr GOtt dich loben wir*) for six voices, “4 vocal Stimmen 2. Violin”—the identical instrumentation to Ebeling (except for continuo). The titles of the Rist settings indicate specific liturgical usages (see table 7): most interestingly, Rist’s Passion meditation *Wach auf, mein Geist, erhebe dich* is designated to be sung in the season of Lent during communion—precisely the time in the service that Conrad Feuerlein specified for “practicing” new hymns in the public service.²⁷

²⁷ The Lenten designation suggests either that in Löbau figural art music was not forbidden during Lent, or that these pieces were not considered to be art music. The latter case would make sense if the pieces were instead viewed as congregational music. The ban on figural music during Lent (the *tempus clausum*) seems to have broken down in the seventeenth century in some places.

TABLE 7. LITURGICAL DESIGNATIONS FOR RIST'S HYMNS
IN SLUB MUS. LÖB 42

Composer	Title as Given in the Manuscript	Translation of Liturgical Designation
Thomas Selle	<i>Domin: 1 Advent. auß Job. Risten Sabbahische Seelenlust. Im Thon: H. Christ thu mir verleihen: Auff, auff ihr Reichsgenossen</i>	First Sunday in Advent
Thomas Selle	<i>aus Job. Ristenß Sabbah: Seelen Lust über das Evangel. am h. Christtag: Wie groß ist dieser freuden tag²⁸</i>	On the Gospel for Christmas Day
Johann Schop	<i>De 5. vulneribus Christi J. Rist sub Commun. Temp. quadrages.: Wach auf mein Geist erhebe dich</i>	On the five wounds of Christ, during communion during the season of Lent
Johann Schop	<i>Ein Weihenacht gesang aus Job. Rist. himl. Liedern: Ermuntre dich mein schwacher geist</i>	A Christmas song

Another Saxon manuscript (*Mus. 1/D/504*, see §4.2.3 above) paints an even more detailed picture of how new hymns functioned in the daily liturgical life of one particular school. This manuscript includes a full repertoire of what such a choir would need to sing for its weekly Vespers and morning services, including monophonic settings (some written in gothic chant notation) and polyphonic settings of the most commonly-set texts for these services, in Latin, Greek, and German. Table 8 shows some significant parts of the collection.

²⁸ Because of Scheitler's insistence that church hymns were shorter than home hymns, we should note that *Wie groß ist dieser freuden tag* has 23 stanzas written into the manuscript.

TABLE 8. LITURGICAL MUSIC IN SLUB MUS. 1/D/504

Folio Number	Contents	Number of Voices
1–8	<i>Magnificat</i>	1
12	<i>Kyrie</i>	1
13	“ <i>Kyrie Paschale: Kyrie Gott Vater in Ewigkeit</i> ”	1
14–21	Latin Psalms in each of the eight modes (see table 9)	4
22	German <i>Magnificat</i> in the <i>tonus peregrinus</i>	4
30	<i>Sanctus</i> in German: “ <i>Heilig ist Gott der Herre Zebaoth</i> ”	3
32	<i>Credo</i> : “ <i>Patrem omnipotentem</i> ”	
35	<i>Sanctus</i> paraphrase in German: “ <i>Jesaia dem Propheten das geschach</i> ”	1
39	“ <i>Versiculi ante collectam canendi</i> ” (Versicles to sing before the Collect, probably at the end of Vespers): German texts for Advent Christmas, Purification, and Maundy Thursday (“ <i>Viridiarii</i> ”)	No music
40–46	Latin office hymns for various liturgical feasts	(Unspecified)
56	“ <i>Domine ad adiuvandum me festina</i> ” (opening versicle for Matins and Vespers)	4

In addition to the obvious liturgical orientation of this collection, it also bears clear indications of its pedagogical use. For example, each of the Psalm settings in numbers 14–21 has a mnemonic title in Latin, with a numerological symbol for the students to associate with each church mode, a common practice in pedagogical treatises of the time (table 9).

TABLE 9. MNEMONIC TITLES OF PSALM SETTINGS IN SLUB MUS. 1/D/504

Folio Number	Psalm Title	Mnemonic Title as Given in Manuscript	Translation of Mnemonic Title
14	<i>Dixit Dominus Domino</i>	I Tonus Adam primus homo	1st tone, Adam the first man
15	<i>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>	II Tonus Noe Secundus	2nd tone, Noah, the second ²⁹
16	<i>Laudate Pueri Dominum</i>	III Tonus Tertius Abraham	3rd tone, Abraham, the third ³⁰
17	<i>De profundis clamavi</i>	IV Tonus Quatuor Evangelistae	4th tone, the four Evangelists
18	<i>Levavi oculos meos</i>	V Tonus Quinque libri Moysi	5th tone, the five books of Moses
19	<i>Lauda Jerusalem Dominum</i>	VI Tonus Sex hydrae positae	6th tone, six jars of water [turned to wine at Cana] ³¹
20	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra</i>	VII Septem scholae artes	7th, seven scholastic arts [Trivium plus Quadrivium]
21	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i>	IIX	[8th]

The last portion of the manuscript contains what appears to be a hymnal specific to the school's usage (table 10). Most of the repertoire does not consist of Scheitler's "church hymns," but includes many new hymns, with two by Gerhardt, and these often bear liturgical designations: for example, one hymn is described as a "short morning blessing to sing at the

²⁹ That is, the second man with whom God made a covenant, and the second man to populate the earth from his offspring.

³⁰ That is, the third man with whom God made a covenant, the one to whom God said that through his offspring all the world would be blessed.

³¹ John 2:6, Vulgate: "erant autem ibi lapideae hydriae sex positae."

close of early prayer” and another is appointed for Passiontide. Gerhardt’s *O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben* is labeled “Jesum in cruce” (to Jesus on the cross), perhaps referring to the Good Friday service.

TABLE 10. HYMNS IN SLUB MUS. 1/D/504

Folio No.	Title as Given in Manuscript	Translation of Rubrics	Musical Format, If Specified
61	Das Vater Unser, Im Thon Erhalt vns Herr bey deinem wort: Herr GOtt der du mein Vater bist	The Our Father, to the tune of <i>Erhalt uns Herr</i>	No music
62	Kurtzer Morgensegen im frühgebeth auffn Montag zu singen zum Beschluß Im Thon Christ der du bist der Helle Tag: Die helle Sonn leucht ietzt herfür	Short morning blessing to sing in early prayer on Monday at the close, to the tune of <i>Christ der du bist der Helle Tag</i>	No music
63	Bueßliedt Joh. Arndt ad vesperam: Herr Jesu Christ du höchstes gut	Confession hymn of Johann Arndt, at Vespers	
64	Catechismuslied: Herr Gott erhalt uns für und für	Catechism hymn	
65	Tempore Passionis Jesu Christi: Hilfft Gott das mirs gelinge	The time of the Passion of Jesus Christ (Passiontide)	
66	Ein hertzliches Bußlied Joh. Rist: Jesu der du meine Seele	A heartfelt song of confession by Johann Rist	Cantus & bassus
67	Ein christliches Freuden-Lied: Warumb sollt ich mich denn grämen	A Christian song of joy [Gerhardt/Crüger]	
68	Jesu leiden Pein und Tod		
69	Liebster Jesu wir sind hier		
70	Jesaia dem Propheten das geshach		Cantus & bassus
71	Nach den Seegen: Nun gott lob! es ist vollbracht	After the blessing (benediction)	
72	Das alte Jahr vergangen ist		
73	Jesum in cruce: O Welt sieh hier dein Leben	To Jesus on the cross [Gerhardt/Crüger]	
74	Joh: Rist: O Ewigkeit, du Donner Wort		

The inclusion of Rist and Gerhardt in this list suggests that their hymns played a prominent role in the life of the school community in Colditz, probably both in the school's own services and in the public service. Intriguingly, two of the hymns in the list, *Liebster Jesu*, *wir sind hier*, and *Nun, Gottlob! es ist vollbracht*, are the same as those copied into the front pages of a copy of Ebeling 1669 currently at Yale University.³² The hymn texts in this copy of Ebeling's second edition are headed with an indication that they are to be sung before and after the church service (*Gottesdienst*), respectively.³³ This coincidence is especially interesting because some of the hymn arrangements in the Colditz manuscript are written for cantus and bassus, like those in Ebeling 1669. While Blankenburg has argued that this two-voice format was intended for a solo singer with continuo accompaniment, this evidence suggests that it may also have served as a practical format for use with school choirs, with the two parts sung by boys with changed and unchanged voices.

4.3 Conclusions

In light of all this evidence it becomes impossible to claim that in the seventeenth century the settings of Gerhardt's hymns by Crüger, Ebeling, and others were only used at home. Crüger's 1649 choral collection and other contemporary hymnals were owned by church choirs all over Germany. Settings of Gerhardt are prominent in the manuscript collections of school choirs in Saxony and Thuringia. The cantors who copied out these

³² Ebeling 1669 in the bibliography is a microfilm of this copy: Yale University German Baroque Literature Collection, reel 100, no. 468a.

³³ The title on the first page is obscured, but the second page reads thus: "Another, to sing after the Benediction and the finished church service" ("Ein anders, nach den Seegen, und vollbrachten Gottesdienst zu singen").

partbooks did not make the distinctions Scheitler makes between old and new hymns, nor did they make the distinctions Blankenburg makes about “congregational” versus “domestic” style. The cantors did not limit themselves to texts with specifically liturgical themes, but also included texts of a quite individual, personal nature like *Nicht so traurig* (see appendix B) in the context of liturgical music. With regard to the Ebeling settings in the collections, the cantors did not select only settings that Blankenburg considered to be “congregational” in style; rather, they chose many of the settings that Blankenburg labeled as being in “aria” style, which he considered to be intended for domestic use. Finally, the manuscripts show that Blankenburg was incorrect in asserting that both Ebeling’s cantional-style settings from 1667 and his two-voice settings from 1669 would have been sung by soloists with instrumental accompaniment, since pieces in both voicings are copied into partbooks alongside polyphonic repertoire for the school choir to use. Of course, none of this evidence negates the fact that Gerhardt settings were also sung in homes, but it does strongly suggest that Gerhardt’s hymns were sung in the public liturgy as well.

It might seem, however, that these Gerhardt settings, like the polyphonic Mass settings copied alongside them, were sung by the choir alone as sacred art music, not as congregational hymns. While we do not know for certain what the musical role of the congregation was in these particular parishes, we do know that Crüger and Ebeling composed their Gerhardt settings in a style that bridges the gap between choral and congregational music—a special version of the cantional style (see §5.4.2). Their “enriched cantional style” was a hybrid style, intermediate between sacred art music on the one hand, and music designed for practical leadership of congregational song on the other. Crüger and Ebeling’s arrangements in this style could have functioned equally well to lead congregational singing, or as choral art music. Indeed, they may have served both functions

at the same time: they might have been performed at communion as art music, but those who were familiar with the texts from their exposure to them in school and in home devotions could sing along.

CHAPTER 5: THE USE OF HYMNS IN HOME, SCHOOL, AND CHURCH

5.1 Overview

The evidence of the printed publications of Gerhardt's hymns, along with the testimony of the inventories and manuscript collections of churches and schools throughout Germany, strongly suggests that Gerhardt's hymns were widely used and well known in many places during the latter half of the seventeenth century. To gain a deeper understanding of exactly how these publications and the hymns in them were used, it will be instructive to examine the role of hymns and hymnals in the three spheres of Lutheran community life—home, school, and church. This threefold classification has a long history in the Lutheran tradition, and it can be seen in the title pages of many Lutheran hymnals, from the 1656 *Dresden Hymnal* (“to be made very practical use of [...] both in homes and in churches and in schools”) all the way through to the 1941 hymnal of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (“THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL is intended for use in church, school, and home.”¹) This chapter will examine each of these three domains of hymn-singing, showing the differing functions and styles of music used there. Home music-making could include both domestic worship or devotional services, and recreational house-music: both could involve choral or solo singing, with or without instruments, in a variety of genres. In the urban Latin schools, the children learned to sing as

¹ Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941), 2.

a liturgical choir. The church domain really should be considered in two separate categories: first, the singing of the choir and soloists, together with the playing of organists and instrumentalists, and second, the singing of the congregation. We will see that most of the hymn books in this study and the hymns in them could have been used in multiple domains.

5.2 Hymns in the Lutheran Home

5.2.1 Home Worship (*Hausandacht*)

Irmgard Scheitler has already given us a basic picture of the nature of domestic worship services: at regular times in the day (normally morning and evening) all the members of a Lutheran household, including the servants, would meet for Scripture readings, some form of preaching or instruction, spiritual conversation, prayer, and hymn singing. Patrice Veit² cites a 1653 decree of Duke Ernst I (“the Pious”) of Saxony-Gotha that prescribes such a domestic observance, including daily evening sessions of catechetical instruction and recitation, readings from the Bible, (on Saturday and Sunday afternoon) reading of a postill (a sermon written for home reading), “diligent devotional prayer” (*fleissigem andächtigen Gebet*), and “Christian songs (*Gesängen*) that are commonly used in our church gatherings (*Kirchen-Versammlungen*).”³ According to Veit, the Lutheran authorities in this way encouraged the development of “the house [or household] as a place of prayer”;⁴ this resulted in “a process

² Patrice Veit, “Die Hausandacht im deutschen Luthertum: Anweisungen und Praktiken,” in *Gebetsliteratur der frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit: Funktionen und Formen in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, ed. Ferdinand van Ingen and Cornelia Niekus Moore (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 193–206.

³ Quoted in *ibid.*, 193.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 194.

of domesticization of religious life” that began long before Pietism.⁵ These practices were also encouraged by the flood of devotional literature by the likes of Martin Moller or Johann Arndt in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and Heinrich Müller and Christian Scriver in the latter portion of the century. Another influence was the massive number of funeral sermon collections (*Leichenpredigten*), which in addition to the sermon also contained poems, hymns, biographies and pictures of the deceased, all with an emphasis on the departed’s life of piety and with the exhortation to follow in her example.

As Blankenburg and Scheitler have suggested, these devotional books seem to be closely related in style and content to some 17th-century hymnals, as can be seen, for example, from their titles. Compare Johann Crüger’s 1647 *Praxis Pietatis Melica, das ist Übung der Gottseligkeit...* with Justus Genesius’s *Praxis devotionis oder Übung Christlicher Andacht...* (Lüneburg 1648), or Johann Schmid’s *Zelus pietatis, Oder eiverige Übung wahrer Gottseligkeit...* (Strassburg, 1641).⁶ Philipp Jakob Spener connected Crüger’s title to the so-called *Praxis Pietatis Bailii*, an influential devotional manual of about 1612 by the Englishman Lewis Bayly⁷ (originally titled *Practise of Piety*, published in German with the Latin title in 1628⁸).

The development of the “house church,” Veit argues, mirrors the household’s role as the primary social and economic institution of the time, and served as an agent for social and doctrinal control. The “house-father” exercised an authoritative role in leading both the household’s economic activities and its worship. Thus there was a strong element of social

⁵ Ibid., 195.

⁶ Titles cited in ibid., 194, note 5.

⁷ See §3.2.2 above. Carl Trueman, “Lewis Bayly (d. 1631) and Richard Baxter (1615–1691),” in *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 52–67.

⁸ Carter Lindberg, “Introduction,” in ibid., 10–11.

morality and pedagogy in the domestic devotions. These observances were also closely related to the church's public worship, often functioning as preparation for or review of the weekly Divine Service. In many households the Saturday afternoon home devotion was the time when the house-father would read a commentary or extemporize one on the readings of the coming Sunday's service, to prepare the family to hear the next day's sermon; on Sunday afternoon, these households could also have a Sunday afternoon "post-service quiz" where the house-father sought to ensure that everyone had been attentive and remembered the day's lesson. These practices depended on home devotional books that were organized according the liturgical year, with commentaries and hymns related to each Sunday's readings. For this reason, Christian Banners would seem to be in error when he claims that the fact that Ebeling organized his second edition (1669) according to the liturgical year proves that it was intended for use in public worship; it could just as easily have been intended for use as a kind of collection of hymnic commentaries on the year's readings, for home devotional use.

Despite the emphasis on books, it is important to remember that these domestic worship services were predominantly oral and aural environments. The house-father or house-mother would read from a book or lead singing from a hymnal, but all the other members of the household would participate through listening and reciting or singing. This calls into question Blankenburg and Scheitler's insistence that because people did not use hymnals in church, they could not have learned the new style of melodies from seventeenth-century hymnals in church, but that instead they sang these melodies in the home. If most of the people in both public and private worship services did not have their own hymnals, then there would be no great difference in the difficulty of learning in either environment. One

important difference between public and private worship, though, would be that the private sphere would be more conducive to repetitive, rote instruction by the house-father.

Hymn singing was an important part of these observances, reinforcing the educational aspect (for instance, teaching the children Luther's catechism hymns) and also adding a more devotional aspect—but there seems to be no mention in Veit's sources of anything other than traditional church hymns being sung. A 1643 devotional manual prescribes singing traditional hymns as a part of private morning prayer: after arising and thanking God for his providence through the past night—one thinks of Luther's morning prayer—one should wash his hands, face, and eyes, and then “take your Habermann or *Little Garden of Paradise* [Arndt's 1612 prayer book], pray on your knees your morning blessing... and then, with joyful confidence and bright voice, sing so that your morning song rings out, *Ich dank dir lieber Herre...* or *Auß meines hertzens Grunden...* you can never believe, how such songs (*Gesänge*) will make you so joyful, bold, and ready for your study and work, so that after doing these holy things, you can go forth in God's name.”⁹ The same manual goes on to prescribe another church hymn at the midday meal, another at evening after the night-bells being to ring, and a Psalm (which could also mean a typical church hymn) to sing

⁹ “Wann jhr aber mit ewerem Danck-gebett Gottes Schutz euch befohlen habt, und auffgestanden seit; so lasset dannoch nicht ab. Behaltet diese H. Gedancken. Unnd in denselbigen, Waschet zuvorderst ewere Hände, Mund und Augen, daß wird euch leiblich erfrischen. Ziehet euch Ehrbarlich an in Gottes Namen. Nembt eweren Habermann oder Paradißgärtlein; Bettet auff eweren Knyen Eweren Morgensegen, neben anderer Noth so jhr dem Getrewen Gott habt demütig im Gebett fürzutragen... Und dann, mit frölichem muth und heller stimme, singet daß es erklinget, ewern Morgengesang. Ich danck dir lieber Herre ... Oder, Auß meines hertzens grunde... Jhr könt nimmer glauben, wie solche Gesänge euch so frewdig, mutig und fertig machen werden in eweren Studieren unnd Arbeit, die jhr, nach geschehenen diesen H. dingen, in Gottes Namen könnet antreten...” J. M. Moscherosch, *Insomnis Cura Parentum* (1643), ed. L. Pariser (Halle, 1893), 109; quoted in Veit, “Die Hausandacht,” 201.

together after the evening meal.¹⁰ According to this order, in each day the household members would hear two Bible chapters and one chapter of a Bible commentary or religious book, and they would sing four hymns. Every household may not have followed such an order, but the evidence of, for example, underlining and marginal notes in devotional books and hymnals, or the self-assembled handwritten collections of favorite hymns and Scriptures, show that hymns did play a large role. An especially vivid description of hymn-singing at home is found in the *Melodeyen Gesangbuch*, a 1604 cantional from Hamburg: “So when a father with one or two schoolboys, his dear little sons, can hold two or three voices, also the dear housemother and household, yes the murmuring babes, awaiting the descant part so that they can join in.”¹¹

Thus the importance of hymn-singing in Lutheran home life is clear, but there is no indication that anything but traditional church hymns were sung. The comparison of seventeenth-century hymnals to devotional books, though, implies that the hymnals had a similar audience, and the prevalence of new hymns like those of Gerhardt in these books would then suggest that new hymns might have been sung in these domestic worship times. Conrad Feuerlein in 1683 is one witness that “many pious Christians at home”¹² did sing new hymns; likewise Crüger says in the preface to PPM 1656 that even though not all of the

¹⁰ Veit, “Die Hausandacht,” 201–202. The terms Veit uses for these three hymns are *Kirchenlied*, *Lied*, and *Psalm*.

¹¹ Gabriel Husduf, preface to *Melodeyen Gesangbuch* (Hamburg: Rüdingen, 1604). Translation from Susan Lewis-Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (London: Ashgate, 2007), 119.

¹² Feuerlein, “Vorrede,” in Ebeling 1669.

new hymns he includes are yet used in church, they are used “nevertheless in the home worship service [*hauß=Gottesdienst*].”¹³

Almost any of the hymnals in this study could have served the needs of a family’s domestic worship. A small, handheld-size hymnal like *Praxis Pietatis Melica* or Ebeling’s 1669 second edition would have been very convenient for a house father to use to lead singing. Scheitler and Blankenburg are right to argue that these books were used in home devotions (though, as we will see, this does not exhaust their potential use). Books like these that were organized according to the liturgical year would have been the easiest to use. A text-only edition like Leipzig 1697 would have been useful, provided the melodies appointed were well known. Books with printed melodies or melodies and figured bass, like PPM, Dresden 1656, Müller 1659, Ebeling 1669, or Briegel 1687 would have made even the new hymns accessible to families with members who could read music. A single-author publication like that of Ebeling could certainly have had a place in a family’s devotional library alongside more general hymnals like PPM, devotional manuals, and Scripture commentaries.

As Veit’s sources describe it, domestic worship was a time for simple devotional singing, instruction, and prayer; it does not seem to have been a time for artful collaborative music-making with arrangements for multiple voices and instruments. The publications with a clear choral profile, then, like GK 1649, Crüger 1657, Ebeling 1667, and Vopelius 1682, which are published in partbooks or choirbook format, do not seem to be directed at the rather simple musical needs of a household devotional circle.

¹³ “[...] wo nicht alle im kirchen gebrauch/ dennoch beym hauß=Gottesdienst [...]” Crüger, PPM 1656, iv.

5.2.2 Recreational Music-Making in the Home (*Hausmusik*)

More elaborate musical arrangements did have a place, though, in the households of the wealthy and educated, where they were served an important social function as a kind of domestic spiritual entertainment. Carl Ferdinand Becker, in his study of house-music in Germany in this period,¹⁴ has traced the development of such domestic music from the time of the Reformation, starting with Luther's own singing at home, which included not only hymns (as a part of domestic worship and catechesis) but also, according to Johann Walter's account, "beautiful and lovely motets and pieces by Senfl, Josquin and other masters."¹⁵

Many of the printed musical collections used for home singing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included a mixture of folk songs, church hymns, and (for lack of a better term) novelty compositions. The title of a collection by Giovanni Giacopo Albuzio ("Jacobus Meilandus")¹⁶ from 1659 is representative of this type of publication, intended for as many uses as possible: *Choice New Little German Songs [Liedlein], with Five and Four Voices, Lovely Both for Singing and for Use on All Kinds of Instruments...*¹⁷ This volume includes settings of *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein* and *Christ lag in Todesbanden* alongside settings of poems like this:

¹⁴ Carl Ferdinand Becker, *Die Hausmusik in Deutschland in dem 16., 17., und 18. Jahrhunderte: Materialien zu einer Geschichte derselben, nebst einer Reihe Vocal-und Instrumental-Compositionen von H. Isaac, L. Senfl, L. Lemlin, W. Heintz, H. L. Haßler, J. H. Schein, H. Albert u. A. zur näheren Erläuterung* (Leipzig: Fest'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1840; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973).

¹⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶ Arthur J. Ness, "Albuzio, Giovanni Giacopo [Albutio, Joan Jacomo, Hans Jacob von Mailandt]," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (accessed April 5, 2009).

¹⁷ *Neue ausserlesene Deutsche Liedlein, mit fünff vnd vier Stimmen, so beide zu singen vnd auch anuff allerley Instrumenten zugebrauchen gantz lieblich: Componirt durch Jacobum Meilandum fürstlicher G. Herrn Georg Friedrich Margraffen zu Brandenburg etc. Cappellenmeister. Mit Begnadung der Römischen Key. May. nicth nachzudrucken in sechs Jaren, bei peen zehn Marck lötigs Goldts. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Dietrich Gerlatz. M. D. LXIX.* Cited in Becker, *Die Hausmusik*, 9.

*Herzliebster wein, von mir nicht weich
Ich lieb dich gantz ohn arge List,
Du bist allein in allem reich,
Für dich kein Freud zu gleichen ist.*¹⁸

My dearly beloved wine, retreat not from me:
I love you utterly, without arrant cunning,
Only you are rich in everything;
No joy can be compared to you.

From this example it should be clear that house-music involved more than just the hymns sung during home devotions. It included texts of sacred and secular character and settings in artful, polyphonic styles, as well as more simple homophonic styles.

In the seventeenth century the new genre of “continuo songs” for solo singer or several homophonic voices with continuo accompaniment began to enter into the arena of domestic music. As an example of this style, Becker cites Heinrich Albert’s eight-part collection of settings for five voices, *Arias, in Part Sacred, in Part Secular, Songs [Lieder], Serving the Goal of Devotion [Andacht], Good Manners, Chaste Love, and the Desire for Honor, Set for Singing and Playing, and So On*,¹⁹ though it does not include continuo. Despite the German name (*Arien*), these represent a distinct style from the contemporary Italian operatic aria. Much like Blankenburg’s interpretation of Ebeling’s settings, Becker thinks these Albert settings were intended for a single solo singer and four instruments (e.g., three violins and a *violon*).²⁰ One of these settings became a well-known church hymn, *Gott des Himmels und der Erden*. Better examples of the continuo song can be found in the volumes of Rist’s poems with musical

¹⁸ Quoted in Becker, *Die Hausmusik*, 10.

¹⁹ *Erster Theil der Arien etlicher theils geistlicher, theils weltlicher, zur Andacht, guten Sitten, keuscher Liebe und Ehren-lust dienender Lieder zum Singen und Spielen gesetzt u. s. w. von Heinrich Albert. [...] Cited in ibid., 13.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

settings by Johann Schop and Thomas Selle, which Blankenburg believes were so influential on Ebeling.

If Ebeling's settings of Gerhardt texts were intended for house-music, it would not have been the first time a domestic style had been paired with Gerhardt. It is worth remembering that the tune that Crüger paired with Gerhardt's *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, which had previously been paired with the hymn about death, *Herzlich thut mich verlangen*, was originally a composition for five voices by Hans Leo Hassler of 1601, written for this type of domestic (or courtly) music-making. Hassler's original composition was a setting of a text about being heartsick for a pretty young girl:²¹

*Mein G'müth ist mir verwirret
das macht ein Jungfrau zart,
bin ganz und gar verirret,
mein Herz das kränkt sich hart.
Hab Tag und Nacht kein Ruh
führ allzeit grosse Klug,
thu stets seufzen und weinen
in Trauer schier verzag.*

My feelings are all mixed up
because of a gentle maid;
I've quite lost my way,
my heart is sick.
I have no peace day and night,
I complain constantly,
I sigh and weep at all times,
I simply despair in my grief.²²

²¹ Ibid., 85; Becker also prints the music of Hassler's setting, which was originally published in Hassler's *Lustgarten neuer deutscher Gesäng* (1601).

²² Translation from Charles Burkhart, *Anthology for Musical Analysis*, 5th ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994), 569.

The genres used in home music-making, then, included polyphonic motets (like those sung by Luther); homophonic choral partsongs, the texts of which could be secular or sacred, and the voices of which could be sung or played; partsongs with continuo (the polyphonic continuo song); and solo songs with continuo (not to mention, of course, purely instrumental music, especially keyboard music).

Blankenburg speaks of this kind of domestic music-making and the activities of the *collegium musicum* in the same breath, but the two are distinct and should not be equated. The *collegium* was an organized group of amateurs that gave public or semi-public concerts of vocal and instrumental music.²³ Matthias Weckmann organized such a group in Hamburg in 1660; one of the members of that group was none other than Johann Georg Ebeling, and it was through that association that Ebeling met Johann Rist and would have become acquainted with the settings of Rist's poems by Schop and Selle.²⁴

The settings of Gerhardt's texts by Johann Crüger, Christoph Peter, Nikolaus Hasse, and Johann Georg Ebeling would seem to fit well into the context of playing and singing for spiritual recreation at home. Crüger's publications in parbook format (GK 1649 and Crüger 1657) and Ebeling's choirbook-format 1667 edition would meet the practical needs of wealthy homes that engaged in this kind of music-making. But these books stand out from the house-music publications cited by Becker in that they contain only settings of sacred hymn texts, instead of the wider variety found in books explicitly intended for house-music.

²³ Emil Platen and Iain Fenlon, "Collegium musicum," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (accessed April 5, 2009).

²⁴ Blankenburg, "Johann Georg Ebeling," 5.

5.3 Hymns in the Church Latin School

While we cannot know exactly how many households in the German Lutheran realms made a custom of domestic worship or house-music, we know that all educated men in these regions attended the church Latin schools as children and were exposed to the musical practices of those institutions. As John Butt²⁵ has shown, music's central place in the curriculum in these schools was instrumental in establishing Lutheran musical culture. The advances in Lutheran figural music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were possible in large part because the Latin schools acted as a training program for choral singers, soloists, instrumentalists, and composers.

In most Latin schools, there were two main ensembles in which school boys could sing: the *Currende* and the *Cantorei*.²⁶ The *Currende*, directed by a school prefect, consisted of “poorer pupils who sang around the streets of the town,” generally in unison.²⁷ The *Cantorei* was made up of pupils selected because of special talent to earn “their education and hospitality through their singing duties.”²⁸ This group was supplemented by teachers from the school, residents of the community, and *Stadtpeiffer* (professional instrumentalists) to perform figural music in the liturgy. The singing group normally comprised twelve singers or less. The church cantor took personal responsibility for the *Cantorei*.

The position of cantor was originally as much about teaching school as it was about directing church music. In the seventeenth century the church cantor in many places

²⁵ John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁶ Ibid., 4. Sometimes there were also two other groups: the *Chorus symphoniacus* was a group of more talented pupils “who sang polyphony in front of certain houses under the direction of a prefect”; the *Chorus musicus* was that group’s monophonic counterpart.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 5.

acquired the title *Director Musices*, indicating his position as the leader of music in both church and school (and, given the independent *Stadtpfeiffer*, in the city as well); this was the title used by Crüger and Ebeling in their position in Berlin as both the cantor at the St. Nicholas church and music instructors at the school of the *Grauen Kloster*. The cantor was often ranked second or third in the school hierarchy, and was responsible for basic singing instruction, theoretical music instruction, and for directing the school choirs.²⁹ It must be kept in mind, then, that whenever such composers wrote for the church choir, they were in fact writing for the choir of the boys' Latin school.

As John Butt explains, "according to the first Lutheran ordinances, all boys had to attend singing lessons, join in the singing which opened and closed instruction and lead the congregational singing in the daily church services, Mass and Vespers."³⁰ As the musical examples in pedagogical treatises show, the pupils received instruction in reading and singing plainchant, chorales, and *prima prattica* polyphony as well as the new Italian *concertato* style. In the seventeenth century they increasingly also received instruction in instrumental music.

The books in which Gerhardt's hymns were published could have been used in several ways in these schools. First, the teacher in charge of leading the opening song in the morning and the afternoon could have used a hymnal like *Praxis Pietatis Melica* to teach the children by rote either old or new hymns, to be sung in unison. Even if Scheitler is correct in her claim that few new hymns were being sung in the liturgy during this time, this would not exclude the possibility that the schoolchildren were learning some new hymns in school. Second, the cantor could have used arrangements in cantional style like GK 1649, Peter

²⁹ Ibid., 4.

³⁰ Ibid., 5.

1655, or Ebeling 1667 with the *Cantorei*; the instrumental parts in the Crüger and Ebeling would have been supplied by the *Stadtpfeiffer*, perhaps supplemented by students trained to play instruments. The *Cantorei* would have sung these pieces along with their other repertoire during the daily services in the city church. Books printed in partbooks like GK 1649 and Crüger 1657 would have been the most convenient for a school choir to use for performance, but as the Saxon manuscript collections show, cantors felt free to copy out music from books in other formats, like Ebeling 1667 or PPM, into their manuscript partbooks collections.

One witness of the role of music in the Lutheran school is Christoph Peter. In the preface to his 1667 *Sacred Arias*, which includes Gerhardt settings, he describes his vocation in this way, “To me, an unworthy man, however, it is entrusted to give voice to sacred songs such as these in this Christian congregation, to teach the dear youths (from whose mouth God has ordained praise for himself) in the school, and to instruct in the art of singing.”³¹ Obviously these three activities are interrelated, since it was the choir of Peter’s singing students who likely “gave voice” to his settings of Gerhardt and other new hymns in the public liturgy at Guben.

³¹ “Mir Unwürdigen aber solche geistliche Gesänge in dieser Christlichen Gemeine anzustimmen/ die liebe Jugend (aus derer Munde ihm Gott ein Lob zubereitet hat) in der Schule selbst zu lehren/ und in der Singe=Kunst zu unterrichten/ anvertrauet ist.” Christoph Peter, *Geistliche Arien*, vocal part book, vii–viii.

5.4 Hymns in the Public Liturgy

5.4.1 Hymns Sung by the Choir and Soloists

Sacred art music in the public liturgy, as we have seen, was performed by ensembles associated with the Latin school, in those urban parishes that had such schools: the *Cantorei*, a small ensemble of select boys from the school, along with teachers or community members, provided the vocal parts; and the professional *Stadtpfeiffer*, perhaps supplemented by students from the school, provided the instrumental parts. Vocal soloists were taken from the ranks of the *Cantorei*. All of these, together with the organist, formed the musical team that performed art music in church, under the director of the cantor, often called the *Director Musices* (director of music). These musicians performed art music in the service in a variety of styles, as well as leading the congregational singing; this section will examine the types of art music they provided. Obviously the literature on this repertoire is immense, but it is worth reviewing the major genres and styles of liturgical art music to evaluate where the settings of Gerhardt's hymns might have fit in.

The choir and soloists could sing figural music by themselves at several points in the service, including a motet or something else before the Introit; a polyphonic or figural setting of the Ordinary (usually the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*); a setting of the Proper chants (Gradual, Alleluia, etc.); a motet after the Gospel reading (often a *Spruchmotette* based on a particular verse of the reading), after the sermon while the altar was prepared, during communion distribution, or after communion distribution at the end of the service. In the seventeenth century these polyphonic motets increasingly gave way to sacred concertos that showed varying degrees of influence from the new Italian styles, first from Venetian polychorality, and then later, from the operatic, monodic style.

The Vopelius hymnal includes, alongside its hymns, a substantial portion of such figural music for the choir. It shows that as late as 1682, the choir was still singing polyphonic settings in Latin of (for example) the responses in the communion service (“Et cum spirito tuo,” “Habemus ad Dominum”). The pastor’s Gregorian chant tones are also included, with Latin text. The other hymnals in this study, though, do not contain much music that could be considered to be in a full figural style, whether the older polyphonic style or the new concertato style.

These books do contain pieces in “aria” style, as Blankenburg has so strenuously pointed out, though the style of continuo songs known in German as *Arien* must be distinguished from the style of Italian operatic arias. We have already discussed the genre of strophic, homophonic continuo song as a genre of domestic music making. This was a distinct genre from that of the Italian sacred aria; examples of the pure Italian aria style with German texts are very rare. Blankenburg may be right, though, that Ebeling’s continuo songs show the influence of Italian aria style, including triple meter or changing meter, dotted rhythms, triplets, and a wide melodic range with large melodic intervals. Some composers, like Albrici and Peranda in Dresden, included arias in the Italian style (with Latin texts) as part of a multisectional piece.³² Many of these pieces featured texts of a highly mystical nature, from the Biblical Song of Songs or the medieval pseudo-Augustine. In theological content, these texts are part of the same movement that generated the sacred poems of Rist, Heermann, and Gerhardt. Such pieces were normally sung in the place of motets, after the Gospel reading or sermon, or especially, during communion. The Gerhardt settings of Crüger (in PPM) and Hasse (Müller 1659), if sung by a soloist with continuo

³² See Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 172–340.

accompaniment, could perhaps be grouped into this genre of art music. Ebeling's settings, as Blankenburg suggests, could be performed in this style simply by using the 1669 edition and treating the bass part as a *basso continuo* part; or the other voice parts in the 1667 edition could be performed by strings.

5.4.2 The Cantional Style

The most important style of choral music for this study, and the one most often overlooked, is the cantional style. The style takes its name from Johann Hermann Schein's *Cantional* of 1627 (revised 1645);³³ another important early paradigm was the *50 Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* of Lucas Osiander (1586).³⁴ These books were collections of arrangements of hymns, set normally for four or five voices in largely homophonic style “to encourage the congregation to join in the singing.”³⁵ In the motet-style arrangements of chorales of the sixteenth century, such as Johann Walter's 1524 polyphonic settings of Luther's hymns (*Geystliches gesangk Buchleyn*), composers put the melody in the tenor voice, and wrote independent contrapuntal lines for the other voices, in the manner of the late-medieval secular *Tenorlied* or the sacred setting with the Gregorian chant in the tenor. Even though such settings were based on now-familiar chorales like *Ein' feste Burg* (*A Mighty Fortress*), they were art music, to be performed either by the church choir or at home during house-music. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though, Osiander and Schein introduced a new style of chorale setting, where they moved the melody to the highest voice.

³³ Johann Hermann Schein, *Cantional: oder Gesangbuch Augsburger Konfession*.

³⁴ Jiří Sehnal and Werner Braun, “Cantional [cantionale],” *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online (accessed April 5, 2009).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

The other voices followed the rhythm of the top voice and were largely subordinated to it; thus the texture was homophonic rather than polyphonic. Schein included a figured bass line in his *Cantional* for the organ or keyboard. These books did not normally include other obbligato instrumental parts, though the vocal parts could be played by instruments if desired. This style began the tradition of homophonic chorale settings that culminated in those of J. S. Bach. Schütz's "Becker Psalter" of 1628 (revised 1661) would also fall into this category.

Vopelius states explicitly that he has included a number of Schein's cantional settings in his hymnal. Schein has also had a strong influence on the other hymnals in this study. The contents of Crüger's first hymnal in 1640 were largely based on Schein's *Cantional*, with the exception of the new hymns, and with the important difference that Crüger jettisoned the four-voice style in favor of melody-and-continuo arrangements. Christoph Peter's settings in 1655 are apparently in the pure cantional style—that is, homophonic, four-and-five-voice arrangements with the chorale melody in the top voice. There is also a great number of settings in this same style in the Saxon manuscript collections in the Dresden State Library. Ironically, the only book in this study actually entitled *Cantional*, Briegel's 1687 melody-only publication, is not, as defined by modern musicologists actually a cantional.

The cantional style was used as a way for the choir to lead congregational singing, though scholars continue to debate this assertion. Blankenburg says "they were used by the *Cantorei*, and certainly not only in the school, but also in the public service, whereby then the

congregation could, and were supposed to, sing along at the same time.”³⁶ Before the rise of this style, the church’s musical leadership had no way to lead congregational singing except through the monophonic singing of the choir. Motet-style chorale settings could be used in alternation with monophonic singing, but they were too complicated to allow the congregation to sing along, and indeed, that was likely never the intent of such compositions. Cantional-style settings allowed the choir to lead congregational singing in exactly the same way that harmonizations in the same style allow today’s organists to lead. Indeed, an early cantional collection the Hamburg *Melodeyen Gesangbuch* of 1604,³⁷ states in the preface that the settings can be used in a wide variety of ways by both choir and organ together to lead the congregational singing:

For if such Christian songs ring out either from the youth in the choir, or from artful organ playing, or [when] both make a chorus, and the boys sing with the organ, and the organ conversely plays with the hymn (as is now usual in this city ...), hence each Christian may also raise his poor layman’s voice [*Leyenstimme*] just confident and loud enough, and thereby [is] not the fifth wheel but rather the justifiable fourth wheel of the music wagon [*Musikwagon*] of praise and honor to God’s name, pulling along powerfully, and helping to drive up to the most high.³⁸

Crüger’s arrangements in GK 1649, and Ebeling’s settings for the same voicing and instrumentation in 1667, are in what might be termed “enriched cantional style,” a hybrid between a purely practical and a more artful music (see their settings of Gerhardt’s *Nicht so*

³⁶ “Sie wurden von den Kantoreien benutzt, und zwar nicht nur in der Schule, sondern auch im Gottesdienst, wobei dann die Gemeinde gleichzeitig mitsingen konnte und auch sollte.” Blankenburg, “Johann Georg Ebeling,” 7.

³⁷ Klaus Ladda and Klaus Beckmann, *Melodeyen Gesangbuch Hamburg 1604*.

³⁸ Gabriel Husduf, preface to *Melodeyen Gesangbuch*. Translation from Susan Lewis-Hammond, *Editing Music*, 119.

traurig, nicht so sehr in appendix B). George J. Buelow calls this type of piece a “chorale aria.”³⁹

The choral parts are typical of cantional style, but to these the composers have added instruments (violins or cornetts) that embellish the setting. These parts generally play in parallel thirds and decorate the melody line. Crüger was apparently the creator of this style, and Ebeling borrowed it from him. This hybrid style had elements of several other styles. The settings were homophonic, with the melody in the top voice, as in the pure cantional style, but they included new hymns with new tunes, often in a more modern, aria-like style, producing what Albrecht calls the “choir aria.” The instrumental parts in parallel thirds are much like those found in contemporary sacred concertos, such as Buxtehude’s chorale concerto *In dulci jubilo*, except that instead of alternating with the voices, the instruments play with them.

The result is an intermediary style between sacred art music on the one hand, and music designed for practical leadership of congregational song on the other. These settings could have functioned equally well to lead singing, or in place of a sacred concerto or motet at communion. Having music that could fill either role, and that required only a few singers and instrumentalists, must have been very convenient in the economically depressed years following the Thirty Years’ War. When these arrangements were used for congregational song, the instruments could be omitted to avoid confusing the congregation, or they could be added on alternating stanzas. As was typical of seventeenth-century liturgical music, the possibilities for the use of these arrangements are nearly endless, and it should be noted that

³⁹ George J. Buelow, “Crüger, Johannes,” in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (accessed June 23, 2008).

these settings of now-beloved Christian hymns would be just as useful and versatile in the modern church's liturgies.

Joseph Herl, who envisions a "worship war" in this period between "congregational music" and "choral music,"⁴⁰ sees the cantional style as a compromise position between the two: an attempt to use the choir to help the congregation sing, rather than the normal practice (as he sees it) of using the choir to supplant the congregational singing. He claims that this cantional practice was eventually forced out by the rise of large-scale figural music, culminating in the cantatas and Passions of J. S. Bach. Herl's primary thesis has come under criticism from Christopher Boyd Brown, who shows that in the town of Joachimstal, the most passionate advocates for congregational hymnody were also strong advocates of choral polyphony,⁴¹ and recently by Mary Frandsen,⁴² who argues that the evidence does not suggest that congregational singing supplanted choral singing until the late eighteenth century, but rather that the two coexisted and worked together.

The evidence examined in this thesis, especially the Saxon manuscript collections, shows that choral music and congregational music not only coexisted during the late seventeenth century, but that choral music served as the channel through which new congregational music was introduced. Crüger and Ebeling's settings in enriched cantional style represent not a position of wary détente but of amicable friendship or even marriage between choral and congregational music.

⁴⁰ Herl, *Worship Wars*.

⁴¹ Brown, *Singing the Gospel*.

⁴² Frandsen, review of Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 13 (1), <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/frandsen.html>.

5.4.3 Hymns Sung by the Congregation

Regardless of whether or not they were engaged in a “worship war,” the typical seventeenth-century congregation certainly did not sing as much in the liturgy as many today still imagine they did; but they nevertheless did sing in the liturgy. The congregation could sing hymns at the beginning of the service, after the Epistle (when a hymn was substituted for or added to the Gradual), before and after the sermon (during the *Kanzeldienst*), during communion, and at the close of the service. Many of these hymn selections were assigned according to a strict schedule: each Sunday had its own proper “hymn of the day.” These hymns were often based on a Gradual or Sequence chant for the day (such as *Christ lag in Todesbanden* on Easter), but most were simply related to the general theme of the day (such as *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* on the first Sunday of Advent). Some hymns took on the nature of Ordinary texts, since they were sung every week, like *Komm, heiliger Geist*, used in many places to begin every service; or *Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*, the paraphrase of the Gloria.

The way the congregation learned hymns did not radically change between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, the congregation learned hymns through (1) hearing them sung in church by the choir, (2) hearing them sung in church by older members of the congregation, (3) singing them at home, where they learned them by rote as children, and (4) singing them in school, where the students formed the choir that sang settings of them in church and led the congregational singing. All of these channels continued to operate in the seventeenth century. People learned hymns in the sixteenth century and sang them in the liturgy (though of course with widely varying quality from place to place and across the generations) without needing to hold hymnals in their hands; the situation was no different in the seventeenth century. It was no harder (or easier)

in principle for an uneducated servant to learn a hymn like *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* in the seventeenth century than it had been for a person of the same class to learn Luther's lengthy, melismatic paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, *Wir glauben all' an einem Gott*, which was sung in nearly all Lutheran churches from the earliest days of the Reformation.

5.5 Summary

The books in which Gerhardt's hymns were published could have been used in a variety of ways in the three spheres of home, school, and church. Some books seem to be more directed at one of these spheres than at the others, but taken as a whole, these hymn publications suggest that Gerhardt's hymns played a prominent role in Lutheran community life in all three domains. The use of hymns in home, school, and church reinforced each other to build familiarity with Gerhardt's hymns in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER 6: A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE PUBLICATIONS OF CRÜGER AND EBELING

6.1 Choral Books and Congregational/Domestic Books

Given the many ways that hymns and hymn publications were used in Lutheran homes, schools, and churches, it becomes impossible to apply Scheitler's distinction between "church hymnals" and "home hymnals." It seems most likely that the only actual hymn books used in church were publications used by the choir, such as the partbooks of Crüger's GK 1649; Ebeling's 1667 arrangements had to be copied into partbooks to be used by the school choir at Löbau. The other publications in this study all seem to have been used primarily at home (that is, the books themselves); but as we have seen from the titles and prefaces of these publications, and from the repertoire of Latin school choirs as evidenced by their inventories and manuscript collections, the contents of these books (that is, the hymns in them) *were* sung in the public liturgy in many places, at least by the choir, if not also by the congregation. In this way the seventeenth-century hymnal was not much different from hymnals from the previous century, as described by Christopher Boyd Brown:

The public use of the Lutheran hymns in the sixteenth century, in both worship and instruction, was thus primarily a matter of oral rather than printed transmission. Though the *contents* of sixteenth-century hymnals were related to the public use of the hymns in worship, the *books* themselves were for the most part not intended for such use, either by professional musicians and clergy or by the laity. The hymnals produced by sixteenth-century printers were almost all small-format editions [...] Such small formats were convenient for individual lay use but not for the use of professional musicians, who complained that the vast majority of printed hymnals were ill-suited for their needs both in size and in arrangement. The few large-format hymnal printings of the sixteenth century were mainly attempts to meet the needs of

this professional market, which remained dependent largely on manuscript rather than printed sources.¹

In place of Scheitler's false distinction, then, a better demarcation would be between choral books on the one hand and what might be termed "congregational/domestic" books on the other; the former would have been used primarily by church choirs, and the latter would have been used primarily at home, though the contents were also sung in church. Both Johann Crüger and Johann Georg Ebeling published books in each of these two genres. The evidence suggests that Crüger and Ebeling meant these two types of books to complement each other, so that the choir could use the choral book to introduce the hymns in the domestic or congregational book. The congregational/domestic book was likely not used in the public service, but rather allowed people to practice at home the hymns that were sung in church.

6.2 The Use of Johann Crüger's Publications

6.2.1 *Praxis Pietatis Melica*, Crüger's Congregational/Domestic Book

Praxis Pietatis Melica is Crüger's "congregational/domestic" book, while *Geistliche Kirchen-Melodien* (GK 1649) is his choral book. This means that the hymns in PPM could be sung either at home or by the congregation in church (even if people did not bring hymnals with them to the service), while GK 1649 was specifically designed for the church choir (though this would not bar a house-music performance). Blankenburg makes the same

¹ Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 11–12.

distinction: he believes Crüger's statement that GK 1649 was "for the practical use of the Christian church,"² and says that it was intended for "the collaboration of choir and congregation."³ Blankenburg contrasts this with PPM, which Crüger designated in the title to be also for the "house-church"; the melody-and-figured-bass format was "for the accompaniment of singing on a keyboard instrument in the church or in the house."⁴ Bunners agrees that PPM had a dual function, saying that Crüger's musical arrangements in PPM "support singing and playing (*Musizieren*) both in the domains of public worship and private homes."⁵

Though *Praxis Pietatis Melica* bears a strong affinity to contemporary devotional books used in home worship, the rest of the title page and the preface in the various editions suggest strongly that Crüger intended the contents to be used in church as well.⁶ As Bunners has pointed out, Crüger expresses a strong theological understanding of the church in these prefaces. This ecclesiology can be seen most strongly in the preface to his first hymnal in 1640, written in the form of a prayer to Christ, in which he dedicates the hymnal to Christ and to his Bride, the church, and all its members. In the preface to PPM 1656, he portrays the communal singing of the Church on earth and in heaven as the epitome of creation, redemption, and eschatological fulfillment. In other words, God created human beings,

² "zum nützlichen Gebrauch seiner Christlichen Kirchen." Quoted in Blankenburg, "Johann Georg Ebeling," 7.

³ Ibid., 7: "Das Zusammenwirken von Chor und Gemeinde."

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Or "both in the public-cultic and in the private-domestic domains." "Die musikalischen Bearbeitungen, die Crüger im Gesangbuch selbst und in solchen das Buch ergänzenden Sätzen geschaffen hat, befördern sowohl das Singen und Musizieren im öffentliche-kultischen wie im privat-häuslichen Bereich." Bunners, "Singende Frömmigkeit," 15.

⁶ Again, this includes singing the contents in church, even if people did not have hymnals in their hands.

redeemed them, and will bring them to heaven for the primary purpose that they would sing and praise him together with the angels:

When our most worthy Savior Jesus Christ in great mercy set free his Christian Church, as her dearest friend and bridegroom, he spoke to her, and, burning with ardor in his spirit, he broke forth in this word of love in the second chapter of the Song of Songs: “Arise, my beloved, my beautiful one, and come; my lovely, come here to me. O my dove, out of the crannies of the cliff and the clefts of the rock, show me your face and let me hear your voice, for your voice is sweet.” In this way he declares how very highly it pleases him, from the heart, when he hears as she opens her mouth, lifts up her voice, and tunes up⁷ a devotional prayer [*andächtiges Gebet*] or a little song of thanks, and sings. [...] It is for this purpose, then, that by God the Father we are created; by God the Son, our Savior, we are redeemed at so great a cost; and by the Holy Spirit we are made holy, and at the end we are resurrected from death to eternal life: so that together with the holy musicians of heaven [*Himmel=musikanten*] we should worship and praise the Divine Majesty in the choir on high.⁸

Crüger’s vision of singing here is not that of an individual expressing his devotion privately, but of the whole church as the Bride of Christ, singing to her Savior together with the heavenly choir. As Banners says, whatever else “so wohl Kirchen= als Privatgottesdienstes” might mean, at the very least it means that Crüger did not advocate separating from the corporate church and forming private conventicles, because he saw private and public worship working together. Crüger also does not see a conflict between

⁷ Or “gives voice to” (*anstimmet*).

⁸ “Wenn unser Hochverdienter Heiland Jesus Christus sich in grossen gnaden auffs freundlichste gegen seiner Christlichen Kirchen herauß gelassen/ dieselbe angeredet/ und brünstig im Geist in diese liebes=wort herauß gebrochen im 2. Capitel des Hohenliedes: Stehe auf/ meine freundin/ und komme Meine Schöne komme her/ Meine taube auf den felslöchern und steinritzen/ Zeige mir deine Gestalt/ und laß mich hören deine Stimme/ Denn deine Stimm ist süsse: So zeiget er an/ Wie jhme höchlich=hertzlich wohlgefalle/ wenn er höret/ wie sie jhren Mund auf thut/ jhre Stimm erhebet und ein andächtiges Gebet oder danckliedlein anstimmet/ und singet/ [...] Wozu dann wir von Gott Vatern erschaffen: Von Gott Sohn unserm Heyland so teuer erlöst: Vom heiligen Geist geheiligt: Auch endlichen vom tode zum Ewigen leben aufferwecket werden/ daß wir nebest den Heyligen Himmel=Musikanten im höhern Chor die göttliche Majestät loben und preisen sollen.” PPM 1656, preface.

choral and congregational music, as Joseph Herl would have us believe, but sees them as both parts of a “Concentus musicus” that is pleasing to God.⁹

Most importantly, Crüger expressly states his desire that the new hymns included in PPM be sung not only at home, but also in church. In a 1662 Frankfurt edition of PPM, Crüger writes, “Therefore it sounds very well also in the churches and at home when one gives voice to new sacred songs of praise [*geistliche Lobgesänge*] in thanksgiving to God the Lord, especially since we have received a new blessing from him.”¹⁰ Here he clearly intends for the new songs to be sung in both home and church.

In PPM 1656, Crüger says that the new hymns he has included have already become beloved and esteemed, “where not in church use, then still in the home worship service.”¹¹ The statement could be taken to mean either as a description of the reception of the new hymns up to that point (that is, that they had not yet been used in church, but were being used at home), or as an acknowledgement that not all the hymns in the book were appropriate for church use, and that these hymns should be used at home. Blankenburg

⁹ PPM 1661 preface: “Woraus abzunehmen und gewiß zu schliessen/ daß dem Allmächtigen GOTT ein lieblicher Concentus Musicus in Gnaden gefalle/ und zur Verrichtung des Kirchen=Gottesdienstes auch gehörig sey eine gute Music und Gesang.” Quoted in Bunnens, “Singende Frömmigkeit,” 16.

¹⁰ “Also klingets auch in der Kirchen und zu haus sehr wol/ wenn man neue / geistliche Lobgesänge Gott dem Herrn zur Dancksagung anstimmet / besonders / so wir eine neue woltaht von ihm erhaltne haben.” Quoted in Bunnens, “Zum liturgischen Gebrauch,” 276.

¹¹ “...Unnd seiner werthen kirchen der Christenheit zum erbaulichen Nutz und gebrauch dieses Christliche Gesangbüchlein (darinnen des H. Lutheri S. Geistreiche lieder mit ihren schönen Melodien billich den vorzug behalten) vor diesem bereit zusammen getragen/ und/ wie bewust/ durch den druck *publicaret* ; Und aber dasselbe wegen der darinnen enthaltenen so wohl bißhero gebräuchlichen/ als vielen Neuen trostreichien gesängen Christlicher vornehmer Männer/ bey vielen frommen hertzen (ungeachtet tadelbüchiger gegener unter weltleuten) hin und wieder sehr beliebet und angenehm worden: Als habe ich/ meiner Schuldigkeit gemäß/ dasselbe nicht allein *de novo* zu *revidieren*: Sondern auch mit mehren des H. Lutheri seiner getreuen nachfolgern schönen Geistreichen liedern/ wie auch vielen anmutigen Melodien nebst untergesetztem *Fundament* zu verbessern mich bemühet/ auf daß nebst den bißhero gebräuchlichen Kirchengesängen auch noch andere mehr trostreiche lieder *Orthodoxorum Theologorum* (wo nicht alle im kirchen gebrauch/ dennoch beym hauß=Gottesdienst) nach eines unnd des andern beliebung/ des Sel. Lutheri vermahnnungen nach/ mit hinzu gethan/ gelernet und geübet würden/ und also/ das von Gottes gnaden im schwang gebrachte heylige Evangelium auch hiedurch noch ferner weit unnd breit im schwang verbleibe.” PPM 1656, iv.

would favor the latter interpretation, where part of the hymnal (the old hymns) is for church, and the rest (the new hymns) is for home. But this does not fit with the rest of Crüger's statements expressing the desire for both to be sung in church. Bunner's paraphrases Crüger's statement in this way: "There are new hymns that are only connected with home worship: these I am taking up, so that they may become commonly used" in church.¹²

In the 1656 preface Crüger also says that he wants both old and new hymns alike to be "learned and practiced" according to Luther's instructions. Bunner's says that this "learning" and "practicing" must be understood in a churchly context, as activities that happen in the public service. But an alternate interpretation could support Bunner's thesis equally well, that a congregational/domestic book like PPM was intended precisely to allow lay people to practice at home what they would be called upon to perform at church. Indeed, this was largely the function of devotional books, and of the piety movement generally: to encourage people to put the seemingly-abstract truths of faith into practice in their everyday lives. Just as one would meditate on the coming Sunday's readings in the Saturday afternoon home worship service, so one could also practice the hymns that might be sung, whether new or old. Since people did not generally bring hymnals with them to church, this idea of the congregation/domestic hymnal for "practice" makes more plausible sense as an explanation of how these books were used. Much like the Leipzig 1697 collection, the preface of which encourages readers to use the hymnal at home to check the words of the hymns sung in church, to make sure they are singing them correctly, PPM may have been intended for people to practice at home the new hymns that were in fact being

¹² "Es gibt neue Lieder, die nur mit dem Hausgottesdienst verbunden sind; sie nehme ich auf, damit auch sie gebräuchlich werden." Bunner's, "Singende Frömmigkeit," 17.

sung in church. This is the reason for the devotional-sounding title, “The Musical Practice of Piety,” and this is why the similarity with devotional books does not negate the possibility that the new hymns in the book were sung in church.¹³

The format of this hand-sized book, with music for the melody and figured bass, was conducive either to church or home use. The contents of the hymnal show no clear division between different genres of hymns, and the musical settings are generally in a style that even Blankenburg thinks was appropriate for congregational singing, related to the Genevan Psalter and earlier chorales. The continuous use of Crüger’s melodies in Christian churches even today, like *Nun danket alle Gott* and *Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele*, are the best evidence of their congregational suitability. These practical characteristics demonstrate that Crüger produced a hymnal in keeping with his own intentions, to serve either for domestic or public worship.

6.2.2 *Geistliche Kirchen=Melodien*, Crüger’s Choral Book

Two years after Crüger first published Gerhardt’s poems in PPM 1647, he published his collection of choral settings, GK 1649, and the second book shows both a distinct function from the first, as well as a clear relationship to it. Crüger intended GK 1649 to be used specifically in church by the *Cantorei*, and his inclusion of the new hymns from PPM shows that he wanted the choir to introduce these hymns to the congregation. In the title, Crüger makes no mention of home use, but instead dedicates the book “to the glory of the

¹³ Thus it makes sense to see a copy of this hymnal bound together with a prayer book, as was the copy of PPM 1664 examined in this study.

Divine Majesty and the practical use of his Christian Church.”¹⁴ One sign that this “practical use” meant choral singing was the partbook format, which allowed the choir to use the publication as it was printed without having to copy it into separate partbooks.¹⁵

The contents of GK 1649 show its dependence on and complementarity to PPM 1647. Since Crüger only printed the text of the first stanza of each hymn, the book could not stand alone, but had to be used in conjunction with PPM. The five Gerhardt texts that Crüger includes in the choral collection were all ones that he had printed for the first time in PPM 1647 and for which he had written new tunes. Crüger’s choral arrangements of the new tunes that he paired with Gerhardt texts would have allowed the choir to use these arrangements to introduce the unfamiliar tunes. Furthermore, given that Crüger had assigned familiar tunes to most of the other Gerhardt texts in PPM 1647, he could have used GK 1649 with his own *Cantorei* to sing much more than the five Gerhardt texts he printed. If, for instance, Crüger wanted the choir to sing Gerhardt’s *Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld*, he could use his choral arrangement of the tune *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, which he had paired with Gerhardt’s text in PPM 1647.

The style of the settings, as we have seen, was an enriched version of the cantional style, a style specifically associated with leading congregational singing. The addition of instruments made these arrangements usable either as practical music for leading the congregation or as independent art music. It seems obvious that cantors would have used the arrangements of traditional hymns in the collection in conjunction with congregational song, but what about the arrangements of new hymns? It seems safe to assume that at least

¹⁴ “der Göttlichen Majestät zu Ehren/ und nützlichem Gebrauch seiner Christlichen Kirchen.” GK 1649, title.

¹⁵ Of course, handwritten copies could be made if there were not enough printed copies available.

some of the many church choirs that owned this publication performed Crüger's Gerhardt settings. Even Blankenburg, who in the case of PPM insists that the old hymns were for church and the new ones for home, acknowledges that Crüger intended the entire contents of GK 1649 to be used as a cantional collection to lead congregational singing (though of course Blankenburg claims that the congregation would not have been able to sing along without hymnals).¹⁶

Perhaps the clearest indication that Crüger intended his choral publications to complement his congregational/domestic hymnals is found in an advertisement Crüger includes at the beginning of PPM 1656, which may refer to Crüger's forthcoming 1657 cantional collection:

To the obliging reader: anyone who especially enjoys spirit-filled songs of comfort and musical devotions [*Geistreicher trostgesänge/ und Musicalischer Andachten*] [can] soon look forward to all the melodies contained in this little book, [arranged] in four vocal and *pro complemento* six instrumental voices, alongside various lovely *symphonies*, and also a short *Instruction*, how these same can be performed in different ways, so that the congregation in the church can sing along at the same time.¹⁷

This description of the congregation singing along with the choir may be connected to a comment Crüger makes in his preface to the same edition of PPM, where he says that the purpose of creation and redemption is “that together with the holy musicians of heaven we should worship and praise the Divine Majesty in the choir on high.” Holding these two passages together, we can see a clear parallel between Crüger’s vision of the “Church

¹⁶ Blankenburg, “Die Lieder Paul Gerhardts,” 94.

¹⁷ “*Lectori Benerolo.* Der Sönstige liebhaber Geistreicher trostgesänge/ und Musicalischer Andachten erwarnte mit ehestem/ die in diesem Büchlein enthaltene Sämpthliche Melodien in 4 *Vocal* und (*pro Complemento*) 6. *Instrumental* Stimmen/ Nebest allerhand lieblichen *Sympphonien*, Auch einer kurtzen *Instruction*, wie dieselbe auf unterschiedene arten können *Musizirret* werden/ also daß die gemeine in der kirchen zugleich mit singen kan.” PPM 1656, fol. v verso. The six instrumental voices would seem to consist of four doubling the voices and two obbligato voices (plus, presumably, basso continuo as well).

Militant” on earth joining the song of the “Himmel=musikanten” on high, and his practical arrangements to allow the congregation in the nave to join in the song of the human *Cantorei* as it floated down from the choir loft. This image is further strengthened by the common association in the seventeenth century of boys’ voices with angels, a symbol Heinrich Schütz used in the last movement of his *Musikalische Exequien* as he employed a bass soloist and treble singers hidden at several locations in the balcony to represent the soul of the departed Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss singing in heaven with the angels.¹⁸

Crüger’s theology of music, which supports both choral and congregational singing, is given a remarkable visual form in an engraving preceding the first hymn in PPM 1656 (Gerhardt’s *Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe*). The artist illustrates Crüger’s Trinitarian, ecclesial view of hymn singing, as he expresses it in the preface to PPM, connecting it specifically with a choir of boys singing in church (see figures 1 and 2). Here we see a chorus of five boys of various ages, gathered around a large musical score, directed by a man with a large baton. Both the music in the choirbook and the “word bubbles” depicted emerging from their mouths show that they are singing one of the hymns from PPM, *Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott*,¹⁹ a paraphrase of the 51st psalm. The choir’s singing is directed to God, who is depicted in all three persons of the Holy Trinity: the first line of text (“Have mercy on me, O Lord God”) is shown directed specifically to God the Father, and in fact the final word *Gott*

¹⁸ See Gregory Johnston, “Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz’s *Musikalische Exequien* (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693),” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 202–203: “It was common at that time to have boy sopranos represent seraphic figures; Hans Joachim Moser writes that people would travel long distances to hear Christmas matins at the Reuss Court [in Gera, Saxony], and that in 1623 Heinrich Posthumus [Reuss] personally directed a performance for which the choir boys were dressed as angels, wearing green wreaths and carrying burning torches.” Johnston cites Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work*, trans. from 2nd rev. ed. by Carl F. Pfatteicher (Saint Louis, 1959), 56.

¹⁹ See PPM 1656, p. 62.

seems to have already disappeared into the cloud of the divine presence; the second line (“according to your great mercy”) is shown ascending directly to the crucified Christ, so that the significant word *Barmherzigkeit* (mercy) is similarly being absorbed by the Savior. The Holy Spirit is casting down rays of inspiring light on the whole act of worship.²⁰

Several details suggest that the location of the scene is in church. All the figures are dressed formally and have their hats removed; they are gathered around a choirbook mounted on a pedestal as can be commonly seen in other illustrations of church choirs from the time (such as the famous portrayal of Schütz leading his choir in Dresden). They are also standing on a tile floor with tall columns discernible in the background, both architectural features of Crüger and Gerhardt's St. Nicholas in Berlin and many other churches. Finally, the choir's singing is directed to a large crucifix, though of course this may just be a symbolic depiction of the supernatural presence of Christ.

It may seem problematic that this strong image of the singing of the boys' choir in church as a paradigmatic act of Christian worship appears at the beginning of *Praxis Pietatis Melica*, which I have labelled a “congregational/domestic” hymnal rather than a choral one. But a close examination of the musical score the boys are singing from reveals that they are not reading from a book like PPM at all. Their musical part bears the heading “Cant. I,” which never appears in PPM, but only in the partbooks of GK 1649 and other choral publications. While the two staves of music shown may at first glance resemble the “grand

²⁰ An additional feature illustrates Crüger's preface: in the upper left we see the sun dispelling the clouds of darkness, just as Crüger's preface says the church is called to come forth out of the vapors and stormclouds of despair and sing to God (PPM 1656, preface, fol. ii verso). The same idea occurs in the second stanza of Gerhardt's *Wach auf, mein Herz*, when it asks God to dispel the “tunkle Schatten” (dark shadows).

staff' notation of PPM, a more detailed look reveals that both staves use a C1 clef, and the second staff continues the chorale melody begun on the first.

Of course, the illustration is not realistic, since even for a choirbook, the score shown is disproportionately large; the artist's point is not to photographically depict liturgical practice but to illustrate Crüger's theology of singing and worship. But the artist chose to demonstrate that theology by depicting not a congregation, but a boys' choir, and chose to show the choir singing not from a hymnal with grand-staff notation, but from the score for a single choral voice part. The way the artist chose to illustrate the scene must correspond to some degree with actual practices the artist had observed, such as Crüger's own conducting of the school choir of the *Grauen Kloster*. If the point of depicting the musical score had been solely to symbolize hymn singing in general, with no reference to actual, specific practice, the careful detail of the "Cant. I" heading would have been unnecessary.

This illustration, then, supports the thesis that Crüger used the choir of the boys' Latin school to lead hymn singing in his congregation. The choice to depict the boys' choir need not be interpreted as indicating a hierarchy of choral music over congregational music; rather, the choir serves here as a symbol for all worshippers, who must enter the kingdom of God as little children (see Mark 10:15). The image fits in with the pedagogical emphasis of Lutheranism by highlighting the use of hymns in the upbringing of children—in church, school, and home alike. All of this supports the argument that the central location for hymn singing in the mind of Crüger and his collaborators was in the church, and that the boys' choir (and therefore the pedagogical sphere of the Latin school) was integral to the practice of hymn singing. The paradigmatic image of hymn singing was that of choral singing from individual vocal parts; that this image is included in a small-format, grand-staff hymnal only

strengthens the argument that this hymnal, not designed for choral use, assisted the congregation in joining the singing led by the choir in church.

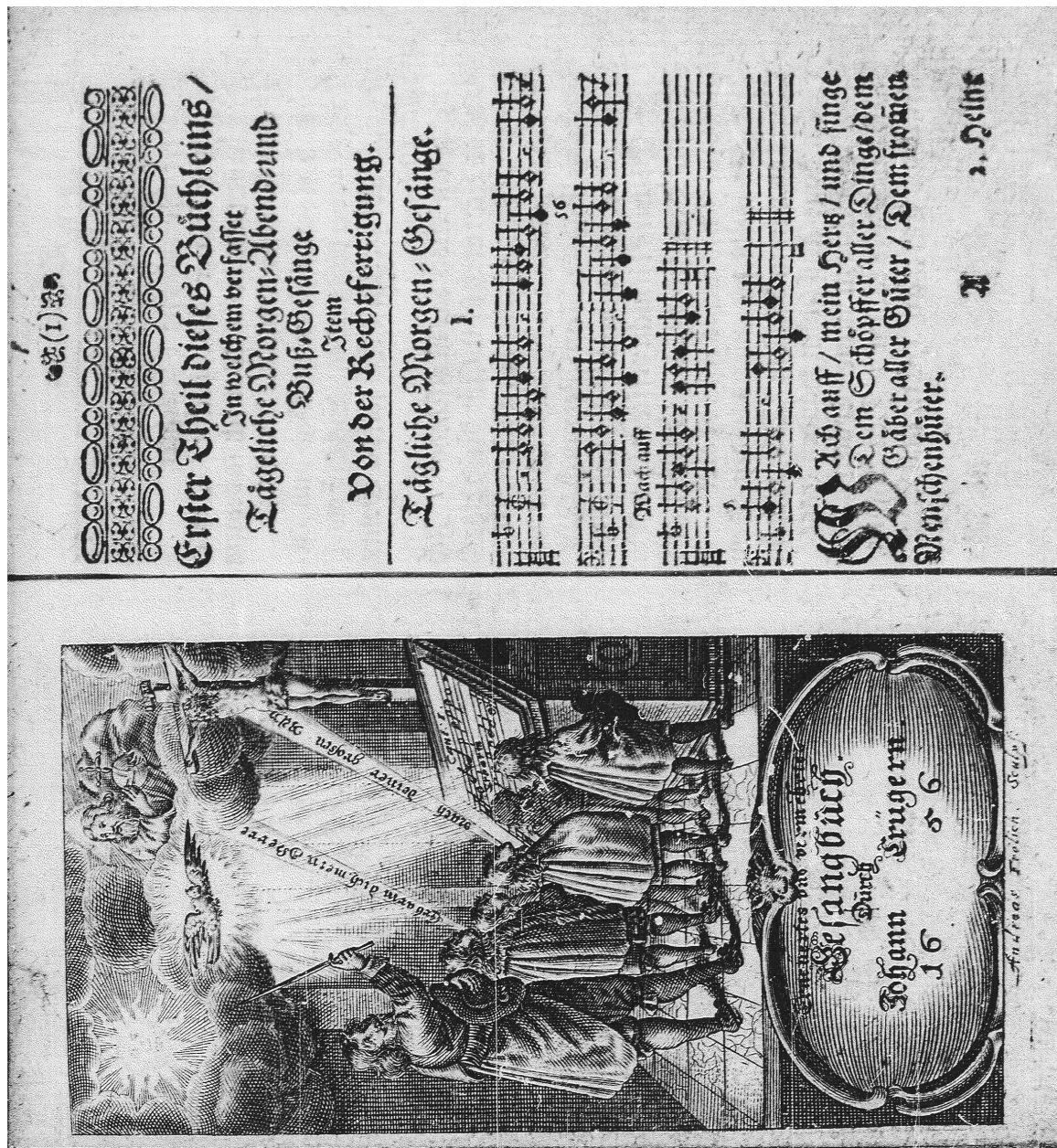


Figure 1. *Praxis Pietatis Melica* 1656, engraving and first hymn (Gerhardt's *Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe*)



Figure 2. PPM 1656 engraving, detail

In light of all this, it seems unfair that one scholar would call Crüger's desire for new hymns to be sung in church "a pious wish."²¹ At least with reference to Berlin, we can safely assume that since Crüger was the cantor and Gerhardt was the pastor, the two collaborators may have had some say in what hymns and choral music were sung. Given that the majority of Crüger's compositional output consists of hymn arrangements, if Crüger used any of his own music at St. Nicholas, it would have meant that at least the choir sang new hymns. Berlin does seem to have been progressive in the realm of hymnody, as Philipp Jakob Spener said in 1691: "It has also pleased me that around here, more than in other places, that also in the church more of the new hymns are sung and are known by the congregation."²²

6.3 The Use of Johann Georg Ebeling's Hymnals

6.3.1 Overview

Following Crüger's example, Johann Georg Ebeling published his books of Gerhardt hymns in the same two distinct genres, but in reverse order: first he published the choral book (Ebeling 1667), and then the congregational/domestic one (Ebeling 1669). Blankenburg acknowledges the parallels between the two cantors' sets of publications, but dismisses them because he believes the printing format, melodic style, and single-author

²¹ "ein frommer Wunsch." H. Hoffman, ed., *Paul Gerhardt* (Berlin, 1978), 84. Quoted in Bunnens, "Singende Frömmigkeit," 23, note 37.

²² "Auch hat mir allhier dieses vor den vorigen orten gefallen/ daß auch in der kirche mehrere von neuen liedern gesungen werden/ und der gemeinde bekannt worden sind." Quoted in Bunnens, "Zum liturgischen Gebrauch," 275. Spener was senior court preacher from 1686–1691 at the court chapel in Dresden, and indeed, Mary Frandsen has shown that the Dresden court sang hardly any new hymns during this period. Frandsen, "'New Piety' and Lutheran Worship in the Seventeenth Century," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Forum on Music and Christian Scholarship (Notre Dame, IN), Feb. 28, 2009. See also p. 150 below.

nature of Ebeling's books made them impractical for use in church. Though some aspects of Ebeling's books do seem undeniably oriented toward domestic use, the parallels with Crüger's publications suggest a liturgical use as well, with the choir introducing new hymns to the congregation through cantional-style settings.

6.3.2 Ebeling's Choral Book (Ebeling 1667)

Ebeling's *Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten* of 1666/7 (Ebeling 1667) is his choral book, though it has stronger domestic elements than its parallel Crüger publication, GK 1649. The format and style of Ebeling's 1667 edition, then, suggest that he was imitating Crüger's cantional collections (GK 1649 and Crüger 1657). Ebeling uses the same basic voicing and instrumentation as GK 1649 (four voices, two instruments, and basso continuo), but specifies two violins as the instruments rather than Crüger's "two instruments, such as violins or cornetts."²³ Blankenburg insists that Ebeling specifies violins because he has domestic music-making in mind, where violins were more common than cornetts, but this is hardly conclusive—Ebeling may simply have preferred the more modern sound of violins.

The style of Ebeling's settings is the same enriched cantional style as Crüger's, though more of Ebeling's melodies are in what Blankenburg considers to be the "aria" style. Whether we agree with Blankenburg's terminology or not, it is clear that Ebeling's melodies are more self-consciously artful and more difficult to sing than Crüger's, for all the reasons Blankenburg points out (e.g., the increased melodic range, triplet rhythms, shifts of meter). The difference between Crüger's style and Ebeling's seems to be not so much the difference

²³ GK 1649, title.

between one genre of composition and another (as between congregational and soloistic writing), but between two composers of subsequent generations writing in the same genre. Ebeling's music is as different from Crüger's as Bach's is from Böhm's, and we need not see that as a sign of a radically different compositional intent. One can not determine the actual usage of these pieces based solely on the style. Besides, Ebeling's intent is rendered irrelevant by the presence of Ebeling's 1667 settings in the Saxon manuscript collections, which demonstrate that these pieces actually were performed in the liturgy.

Despite the apparent influence of Crüger, Ebeling also seems to have consciously differentiated his publication from those of his predecessor, probably because he was competing for a market share still dominated by posthumous publications of Crüger's books. A new edition of PPM (with new music by Hintze) was released in the same year as Ebeling was assembling his publication (1666), and Ebeling needed to make his book appear unique. Thus Ebeling only reuses a few of Crüger's tunes, and even then, he never mentions Crüger's name.

The care Ebeling takes to avoid giving credit to Crüger even for his own melodies testifies to the fact that Crüger's publications were well known enough that Ebeling needed to set his own book apart from them. For *Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden*²⁴ Ebeling uses Crüger's original tune, and signs his initials only above the alto and tenor lines, thus taking credit only for the harmonic setting; but instead of crediting Crüger he writes "In this commonly known melody" (*In dieser gewöhnlichen bekannten Melodey*). Obviously this suggests that Ebeling thought his readers would already be familiar with this melody, first published

²⁴ Ebeling 1667, hymn no. 79, p. 186.

ten years earlier in PPM 1647. Ebeling treats *Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit*²⁵ in a similar way. For *Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe*,²⁶ Ebeling uses the adaptation by Crüger of *Nun lasst uns Gott, dem Herren* that Crüger had paired with the same text since PPM 1647; Ebeling calls the tune “the melody in common use up till now” (*In der bisher=gebräuchlichen Melodey*). In a few cases Ebeling uses Crüger tunes for his suggestions of familiar melodies (as alternatives to his own new settings), suggesting yet again that he believed Crüger’s tunes to be well known. Ebeling pairs *Jesu, allerliebster Brüder*²⁷ and *Meine Seel’ ist in der Stille*²⁸ with Crüger’s tune for *Du, o schönes Weltgebäude*,²⁹ which first appeared in Runge 1653 and PPM 1653.

Crüger’s tunes seem to have been so well known, in fact, that in order to differentiate his publication Ebeling apparently felt constrained to do a kind of “sleight of hand” by swapping and reassigning Crüger’s melodies to different texts than Crüger wrote them for. This is what seems to have happened with *Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen*³⁰ and *Warum sollt’ ich mich denn grämen*.³¹ Crüger had published *Fröhlich soll* in PPM 1653, and *Warum sollt’ ich* in Runge 1653, each hymn with a new, original melody. For both texts, Ebeling removes Crüger’s original tunes and writes his own. But puzzlingly, the new tune Ebeling writes for *Warum sollt’ ich* is a barely disguised imitation of Crüger’s tune for *Fröhlich soll*.³² If Ebeling liked Crüger’s tune for *Fröhlich soll* well enough to imitate it, why did he not use the original with the text for which Crüger wrote it? The only plausible explanation seems to be

²⁵ Ibid., no. 78, p. 182.

²⁶ Ibid., no. 85, p. 198.

²⁷ Ibid., no. 61, p. 146.

²⁸ Ibid., no. 47, p. 118.

²⁹ Zahn no. 6773. Zahn IV: 175.

³⁰ Ebeling 1667, no. 53, p. 130.

³¹ Ibid., no. 15, p. 42.

³² See Blankenburg, “Johann Georg Ebeling,” 11.

that Ebeling wanted to disguise Crüger's influence on his publication. Perhaps Ebeling liked Crüger's melodies, but because they were already popular, he felt this his own melodies would never be preferred to Crüger's. In any case, Ebeling's descriptions of Crüger's melodies as "well known" and "familiar" provides a witness to the popularity of Crüger's settings of Gerhardt texts.

Ebeling's prefaces to the sets of "dozens" that make up the 1667 edition show that he wanted his book to be used in every sphere of Lutheran life, including the public liturgy, and that he desired for home, school, and church together to constitute a wholistic musical culture. Ebeling did not intend the book narrowly for home use only, but, like Crüger, he viewed public and private worship as inseparably related. Thus he advertises in the title of the second through tenth dozens that his settings are "suitable to be used in church- and house-services" (*bey Kirch= und Hausz= Gottesdienst füglich zu gebrauchen*).

While Ebeling does not emphasize an ecclesiological view of singing quite as much as Crüger does, he nonetheless makes no exclusive separation between the use of music in church and in other domains. He describes himself as "an honor- and Christ-loving servant of the Church of God,"³³ and he describes this publication as a *geistlicher Kirchenbau*, which may be loosely translated as a "spiritual work for the building up of the church."

Other aspects of Ebeling's prefaces suggest more of a domestic or private orientation. For one, the style of the prefaces, in keeping with the high station of the people to whom they are dedicated, is very learned and clever, featuring elaborate, courtly language and abounding in plays on words and symbolism. Ebeling's artful prefaces may indicate that

³³ "ein Ehr= und Christlibender [sic] Diener der Kirchen Gottes." Ebeling 1667, preface to the fourth dozen.

he intended the work for use in these upper-class, erudite circles, which would make sense if they were to use the work for house-music. On the other hand, prefaces in the early modern German lands were almost always dedicated to the wealthy, learned, and powerful, and were typically written in a courtly style, and this did not necessarily mean that the whole work was intended for consumption by the likes of the dedicatees. These prefaces were as much about raising funds from the dedicatees as they were about introducing the music. Crüger similarly dedicates the artfully-written preface of PPM 1656 to the *BürgerMeistern* of Nuremberg.³⁴

Another statement also suggests that Ebeling envisioned a private use for his music. In the preface to the eighth “dozen,” Ebeling provides a very clear picture of private hymn singing outside of either home, school, or church:

One thinks of a traveling salesman’s servant [...] how sour must he let himself become, how many journeys must he make in snow, rain, wind, storm, heat, and all other danger. He thanks the most high God, though, in his vocation with a prayer from the heart, and in the midst of every danger, with a song (*Lied*) for morning, evening, penitence, and thanksgiving, and [his prayer] is itself a precious jewel to his God, to his temporal wealth, all along his path. No matter what happens, there is no occasion so hard, so good, so dangerous, so fortunate, but he thinks of his God and sings to him along the path one such little song from his mind and body, so that therefore he takes the blessing of Esau [even as he travels on] so many presumptuous paths of Jacob. [...] So take up from me with a well-disposed hand the blessed songs [*Lieder*] by the dear Mr. Gerhardt and trust securely that you will also encounter in the melodies that are set alongside them an impetus for the spirit, which will cheer up your heart, strength, and mind, and lead you to the distant time and eternal bliss.³⁵

³⁴ Of course, his 1640 hymnal was dedicated to Jesus Christ himself, certainly the highest-ranked dedicatee of any!

³⁵ “Man gedencke/ ein angehender Kauffmansdiener [...] wie sauer muß ers sich werden lassen/ wie viel Reisen muß er thun im Schnee/ Regen/ Wind/ Sturm/ Hitze und aller ander Gefahr. Er dancket doch dem höchsten Gott in seinem Beruf mit einem hertzlichen Gebeht/ und mitten in aller Noth/ mit einem Morgen= und Abend= Buß= und Danckliede/ und ist seinem Gott in solchen seinen Wegen zum zeitlichen Reichthum selbst ein edel Kleinod. Es ist keine Zeit wie sie auch fällt/ so schwer/ so gut/ so gefährlich/ so glückselig/ er denckt an seinen Gott und singet ihm auf dem Wege ein solch Sinn= und Leib= Liedgen/ daß er

Ebeling also at times speaks of hymns being used pedagogically, whether at school or home. The “Ode” at the beginning of the volume was written “in the name of the Collegii of the Gymnasium,” that is, the faculty of the school where Ebeling taught in Berlin. Ebeling describes this pedagogical use in the preface to the ninth “dozen”: since it contains several of Gerhardt’s psalm paraphrases, Ebeling recommends it for use as a “kernel of the Holy Scripture” (*Kern der heiligen Schrift*) to be used to educate the young. One can use verses set to music, he says, to teach children important spiritual sayings and prayers, and when the children grow up, the songs will stay with them and prove helpful to them in time of need. Ebeling does not specify when and where the children should learn such songs, whether at home or in school; his ideas would seem to encompass both.

Considered all together, Ebeling’s prefaces present a holistic view of the role of music in the Christian life. Ebeling emphasizes the many different ways and places that hymns could be sung, and does not elevate any one usage over the others. Ebeling’s ideal vision is of a world in which “everything that has breath” praises the Lord: angels, saints, birds, men, and women, together, “always and everywhere.”³⁶ In his main title, Ebeling offers the book for the glory of God, “for the comfort of the precious and oppressed Christendom,” and “for each individual believing soul, for the enrichment of his Christianity.”³⁷ As Albrecht points out,³⁸ the last two items in that list refer both to the

deßwegen den Segen Esaus für manchen eingebildeten Jäcobs weg träget. Nun ihr meine hochgeehrte Herren das habt ihr in eurer Jugend gethan/ und frommet euch in eurem Alter/ wenn ihr auf Messen und Märckte ziehet/ und GOtt höret euer Gebät und Dancklieder/ segnet und benedeyet euch dabey bis auf diese Stunde. Er hat noch eine Zeit übrig/ da er euch ewig segnen und benedeyen wird. So nehmet mit guter geneigter Hand von mir die gesegneten Lieder des lieben Herrn Gerhards an/ und trauet sicherlich/ ihr werdet an beygesetzten Melodeyen auch einen Trieb des Geistes befinden/ der euch euer Hertz/ Muth und Sinn aufmuntern/ und zur fernern Zeit und ewigen Glückseligkeit führen wird.”

³⁶ The quoted phrases refer to Psalm 150:6 and to the Preface of the Mass.

³⁷ Ebeling 1667, title.

corporate Church as a whole, and to the individual believer, which suggests a dual purpose for public and private use.

Ebeling does not elevate domestic music above music for the public liturgy, or vice versa; his concern rather is that the singing in both places come from the heart. In his preface to the third dozen, dedicated to a group of jurists, Ebeling reminds his dedicatees that God is “no respecter of persons,”³⁹ and admonishes them to worship God, not as jurists, but simply as Christians. In doing so, he gives us a concise picture of music in church and home: “Because all of this is beyond any doubt, so I have intended to say, that jurists should sing no sacred song [*geistlich Lied*] to God, except if they sing it as Christians; and whether in the church of God in private, or in their house churches in private, they should not sing as jurists but as Christians,⁴⁰ as members of one body, which is Christ our Lord.”⁴¹

Ebeling expresses disappointment in his own age for failing to embrace music in all spheres of life, as had been done in the past. In the preface to the sixth “dozen,” Ebeling laments how far music has fallen from its former position of esteem in society, when in some “golden age” (the beginning of the Reformation?) music was more pervasive in people’s lives than it had become in Ebeling’s time. In those “good old days,” he says, “Churches and houses, public and private assemblies, workplaces, kitchen and cellar, wine- and beer-houses, were all full of music and singing (*Music und Gesang*): the whole world had

³⁸ Albrecht, “Die Vertonung der Lieder Paul Gerhardts,” 83–106.

³⁹ That is, God looks not on external rank or profession, but on the heart. The phrase is from the King James Bible, Acts 10:34–35, when the apostle Peter is speaking to a Gentile centurion: “Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.”

⁴⁰ Literally, “not juristically but Christianly.”

⁴¹ “Weil nun dieses ausser allem Zweifel/ so habe ich vermeinet/ daß auch die Herrn Juristen/ kein geistlich Lied/ sondern dasselbe als Christen singen/ und in der Kirchen GOttes öffentlich/ oder auch in ihren Haauß=Kirchen in geheim/ nicht Juristisch sondern Christlich singen/ als Gliedmassen an einem Leibe/ welcher ist Christus unser HErr.” Ebeling 1667, preface to the third dozen.

not yet come so far in her wisdom, that she would want on account of certain abuses to dump out and throw out music completely and utterly, like throwing out the baby with the bathwater.”⁴² The context of this passage suggests that Ebeling is referring both to the banning of art music from church by the Calvinists and their sympathizers, and to the cultural deprivations created by the Thirty Years’ War. This complaint is consistent with Ebeling’s choice to compose in Crüger’s enriched cantional style, since this simple form of church music might have appealed to communities whose budgets and populations had been decimated during the war, who wanted choral music in the service but needed it to be economical and easy to rehearse; the dual potential for using the settings as art music or for leading congregational song increased their appeal.

The “Ode” at beginning the volume encapsulates Ebeling’s vision of a unified music in every sphere of human activity, where, just as “heart, soul, and mouth” sing as one, so also, “pulpit, church, and choir” [*Cantzel/ Kirch und Chor*] join together to praise God (see appendix C). The parallel of “pulpit, church, and choir” with “heart, spirit/soul, and mouth” is intriguing. The first three words can refer either to architectural locations, or symbolically, to the people who inhabit those locations (the pastor and deacons, the congregation, and the *Cantorei* and other musicians). Is there a one-to-one correspondence between the parallel phrases, so that the chancel is the heart, the church is the soul, and the choir is the mouth? The idea of the choir speaking on behalf of the church is a powerful image of how the choir

⁴² “War nicht die *Music* gleichsam ein *Universal*-Mittel/ bey allen Menschlichen Geschäftten/ zu jedes Heil und Auffnehmen angesehen? Man hub an/ der Jugend Gemüther und Geister damit aufzumuntern/ gutes *Humor* und *Harmonie* den *Affecten* beyzubringen/ Tugend/ Ehr und Redlichkeit einzupflanzen: Kirchen und Häuser/ öffentliche und *privat* Zusammenkunfftten/ Werckstädte/ Küch und Keller/ Wein= und Bier=Häuser/ waren alle voller *Music* und Gesänge: Die gantze Welt war damaln so weit in ihrer Weißheit noch nicht kommen/ daß sie etliches Mißbrauches halber/ die *Music* gantz und gar/ gleich wie das Kind mit dem Badewasser ingesammt aufzgiessen und verwerffen wollen: Aber nunmehr wird sie stille/ hört aller Enden auf/ und ist gar kleinstädtisch und Handwerckhaftig und *Music* und Gesängen sich erlustigen.”

actually functioned in the first centuries of Lutheranism (as, for instance, when the choir sang polyphonic settings of “Et cum spirito tuo” and other responses). In any case, the main point the authors of the “Ode” are trying to make is that just as a person must worship with the whole self, so also the church must worship as a whole, so that not only one part of the church is singing, but the whole church sings together.

It appears, then, that Ebeling intended for his settings to be sung in home, school, and church, and that he saw these three domains as mutually influencing each other, and functioning together as a unified whole. Ebeling envisioned hymns being used in many different areas of life, and wanted these areas—church, home, and school—to work together. While there is no doubt that Ebeling’s volume could easily have been used in domestic music-making, we can conclude, on account of its parallels with Crüger’s GK 1649 and Ebeling’s stated intentions in the prefaces, that Ebeling at least in part intended his 1667 publication to be able to function as a book for the church choir to use to provide both sacred art music for the public service and, Ebeling seems to hope, to lead the congregation in singing of his new settings. The Saxon manuscript collections provide strong evidence that Ebeling’s settings were in fact sung in the liturgy in Löbau. Perhaps Ebeling got his wish, and the Löbau congregation sang along as well.

6.3.3 Ebeling’s Congregational/Domestic Book (Ebeling 1669 & 1683)

Having imitated Crüger’s choral book, Ebeling next produced a congregational/domestic edition in the vein of *Praxis Pietatis Melica*. Once again, by “congregational/domestic” I do not necessarily mean a book that was physically brought to church, but a book whose contents included hymns that were sung in the public service, and

whose use in home devotions enabled members of the congregation to become familiar with the hymns that were sung in the public service.

The similarities with PPM are obvious: both are in octavo format, the contents are arranged according to the liturgical year, and the musical settings are printed in only two voices (melody and bass). These simpler settings, like Crüger's in PPM, could have been used in either church or home, in the same ways that Crüger could have been used. The central difference in format with PPM is that Ebeling does not print the music on a "grand staff," but puts the two parts on facing pages, and he does not provide figures for the bass line. Blankenburg is certainly right that an experienced continuo player would probably not need the figures, but the lack of figures nonetheless leaves the intended mode of performance somewhat ambiguous. The placement on two facing pages would allow for both parts to be sung, but would also not present difficulties for a continuo player, who would not normally play the melody line anyway (it might actually make the continuo part easier to play). Crüger's "grand staff" format would not have been much easier or harder to use either for two-voice singing or for voice and continuo, since the notes and bar lines in the two staves are frequently out of alignment.

There are also strong similarities to *Erbauungsbücher* (devotional books): the list of Scriptural citations entitled "Instructions for Prayer," the appended collection of prayers, and the introductory epistle from the theological faculty of Greifswald certifying the contents to be orthodox. Bunner argues that the liturgical arrangement is a sure sign that this book was meant to be used by the congregation in church, but in fact devotional books of all kinds were commonly organized according to the liturgical year. This allowed the house-father to select readings and hymns for the home devotions appropriate to each week, since the house-church was always closely related to the public church, and served as a way

of preparation for and prolongation of the public liturgy. Viewing this as a congregational/domestic book, that is, as a book used in the home, but designed to complement what was sung in the public service, allows us to accept Bunners's suggestion that the liturgical ordering shows a strong relationship between the book and public worship, without necessarily requiring the book itself to be used in worship.

The title and prefaces provide strong evidence that Ebeling intended this volume to be used for home devotions, and that he intended those devotions to complement what was happening in the public worship service. On the title page he explains that he has reprinted the book in the two-voice format “for the sake of better convenience [...] to have alongside” the first edition.⁴³ The statement about *Bequemlichkeit* raises the question, better ease of use by whom? Since as Christopher Boyd Brown points out, professional musicians would not in fact have found this smaller format easier to use, Ebeling’s statement suggests that he was addressing himself not to cantors or to wealthy practitioners of domestic chamber music, but to an audience primarily interested in home devotions, who would not have found Ebeling’s first edition conducive to their needs.

This theory would explain another statement Ebeling makes about the change of format: he thanks the nobles and especially the ladies who funded the first edition, “so that ten dozens are printed in folio, along with the instrumental voices that belong to them. Since, then, these same [*dieselben*] are distracting to scarcely a few [that is, to many], I have had it issued again, in order to furnish it alongside [the first edition] in this more convenient

⁴³ “Auf alle Sontage/ und gewisse Zeiten im Jahr gerichtet/ vor diesem mit sechs Stimmen in *folio* heraußgegeben und zu Berlin gedrucket; Umb besserer Bequemlichkeit aber bey sich zu haben in sothanes *format* gebracht mit zwey Stimmen zum andern mahl/ nebst einem Anhang etlicher außerlesenen Gebehte.” Ebeling 1669, title.

[bequemer] format, and in so doing I have desired to provide something suited to the devotion [Andacht] of each individual.”⁴⁴ By *dieselben* Ebeling may mean the “dozens,” meaning that the people found the sectional organization of the first volume to be distracting; but it makes more sense if he means that the instrumental parts were distracting, as, for instance, they would have been to a more humble audience who could not afford instruments and were more interested in home devotions than in house music or church choral music. Both here and in the title, it is clear that Ebeling sees this second edition being used “alongside” the first edition, which indicates that the two publications were complementary.

Ebeling expresses the domestic aspect of this publication even more strongly when he explains that his project of setting Gerhardt texts to music began when he, “for [his] own home devotion [Hauß-Andacht], brought the *Passions-Sahe* into new melodies, and as [he] saw that it was well received by certain people.”⁴⁵ We see here that Ebeling’s initial project was to set the *Rhythmica Oratio* paraphrases to new melodies, since Crüger had not written new tunes for these. Is Ebeling saying that the compositional work itself was part of his home devotions, or that he composed the melodies so that he could use them in his home devotions? Either way, this one statement of Ebeling does not prove that the whole project was intended only for home devotions, but only that home devotions were part of its genesis, and one of its many intended purposes.

⁴⁴ “[...] daß 12. Dutzet in *folio* sein gedruckt/ nebst denen dazu gehörigen *Instrumental-Stimmen*. Weil denn dieselben/ auf fast wenige/ *distrahiret* sein/ habe ich es in diß format/ bequemer bey sich zu führen/ wieder auflegen lassen/ und hiemit eines jedweden Andacht nachgehen wollen.” Ibid., preface, fol. 4, verso. Ebeling must mean “10. Dutzet,” since there are only ten “dozens” in the edition.

⁴⁵ “[...] [die] vor drey Jahren in *folio* zu Berlin gedruckten *Edition*/ woselbst ich erstlich zu meiner eigenen Hauß-Andacht das *Passions Sahe* in neue Melodeyen gebracht/ und wie ich gesehen/ daß es von etlichen gut aufgenommen ward [...]” Ebeling 1669, preface fol. 3, verso.

Acknowledging that the book was intended for home use still leaves open the possibility that its contents were intended for use in church. The handwritten hymns for before and after the liturgy included in one copy of this book would certainly seem to suggest that the contents were used in the context of the public service. Ebeling desired his choral book and his domestic/congregational book to be used together. Despite a greater emphasis on home devotional use, Ebeling still reprints the “Ode” from the first edition, with its unified, ecclesial vision of singing. His ultimate goal was to make Gerhardt’s texts more widely known and more frequently used in any arena. His preface provides yet another testimony to the fact that Gerhardt’s hymns were already becoming known before 1669: “There are up till now so many hymnals containing the sacred meditations of Mr. Paul Gerhardt [*des Herrn Paul Gerhards Geistliche Andachten*] that have been put out in different places, repeatedly issued and funded for printing, but never before have all been seen together in one book, except for this one and another edition in folio printed three years ago in Berlin.”⁴⁶

The representatives of the Greifswald theological faculty, in their epistle to Ebeling certifying the orthodoxy of his publication, also give some indication that Gerhardt’s hymns are already becoming well known. They write that Gerhardt’s hymns “are also known in our region especially through the *Stralsundischen Gesang=Buch*,” though that hymnal has apparently been lost.⁴⁷ Of course, they only say that the hymns “are known” (*bekant seyn*), not who

⁴⁶ “Es sind fast bey allen Gesang=Büchern des Herrn Paul Gerhards Geistliche Andachten/ so viel derselben bißhero herauß gewesen/ an unterschiedenen Orten zum oftern aufgeleget und zum Druck befodert zu finden/ niemahls aber alle zusammen in einem Buche gesehen/ ausser dieser und einer andern vor drey Jahren in *folio* zu Berlin gedruckten *Edition*.” Ebeling 1669, preface, fol. 3 verso.

⁴⁷ “Und aber wir dieselbe [d.h., die Lieder Gerhardts] mit Fleiß durchgelesen/ wie sie denn sonst auch dieser Orten auß dem *Stralsundischen Gesang=Buch* bekant seyn.” Ebeling 1669, fol. 5 recto.

knows them or how they use them, but the fact that they are known through a hymnal shows that they were not just known as poems, but in some connection to music.

Ebeling's own note to the reader provides the clearest explanation of his motivation for the 1669 edition, namely, to provide a book for home use that would complement his earlier publication for choir: "The division of the contents according to the Gospels has happened, therefore, so that when something of one of these same should be sung on our holy Sabbath, the congregation might know right away which one it is. Those hymns that are appointed for certain times will soon become familiar to a diligent reader."⁴⁸

Ebeling does not specify who is going to be singing these hymns, whether congregation or choir, and he does not specify whether the reader is supposed to sing along with the hymn, or simply be able to "know which one it is." It seems rather unlikely to imagine Lutheran laypeople bringing their copies of Ebeling 1669 with them to church every Sunday, just in case a Gerhardt hymn would be sung; but it makes perfect sense to imagine them coming home from church and going to their Ebeling 1669 to look up the text of a lovely piece they heard the choir singing that morning, so that they could teach it to their children.

This mode of use, with the choral singing of the school boys complementing the singing of the congregation, reinforced by home devotions, is spelled out quite clearly in Conrad Feuerlein's preface to the 1683 reprint of Ebeling's small-format edition (see chapter 1). Without a doubt, Feuerlein's description shows that at least in his Nuremberg, new songs were not being sung as much as he preferred, but it also witnesses that new songs were being

⁴⁸ "Die eintheilung über die Evangelia ist deßwegen geschehen/ das wann etwa eines derselben sollte an unsren heiligen Sabbath gesungen werden/ die Gemeine alsobald wissen möge/ welches es sey. Die auf gewisse Zeiten gerichtet/ werden einen fleißigen Leser balde bekand werden." Ebeling 1669, preface.

sung at home. The location of the new songs during communion is intriguing, especially given the style of Ebeling's settings. Communion was a time both for congregational singing (the same few hymns, such as *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* and *Gott sei gelobet*, were regularly sung in most places) and for sacred art music, such as motets or sacred concertos. Performing a piece in enriched cantional style would be a way of straddling both genres. It would satisfy the demand for art music, while also giving those in the congregation who were becoming familiar with Gerhardt's hymns through their home devotions a chance to sing along.

One witness to the singing of new hymns like those of Gerhardt at communion comes from the statement of a pastor in Gamstädt (in Thuringia) in 1667. After describing all the other places in the church service where choral music could be performed, the pastor says that on feast days, during communion “a motet or other polyphonic piece, or these new spirit-rich hymns [*geistreichen Lieder*]: *Jesu meine Freude*, *Salve cordis gaudium*, or *Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht*” were sung.⁴⁹ All three of these specific pieces, which are representative of the “new piety” movement, are included in the Saxon manuscript collections from this same period, alongside settings of Gerhardt texts by Crüger and Ebeling. The pastor does not say whether

⁴⁹ Quoted in Rudolf Jauernigg, “Die Erneuerung des Kirchengesangs im Herzogtum Sachsen-Gotha,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 2: 121. Jauernigg gives the following summary of the pastor's comments (the words in single quotes are from the pastor): “‘Weil auch beym hiesigen Gottesdienst man eine ziemliche Music haben und hören kann, nicht nur etwa ein quatuor sondern wol auch ein octo Stimmen,’ haben die Gemeinde ‘hiebevor feine Musicalische Stimmen und eine Baßgeige zum Fundament ... gekauft.’ Man konnte ‘vokaliter’ und ‘instrumentaliter Gott zu Ehren’ recht vielfältig musizieren. In der ‘Frühkirche’ und der ‘Amtskirche’ sang der Schulmeister nach der Kollekte die ‘Epistel’ danach ‘den Glauben’ oder vorher eine Motette ‘oder sonst ein[en] Figuralgesang aus dem Gothaischen Cantionali oder dergleichen.’ Nach dem allgemeinen Kirchengebet wurde ‘ein Evangelischer Spruch entweder aus dem Vulpio oder itzigerzeit Briegels und dergleichen musicirt.’ Während der Kommunion wurde an Festtagen ‘ein Motette oder anderer Figuralgesang oder diese neuen geistreichen Lieder: Jesu meine Freude, Salve cordis gaudium, item Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht’ gesungen.”

the congregation joined in this singing, but the specific pieces he mentions were most commonly arranged in cantional style, which was designed to lead congregational singing.

6.4 Choral Books and Congregational/Domestic Books: Other Publications

The other publications in this study can be grouped into the same categories we have seen in Crüger and Ebeling's publications, that is, distinguishing between choral books for the school choir, and congregational/domestic books for use at home, but including hymns sung in church. Christoph Peter 1655, for example, is a book for the choir, a cantional collection similar to those copied in Löbau (and in fact, one of the Löbau manuscripts may contain a piece by Peter). Vopelius 1682 is also a choral book, quite plainly designed for practical use.

On the other hand, the huge 1697 compendium from Leipzig states expressly that it is for home use, though it contains hymns that were sung in church, and encourages its readers to use the hymnal at home to review their memory of the hymns sung in public. Müller 1659, much like Ebeling 1667, has strong domestic aspects, but we know that two Hasse settings from this hymnal were sung in Löbau. The Nuremberg hymnal of 1676 is also in this category, and seems to have been modeled on *Praxis Pietatis Melica*. The Briegel *Cantional* of 1687, despite the name, seems like a book designed primarily to support the church service, with less of a domestic component than the others. The *Husum Court Hymnal* of 1676 is exceptional in that it does seem to be designed for actual use in a particular church. Leipzig 1710 is also strongly oriented toward the liturgical service.

Finally, the *Dresden Hymnal* of 1656 seems to embody aspects of both categories, since it contains monophonic settings for the choir, as well as congregational hymns. It

should probably be regarded primarily as a congregational/domestic book (but with some choral elements). When one remembers the limitless flexibility with which seventeenth-century musicians made use of printed hymn publications, the unusual character of the *Dresden Hymnal* becomes less of a problem. Printed hymn books in this period functioned in parallel with an active oral tradition, which took place in the three spheres of home, school, and church. The printed books may often have served as reference or resource works for that oral tradition, and therefore they did not need to limit their contents to serve only one sphere of musical activity.

The *Dresden Hymnal* seems to pose another problem, though, for the argument advanced in this thesis, since Mary Frandsen has shown that hardly any of the new seventeenth-century hymns in this collection were sung at the electoral court chapel in Dresden in the 1660s and 1670s.⁵⁰ This only shows, however, that new hymns were not quickly taken up everywhere; the evidence presented above still presents a strong case that Gerhardt's hymns were sung in many places from the time of their first publication. Besides, little is known about the hymnody in the Dresden city churches, which may have made more use of the new hymns in the *Dresden Hymnal* and other prints. Undoubtedly, the reception of Gerhardt's hymns in the liturgy varied by region and across time. As Spener indicates, Berlin was much more progressive with its hymnody than Dresden was.⁵¹ While Court Preacher Martin Geier at Dresden may have been conservative in selecting new hymns, the cantors in Berlin and Stettin, Löbau and Colditz, certainly were not.

⁵⁰ Frandsen, “New Piety” and Lutheran Worship.”

⁵¹ See the quote on p. 132–133.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that as soon as Johann Crüger began to publish the poems of Paul Gerhardt in his 1647 hymnal, Gerhardt's texts began to propagate widely throughout the German-speaking Lutheran realms, being printed in a variety of books throughout latter half of the seventeenth century. These books almost always paired the texts with music, either melodies alone, melodies with figured bass, or full choral settings, sometimes with other instruments as well. We have seen that these books lent themselves to a variety of uses in many different social contexts, including home worship, house music, school music, choral or solo vocal art music in the public church service, and congregational song in the public service. While many places were very conservative about introducing new hymns, and while people did not generally use hymnals in the public service, we need not conclude that Gerhardt's hymns were never sung in church in the seventeenth century. The widespread ownership of Johann Crüger's hymn publications by churches and church schools, and the presence of Gerhardt settings by Crüger and Ebeling alongside liturgical music in the manuscript collections of church Latin schools in Saxony, make it quite likely that Gerhardt's hymns were in fact sung by church choirs in the liturgy during this period. The cantional style of these settings suggests that congregation members who were already becoming familiar with Gerhard's hymns through their home devotions might have sung along with the choir. In some places, the musical leadership made an attempt to implement the process

described by Conrad Feuerlein of introducing new hymns to the congregation through the school choir.

Johann Crüger published Gerhardt hymns in two different types of books. His *Praxis Pietatis Melica* was a congregational/domestic book: it seems designed primarily for use at home, but in keeping with one of the purposes of home devotions, it served to reinforce what was done in the public service by “practicing piety” through singing church hymns at home. Crüger’s prefaces show his high theology of the church and suggest strongly that he intended his publications to serve the corporate church, not just private devotions. His *Geistliche=Kirchenmelodien* of 1649 (and also his *D. M. Luthers...Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* of 1657) was a choral book: it contained settings in an enriched cantional style designed for the choir (made up of boys from the Latin school and others) to sing in church. The two types of books are interrelated, so that the choral book allows the choir to introduce and lead the singing of the hymns that are also contained in the congregational/domestic book.

Johann Georg Ebeling followed these two types of books in his publications of the (then) complete works of Gerhardt in 1667 and 1669. His choral book came first, following the style of Crüger’s choral books. Though all of Ebeling’s publications have elements that suggest domestic use, Ebeling’s prefaces show that he viewed home, school, and church music as parts of an integrated whole. The congregational/domestic book came second, with the stated intention of allowing the congregation to look up Gerhardt hymns when they were sung in church. This book, like Crüger’s PPM, was designed primarily for home use, but with the goal of reinforcing what was done in the public service.

The weight of evidence makes it impossible to conclude that the musical settings of Gerhardt hymns by Crüger, Ebeling, and probably others as well, were only used in home devotions or house-music. We now know that they were used in school choirs, and there is

little doubt that these choirs sang them in the public service. The pieces may first have been introduced under the auspices of art music, but they were composed in a style that had always been associated with leading congregation singing. Whether or not the congregations in these churches actually sang along with these pieces during the public service in this period, we know that they were exposed to these texts through a variety of means, all of which mutually reinforced each other to familiarize people with Gerhardt's hymns.

The reception of Paul Gerhardt's poems as congregational hymns, then, developed not only as an outgrowth of the private meetings of the eighteenth-century Pietists, but as a result of liturgical practices that had continued since the beginning of the Reformation. Just like their sixteenth-century forebears, Lutherans in Gerhardt's day did not bring hymnals with them to church, but they were still able to learn new hymns. If the adoption of Gerhardt's poems as congregational hymns depended solely on people buying the publications of Crüger, Ebeling, and others, and bringing them to church, then we would only be speaking about very small circles of wealthy and literate people. But as Bunnens says, "the high development of a mouth-to-ear culture, along with the close association of communications between school, church, and house, as well as the many-faceted forms of singing in the public service, blunted the problems of social class and levels of education that affected singing in church, and made new hymns familiar also to those people who were not able to read."¹ The adults would hear the choir sing these hymns in church; they might sing

¹ "Als Käufer und Nutzer der Crügerschen und Ebelingschen Gesangbuchausgaben kamen vorwiegend Vertreter der oberen und mittleren Schichten in Frage. Die hohe Entwicklung einer Mund-zu-Ohr-Kultur sowie enge Kommunikationszusammenhänge zwischen Schule, Kirche und Haus, auch vielfältige Formen des gottesdienstlichen Singens, haben die sozialen und bildungsmäßigen Probleme beim Kirchengesang entschärft und neue Lieder auch solchen Menschen bekannt gemacht, die des Lesens nicht kundig waren." Bunnens, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg—Werk—Wirkung*, 213–214.

them during home devotions; wealthier adults might play arrangements of them during house music. The school children would sing them in the liturgy, as well as during their school devotions, and these children would not only bring the hymns home to their families, but they would grow up to become adults who knew these hymns. Like any new movement or trend, this process probably moved slowly at first, and there were certainly bastions of hymnodic conservatism (e.g., the Dresden court) that resisted it entirely. But it is clear that by the time the Pietists began singing Gerhardt hymns, the orthodox Lutherans in many places had already been hearing, singing, and playing them in home, school, and church alike.

The close relationship between worship in these different domains is illustrated beautifully by an illustration in a 1666 edition of *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (figure 3). This image seems to portray the union between individual prayer and corporate worship in a way reminiscent of the “Ode” from Ebeling’s hymnals, where all the parts of the church and all the parts of the person sing together in union to God. Home devotions before Pietism were not designed as a separation from the corporate church, but as a reinforcement of it. Likewise, the same hymns flowed back and forth in this period between home, school, and church, all increasing people’s knowledge of the new hymns and allowing them to practice the new piety of the day through music, as Crüger’s title proclaims.



Figure 3. The union of private and public worship.
Engraving from *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (Frankfurt am Main, 1666), reprinted in
Bunners, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg—Werk—Wirkung*, 200.

APPENDIX A: TABLE OF PUBLICATIONS OF GERHARDT'S HYMNS

The table on the following pages is laid out in two rows of three pages each, as shown below. Bold numbers indicate the first publication of a hymn; right-aligned numbers indicate hymnals I examined personally, whether in the original, microfilm, or facsimile; left-aligned numbers indicate hymnals whose contents I deduced from secondary sources; asterisks indicate uncertainty as to the identification of a text (usually because there is another text with the same first line, or because of a textual variant).

156	157	158
159	160	161

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	1 First line	Date first published (Bunners)	Indiv. pub., funeral sermons, or unpub. (never incl. in hymnals)	Crüger Praxis pietatis melica 1647	Crüger Geistliche Kirchen=melodien 1649	Runge D. M. Luthers ... geistliche Lieder und Psalmen 1653	Crüger Praxis Pietatis Melica 1653	Peter Andachts-Zymbeln 1655	Crueger Praxis Pietatis Melica 1656	Dresdenisch Gesangbuch 1656
2	Ach Herr, wie lange willst du mein	1660								
3	Ach treuer Gott, barmherzig's Herz	1653				1			1	
4	Alle, die ihr Gott zu ehren	1667								
5	Als Gottes Lamm und Leue	1653				1			1	
6	Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt- Das merke	1661								
7	Also treten wir nun an	1644	1				1		1	
8	Auf den Nebel folgt die Sonn	1653					1		1	
9	Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden	1647		1	1	1			1	
10	Barmherziger Vater, höchster Gott	1653				1			1	
11	Befiehl du deine Wege	1653				1			1	
12	Das ist mir lieb, daß Gott mein Hirt	1653				1		1	1	1
		1658/60?								
13	David sang in seiner Sprachen (unpub.)	1								
14	Der aller Herz und Willen lenkt	1643	1							
15	Der Herr, der aller Enden	1653			1	1			1	
16	Der Tag mit seinem Lichte	1666								
17	Die guinde Sonne	1666								
18	Die Zeit ist nunmehr nah	1653			1	1			1	1
19	Du bist ein Mensch, das weißt du wohl	1653				1			1	
20	Du bist zwar mein und bleibest mein	1650								
21	Du liebe Unschuld du	1653				1			1	
22	Du meine Seele, singe	1653			1	1			1	
23	Du Volk, das du getaufest bist	1667								
24	Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld	1647	1	1	1				1	
25	Ein Weib, das Gott den Herren liebt	1653				1			1	
26	Erhebe dich, betrußtes Herz	1651	1							
27	Frohlich soll mein Herz springen	1653				1			1	1
28	Geduld ist euch vonnöten	1661								
29	Gegrüßet seist du, meine Kron	1653				1			1	
30	Gegrüßet seist du, Gott mein Heil	1656							1	
31	Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud	1653				1			1	
32	Gib dich zufrieden	1666								
33	Gott ist mein Licht, der Herr mein Heil	1653			1	1			1	
34	Gott Lob! Nun ist erschollen	1653				1			1	1
35	Gott Vater, sende deinen Geist	1653				1			1	
36	Herr Gott, du bist ja für und für	1667								
37	Herr Jesu, meine Liebe	1667								
38	Herr Lindholz legt sich hin	1660	1							
39	Herr, aller Weisheit Quell und Grund	1661								
40	Herr, der du vormals hast dein Land	1653			1	1			1	1
41	Herr, dir trau ich all mein Tage	1655	1							
42	Herr, du erforschest meinen Sinn	1666								
43	Herr, hore, was mein Mund	1647		1	1	1			1	
44	Herr, ich will gar gerne bleiben	1667								
45	Herr, was hast du im Sinn	1666								
46	Hör an, mein Herz, die sieben Wort	1653				1			1	
47	Horst du hier die Ewigkeit	1666	1							
48	Hört an, ihr Völker, hört doch an	1653				1			1	
49	Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden	1666								
50	Ich danke dir demütiglich	1653				1			1	
51	Ich danke dir mit Freuden	1667								
52	Ich erhebe, Herr, zu dir	1647	1	1	1				1	
53	Ich grüße dich, du frommster Mann	1653				1			1	
54	Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn	1647		1	1				1	
55	Ich hab oft bei mir selbst gedacht	1653				1			1	
56	Ich hab's verdient, was will ich doch	1653				1			1	
57	Ich preise dich und singe	1653				1			1	
58	Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund	1653			1	1			1	
59	Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier	1653				1			1	1
60	Ich weiß, daß mein Erlöser lebt, das soll mir	1667								
61	Ich weiß, mein Gott, daß all mein Tun	1653				1			1	
62	Ich will erhöhen immerfort	1653				1			1	
63	Ich will mit Danken kommen	1653				1			1	
64	Ich, der ich oft in tiefes Leid	1666								
65	Ist Ephraim nicht meine Kron	1653			1	1			1	1
66	Ist Gott für mich, so trete	1653				1			1	
67	Jesu, allerliebster Bruder	1661								
68	Johannes sah durch Gesicht	1667								
69	Kommt, und läßt uns Christum ehren	1667								
70	Kommt, ihr traurigen Gemüter	1653				1	1		1	1
71	Leid ist mirs in meinem Herzen	1659	1							
72	Liebes Kind, wenn ich bei mir	1660	1							
73	Lobet den Herren alle, die ihn fürchten	1653			1	1			1	
74	Mein Gott, ich habe mir	1647		1	1	1	1		1	
75	Mein herzer Vater, weint ihr noch	1650								
76	Meine Seele ist in der Stille	1666								
77	Merk auf, merkt, Himmel, Erde	1666								
78	Nach dir, o Herr, verlanget mich	1647		1	1	1	1		1	1
79	Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr	1647		1	1	1	1		1	
80	Noch dencnoch mußt du drum	1653				1			1	
81	Nun danket all und bringet Her	1647		1	1	1	1		1	
82	Nun freut euch hier und überall	1653				1			1	
83	Nun geht frisch drauf	1653					1		1	

	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
	Crueger <i>Martin</i> <i>Luthers...</i> <i>Lieder und</i> <i>Psalmen</i>	Müller <i>Geistliche</i> <i>Seelen-</i> <i>musik</i>	Crüger <i>Praxis</i> <i>pietatis</i> <i>Melica</i>	Crueger <i>Praxis</i> <i>Pietatis</i> <i>Melica</i>	Ebeling <i>Pauli</i> <i>Gerhardi</i> <i>Geistliche</i> <i>Andachten</i>	Ebeling <i>Pauli</i> <i>Gerhardi</i> <i>Geistliche</i> <i>Andachten</i>	Nürnberg- <i>isches</i> <i>Gesang =</i> <i>Buch</i> 1676	Das <i>Husumer</i> <i>Hofgesang</i>	Vopelius <i>Neu</i> <i>Leipziger</i> <i>Gesangbuch</i>	Ebeling <i>Pauli</i> <i>Gerhardi</i> <i>Geistreiche</i> <i>Andachten</i>	Briegel <i>Das</i> <i>grosse</i> <i>Cantional</i>	
1	1657	1659	1661	1664	667	1669			1682	683	1687	Leipzig 1697
2					1	1				1		1
3		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
4					1	1	1			1		
5		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
6			1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1?	
7												
8	11	1		1	1	1	1			1		
9	11	1		1	1	1	1	1		1		1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	
12		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
13												
14												
15	11	1		1	1	1	1	1		1		1
16					1	1				1		1
17					1	1	1			1		1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
20					1	1				1		
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
22	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
23					1	1				1		1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		
25		1	1	1	1	1	1			1		1
26												
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
28		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1		
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
32					1	1				1		1
33	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1*
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
35		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
36					1	1				1		1
37					1	1			1		1*	
38												
39		1	1	1	1	1	1			1		1
40	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
41		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1
42					1	1				1		1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	
44					1	1				1		1
45					1	1				1		1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
47												
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		
49		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1		1
51					1	1				1		1
52	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1	1	1*
53	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		
54	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
55	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
56		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
57	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
58	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
59	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
60					1	1			1		1?	
61	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
62		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1*
63	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1		1
64					1	1				1		1
65	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
66		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
67		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
68					1	1				1		
69					1	1				1		
70		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
71												
72												
73	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
74	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
75					1	1				1		1
76					1	1				1		
77					1	1				1		
78	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
79	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
80	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
81	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
82		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
83		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		

	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB
1	Leipziger Kirchen- Staat 1710	Das Privilegierte... Dressdenische Gesang-Buch 1734	Langbecker 1841	Cranach-Schart 1957	Bunners 2006	Number of times included 1640- 1750
2			1	1	1	4
3		1	1	1	1	13
4			1		1	3
5		1	1	1	1	10
6		1?	1	1	1	5
7					1	1
8			1	1	1	10
9		1	1	1	1	16
10		1	1	1	1	11
11		1	1	1	1	12
12			1	1	1	12
13					1	1
14				1	1	1
15		1	1	1	1	14
16			1		1	4
17			1	1	1	5
18		1	1	1	1	14
19		1	1	1	1	13
20			1	1	1	3
21		1	1	1	1	12
22		1	1		1	1
23		1	1	1	1	5
24		1	1		1	13
25			1		1	10
26					1	1
27		1	1	1	1	14
28		1	1	1	1	9
29		1	1	1	1	11
30		1	1	1	1	9
31		1	1	1	1	11
32			1	1	1	4
33		1	1	1	1	13
34		1	1	1	1	12
35		1	1	1	1	11
36			1	1	1	4
37		1	1	1	1	4
38				1	1	1
39		1	1	1	1	8
40		1	1	1	1	16
41		1	1	1	1	10
42		1	1	1	1	5
43		1	1	1	1	12
44		1	1	1	1	5
45		1		1	1	4
46		1	1	1	1	12
47				1	1	1
48		1	1	1	1	10
49		1	1	1	1	5
50		1	1	1	1	10
51		1	1	1	1	5
52		1	1	1	1	15
53		1	1	1	1	11
54		1	1	1	1	15
55		1	1	1	1	12
56		1	1	1	1	11
57		1	1	1	1	12
58		1	1	1	1	14
59		1	1	1	1	13
60		1	1	1	1	5
61	1	1	1	1	1	13
62		1	1	1	1	10
63		1	1	1	1	11
64		1	1	1	1	5
65		1	1	1	1	15
66		1	1	1	1	11
67		1	1	1	1	9
68			1	1	1	3
69		1	1	1	1	5
70		1	1	1	1	14
71				1	1	1
72				1	1	1
73		1	1	1	1	15
74			1	1	1	13
75	1?		1	1	1	4
76		1	1	1	1	4
77			1	1	1	3
78		1	1	1	1	16
79	1	1	1	1	1	18
80		1	1	1	1	13
81		1	1	1	1	16
82			1	1	1	9
83		1	1	1	1	9

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
84	Nun ist der Regen hin	1653			1	1	1	1	1	
85	Nun läßt uns gehn und treten	1653			1	1	1	1	1	1
86	Nun ruhen alle Wälder	1647		1		1	1	1		1
87	Nun sei getrost und unbetrübt	1664								
88	Nun, du lebest, unsre Krone	1648	1							
89	O du allersüß ste Freude	1647		1		1	1			1
90	O Gott, mein Schöpfer, edler Fürst	1647		1			1			1
91	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	1656								1
92	O Herrscher in dem Himmelszelt	1666								
93	O Herz des Königs aller Welt	1656								1
94	O Jesu Christ, dein Krippplein ist	1653					1			1
95	O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes (höchstes) Licht	1653					1			1
96	O Mensch, bewinne deine Sünd	1647	1		1	1	1			1
97	O Tod, o Tod, du greuliche Bild	1667								1
98	O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben	1647		1		1	1			1
99	O wie so ein großes Gut	1661	1							
100	O wie wohl ist hier zu lesen	1666	1							
101	Schaut, schaut, was ist für Wunder dar	1667								
102	Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott	1653				1	1		1	1
103	Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit	1653					1			1
104	Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet	1653					1			1
105	Sei wohl gegrüßet, guter Hirt	1653					1			1
106	Sei wohlgemut, O Christenseel	1653					1			1
107	Siehe, mein getreuer (geliebter) Knecht	1653					1		1	1
108	So geht der liebe alte Herr	1668	1							
109	Sollt ich meinem Gott nicht singen	1653					1			1
110	Tapf're Leute soll man loben	1675	1							
111	Unter allen, die da leben	1665 (c.)	1							
112	Voller Wunder, voller Kunst	1666								
113	Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe	1647		1	1	1	1			1
114	Warum machet solche Schmerzen	1647		1		1				1
115	Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen	1653			1	1				1
116	Warum willst du draußen stehn	1653			1	1				1
117	Was alle Weisheit in der Welt	1653					1			1
118	Was Gott gefällt, mein frommes Kind	1653				1	1			1
119	Was soll ich doch, o Ephraim	1653					1			1
120	Was trauerst du, mein Angesicht	1666								1
121	Was trotzest du, stolzer Tyrann	1666								
122	Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken	1647		1		1	1		1	1
123	Weigels Schwarm und schnöde Rotte	1658	1							
124	Weint, und weint gleichwohl nicht zu sehr	1667	1							
125	Welteskribenten und Poeten	1650	1							
126	Wer selig stirbt, stirbt nicht	1670	1							
127	Wer unterm Schirm des Höchsten sitzt	1653					1			1
128	Wer wohlauf ist und gesund	1653					1			1
129	Wie der Hirsch in großen Dürsten	1653				1	1		1	1
130	Wie ist es möglich, höchstes Licht	1667								
131	Wie ist so groß und schwer die Last	1653				1	1			1
132	Wie lang, o Herr, wie lange soll	1653					1		1	1
133	Wie schön ist doch, Herr Jesu Christ	1666								
134	Wie soll ich dich empfangen	1653				1	1	1	1	
135	Wir singen dir, Immanuel	1653					1		1	1
136	Wo findet sich doch das	1655	1							
137	Wohl dem Menschen, der nicht wandelt	1653				1	1			1
138	Wohl dem, der den Herren scheut	1653				1	1			1
139	Zeuch ein zu deinen Toren	1653				1	1	1		1
140	Zweierlei bitt ich von dir	1647	1			1	1			1
141										
142	Total # of PG hymns		20	18	5	37	82	8	85	25
143	# of PG hymns published for 1st time		20	18	0	20	44	0	3	0
144	Total # of hymns in source				248	61	375	500	275	500
145	% of source made up of PG hymns					7.3%	8.2%	9.9%	16.4%	2.9%
146	% of PG's hymns included in source					14.4%	12.9%	3.6%	26.6%	59.0%
147										
148	Source of information (if not MS)	Bunners	Bunners, Kemp	Kemp		Bachmann, Kemp	Kemp	Grimm		Total no. from Bunners, "Paul Gerhardts Lieder in mecklenburgischen Gesang-Büchern"
149	Notes					Row 144 from Spener				
150	(Bold numbers indicate first published appearance)									
151	(Right-aligned numbers indicate hymnals I have examined personally.)									

	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB
84		1	1	1	1	12
85		1	1	1	1	16
86	1	1	1	1	1	19
87		1	1	1	1	4
88				1	1	1
89		1	1	1	1	15
90		1	1	1	1	12
91	1	1	1	1	1	13
92	1?		1	1	1	5
93		1	1	1	1	8
94		1	1	1	1	12
95			1	1	1	10
96			1	1	1	12
97		1	1	1	1	4
98	1	1	1	1	1	17
99				1	1	1
100					1	1
101		1	1	1	1	4
102		1	1	1	1	15
103		1	1	1	1	11
104	1	1	1	1	1	14
105		1	1	1	1	11
106		1	1	1	1	12
107		1	1	1	1	12
108				1	1	1
109		1	1	1	1	12
110				1	1	1
111				1	1	1
112			1	1	1	3
113	1	1	1	1	1	21
114		1	1	1	1	14
115			1	1	1	14
116		1	1	1	1	15
117		1	1	1	1	11
118		1	1	1	1	14
119		1	1	1	1	13
120			1	1	1	3
121			1	1	1	3
122	1	1	1	1	1	14
123					1	1
124				1	1	1
125				1	1	1
126				1	1	1
127			1	1	1	11
128		1	1	1	1	12
129		1	1	1	1	14
130		1	1	1	1	5
131			1	1	1	12
132		1	1	1	1	14
133		1	1	1	1	5
134		1	1	1	1	15
135		1	1	1	1	13
136					1	1
137		1	1	1	1	11
138		1	1	1	1	12
139		1	1	1	1	14
140		1	1	1	1	15
141						
142	8	96	120	134	139	
143	0	0				135
144	274		120	134	139	
145	2.9%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
146	5.8%	69.1%	86.3%	96.4%	100.0%	
147						
148						
149						
150						
151						

APPENDIX B: SETTINGS OF GERHARDT'S *NICHT SO TRAURIG, NICHT SO SEHR* BY CRÜGER AND EBELING

Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr

Paul Gerhardt (1602-1676)

JOHANN CRÜGER (1598-1662)
*D. M. Luthers wie auch anderer gottseligen und Christlichen
Leute Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen...* (Berlin, 1657/8)
Edited by Carl von Winterfeld (1845) and Andrew Cashner (2009)

Violin 1

Violin 2

Soprano

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
Daß dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Alto

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
Daß dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Tenor

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
Daß dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Bass,
Basso Continuo

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
Daß dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

10

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

S.

Nimm für lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

A.

Nimm für lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

T.

Nimm für lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

B./B.C.

Nimm für lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

Approximate translation: Do not be sad, O my soul, do not be so very troubled that God does not give you as much fortune, favor, and glory as he gives to others. Be content with your God. If you have God, then there will be no need/distress.

Editor's notes: Setting reprinted from Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst der Tonsatzes* (Leipzig, 1845; reprinted, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), appendix p. 60. Text taken from Johann Crüger, *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (Berlin, 1656), no. 311; spelling and punctuation have been modernized. Crüger's "Nimm für lieb mit" (meaning unclear) is probably a phonetic variant of "Nimm vorlieb mit" ("be content with"). Original clefs, top to bottom: G2, G2, C1, C3, C4, F4. Barlines added; double barlines in edition show original barlines.

Original Crüger and Winterfeld edition both in public domain. This edition © 2009 Andrew Cashner.

Christliche Zufriedenheit

(Christian Contentment)

Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676)

JOHANN GEORG EBELING (1637–1676)
Pauli Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten... (Berlin, 1666/7), no. 16
 Edited by Andrew Cashner (2009)

Adagio

Violin 1

Violin 2

Soprano

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
 Dass dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Alto

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
 Dass dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Tenor

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
 Dass dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Bass

Nicht so trau - rig, nicht so sehr, Mei - ne See - le, sei be - trübt,
 Dass dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr' Nicht so viel wie an - dern gibt.

Basso Continuo

6 5 6 5 6 4 5

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

S.

Nimm ver - lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

A.

Nimm ver - lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

T.

Nimm ver - lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

B.

Nimm ver - lieb mit dei - nem Gott. Hast du Gott, so hat's nicht Not.

B.C.

[6] [5] [5] [5] 6 6 6 5

Approximate translation: Do not be sad, O my soul, do not be so very troubled that God does not give you as much fortune, possessions, and honor as he gives to others. Be content with your God. If you have God, then there will be no need.

Editor's notes: Spelling and punctuation have been modernized, but Ebeling's *Nimm verlieb*, probably a variant of *Nimm vorlieb*, has been retained. Original clefs, top to bottom: G2, G2, C1, C3, C4, F4. Barlines added; double barlines in edition show original barlines.

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APPENDIX C: THE “ODE” FROM EBELING’S GERHARDT PUBLICATIONS

Satz.

Wie schön klingt Davids Psalm und Assapfs Seitenspiel!
Wen ihrer wenig oder viel
Der Worte Majestät mit süssem klingen
Zu tausendfachen Lieblichkeiten zwingen.
Das Hertz ist heylger Andacht vol/
Die Zunge singet trefflich wol/
Daß Chor und Tempel/ Hall und Vorhoff schalle
Darinn die Herrlichkeit des Höchsten wallt.
So stimmet recht Hertz/ Geist/ und Mund zusammen!

Gegen=Satz.

Kommt hier und höret zu ihr Frommen/ wie es klingt
Wenn uns Herr Gerhard Lieder bringt
Aus Davids hohem Geist/ mit süßen Weysen
Herr Ebelings/ des Höchsten Ruhm zu preisen.
Doch achtet nicht allein den Schall/
Den Kunst=gefüllten Geigen=Hall.
Gott sieht nicht an was unsre Zunge spricht/
Er hat sein Angesicht auffs Hertz gericht/
Und liebet nur Hertz/ Geist und Mund zusammen !

Nach=Satz.

In dessen wird die Kirch euch schuldig seyn zu dancken/
Ihr Männer voller Geist
So lang ein Stern wird ümb den Nordpol wancken/
Vor eure Himmels=Psalmen allermeist/
Hernach vor eure süsse Melodeyen/
Die ein betrübtes Hertz der Quaal befreyen.
Davor sey auch eur Hertz der Freuden vol
Und was ihr macht gerathe wohl
Lasst ferner uns mit Geist gefüllte Lieder hören/
In süsser Melodey/ Nur GOTT zu Ehren.
So stimmet Cantzel/Kirch und Chor recht wol zusammen !

Source: Ebeling 1667, fol. iii recto.

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———. [Crüger 1657.] *D. M. Luthers wie auch anderer gottseligen und Christlichen Leute Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen: Wie sie bisher in Evangelischen Kirchen dieser Landen gebrauchet warden.*

*Denen auch anitzo etliche auferlesen so wol alte als neue geistreiche Gesänge beygefügten sind. In 4. Vocal- und 3. Instrument-Stimmen übersetzt von Johann Crügern. TENOR. In Berlin Gedruckt bey Christoff Runge/ Im 1657. Jahre. Tenor part book. Sibley Music Library Preservation Microfilm 120, PM #1055-1060. In the microfilmed copy, this 1657 hymnal is bound together with Crüger's 1658 *Psalmodia Sacra*, but most of the signatures (that is, groups of pages) of the two books have been accidentally interchanged, so that the contents are jumbled between the two.*

—. [Crüger 1658.] *Psalmodia sacra, das ist: Des Königes und Propheten Davids Geistreiche Psalmen; durch Ambrosium Lobwasser/ D. aus dem Frantzösischen nach ihren gebräuchlichen schönen Melodien; in Deutsche Reim-Art versetzt: Denen auch des H. D. Lutheri und anderer Gottseliger und Christlicher Leute Geistreiche – so wol alte – als neue Lieder und Psalmen; wie sie in Evangelischen Kirchen gebräuchlich beygefügten. Zu nützlichem Gebrauch der Christlichen Kirchen/ fürnemlich Sr. Churfürstl: Durchl: zu Brandenburg/ in derer Residentz/ auf eine ganz neue= und vor niemals hervorgekommene Art mit 4. Vocal und (pro Complemento) 3. Instrumental-Stimmen/ nebenst dem Basso Continuo auffgesetzt von Johann Crügern/ Direct. Music. In Berlin. TENOR. Berlin/ Gedruckt bey Christoff Runge/ Im Jahr/ 1658. Tenor part book: Sibley Music Library Preservation Microfilm 120, PM #1055-1060.*

—. [PPM 1665.] *PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA. Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und trostreichen Gesängen/ Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich/ wie auch anderer seiner getreuen Nachfolger/ und reiner Evangelischer Lehre Bekennerer: Ordentlich zusammen gebracht/ und über vorige Edition mit noch über 60. schönen trostreichen Gesängen von neuen vermehret und verbessert. Auch zu Beförderung des so wol Kirchen= als Privat=Gottesdienstes/ mit beygesetzten bißhero gebräuchlichen und vielen schönen neuen Melodien/ nebst dem dazu gehörigen Fundament/ verfertiget Von Johann Crügern/ Gub. Lusat. Direct. Mus. in Berlin/ ad D. N. Mit Churf. Brand. Freyheit nicht nachzudrucken. EDITIO XI. In Berlin gedruckt und verleget von Christoff Runge/ Anno 1664. Microfilm, Yale German Baroque Literature Collection, reel no. 100, no. 467. Bound with *Geistreiches Gebäßbüchlein für Gottesfurchtige Fromme und Andächtige Herzen* [...] (Berlin, 1665).*

—. [PPM 1688.] *PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA. Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und trostreichen Gesängen/ Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich/ wie auch anderer seiner getreuen Nachfolger/ und reiner Evangelischer Lehre Bekennerer: Ordentlich zusammen gebracht/ und Nunmehr mit Johann Heermanns Evangelien bis in 1114. Gesängen vermehret/ Auch zu Beförderung deß so wol Kirchen= als Privat=Gottesdienstes/ mit beygesetztem bißhero gebräuchlichen/ und vielen schönen neuen Melodien/ nebst dem dazugehörigen Fundament/ angeordnet Von Johann Crügern/ Gub. Lusat. Direct. Musico in Berlin/ ad D. Nic. Nebst Johann Habermanns vermehrtem Gebäßbuche und Catechismo Luthert. Mit Churfürstl. Brand. Freyheit in keiner Edition nachzudrucken/ noch in Dero Lande einzuführen. EDITIO XXIII. Berlin/ Gedruckt und verlegt von Dävid Satsfelds Sel. Wittwe 1688.*

[Dresden 1656.] *Dresßdenisch Gesangbuch Christlicher Psalmen und Kirchenlieder/ Herrn D. Martini Lutheri/ und anderer Gottseligen Lehrer und frommen Christen/ theils mit den Noten und ihren rechten Melodeyen gesetzt/ wie sie in der Churfürstl. Sächſ. Schloß-Kirchen zu Dressden gesungen werden/ Jetzo aufs neue revidirt/ nach der Jahr-Zeit und Herrn Lutheri Catechismo ordentlich zugerichtet/ und mit etlich 100. neuen Liedern/ neben den vorigen Gesängen vermehret und verbessert/ Allen Christlichen Hausswätern und Haussmüttern/ so wohl in Häusern/ als in Kirchen und Schulen/ sehr nützlich zugebrauchen. Cum gratia & privileg. Elector. Saxon. special. Dresſden/ verlegt und gedruckt durch Christian und Melchior Bergen/ Gebrüdere/ Churfürstl. Sächſ. Hofe Buchdruckere/ im 1656 Jahre. Microfilm of copy formerly in possession of Johannes Zahn.*

Ebeling, Johann Georg. [Ebeling 1667.] *PAULI GERHARDI Geistliche Andachten Bestehend in hundert und zwanzig Liedern/ Auff Hoher und vornehmer Herren Ansoderung in ein Buch gebracht/ Der göttlichen Majestät zu foderst Zu Ehren/ denn auch der werthen und bedrängten Christenheit zu Trost/ und einer jedweden gläubigen Seelen Zu Vermehrung ihres Christenthums Dutzendweise mit neuen sechstimmigen Melodeyen gezieret. Hervor gegeben und verlegt Von JOHANN GEORG EBELING/ Der Berlinischen Haupt=Kirchen Music: Director. Berlin/ Gedruckt bey Christoff Rungen/ Anno M DC LXVII [1667]. Facsimile reprint, Paul Gerhardt: Geistliche Andachten [1667], ed. Friedhelm Kemp. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975.*

—. *Instrumentalstimmen zu den Geistlichen Andachten von Paul Gerhardt [1667]. Facsimile reprint. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975.*

—. [Ebeling 1669.] *PAULI GERHARDI Geistliche Andachten Bestehend in hundert und zwanzig Liedern. Auf alle Sontage/ und gewisse Zeiten im Jahr gerichtet/ vor diesem mit sechs Stimmen in folio herausgegeben und zu Berlin gedrucket; Umb besserer Bequemlichkeit aber bey sich zu haben in sothanes format gebracht mit zwey Stimmen zum andern mahl/ nebst einem Anhang etlicher ausserlesenen Gebete/ hervor gegeben und verleget Von JOHAN. GEORG. EBELING/ des Gymn. Carolini Profess. Music. Alten Stettin/ gedruckt bey Daniel Starcken des König. Gymn. Carolini. Büch[drucker]. [1669]. Microfilm, Yale Univ. German Baroque Literature Collection, reel 100, no. 468a.*

—. [Ebeling 1683.] *PAULI GERHARDI Geistreiche Andachten Bestehend in CXX. Liedern. Auf alle Sonntage/ und gewisse Zeiten im Jahr gerichtet/ Samt einer nutzlichen Vorrede Conrad Feuerleins/ Predigers zu unser Lieben Frauen in Nürnberg, Vor diesem mit sechs Stimmen in folio gedrucket/ Um besserer Bequemlichkeit aber bey sich zu haben in sothanes format gebracht/ und mit zwey Stimmen/ zum drittenmal/ nebst einem Anhang etlicher ausserlesenen Gebete/ herfür gegeben Von Johann Georg Ebeling/ des Gymn. Carolini Profess. Music. Nürnberg/ In Verlegung Christoff Riegels. Gedruckt bey Joh. Michael Spörlin. Anno M DC LXXXIII [1683]. Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh.*

—. *Zwölf geistliche Lieder Paul Gerhardts: für vierstimmigen gemischten Chor, zwei Violinen und Generalbaß. Ed. Konrad Ameln. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956.*

Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. *The Lutheran Hymnal*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1941.

[Husum 1676.] *Das Husumer Hofgesangbuch: Schleswig 1676.* Original title: *Auferlesene Geistliche Lieder/ Auf unterschiedenen Gesangbüchern zusammen getragen. Und Auff gnädigste Anordnung Der Durchläufigsten Fürstinn und Frauen Fr. Maria Elisabeth/ Gebohrnen auf Churfürstlichen Stamm zu Sachsen/ verwittweten Herzogin zu Schleßwig Holstein/ Stormarn und der Dithmarschen/ Gräffin zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst/ etc. Zu beförderung des so wö öffentlichen Gottesdienstes in dero Hoff=Capelle/ als auch geheimen Andacht aufgefertiget.* Schleßwig In der Fürstl. Druckerey gedruckt durch Johan Hohwein/ Im Jahr 1676. Facsimile reprint, ed. Stiftung Nordfriesland, with an afterword by Ada Kadelbach. Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986.

[Leipzig 1697.] *Andächtiger Seelen geistliches Brand= und Dank=Opfer/ Das ist vollständiges Gesangbuch/ in Acht unterschiedlichen Theilen/ Derer*

I. *D. Martin. Lutheri und andere in unsere Evangelische Kirchen gewöhnliche Gesänge.*

II. *Fest=Lieder durch das ganze Jahr hindurch.*

III. *Evangeliums= und Epistel = Lieder auf ieden Sonn= Fest und Apostel=Tag gerichtet/ item JEsus=Lieder/ von der Christlichen Kirche und Feyrung des Sabbaths/ wie auch Psalm=Lieder nach der Ordnung des ganzen Psalter = Buchs.*

IV. *Morgen= Abend= und Tisch Lieder/ ingleichen vom Christlichen Leben und Wandel.*

V. *Bufß= und Catechißmus= Lieder/ wie auch vom H. Abendmahl samt einigen Liedern über die vornemsten Texte im Jesus Sprach.*

VI. *Creutz= Trost= Lob und Danck= Lieder.*

VII. *Stand= Lieder nach den drey Haupt=Ständen eingerichtet/ Reise= Lieder zu Land und Wasser/ item Krieg = Hunger = und Pest = Lieder.*

VIII. *Krancken und Sterbe= Lieder wie auch vom Jüngsten Gericht/ Himmel und Hölle in sich begreiffet.*

Jegliches Theil hat sein eigen / wie auch das gesamte Werck ein allgemein Register/ welches beym Ersten; wie denn auch beym Achten Theil ein absonderlich Register zu finden ueber diejenigen Lieder derer Anhang vormahls geändert worden. Aus vielen Gesangbüchern und andern Autoren mit guter Unterscheidung und Sorgfalt zusammen getragen/ durch eine grosse Menge nie gedruckter Lieder vermehret/ insegesamt fleissig übersehen / und was ausser dem ersten Theil/ die neuern Lieder betrifft/ mannigfaltig verbessert/ und nun an der Zahl nahe 5000. Mit approbation der hochlöblichen Theolog. Facult. alhier Zu GOttes Ehren und des Nechsten Erbauung herausgegeben. LEIPZIG/ Gedruckt und zu finden bey Andreas Zeidlern/ Anno 1697.

[Leipzig 1710.] *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat/ Das ist Deutlicher Unterricht vom Gottes=Dienst in Leipzig/ wie es bey solchem so wohl an hohen und andern Festen/ als auch an denen Sonntagen ingleichen die ganze Woche über gehalten wird/ Nebst darauff eingerichteten Andächtigen Gebeten und denen dazu verordneten Teutsch= und lateinischen Gesängen. Welchem zuletzt noch mit beygefügten Geistreiche Morgen= und Abend= Segen auf jeden Tag in der Woche. LEIPZIG : verlegt Friedrich Groschuff/ 1710.*

Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod Commission on Worship. *Lutheran Service Book.* St. Louis: Concordia, 2006.

*Neu Lüneburgisch= vollständig= wolverbessertes Gesangbuch/ D. Martini Lutheri, E. Alberti, P. Eberi, Nicolai Hermanni, Ph. Nicolai, B. Ringwalds, D. Selnecceri, und anderer reinen Lehrer/ und Gottsgelehrten Männer/ (derer Namen und Melodei/ so viel zuerfahren möglich/ stracks beygefügt.) Nebenst H. Joh. Arndts Paradys Gärtlein/ und Herrn Philip. Kegelij zwölff Andachten. Wie noch nie in solchem Format und Druck gesehen. Mit Churf. Sächs. Fürstl. Braunsch. und Lüneb. Durchl. Privilegiis. Lüneburg/ Bey den Sternen. Anno M.DC.LVI. [1656]. Bound with Johann Arndt, *Morgen- und Abend-Opffer* [...] (Lüneburg, Bey den Sternen, 1656). Microfilm, Yale University German Baroque Literature collection, reel 26, no. 107.*

[Nuremberg 1676.] *Nürnbergisches Gesang= Buch/ Darinnen 1160. außerlesene/ so wol alt als neue/ Geist= Lehr= und Trostreiche Lieder/ auf allerley Zeit= Freud= und Leid = Fälle der gantzen Christenheit gerichtet/ und mit Voransetzung der Autorum Namen / auch theils vortrefflich= schönen Melodien/ Noten und Kupffern geziert/ zu finden. Denen beygefügten ein Christliches Gebet = Büchlein/ in welchem Morgen= Abend= Buß= Beicht= Communion= Rä ~ ~ [Regen?]= Wetter= Krancken / und Sterb= Gebet ~ ~ ~ lich enthalten. Alles zu Gottes Her/ darin ~ ~ ~ Beförderung frommer Christen Hauß= und Kirchen= Andachten/ aus vieler geistreicher Lehrer und berühmter Leute Schriften mit besonderm Fleiß zusammen getragen. Mit einer Vorrede Herrn Johann Sauberts/ der H. Schrift Doctoris, Prof. Prima. und Predigers in Altdorf. Nürnberg; In Verlegung Christoph Gerhards und Sebastian Göbels. A. C. M.DC.LXXVI [1676]. DKL 1676, 15. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; Th Lt E 83. Microfiche: Harald Fischer Verlag, 2003. Parts of text marked ~ ~ ~ were obscured by seal stamp.*

Peter, Christoph. [Peter 1655.] *AndachtsZymbeln/ Oder Andächtige und geistreiche/fürnemlich des Sel. Herrn D. Martin Luthers/ hernach auch nebenst andere bekannte und gebräuchlichen/ der fürnemsten itzigen Teutschen Tichter/ mit Gottes Wort und unveränderter Augspurgischer Confession übereinstimmende Lieder/ Zu des allerhöchsten Gottes Lobe/ und Erweckung brünstiger Andacht bey frommen Christen/ in vier und fünf Stimmen lieblich zusammen gesetzt Von Christoph Petern Sangmeister zu Guben. Z Zu Freyberg in Meissen drukt es auf Kosten des Herausgebers/ George Beuther/ Jm Jahr 1655.*

—. *Geistliche Arien, Etlicher auf die hohen Feste und Psalmen Davids/ theils bekannte/ theils neu=heraus=gegebenen Lieder/ Mit einer Stimme zu singen/ und mit fünf Violen oder anderen Instrumenten/ nebenst dem Basso Continuo Abwechselungsweise zu spielen/ aufgesetzt von Christoph Petern/ Cantore zu Guben. Guben: Gruber, 1667. In the Düben collection at Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden.*

Schein, Johann Hermann. *Cantional: oder Gesangbuch Augsburger Konfession 1627/1645.* 2 vols. Ed. Adam Adrio. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965.

Das privilegierte Ordentliche und Vermehrte Dreßdenische Gesang=Buch, Wie solches so wohl In der Churfl. Sächsis. Schloß=Capell, als in denen andern Kirchen bey der Churfl. Sächsischen Residentz, Nach denen Lieder=Numern an denen tafeln, hiernebst auch In denen gesamten Chur= und Fürstlich=Sächs. Landen bey öffentlichem Gottesdienst gebrauchet, und daraus pfleget gesungen zu warden, Darinnen die auserlesnen und Geistreichsten Lieder in reicher Anzahl zusammen getragen, Auf hohen Befehl Und vieler Verlangen mit lesrlicher Mittel=Schriftt in diesem Format zum Druck gegeben worden Von einem seinem JEsu Getreu Bleibenden Diener. Mit Sr. Königl. Majest. in Pohlen und Churfl. Durchl. zu Sachsen sonderbarer Freyheit, in keinerley Format noch auf einige andere Art und Weise nicht nachzudrucken. Dreßden und Leipzig, 1734. bey Friedrich Hekeln, als rechtmäßigem Verleger. Microfilm, Yale University Jantz German Baroque Lit. coll., No. 3262, reel 591.

Vopelius, Gottfried. [Vopelius 1682.] *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch/ Von den schönsten und besten Liedern verfasset/ In welchem Nicht allein des sel. Herrn D. Lutheri und andere mit Gottes Wort/ und unveränderter Augsburgischer Confession überein stimmende/ und in Christlicher Gemeine allhier/ wie auch anderer reinen Evangelischen Orten und Landen eingeführte und gebräuchliche Gesänge/ Lateinische Hymni und Psalmen/ Mit 4. 5. bis 6. Stimmen/ deren Melodeyen Theils aus Johann Herman Scheins Cantional, und andern guten Autoribus zusammen getragen/ theils aber selbsten componiret; Sondernd auch die Passion nach den heiligen Evangelisten Mattheo und Johanne/ die Auferstehung/ die Missa, Praefationes, Responsoria und Collecten/ auf die gewöhnlichen Sonn= und hohen Festtage/ das Magnificat nach den 8. tonis, Te Deum laudamus, Symbolum Nicaenum, &c. Choraliter, Und was sonst bey dem ordentlichen Gottesdienste gesungen wird/ zu finden: Mit Fleiß verfertiget und herausgegeben von Gottfried VOPELIO, von Zittau/ itsziger Zeit bey der Schulen zu S. Nicol. Cantore. Mit einer Vorrede D. Georgii Moebii, Theol. Prof. Publ. und dero Zeit der Theologischen Facultät Decani, welcher auch nach der Vorrede viel nützliche Anmerckungen hinzugehant/ und darinnen gewiesen/ wie in unterschiedlichen Liedern an gewissen Orten falsch und unrecht gesungen/ und wie darneben viel dunckete und undeutliche Redensarten recht sollen verstanden warden. Mit Churf. Sächs. Durchl. Gnädigstem Privilegio. Leipzig/ In Verlegung Christoph Klingers/ Buchb. Druckts Gallus Niemann/ 1682. Microfilm, Yale University Jantz German Baroque literature collection, no. 2596.*

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“Catalogus operum musicalium, quae in Musaeo Cantoris inveniuntur.”

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Langenburg, Court:

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