

Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody

by

Theodore Brown Hewitt

About Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody by Theodore Brown Hewitt

Title:	Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody
URL:	http://www.ccel.org/ccel/hewitt/gerhardt.html
Author(s):	Hewitt, Theodore Brown
Publisher:	Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library
Description:	A literary study of Gerhardt's hymns and English translations of them.
First Published:	1918
Publication History:	First Edition: Yale University Press, 1918;
	Second Edition: Concordia Publishing House, 1976
Print Basis:	Concordia Publishing House, 1976, omitting material still under
	copyright.
Source:	New Haven: Yale University Press
Rights:	Public Domain
Date Created:	2002-09
Status:	Profitable future work may include:
	 (none under consideration)
Editorial Comments:	Orthography was edited to facilitate automated use:
	 ThML markup (assuming HTML semantics of whitespace)
	•Added hyperlinks to (original) translations by Winkworth and (possibly
	altered) translations by others, at CCEL.
	 Added appendix including (possibly altered) translations from the
	Moravian Hymn Book, 1912; Hymnal and Order of Service, 1925;
	and Lutheran Hymnary, 1913, 1935. This allows access to all or parts
	of over 60 translated or adapted hymns.
	 Added WWEC entries to authors and translators.
Contributor(s):	Stephen Hutcheson (Transcriber)
	Stephen Hutcheson (Formatter)
LC Call no:	BV330.G4H4 1918
LC Subjects:	Practical theology
	Worship (Public and Private) Including the church year, Christian
	symbols, liturgy, prayer, hymnology
	Hymnology

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By

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Assistant Professor of German Williams College New Haven Yale University Press London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press Mdccccxviii First Edition Copyright 1918 by Yale University Press Second Edition Copyright © Concordia Publishing House, 1976

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Hewitt, Theodore Brown, 1881. Paul Gerhardt as a hymn writer and his influence on English Hymnody.

"Second Edition."
Originally presented as the author's thesis, Yale, 1917.
Reprint of the 1918 ed. published by Yale University Press, New Haven; with new afterward and updated bibliography.
Bibliography: p. 171
Includes index.
1. Gerhardt, Paulus, 1607-1676. 2. Hymns, English--History and Criticism. 3. Literature, Comparative--German and English. 4. Literature, Comparative--English and German. 1. Title.
BV330.G4H4 1976 245'.31'0924 [B] 76-13913
ISBN 0-570-1313-5

A portion of the expense of printing this thesis has been borne by the Modern Language Club of Yale University from funds placed at its disposal by the generosity of Mr. George E. Dimock, of Elizabeth, N. J., a graduate of Yale in the class of 1874.

ТО

B. A. F. H.

PREFACE

Das deutsche Lied ist einzig, Ein Schatz für Geist und Herz, Gehoben aus den Tiefen, Wo Freude wohnt und Schmerz. Kein andres Volk auf Erden Genosz des Schicksals Gunst, Solch einen Schatz zu sammeln, Reich an Natur und Kunst.¹

So far as is known to the writer of this thesis there has appeared hitherto no attempt to treat comprehensively and in detail the subject of the direct and indirect influence of Paul Gerhardt's hymns upon English and American sacred song. That there exists a very real influence is universally known, but how widely it has made itself felt is apparently a matter of little concern on the part of many, because we often find hymnals accrediting a hymn to the English translator with no mention of its original author. The present dissertation has been prompted by a desire to make some contribution to the subject of the relation of English and German hymnody in general, and in particular to show the great debt which the hymnody of England and America owes to the poetry of Paul Gerhardt. It was presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in June, 1917.

For great assistance rendered to me by way of suggestion of sources I am under obligation to Dr. Bernard C. Steiner of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, Professor Gustav Gruener of Yale University, Professor Waldo S. Pratt of the Hartford Theological Seminary, Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann of Harvard University and to Professor John G. Robertson of the University of London; for help not only in this phase of the work but also in the general treatment of the subject I am deeply indebted to the counsel of my father, Professor Emeritus John H. Hewitt of Williams College and to Professor Arthur H. Palmer of Yale University.

New Haven, Connecticut, April 9, 1918.

¹ Stanza 1 of *Das Deutsche Lied*, a poem of six stanzas by Professor A. H. Palmer, 1915.

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² Owing to the European war it has been impossible to extend this bibliography beyond the year 1913.

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For a complete list of the biographical sketches, monographs, etc., which appeared in 1907 on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Gerhardt's birth, cf. *Jahresberichte für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Vols. XVI-XVII, 1906-1907.

MUSICAL SETTINGS³

Paul Gerhardts Geistliche Lieder in neuen Weisen von Fr. Mergner. 30 ausgewählte Lieder von Karl Schmidt. Leipzig, C. Deichert, 1907.

³ Cf. also p. 21.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1607 (Mar. 12) Paul Gerhardt born at Gräfenhainichen near Wittenberg.
- 1622-1627 At school at Grimma.

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- 1628-1642 (?) Student at Wittenberg. Teachers: Röber, Martini.
- 1637 Gräfenhainichen set on fire by Swedish soldiers.
- 1642-1651 (?) At Berlin; where he wrote Gelegenheitsgedichte, 18 of which Crüger published in his "Praxis pietatis melica."
- 1651 Proposed as minister at Mittenwalde.
- 1651 (Nov.) Ordained as Probst at Mittenwalde.
- 1655 (Feb. 11) Marriage with Anna Maria Barthold.
- 1656 (Oct.) Called to Berlin to the Nicolalkirche.
- 1657 (Summer) Entered upon work in Berlin.
- 1662 Elector issues edict.
- 1666 (Feb. 6th or 16th) Summoned to Consistory and threatened with deposition. 1668 (Mar. 5) Death of wife.
- 1668 (Autumn) Called to Lübben.
- 1676 (May 27?) Death at Lübben.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I. Gerhardt's Life and Times.

Although Paul Gerhardt's poems have been so great a power in the world, nevertheless facts concerning his own life are few. A fire set by the Swedish soldiers in 1637⁴ destroyed all records which might enlighten us, yet from indirect sources and from his poems, we are certain of some facts of his biography.

He was born in Gräfenhainichen a few miles southwest of Wittenberg in the direction of Halle on March 12th in the year 1607 probably. In this small town, of the electorate of Saxony, which was surrounded by a high mediaeval wall, Paul Gerhardt spent the first fifteen years of his life. His father, Christian Gerhardt, was burgomaster of Gräfenhainichen where the citizens earned their living by cattle-raising, agriculture and hopgrowing. His mother was Dorothea Starke, granddaughter of Gallas Döbler, a Lutheran pastor. Both of his parents died probably when he was very young; and of his many brothers and sisters little is known.

At the age of fifteen having passed the examinations and being especially well prepared in Latin Gerhardt entered the Fürstenschule at Grimma. The school was noted for its pious atmosphere and stern discipline: its chief aim was to inculcate in the pupils "Gottesfurcht und gute Sitte."

It is natural that Gerhardt on completing his course at Grimma in 1627 should choose Wittenberg as his university, for it was situated almost at the gates of his native town. Furthermore since this was the place where Luther and Melanchthon had worked, the Protestant world looked toward Wittenberg with great hopes. He entered the university in 1628. Two of the teachers in particular had great influence on him, Paul Röber and Jacob Martini. These men were guardians of Lutheranism, and Röber besides composing hymns wrote many Latin disputations and polemics against Rome and Calvinism; in his sermons he often took his text, not from the Bible but from some religious poem, preaching for example on "Was mein Gott will, das gescheh allzeit." In this way Gerhardt was taught the full use and purpose of hymn writing. Beside Röber and Martini another Wittenberg professor was of influence on Gerhardt, the philologist August Buchner, one of the most esteemed members of the faculty. He had intimate friendship with Opitz and had warmly advocated the latter's *Von der Deutschen Poeterei* and had himself written *Anleitung zur deutschen Poeterey*. As this book was easily copied⁵ by many of the students,

⁴ Cf. pp. 2 and 3.

⁵ In 1665 there was published an authentic edition.

it is reasonable to assume that this effort toward spreading Opitz' rules for rhythmic measure had its due influence on Gerhardt.

More is not known concerning his university career. A Latin epigram of the year 1642 points to the probability of his being still at Wittenberg, vhile the certainty of his being in Berlin the next year 1643 is proved by a *Hochzeitsode*.⁶ Gerhardt was undoubtedly tutor in the house of Andreas Barthold then "Kammergerichtsadvokat," whose daughter wedded Joachim Fromme, the archdeacon of the Nicolaikirche in Berlin; this wedding was the occasion of the congratulatory *Hochzeitsode*. During this period in Berlin from his thirty-seventh to his forty-sixth year he wrote a number of "Gelegenheitsgedichte" which show us Gerhardt as quite at home moving in a circle of educators and clergymen.

Among his friends was the well known choirmaster of the Nicolaikirche, Johann Crüger, who first introduced Gerhardt's hymns into common worship by publishing eighteen⁷ of them with other poems in his *Praxis pietatis melica*.

In these early poems Gerhardt's depth of feeling and natural warmth of character are present. Since his twelfth year the Thirty Years' War, a period of destruction unparalleled in Germany history, had been going on. The horrors of the epoch made deep impression upon his imaginative mind, and the strife, the struggle for freedom of the conscience enlisted his sympathy and strengthened his determined resistance to all religious compulsion. The hope and joy in this life were taken away and confidence in another world was needed. Gerhardt even in these early hymns gave fully that deep assurance in the guidance of God.

He himself had suffered individual loss. The Swedes in 1637 determined to punish Johann Georg, the Elector of Saxony, because he, in spite of a signed contract with them, had deserted the Protestant cause, and in their ravages they appeared before Gräfenhainichen and demanded a war tax of 3000 Gulden. It was paid, but notwithstanding the payment the Swedish soldiers set fire to the town. The Gerhardt house and the church with its many records were among the four hundred buildings destroyed.

Among these 18 were:

⁶ Cf. Goed. 10: "Der aller Herz und Willen lenkt."

[&]quot;Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld" *Goed.* 68. "O du allersüszte Freude" *Goed.* 76.

[&]quot;O Welt sieh hier dein Leben" Goed. 71.

[&]quot;Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe" Goed. 59.

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Whether Gerhardt felt the pinch of distress of the war, or hesitated to enter a field already crowded with a superabundance of young clergymen, or for what reason he stayed so long in Berlin as tutor is not known, but he was already forty-five years old when he began his first church work. In a letter of the clerical cabinet ("Geistliches Ministerium") of Berlin to the magistrate of Mittenwalde (Sept. 1651) Gerhardt was proposed as minister and he is characterized as being of "well known diligence and scholarship, of peace loving disposition and blameless life, besides being loved and esteemed by both high and low in Berlin." Upon the successful outcome of this recommendation Gerhardt was ordained "Propst"⁸ of Mittenwalde on the 18th of November, 1651, entering his new office in December of that year. At his ordination he pledged his support especially of the Lutheran Book of Concord (*Concordienformel*).

The community of Mittenwalde had suffered severely in 1637 as had Gräfenhainichen from the Swedish marauders and attacks of pestilence, and Paul Gerhardt undertook his duties here with full understanding of this universal suffering, and fulfilled them with all his strength. The poems which he wrote at this time give evidence of a tender, yet strong pastoral care. He was a spiritual guide and comforter, yet in spite of his ardent work in Mittenwalde he apparently yearned for Berlin, and often returned thither to visit. On February 11th, 1655, at the age of forty-eight he married Anna Maria Barthold, daughter of Andreas Barthold and sister of Frau Fromme.⁹ Their first child, born to them in 1656, died in infancy and a memorial tablet in the church in Mittenwalde shows their grief.

That same year Gerhardt accepted the deaconry at the Nicolaikirche in Berlin, and began his work in the summer of 1657. He seems to have had some hesitation about leaving Mittenwalde, because it was only "after fervent prayer and mature deliberation," that he accepted the call to Berlin. However, without doubt he and Frau Gerhardt were glad to be again among such friends as Georg Lilius and Michael Schirmer whose tastes were so similar to their own.

When Gerhardt came to Berlin he entered a city full of sharp strife between the Lutheran and the Reformed clergy; the Great Elector was by inheritance and by education in the Netherlands where he spent four years strongly in favor of the Reformed Church. Gerhardt on the other hand held the security of the Lutheran faith very dear. When hostilities between the clergy began to disturb the peace, the Elector issued on the 2d of June, 1662, an edict¹⁰ the purpose of which was to maintain harmony between Reformed and Lutheran clergymen. Its only effect was,

⁸ In Mittenwalde, 9 English miles south of Berlin, there were in the church two clerical positions, the first of which was known as the "Propstei," since its occupant was entrusted with the supervision of the clergy of the vicinity. Propst (or Probst) is from the Latin *propositus*.

⁹ Cf. p. 2.

¹⁰ This mandate was a renewal of the edict issued by his grandfather on Feb. 24, 1614, demanding "moderation and modesty in the pulpit."

however, to fan the flames of the very conflagration he sought so hard to quench. The unconciliatory spirit was encouraged from Wittenberg, too, where Theology of Controversy had reached its highest pitch through Calovius, whose advice and judgment Gerhardt prized. His inclination toward Wittenberg is seen also in various Latin poems for special occasions.

Gerhardt did not seek the quarrel, but was drawn forcibly into it; he was concerned throughout the controversy in keeping a clear conscience and preserving the confession of the Lutheran Church. In all the documents that were issued in this period between the Magistrate, the "Stünde" and the Elector it is said of him that he was always pacific and conciliatory. Being a strong adherent of all the symbolic books, including the Book of Concord, he could not conscientiously sign the edict. He was accordingly dismissed. The citizens of Berlin espoused his cause and appealed to the Magistrate who testified that Gerhardt had never "scorned nor rebuked the faith of the Elector." Also his influential patron, Mayor Zarlang, tried to reinstate him, but Gerhardt could not renounce his adherence to the *Concordienformel*, so in 1666 his position was filled by another. Nor on the other hand can the Elector be blamed for his stand; he wished only to have peace between the adherents of the two beliefs, and was sincere in the thought that the *Concordienformel* merely fomented strife.

For some years Gerhardt lived in Berlin without any position, supported by his friends in his congregation. He was, however, the victim of inevitable circumstances, for although within a few months of his resignation the edict was withdrawn, his patroness, Electress Luise Henriette, had died. All of his children had died in infancy except Paul Friedrich who survived him, and in March, 1668, his wife died who had been as strong a follower of the Lutheran Faith as he, and had encouraged him in his stand of not signing the edict.¹¹ Her death was the fulfillment of a wish that "the dear Lord might soon come and release her."

Gerhardt took into his home as housekeeper the widow of his brother-in-law Fromme.¹² His household was reasonably large for one in his condition, a preacher without office; he speaks of three, or even of four servants, and mentions at times some business matters in Berlin that seem to be of moment. Although he must also have had pupils whom he tutored during these years, he evidently wished for some definite occupation, and it came. On the 14th of October, 1668, Paul Gerhardt preached a trial sermon ("Gastpredigt") in Lübben. The city council the following day with the unanimous consent of the citizens offered him the vacant charge and Gerhardt accepted it as a divine gift. The formal call under date of October 29th was

¹¹ The attitude of the women in this time of religious strife who urged their husbands to sign the edict is satirized in the following lines:

Schreibt, liebe Herre, schreibt, dasz Ihr in der Pfarre bleibt.

¹² Cf. pp. 2 and 3.

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sent to him at Berlin. Owing to various circumstances, such as the delay incident to necessary repairs on the parsonage, and also the serious illness of his son, Paul Friedrich, he did not enter his duties till Trinity Sunday, 1669. He was at this time sixty-three years old, and for seven years he worked faithfully in this new field.

Gerhardt died the 27th of May, 1676, with the prayer on his lips:

Kann uns doch kein Tod nicht tödten, Sondern reiszt unsern Geist Aus viel tausend Nöten; Schleuszt das Thor der bittern Leiden Und macht Balm, Da man kann Gehn zur Himmelsfreuden.¹³

He was buried in the vault of the Lübben church.

Shortly before his death, in his seventieth year, he composed a sort of testament or will of a moral nature for his own Paul in which he hoped to leave little of this world's goods, but an honorable name of which his son might not be ashamed. He commends to the boy the study of theology at reputable universities and also the avoidance of the Syncretists,¹⁴ on the ground that they aimed at temporal things and were loyal to neither God nor man.

In a memorial service to Gerhardt in 1876, a tablet was put up on the north wall of the chancel of the church at Lübben; and his portrait hung there bears this inscription:

Theologus in cribro Satanae versatus.¹⁵

The Nicolaikirche in Berlin and the other churches where he held charge have portraits of Gerhardt on their walls. Also among the many memorials to him are charitable foundations in Mittenwalde, Wittenberg and Berlin bearing his name. To these tributes the present generation, now, three centuries later, adds its praise and gratitude.

¹³ This is stanza VIII of his poem: "Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen" (cf. Goed. 122).

¹⁴ The Syncretists sought to effect an agreement between the Reformed and Lutheran doctrines.

¹⁵ "A divine sifted in Satan's sieve." Cf. St. Luke XXII, 31.

CHAPTER II. Gerhardt's Relation to Earlier Hymnody of Germany.

THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD.

The history of hymnody in Germany up to the time of Gerhardt falls naturally into two periods which might be called the Mediaeval Period, extending from the beginning of the eighth century to the end of the fifteenth century, and the Reformation Period covering the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.

The Hymns used in the services of the early church in Germany were, for obvious reasons, Latin hymns, for St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, though of English birth, entered Germany by the way of Rome. It was a Latin Christianity which he preached and the church services were, of course, those of the Mother Church. While the general use of the Latin language was favorable to preserving the unity of the Church and facilitated literary intercourse among scholars, this circumstance prevented for a long time the free and full development of a hymnody in the vernacular. The innate love of poetry, however, produced many sacred lyrics for private devotion and caused to be made metrical translations of Latin hymns and portions of the Psalter. In the consideration of the earlier period of hymnody reference will be made to a few Latin hymns, which though not of German authorship were yet used in the religious services of the Germans and had some influence in the development of the German vernacular hymnody. And in this consideration of hymns and hymn writers it will be convenient in the main to follow the chronological order.

Probably it cannot be known what and when Latin hymns were first translated into modern languages. If the statement made by Dean Milman in a footnote of his *Latin Christianity*, that the hymns of Ambrose were translated into German in the ninth century, is well founded, then probably the "Deus Creator omnium" and "Aeterne rerum Conditor," which are undoubtedly by Ambrose, were among the earliest of Latin poems to be so translated.

The oldest German poet is the Benedictine monk, Otfrid of Weissenburg, who was born about the beginning of the ninth century, according to some authorities in Franconia, according to others near the Lake of Constance. He settled as a monk and priest at Weissenburg, where he wrote and completed (about 865) his *Evangelienbuch*, a versified gospel history, and a most interesting work from a philological as well as a hymnological point of view. This is the earliest example of a long German poem in rhyme. Of the rhymed prayers which some on doubtful authority have ascribed to him two have been translated by Miss Winkworth, "Du himlisco trohtin" ("Thou Heavenly Lord of Light") and "Got thir eigenhaf ist" ("God, it is thy property").¹⁶

A celebrated Latin hymn of early date, which is known to have been used as early as 898, is the "Veni Creator Spiritus"; it has been constantly sung throughout

¹⁶ This latter is regarded by some authorities as from the pen of St. Gregory the Great.

Christendom at the consecration of kings and at great ecclesiastical solemnities. It has been ascribed to Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, Gregory the Great and various others.¹⁷

To this early period belongs Notker of St. Gall, called Balbulus, the "Stammerer," who was born in Switzerland about 840 and died in 912. He wrote in Latin and was the originator of a form of Latin hymnody called "sequentia" or "prosa," which, when translated into German, gave rise to the earliest German hymns with which we are acquainted. Whenever in the eucharistic service a "Hallelujah" was introduced it had been customary to prolong the last syllable and to sing on the vowel "ah" a series of elaborate passages to represent an outburst of jubilant feeling. These were termed "sequences" because they followed the "Hallelujah" and repeated its notes. They were of course without words and what Notker did was to write words for them. Notker was characterized as a man of gentle, contemplative nature and "accustomed to find spiritual and poetical suggestions in common sights and sounds." One of the most remarkable of his sequences, "Media vita in morte sumus," is said to have been suggested to him while observing some workmen constructing a bridge in a precipitous and most dangerous place. This sequence was long used as a battle-song; one of Luther's funeral hymns, "Mitten wir im Leben sind," is a translation of it and portions of the Burial Service of the Church of England are taken from it. St. Gall, which was for a long time the especial seat of German religious literature, produced besides Notker several distinguished sequence-writers, presumably his pupils, Hartmann, Hermann, and Gottschalk. To Gottschalk has been ascribed the "Alleluiatic Sequence ("Cantemus cuncti") well known in England by the translation, "The strain upraise of joy and praise."

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An early example of the change of sequences from a rhythmical to a metrical form is seen in the so-called "Golden Sequence," "Veni Sancte Spiritus," called by Archbishop Trench "the loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry." Tradition assigns its authorship to Robert II, King of France (997-1031). Its merit is attested by the many translations made of it into German, English and other Ianguages.

By the beginning of the tenth century the impulse given to the arts by Charlemagne had gradually died out and the state of society had become so disorganized that for two centuries after the time of Notker the field of literature was comparatively barren. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, mark a great change and form an era of rapid growth. Germany was now ruled by the Hohenstauffens, whose dream it was to prove themselves true heirs of Charlemagne by re-establishing the Empire of the West. As a result of their participation in the common life of Christendom, very largely through the influence of the crusades,

¹⁷ For a scholarly discussion of the authorship of this famous hymn cf. Julian: *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1206 ff.

came the development of chivalry and a national literature, the first great outburst of German poetry and song. A large class (more than two hundred) of minnesingers sprang up who glorified earthly and heavenly love and the Virgin Mary as the type of pure womanhood. In the church too the voice of native song now made itself heard. The "Kyrie eleison" and "Christe eleison" which passed from the Greek church into the Latin, as a response of the people, to be repeated over and over again, especially on the high festivals, were popularly enlarged, and these brief poems were called from the refrain "Kirleison" or "Leisen," also "Leichen."¹⁸ These sequences, for such they were, were the first specimens of German hymns which were sung by the people. The oldest dates from the end of the ninth century and is called the "Leich vom heiligen Petrus." It has three stanzas, of which the first reads:

Unser trohtin hat farsalt sancte Petre giwalt Daz er mag ginerjan zeimo dingenten man. Kyrie eleyson! Christe eleison.¹⁹

The twelfth century produced the "Salve Caput cruentatum" of Bernard of Clairvaux,--a hymn which has come to us by Paul Gerhardt,²⁰ whose own hymn writing is wonderfully affected by Bernard.

In the following century appeared two widely celebrated compositions, the "Dies irae" and the "Stabat Mater dolorosa." These, as well as many others of the best Latin hymns, such as the "Te Deum" and the "Gloria in excelsis," were repeatedly translated. Occasionally words of the original Latin were introduced into the vernacular as in the Christmas hymn:

In dulci jubilo Nu singet und seyt fro! Unsres Herzens Wonne Leyt in presipio Und leuchtet in gremio. Alpha es et O.

The mystic school of Tauler, in the fourteenth century produced a number of hymns full of glowing love to God. Tauler is the author of the Christmas poem, "Uns kommt ein Schiff geladen" and the hymn of Self Renunciation, "Ich musz die Creaturen fliehen," both of which have passed into English, the best versions being those of Miss Winkworth.²¹

Of unusual sweetness and abiding worth are the hymns of Heinrich von Laufenburg, the most important and prolific hymn writer of the fifteenth century. Many are in intricate metres, while others are transformations of secular songs into religious songs. His cradle hymn, "Ach lieber Herre Jesu Christ," is a beautiful

¹⁸ It is possible that instead of being a corruption of the Greek phrase the word may have denoted at first a certain dance measure. Cf. Grimm: *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. VI.

¹⁹ "Our Lord hath given St. Peter power that he may preserve the man who hopes in him."

²⁰ Cf. p. 86 and note.

²¹ Cf. Christian Singers of Germany.

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prayer of a mother for her infant child, and has become well known in England through Miss Winkworth's translation.

German hymnody of the Middle Ages is, like the Latin, overflowing with the worship of the saints and the Virgin who is even clothed with divine attributes and is virtually accorded the place of Christ as the fountain of grace. In characterizing the period Wackernagel says²²

"Through all the centuries from Otfrid to Luther we meet with the idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mary. There are hymns which teach that she pre-existed with God at the creation, that all things are created in her and for her and that God rested in her on the seventh day."

One of the favorite hymns to the Virgin, "Dich Frau von Himmel, ruf ich an," Hans Sachs subsequently changed into "Christum vom Himmel ruf ich an," a change strikingly characteristic of the effect which the Reformation exerted upon the worship of the Virgin Mary. It substituted for it the worship of Christ as the sole Mediator through whom men attain eternal life.

THE REFORMATION PERIOD, 1500-1648.

Guizot in his History of European Civilization calls the Reformation an insurrection of the human mind against the absolute power of spiritual order. In the changes that then occurred few things are more noteworthy than the new privileges granted to the individual worshipper. There was revived the primitive idea of the priesthood of all believers. Instead of the Latin Mass, the Reformation introduced a sermon in the vernacular, and for the chanting of priests and choirs it substituted congregational singing. Among the means which contributed to the large benefits which then came to the church the writing of hymns was not the least important. It is interesting to note that the leader of the Reformation was also the first evangelical hymnist.²³ To Luther belongs the extraordinary merit of having given to his people in their own language not only the Bible and the Catechism, but also the hymn book, so that they might directly answer the word of God in their songs. No sooner had there been felt the want of German psalms and hymns to take the place of the Latin hymns and sequences than Luther set about to supply the want. He was intensely fond of poetry and song and was himself a poet by nature. His estimate of the value of music is revealed in his words: "He who despises music, as all fanatics do, will never be my friend." He wished that all children might be taught to sing; "for," he says, "I would fain see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who has bestowed and created them."24

He began to write hymns soon after he had completed his New Testament translation and from this time on he was an active reformer of church music and hymns, enlisting in the same work the large circle of friends whom he gathered about him. Luther had recourse to the Latin hymns, adapting and translating many

²² Das deutsche Kirchenlied, II, p. 13.

²³ But cf. L. F. Benson: The English Hymn, N. Y. 1915, p. 20 ff.

²⁴ Cf. Tischreden: "Von der Musica" and "Die Musicam sol man nicht verachten."

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of those which would lend themselves best to his purposes. Altogether he wrote thirty-seven hymns, most of them dating from the year 1524; more are frequently ascribed to him though on doubtful authority. Luther's hymns which are characterized by simplicity and strength, had a popular churchly tone; his style is plain and often rugged and quaint but he throws into his poems all his own fervent faith and deep devotion. His most famous hymn "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," written in 1529 when the German princes made their formal Protest against the revocation of their liberties, thus gaining the name of Protestants, has passed into English hymnody in no less than sixty-three versions.²⁵

Of the many hymnists inspired by Luther's example the more eminent were Justus Jonas, Luther's friend and colleague in the preparation of metrical German versions of the Psalms, Paul Eber, the faithful assistant of Melanchthon, Markgraf Albrecht of Brandenburg, Hans Sachs, the shoemaker, and later Gerhardt.

The German hymnody of the Reformation period was enriched by the hymns of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who as followers of John Huss, had in 1467 formed themselves into a separate and organized church; their archbishop Lucas in 1501 collected hymns and published the first hymn book in the vernacular to be found in Bohemia or Germany. The adherents of this cult are commonly called Moravians, because the first founders of the settlement in Saxony immigrated from Moravia. They assumed this name in England and America and it is very largely through their hymn book²⁶ that German hymns have found their way into English hymnody.

The Lutheran hymnody which followed closely upon the Moravian contributions concluded its productive period with the *Formula of Concord*²⁷ in 1577 which gave final shape to the Lutheran creed. In this period there were over a hundred poets whose verses have expressed the highest Christian praises. It is an era which, for its productiveness, may be compared with the time of Watts and Doddridge and their immediate successors in England.

The hymns from this time to the close of the Thirty Years' War are of a more subjective²⁸ experimental type of sacred poetry, that is, writers made their songs more and more expressive of personal feelings. In point of refinement and grace of style the hymn writers of the period of the Thirty Years' War, whose taste was chiefly formed by the influence of Martin Opitz²⁹ the founder of the First Silesian School of German poetry, excelled their predecessors. His finest hymn, "O Licht, geboren

²⁵ Cf. Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology, pp. 324-5.

²⁶ Cf. the frequent references to the Moravian Hymn Book, p. 38 ff.

²⁷ Cf. p. 4.

²⁸ Cf. p. 14.

²⁹ For his influence on Gerhardt cf. pp. 2, 14, 18.

aus dem Lichte" is a special favorite in Silesia where he was born, and has passed into English in several translations, notably that of Miss Winkworth, "O Light, who out of Light wast born."³⁰

Near the close of the war, when the hope of peace had begun to dawn, Martin Rinckart (1586-1649) composed that noble expression of trust and praise, "Nun danket alle Gott." It has been translated many times and is included in nearly all American and English hymnals. The hymn of trust in Providence by Neumarck (1621-1681), "Wer nur den lieben Gott läszt walten," is hardly inferior to that of Gerhardt on the same theme.³¹

The two most famous and most copious hymn writers of this time were however Rist and Heermann; the former wrote between 600 and 700 hymns, such as were intended to supply every possible requirement of public worship or private experience. In so great a mass of writings it is inevitable that there should be much that is poor, but over 200 may be said to be in common use in Germany and at least fifteen have appeared in the hymn books of English-speaking countries. Not so prolific as Heermann and Rist but superior to them in poetical genius was Simon Dach (1605-1659), who was Professor of Poetry at Königsberg and the most important poet of the Königsberg School.³²

While the Lutheran churches were superior to the Reformed churches of Germany and Switzerland in original hymnody, they were inferior to them in the matter of psalmody. Zwingli and Calvin held firmly to the principle that in public worship the word God should have supreme dominion, a principle which raised the Psalter to new dignity and power. Versified versions of the Psalms became the first hymn books of the Reformed Churches.³⁴ The first German Reformed hymn book appeared at Zürich, 1540. It contained not only versified psalms but also hymns, with a preface in defense of congregational singing. The most popular collection however was the versified Psalter of Lobwasser of Königsberg. While its poetry is but a poor translation of the French Psalter of Marot and Beza,³⁵ its pious contents made it a rich source of devotion for a hundred years. It is a parallel to the Scottish Psalter of 1641 by Francis Rous.³⁶

Simon Dach was the last poet of any note to write in the Reformation period of German hymnody. After him a new era of poetry, the Confessional (1648-1680), opens and it is at this time that Paul Gerhardt appears. He, however, although living in the midst of this churchly atmosphere, profound in Lutheran orthodoxy, feels the tendencies of a still later period, that of the Devotional era. Like many other great

³⁰ Cf. Christian Singers of Germany, p. 173.

³¹ "Befiehl du deine Wege," cf. p. 114 ff.

³² Of the 165 hymns that he wrote, five have found places in modern English hymnals. One of the best known popular songs is his love-song written in East Prussian dialect "Anke von Tharaw." This is made familiar to English readers through Longfellow's translation, "Annie of Tharaw."

³⁴ For their effect on English hymnody cf. p. 28 ff.

³⁵ Cf. p. 29.

³⁶ Cf. Julian: Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 1023.

men he saw beyond his time. He combined in his poems all the strong qualities of the century in which he lived, and of the later epoch, the period of the Pietists.

CHAPTER III. Characteristics of Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer.

From the close of the Thirty Years' War until 1680 there occurred in German hymnody a transition from the churchly and confessional to the pietistic and devotional hymns.³⁷ It is during this transitional period that the religious song of Germany finds its purest and sweetest expression in the hymns of Paul Gerhardt, who is as much the typical poet of the Lutheran, as Herbert is of the English church. In Gerhardt more than in any other author all the requisites for the religious poem are united. He possessed a firm conviction of the objective truth of the Christian doctrine of salvation and also a genuine sentiment for all that is purely human. His deep Christian feeling together with sterling good sense, and a fresh and healthy appreciation of life in the realm of nature and in the intellectual world are the sources for his splendid work. His hymns are among the noblest contributions to sacred poetry, giving him a place second only to Luther and even surpassing Luther's work in poetic fertility. Gervinus says of him:³⁸

"He went back to Luther's most genuine type of hymn in such a manner as no one else had done, only so far modified as the requirements of his time demanded. In Luther's time the belief in Free Grace and the work of the Atonement in Redemption and the bursting of the gates of Hell was the inspiration of his joyful confidence; with Gerhardt it is the belief in the Love of God. With Luther the old wrathful God of the Romanists assumed the heavenly aspect of grace and mercy; with Gerhardt the merciful Righteous One is a gentle loving man. Like the old poets of the people he is sincerely and unconstrainedly pious, naive and hearty; the blissfulness of his faith makes him benign and amiable; in his way of writing he is as attractive, simple and pleasing as in his way of thinking."

Scherer⁴⁰ gives an even clearer characterization of the two hymn writers:

"Geistlicher Ernst des Vortrags schlieszt Heiterkeit des Gemütes nicht aus, und diese bildet in der That den sittlichen Grundcharakter von Gethardts Poesie. Wenn bei Luther die Welt voll Sturm und Gewitter ist, so liegt sie bei Gerhardt in beständigem Sonnenglanz; die Wohltaten des Schöpfers erfreuen das Herz; alles ist so schön zum Besten der Menschen eingerichtet; Tod und Hölle haben längst ihre Macht verloren; die Seele frohlockt in der Gewiszheit der Erlösung; Gnade geht vor Recht, Zorn musz der Liebe weichen. Luther steht wie ein Mann dem Bösen, Gerhardt sieht wie ein Jüngling darüber hinweg; und schlieszlich weisz er zu trösten und Zufriedenheit, Geduld zu predigen, das rechte Mittelmasz zu preisen und auch dem Uebel gute Seiten abzugewinnen; selbst die Sünde dient zum Heil. Bei Luther ruft die Gemeinde zu Gott, bei Gerhardt redet der Einzelne. Seine Lyrik ist nicht mehr Chorpoesie; sie beschränkt sich nicht auf das, worin alle betenden Christen einig sind; sie holt aus der Tiefe des individuellen Seelenlebens ihre Schätze; sie macht (um die Schulausdrücke zu gebrauchen) den Uebergang vom objektiven Bekenntnisliede zum subjektiven Erbauungslied."

Gerhardt sings his hymns with conviction, embodying in them such phases of feeling as might be experienced by any large body of sincere Christians. In all the religious lyrics even in the congregational hymns from the middle of the seventeenth century on we note a more personal and individual tone and with it a tendency to reproduce special forms of Christian experience often of a mystical character. Gerhardt's whole tone and style of thought belong to the confessional school, but

³⁷ Or as the German says: From the "Bekenntnislied" to the "Erbauungslied."

³⁸ Geschichte d. d. Nationallitteratur, ed. 1842, Pt. III, p. 366.

⁴⁰ Geschichte d. d. Literatur, 1899, pp. 340-341.

the distinct individuality and expression of personal sentiment which are impressed on his poems already point to the devotional school.

Many of our poet's hymns show the influence of Opitz' *Trostgedichte in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges*. Critics⁴¹ have gone so far as to say that "without Opitz there would be no Gerhardt." There can be no doubt but that the smoothness and elegance of form, the complete mastery of technique and the purity of language are a distinct heritage from him. But without consciously differing from Opitz and his school, Gerhardt has brought into prominence the popular expression of feeling, using the popular form of verse in which there prevails the natural flow of rhythm, so that no striving after correctness of form is evident.

Compared with most authors of his time Gerhardt wrote but little. His contemporary, Rist (1607-1667), and his successor, Schmolk (1672-1737), composed respectively 659 and 1188 hymns, while Gerhardt has the modest number of 132 poems in all.⁴² Yet a complete hymnal might be compiled from them, so thoroughly do they embrace all religious and domestic experiences. They appeared at intervals from the year 1649 on, many of them for the first time in the *Praxis pietatis melica*, a collection of hymns and tunes by Johann Crüger, the famous organist and composer of chorals. Crüger died in the year 1662 and Cristoph Runge took over further editions of the book. Gerhardt made no further contributions to these publications because henceforth he became more intimately associated with Johann Georg Ebeling, Crüger's successor in his church and organ work. Ebeling was so much pleased with Gerhardt's hymns, that he at once began to set them to music and eventually he published them dividing them by "dozens"43 into separate books. Gerhardt put at Ebeling's disposal the first copy of his hymns hitherto published and also thirty-one separate strophes which had for various reasons been omitted in previous editions. Finally he turned over to him twenty-six more poems which the *Praxis pietatis melica* had not published up to this time. Among them are a number which in all probability belong to his early period of poetic activity, such as: "O Tod, O Tod, du greulichs Bild," a paraphrase of one of Röber's44 hymns. Also among them are several which from content and form must be regarded as products of his mature years, and

⁴¹ Cf. J. Smend: "P. Gerhardt u. das evangel. Kirchenlied" in "Der Protestantismus am Ende des 19. Jahrh." I, pp. 301, ff.

⁴² Among them are 18 poems for occasions, 27 founded on Psalms and 24 founded on other parts of Holy Scripture.

⁴³ The tenth and last "dozen" of Gerhardt's hymns which Ebeling had set to music for four voices and with an accompaniment of two violins and a bass, appeared in 1667. The full title, characteristic of Ebeling, reads: *Paul Gerhardt's spiritual devotions, consisting of one hundred and twenty hymns, collected into one volume, at the request of a number of eminent and distinguished gentlemen; first to the honor of the Divine Majesty and then, also for the consolation of esteemed and distressed Christendom, and for the increase of the <i>Christianity of all believing souls--in sets by dozens, embellished with melodies for six parts.*" With such eagerness were these hymns sought after that Ebeling had to publish a new edition two years later. The melodies which proved most popular were those set to "Voller Wunder, voller Kunst," "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott" and "Warum sollt' ich mich denn grämen." Each single dozen was again dedicated to a particular class of the Electorate of Brandenburg, this side the Oder and beyond the Elbe"; the second dozen, "To the high, noble-born, honored, and virtuous women of Berlin" and so on.

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from which the poet himself derived much comfort and strength.⁴⁵ The most important fact about the Ebeling edition is this, that the personality of Gerhardt, the poet, was for the first time presented to the German people's heart and mind. Hitherto his poems had been grouped together in collections of hymns with those of other and perhaps better known authors. Ebeling's publication placed Gerhardt's works on their own merit. The texts of the hymns in the editions of Crüger and Ebeling and later of Feustking⁴⁶ in 1707 have often different readings so that it is difficult to determine which the authentic version may be. It is quite within the limits of possibility that Gerhardt himself undertook revisions, as Feustking's title indicates.

Of these 132 poems a large proportion have become embodied in church music of Germany and many of them may be counted among the most beautiful in German hymnody. How widely they have been adopted into general use is shown by the fact that in modern hymnals in Germany there appear either in expanded or cento form,⁴⁷ altogether 78 of his hymns, while in the Schaff-Gilman "Library of Religious Poetry," which may be regarded as a representative collection of universal hymnody, the proportion among German hymn writers is as follows:--Luther 10, Goethe 8, Gerhardt 7,⁴⁸ Spitta 6, Scheffler 4, Schmolk 4, etc. Pietism and rationalism transferred the centre of gravity in hymnody to a different point; that is, it changed the type of hymn or required of it other features, and thus it is that during the XVIIIth century, while Gerhardt's hymns lived on with others they are rarely accorded a leading place. It was only the reawakening of a life of faith that needed worship and strong evidence of reverence such as followed the wars of liberation that brought his hymns into the forefront once more and prompted further publications of them.

Rarely has there been, taking all in all, a time when there existed a greater gulf between poets and their effusions than in the XVIIth century. Most poets of that



⁴Die güldne Sonne" Goed. 293.

[&]quot;Der Tag mit seinem Lichte" Goed. 296.

[&]quot;Wie schön ists doch, Herr Jesu Christ" Goed. 302.

[&]quot;Voller Wunder, voller Kunst" Goed. 304.

[&]quot;Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille" Goed. 274.

[&]quot;Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden" Goed. 284.

[&]quot;Herr, du erforschest meinen Sinn" Goed. 287.

[&]quot;Herr Gott, du bist ja für und für" Goed. 315.

[&]quot;Ich danke dir mit Freuden" Goed. 333.

[&]quot;Ich, der ich oft in tiefes Leid" Goed. 298.

[&]quot;Johannes sahe durch Gesicht" Goed. 319.

[&]quot;Mein Seel ist in der Stille" Goed. 307.

[&]quot;Merkt auf, merkt Himmel, Erde" Goed. 278.

⁴⁶ Johann Heinrich Feustking: Ausgabe, Zerbst, 1707, text "nach des seligen Autors eigenhändigem revidirten Exemplar mit Fleisz übersehen."

⁴⁷ Cf. Dietz: "Tabellarische Nachweisung des Liederbestandes," Marburg, 1904. Fischer-Tümpel: "Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhs." (Gütersloh, 1906) includes 116 of Gerhardt's hymns.

⁴⁸ There is an exact total of 10 of Gerhardt's poems, different versions being given of "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden." and "Befiehl du deine Wege."

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time gave forth what they had learned and what they knew,--not what they really were. Theirs was a play of the intellect and imagination on objects outside them. Hence their works displayed a universal lack of inner truth. In the biographical sketch of Gerhardt we have given a broken account of his life. Different from this is the story of the individual in his poems which are his very personality. His work is not what he learned from others. Instead, he gives us his own life unadorned and true, and for the very reason that he leads a rich inner life is he able to give it. He wrote preeminently as a living member of Christ's church. The same quiet sincerity, depth of feeling and warmth that are seen in his face, stand out in his poetry.

Luther sang: "Ein' feste Burg ist *unser* Gott," but Gerhardt has: "Ist Gott für *mich*, so trete,"⁴⁹ and "*Ich* singe dir mit Herz und Mund."⁵⁰ Thus, as has been said in the early part of this chapter,⁵¹ the hymns no longer acknowledge the truths of the Gospel as in the days of the Reformation, but the poet lives them. Approximately one-eighth⁵² of Gerhardt's hymns begin with "Ich," while not one of Luther's begins this way. Gerhardt's hymns, then, proclaim his own personal experiences, many of them having their inspiration in the intimate circle of his own family and friends. Yet observe that in none of them is there any personal experience that is not enlightened by its relation to the external truths of Christian Belief so that it has a universal significance. Assuming that one takes for granted the incontestable truth of evangelistic Philosophy of Life as does Gerhardt, one may find one's own thoughts and feelings expressed in these poems. Every pious worshipper can follow Gerhardt, every one may find in him peace for the soul, the consecration of happiness and comfort in dark hours. Universal life and not merely the life of one reared in the church is unfolded in his hymns.

Mention has several times been made of Luther⁵³ in connection with Gerhardt. Every Protestant hymn writer must undergo comparison with the great father of German hymnody and none can stand the test better than Gerhardt. Let us take the hymns cited above: "Ein' feste Burg," and "Ist Gott für mich." In the very choice of material the likeness is striking. In Luther's song of defiance the XLVIth Psalm is born anew. In Gerhardt it is the triumphant song of Paul that they who are in Christ are free from condemnation. We see, then, that while the one is concerned with the congregation of God's church, the other treats of life's experiences. In the form of the verse Luther displays the greater strength and Gerhardt the greater art.

Although Gerhardt's hymns are written in the vernacular of the XVIIth century, at a time when many of the forms characteristic of the writers of the two preceding centuries still survived, nevertheless his hymns are remarkably free from the tendency

⁴⁹ Goed. 229.

⁵⁰ Goed. 118.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 14.

⁵² There are 16 beginning with "ich."

⁵³ Cf. pp. 1 and 13.

of this period to use words coined from foreign tongues. He belongs to no poetic school or literary circle of the XVIIth century. He never sought any laurels. He goes on his way writing because his heart is so full, and not from any desire or intention to devote himself to poetry. A fine feeling for rhythm schooled under the principles of Opitz, language taken from the best sacred literature including Luther's Bible and almost entirely free from foreign words,⁵⁴ avoidance of bombast and coarseness⁵⁵ of which so many contemporary writers were guilty, richness in figures and analogies, tenderness which on occasion yields to sternness, are all attributes of his writing. The mother of Hippel⁵⁶ says of him:

"Er war ein Gast auf Erden⁵⁷ und überall in seinen 120 Liedern ist Sonnenwende gesäet. Diese Blume dreht sich beständig nach der Sonne⁵⁸ und Gerhardt nach der seligen Ewigkeit."

Gerhardt's poems are all permeated with this hope for future happiness in Heaven and with a childlike joy in this hope. He may sing of the beauties of summer, yet with that his thoughts go further and he soon begins to reflect upon the greater beauties of Heaven. In his "Reiselied" (*Goed.* 248) he begins by urging on his horse; suddenly he changes from the beauties of the hill and vale to the joy of eternity. Even in an uncouth poem about health (*Goed.* 244) appear the lines:

"Gib mir meine Lebenszeit Ohne sonderm Leide, Und dort in der Ewigkeit Die vollkommene Freude!"

We have said that biblical phraseology plays a large part in Gerhardt's hymns. In fact many lines are a direct translation of passages in scripture. In two or three of them a single dogma appears very plainly, but elsewhere pure doctrine is the basis of each poem. God is a friendly and gracious God, not a "bear or lion,"⁵⁹ but a Father reconciled by Christ's death, entirely a New Testament conception. He even addresses the Almighty as a good companion:

"Sollt aber dein und unser Feind An dem, was dein Herz gut gemeint, Beginnen sich zu rächen: Ist das mein Trost, dasz seinen Zorn Du leichtlich könnest brechen."⁶⁰

The Redeemer is mentioned in barely half of Gerhardt's poems. It has therefore been often said that the poet esteemed the graces of Redemption less than those of Creation. He is fully conscious of the former, hence he can resign himself to the latter and dwell upon them in all their phases. On the basis of the Atonement there springs up in his mind the whole Christian life with all its experiences of salvation,

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⁵⁴ He uses the following: Clerisei, Fantasei, Victoria, Policeien, Regiment, Summa, Ranzion, Compagnie, Regente, studieren, formieret, vexieren, jubilieren.

⁵⁵ Lines such as "Trotz sei dir, du trotzender Kot!" (*Goed.* 5,65) were comparatively inoffensive to XVIIth century standards.

⁵⁶ Cf. Frau Th. v. Hippel, "Sämmtliche Werke," Berlin, 1827, I, 27 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. "Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden" Goed. 284.

⁵⁸ Sonnenwende, "heliotrope," from the Greek, literally "turning toward the sun."

⁵⁹ Cf. Goed. 62, 17--"Er ist ja kein Bär noch Leue."

⁶⁰ Cf. Goed. 217, 56-60.

consolation, patience, mastery of sin and suffering. Since he does not sing solely for church worship, but for family devotion and for personal edification, he necessarily must observe and discourse upon the various vicissitudes of life in sickness and health, in strife and peace.

Inasmuch as Gerhardt is a poet of unusually fine feeling for the rhythmical and melodious peculiarities of the German tongue, he appreciates the interdependence of verse rhythm and thought showing always a nicety in choosing the right word to suit the measure. The lines:

"Nun ruhen aller Wälder,

Vieh, Menschen, Stadt, und Felder . . . "61

are at once suggestive of Nature in repose. The harmonious connection of words of kindred meaning, "Ruh und Rast," "Gnad und Gunst,"⁶² and frequent use of assonance, "Not und Tod," "Füll und Hüll," etc. are introduced not merely to catch the ear, but to accentuate the artistic effect, which shows us that Gerhardt is more than a master of the language, that he writes with an inexhaustible naturalness. He intended his style to be popular in the sense of appealing to the people, and it is here that he manifests the intimate relation of his poetry to the Volkslied without forsaking the proper limits of artistic poetry.

In observing certain defects such as the awkwardness and imperfect rhyme in the couplet:

"Aber nun steh ich

Bin munter und frölich."63

even Gerhardt's most devoted admirers must regret that he did not feel the necessity of giving to his verses the final rounding-off, or did not possess the ability to do so. Yet what many critics have regarded as faults, must, when fairly analyzed, be recognized as contributing much to the effect and as being in accord with the *Sprachpoesie* of the people. For example, the richness in alliteration, "Ich mein Heil und Hülfe hab,"⁶⁴ "Ich lechze wie ein Land,"⁶⁵ the juxtaposition of words of the same root, "Erbarm dich, o barmherzigs Herz,"⁶⁶ "Ich lieb ihr liebes Angesicht,"⁶⁷ as well as the frequent repetition of words or use of refrains⁶⁸ show the power of his language and offer a striking method of expressing inmost sympathy. What real fervor is indicated in the lines:

"Dasz ich dich möge Eir und für In, bei und an mir tragen."⁶⁹

⁶¹ Goed. 60, 1 and 2.

⁶² For a tabulation of Alliteration, Assonance, etc., cf. Appendix, pp. 149 ff.

⁶³ Goed. 293, 8 and 9.

⁶⁴ *Goed.* 93, 6.

⁶⁵ *Goed.* 65, 46.

⁶⁶ Goed. 7, 76.

⁶⁷ Goed. 260, 41.

⁶⁸ Cf. the refrains in *Goed*. 106; 139; 235.

⁶⁹ Goed. 158, 94.

Just as Gerhardt was a loyal devotee to his mother-tongue, so also he stood aloof from the tendency of his time to adopt foreign characteristics in verse. Only twice⁷⁰ has he employed the Alexandrine so fashionable in the period, and other foreign verse-forms he avoids entirely. On the other hand in so comparatively small a number of poems the variety of his verse structure is unusual. Gerhardt knew Buchner⁷¹ in his Wittenberg student days and owes to him his technical training in versification which his strophes show. He uses in them iambic, trochaic and especially dactyllic-anapaestic metres which Buchner had declared permissible. Hahne⁷² enumerates in Gerhardt's poems fifty-one kinds of strophe among which six are quite complicated. Three of these, as appear in the poems, "Frölich soll mein Herze springen," *Goed.* 155; "Gib dich zufrieden," 274; and "Die güldne Sonne," 293, must be regarded as original with Gerhardt. While these three are not artistic and harmonious, they are, nevertheless, in exact accord with the type of melody prevalent in the XVIIth century.

Our poet has shown preference for the older German strophes which belong to popular poetry and had most firmly held their own in the spiritual song because of its relation to the Volkslied and also for the Nibelungen strophe of eight lines. Eighteen⁷³ times he uses the well known seven-line ballad strophe and twice⁷⁴ the six-lined strophe of the Wanderlied "Innsbruck, ich musz dich lassen,"75 which even as early as the Reformation had come into wide use in hymnody. He has also frequently employed the rhymed couplet in the four-lined stanza. The verse-structure in the remainder of his poems may generally be traced back to lays long-since native to the church, though one strophe "Sollt ich meinem Gott nicht singen"⁷⁶ appears for the first time, as far as we know, in Johann Rist's⁷⁷ hymns. Realizing, furthermore, that a composition becomes truly a poem only through its harmony Gerhardt clung to the well known melodies, adapting his new text to them that through the music his hymns might the more easily become familiar. Thus he composed "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld" to the melody "An Wasserflüssen Babylon," and "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben" and "Nun ruhen alle Wälder" to "Innsbruck, ich musz dich lassen,"⁷⁸ and in fact his hymns were known at first only through their musical setting. Like Luther, he wished to teach the people song⁷⁹ and it is evident that in composing he usually had some definite melody in mind, and what Johann Walther had been

⁷⁰ "Du liebe Unschuld du, wie schlecht wirst du geacht!" (*Goed.* 3) and "Herr Lindholtz legt sich hin und schläft in Gottes Namen" (*Goed.* 252).

⁷¹ Cf. p. 2.

⁷² Hahne, F., P. Gerhardt und A. Buchner in Euphorion 15, p. 19-34.

⁷³ Goed. 10; 21; 23; 51; 125; 134; 58; 171; 190; 209; 253; 271; 298; 315; 317; 325; 331; 335.

⁷⁴ Goed. 60 and 71.

⁷⁵ Regarding this melody cf. p. 100.

⁷⁶ Goed. 235.

⁷⁷ Rist, 1607-1667.

⁷⁸ Cf. p. 100.

⁷⁹ Cf. p. 10.

to Luther, Crüger⁸⁰ was to Gerhardt. To this choir master we owe the first significant publication of our poet's hymns. Many musicians have adapted his hymns to music; Bach made use of them in a number of his cantatas and his Passion Music;⁸¹ and five⁸² times in his rapturous *Weihnachtsoratorium* do we find Gerhardt's words. Of recent musicians who have been interested in his poetry as a basis for their compositions mention must be made of Albert Becher (d. 1899), H. von Herzogenberg (d. 1900) and especially the Bavarian clergyman, Friedrich Mergner⁸³ (1818-1891), who has so thoroughly caught the spirit of Gerhardt. As early as 1732-1800 six Catholic hymn books in quite general use throughout Germany had included in all, thirteen of Gerhardt's hymns, and "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" can be heard in many Catholic churches to-day, even in the Cologne Cathedral.⁸⁴

Gerhardt was essentially a "Gelegenheitsdichter," a poet of occasions, choosing for his themes the various vicissitudes of life and such events as would present themselves to an earnest pastor devoted to the flock under his care. We may define him more precisely as a poet of consolation, for at least seventeen of his hymns are to be classed as "Songs of the Cross and Consolation,"⁸⁵ and fully half his work contains much that is intended as a source of comfort in the many afflictions of the troublous times in which he lived. An enumeration of "Trost" words shows the use of "Trost" 51 times, "getrost" 11, "trösten" 10, "trostlos," "tröstlich" 2, besides numerous phrases such as "Erschrecke nicht,"⁸⁶ "Sei unverzagt,"⁸⁷ "Sei ohne Furcht,"⁸⁸ "Gott hat mich nicht verlassen."⁸⁹ In this connection we should consider Gerhardt's use of the word "Trost." With him it seems often to have a wider meaning than merely solace, or comfort. At times it approaches even its English cognate *trust*, or at least that comfort or assurance which is born of trust.⁹⁰ In the poem beginning "Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott" the word seems clearly to be used in this sense in line 7:

Merkst du nicht des Satans List? Er will durch sein Kämpfen Deinen *Trost*,⁹¹ den Jesus Christ Dir erworben, dämpfen.

- ⁸⁴ Cf. J. Smend: P. Gerhardt u. das evangel. Kirchenlied in Der Protestantismus am Ende des 19. Jahrh. I, pp. 301, ff.
- ⁸⁵ Cf. Index by subjects, Appendix, pp. 158 ff.
- ⁸⁶ Goed. 271, 8.
- ⁸⁷ Goed. 185, 42.
- ⁸⁸ Goed. 289, 3.

- ⁹⁰ Cf. the meaning of the modern German "getrost."
- ⁹¹ Goed. 135, 7; cf. also Goed. 135, 132; 30, 127; 150, 74; 217, 59; 317, 40.

⁸⁰ Cf. p. 2.

⁸¹ Cf. p. 43.

⁸² From *Goed.* 25; 310; 150; 155; 158.

⁸³ Cf. P. Gerhardt's Geistl. Lieder in neuen Weisen von Fr. Mergner. 30 ausgewählte Lieder von Karl Schmidt, Leipzig, C. Deichert, 1907.

⁸⁹ Goed. 296, 31.

At other times the meaning is apparently the *ground* of confidence or reliance, as in the line: "Dein Arm ist mein Trost gewesen."⁹² Since joy is to Gerhardt innately associated with the theme of comfort, we find in his verses a host of phrases embodying cheer and joy:

Lasz deine Frömmigkeit Sein meinen Trost und Freud.⁹³

By enumeration we find the use of "Freude" 161 times; of "Freudenlicht" (-quell, -schein, etc.) 33 times; of "freuen" and "erfreuen" 22 times; of "froh," "frö(h)lich," "freudig," "freudenvoll," "selig," etc. 50 times; of other kindred expressions, such as "Lust," "Wonne," "Seligkeit," "Freudigkeit," etc. 8 times. Stanza VI of the "Adventgesang" (*Goed.* 108) is a fair example of Gerhardt's fondness for singing of joys both temporal and spiritual:

Aller Trost und aller Freude Ruht in dir, Herr Jesu Christ; Dein Erfreuen ist die Weide, Da man sich recht frölich iszt. Leuchte mir, o Freudenlicht, Ehe mir mein Herze bricht; Lasz mich, Herr, an dir erquicken! Jesu, komm, lasz dich erblicken!

Compare with this the lines from the hymn based on Johann Arndt's "Gebet um Geduld in groszem Creutz" (*Goed.* 209):

St. XIV. "O heilger Geist, du Freudenöl, Das Gott vom Himmel schicket, Erfreue mich, gib meiner Seel Was Mark und Bein erquicket! Du bist der Geist der Herrlichkeit, Weiszt, was für Freud und Seligkeit Mein in dem Himmel warte."

A pastor and poet whose spirit amidst the hardships of the war can not only remain undaunted but bring so large a measure of cheer to his flock is indeed destined to have an immortal name. It was the everpresent hardships of war, however, that made him long not merely for an earthly peace but also for spiritual rest. As an advocate of peace and contentment he has among his contemporaries no equal. Having hoped and prayed during the war for a cessation of hostilities and horrors he could at last burst forth at the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in his magnificent

Gott Lob! nun ist erschollen Das edle Fried- und Freudenswort."94

Furthermore he preaches patience and contentment with life's experiences. Notably does this appear in the poem "Gib dich zufrieden" (*Goed.* 274) where each stanza has these words as the refrain. Taking as his theme "Rest in the Lord, and

⁹² Goed. 145, 19; cf. also Goed. 46, 16; 150, 43.

⁹³ Goed. 65, 22. For the frequent use of "Trost und Freude" and "Freude und Trost," cf. Appendix, p. 155 and p. 153.

⁹⁴ Goed. 95.

wait patiently for him" (Ps. XXXVII, 7) he reveals to his fellow-men the joys and comforts that await the true believers even though they must pass through pain, anxiety, and even death. As their tears are counted and their sighs are heard, so a day of rest is at hand when God shall receive the meek in the abundance of peace, and 'they shall then be exalted to inherit the land.⁹⁵ But how very deeply Gerhardt felt this yearning for spiritual as well as material peace is best seen from the constant recurrence of the root "Friede." Of this word and its compounds we note 33 examples, and of "Ruhe," "Stille," Rast" and similar words, 16.

Aside from the hymns of Cross and Consolation discussed above,⁹⁶ which among Gerhardt's poems are by far the most numerous, and which gave him the widest opportunity to grasp the inner life of the Christian believer in its different tendencies and phases, the subjective development of his spiritual songs is shown in two directions--in the poetic glorification of nature and of family life. Gerhardt's knowledge of nature is limited to the ideas set forth in Johann Arndt's⁹⁷ Viertes Buch vom wahren Christentum. Following Arndt, Gerhardt believes the material as well as the spiritual phenomena on earth are influenced in a mysterious way by the heavens and their constellations; hence the prophetic significance of comets which he mentions in two poems.⁹⁸ In the year 1615 just such a threatening "torch" had appeared to announce the frightful war. Fourteen years later another comet was regarded as prophecy of the death of the Swedish King. Naturally, then, in 1652 Gerhardt is terrified with all others at the appearance in the sky of the third "Flammenrute" (Goed. 104).

However, within this limited knowledge nature appears to him as of independent grandeur, wholly subservient to God and freely enjoyed by all Christians. In his life, too, as well as in his songs, Gerhardt is open to all the world and is at all times sensible to the appreciation of nature. It is a noteworthy characteristic of him that in one glance he includes with sense of fitness and artistic certainty both large and small, the most sublime and the most commonplace. In this wise he sings:

Die Erd ist fruchtbar, bringt herfür Korn, Oel, Most, Brot, Wein und Bier, Was Gott gefällt.

(Goed. 139, 49 ff.)

To Gerhardt the world lies in continual sunshine.⁹⁹ He scorns trouble, distress seems merely to accentuate happiness; from the horrors of the Thirty Years' War

⁹⁵ Cf. also the poem "Geduld ist euch vonnöten" (Goed. 267), where each of the 14 stanzas begins with the word "Geduld."

⁹⁶ Cf. p. 21.

⁹⁷ Joh. Arndt, a Protestant theologian, 1555-1621. The "Vier Bücher" appeared in 1605. Cf. the references on pp. 63 ff. [i.e. Goed. 200, 205, 209, 212, 263] to his Paradiszgärtlein aller christl. Tugenden, 1612. 98

Goed. 104 and 142.

⁹⁹ Even no. 15 which begins with a seemingly very pessimistic complaint about the disastrous weather and consequently meagre harvest closes with a prayer full of hope for the future.

he turns to thank God for the return of peace,¹⁰⁰ and to inspire his people with gratitude for the infinite mercy of the Most High. He celebrates evening and morning and takes us in summer through the flowering gardens of God, portrays rain and sunshine, earth's sorrows and joys.

The other direction of the subjectivity of Gerhardt's writing is that of the family life. In a time so bereft of virtues as the XVIIth century the firmly grounded idea of the home must be given first place. His own family life, cheered by domestic felicity, and the many contributions he made to occasional poetry bear testimony to this. For married life he sings the praise of quiet domesticity,¹⁰¹ picturing the Christian housewife in the midst of her surroundings, bringing joy and cheer to her husband, faithful in her tasks, ministering to the poor and teaching her children the Word of God. He closes the poem with the eulogy:

Die Werke, die sie hie verrichtt, Sind wie ein schönes helles Licht; Sie dringen bis zu Himmelspfort Und werden leuchten hier und dort.

Before Gerhardt, Mathesius¹⁰² had sung the praises of domestic happiness in "Wem Gott ein ehrlich Weib beschert," but the sincere note of Gerhardt's "Wie schön ist's doch, Herr Jesu Christ" (*Goed.* 302) placed German home-life in a poetic light it had not known before.

For the dying he allays the fear of death; man is but a stranger on earth,¹⁰³ and has spent many a day in distress and care; his home is yonder where hosts of angels praise the Mighty Ruler. The sympathetic pastor takes his place with the parents beside the bier of their deceased child.¹⁰⁴ He speaks as a father who has lost his son, and he imagines the child in heaven joining the chorus of the angels. But Gerhardt has written very few hymns of death or of penitence. When he does speak of sin and its curse of death with its terrors, he still contrives at once to take from them the sting. The poem beginning "O Tod, O Tod, du greulichs Bild,"¹⁰⁵ bears the title "*Freudige* Empfahung des Todes," and concludes with the lines:

Was solls denn nun, O Jesu, sein, Dasz mich der Tod so schrecket? Hat doch Elisa Todtenbein, Was todt war, auferwecket: Viel mehr wirst du, den Trost hab ich,

¹⁰⁴ "Weint; und weint gleichwol nicht zu sehr" (Goed. 335).

¹⁰⁰ Goed. 95.

¹⁰¹ Goed. 242.

¹⁰² Johann M., a Lutheran theologian, 1504-1565. His Leben Luthers (1566) is his most famous work.

¹⁰³ "Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden" (Goed. 284).

¹⁰⁵ Goed. 317.

Zum Leben kräftig rüsten mich; Drum schlaf ich ein mit *Freuden*.

In hymnody both before and since Gerhardt there has often been a vivid portrayal of the tortures of hell to terrify the soul. Gerhardt scrupulously avoids this and is therefore able to reduce everything to the simplicity of beauty. Every pain and every punishment in which his poems abound at once lose their bitterness because on them is reflected the sunlight of God's love. Gerhardt towers above his time in that amid all his despondent fellow-men he is always fearless and shows a cheerful heart reliant on God; just because the severe afflictions of his own life cannot break his spirit, he has in his power the cure for others.

The candid reader must admit that there is evident in some passages of Gerhardt's poetry a certain dogmatic constraint, ("Gebundenheit"). The devil¹⁰⁷ is to him a terrible reality, the Christchild in the manger is the creator¹⁰⁸ of the world, and the problem of the Trinity is dismissed without consideration. The Atonement, too, of the Savior is easily understood on the theory of punishment, while the resurrection¹⁰⁹ of the flesh is an undeniable truth. But in other respects Gerhardt is far less dogmatic than Luther.

Critics have sought in vain for traces of poetic development in Gerhardt's work. Such findings as have been claimed can be regarded only as more or less probable conjecture, a fact which shows that his personality was immediately poetically endowed, giving itself out whenever it composed poetry. If his individuality shows no development as such, his poetry can bear no marks of development.

It has often been said that "Gerhardt had and sought no laurels"; nor was he ever "hailed as the Homer or Vergil of his time." As he knew neither himself nor the greatness of his gift, so his contemporaries failed to appreciate him. He never regarded himself as a poet by calling as did Opitz, Johann Franck and Rist, but only a poet by avocation. To quote Goethe, he sang "as the bird sings that lives in the branches." In the same proportion that Gerhardt's poetry brought strength and comfort in the grievous period of the Thirty Years' War and later eras of confusion, it is destined through the present world disaster to bring its message of hope.

 ¹⁰⁷ Cf. "Will Satan mich verschlingen" (*Goed.* 60, 46); "Dazu kommt des Teufels Lügen" (*Goed.* 108, 7); also
 62, 55; 122, 31; 135, 41; 171, 40; 173, 40; 185, 33; 232, 18; 256, 34; 312, 6; 328, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. "Es wird im Fleisch hier fürgestellt,

Der alles schuf und noch erhält;" (Goed. 310, 37-38).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Goed. 51.

PART TWO.

CHAPTER I.

History of English Hymnody and the German Influence upon English Hymn Writing from the Early XVIth Through the XIXth Century. $^{\rm 110}$

Any direct traces of literary intercourse between Germany and England before the XVIth century are hard to find; however, with the invention of printing, the establishment of the universities, the Renaissance and the Reformation the literary relations were increased and became important.

In the wide region of satire which was at that time serious and often steeped in theological ideas Germany's works left enduring traces. Brant's "Narrenschiff" translated in the first years of the century helped essentially in accelerating the development of this type of literature in England: reprinted there after an interval of sixty years it was still an inexhaustible model of satire. Another source of dramatic effect destined to have great success on the English stage was found in some hero endowed with supernatural powers, such as Faustus. Thus by introducing a new class of situations into English drama the unusually gifted Germany of the sixteenth century was of great moment for its neighbor, England. Not a little of the quality of the Minnelied, too, reappears in much of the verse of the English lyric writers of this century, when the rose, the nightingale and daisy serve as interpretations of the play of love. In the Mystery Plays there existed doubtless germs of the Meistersänger school: the occasional strophic passages in the Towneley plays resembled to a great extent the normal Meistergesang. This germ, however, did not develop markedly because in England the cultivation of poetry never became a serious occupation. These literary influences from Germany in satire, in Minnelied and in Meistergesang had direct effect upon English intellectual life, and continued uninterrupted through the centuries. The record, on the other hand, of German influence in History, Lyrics and Hymns was more broken and disconnected.

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In order to get the story of the development of the hymn we must go back a little. Church music in the mediaeval times belonged to the choir, not to the congregation. The choral hymns in England, as in Germany, were in Latin and many of them were exceedingly beautiful. Although the early English Church received from the continent the most of the Latin hymns used in its service, nevertheless there were a few English authors of Latin hymns. Among this number were Bede, commonly called Venerable Bede (673-735?) who wrote "Adeste, Christi, vocibus," and Anselm of Canterbury, a great architect and theologian, and Thomas à Becket. While psalms and hymns have been used by the Christian Church since its beginning, the particular form of psalms and hymns now in use originated with the Reformation. A wonderful

¹¹⁰ Inasmuch as Gerhardt's influence was not fully felt in England till the middle of the XIXth Century, this chapter deals with the development of the English hymn up to that period.

development of this religious lyric poetry sprang up in England and Germany at the beginning of the XVIth century. The reformers in both countries were chiefly concerned in simplifying religious worship, and in giving to the laity a more active participation in it; the choir and anthem, the old liturgic hymn and antiphonal chant gave way to a great extent to hymns in the vernacular, set to the simplest music and sung by the whole congregation. This change was first made by Luther and eagerly copied in England.

When Miles Coverdale in his ungifted way translated Luther's hymns into English his unpoetical and lumbering versions were ill received and were soon proscribed by the Crown. Sternhold and Hopkins who were translators of the psalms became more noticed, but their versions too seem to have been deficient in taste and feeling of lyric poetry. The criticism of the poet Campbell seems to be justified when he says of the authors that "with the best intentions and the worst taste they degraded the spirit of Hebrew Psalmody by flat and homely phraseology; and mistaking vulgarity for simplicity turned into bathos what they found sublime." Although these bleak translations were read in England for a time, they soon disappeared leaving only small traces which were picked up by Wesley more than two centuries later.

So with the royal proscription of Coverdale's work¹¹¹, the dying out of Sternhold and Hopkins' and other similar attempts at translation, the imaginative poetry of German Protestantism which had been caught up in England with such momentary enthusiasm was as rapidly forgotten. Church music was again sung by the choir. The first effort, therefore, in the early XVth century to introduce Lutheran hymnody into the English world contributed little.

This disappearance in England of the work of the Reformers in church music was due not only to the lack of great translators but also to many other causes. Early in the Renaissance England came to think of the Reformation as her own movement, and therefore casting aside all suggestions from other countries wished to study history and hymns of English sources only. The few men at this time who recognized Germany as the mother country of the Reformation and a seat of literary accomplishments had no wide influence in England. All German residents in England belonged exclusively to the commercial class and brought no literary influence with them; also a reason for the literary alienation at this time was the fact that Germany

- "Oure God is a defence and towre
- A good armour and good weapen,
- He hath ben ever oure helpe and sucoure
- In all the troubles that we have ben in.
- Therefore wyl we never drede
- For any wonderous dede

- In hilles or the sea-sonde.
- Our God hath them al i his hond."

¹¹¹ It must be remembered, however, that although Coverdale's writings had little influence upon the people of his own time, they have been appreciated by later generations and are among the most sincere monuments to Luther in the English language. Cf. A. Mitchell: *The Wedderburns*, Edinb., 1868.

An example will show the nature and degree of Coverdale's imitation. Here is the first stanza of his version of "Ein' feste Burg":

By water or by londe

did not enter the religious wars in which Englishmen were so deeply interested. To men like Jonson and Fletcher Germany was famous only as a land of magicians and conjurers such as Paracelsus and Dr. Faustus. In short, for nearly two centuries England knew little of Germany except what booksellers found it to their profit to advertise on their sign directories as the "wonderful strange Newes from Germany," and the satires of Brant, Dedekind, and Fischart.¹¹²

Another most vital cause of the retardation of the development of hymnody in Great Britain so soon after the Reformation was the example and influence of Geneva. Calvin was organizing his ecclesiastical system at Geneva, and introduced into it Marot's Psalter¹¹³ which was then very fashionable. This example produced in England the translation commonly known as the *Old Version of the Psalms* begun in the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547). In this collection are eleven metrical versions of the "Te Deum" and "Da pacem, Domine," two original hymns of praise, two penitential and a hymn of faith. The tunes which accompanied the words were German.¹¹⁴ Therefore, although the religious influence of the Reformation was always strong in England from the beginning of the movement, the influence of Luther from a literary standpoint early in the Renaissance ceased to exist in England and was replaced by Calvin's stern rule. These narrower canons admitting nothing but paraphrases of scripture and even of scripture little outside the Psalms became the firm fashion of English hymnody for the next century and a half.

In spite of the fact that Luther had little influence on English literature in the early Reformation his hymns came to their own in England in the middle of the XVIIIth century. In the meantime, although the English people used the stern canons of Calvin, they began to feel the want of a more lyric hymn. While German Protestantism had developed at once a rich hymnody there was actually no English hymnody until the XVIIIth century. Isaac Watts, a representative of the English Independents, may be justly considered the real founder of modern English hymnody. He was the first to understand the nature of the want, and by the publication of his *Hymns* in 1707-1709 and *Psalms* (hymns founded on psalms) he led the way in providing for this want. His immediate followers were Simon Browne and Doddridge; and later in the century Grigg, Miss Steele, Beddome and Swain succeeded them. Of these writers Watts and Doddridge are certainly preeminent, the hymns of the former are of unusual fervor and strong simplicity, and those of Doddridge while perhaps more artificial in general than those of his predecessor Watts are nevertheless distinguished by their graceful style.

¹¹² For a good account of contemporary German drama and satire in England, cf. Herford: *The Literary Relations* of England and Germany in the XVIth. Century. Ch. IV-VII.

¹¹³ Clement Marot, valet de chambre to Francis I of France, collaborated with Theodore Beza on a metrical translation of the Old Testament Psalms. The work appeared about 1540.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Barney: History of Music.

Bio of Paul Gerhardt

About 1738 came the "Methodist" movement which afterward became divided into three sects, the Arminian under John Wesley, those who adhered to the Moravians,¹¹⁵ and the Calvinists of whom Whitfield was the leader. Each of these factions had its own hymn writers, some of whom did, and others did not, secede from the Church of England. These are the years when a renewed strong current of influence from Germany is felt. The translation movement first sprang up in the middle of this century when Count Zinzendorf and A. G. Spangenberg came to England¹¹⁶ and established a branch of the Moravian Church there. The *Gesangbuch*, the first of the hymn books for the congregation at Herrnhut, had been published in 1735 by Count Zinzendorf. The Moravians in England began to translate many of the hymns contained in the German Moravian Hymn Book.¹¹⁷ These translations, however, were for the most part poor, mere doggerel, but in later editions they were somewhat improved, especially in the one revised in the XIXth century by James Montgomery, the well known hymn writer, who was for a long time a member of the English Moravian Church. Among these many English hymn writers at this time whether writing entirely from English sources, or influenced by German ideas and philosophily or merely translators of the German hymn, the Wesley brothers are deserving of the first place.

After determining upon missionary lives John and Charles Wesley embarked on October 14, 1735, for the new colony of Georgia. Among their fellow passengers were twenty-six Moravian colonists, who in all the changes of weather, especially during storms, made a great deal of hymn singing. John Wesley was much impressed with the fervor and piety of these hymns and with their spiritual possibilities. One of the German sources which had great influence upon Wesleyan hymnody was Freylinghausen's Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch (Halle 1704 and 1714). John Wesley introduced hymn singing into the "companies" formed in Georgia and his first hymn book appeared as a Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Charles-Town 1737, without his name. Of the seventy lyrics in the book, one half are from Watts, fifteen of the remainder are hymns of the Wesleys, five of which were translated from the German by John Wesley. In his third collection printed in England in 1750 the immediate impression the hymns produce is that of foreignness because of the many lengthy stanzas and the unusual metres. The reason for this is the fact that the authorities insisted that the melodies sung at Herrnhut be kept, irrespective of the language in which they might be sung. Although Charles Wesley knew no German, and therefore derived his impressions of the Moravian hymnody indirectly, nevertheless he caught much of its tone and manner and its atmosphere of confiding love. In all he wrote about 6500 hymns, through a large portion of which may be traced this Moravian influence.

Of great value to English hymnody are the contributions of the Calvinistic Methodists, and few writers of hymns have had higher gifts than A. M. Toplady,

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¹¹⁵ The Moravians were a vigorous religious cult established in Herrnhut, Saxony.

¹¹⁶ In 1737 and 1741, respectively.

¹¹⁷ Cf. p. 11.

the author of "Rock of Ages." His hymns have the same warmth, richness and spirituality as German hymns, and are meditations after the German manner, owing direct obligation to German originals. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century came the practice of hymnodists of altering without scruple the compositions of other men, notably Latin and German hymn writers, to suit their own doctrines and tastes, with the result all too often of spoiling the originals thus altered, though English hymnody was undoubtedly enriched by this process of adaptation.

Two publications in 1827, Bishop Heber's *Hymns* and Keble's *Christian Year* introduced a new epoch into English hymnody, destroying the barrier which had previously existed between the different theological schools of the Church of England. This movement received a great additional impulse from the publication in 1833 of Bunsen's *Gesangbuch*. From this time hymns and hymn writers multiplied not only in the Church of England, but in Scotland and America also. With such influences as we have mentioned the more recent collections have evidenced an improved standard of taste, and there has been a larger and more liberal admission of good hymns from the German. In this XIXth century when the study of the German language and literature became so much more common than before it is natural that an impulse be given also to translation of German hymns.

Beside the improvement in the standard of taste, additional interest in hymnody had been aroused by the prominence given to congregational singing in English churches. "To love hymns in eighteenth century Scotland was to be accused of heresy: in England, it was to be convicted of that worse thing, 'enthusiasm." Since the days of Luther Germany had given her hymns general esteem, but in England it was the middle of the nineteenth century before hymns won anything like popular favor. The congregational hymn in England is the direct although exceedingly slow outgrowth of the German Reformation but it must be borne in mind that the foundations of congregational singing were laid even before Luther. When the Hussites in Bohemia created this hymnody in the vernacular their hymns were designed for worshippers rather than for the choir.¹¹⁸ While German Protestantism developed at once a rich hymnody there was actually no English hymnody until the XVIIIth century.

German hymns and chorals had a place in the *Church Psalter and Hymn Book* of William Mercer of Sheffield (1854). One who took much interest in its preparation was James Montgomery of whom mention has already been made.¹¹⁹ This was the most successful of all the books of the decade for the reason that it aided in placing the hymnody back in the people's hands and making it congregational. Thus we see that the success of congregational singing of the better type required a return to the

¹¹⁸ The earliest extant hymn book is that in the Bohemian Museum at Prague, and bears the date Jan. 13, 1501, but this hymn book is, singularly, never mentioned among the works of the Brethren (Moravians).

¹¹⁹ Cf. p. 31. For Gerhardt's influence on Montgomery cf. p. 139.

Reformation practice of including the tunes, as well as words, in the people's hymn books.

If general congregational singing after the manner that prevailed in Germany for so long has been an incentive to the development of English hymnody, the interest in German hymnody has at the same time been quickened by the good work done in Frances E. Cox's Sacred Hymns from the German (1841) and Henry J. Buckoll's Hymns translated from the German (1842). This also found expression in the Psalms and Hymns, partly original, partly selected (Cambridge 1851) of Arthur T. Russell, in which the German hymns played a very large part, the Latin a very small one; even the arrangement of the hymns is based on an old Lutheran hymn book. In 1854 appeared Richard Massie's Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs, and the first of four parts (1854-1862) of Hymns from the Land of Luther by Jane Borthwick and her sister Mrs. Findlater. In 1855 and 1858 Catherine Winkworth published the first and second series of her Lyra Germanica, following them in 1863 with the Chorale Book for England, and Christian Singers of Germany (1869). The work of this group of translators which has secured so firm a place in English hymnody for a number of German hymns and more particularly those of Paul Gerhardt will be discussed in the following chapter.

ABBREVIATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS.

Bachmann = Bachmann: Gerhardts Geistliche Lieder, 1866.

C.B. = Chorale Book for England, by Catherine Winkworth, 1863.

C.P.&H.Bk. = Mercer's Church Psalter and Hymn Book, 1854 etc.

Crü.Praxis = Crüger's Praxis pietatis melica, Berlin and Frankfurt a/M. 1648 etc. **Crü.--Runge** = Runge's edition of the above.

Ebeling = P. Gerhardi Geistliche Andachten, 1667 etc. (The numbers following the date refer to the "dozen" in which the poem appeared. Cf. p. 15 and note 6 [*elec. ed. note 2*].)

G.B. = Gesangbuch.

G.L.S. = Geistlicher Liederschatz, 1832.

- **Goed.** = Goedeke: Gedichte von Paulus Gerhardt, 1877. (In this thesis the poems are numbered according to the page on which they begin in this Goedeke text.)
- **H.L.L.** = Hymns from the Land of Luther, by Mrs. Findlater and Miss Jane Borthwick, 1854 etc.

H.Bk. = Hymn Book.

Kelly = J. Kelly: Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs, 1867.

Lib.R.P. = Library of Religious Poetry, 1881.

Lyra Ger. = Lyra Germanica, by Miss Winkworth, 1855 etc.

Songs of G. and G. = Songs of Grace and Glory, by Charles B. Snepp, 1872. **st.** = stanza.

Unv.L.S. = Unverfälschter Liedersegen, Berlin, 1851.

Wackernagel = Wackernagel: Gerhardts Geistliche Lieder, 1843.

When merely the translator's name is given, the complete title of the work is usually to be found in the respective biographical note in the Appendix, pp. 144 ff.

The citation of hymn books is by no means exhaustive. Selections from Gerhardt's hymns are to be found in nearly all modern hymnals. The aim has been to give mainly those which first included versions of his hymns.

As a rule, the German stanzas are indicated by the Roman numerals I, II, III, etc., the English stanzas by the Arabic 1, 2, 3, etc.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH VERSIONS OF GERHARDT'S HYMNS.

While the first influence of Gerhardt on English hymnody dates from the earlier part of the XVIIIth century it was not until the middle of the following century¹²⁰ that his influence was most fully felt. For it was then that the whole subject of church music and congregational singing in England received renewed and special attention. The English hymn writers and compilers of hymn books naturally appropriated all embodiment of Christian experience and devotion that Germany, a country so nearly akin to their own, could offer. The translators of all German hymns were subjected to certain limitations the observance of which affected the character of the rendering. The accompanying versions of Gerhardt's poems are illustrations of this statement.

A parallel arrangement of these various versions reveals the following interesting facts. First, that literalness has been rarely attained for the reason that a certain measure of freedom has to be used in any metrical rendering. Some, as for example, Dr. J. Kelly, have striven to maintain fidelity to the sense of the original and thereby have often sacrificed euphony to fidelity. Secondly, there has been made necessary the frequent use of the double rhymes which are as common in the German language, on account of its peculiar structure, as monosyllabic rhymes are in English. The limited number of double rhymes in English has presented a serious obstacle in the way of rendering German hymns with their native force and simplicity without which qualities the hymns cannot become truly naturalized. In so many cases have the German hymns and tunes been considered as one and inseparable, that the translators have sought to preserve the original metres for the sake of the tunes which would not of course admit of any deviation without harm to their characteristic beauty.

In the following pages we shall discuss those of Gerhardt's hymns (84 in number) which have been translated into English, and cite in most cases the hymn books which have been among the first to recognize the excellence of the English versions.¹²¹

Du liebe Unschuld du, wie schlecht wirst du geachtt!--(Goed. 3.)

Appeared in the Crü. Praxis, 1656, p. 650.

English Version:

1. By *J. Kelly*, under the heading, "Under the vexations of the wicked prosperous world," the first stanza as follows:

Ah! lovely innocence, how evil art thou deemed,

¹²⁰ Cf. p. 27 and note.

¹²¹ The hymns selected for discussion with their respective English versions are arranged according to the sequence in the Goedeke text (*Gedichte von Paulus Gerhardt*, Leipzig 1877). The ten most widely translated hymns (nos. 25, 49, 59, 60, 68, 122, 150, 185, 229, 239) and hymns showing adaptations are treated in a separate part of this chapter, pp. 82 ff. In some instances specimen stanzas selected from the English versions have been added for comparison or reference.

How lightly oft thy work by all the world's esteem'd! Thou servest God, thy Lord, and to His word thou cleavest. For this, from men thou nought but scorn and hate receivest.

This translation is somewhat labored as is especially evident in line 4 above for the German:

"Darüber höhnt man dich und drückt dich aller Orten."

Goedeke in his note to this hymn points out that from the use of the Alexandrine verse, the freedom from biblical phraseology and from the generality of the expressions it is probable that this is one of Gerhardt's earliest poems composed at a time when he patterned his writings after the model of Opitz.¹²²

Wie ist so grosz und schwer die Last.--(Goed. 7.)

Appeared in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 299.

This fervent appeal for protection during the Thirty Years' War has been translated into English only by *J. Kelly* 1867, p. 246. In line 36 he renders (from the Wackernagel text which he used):

"Behold! my heart, on every hand."

As *mein Herr* is very evidently the proper reading from the sense of the context and the character of the other stanzas, it is unfortunate that his otherwise excellent rendering should be made to suffer by this one weak stanza.

"Protection of God in hitherto dangerous times of war."

Stanza 1. How heavy is the burden made That Thou upon our backs hast laid, O God! the Lord of Hosts, O God, whose anger rises high 'Gainst workers of iniquity.

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O Herrscher in dem Himmelszelt.--(*Goed.* 15.)

Appeared in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 315.

This poem and "Nun ist der Regen hin" (cf. *Goed.* 17, below) were both written during the Thirty Years' War and inspired by the same occasion. Gerhardt in two instances uses the same set of rhymes:

	<i>Goed.</i> 15			Goed. 17	
l.	1	zelt	1.	31	feld
	2	feld		32	zelt
	51	bekehrt		5	gekehrt
	52	erhört		6	erhöret

¹²² On Gerhardt's use of the Alexandrine cf. p. 20 f, and on the influence of Opitz cf. p. 18.

The long metre lends itself well to English translation, and Kelly in his English version has observed with precision the pleading and melancholy tone of the original.

Stanza 1. O God! who dost Heav'n's sceptre wield, What is it that now makes our field, And everything that it doth bear, Such sad and ruined aspect wear?¹²³

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 294.

His last stanza forms by its fervor an even stronger conclusion than Gerhardt's. The alteration from "bis in unsern Tod" to "as long as we may live" is a decided improvement, and more consistent with the thought of the context:

Verleih uns bis in unsern Tod	And, Lord, as long as we may live
Alltäglich unser liebes Brot	Our daily bread in bounty give
Und dermaleins nach diser Zeit	And when the end of time we see
Das süsze Brot der Ewigkeit!	The bread give of eternity.

Nun ist der Regen hin.--(Goed. 17.)

First published in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 315.

This simple nature poem expressing to the Almighty thanks for gracious sunshine after a storm has appeared but once in English verse, the version of *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 298. The many poetic allusions and references to nature he has imitated very acceptably, at times even surpassing the thought of the original. In the first stanza the rhymes "gekehret" and "erhöret" have been especially aptly rendered by the accented *ed* in "turnéd" and spurnéd."

Stanza 1. Now gone is all the rain, Rejoice my heart again, Sing after times of sadness To God thy Lord with gladness! Our God His heart hath turned Our pray'r He hath not spurned

How successfully Kelly has caught the spirit of Gerhardt's nature description is evident in stanza 9:

Die Bäume werden schön In ihrer Fülle stehen, Die Berge werden flieszen, Und Wein und Oele gieszen, Das Bienlein wird wol tragen Bei guten warmen Tagen.

The trees so very fair Fruit-laden will stand there; From hill-sides like a river Will wine and oil flow ever In warm and quiet weather Will bees their honey gather.

Nun laszt uns gehn und treten.--(Goed. 19.)

¹²³ On the pessimistic tone in this stanza cf. p. 24.

[New Year.]

Evidently written during the Thirty Years' War. It first appeared in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 106, in 15 stanzas of 4 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 12; *Bachmann:* no. 24; Berlin *G. L. S.:* 1863, no. 200.

English Versions:

1. In prayer your voices raise ye.

In full, by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 45. From this 8 stanzas are included in the Ohio *Lutheran Hymnal*, 1880.

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2. Now let each humble creature.

In the *Suppl. to Ger. Psal.*, 1765, p. 4, and *Select Hymns from Ger. Psal.*, Tranquebar, 1754, p. 7. In the *Moravian Hymn Bk.*, 1789, no. 507 (1849, no. 1106) greatly altered and beginning, "Year after year commenceth."

3. O come with prayer and singing.

R. Massie in the *British Herald*, Jan., 1865, p. 8.

4. Christians all, with one accord.

E. Massie, 1867, p. 168.

5. With notes of joy and songs of praise.

Dr. R. Maguire, 1883, p. 24.

Noch dennoch must du drum nicht ganz.--(Goed. 23.)

Appeared in the Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 814.

This hymn of consolation seems to refer to some particular disaster that had befallen the community during the Thirty Years' War. The "drum" in line 1 may possibly refer to some address or announcement made to the congregation.

The poem has been well translated in full by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 230. He makes no attempt to render the doubtful meaning above referred to in the word "drum." On the other hand his interpretations of several rather obscure lines (cf. lines 29 and 43 below) are undoubtedly correct.

Stanza 1. Thou must not altogether be O'ercome by sad vexation, God soon will cause to shine on thee The light of consolation. In patience wait, and be thou still And let the Lord do what He will, He never can do evil.

Lines 29, 30¹²⁵ are rendered:

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¹²⁴ alt., *The Lutheran Hymnal*, 1941, no. 122.

¹²⁵ Gerhardt, lines 29, 30: Drum f\u00e4hrt uns Gott durch unsern Sinn

Und läszt uns Weh geschehen;

God therefore all our *joys* doth *blight*. Lets trials overtake us,

and lines 43, 44:126

Afflicted *band!* oh, fall ye now With contrite hearts before Him,

In this last citation Kelly is right in assuming it is not literally the "army" but rather the congregation or community that Gerhardt is here addressing.

Wie soll ich dich empfangen.--(Goed. 25.)

(Cf. p. 82.)

Nun du lebest, unsre Krone.--(Goed. 28.)

This poem was appended to an address delivered in Berlin on the 23d of March, 1648, at the funeral of Peter Fritzen, the President of the Consistory.

English Version:



 On thy bier how calm thou'rt sleeping Yet thou livest, oh our crown! Watch eternal art thou keeping, Standing near thy Savior's throne. Endless joy thy portion now! Why should tears so freely flow? What should thus in sorrow sink us? Up! aright let us bethink us!

A complete translation by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 338.

Sei mir tausendmal gegrüszet.--(Goed. 40.)

Taken from the "Salve mundi salutare," ascribed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux.¹²⁷ The text of this beautiful poem is in St. Bernard's *Opera Omnia*, Paris, 1609, cols. 1655-56. Here it is entitled "A rhythmical prayer to anyone of the members of Christ suffering and hanging on the Cross," and is divided into 7 parts viz:

I. Salve mundi salutare (*to the Feet*). **II. Salve Jesu, Rex sanctorum** (*to the Knees*). **III. Salve Jesu, pastor bone** (*to the Hands*).

¹²⁶ lines 43, 44:

Drum falle, du betrübtes Heer,

In Demut für Ihm nieder;

¹²⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, saint, abbot, and doctor, was born in Burgundy in 1091, entered the monastery of Citeaux in 1113. In 1146 he spent much time in traversing France and Germany to rouse the people to participate in the ill-fated second crusade. He died in 1153. The hymns by which he is best known are (1) "Jesu dulcis memoria," a long poem on the "Name of Jesus," and (2) "Salve mundi salutare," an address to the various members of Christ on the cross. Hymns, translated from, or founded on, St. Bernard's will be found in almost every modern hymnal.

IV. Salve Jesu, summe bonus (to the Side).
V. Salve salus mea, Deus (to the Breast).
VI. Summi Regis cor aveto (to the Heart).
VII. Salve caput cruentatum (to the Face).

The whole poem has been frequently translated into German. The best known translations are those by Paul Gerhardt, which are free versions of all the seven parts from the Latin text of 1609. Of Gerhardt's versions, nos. I, V, VI, and VII have passed into English, as follows:

I. Sei mir tausendmal gegrüszet.--(Goed. 40.)

This appeared in the 5th ed., Berlin, 1653, and the Frankfort ed., 1656, of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 150; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 16; *Bachmann:* no. 48; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 116.

English Versions:

1. Thousand times by me be greeted.

In pt. I of the Moravian H. Bk. 1754. Repeated in later editions.

2. Ever by my love be owned (st. I, III, IV).

A. T. Russell in his Psalms and Hymns, 1851.

V. Gegrüszet seist du, Gott, mein Heil.--(Goed. 46.)

Appeared in the Frankf. ed., 1656, of *Crü. Praxis;* thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 20; *Bachmann:* no. 52.

English Versions:

1. All hail to Thee, my Savior and my God.

Mrs. Stanley Carr in her translation of Wildenhahn's Paul Gerhardt, ed. 1856, p. 116.

2. All hail! my Savior and my God.

R. Massie in the British Herald, Feb., 1865, p. 18.

VI. O Herz des Königs aller Welt.--(Goed. 47.)

Appeared in the Frankf. ed., 1656, of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 155; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 21; *Bachmann:* no. 53; Berlin, *G. L. S.:* 1863, no. 258.

English Version:

1. O Heart of Him who dwells on high.

R. Massie in the British Herald, May, 1866, p. 260.

VII. O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.--(Goed. 49.)

(Cf. p. 86 ff.)

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Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe.--(*Goed.* 59.) (Cf. p. 95 ff.) Nun ruhen alle Wälder.--(*Goed.* 60.) (Cf. p. 98 ff.)

Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken.--(Goed. 62.)

[Lent.]

Founded on St. Luke XV. Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 36 in 12 stanzas.

English Versions:

1. Let not such a thought e'er pain thee.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 83.

2. Hence, my heart, with such a thought.

Miss Winkworth, 1869, p. 210.

[3. Shun, my heart, the thought forever.]

[See Appendix.]

Herr, höre, was mein Mund.--(Goed. 65.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 37.

This Prayer for favor in judgment is based on Psalm CXLIII. It is pervaded with deep humility and devoutness.

English Versions:

 Lord, lend a gracious ear To my desire sincere From heart all free from guile And glad me with Thy smile, Accept my petition.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 92.

His rendering of the similes and metaphors of this hymn is especially good. Cf. stanza VI:

Betrachte, wer ich bin, Im Hui fahr ich dahin, Zerbrechlich wie ein Glas, Vergänglich wie ein Gras Ein Wind kann mich fällen.

and in stanza X: Ich lechze wie ein Land,

also stanza XI:

Consider what we be--A moment, what are we? As brittle as frail glass As fading as the grass, By a breath we're swept off.

I'm like a thirsty land,

l

Gleich wie auf der Heid Ein Hirsch... Like hart upon the heath . . .

Warum machet solche Schmerzen.--(Goed. 67.)

[New Year.]

Based on St. Luke II, 21. It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1648, no. 97 in 4 stanzas. Bunsen, in his *Versuch* 1833, no. 120, gives stanzas III, IV, altered to "Freut euch, Sünder, allerwegen."

English Versions:

1. Mortals, who have God offended.

Miss Cox, 1841, p. 21, from Bunsen.

2. Why should they such pain e'er give Thee.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 43.

Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld.--(Goed. 68.)

(Cf. p. 104 ff.)

O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben.--(Goed. 71.)¹²⁸

[Passiontide.]

Cf. *Koch* IV, 161, 711, 787. First published in *Crü. Praxis*, 1648, no. 119, in 16 stanzas of 8 lines, reprinted in *Wackernagel:* no. 15; *Bachmann:* no. 8; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 113. Stanzas III-V were favorites with J. S. Bach and used by him in his St. Matthew and St. John Passion Music.¹²⁹

English Versions:

1. Extended on a cursed tree.

A free translation in long metre by J. Wesley, of stanzas I, III, IV, VI, VIII-XI, XVI, in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1740 (P. Works, 1868-72, Vol. I, p. 232), and thence in the *Wesleyan H. Bk.*, 1780, and since in other hymn books of the Methodists. The translation of stanzas IX-XI, XVI, beginning "My Savior, how shall I proclaim" were included in the American *Sabbath Hymn Book*, 1858, and the Baptist *Service of Song*, Boston, 1871.

2. See, World, upon the bloody tree.

A translation by P. H. Molther of stanzas I-X in the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1742, 1754. In the 1789 and 1886 eds. it is altered to "See, World, upon the shameful tree." The hymn appears in several English hymn books in different abridged forms.

3. O, World! behold upon the tree.

A good translation omitting stanza VII, by Miss Winkworth, in the 2d Series, 1858, of her *Lyra Ger.*, and thence in Schaff's *Christ in Song* ed. 1869, p. 174, and slightly altered and beginning: "Lord, be Thy Cross before our sight."

¹²⁸ For adaptations of this hymn cf. p. 137.

¹²⁹ Cf. p. 21.

4. Here, World, see thy Redeemer.

In the Suppl. to Ger. Psalmody, ed. 1765, p. 16.

5. O World! attention lend it.

J. Gambold, as no. 442 in pt. I of the Moravian H. Bk., 1754. Altered to "O World, see thy Creator." (1886, no. 94.)

6. O World! see thy life languish.

J. D. Burns, in the *Family Treasury*, 1859, pt. I, p. 54, also in his *Memoir and Remains*, 1869, p. 246.

7. See World! thy Life assailed.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 54.

8. Here, World, thy great Salvation see.

Dr. J. Guthrie, 1869, p. 87.

9. O World! see here suspended.

In Reid's Praise Book, 1872, no. 1009.

10. Behold, O World, thy Life, thy Lord.

Dr. R. Maguire, 1883, p. 143.

Selected Stanzas:

- J. Gambold in Part I of the 1734 edition of the Moravian Hymn Book.
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- O World! attention lend it, Thy Life's on Cross suspended Thy Healer sinks in death:

The sov'reign Prince of Glory

(Tis no fictitious story)

With Shame and torment yields his Breath.

P. H. Molther in Part I of the 1754 edition of the Moravian Hymn Book.

- See, world, upon the bloody tree Thy Life there sinks in Death, Cover'd with Stripes and wounds for thee Thy Savior yields his breath.
- Behold his Body swims in blood; Out of his tender Heart, Deep sighs and Groans he sends to God In his excessive smart.

Note in the above stanzas the inconsistencies in capitalization. Miss Winkworth, in her *Lyra Germanica*, 1858.

 Oh world! behold upon the tree Thy Life is hanging now for thee, Thy Savior yields His dying breath; The mighty Prince of glory now For thee doth unresisting bow To cruel stripes, to scorn and death.

Auf, Auf, mein Herz mit Freuden.--(Goed. 74.)

[Easter.]

It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 141, in 9 stanzas.

English Versions:

1. Up! up! my heart with gladness, See.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 71.

2. Up, Up, my heart, with gladness, Receive.

H. L. Frothingham, in his Metrical Pieces, 1870, p. 228.

O du allersüszste Freude!--(Goed. 76.)

[Whitsuntide.]

First published in the 3d ed., 1648, of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 155 in 10 stanzas of 8 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 30; *Bachmann:* no. 10. Cf. *Koch* IV, 232.

This is a fine hymn of supplication to the Holy Spirit for His gifts and graces. It is widely popular in Germany, and is included in the Berlin *G. L. S.*: 1863, no. 366. Through the version of J. C. Jacobi it has also been very largely used in various forms, in Great Britain and America.

English Versions:

1. O Thou sweetest source of gladness.

A full and good translation by J. C. Jacobi, in his *Psal. Ger.*, 1725, pt. II, p. 6. Jacobi's stanzas I-IV, IX, X, were considerably altered, as "Holy Ghost, dispel our sadness," by A. M. Toplady, in the *Gospel Magazine*, June, 1776. In Sedgwick's ed. of Toplady's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1860, p. 169, these stanzas appear:

- 1. Holy Ghost, dispel our sadness;
- 2. From that height which knows no measure.
- 3. Come, Thou best of all donations.
- 4. Known to Thee are all recesses.
- 5. Manifest Thy love for ever.
- 6. Be our Friend on each occasion.

The alteration in Sedgwick is, therefore, as follows:

Gerhardt: I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	(VIII	IX)	Х
Toplady: 1	3	2	4		5				6

The hymn appears in many centos, though it usually begins with the first stanza of the text above, "Holy Ghost, dispel our sadness." There are many centos in the original metre, but other metre has been employed also, as:

(1) 8.7.8.7.4.7 metre. Cf. a greatly altered version of stanzas I, III, in Bickersteth's *Christian Psalmody*, 1883.

(2) 8.7.8.7. metre. 10 centos. Cf. *Cong. H. Book*, 1836, 2 stanzas, and Pennsylvania *Lutheran Ch. Book*, 1868, in 3 stanzas of 8 lines.

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Other centos are:

(1) Holy Spirit, Source of gladness, in the American Unitarian *Bk. of Hymns* 1848, and other collections.

(2) **Come, Thou Source of sweetest gladness**, in Stopford Brooke's *Christian Hymns*, 1881. Both these centos are altered forms of the Jacobi-Toplady text.

2. Sweetest joy the soul can know.

A good translation, omitting stanzas VIII and IX, by Miss Winkworth, in her *Lyra Ger.*, 2d Series, 1858, p. 55, and again, altered in metre, as "Sweetest Fount of holy gladness," in her *C. B. for England*, 1863, no. 73. In this, stanzas II and IV, as in *Lyra Ger.*, are omitted. From this text is derived no. 408 of the American *Hymns of the Spirit*, 1864. Cf. also no. 105 in Stryker's *Christian Chorals, N. Y.*, 1885, which is taken from the *Chorale Book* text.

Selected Stanzas:

J. C. Jacobi, 1722, altered by A. M. Toplady, 1776, in the Schaff-Gilman *Library* of *Religious Poetry*, 1881.

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 Holy Ghost, dispel my sadness, Pierce the clouds of sinful night; Come, thou source of sweetest gladness, Breathe thy life and spread thy light! Loving Spirit, God of peace! Great distributer of grace! Rest upon this congregation, Hear, oh, hear our supplication!

Miss Winkworth, in her Chorale Book for England, 1863.

 Sweetest Fount of holy gladness, Fairest light was ever shed Who alike in joy and sadness Leavest none unvisited; Spirit of the Highest God, Lord, from whom is life bestow'd, Who upholdest ev'rything, Hear me, hear me, while I sing.

Nun danket all und bringet Ehr.--(Goed. 78.)

Appeared in *Ebeling*, 1648, no. 181.

It is based on the Apocryphal book *Sirach* I. 24, and inspired also of course by the famous hymn of Martin Rinckart¹³⁰ "Nun danket alle Gott," which may be called the German Te Deum. As a great part of Rinckart's life, was, like Gerhardt's, spent amid the horrors of the Thirty Years' War it is natural that Gerhardt should have been influenced by this voluminous writer. Rinckart's hymn was translated by Miss Winkworth in her *Chorale Book*, but for some reason she has passed over Gerhardt's verses. As Rinckart was a good musician and his melody¹³¹ was well calculated to

¹³⁰ Cf. p. 11.

¹³¹ The melody as it appeared in Crüger's *Praxis*, etc., is marked with Crüger's initials, but it was quite likely adapted from a motet by Rinckart.

please the popular ear it is not strange that his hymn has maintained itself ahead of Gerhardt's.

The only English version published is that of *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 238.

Stanza 1. In grateful songs your voices raise, All people here below, To Him whom angels ever praise In heav'n His glory show.

The translation has much more flowery language than the original and is far less direct, cf. "In grateful songs" as compared with "Nun danket all," and in the second stanza a virtual repetition of this "with gladsome songs now fill the air" for the very forceful reflexive construction "Ermuntert euch." Throughout the poem the English version brings out more emphatically than the German the idea of *life in eternity*. Cf. stanza 6:

And may his blessing ever rest.

and the last two lines of stanza 8:

Our portion when from earth we part,

To all eternity.

In the closing stanza the translation by losing the fervor of Gerhardt's verses is almost anticlimactic. The German is a fervent prayer that God may close our eyes and appear to us in eternity, while the English, in too evident an effort to effect a rhyme with *rest*, would seem to assign to the Deity a place almost secondary in importance to "our eyes." Cf. stanza 9.¹³³

When sinks the heart, when strength decays, By Him our eyes be press'd Then may we see His open face, In everlasting rest.

Zweierlei bitt ich von dir.--(Goed. 80.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 240. Based on Proverbs, XXX, 7-9.

English Versions:

 Twofold, Father, is my pray'r, Twofold the desire I there Lay before Thee, who dost give What's good for us to receive; Grant the pray'r that Thou dost know, Ere my soul to Thee must go From the body's bands below.

¹³² [But now cf. *The Lutheran Hymnal*, 1941, p. 581, "All ye who on this earth do dwell."]

¹³³ Er drücke, wann das Herze bricht Uns unsre Augen zu Und zeig uns drauf sein Angesicht Dort in der ewign Ruh.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 107.

The rhyme of the German has offered great difficulties in the last three lines of each stanza. The translator's success in meeting this obstacle has been indifferent. Cf.:

stanza 2	stanza 3	stanza 4	stanza 5	stanza 6
poverty	mood	swell	artifice	graciously
may	good	well	practices	me
lay	bestowed	extol	is	be

O Gott, mein Schöpfer, edler Fürst.--(Goed. 81.)

Based on the Apocryphal book Sirach, XXIII 1-6. It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 248.

English Versions:

 Creator, Father, Prince of might! Who life to me art giving, Unless Thou guid'st my life aright In vain here am I living. For while I'm living I am dead, To sin devoted ever; Whose life in mire of sin is led, The true life he hath never Beheld one moment even.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 109.

 God, my Creator, and my Lord, Thou Father of my spirit, To me thy constant grace afford, Or life--I well may fear it:--Nay, e'en while living were I dead, And in my sins must perish; Whose with Christ, the living bread, Shall fail his soul to nourish, Must sink to death eternal.

Dr. H. Mills in his Horae Germanicae, 1856.

Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn.--(Goed. 83.)

[Resignation]

It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 249, in 12 stanzas.

English Versions:

1. I into God's own heart and mind.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 219.

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2. To God's all-gracious heart and mind.

Miss Winkworth, 1869, p. 213.

Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr.--(Goed. 89.)

[Christian Contentment.]

Founded on Psalm CXVI, 7; Psalm XLII, 6-12; 1 Tim. VI, 6. Appeared in the 3d ed., 1648, of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 251, in 15 stanzas of 6 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 53; *Bachmann:* no. 16; Berlin *G. L. S.:* 1863, no. 851.

English Versions:

1. Ah! grieve not so, nor so lament.

A free rendering by Mrs. Findlater and Miss Borthwick of stanzas I, II, VII-X, XIII, XV, in the first Series, 1854, of the *H. L. L.*, p. 48 (1884, p. 50).

2. Why this sad and mournful guise.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 85.

3. Not so darkly, not so deep.

Miss Warner, 1858 (1861, p. 58).

4. O my soul, why dost thou grieve.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 155.

Selected Stanzas:

Mrs. Findlater (and Miss Borthwick) in their *Hymns from the Land of Luther*, 1884.

 Ah! grieve not so, nor so lament, My soul! nor troubled sigh, Because some joys to others sent Thy Father may deny; Take all as love that seems severe--There is no want if God is near.

Nach dir, O Herr, verlanget mich.--(Goed. 91.)

Based on Psalm XXV. Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 276.

English Version:

 For thee, Lord, pants my longing heart, My hope and confidence Thou art; My hope can never shaken be, Nor e'er be put to shame by Thee.

A full translation by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 88. This is one of the best pieces of interpretation as regards harmony and rhythm and the spirit of the original, that he

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has given us. Kelly is at his best in rendering the "long metre" hymns (cf. *Goed*. 260, 287, etc.). Stanza 9 is especially noteworthy:

Nun, Herr, ich bin dir wolbekannt, Mein Geist, der schwebt in deiner Hand; Du siehst, wie meine Seele thränt Und sich nach deiner Hülfe selint. Ah! Lord full well Thou knowest me,

My spirit lives and moves in Thee; Thou seest how my bleeding heart Longs for the help Thou canst impart.

Ich erhebe, Herr, zu dir.--(Goed. 93.)

Based on Psalm CXXI. It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1648, no. 279.

English Version:



 Lord! to Thee alone I raise Evermore mine eager eyes, Upturn'd is my constant gaze To the hills that pierce the skies: To the hills whence flow to me Help and saving health from Thee!

Stanza 1 of the complete translation by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 135.

Gott Lob! nun ist erschollen.--(Goed. 95.)

[Thanksgiving for the Proclamation of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 after the Thirty Years' War.]

It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1653, no. 401, 1656, no. 409, in 6 stanzas of 12 lines; *Wackernagel:* no. 64; *Bachmann:* no. 84; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 589.

English Versions:

 Thank God it hath resounded, The blessed voice of joy and Peace! And murder's reign is bounded, And spear and sword at last may cease. Bright hope is breaking o'er us Arise, my land once more, And sing in full-toned chorus Thy happy songs of yore; . . .

Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 1858, p. 156, and her *Chorale Book*, 1863. Stanzas I, V, VI, form no. 49, in M. W. Stryker's *Christian Chorals*, 1885.

2. Praise God! for forth hath sounded.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 251.

Du bist zwar mein und bleibest mein.--(Goed. 100.)

[For the Bereaved.]

This is a beautiful hymn for consolation of parents on the loss of a son The occasion of the poem was the death of Constantin Andreas, younger son of Johannes Berkov, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Berlin. It was first printed as one of the *Dulcia amicorum solatia* at the end of the funeral sermon by Georg Lilius, Berlin, 1650. Included in *Ebeling*, 1667, 6, no. 72, in 12 stanzas.

English Versions:

1. Thou'rt mine, yes, still thou art mine own.

Miss Winkworth, in her Lyra Ger., 1858, p. 123.

2. Yes, thou art mine, still mine, my son.

J. D. Burns, in the Family Treasury, p. 8, and his Remains, 1869, p. 249.

3. Mine art thou still, and mine shalt be.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 333.

4. Thou art mine own, art still mine own.

Dr. J. Guthrie, 1869, p. 100.

Selected Stanza:

 Thou'rt mine, yes, still thou art mine own! Who tells me thou art lost? But yet thou art not mine alone, I own that He who cross'd My hopes, hath greatest right in thee; Yea, though He ask and take from me Thee, O my son, my heart's delight, My wish, my thought, by day and night.

Miss Winkworth, 1858.

Lobet den Herren, alle die Ihn fürchten!--(Goed. 106.)

[Morning.]

Included in the *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 7, in 10 stanzas of 5 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 100; *Bachmann:* no. 21; Berlin G. L. S.: 1863, no. 1063.

English Versions:

1. Praise God! revere Him! all ye men that fear Him!

This is from the version in Bunsen's *Allg. G. B.*, 1846, no. 167; stanza 1 being from Gerhardt and stanzas 2, 3, from "Lobet den Herren, denn er ist sehr freundlich" (which Wackernagel quotes from a Nürnberg broadsheet about 1560). It appeared in the *Dalston Hospital H. Bk.*, 1848, no. 55, signed "A. G."

2. Our Lord be praising, All His glory raising.

H. J. Buckoll, 1842, p. 27.

3. Praise ye Jehovah, all ye men who fear Him.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 279.

Warum willst du drauszen stehen.--(Goed. 108.)

[Advent.]

Suggested by Gen. XXIV, 31. It appeared in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 78, in 9 stanzas of 8 lines; viz. stanzas I-VII, XI, XII, of the full form; stanzas VIII-X being added in *Ebeling*, 1667, 5, no. 50. The full text, in 12 stanzas, appeared also in *Wackermagel:* no. 2; *Bachmann:* no. 23; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 20.

English Versions:

1. Wherefore dost Thou longer tarry.

Miss Winkworth, omitting stanzas VIII-X, in her *Lyra Ger.*, 2d Series, 1858, p. 6. In her *C. B. for England*, 1863, no. 153, the translation of stanzas III, V, XI, are omitted.

2. Wherefore dost Thou, blest of God.

R. Massie, in Lyra Domestica, 1864, p. 90.

3. Why, without, then, art Thou staying.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 5.

Selected Stanza:

 Wherefore dost Thou longer tarry Blessed of the Lord afar? Would it were Thy will to enter To my heart, O Thou my Star, Thou my Jesus, Fount of pow'r, Helper in the needful hour! Sharpest wounds my heart is feeling, Touch them, Savior, with Thy healing!

Miss Winkworth, 1858.

Zeuch ein zu deinen Thoren.--(Goed. 111.)¹³⁴

[Whitsuntide.]

Cf. Koch IV, 231. Appeared in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 157, in 12 stanzas, viz: stanzas I-VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XVI, of the full poem. Stanza XV was added in *Ebeling*, 1666-67, no. LXXX, and stanzas IX-XI in *J. H. Feustking's* ed., 1707. The full form in 16 stanzas is in *Wackernagel:* no. 32; and *Bachmann:* no. 25; and the *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 184. The hymn was undoubtedly written during the Thirty Years' War.

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¹³⁴ For adaptations of this hymn cf. p. 136.

English Versions:

1. Retake thy own Possession.

This is a free translation omitting stanzas X-XII, in pt. II, 1725, of J. C. Jacobi's *Psalmodia Germanica*, p. 9. In his ed. of 1732, it is greatly altered, and begins "In me resume thy dwelling." From this form the translations of stanzas I, VI, XVI, were included unaltered in the Scottish *Evang. Union H. Bk.*, 1856.

2. Come to Thy temple here on earth.

A good translation omitting stanza IV, by Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 1st Series, 1855, p. 113. From this the translations of stanzas I, II, VIII, XII, were repeated in the Pennsylvania *Luth. H. Bk.*, 1865.

3. O enter, Lord, Thy temple.

A good translation by Miss Winkworth in her *Chorale Book*, of stanza I, II, V-VIII, XIV, XVI, based on her *Lyra Ger*. version. Included in full and unaltered as no. 482, 483 in Dr. Thomas' *Augustine H. Bk.*, 1866. No. 483 begins "All love is thine, O Spirit" (stanza VII). In the Pennsylvania *Luth. Ch. Bk.*, 1868, no. 250, is stanzas I-III, VI, VIII, and in the *Ohio Luth. Hyl.*, 1880, no. 106, is stanzas I, II, V, XIV, XVI.

4. Retake thy own possession, Thou glorious Guest of Hearts.

In Select H. from Ger. Psal., Tranquebar, 1754, p. 43, and the Suppl. to Ger. Psalt., ed. 1765, p. 26.

5. Come, O Thou Holy Dove.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 104.

6. Come, enter Thine own portal.

Miss Cox, 1864, p. 117. Stanzas 1 of Miss Winkworth's versions are given below:

Come to Thy temple here on earth, Be Thou my spirit's guest, Who givest us of mortal birth A second birth more blest; Spirit beloved, Thou mighty Lord, Who with the Father and the Son Reignest upon an equal throne, Art equally adored!

Lyra Ger., 1855.

O enter, Lord, Thy temple, Be Thou my spirit's guest! Who at my birth didst give me A second birth more blest. Thou in the Godhead, Lord, Though here to dwell Thou deignest, Forever equal reignest, Art equally adored.

Chorale Book, 1863.

Du Meine Seele, singe.--(Goed. 115.)

[Psalm CXLVI.]

Appeared in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 183, in 10 stanzas.

English Version:

1. O Come, my soul with singing.

Miss Burlingham, in the *British Herald*, Jan., 1866, p. 207, and as no. 423 in Reid's *Praise Bk.*, 1872.

Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund.--(Goed. 118.)

[Thanksgiving.]

Cf. Koch IV, p. 95. First published in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 186, in 18 stanzas of 4 lines; thence in Wackernagel: no. 85; Bachmann: no. 27; Crü. Praxis: 1656; Berlin G. L. S.: 1863.

English Versions:

1. O Lord! I sing with mouth and heart.

Translated in full by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 225. A cento in 6 stanzas is found in the *Ohio Lutheran Hymnal*, 1880, no. 364.

2. He never yet has made mistakes.

Stanzas XVII, XVIII, as no. 475, in part I of the Moravian H. Bk., 1754.

3. I sing to Thee with Heart and Tongue.

Appeared in the *Suppl. to Ger. Psalmody*, ed. 1765, p. 65. Included in the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1789, no. 802 (1886, no. 647), altered, and beginning: "I'll praise Thee with my heart and tongue."

4. I'll sing to Thee with mouth and heart.

Miss Cox, 1864, p. 154.

5. I'll sing to Thee with heart and mouth.

Miss Manington, 1863, p. 108.

6. My heart's warm gush breaks forth in mirth.

E. Massie, 1867.

Der Herr, der aller Enden.--(Goed. 120.)

Founded on Psalm XXIII. Appeared in the Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 224.

English Versions:

Stanza 1. The Lord, the earth who ruleth, And with His hand controlleth, Whose goodness never endeth, He watcheth me and tendeth....

A good and full translation by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 266, with a rather unusual combining of literality and metre, especially in stanza 9:

Du salbst mein Haupt mit Oele Und füllest meine Seele, Die leer und dürstig sasze, Mit vollgeschenktem Masze. My head with oil anointest My empty soul appointest Of every good and pleasure A full o'erflowing measure.

Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen.--(Goed. 122.)

¹³⁵ [alt., The Lutheran Hymnal, 1941, p. 569.]

(Cf. p. 108 ff.)

Wol dern Menschen, der nicht wandelt.--(Goed. 124.)

Appeared in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 241.

It would be inconceivable that Gerhardt should omit the first Psalm from his themes, and his hymn adapts so well the biblical text that we should expect more than the one English version of *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 130.

¹³⁶ In his rendering the translator has done well to infuse much of the poetic language of the English Bible.

Stanza 1.

Stanza 2. (Lines 1 & 2.)
Stanza 3.
(Lines $1 \& 2$)

Stanza 4. (Lines 1 & 2) Bless'd is he who never taketh
Counsel of ungodly men!
Bless'd, the right who ne'er forsaketh,
Nor in sinners' paths is seen,
Who the scorners' friendship spurns,
From their seats away who turns,
Who delight in God's word taketh,
This his meditation maketh.
Bless'd is he who pleasure taketh
In God's laws' most perfect way.
He will truly ever flourish

But he who in sin's ways goeth Is like chaff the wind before.

Who God's word delights to do.

Wol dem, der den Herren scheuet.--(Goed. 130.)

Appeared in Crü.--Runge, 1653, no. 243.

The CXIIth Psalm of David celebrating the prosperity of the godly is the basis for Gerhardt's beautiful hymn which has found great popularity in German hymn-books. The translation by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 132, is the only English version published. While Gerhardt follows quite closely the poetic language of the Bible, the translator departs often from what might be expected as the normal English equivalent of Gerhardt's diction. In the following stanzas the translation brings out excellently Gerhardt's simile and metaphor.

¹³⁶ [But now cf. Lutheran Hymnary, #455: "Blessed is the man that never."]

Stanza 1. Bless'd is he the Lord who loveth, At His word doth tremble aye! Bless'd whose heart him freely moveth God's commandments to obey. Who the Highest loves and fears, Findeth increase with the years. Of all that to him is given By the bounteous band of Heaven.

Stanza 5. When the black clouds o'er them lighten, And the pealing thunders shock They shall sit and nought shall frighten, Like the dove hid in the rock;¹³⁷ They'll remain eternally, And their memory shall be Upon every side extending, As their branches trees are sending.¹³⁸

Cf. also lines 1 and 2 of stanza 2:

His dear children shall stand ever¹³⁹ Like to roses in their blow; . . .

Schwing dich auf zu deinern Gott.--(Goed. 135.)



Appeared in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no.*288, under the title "Trost in schwerer Anfechtung." The only English version of this fervent hymn of consolation in despondency and temptation is that of *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 195. Nearly every line has the force and directness of the original especially in the verses addressed to the Soul, charging it to defy the wiles of Satan and to seek strength and consolation in Nature's bounties. Gerhardt's poem is one of close introspection and self analysis, and the translator interprets with feeling its spirit of "Trost."

IN DESPONDENCY AND TEMPTATION.

Stanza 1. Look up to thy God again, Soul, sunk in affliction! Shall He be reproach'd by men Through thy sore dejection? Satan's wiles dost thou not see? By severe temptation, Gladly would he keep from thee Jesu's consolation.

Was Gott gefällt, mein frommes Kind.--(Goed. 139.)

¹³⁷ Cf. line 36: "Wie ein Vöglein in der Kluft."

¹³⁸ Line 40: "Wie die edlen Zweig ausbreiten."

¹³⁹ Seine Kinder werden stehen

Wie die Rosen in der Blät.

[Resignation to "what pleases God."]

First appeared in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 290, in 20 stanzas of 5 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 60; *Bachmann:* no. 37; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 723.

English Versions:

1. What God decrees, child of his love.

A good rendering of stanzas I, II, V, VI, VIII, XII, XV, XVIII, XX, by Mrs. Findlater in the 3d Series, 1858, of the *H. L. L.*, p. 49 (1884, p. 170). Included in full in Bishop Ryle's *Collection*, 1860, no. 171, and abridged in *Christian Hymns*, Adelaide, 1872, and beginning "What God decrees, take patiently," in *Kennedy*, 1863, no. 1344.

2. What pleaseth God with joy receive.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 94.

3. What pleases God, O pious soul.

Miss Winkworth, 1858, p. 193.

4. What pleaseth God, my faithful child.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 189.

Selected Stanzas:

Miss Winkworth, in her *Lyra Germanica*, 1858.

 What pleases God, O pious soul, Accept with joy; though thunders roll And tempests lower on every side, Thou knowest nought can thee betide But pleases God.

2. The best will is our Father's will, And we may rest there calm and still, Oh make it hour by hour thine own, And wish for nought but that alone, Which pleases God. Mrs. Findlater in her *Hymns from the Land of Luther*, 1884.

1. What God decrees, child of his love, Take patiently, though it may prove The storm that wrecks thy treasure here:--Be comforted! thou needst not fear What pleases God. 2. The wisest will is God's own will: Rest on this anchor, and be still; For peace around

thy path shall flow, When only wishing here below

What pleases God.

3. His thought is aye the wisest thought; How oft man's wisdom comes to nought; M i s t a k e or weakness in it lurks, It brings forth ill, and seldom works What pleases God.

Die Zeit ist nunmehr nah.--(*Goed.* 142.)

[Day of Judgment--Second Advent.]

Based on Acts III, 20. It first appeared in the *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 367, in 18 stanzas of 6 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* 1843, no. 119 (1874, no. 124); *Bachmann:* no. 40; Berlin G. L. S.: ed. 1863, no. 1517.

English Versions:

1. O Christ! how good and fair.

A translation of stanzas III, IV, VI, VII, X-XIII, XVII, by Mrs. Charles in her *Voice of Christian Life in Song*, 1858, p. 242.

2. May I when time is o'er.

A translation of stanzas VII, VIII, in the Moravian H. Bk., 1789, (in later eds.) "I shall when time is o'er."

3. The time is very near.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 341.

Wir singen dir, Emanuel.--(Goed. 150.)

(Cf. p. 110 ff.)

O Jesu. Christ! dein Kripplein ist.--(Goed. 153.)

[Christmas.]

At the Manger in Bethlehem. It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1653, 1656, no. 101, in 15 stanzas. *English Versions:*

1. Be not dismay'd--in time of need.

(Stanza XI) in the Moravian H. Bk., 1789, no. 236.

2. O blessed Jesus! This.

Miss Winkworth, in her Lyra Ger., 1858, p. 18.

3. Jesus Christ! Thy cradle is.

Miss Manington, 1864, p. 41.

4. Thy manger is my paradise.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 26.

Selected Stanza:

Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Germanica*, 1858, p. 18. GOD WITH US.

> Stanza 1. O Blessed Jesus! This Thy lowly manger is The Paradise where oft my soul would feed: Here is the place, my Lord, Where lies the Eternal Word Clothed with our flesh, made like to us indeed.

Frölich soll mein Herze springen.--(Goed. 155.)

[Christmas.]

(Cf. Koch IV, p. 130.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1653 and 1656, no. 104, in 15 stanzas of 8 lines; reprinted in Wackernagel: no. 5; and Bachmann: no. 44; Unv. L. S.: 1851, no. 35.

Lauxmann, in *Koch*, VIII, 26, thus analyses it:

"First a trumpet blast: Christ is born, God's Champion has appeared as a Bridegroom from his chamber (I, II). In the following 4 stanzas the poet seeks to set forth the mighty value of the Incarnation: is it not love when God gives us the Son of His Love (III), the Kingdom of Joy (IV) and His Fellowship (V)? Yes, it is indeed the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world (VI). Now he places himself as herald by the cradle of the Divine Child (VII). He bids, as in Matt. XI, 28, all men (VIII), all they that labor (IX), all the heavy laden (X), and all the poor (XI), to draw near. Then in conclusion he approaches in supplication like the shepherds and the Wise Men (XII-XV). He adores the child as the source of life (XII), his Lamb of God (XIII), his Glory (XIV), and promises to be ever true to Him (XV). It is a glorious series of Christmas thoughts, laid as a garland on the manger at Bethlehem."

Crüger gave the hymn an original melody in 1656 (as in L. Erk's *Choralbuch*, 1863, no. 86), but the melody generally used (in *Church Hymns* called "Bonn") is that by J. G. Ebeling in the *Geistliche Andachten*, 1666, to "Warum sollt ich mich derm grämen."¹⁴⁰ The hymn is very beautiful, but somewhat long, hence generally abridged.

English Versions:

1. Let the voice of glad thanksgiving.

A good translation of stanzas I-III, VI-IX, by A. T. Russell, as no. 15, in the *Dalston Hospital Hymn Bk.*, 1848, and repeated, in part, as no. 56, in his own *Psalms and Hymns*, 1851.

2. All my heart this night rejoices.

A beautiful, but rather free translation omitting stanzas III-V, XIII, XIV, by Miss Winkworth in the 2d series of her *Lyra Ger.*, 1858, p. 13. In America it appeared in the Dutch Reformed *Hymns*



of the Church, 1869, the Hymns and Songs of Praise, N. Y., 1874, etc. Parts have appeared also in the *New Zealand Hymnal*, 1872, the *Evangelistic Hymnal*, N. Y., 1890, and *Laudes Domini*, N. Y., 1884, etc. It is very generally included in cento form in nearly all current American hymnals.

3. All my heart with joy is springing.

A free translation by Dr. Kennedy in his *Hymnologia Christiana*, 1863, no. 100, omitting stanzas III-V, IX, XIII, XIV.

4. Lightly bound my bosom, ringing.

A translation in full, by Dr. M. Loy, in the Ohio Luth. Hymnal, 1880.

5. Now in His manger He so humbly lies.

A translation of stanza V in the Moravian H. Bk., 1754, no. 435.

6. Up, my heart! rejoice with singing.

As a broadsheet for Christmas, 1770.

7. Rise, my soul, shake off all sadness.

P. H. Molther, in the Moravian H. Bk., 1789 and 1886.

8. Now with joy my heart is bounding.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 18.

9. Up, with gladness heavenward springing.

E. Massie, 1867, p. 24.

10. Joyful be my spirit singing.

N. L. Frothingham, 1870, p. 260.

11. Joyful shall my heart, upspringing.

M. W. Stryker, 1883, p. 30.

Selected Stanzas:

A. T. Russell, in his Psalms and Hymns, 1851.

 Let the voice of glad thanksgiving Upward rise, to the skies--Praises from all living. Hark! the angel-choirs from heaven Hither fly! hark! they cry, Christ to earth is given!

Miss Winkworth, 1858, in her Lyra Germanica.

 All my heart this night rejoices, As I hear, far and near, Sweetest angel voices: "Christ is born," their choirs are singing, Till the air everywhere Now with joy is ringing.

Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier.--(Goed. 158.)

[Christmas.]¹⁴¹

Included in *Crü. Praxis:* 1653, no. 105, 1656, no. 105, in 15 stanzas of 7 lines; *Wackernagel:* no. 9; *Bachmann:* no. 45; Berlin *G. L. S.:* 1863, no. 167.

This is a beautiful hymn in which the poet puts himself in the place of the shepherds and the wise men visiting Bethlehem; and in praise and adoration tenders his devotion, his love and his all to the Infant Savior in the manger.

English Versions:

1. Stanzas I, IV, VII, XV, have been translated by Rev. A. T. Russell in his *Ps. and Hys.*, 1851, no. 57. His translation of stanza I is as follows:

My faith Thy lowly bed beholds, My Life and my Salvation; Thee in my heart my faith enfolds, And brings Thee her oblation. My heart and soul, will, spirit, mind, Oh, take them all, to Thee resign'd: Make all to Thee well-pleasing.

2. I stand beside Thy manger-bed.

Miss Manington, 1864, p. 38.

3. Now at the manger here I stand.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 32.

Hör an! mein Herz, die sieben Wort.--(Goed. 161.)

[Passiontide. (The seven words from the Cross.)]

Founded on the hymn of J. Böschenstein: "Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund" (which was called a translation from the Latin of Peter Bolandus, "Stabat ad lignum crucis"). It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1653, no. 137, 1656, no. 137, in 15 stanzas.

English Versions:

1. Come now, my soul, thy thoughts engage.

Dr. H. Mills, 1845, 1856, p. 309.

2. Seven times the Savior spake--my heart.

R. Massie, in the British Herald, Sept., 1865, p. 133.

3. My heart! the seven words hear now.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 63.

Selected Stanza:

¹⁴¹ This is Gerhardt's third Christmas hymn (cf. also *Goed.* 150, 153, 155, 310, 312). It is very probable that in composing it the poet had in mind the words of St. Jerome of Strido, abbot of a monastic brotherhood in Bethlehem 386-420: "As often as I gaze on this place (the manger at Bethlehem), so often does my heart converse with the Infant Jesus which lay there in the manger . . . I say . . . "I must give Thee something, Dear Child! I will give Thee all my wealth," and the child answered--"Give it to the poor, I will accept it as if it were given me."--cf. *Koch* IV, p. 137.

Dr. H. Mills in his Horae Germanicae, 1856.

 Come now, my soul, thy thoughts engage On what by Christ was spoken, When on the cross man's deadly rage With griefs his heart had broken. His words may prove A gift of love, The best his love could offer; Keep them in store, And learn their pow'r, When call'd thyself to suffer.

Sei frölich alles weit und breit.--(Goed. 171.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 171.142

English Version:

 Be joyful all, both far and near, Who lost were and dejected: To-day the Lord of glory here, Whom God Himself elected As our Redeemer, who His blood Upon the cross shed for our good, Hath from the grave arisen.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 75.

This is stanza 1 of a complete translation of the seven stanzas of Gerhardt's Easter hymn, keeping well the spirit and fervor of the original, at the same time observing the literality in an unusually difficult metre. Cf. stanza 7:

Nu Gott sei Dank, der uns den Sieg Durch Jesum hat gegeben Und uns den Frieden für den Krieg Und für den Tod das Leben Erworben, der die Sünd und Tod, Welt, Teufel, Höll und was in Not Uns stürzet, überwunden. Now praised be God, who vict'ry hath To us through Jesus given, Who peace for war, and life for death, With entrance into Heaven, Hath purchas'd, who death, sin, and woe, World, devil, what our overthrow Would seek, for aye hath vanquish'd.

62

Gott Vater, sende deinen Geist.--(Goed. 173.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 198.

English Versions:

¹⁴² Goedeke states in his note to this hymn (p. 171): "In Crüger's Praxis ist Christ(ian) Bartholdi unterzeichnet, aber von Ebeling als Gerhardt's aufgenommen, und auch wol von ihm selbst mitgetheilt...."

Stanza 1. O Father! send Thy spirit down, Whom we are bidden by Thy Son To seek, from Thy high heaven; . . .

A complete translation by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 78, a version of very varying excellence. For example, stanza 15 seems hopelessly weak when compared with the vigorous and simple German:

O selig, wer in dieser Welt Läszt diesem Gaste Haus und Zelt In seiner Seel aufschlagen! Wer Ihn aufnimmt in dieser Zeit Den wird er dort zur ewgen Freud In Gottes Hütte tragen. Oh! happy are the souls and bless'd Who while on earth permit this Guest To make in them His dwelling; Who now receive him joyfully, He'll take up to God's house on high, Their souls with rapture filling.

On the other hand in stanza 5 the translator has coped very successfully with the many difficulties of rhyme and metre:

Und das ist auch ein Gnadenwerk Und deines heilgen Geistes Stärk; In uns ist kein Vermögen. Wie bald würd unser Glaub und Treu, Herr, wo du uns nicht stündest bei Sich in die Aschen legen! This is a work of grace indeed, The Holy Spirit's strength we need, Our pow'r is unavailing; Our faith and our sincerity Would soon, O Lord! in ashes lie Were not Thy help unfailing.

Was alle, Weisheit in der Welt.--(Goed. 176.)

[Trinity Sunday.]

Appeared in *Crü. Praxis*: 1653, no. 206, 1656, no. 212, in 8 stanzas of 9 lines; thence in *Wackernagel*: no. 1; *Bachmann*: no. 59; Berlin *G. L. S.*: 1863, no. 50.

English Versions:

1. Scarce Tongue can speak, ne'er human ken.

A translation in full, by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 1.

2. The mystery hidden from the eyes.

R. Massie, in his Lyra Domestica, 1864, p. 87.

Wie lang, O Herr, wie lange soll.--(Goed. 178.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 365.

Translated by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 235, in seven stanzas of seven lines each. The rhyme and metre have been altered after the first four lines in each stanza, with the result that the version is one of this translator's least successful contributions.

Stanza 1. How long, Lord, in forgetfullness And darkness wilt Thou leave me? How long will sorrow on me press And deep heart-anguish grieve me? Wilt Thou Thy face, Lord, utterly Turn from me? wilt ne'er look on me In grace and in compassion?

Befiehl du deine Wege.--(Goed. 185.)

(Cf. p. 114 ff.)

O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht.--(Goed. 200.)

[Love of Christ.]

Cf. *Koch* IV, 402, VIII, 294. Included in the 5th ed., Berlin, 1653, and the Frankfurt ed., 1656, of *Crü. Praxis*, in 16 stanzas of 9 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 45; *Bachmann:* no. 73; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 771. This is one of the finest hymns on the Love of Christ. It is founded on Prayer V of Class II in Johann Arndt's *Paradiszgärtlein*, 1612.¹⁴³

English Versions:

(A.) Wesley.

1. Jesus, Thy boundless love to me.

A full and very fine translation by J. Wesley in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739 (P. Works, 1868-72, vol. I, p. 138).¹⁴⁴ In the *Wesleyan Hymn Book*, 1780, it was reduced to 9 stanzas. Centos of the Wesley version are:

(1.) O Love, how cheering is Thy ray. (Stanza III.)

Bk. of Hymns, Boston, U. S. A., 1848.

(2.) My Savior, Thou Thy love to me. (Stanza V.)

Moravian H. Bk., 1789.

(3.) More hard than marble is my heart. (Stanza VI.)

American Sabbath H. Bk., 1858.

(4.) O draw me, Savior, after Thee. (Stanza IX.)

Snepp's Songs of G. and G. Pennsylvania Luth. Ch. Bk., 1868.

(5.) O draw me, Father, after Thee. (Stanza IX altered.)

Bk. of Hymns, Boston, U. S. A., 1848. Amer. Unitarian H. Bk., 1869.

(6.) Still nigh me, O my Savior stand.

This stanza is taken from a hymn "Peace, doubting heart, my God's I am," by C. Wesley. To this is added in Snepp's *Songs of G. and G.*, stanzas XII, XIV, XVI, and in J. L. Porter's *Collection*, 1876, stanzas XII, XV, XVI, of this translation of J. Wesley.

(7.) Thou Friend of Sinners! Who hast bought.

This is stanzas V, IV, XVI, rewritten by E. Osler and published in the Mitre H. Bk., 1836.

(B.) Other English versions:

¹⁴³ This hymn led Philipp Friedrich Hiller to think of turning all of these prayers in the *Paradiszgärtlein* into hymns. The result was his work entitled "Arndt's Paradiszgärtlein . . . in teutsche Lieder," Nürnberg (no date given). The book is in four parts and contains 301 hymns, 297 being founded on Arndt and 4 original.



¹⁴⁴ [Cf. Collection of Hymns, #373.]

1. O Christ, my sweetest Life and Light.

In the *Suppl. to German Psal.*, ed. 1765, p. 29, and the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1754 (and with slight change in the ed. of 1789, and 1849), viz: In the 1746 ed. in part II there appear as a separate hymn stanzas V-VII, beginning "Thou cam'st in love to my relief." In the 1789, and 1849 ed., it begins "O Christ, my only Life and Light."

2. O Jesus Christ! my fairest Light.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 122.

3. O Christ, my Light, my gracious Savior.

In the Moravian H. Bk., 1886.

Selected Stanzas:

In the Moravian Hymn Book, 1754 (author's name not given).

 O Christ my sweetest Life and Light! Whose loving Condescension Embraces me by day and night Beyond my comprehension: Lord! grant me to return thy Love With due and true devotion, That my notion Of Mercy may improve With ev'ry thought and motion.

J. Wesley, 1739, in the 1754 ed., Part I, of the Moravian Hymn Book.

 Jesu, thy boundless Love to me No thought can reach, no tongue declare: O knit my thankful heart to Thee And reign without a rival there. Thine wholly, thine alone I am: Be thou alone my constant Flame.

J. Wesley, 1739, in *Snepp's Songs of Grace and Glory, 1872*. It is stanza 2 of a hymn beginning "Still nigh me, O my Savior stand" in *Snepp*, and Gerhardt's stanza XII: "Was ists, o Schönster, dasz ich nicht / In deiner Liebe habe?" etc.

Stanza 1. What in Thy love possess I not? My star by night, my sun by day; My spring of life, when parched with drought, My wine to cheer, my bread to stay, My strength, my shield, my safe abode, My robe before the throne of God!

Ich danke dir demütiglich.--(Goed. 205.)

Appeared in the *Crü. Praxis*, 1656, no. 318. From Johann Arndt's *Paradiszgärtlein* (Goslar, 1621, 4), 3, 17, p. 294, "Gebet um zeitliche und ewige Wolfahrt."

English Versions:

Stanza 1. O God, my Father! thanks to Thee I bring with deep humility, That Thou Thine anger endest, And that Thy Son Our joy and Crown Into the world Thou sendest....

A complete translation by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 117. In stanza 14 the translator has, in honor to Queen Victoria, altered the original which reads:

Insonderheit nimin wol in Acht Den Fürsten . . . etc.

to

Make Her Thy care especially, Whom Thou as monarch hast raised high This land and nation over; . . . etc.

Ach! treuer Gott, barmherzigs Herz.--(Goed. 209.)

[Cross and Consolation.]

Founded on a prayer "for patience under great trial," no. XXV in Class III of J. Arndt's¹⁴⁵ *Paradiszgärtlein*, 1612. It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, Frankfurt, 1656, no. 391, in 16 stanzas of 7 lines, and was included in many subsequent hymn books, as recently as the *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 693; also in *Wackernagel:* no. 57; and in *Bachmann:* no. 80.

English Versions:

1. O God most true, most merciful!

A good ada	aptation in 4 stanzas	by Rev. A.	T. Russell in his <i>l</i>	Psalms and Hymns, as follows: &
G e r h a r d t I stanza	(III III)	IV	V	(VI VII VIII X XI IX)
Russell stanza 1		2	3	4
	• •	1.0	1 10/2	

This version appears in an altered form in *Kennedy*, 1863, no. 665. "O God of mercy full and free."

2. O faithful God! O pitying heart.

66

A good translation in 11 stanzas by Miss Winkworth in the 2d Series, 1858, of her *Lyra Ger.*, and thence in the Gilman-Schaff *Lib. of R. P.*, 1883, p. 837. The correspondence of stanzas is as follows:

Gehadt I stanzas	II	(III)	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	(IX)	Х	(XI)	XII	(XIII) XIV	X V XVI
Wilkwoh 1 stanzas	2		3	4	5	6	7		8		9	10	11

The translation of stanzas X, XII, XIV, XVI, beginning "O Thou, who diedst to give us life," appear as no. 327, in *Church Praise*, 1883.

3. Ah! faithful God, compassionate heart.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 164.

Barmherziger Vater, höchster Gott.--(Goed. 212.)

Based on Joh. Arndt's Creutzgebet. It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 382.

English Version:

Stanza 1. Father of mercies! God most high, Deign graciously to hear me, Thou say'st, "Knock at my door and cry, In time of need draw near to me. As urgently Thou long'st, to thee, That with thy mouth, In very truth, Thou joyfully may'st praise me." etc.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 175.

Ich weisz, mein Gott, dasz all mein Thun.--(Goed. 217.)

[Supplication.]

A prayer for success in all Christian works and purpose; founded on Jeremiah X, 23, and Acts V, 38, 39. Cf. *Koch* IV, 98. Included in *Crü. Praxis*, 1653, no. 321, 1656, no. 332, in 18 stanzas of 5 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 40; *Bachmann:* no. 71; Berlin, *G. L. S.:* 1863.

In the *Ebeling* edition the hymn has the title: "Um Glück und Segen zu allem christlichen Thun und Vorhaben." It has on many occasions been given as a farewell injunction by parents to their children on leaving home.

English Versions:

1. I know, my God, and I rejoice.

(Stanzas I-III, VIII, XI, IX) by Miss Winkworth in her Chorale Book, 1863, no. 121.

2. My God! my works and all I do.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 102.

Selected Stanzas:

Miss Winkworth in her Chorale Book, 1863.

- I know, my God, and I rejoice That on Thy righteous will and choice All human works and schemes must rest: Success and blessing are of Thee, What Thou shalt send is surely best.
- It stands not in the power of man To bring to pass the wisest plan So surely that it cannot fail; Thy counsel, Highest, must ensure That our poor wisdom shall avail.

Du bist ein Mensch, das weiszt du wol.--(Goed. 220.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 330.

A hymn of self-abnegation, even self-denunciation, emphasizing the frailty and insignificance of mortals, and closing with an admonition of resignation to God's wise dispensations. Though Gerhardt frequently employs this form of rhyme¹⁴⁶ only rarely does he combine it with this metre. Both have been strictly observed by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 148:

Stanza 1. Thou art but man, to thee 'tis known, Why dost thou then endeavor To do what God should do alone, Or can accomplish ever? A thousand griefs thou goest through, In spite of all thy wit can do; Upon thine end thou pond'rest What it will be thou wond'rest.

Ich habs verdient. Was will ich doch.--(Goed. 224.)

Appeared in the Crü. Praxis, 1656, 817, no. 374.

English Version:

Stanza 1.	I have deserv'd it, cease t'oppose
	The Lord's will, shall I never?
	Thou bitter cup, thou heavy cross,
	Come hither to me ever!
	From pain all free
	May never be
	He 'gainst the Lord who fighteth,
7	As I each day,
	Who trod the way
68	Wherein the world delighteth

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 165.

This is one of the least adaptable poems of Gerhardt and it is evident that the translator has struggled with the many difficulties of metre and frequent rhyme.

Ich hab oft bei mir selbst gedacht.--(Goed. 226.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1656, no. 331.

English Version:

¹⁴⁶ I.e. ab ab cc dd. Cf. nos. 62, 76, 100, 108, 124, 127, 130, 145, 149, 256, 263, 307, 321.

Stanza 1. Full often as I meditate Upon the world's disordered state, I ask myself if earthly life Be good, and worthy of the strife, Has he not acted for the best Who laid himself betimes to rest?

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 143.

A free, but very acceptable rendering in which the easy colloquial style of the original has been well retained. Cf. lines 7 and 8:

"Denn, Lieber, denk und sage mir: Was für ein Stand ist wol allhier." "Reflect, my friend, say, if you know What station is there here below"

Ist Gott für mich, so trete.--(Goed. 229.)

(Cf. p. 126 ff.)

Auf den Nebel folgt die Sonne.--(Goed. 232.)

[Thanksgiving after great sorrow and affliction.]

It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1653, no. 236, and 1656, no. 249, in 15 stanzas of 7 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 87; *Bachmann:* no. 64; *Unv. L. S.:* no. 402. Cf. *Koch* IV, 545.

English Versions:

1. Cometh sunshine after rain.

Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 1st Series, 1855, p. 100 (omitting stanzas IV-VII, X, XI). In her 1856 ed. the translation of stanzas X and XI is added. In the *Christian H. Bk.*, Cincinnati, 1865, no. 799 begins with her stanza no. XIII "Now as long as here I roam."

2. After clouds we see the sun.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 261.

Selected Stanzas:

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Ger., 1855.

- Cometh sunshine after rain, After mourning joy again. After heavy bitter grief Dawneth surely sweet relief; And my soul, who from her height Sank to realms of woe and night, Wingeth now to heav'n her flight.
- He, whom this world dares not face, Hath refreshed me with his grace, And his mighty hand unbound Chains of hell, about me wound; Quicker, stronger, leaps my blood, Since his mercy, like a flood, Poured o'er all my heart for good.

Soll ich meinem Gott nicht singen.--(Goed. 235.)

[Thanksgiving.] Cf. Koch, IV, 91 ff.

One of Gerhardt's finest hymns, setting forth God's love in His creation, redemption and sanctification of the world, His care in trouble. It closes with a prayer which R. Massie renders:

Grant me grace, O God, I pray Thee, That I may with all my might Love and trust Thee and obey Thee, All the day and all the night; And when this brief life is o'er Love and praise Thee evermore.

The hymn was included in the 5th ed., Berlin, 1653, and in the Frankfurt ed., 1656, of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 230; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 81; *Bachmann:* no. 60; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 722.

English Versions:

1. Shall I not his praise be singing.

Dr. Mills in his Horae Germanicae, 1845, p. 141, and 1856, p. 195.

This is a mediocre version, as it misses the characteristic points of the German. His stanzas II, IV-VII beginning "As the eagle fondly hovers," were included in the Amer. Luth. Gen. Synod's *Collection*, 1850-52, no. 35.

2. Shall I not sing praise to Thee.

A full and good translation by Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 1st Series, 1855; p. 200; also, omitting stanzas III-VI, VIII in her *C. B. for England*, 1863, no. 10. Included in full in *Cantate Domino*, Boston, U. S. A., 1859.

3. I will sing my Maker's praises.

A good translation omitting stanzas VI, VIII, contributed by R. Massie to the 1857 ed. of Mercer's C. P. & H. Bk., no. 185, reprinted in his own Lyra Domestica, 1864.¹⁴⁷

4. Can I fail my God to praise.

A translation of stanzas I, III, IV, by F. C. C., as no. 218, in Dr. Pagenstecher's *Collection*, 1864.

5. Should I not, in meek adoring.

A translation of stanzas I-III by M. W. Stryker in his *Hymns & Verses*, 1883, p. 38, and *Christian Chorals*, 1885, no. 36.

6. Can I cease, my God, from singing.

In Lyra Davidica, 1708, p. 22.

7. Shan't I sing to my Creator.

J. C. Jacobi, 1732, p. 153. Repeated in the Moravian Hymn Books, 1754-1886, in some editions beginning, "I will sing to my Creator."

8. Shall I not my God be praising.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 240.

Selected Stanzas:

Dr. Mills in his Horae Germanicae, 1856.

¹⁴⁷ [Cf. Lutheran Hymnary, #436]

 Shall I not His praise be singing Who in glory reigns above:--Him my thanks and honors bringing, For the blessings of his love? Those, who with sincere endeavor Keep the way that He has shown, He will as his children own, Yielding them a father's favor. All things else their time will last But His love, when Time is past.

Miss Winkworth, in her Chorale Book for England, 1863.

 Shall I not sing praise to Thee, Shall I not give thanks, O Lord? Since for us in all I see How thou keepest watch and ward; How the truest tend'rest love Ever fills Thy heart, my God, Helping, cheering, on their road All who in Thy service move.

M. W. Stryker, 1882, in his Christian Chorals, 1885.



 Should I not, in meek adoring, Thank my gracious God above Whom I see on all things pouring Forth the sunshine of His love? For 'tis naught but Love's own loving In his constant heart, doth care Endlessly to love and bear Those their love, in service proving. All things last their portioned day--God's love to eternity.

Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud.--(Goed. 239.)

(Cf. p. 131 ff.)

Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt.--(Goed. 256.)

[Good Friday.]

Founded on John III, 16. It appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1661, no. 372, in 17 stanzas. *English Version:*

1. Be of good cheer in all your wants.

P. H. Molther, of stanza 16, as no. 181 in the Moravian H. Bk., 1789 (1886, no. 217).

Herr, aller Weisheit Quell und Grund.--(Goed. 260.)

Appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1661, 576, no. 373.

English Version:

O God! from Thee doth wisdom flow, All I can do Thou well dost know; If Thine own grace doth not sustain, Then all my labor is in vain...

A complete and very good translation by *J. Kelly*. The long metre of 8 syllables seems to lend itself more readily to adaptation into English. In the fourth stanza, first line, Kelly has resorted to a device common to translators, that of making up the extra accent where the corresponding English cognate has lost the ending, by selecting instead of a monosyllabic adverb an adverb of two syllables. Here, of course, "very" for "sehr" makes literality and meter perfect.

Mein Leben ist sehr kurz und schwach My life is very short and weak.

As exact and appropriate translation as is possible word for word is found in stanza ???:

Ich lieb ihr¹⁴⁸ liebes Angesicht, Sie ist meins Herzens Freud und Licht; Sie ist die schönste, die mich halt Und meinen Augen wolgefällt.

I love her lovely face so bright. She is my joy and heart's delight The fairest is that holdeth me Mine eyes she pleaseth wondrously.

Jesu, allerliebster Bruder.--(Goed. 263.)

Based on Johann Arndt's Paradiszgärtlein, 1, 33, 92. It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1661, no. 374.

English Version:

 Jesus! Thou, my dearest Brother, Who dost well to me intend, Thou mine Anchor, Mast, and Rudder And my truest Bosom-Friend. To Thee, ere was earth or heaven, Had the race of man been given; Thou, e'en me, poor guest of earth, Chosen hadst before my birth. . . .

A complete translation by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 112. The translator has well rendered a hymn of rather unusual difficulty of interpretation in a foreign tongue.

An unavoidable weakening by translation appears in the last stanza:

Nun, Herr lasz dirs wolgefallen,	Gracious Savior! let it please				
Bleib mein Freund bis in mein	Thee,				
Grab!	Be my Friend in every hour				
Bleib mein Freund und unter allen	Be my Friend, till death release				
Mein getreuster stärkster Stab!	me				
	Be my faithful Staff of pow'r!				

Geduld ist euch vonnöten.--(Goed. 267.)

Based on Hebrews X, 35-37. It appeared in Crü. Praxis, 1661, no. 375.

English Version:

 'Tis patience must support you When sorrow, grief, or smart, Or whate'er else may hurt you Doth rend your aching heart. Belov'd and chosen seed! If not a death will kill you, Yet once again I tell you 'Tis patience that you need....

By *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 184. A complete translation of the 14 stanzas, and in general very true to the original. It is noteworthy that the first line of each stanza contains the word "patience" as does the poem of Gerhardt the word "Geduld." Kelly's rendering of the last four lines illustrates as well as any the faithfulness of his version.

Kommt dann der letzte Zug, So gib durch deine Hände Auch ein geduldigs Ende! So hab ich alles gnug. And in my dying hour, Thy mercy still extending, Oh! grant a patient ending Then need I nothing more.

Nun sei getrost und unbetrübt.--(Goed. 271.)

Subjoined to a funeral address by Johann Meiszner.

This is one of Gerhardt's many "Trostgesänge," and though less well known than most of his hymns is deserving of wider recognition than it has hitherto received. As far as is at present known there has been published but one English version, that of *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 329, the first stanza of which is as follows:

"JOYFUL RESIGNATION TO A HAPPY DEPARTURE FROM THIS WEARY WORLD."

Stanza 1. Be glad, my heart! now fear no more, Let nothing ever grieve thee; Christ lives, who lov'd thee long before Thy being He did give thee, And ere He made thy wondrous frame; His love remaineth still the same, It ne'er can change to hatred.

It is unfortunate that the translator has been satisfied with "glad" for the forceful "getrost" which connotes "confidence" and "trust" (to which it is indeed cognate)¹⁴⁹ and even "comfort in that confidence" to the point of being "courageous." More pardonable is his balking at the characteristic alliterative "Geist und Gemüte" which must mean not only the "feelings," but also "soul" and "intellect" as well. If "heart" be accepted in this broadest sense it is undoubtedly the best English equivalent. The psychology of language would presumably never allow in poetry a literal word-for-word rendering of "Geblüte, Fleisch, Haut," and the English reader is

149 Cf. p. 22.

⁷⁸

denied the poetic force of "ward"¹⁵⁰ also beautifully illustrated so frequently in the German Bible. Again it must be accounted a defect that the passive "ward zugericht" (1. 5) is changed to an active construction. The German passive is never used without sufficient reason, and Gerhardt chooses here to imply the divine mystery of birth. Here the English is too specific. On the other hand where the German is direct, "Dein Jesus" (1. 3), "Geblüte, Fleisch, Haut," (1. 4, 5), "Der" (1. 6), the English descends to the general.

Stanza 7 preserves more of the "Stimmung" of the original:

Thou Jesus! O thou sweetest Friend, My light and life art ever! Thou boldest me, dost me defend, The foe can move Thee never. In Thee I am, Thou art in me, As we are here, we'll ever be, Nought here or there can part us.

It is difficult to see, however, why "allerliebster Freund" (line 43) could not have its logical equivalent "dearest Friend";¹⁵¹ and similarly in line 48, "Und wie wir stehen," might equally be "And as we are," instead of "As we are here," which seems rather forced.

Gib dich zufrieden, und sei stille.--(Goed. 274.)

[Cross and Consolation.]

Founded on Psalm XXXVII, 7. It appeared in Ebeling, 1666, 1, no. 11, in 15 stanzas.

English Versions:

1. Be thou content: be still before.

Miss Winkworth, 1855, p. 156, and in Bishop Ryle's Collection, 1860, no. 269.

2. Be thou contented! aye relying.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 202.

3. Tranquilly lead thee, peace possessing.

N. L. Frothingham, 1870, p. 246.

Selected Stanza:

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Germanica, 1855, p. 156.

¹⁵⁰ Und Fleisch und Haut *ward* zugericht; line 5.

¹⁵¹ Line 43: "Thou Jesus! O Thou sweetest Friend."

Stanza 1. Be thou content; be still before
His face, at whose right hand doth reign
Fulness of joy forever more,
Without whom all thy toil is vain.
He is thy living spring, thy sun, whose rays
Make glad with life and light thy dreary days.
Be thou content.

Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden.--(Goed. 284.)

[Eternal Life.]

Based on Psalm XXXIX, 12, "I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were." Cf. also Psalm CXIX, "I am a stranger in the earth." It was first published in *Ebeling*, Berlin, 1666; reprinted in *Wackernagel:* 1843, no. 112; and *Bachmann:* no. 98; and included as no. 824, in the *Unv. L. S.:* 1851.

English Versions:152

1. A pilgrim and a stranger, I journey here below.

A good translation in 7 stanzas by Miss Jane Borthwick, in *H. L. L.*, 3d Series, 1858, p. 13, 1884, p. 139¹⁵³, as follows:

Gahart	Ι	II III	IV	(V) V	VI VII	VIII IX	(X)	XI	XII	XIII XIV
Bitwick	1	2	3		4	5			6	7

2. A pilgrim here I wander, On earth have no abode.

A translation in 10 stanzas by Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 2d Series, 1858, p. 173, and in her *Chorale Book*, 1863, no. 148, altered by stanzas as follows:

Gahart	Ι	Π	III	(IV	V	VI	VII)	VIII	IX	Х	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
Wilkyda	1	2	3					4	5	6	7	8	9	10

In Holy Song, 1869, it begins: "As pilgrims here we wander."

3. A rest here have I never, A guest on earth am I.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 316.

4. On earth I'm but a pilgrim.

G. Wade in the U. P. Juvenile Missionary Magazine, 1859, p. 252.

Selected Stanzas:

Miss Winkworth in her *Chorale Book*, Miss Borthwick in her *Hymns from the* 1863. *Land of Luther*, 1858,1884.

Stanza 1.

Stanza 1.

¹⁵² For adaptations of this hymn cf. p. 140 ff.

¹⁵³ [alt., The Lutheran Hymnal, 1941, p. 586.]

A pilgrim here I wander, On earth have no abode, My fatherland is yonder, My home is with my God, For here I journey to and fro, There in eternal rest Will God his gracious gift bestow On all the toil-oppress'd. A Pilgrim and a stranger, I journey here below; Far distant is my country, The home to which I go. Here I must toil and travel, Oft weary and opprest; But there my God shall lead me To everlasting rest.

Herr, du erforschest meinen Sinn.--(Goed. 287.)

Appeared in *Ebeling*, 1666, 2, no. 23.

English Versions:

1. Lord, Thou my heart dost search and try.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 138. &

In his last stanza Kelly has nearly equalled the original in happily choosing for many of the words the exact English cognate:

Erforsch, Herr, all mein Herz und Mut Sieh, ob mein Weg sei recht und gut, Und führe mich bald himmelan Den ewgen Weg, die Freudenbahn.

Lord, search and know my heart and mood, See if my way be right and good, The everlasting joyful road Lead me that brings me home to God.



Was traurest du, mein Angesicht.--(Goed. 289.)

Appeared in *Ebeling*, 1666, 2, 24.

Of Gerhardt's hymns treating of Death, the Last Day, and Eternal Life, this is one of the least well known, and has not been retained in many German hymn books, mainly because of the mixed metaphor and the many unpoetic lines. It is translated in full by *J. Kelly*, 1867, no. 322, in stanzas of 7 lines, the long fifth line with the double rhyme being written as two short lines,

> Stanza 1. My face, why should'st thou troubled be When thou of death art hearing? Know it, it cannot injure thee, Contemplate it, ne'er fearing. When thou dost know Death, all its woe
> Will soon be disappearing.

In stanza 19 Kelly has made the first personal pronoun predominant with the result that greater smoothness is obtained. He has, however, been obliged to omit

what in the German are the best touches, namely the thoughts contained in "mein Hirt," "leiten" and "immergrün":

O süsze Lust, o edle Ruh, O fromme Seelen Freude, Komm, schleusz mir meine Augen zu, Dasz ich mit Fried abscheide Hin, da mein Hirt mich leiten wird Zur immergrimen Weide.

O sweetest joy, O blessed rest! To all true-hearted given, Come, let mine eyes by Thee be pressed, In peace take me to heaven. May I roam there 'Mong pastures fair Where day ne'er knoweth even.

Die güldne Sonne.--(Goed. 293.)

[Morning.]

First appeared in *Ebeling*, 1666, 3, no. 25, entitled "Morgensegen"; thence * in *Wackernagel:* no. 98; *Bachmann:* no. 101; *Crü. Praxis:* 1672; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 449. (The melody is by Ebeling. It is called in the *Irish Ch. Hymnal* "Franconia.")

Lauxmann in *Koch*, VIII, 185, calls this "A splendid hymn of our poet, golden as the sun going forth in his beauty, full of force and blessed peace in the Lord, full of sparkling thoughts of God."

English Versions:

1. The golden sunbeams with their joyous gleams.

A translation by Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Ger., 1855. Her translations of verses as follows:												
Cahad	Ι	II	III	IV	(V	VI	VII)	VIII	IX	(X	XI)	XII
Wilwoh	1	2	3	4				5	6			7
						~				<u> </u>		

Her version appears in *Kennedy*, 1863, no. 814, with the omission of the translation of Gerhardt's stanzas II, VIII, IX.

2. Evening and Morning.

A good translation beginning with stanza IV ("Abend und Morgen") by R. Massie in the 1857 ed. of Mercer's *Church Psalter and Hymn Book*. The version has these stanzas:

Gerhardt:	IV		VIII	IX	Х	XI	XII
R. Massie	:	1	2	3	4	5	6

This version in whole or in part appears in various hymn books. In *Kennedy*, 1863, no. 636, it begins with the translation of stanza IX ("Gott, meine Krone") "Father, O hear me." Massie subsequently added a translation of stanzas I, II, III, and included it in his *Lyra Domestica*, 1864, p. 106, and this full form appears in Reid's *Praise Bk.*, 1872, no. 379.

3. The sun's golden beams.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 21.

4. Sunbeams all golden.

Miss Cox, 1864, p. 13.

What is our mortal race.

(Beginning with stanza VII) by E. Massie, 1866, p. 87.



6. See the sun's glorious light.

E. Massie, 1867, p. 8.

7. The golden morning.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 270.

Selected Stanzas:

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Germanica, 1855, p. 216.

Stanza 1. The golden sunbeams with their joyous gleams, Are kindling o'er earth, her life and mirth,
Shedding forth lovely and heart-cheering light; Through the dark hours' chill I lay silent and still, But risen at length to gladness and strength, I gaze on the heavens all glowing and bright.

Der Tag mit seinem Lichte.--(Goed. 296.)

Appeared in *Ebeling*, 1666, 3, 26. Compare with this:

(a) The hymn of J. A. Freylinghausen (1704)

"Der Tag ist hin, mein Geist und Sinn."

(This has been translated by Miss Winkworth, R. Massie, Miss Borthwick and others, and has much similarity of thought to Gerhardt's hymns.)

also (b) "Der Tag vergeht, die müde Sonne sinket" in Knapp's *Evang*. *Liederschatz*, 1837.

English Version:

 The daylight disappeareth, It fleeth and night neareth, Its gloom is spreading o'er us. With slumber to o'erpower us And all the wearied earth. . . etc.

Stanza 1 of a complete translation by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 282.

Ich, der ich oft in tiefes Leid.--(Goed. 298.)

Based on Psalm CXLV. First published in *Ebeling*, 1666, 3, no. 27, in 18 stanzas of 7 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 95; *Bachmann:* no. 103; Berlin *G. L. S.:* 1863, no. 1004.

English Versions:

1. I who so oft in deep distress.

Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 2d Series, 1858, p. 149. The translation omits Gerhardt's stanzas II, III, IV. An alteration and adaptation of stanzas VI, VIII, IX, XI, beginning "O God! how many thankful songs," appeared as no. 168 in *Holy Song*, 1869.

2. Who is so full of tenderness.

A translation of stanza VIII as stanza 4 in the Moravian Hymn Book, 1886, no. 537.



Miss Winkworth, in her Lyra Germanica, 1855.

 I who so oft in deep distress And bitter grief must dwell, Will now my God with gladness bless, And all His mercies tell; Oh hear me then, my God and King, While of Thy Holy Name I sing, Who doest all things well.

Wie schön ists doch, Herr Jesu Christ.--(Goed. 302.)

[Marriage.]

Founded on Psalm CXXVIII. First published in *Ebeling*, 1666, 4, no. 38, in 8 stanzas of 12 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* 1843, no. 108, 1874, no. 109; *Bachmann:* no. 105; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 680.

English Version:

1. Oh Jesus Christ! how bright and fair.

In full by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 307; repeated altered, and omitting stanzas III-V, in the Ohio Lutheran Hymnal, 1880, no. 339.

Voller Wunder, voller Kunst.--(Goed. 304.)

[Holy Matrimony.]

First published in *Ebeling*, 1666, 4, no. 40, in 17 stanzas. The hymn is often used in Germany at marriages.

English Versions:

1. Full of wonder, full of skill.

Dr. H. Mills, 1845, 1836, p. 215.

2. Full of wonder, full of skill.

Mrs. Stanley Carr, in her translation of Wildenhahn's Paul Gerhardt, ed. 1856, p. 52.

3. Full of wonder, full of art.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 302.

4. Full of wonder, full of art.

Miss Winkworth in her Christian Singers of Germany, 1869, p. 215.

Selected Stanza:

Dr. H. Mills in his Horae Germanicae, 1856.

 Full of wonder, full of skill, Full of wisdom, full of might, Full of mercy and good will, Full of comfort and delight,--Full of wonder--once again--Is of love the marriage chain.

Schaut! Schaut! was ist für Wunder dar?--(Goed. 310.)

[Christmas.]

First published in *Ebeling*, 1667, 5, 55, in 18 stanzas of 4 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 4; *Bachmann:* no. 109.

English Version:

1. Behold! Behold! what wonders here.

In full by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 14. From this 12 stanzas were included in the Ohio *Lutheran Hyl.*, 1880, as no. 25, no. 26: no. 26 beginning with the translation of stanza XIII, "It is a time of joy today."

Kommt, und laszt uns Christum ehren.--(Goed. 312.)

[Christmas.]

Founded on St. Luke, II, 15. First published in *Ebeling*, 1667, 5, no. 56, in 8 stanzas of 4 lines; thence in *Wackernagel*: no. 6; *Bachmann*: no. 110; *Unv. L. S.*: 1851, no. 43.

English Versions:

1. Come, unite in praise and singing.

(Omitting stanzas VI, VII.) Contributed by Rev. A. T. Russell to Maurice's *Choral H. Bk.*, 1861, no. 707.

2. Bring to Christ your best oblation.

A full and good translation by R. Massie in his *Lyra Domestica*, 1864, p. 96; repeated in Snepp's *Songs of Grace and Glory*, and Reid's *Praise Bk.*, 1872.

3. Come and let us Christ revere now.

Miss Manington, 1864, p. 25.

4. Come, and Christ the Lord be praising.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 24.

[5. Come, your hearts and voices raising.]

[Composite, The Lutheran Hymnal, 1941, p. 90.]

Herr Gott, du bist ja für und für.--(Goed. 315.)

Based on Psalm XC. It appeared in Ebeling, 1667, 6, no. 68.

English Version:

 Lord God! Thou art forevermore Thy people's habitation, And Thou existence hadst before Was laid the earth's foundation! Ere yet the hills began to be Thou livedst in eternity, Of all things the beginning.

Stanza 1 of a complete translation by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 312.

In this version the translator has lost much of the poetry and spirit not only of Gerhardt but of the ninetieth Psalm on which Gerhardt's poem is based. Witness the second and fourth lines above, where Kelly offers the feeble Latin derivatives for the virile "Die Zuflucht deiner Heerde" and "Grund."

Johannes sahe durch Gesicht.--(Goed. 319.)

Based on Chap. VII, 9. ff. of Revelations. It appeared in *Ebeling*, 1667, 7, 84.

English Version:

 By John was seen a wondrous sight, A noble light,
 A picture very glorious: A multitude stood 'fore him there All bright and fair, On heav'nly plain victorious; Their heart and mood Were full of good, That mortal man With gold ne'er can Procure, so high 'tis o'er us. . . .

Stanza 1 of a complete translation by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 347.

Wie ist es müglich, höchstes Licht.--(Goed. 324.)

Appeared in *Ebeling*, 8, 96. The English version by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 259, is throughout more moderate in tone and does not reflect the utter self-abnegation of Gerhardt.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ This is almost the only poem in which Gerhardt has not employed his characteristic alliteration or assonance, or introduced "Friede" or "Freude" words. On these characteristics cf. p. 2 ff.

Stanza 1. How can it be, my highest Light! That as before Thy face so bright All things must pale and vanish, That my poor feeble flesh and blood Can summon a courageous mood To meet Thee, and fear banish?

Ich weisz, dasz mein Erlöser lebt--(Goed. 331.)

[Easter.]

Founded on Job. XIX, 25-27. First published in *Ebeling*, 1667, 10, no. 119, in 9 stanzas of 7 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* 1843, no. 118 (1847, no. 123); *Bachmann:* no. 119; Berlin G. L. S.: 1863, no. 301.

English Versions:155

1. I know that my Redeemer lives. In this my faith is fast.

A full and spirited translation by J. Oxenford, in *Lays of the Sanctuary*, 1859, p. 122. His translation of stanzas I, III, VII-IX were included, altered as no. 779 in *Kennedy*, 1863.

2. I know that my Redeemer lives, This hope,

Miss Manington, 1863, p. 78.

From the foregoing statements it is evident that even of Gerhardt's less well-known hymns there has been a comparatively large representation in English and American hymnals. The ten hymns which follow are so widely known through the excellent versions of Miss Winkworth and others, that making the treatment more detailed, I shall discuss the individual merits of the different versions and compare their relative values as interpretations of the originals.

Wie soll ich dich empfangen.--(Goed. 25.)

[Advent.]

First published in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 77, in 10 stanzas of 8 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 3; *Bachmann:* no. 22; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 21. Cf. *Koch* IV, 119 ff.

The hymn is founded on St. Matthew XXI, 1-9, the Gospel for the first Sunday in Advent. It is one of Gerhardt's finest productions, and is probably the best German Advent hymn. It is inferable from stanzas VI-IX that the poem was written during the Thirty Years' War. The entire first stanza has been set to music by Bach in the *Weihnachtsoratorium*, Part I.

English Versions:

¹⁵⁵ For adaptations from this hymn cf. p. 135 ff.

1. How shall I meet my Savior.

A translation in full, by J. C. Jacobi, in his *Psalmodia Germanica*, 722, p. 3 (1732, slightly altered). Included in the *Moravian Hymn Book*, 1754, and also in later editions with alterations. Varying centos of this version are found in Montgomery's *Christian Psalmist*, 1825; Dr. Pagenstecher's *Collections*, 1864; and Bishop Ryle's *Collection*, 1860. Other forms are:

(a.) "We go to meet Thee, Savior" (stanza I altered), in Reid's *Praise Book*, 1872, mainly from the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1801.

(b.) "Love caused Thine Incarnation" (stanza V altered), in Walker's *Collection*, 1855, and Snepp's *Songs of G. and G.*, 1872, from the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1801.

2. Oh, how shall I receive Thee.

A good translation of stanzas I, II, VII, VIII, X, by A. T. Russell in his *Ps. and Hys.*, 1851, no. 36. Repeated in *Kennedy*, 1863, and the *People's H.*, 1867; and abridged in J. L. Porter's *Collection*, 1876; *H. and Songs of Praise*, N. Y., 1874; *Laudes Domini*, N. Y., 1884, etc.

3. Oh! how shall I receive Thee.

In the 1857 ed. of Mercer's *C. P. and H. Bk.* Stanzas 1, 2, are based on A. T. Russell's version and stanzas 3, 4, 5 (Gerhardt's IV, V, VI), are based on Jacobi, as altered in the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1801. Altered forms have appeared in other hymnals.

4. Ah! Lord, how shall I meet thee.

A translation of stanzas I, II, V, VI, VIII, X, by Miss Winkworth, in her C. B. for England, 1863, no. 21.

5. Say with what salutations.

In full by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 10; repeated, abridged, in the Ohio Luth. Hyl., 1880.

6. Lord, how shall I be meeting.

J. W. Alexander, in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1850, p. 176, and his *Christ in Song*, 1869, p. 20, and his own *Breaking Crucible*, 1861, p. 11.

7. How shall I meet Thee? How my heart.

Miss Winkworth, 1855, p. 7.

8. How shall I come to meet Thee.

Miss Manington, 1863, p. 65.

9. Lord, how shall I receive Thee.

R. Massie, 1864, p. 93.

The first hymn in the *Psalmodia Germanica*¹⁵⁶ of Jacobi (1722) is a translation of Luther's "Nun kommt der Heiden Heiland" ("Now the Savior comes indeed"). The second place in the book is given to Gerhardt's "Wie soll ich dich empfangen" which is translated as " How shall I meet my Savior." In a rather quaint preface Jacobi writes:

"The present Specimen hopes for a charitable Allowance from those, that may happen to use it. A Version of this Kind lies under various Disadvantages, known only to those, who in any degree are acquainted with any Poetical Translations of this Kind. A great Deal is lost of the Life and Spirit of an Hymn, when it appears in another Language."

In this effort as well as in the case of "Befiehl du deine Wege" Jacobi has left out so much, and incorporated so many ideas of his own which are at variance with Gerhardt's theme that it is difficult to recognize its kinship with the original. The effect Gerhardt produces in the first line by the use of the direct form of address is entirely lost by Jacobi; also the translator creates an unpleasant impression by abruptly changing from the third person in the opening line to the second person in the next line.

Bishop Ryle has altered the last quatrain to this form:

I wait for Thy salvation; Grant me Thy Spirit's light, Thus will my preparation Be pleasing in Thy sight.

Again, the diction of stanza two is particularly strange, at least to modern readers. I'll raise with all my Powers More Notes than *Unison*,

would be quite bewildering if we did not have at hand the German which is so forceful in its very simplicity:

Mein Herze soll dir grünen

In stetem Lob und Preis.

It is plain that Jacobi had not much appreciation of the spirit of Gerhardt, for the distinctive touches of alliteration, repetition for emphasis, the prevailing note of joy and peace accompanying the Savior's advent are certainly not adequately reproduced. In fact the impression he leaves is almost one of gloom!

Contrast with this the translation by A. T. Russell, a cento of which (stanzas 1, 2, 7, 8, 10) is given in most American hymnals. Far more cheerful and more appropriate for the Advent season than anything in Jacobi are such lines as:

My heart to praise awaking,

Her anthem shall prepare, (stanza 2)

and

That in the light eternal our Joyous home may be. (stanza 5)

It is apt renderings like these that have won for Gerhardt a place in English hymnody.

Kelly's rendering (1867) is characteristically accurate, but, excepting such lines as:

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My heart shall blossom ever
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O'erflow with praises new (stanza 2)

and

O come Thou Sun and lead us

To everlasting light, (stanza 10)

it is uninspired and lacking in fervor.

Of the 20 hymns of Gerhardt which Miss Winkworth translated there are three for which she has made two renderings: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "Nun ruhen alle Wälder," and for this Advent hymn. The earlier version (1855) of the Advent hymn omits only the third stanza ("Was hast du unterlassen"). The later one (1863) is written in the original metre for church use to be sung to the traditional melody "Wie soll ich dich empfangen" by Johann Crüger¹⁵⁷ (1653) and contains but six stanzas. As Miss Winkworth was so thoroughly at home in the German she was able to reproduce a surprising number of details. Even the alliteration and repetition for emphasis of which Gerhardt is so fond find in her poem at least a partially corresponding place:

In heavy bonds I languished long (1855, stanza 3, 1) This weary world and all her woe (1855, stanza 4, 5) And labor longer thus (1855, stanza 6, 2)

The original has been characterized as the best German Advent hymn and Miss Winkworth has transfused it in her earlier version undiminished into her own language so that it reads like an original poem. Her final quatrain is worthy of Gerhardt:

O Sun of Righteousness! arise, And guide us on our way To yon fair mansion in the skies Of joyous cloudless day.



Selected Stanzas:

C. Jacobi, 1722, in *Psalmodia Germanica*. To the Tune: "COMMIT THY WAYS AND GOINGS."¹⁵⁸

Ι

How shall I meet my Savior? How shall I welcome Thee? What manner of Behavior Is now requir'd of me? Lord, thine Illumination Set Heart and Hands aright, That this my Preparation Be pleasing in thy Sight.

A. T. Russell, 1851, in his Psalms and Hymns.¹⁵⁹

 O how shall I receive Thee, How meet Thee on Thy way;

Blest hope of every nation, My soul's delight and stay?

O Jesus *(Jesu), Jesus *(Jesu), give me Now by thine (*Thy) own pure light,

To know whate'er is pleasing And welcome in Thy sight.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. p. 2 f.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. p. 116.

¹⁵⁹ An asterisk placed before the word indicates the form in the original. This altered cento of three stanzas is the one usually given in American hymn books.

2. Thy Zion (*Sion) palms is strewing, With (*and) branches fresh and fair;

My soul in praise (*My heart to praise) awaking, Her anthem shall prepare.

Perpetual thanks and praises Forth from my heart shall spring.

And (*I) to Thy Name the service Of all my powers I (*will) bring.

- (*3.) (Omitted.)
- (*4.) 3. Ye who with guilty terror Are trembling, fear no more:

With love and grace the Savior Shall you to hope restore.

He comes, who contrite sinners Will (*shall) with the children place,

The children of His Father, The heirs of life and grace.

(*5.) Omitted.

Miss Winkworth, 1855, in her Lyra Germanica.

Stanza 1. How shall I meet Thee? How my heart Receive her Lord aright? Desire of all the earth Thou art! My hope, my sole delight! Kindle the lamp, Thou Lord, alone, Half-dying in my breast, And make Thy gracious pleasure known How I may greet Thee best.



Miss Winkworth, 1863, in her Chorale Book.

Stanza 1. Ah! Lord, how shall I meet Thee, How welcome Thee aright? All nations long to greet Thee My hope, my sole delight! Brighten the lamp that burneth But dimly in my breast, And teach my soul, that yearneth To honour such high guest.

O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.--(Goed. 49.)

[Passiontide.]

A beautiful but very free translation of the "Salve Caput Cruentatum," which is part VII of the "Rhythmica Oratio," 1153, ascribed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux.¹⁶⁰ The Latin original follows:

DE PASSIONE DOMINI: AD FACIEM.

91

¹⁶⁰ Cf. p. 40 and note.

- Salve, caput cruentatum, Totum spinis coronatum, Conquassatum, vulneratum, Arundine sic verberatum Facie sputis illita Salve, cuius dulcis vultus, Immutatus et incultus Immutavit suum florem Totus versus in pallorem Quem coeli tremit curia.
- 2. Omnis vigor atque viror Hinc recessit, non admiror, Mors apparet in aspectu, Totus pendens in defectu, Attritus aegra macie. Sic affectus, sic despectus Propter me sic interfectus, Peccatori tam indigno Cum amoris intersigno Appare clara facie.
- In hac tua passione Me agnosce, pastor bone, Cuius sumpsi mel ex ore, Haustum lactis ex dulcore Prae omnibus deliciis, Non me reum asperneris, Nec indignum dedigneris Morte tibi iam vicina Tuum caput hic acclina, In meis pausa brachiis.

87

 Tuae sanctae passioni Me gauderem interponi, In hac cruce tecum mori Praesta crucis amatori,

> Sub cruce tua moriar. Morti tuae iam amarae Grates ago, Jesu care, Qui es clemens, pie Deus, Fac quod petit tuns reus, Ut absque te non finiar.

5. Dum me mori est necesse, Noli mihi tune deesse; In tremenda mortis hora Veni, Jesu, absque mora,

Tuere me et libera. Quum me jubes emigrare, Jesu care, tune appare; O amator amplectende, Temet ipsum tune ostende In cruce salutifera.

Gerhardt's version appeared in the 1656 ed. of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 156, in 10 stanzas of 8 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 22; *Bachmann:* no. 54; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 109. Cf. *Koch*, IV, 163; VIII, 47.

In *Koch* VIII, 47, Lauxmann thus characterizes it:

"Bernard's original is powerful and searching, but Gerhardt's hymn is still more powerful and profound, as redrawn from the deeper spring of evangelical Lutheran, Scriptural, knowledge, and fervency of faith."

Stanza X Lauxmann traces not only to Bernard but to stanza II of "Valet Will ich dir geben" of Herberger, and to Luther's words on the death of his daughter Magdalen "Who thus dies, dies well."

The melody to which the hymn is sung, usually called "Passion Chorale," first appeared in Hans Leo Hassler's "Lustgarten," Nürnberg, 1601, set to a love song, beginning "Mein G'müth ist mir verwirret."

The hymn has often been signally blessed. The story is told that a Roman Catholic from Bohemia on hearing this hymn sung in a Protestant church was so overpowered that he shed tears of joy, for he saw clearer than ever his own sin and the Savior's grace; he understood better than ever the secret of justification by faith alone, and he became from that time a true evangelical Christian. Frederick William I., King of Prussia from 1713 to 1740, the father of Frederick the Great, ordered in his will that at his funeral this hymn should be played by the band. For other incidents connected with this hymn cf. Th. Kübler: *Historical notes to the Lyra Germanica*, London, 1865.

The English versions are many, and of some of the versions there are several centos:

1. O Head so full of bruises.

In full, by J. Gambold, in *Some other Hymns and Poems*, London, 1752, p. 12. Repeated in the *Moravian H. Book*, 1754, pt. 1, no. 222 (1789 greatly altered). In the 1789 ed. a new translation of stanza IX was substituted for Gambold's version, his translation of stanza IX "When I shall gain permission" being given as a separate hymn.

Centos of the above version are:

a. "O Head, so pierced and wounded" in Dr. Pagenstecher's Collection, 1864.

b. "O Christ! what consolation" in the Amer. Bapt. H. Bk., 1871.

c. "I yield Thee thanks unfeigned" (based on Gambold's version of stanza IX) in E. Bickersteth's *Christian Psalmody*, 1833.

d. "I give Thee thanks unfeigned" in Bishop Ryle's *Collection*, 1860.

2. O Sacred Head! now wounded.

A very beautiful translation by Dr. J. W. Alexander. His translations of stanzas I, II, IV, VII-X, were first published in the *Christian Lyre*, N. Y., 1830, no. 136. These stanzas were revised, and translations of stanzas III, VI, were added by Dr. Alexander for Schaff's *Deutscher Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 91. The full text is in Dr. Alexander's *Breaking Crucible*, N. Y., 1861, p. 7; in Schaff's *Christ in Song*, 1869; and the *Cantate Domino*, Boston, U. S. A., 1850.¹⁶¹ In his note Dr. Schaff says:

"This classical hymn has shown an imperishable vitality in passing from the Latin into the German, and from the German into the English, and proclaiming in three tongues, and in the name of three Confessions--the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed--with equal effect, the dying love of our Savior and our boundless indebtedness to Him."

Dr. Alexander's version has passed into very many English and American hymnals, and in very varying centos, some of which follow:

¹⁶¹ [Alt. in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, 1941, #172.[

a. "O sacred Head, now wounded," *People's H.*, 1867; *Hymnary*, 1872; Hatfield's *Church H. Bk.*, 1872; *Hymns and Songs of Praise*, N. Y., 1874, etc.

b. "O Sacred Head! once wounded" (stanza I altered), Bapt. Ps. and Hys., 1858, etc.

c. "O Sacred Head, sore wounded" (stanza I altered), in the Stoke Hymn Book, 1878.

d. "O Sacred Head, so wounded" (stanza I altered), in J. L. Porter's Collection, 1876.

e. "O blessed Christ, once wounded" (stanza I altered), in Dr. Thomas's Augustine H. Book, 1866.

f. "O Lamb of God, once wounded" (stanza I altered), in Scottish Presb. Hyl., 1876.

g. "O Lamb of God, sore wounded" (stanza I altered), in the Ibrox Hymnal, 1871.

3. Ah! Head, so pierced and wounded.

A good translation by R. Massie, omitting stanza VI, in his *Lyra Domestica*, 1864, p. 14. This version was abridged in Mercer's *Oxford edition*, 1864, and in *Kennedy*, 1863. A cento of this beginning with stanza VIII, line 5, "Oh! that Thy cross may ever," appears in J. H. Wilson's *Series of Praise*, 1865.

4. Ah wounded Head, that bearest.

Miss Winkworth, omitting stanza VI, in her C. B. for England, 1863, no. 51.

5. Oh! bleeding head, and wounded.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 59.

6. Ah wounded Head! must Thou.

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Ger., 1855, p. 80.

7. Thou pierced and wounded brow.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 39.

8. O Head. blood-stained and wounded.

In the Schaff-Gilman *Lib. of Religious Poetry*, translated by Samuel M. Jackson, 1873, 1880. This version is among those that adhere most closely to the original, at the same time showing traces of the Latin of Bernard.

9. O sacred Head, surrounded

By crown of piercing thorn!

A translation in 3 stanzas by Sir H. W. Baker of stanzas I, III, VII, and X, in the Schaff-Gilman *Lib. of Religious Poetry*.

10. Oh, wounded head and bleeding.

A good translation omitting stanzas II, III, V, IX, by Miss Margarete Münsterberg in her *Harvest* of German Verse, 1916.

The earliest known English translation of Gerhardt's Passiontide hymn is that of J. Gambold, published in 1752.¹⁶² It is written in his characteristic vein. Gambold has made no effort to do more than reproduce in doggerel the main ideas of the original without even attempting to gloss over the indelicate expressions which Gerhardt introduced from the Latin of Bernard. The "facie sputis illita" which in Gerhardt is modified to "Wie bist du so bespeit" (line 12) is given by Gambold with extreme literalness. His style becomes often ridiculous if indeed not wholly flippant when he attempts to imitate Gerhardt's familiarity¹⁶³ in addressing the Savior.

Witness the first quatrain of stanza 7:

It gives me solid pleasure



Bio of Paul Gerhardt

My heart does not recoil When I dive in some measure Into thy Pangs and Toil.¹⁶⁴

It is easy to understand why this hymn should be printed in full in the crude *Morazian Hymn Book* of 1754 and even in later editions, but it is also obvious that more recent hymnals should have made drastic alterations and judicious omissions. Of the centos adapted from Gambold's unpolished verses, that in Reid's *Praise Book* (1872) will show how changes were made to suit the more refined taste of the century following the early Moravian period. The quatrain cited above appears in *Reid* as follows:

And oh! what consolation Doth in our hearts take place, When we Thy toil and passion Can joyfully retrace.

An English writer who faithfully transplanted Germany's best hymns and made them bloom with fresh beauty in their new gardens was Catherine Winkworth. Her two renderings of this hymn are well adapted to awaken responsive feelings in Christian readers. It would be difficult to judge between the two versions as to which the more successfully retains the force of the German. In both versions she has omitted stanza VI beginning "Ich will hie bei dir stehen." The earlier one (1855) does not preserve the metre of the original, while the later one (1863) was written for her *Chorale Book* with the accompanying melody. In general it may be said that the earlier version with the expanded third and seventh lines follows more closely the fervent thought of Gerhardt, an effect made possible in the longer stanza, as the English can rarely be expressed as concisely as the German. A comparison of the first quatrains of the two versions of the final stanza illustrates this:

1855.	1863.
	(Version for church
	singing.)
Come to me ere I die,	Appear then, my Defender,
My comfort and my shield;	My Comfort, ere I die
Then gazing on Thy cross can I	This life I can surrender
Calmly my spirit yield.	If I but see Thee nigh.

Of the twenty or more forms in which this hymn is familiar to English and American readers that of Dr. Alexander has found most general acceptance for church use. The reason is not far to seek. The music to which the hymn is usually sung is the original melody for the hymn "Herzlich tut mich verlangen"¹⁶⁵ and was, as has been stated, written for a secular song, though thoroughly suitable for the expression of the awfulness of Christ's passion. Alexander's version is without

¹⁶⁴ Cf. lines 49-52:

Es dient zu meiner Freuden

Und kömmt mir herzlich wol,

Warm ich in deinem Leiden,

Mein Heil, mich finden soll.

¹⁶⁵ By Cristoph Knoll, 1563-1650. Cf. p. 87.

question the one which best suits the cadence of this melody. In the version, for example, of Jackson, the stress would fall upon "tortured"¹⁶⁶ in line 2 and, as the music repeats for the third and fourth lines, also on "a" in line 4. This, then, would not be selected as a satisfactory version for church singing. Aside from this feature, however, the flow of Gerhardt's language is more successfully imitated and the deep fervor of the German more effectively brought forth in Alexander's hymn than in any of the other translations unless we except the earlier one of Miss Winkworth.

While Gerhardt's hymn is more searching and profound than its Latin prototype, and an English translator would not ordinarily refer to the original of Bernard, still there seem to be in the phraseology of the Jackson and Winkworth translations evidences that these authors were at least familiar with it. Such lines as "Death triumphs in his pallour"¹⁶⁷ and "The pallor of the dead"¹⁶⁸ are quite suggestive of the Latin: "Totus versus in pallorem";¹⁶⁹ and "Redeemer spurn me not"¹⁷⁰ of the Latin "Non me reum asperneris."¹⁷¹

A short paraphrase by Sir H. W. Baker contains several ideas taken from the Latin which Gerhardt has omitted. Stanza 1 lines 7, 8:

Yet angel hosts adore thee And tremble as they gaze

are evidently suggested by:

Totus versus in pallorem Quem coeli tremit curia. (lines 9, 10)

and

O Love to sinners free! Jesu all grace supplying, Oh turn thy face to me. (stanza 2)

follows the idea in

Peccatori tam indigno Cum amoris intersigno Appare clara facie. (lines 18-20)

The same is true in the first quatrain of Baker's stanza 3, with the idea of the word "indigno" above brought into these later lines:

In this thy bitter passion, Good Shepherd, think of me, With thy most sweet compassion, Unworthy though I be.¹⁷²

In 1860 Bishop Ryle selected and arranged *Three hundred and sixty-six Hymns* and Spiritual Songs--a song for every day in the year. His 166th poem is a cento of this Passiontide hymn and is assuredly deserving of mention, although he omits the

¹⁶⁶ Cf. p. 94.

¹⁶⁷ Stanza 3, line 7, Winkworth, 1863.

¹⁶⁸ Stanza 3, line 4, Jackson, 1873.

¹⁶⁹ Line 9, Bernard, p. 86.

¹⁷⁰ Stanza 4, line 8, Winkworth, 1863.

¹⁷¹ Line 26, Bernard, p. 87.

¹⁷² In hac tua passione

Me agnosce, pastor bone. Lines 21, 22.

first four stanzas entirely, and for no apparent reason changes the order of the others, arranging them as follows:

Ryle:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gerhardt:	VIII	VI	VII	V	IX	Х.

His first quatrain of Gerhardt's stanza VII is almost identical with that given in Reid's *Praise Book* as an alteration of the old Gambold version.

What heavenly consolation Doth in my heart take place, When I Thy toil and passion Can in some measure trace.

Selected Stanzas:

J. Gambold, 1752, in Some other Hymns and Poems.

- O Head so full of bruises, So full of pain and scorn, 'Midst other sore Abuses Mock'd with a crown of Thorn! O head, e'er now surrounded With brightest Majesty, Now pitiably Wounded! Accept a kiss from me.
- 2. Thou Countenance transcendent, At other times rever'd By Worlds on thee dependent With Spittle now besmeared! etc.

J. W. Alexander, 1849, in the Schaff-Gilman Lib. of Religious Poetry.



 O Sacred Head, now wounded, With grief and shame bow'd down, Now scornfully surrounded, With thorns, Thy only crown. O Sacred Head, what glory What bliss till now was Thine Yet, though despised and gory, I joy to call Thee mine.
 What They much and heat suffered

2. What Thou, my Lord, hast suffered,

(Gerh. IV.) Was all for sinner's gain:

Mine, mine was the transgression But Thine the deadly pain. Lo, here I fall, my Savior: 'Tis I deserve Thy place; Look on me with Thy favour,

Vouchsafe to me Thy grace.

3. The joy can ne'er be spoken, (Gerh. VII.) Above all joys beside, When in Thy body broken I thus with safety hide. Lord of my life desiring Thy glory now to see, Beside Thy cross expiring I'd breathe my soul to Thee.	
 4. What language shall I borrow (Gerh. VIII.) To thank Thee, dearest Friend, For this, Thy dying sorrow, Thy pity without end? O make me Thine for ever; And should I fainting be, Lord let me never, never Outlive my love for Thee. 	
5. Be near me when I'm dying, (Gerh. X.) O show Thy Cross to me: And to my succour flying, Come, Lord, and set me free. These eyes new faith receiving, From Jesus shall not move; For he, who dies believing, Dies safely through Thy love.	
Miss Winkworth, 1855, in her Lyra Germanica, 1st Series.	
 Ah wounded Head! must Thou Endure such shame and scorn! The blood is trickling from Thy brow Pierced by the crown of thorn. Thou who wast crown'd on high With light and majesty, In deep dishonor here must die, Yet here I welcome Thee! 	
Miss Winkworth, 1863, in her <i>Chorale Book</i> . 1. Ah wounded Head that bearest	
1. An wounded Head that bearest Such bitter shame and scorn, That now so meekly wearest The mocking crown of thorn! Erst reigning in the highest In light and majesty, Dishonored here Thou diest, Yet here I worship Thee.	
A cento by J. C. Ryle, 1860, in his Spiritual Songs.	
 I give Thee thanks unfeigned, (Gerh. O Jesus, Friend in need, stanza VIII.) For what Thy soul sustained When Thou for me didst bleed. Grant to lean unshaken Upon Thy faithfulness, Until I hence am taken To see Thee foce to free 	
To see Thee face to face. Cento from J. Gambold's version, in Reid's <i>Praise Book</i> , 1866.	

- O Head! so full of bruises, So full of pain and scorn; Midst other sore abuses, Mock'd with a crown of thorn! O Head! ere now surrounded With brightest majesty, In death once bow'd and wounded, Accursed on a tree!
- Thou countenance transcendent, Thou life-creating Sun To worlds on Thee dependent, Yet bruised and spit upon! ... etc.

J. Kelly, 1867, in his Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs.

 Oh! bleeding head and wounded, And full of pain and scorn, In mockery surrounded With cruel crown of thorn! O Head! before adornèd With grace and majesty, Insulted now and scornèd, All hail I bid to Thee!

S. M. Jackson, 1873, 1890, in Schaff-Gilman Lib. of Religious Poetry.



 O Head, blood stained and wounded, Tortured by pain and scorn!
 O Head in jest surrounded By a rude crown of thorn!
 O Head, once rich adorned With highest laud and lays, But now so deeply scorned, To thee I lift my praise!

Sir H. W. Baker in Schaff-Gilman Lib. of Religious Poetry.

 O Sacred Head, surrounded By crown of piercing thorn! O bleeding Head so wounded, Reviled and put to scorn! Death's pallid hue comes o'er Thee, The glow of life decays, Yet angel-hosts adore thee And tremble as they gaze.

Miss Margarete Münsterberg, in her Harvest of German Verse, 1916.

 Oh, wounded head and bleeding, By pain and scorn bowed down! Oh head, the gibes unheeding, Bound with a thorny crown! Oh head, once decorated With honors gloriously, Now tortured so and hated, I greet and worship Thee!

Wach auf, mein Herz! und singe.--(Goed. 59.)

[Morning.]

Appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1648, no. 1, in 10 stanzas of four lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 99; *Bachmann:* no. 1. It was repeated in *Crü--Runge*, 1653, no. 1, and also in the Berlin *G. L. S.:* ed. 1863, no. 1132. This is one of the finest and most popular of German morning hymns, and soon passed into universal use, stanza VIII being best known. Cf. *Koch*, IV, 595 ff.

English Versions:

1. My Soul, awake and tender.

In full, by J. C. Jacobi, in his *Psalmodia Germanica*, 1720, p. 33 (1722, p. 104), repeated in pt. I of the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1754. In the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1789 and 1886, it begins "My soul awake and render," stanzas 1, 2, 4, 5, being from I; V (lines 3, 4); VI (lines 1, 2); X; VIII.

2. Thy Thanks, my Soul, be raising.

H. J. Buckoll, 1842, p. 28.

3. Wake, my heart, and sing His praises.

E. Massie, 1867.

4. Awake, my heart, be singing.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 276.

5. Wake up, my heart, elater.

N. L. Frothingham, 1870.

The third¹⁷⁴ hymn of Gerhardt which Jacobi included in his *Psalmodia Germanica*¹⁷⁵ is "Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe." As this song of trust is one of Gerhardt's oldest pieces and may be said to set the key for all the later hymns, it is appropriate that Jacobi should find for it a place in his very limited selection.

The eighteenth century English versions of German hymns invariably abound in extravagant figures. just why in this instance the translator has chosen to add to the text, where no mention is made of a "lion," the idea of such an animal in the verse:

Nay, when that Lyon's Fury,

is difficult to explain. Possibly to his own mind that creature was more terrifying than Satan himself. Still less pardonable is the distortion in stanza IV:

Du sprachst: Mein Kind, nun liege	Thou saidst: my Child, be easy,
Trotz dem, der dich betriege!	My presence shall release Thee
Schlaf wol, lasz dir nicht grauen,	From frightful Pain and Evil,
Du sollt die Sonne schauen.	In spite of Hell and Devil.

Such alterations of the original, always with the idea of bringing a more terrible picture to the mind of the reader, can be justified on no ground whatever, and accounted for only by saying that the translator probably regarded this as one of the methods of



¹⁷³ alt., The Lutheran Hymnal, 1941, p. 192.

¹⁷⁴ The other two are "Befiehl du deine Wege" and "Wie soll ich dich empfangen?"

¹⁷⁵ The *Psalmodia Germanica* is a collection of 60 hymns from the German.

"resolving all the jarring Discords of Self-love into the heavenly Concords of Mutual Love and Affection. If this be not effected here below, we shall never be worthy to hear the glorious Anthems of the Seraphic *Quire* above."¹⁷⁶

The singularly inapt paraphrase of the couplet in stanza 3

Thy gracious Condescension, Has crossed his sore Intention

appears to slightly better advantage in stanza 7:

In gracious Condescension Despise not my Intention; Nor Body, Soul, nor Spirit Can boast of any Merit.

Another characteristic of the English versions of this period is the emphasizing of the tortures of Hell and the Devil. just as in stanza 4 above, we are not surprised to read in stanza 8:

From Satan's woeful doings,

although there is in the German no suggestion whatever of Satan or his deeds. Similarly, the concluding stanza, after the pleasing opening lines, causes something of a shock by its abrupt descent to the grotesque:

Thy Bliss be my Salvation,

My Heart thy Habitation;

Thy Word my Food and Relish,

Till thou destroy'st what's Hellish.

Except for the imperfect rhymes in most of his stanzas Kelly's version is unusually good both as a scrupulously faithful rendering and a successful attempt to keep the simple language and reproduce the characteristic touches of Gerhardt. The line:

The sunlight shall delight thee,

takes on a new significance when compared with

Du sollt die Sonne schauen,

and strophe 8 is particularly well done in that it has so large a predominance of

Anglo-Saxon words:

So wollst du nun vollenden Dein Werk an mir und senden Der mich an diesern Tage Auf seinen Händen trage. Thou wilt, O Lord! be ending Thy work in me and sending Who in his hands will take me, Today his care will make me.

Selected Stanzas:

J. C. Jacobi, in his Psalmodia Germanica, 1722.

I.

My Soul awake, and tender To God, thy great Defender Thy Prayer and Thanksgiving,

¹⁷⁶ Concluding lines of Jacobi's preface to his *Psalmodia Germanica*, 1722.

Because thou art still living.

II.

Last Night, when lying senseless, And utterly defenceless, I was in greatest Danger From Darkness and its Ranger.

John Kelly, in his Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs, 1867.

- Awake, my heart! be singing, Praise to thy Maker bringing, Of every good the Giver, Who men protecteth ever.
- As shades of night spread over Earth as a pall did cover, Then Satan sought to have me But God was near to save me.

Nun ruhen alle Wälder.--(Goed. 60.)

[Evening.]

First published in *Crü. Praxis*, 1648, no. 15, in 9 stanzas of 6 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 102; *Bachmann:* no. 2; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 529. Cf. *Koch*, IV, 607; VIII, 194.

This is one of the finest and one of the earliest of Gerhardt's hymns. In the time of Flat Rationalism in Germany the first stanza became the object of much derision.¹⁷⁷ But the shallow wit showed how little poetry was then understood, for Gerhardt followed in thus beginning his hymn a much admired passage of Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 522-528:

Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem Corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant Aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu, Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres, Quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis Rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti (Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum).

Among the common people the hymn became an exceeding favorite and was generally used as an evening prayer. Its childlike simplicity combined with its deep poetical charm has won the hearts of old and young to the present day. Frequently it has been sung on starry nights by men, women, or children in the fields on their homeward way, and many have laid themselves down for the long sleep of death with this hymn on their lips.



¹⁷⁷ Cf. "Jetzt schlafen weder Wälder," as no. 2338, in the final "Zugabe" to the *Herrnhut Gesangbuch*, 1735, dated "On Aug. 13, 1748, after Holy Communion at Herrnhut." This is a parody on the style of Gerhardt's stanzas I, II, III, VI, VII. It was translated and included in Part II of the *Moravian H. Book*, 1754, as "Tho' now no creature's sleeping."

A troop of French soldiers entered Lisberg, a small town of Hesse, on the 14th of September, 1796, plundered and killed the inhabitants, and burned the whole town. A little way distant, at the foot of a mountain, was a small cottage in which a mother sat by the bedside of her sick child. Hearing the noise in the town and seeing the burning houses she locked the door and knelt by the bedside and prayed. As the door burst open and a furious soldier rushed in, she spread her hands over the child and cried:

Breit aus die Flügel beide,

O Jesu, meine Freude, . . . (stanza VIII),

and lo! the wild soldier suddenly dropped his arm, stepped to the bed, and laid his rough hand gently on the child's head. Then going outside he stood guard that none of his troop might harm the cottage.

Although in limited use in the English hymn books, the translations are numerous, as follows:

1. Quietly rest the woods and dales.

Omitting stanza VIII by Mrs. Findlater, in H. L. L., 1st Series, 1854, p. 36 (1884, p. 38), included in *Cantate Domino*, Boston, U. S. A., 1859.

2. Now all the woods are sleeping.

A full and good translation by Miss Winkworth, in the 2d ed., 1856, of the 1st Series of her *Lyra Ger.*, 1855, p. 228. Included in full in her *C. B. for England*, 1863, and the Ohio *Luth. Hyl.*, 1880.

3. Now woods their rest are keeping.

A translation of stanzas I, III, VIII, IX, by Edward Thring, as no. 18 in the Uppingham and Sherborne School H. Bk., 1874.

4. Jesu, our joy and loving Friend.

A translation of stanza VIII as no. 200 in the Appendix of 1743 to the Moravian H. Bk., 1742.

5. Now Woods and Fields are quiet.

In the Suppl. to Ger. Psal., ed. 1765, p. 73.

6. Display thy both wings over.

A translation of stanza VIII as no. 156 in pt. I of the Moravian H. Bk., 1754.

7. Jesus, our Guardian, Guide and Friend.

A translation of stanza VIII as no. 765 in the Moravian H. Bk., 1789 (1886, no. 1190).

8. Lo! Man and Beast are sleeping.

H. J. Buckoll, 1842, p. 76.

9. Now rest beneath night's shadow.

E. D. Yeomans, in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1853, p. 195.

10. Now rest the woods again.

Miss Winkworth, 1855, p. 226 (see no. 2 above).

11. Rise, my soul, thy vigil keep.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 9.

12. Now resteth all creation.

J. S. Stallybrass, in the *Tonic Solfa Reporter*, January, 1859, and Curwen's *Harmonium and Organ Book*, 1863, p. 58.

13. Now every greenwood sleepeth.

Miss Manington, 1863, p. 133.

14. Now hushed are woods and waters.

Miss Cox, 1864, p. 9.

15. Now spread are evening's shadows.

J. Kelly, 1863, p. 285.

16. The woods are hushed; o'er town and plain.

Dr. J. Guthrie, 1869.

17. The duteous day now closeth.

In the Yattendon Hymnal, 1899, thence in Hymns of the Kingdom of God, N. Y., 1910, 1916, and the Hymnal of Praise, N. Y., 1913.

Quaint and homely as it is, this hymn has done much to enkindle devotion and strengthen grace among Christian readers in Germany, and is now familiar to English-speaking peoples through the beautiful translations of Miss Winkworth and Mrs. Findlater. Both they and Dr. Guthrie have successfully imitated the sweetly domestic tone in poems that have soothed many a careworn spirit at the close of day.

In the version which appeared in her *Lyra Germanica* Miss Winkworth evidently overlooked the fact that line 3 of her first stanza had an extra foot:

O'er field and city, man, and beast.

In the version for church singing printed in her *Chorale Book* the line is changed to the normal six-syllable iambic measure to admit of its being set to the old German melody,¹⁷⁸ "O Welt, ich musz dich laszen."

Gerhardt's stanza VIII, "Breit aus die Flügel beide,"¹⁷⁹ has been a special favorite in Germany, and Lauxmann in *Koch* VIII, 194, says of it:

"How many a Christian soul, children mostly, but also God's children in general, does this verse serve as their last evening prayer. It has often been the last prayer uttered on earth, and in many districts of Germany is used at the close of the baptismal service to commend the dear little ones to the protection of their Lord Jesus."

Miss Winkworth has successfully caught the truly childlike popular spirit of the stanza in the lines:

My Jesus, stay Thou by me,

¹⁷⁹ Breit aus die Flügel beide O Jesu, meine Freude, Und nimm dein Küchlein ein! Will Satan mich verschlingen, So lasz die Englein singen: Dies Kind soll unverletzet sein.

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¹⁷⁸ In Mittenwalde, where Gerhardt had a pastoral charge from 1651-1657 (cf. p. 3 ff.), there prevailed the custom of playing an evening hymn from the tower. The one used up to that time was the old and then well-known lay, "Innsbruck, ich musz dich laszen." Gerhardt liked the air, but longed to see it associated with a better and more really evening hymn. For this end he composed "Nun ruhen alle Wälder." The melody was originally composed in 1488(?) by Heinrich Isaac, conductor of the choir of Maximilian I. The great masters Bach and Mozart are reported to have said that they would gladly give their best works for this single tune. In our hymnals it is usually called "Innsbruck," but in German hymn books it is given as "O Welt, ich musz dich laszen," from the first line of the hymn of Johann Hesse, 1855, which was set to it.

And let no foe come nigh me, Safe shelter'd by Thy wing; But would the foe alarm me, O let him never harm me, But still Thine angels round me sing.

Interesting and amusing by its grotesqueness is the Moravian version of this stanza,¹⁸⁰ printed as a separate hymn in the edition of 1754:

Matt. XXIII, 37. Breit aus die flugel (sic) beide.

Display thy both Wings over Thy Chickens and them cover, O Jesu, Savior mild! If devils would disturb 'em, Let holy angels curb 'em And bid them never touch thy Child.

In the rich language in which such hymns were conceived and expressed they possess a force that is not easily retained in a translation especially where as in the present instance there is such an abundance of double rhymes. Dr. J. Guthrie's version has in England gained some popularity through the melodious rhythm he has given his lines by not restricting himself to Gerhardt's metre,¹⁸¹ and certainly the iambic line is more suited to an English treatment of the theme of rest and repose. Note this effect in Guthrie's lines:

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The woods are hushed o'er town and plain (1).
Now hastes the body to repose (19).
My laden eyes to slumber yield<sup>182</sup> (31).
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The sound sequence in stanza VIII to which the lines owe some of their popularity Dr. Guthrie has obviously endeavored to imitate by the alliterative,

My Savior, Shield and Sun!

When Satan on my soul would spring,

which would indeed do justice to Gerhardt. However a less unpleasant sound than the repeated sibilant which he has used, would suit the English ear better.

As an attempt to translate with scrupulous faithfulness Kelly's version is of some interest. The difficulties in the double rhymes he overcomes by the device of inflectional endings and repetition of pronouns which although at first moderately satisfactory must eventually become monotonous:

declining	hasteth	tirèd
shining	divesteth	expirèd ¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Founded on St. Matthew XXIII, 37. "O Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

¹⁸¹ Line 3 in his stanza is the same length as Gerhardt's.

¹⁸² Cf. the same effect in Adelaide Procter's hymn:

The shadows of the evening hours

Fall from the dark'ning sky

Upon the fragrance of the flowers

The dews of evening lie; etc.

¹⁸³ This rhyme occurs in two successive stanzas.

sing ye	make me	send you
bring ye	o'ertake me	defend you.
Mrs. Findlater	has in her version changed	I the metre of the original for all lines
except the third ar	nd sixth; in the closing coup	let or even the concluding line of each
stanza she has mo	reproduced the idea of peaceful repose	
which was so evid	lently Gerhardt's intention.	
Stanza 3, li	nes 5 and 6.	When I hear my Lord's command
		To leave this earth and upward fly.

	To leave this earth and upward fly.
Stanza 8, lines 5 and 6.	Give to my beloved sleep,
	And angels send to guard their
	home.

The omission of stanza VIII containing the figure of the hen gathering in her chicks is partially justifiable on the ground that the poem is complete without it, and that such similes while appropriately introduced into hymns of the seventeenth century are out of place in nineteenth century hymnody. On the other hand by this ruthless pruning the distinctive touch that Gerhardt gave the hymn is lost. It is interesting to note in the examination of the various English versions of Gerhardt's poetry the treatment which the "homely element" receives from the translator. The poem under consideration will form a good basis for discussion. Almost invariably the translator offers a paraphrase departing more or less widely from the original and effecting a colorless result: Gerhardt writes in stanza IV:

Der Leib eilt nun zur Ruhe, Legt ab das Kleid und Schuhe.

Miss Winkworth renders:

The body hastes to slumber These garments now but cumber.

Mrs. Findlater: Now the body seeks for rest From its vestments all undrest.

Kelly: To rest the body hasteth Itself of clothes divesteth.

Guthrie, however, whose version as a whole would doubtless be considered the best literary production, is not content with what is in the German but takes the opportunity offered by the extra syllables in his longer line to describe the vestment more explicitly:

Now hastes the body to repose Throws off its garments, shoes and hose.

Selected Stanzas:

Mrs. Findlater, 1854, in her Hymns from the Land of Luther.

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- Stanza 1. Quietly rest the woods and dales, Silence round the hearth prevails, The world is all asleep; Thou, my soul, in thought arise, Seek thy Father in the skies, And holy vigils with Him keep. Miss Winkworth, 1863, in her Chorale Book. Stanza 1. Now all the woods are sleeping, And night and stillness creeping O'er (field and) city, man and beast; But thou, my heart, awake thee, To prayer awhile betake thee, And praise thy Maker ere thou rest. J. Kelly, 1863, in his *Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs*. Stanza 1. Now spread are evening's shadows, O'er forests, towns, and meadows, And sleepeth every eve: Awake my powers and sing ye, And pray'r and praises bring ye, That your Creator please on high! J. Guthrie, 1869, in his Sacred Lyrics. Stanza 1. The woods are hushed; o'er town and plain, O'er man and beast, soft slumbers reign: The world has gone to rest. But thou, my soul, my every sense, Wake up, thy Maker's praise commence, And be that praise thy best. In the Hymnal of Praise, 1913 (translator's name not given).
 - Stanza 1. The duteous day now closeth, Each flow'r and tree reposeth, Shade creeps o'er wild and wood. Let us, as night is falling, On God, our Maker calling, Give thanks to Him, the Giver good.
 - Stanza 2. Now all the heavenly splendor Breaks forth in starlight tender From myriad worlds unknown; And man, Thy marvel seeing, Forgets his selfish being For joy of beauty not his own.

Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld.--(Goed. 68.)

[Passiontide.]

Appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1648; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 13; *Bachmann:* no. 7. Lauxmann in *Koch* VIII, 40, designates it as "the masterpiece of all Passion hymns." It is commonly sung in Germany and was included in the *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 95, but because of the complexity and variety of figures it has not come into extensive English or American use.

English Versions:

1. A Lamb goes forth: the sins he bears

Of every generation.

A translation of stanzas I and II and part of IV by A. T. Russell in his Psalms and Hymns, 1851.

2. A Lamb goes uncomplaining forth.

Mrs. Charles' translation (combining Gerhardt's stanzas II and III as 2) appears in her *Voice of Christian Life in Song*, 1858, p. 232. The second part of her version, beginning, "Gate of my heart, fly open wide" (stanza VII), appears in the following: (a) Bishop Ryle's *Collection*, 1860; (b) Reid's *Praise Book*, 1872; (c) *Christian Hymns*, Adelaide, 1872.

3. A Lamb bears all its guilt away The world thus to deliver.

A full translation by J. Kelly, 1867, p. 49. The Ohio Luth. Hymnal, 1880, reduces it to 4 stanzas.

4. A Lamb goes forth and bears the Guilt

Of all the world together.

J. Gambold, as no. 24, in part III, 1746, of the *Moravian H. Book*. In part II of the 1754 edition it begins "A Lamb goes forth and on him bears." In the ed. of 1801 it begins "A Lamb *went* forth," etc. Stanzas V, IX, X, of this version, beginning, "Jesus, I never can forget," are included in E. P. Hood's *Our Hymn Book*, 1868.

5. A Lamb goes forth and bears the Guilt

Of Adam's Generations.

A translation in the Suppl. to Ger. Psal., ed. 1765, and also Select Hymns from Ger. Psal., Tranquebar, 1754.

6. See, bowed beneath a fearful weight.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 32.

7. A Holy, Pure and Spotless Lamb.

Miss Cox, in *Lyra Messianica*, 1864, p. 230, and also in her *Hymns from the German*, 1864, p. 107.

8. Forth goes a dear devoted Lamb.

Dr. J. Guthrie, in his Sacred Lyrics, 1869, p. 82.

9. Behold a Lamb! so tired and faint.

Mrs. E. J. Carr, in *Songs of the Inner Life*, 1871. This version appeared also in Reid's *Praise Book*, 1872, with slight alterations.

10. A Lamb goes forth--for all the dues.

Catharine Macrea, in Reid's Praise Book, 1872, no. 990.

The unusual figures in this Passion Hymn have prevented its receiving in English-speaking countries the wide popularity attained by "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden."¹⁸⁴ Yet because of its dealing with a theme that appealed so strongly to Gerhardt and its being so characteristic of his piety and simplicity, a glimpse into the treatment accorded it by English translators should not be without interest. With hardly less depth of feeling than in "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" but with stranger imagery Gerhardt portrays the passion of Christ and reflects upon its significance, and the comfort the Christian derives from it.



The *Moravian Hymn Book* contains Gambold's translation in Gerhardt's metre of nine of the ten stanzas; the seventh, which abounds in metaphors, he has omitted. Mention has elsewhere¹⁸⁵ been made of Gerhardt's familiarity of tone in addressing the Savior. Gambold equals his master in this respect; witness stanza 5:

Whilst I live here, I never shall Forget thy Grace amazing; Our love shall be reciprocal, I also Thee embracing. My heart's Light thou shalt be always, And when it breaks once (as one says) Thou'lt be my Heart thenceforward . . .

The figure in the concluding stanza of the bride clothed in purple is rather spoiled by Gambold by the baldness of the couplet:

Thy Blood shall of my Wedding-dress Be then the only splendor.

Nor have we in the German anything to suggest the final lines:

Then will the Mother, who bore me, And nursed me up, my Lamb, for thee, Present me as thy Purchase.

Russell's short version of two stanzas presents an effective paraphrase of the last three lines of Gerhardt's stanza IV:

O süszes Lamm, was soll ich dir	O Lamb beloved! How shall I
Erweisen dafür, dasz du mir	Thee
Erweisest so viel Gutes?	Requite for all, thus unto me
	Such wondrous goodness
	showing?

Under the title "The sin-bearing Lamb" Dr. Guthrie gives in his *Sacred Lyrics* perhaps the most readable English translation, as it combines Gerhardt's beautiful piety and spiritual simplicity; it is also unique among translations from the German, in that it introduces more of the direct address than is usual, translators preferring as a rule to render quotations in the indirect form:

"Give me," he says, "the wreath of thorn," etc.

Stanza 7, which Gambold omitted entirely, is the beginning of a hymn in Reid's *Praise Book*. It is a cento taken from Mrs. Charles' very free translation (1858) and is cited here to illustrate the liberties often taken by translators. Here, of course, the free paraphrase is reasonably justifiable:

STANZA 7.

Gerhardt.

Mrs. Charles.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 18 and 89.

Erweitre dich, mein Herzensschrein, Du sollt ein Schatzhaus werden Der Schätze, die viel gröszer sein Als Himmel, Meer und Erden. Weg mit dem Gold Arabia! Weg Calmus, Myrrhen, Casia! Ich hab ein Bessers funden. Mein groszer Schatz, Herr Jesu Christ Ist dieses, was geflossen ist Aus deines Leibes Wunden. Gate of my heart, fly open wide--Shrine of my heart, spread forth; The treasure will in thee abide Greater than heaven and earth: Away with all this poor world's treasures, And all this vain world's tasteless pleasures, My treasure is in heaven; For I have found true riches now, My treasure, Christ, my Lord, art Thou, Thy blood so freely given!

Selected Stanzas:

In the Moravian Hymn Book, 1754 ed., part II (author's name not given).

Stanza 1. A Lamb goes forth and on him bears The Guilt and misdemeanour Of all the World, and patient wears The Likeness of a Sinner.

Stanza 2. Great King! in ev'ry age confest, Yet never more or greater, Than when thou with thy Wounds wast drest, Could I but praise thee better!

J. Gambold, in the 1754 edition of the Moravian Hymn Book.

Stanza 1. A Lamb goes forth, and bears the guilt Of all the world together, Most patiently by his Blood spilt To pay for ev'ry Debtor; Sickness and toil he on him took, Went freely to the Slaughter-block All comfort he refused; He underwent reproach and blame, Death on the Cross, and Stripes and shame, And said, I gladly chuse it.

A. T. Russell, in his *Psalms and Hymns*, 1851.

Stanza 1. A Lamb goes forth: the sins He bears Of every generation: Himself with patience He prepares To die for every nation. All faint and weak, behold! He goes, His life resigning to His foes: No thought His grief can measure. He yields to scorn, reproach, disdain, Wounds, anguish, cross, and dying pain, And saith, "It is my pleasure."

Guthrie, 1869, in his Sacred Lyrics.

Stanza 1. Forth goes a dear devoted Lamb And dies an expiation For sinners all, of every name, Of every age and nation. Forlorn and faint, behold He gains The scene of more than deadly pains, No earthly good possessing: "Give me," he says, "The wreath of thorn, The stripes, the curse, the Cross of scorn, That men may have the blessing."

Warum sollt ich mich denn¹⁸⁶ grämen?--(Goed. 122.)

[Cross and Consolation.]

Founded on Psalm LXXIII, 23. Appeared in *Crü.--Runge*, 1653, no. 240, in 12 stanzas of 8 lines; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 64; *Bachmann:* no. 29; *Crü. Praxis:* 1656, no. 320; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 784. Cf. *Koch* IV, 525; VIII, 471-9.

This is a very beautiful hymn but difficult of translation. It was a source of comfort to the Salzburg emigrants on their way through Swabia in 1732 (cf. Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*), and to Frederick William I. of Prussia on his deathbed, May 31, 1740. The eighth stanza was the last utterance of Gerhardt on the day of his death, May 27, 1676. It has since cheered and comforted many Christians, both in the season of trial and in the hour of death. It was joyfully sung by the pious pastor Hosch of Gächingen in Württemberg, when on the 2d of July, 1800, French soldiers had plundered his house, leaving him almost nothing but his harp, with which he accompanied the cheering strains of this hymn. The words of the seventh stanza: Unverzagt und ohne Grauen

Solt ein Christ, Wo er ist, Stets sich laszen schauen. . . .

were spoken by the pious lawyer in Stuttgart, John Jacob Moser, when, in consequence of his fearless remonstrances against injustice, he was called before his sovereign, the Duke of Württemberg, to be sentenced to imprisonment. The Queen of Poland and Electress of Saxony, Christiana Eberhardina, who died on the 5th of September, 1726, derived great consolation in her dying moments from the eighth stanza which was repeated to her by her chaplain.

English Versions:

1. Why, my soul, thus trembling ever.

A good translation of stanzas I, IV, VII, VIII, XI, XI, as no. 232 in the *Anglican H. Bk.*, 1868. Translated by the Rev. Angelo A. Benson, 1862.¹⁸⁷

2. Why should sorrow ever grieve me.

¹⁸⁶ "denn" is probably the authentic reading, although Goedeke prints "doch." Cf. p. 16.¹⁸⁷ [Cf. Lutheran Hymnary, #342]

In full by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 214. His translation of stanzas I, V, X-XII, are repeated in the Ohio *Luth. Hymnal*, 1880, no. 420.

3. Why should I continue grieving.

In the *Suppl. to Ger. Psalmody*, ed. 1765, p. 58, in the *Moravian H. Bk.*, 1754, and in the *Supplement* of 1808 to the *Moravian H. Bk.* of 1801, but with stanzas VIII, X, altered and beginning "With undaunted resolution."

4. Wherefore should I grieve and pine.

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Ger., 1858, p. 198.

5. Wherefore, then, should I be gloomy.

N. L. Frothingham, 1870, p. 144.

This "Christliches Freudenlied" has an especial interest, for it seems to have been the hymn that was most comforting to Gerhardt. We know that in his last moments¹⁸⁹ he repeated stanza VIII:

Kann uns doch kein Tod nicht tödten, Sondern reiszt Unsern Geist Aus viel tausend Nöten; Schleuszt das Thor der bittern Leiden Und macht Bahn, Da man kann Gehn zur Himmelsfreuden.

It was fitting that one whose hymns are so replete with expressions of earthly and the far greater heavenly joys should go to his final rest comforted by the full realization of their meaning.

The translator in the 1754 edition of the *Moravian Hymn Book* has with a few characteristic exceptions treated the peculiar rhythm and metre skillfully. Although the line

Han't I still Christ my Hill,

(line 2) would not be acceptable to-day, still our attention is forcibly drawn to the rhythm and note of genuine fervor in the reproduction of our poet's last words:

Conquered Death cannot destroy us, But cuts short grief and Smart That doth here annoy us; Shuts the door on sin and sadness And makes way for the Day Of eternal gladness.

John Kelly in his *Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs* although he does not retain much of the lyric grace of the original translates the poem with scrupulous faithfulness. His stanza 8 suffers greatly by comparison with that of the Moravian version-given above.

Death can never kill us even, But relief From all grief

To us then is given. It does close life's mournful story



¹⁸⁸ [Cf. *The Lutheran Hymnal*, 1941, p. 523.]

¹⁸⁹ Cf. p. 5.

Make a way That we may Pass to heavenly glory.

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Selected Stanzas:

In the 1754 edition of the Moravian Hymn Book (author's name not given).

Stanza 1. Why should I continue grieving, Han't I still Christ my Hill, And my Savior living? Who'll deprive me of Salvation Which by Faith Jesus hath Giv'n in expectation?

John Kelly in his Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs, 1867.

Stanza 1. Why should sorrow ever grieve me? Christ is near What can here E'er of Him deprive me? Who can rob me of my heaven That God's Son As mine own To my faith hath given? Germanica, 1858.

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Germanica, 1858.

Stanza 1. Wherefore should I grieve and pine? Is not Christ the Lord still mine? Who can sever me from Him? Who can rob me of the heaven Which the Son of God hath given Unto faith though weak and dim?

Wir singen dir, Emanuel.--(Goed. 150.)

[Christmas.]

Included in *Crü. Praxis*, 1653, no. 100 in 16 stanzas of 4 lines. In *Ebeling*, 1667, 5, no. 52, four stanzas were added as IV, VIII, IX, XVII. The complete text in 20 stanzas is in *Wackernagel:* no. 10; *Bachmann:* no. 42; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 58. Cf. *Koch* IV, 136.

English Versions:

1. Emmanuel, we sing Thy praise.

This translation of stanzas I-III, V-VII, XVIII-XX, appeared in the *British Magazine*, January, 1838, p. 35. Repeated, omitting the translation of stanza XIX, and beginning "Emmanuel, Thy name we sing," in *Kennedy*, 1863.

2. Immanuel, we sing to Thee.

A translation of stanzas I-III, V, by A. T. Russell in the Dalston Hospital H. Bk., 1848.

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3. Immanuel, we sing to Thee, Of life, etc.

A translation of stanzas I-III, VI, XX, based on the earlier versions, in J. F. Thrupp's Psalms and Hymns, 1853, no. 35.

4. Thee, O Immanuel, we praise.

A good translation of stanzas I-III, V-VII, XVIII-XX, by Miss Winkworth, in her Lyra Ger., First Series, 1855, p. 28. In her 2d ed., 1856, p. 24, she added a translation of stanza IX, and thus in her C. B. for England, 1863, no. 35. Repeated, abridged, in the Hyl. for St. John's, Aberdeen, 1870, and Flett's Collection, Paisley, 1871; and beginning "With all Thy saints, Thee, Lord, we sing" (stanza II), in Boardman's Selections, Philadelphia, 1861.

5. We sing to Thee, Emmanuel, The Prince, etc.

A good translation of stanzas I-III, V-VII, XVIII-XX, by Miss Cox, contributed to Lyra Messianica, 1864, p. 55, and in her own Hymns from the German, 1864, p. 35. in Schaff's Christ in Song, 1869, p. 56, it is in full, and in Jellicoe's Collection, 1867, omitting the translation of stanza V. In the Amer. Bapt. Hy. & Tune Bk., 1871, it begins, "All glory, worship, thanks and praise" (stanzas II, III, XIX, XX).

6. We sing to Thee, Immanuel! Thou Prince of Life.

A translation of stanzas I, II, XIX, XX, signed "F. C. C.," as no. 26 in Dr. Pagenstecher's Collection, 1864.

7. We sing to Thee, Immanuel, Thou Prince of Life.

As no. 109 in part III, 1748, of the Moravian H. Bk. (1754, part I, no. 436).

8. Immanuel, to Thee we sing, Thou Prince, etc.

L. E. Schlecht, in the Moravian H. Bk., 1789, no. 45 (1886, no. 45).

9. Immanuel! Thy praise we sing.

Miss Fry, 1859, p. 163.

10. To Thee, Immanuel, we sing, The Prince, etc.

Miss Manington, 1864, p. 36.

11. Immanuell to Thee we sing, The Fount.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 37.

Few of the English versions of German hymns which appear in the old Moravian hymn books rise above a mediocre grade; many on account of their crudity deserve only passing mention, others are interesting merely by way of comparison with later renderings. The editions up to that of 1886 published no authors' names and it is now largely a matter of conjecture as to who may have written these earlier versions. Rarely did the translators succeed in giving even a fair impression of the original, and we suspect that imperfect knowledge of the exact meaning of the German or even indifference to the effect their versions produced may too often have been the cause of the crude and even grotesque language.

The translator of this Christmas hymn has, however, been a notable exception; choosing from Gerhardt's discursive strophes the most significant ideas, he has developed a poem of seven stanzas superior to most contemporary hymns from the German. The correspondence of strophes is as follows:

Gerhardt: I Π VII VI VII VIII VI IX XI XX

Mor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hy.							
<i>Bk.:</i>							
Esp	pecially	happy are	the epithets	in lines 3 and 4:			
Du Morgen	Himmels stern,	sblum	und		Thou Mornin Flow'r	ng-star, thou	ı Eden's
Du Jung	frausohn I	Herr aller He	rrn.		The Lord of bore!	Lords, who	m Mary
The modern reader will enjoy the orthography in the lines:							

Dost thou a stranger *chuse to be* (stanza 3),

Thou *cloathest* all (stanza 3).

though he will recoil at the pronunciation of the first two lines of stanza 5: Thou in a manger ly'st with beasts,

There thou a little Infant rest'st.

and

Stanza 6, a free paraphrase of stanza XI in the original, reproduces admirably the childlike confidence with which Gerhardt writes. The translator appreciates keenly the personal tone which pervades the poem when he sings:

I thank thee, loving Lamb! that thou

On my account didst stoop so low;

And as thy Spirit gives me grace,

I'll be thy Servant, if thou please.

In her *Chorale Book* and set to the old tune "Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag,"¹⁹⁰ Miss Winkworth gives the following arrangement of her ten-stanza version:

Gerhardt:	Ι	II	III	V	VI	IX	VII	XVIII	XIX	XX
Witkwath	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Stanza 9 shows how successfully she can imitate Gerhardt's simplicity and fervor; even the alliteration finds a partial correspondence in her third line:

Gerhardt (stanza XIX).	Winkworth (stanza 9).
Du bist mein Haupt; hinwiederum	Thou art my Head, my Lord
Bin ich dein Glied und Eigentum	Divine,
Und will, so viel dein Geist mir	I am Thy member, wholly Thine,
gibt,	And in Thy Spirit's strength would
Stets dienen dir, wie dirs geliebt.	still
	Serve Thee according to Thy will.

So also in stanza 10 (*Gerhardt* XX) for Gerhardt's favorite expression "für und für" we find a very happy equivalent, and also an exact rhyme which the German lacks:

Gerhardt (stanza XX).

Winkworth (stanza 10).

¹⁹⁰ By Nicolaus Heermann (d. 1560).

Ich will dein Alleluja hierThus will I sing Thy praises hereMit Freuden singen für und für,With joyful spirit year by year;Und dort in deinem EhrensaalAnd they shall sound before thySolls schallen ohne Zeit und Zahl.throne,Where time nor number more are
known.

Miss Cox, whose translation of Gellert's Easter hymn

Jesus lives, thy terror now

Can no longer, Death, appal us,

is so well known, has given us one of the best modern versions of this Christmas hymn of Gerhardt's. Her stanzas correspond as follows:

Gerhardt:	Ι	II	III	V	VI	VII	XVIII	XIX	XX
Cox:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Miss Cox makes a less personal appeal to the worshipper and thereby loses much that is so excellent and characteristic of Gerhardt; instead of keeping the pronoun in the singular, "So fasz *ich*" (stanza XVIII) "Du bist *mein* Haupt" (stanza XIX) and "*Ich* will dein Alleluja" (stanza XX), she has respectively "*Our* love grows bold," "Thou art *our* Head," and "*Our* hallelujahs." If her poem is rather more polished, Gerhardt's is certainly the more direct, as witness these stanzas:

Gerhardt (stanza VII).

Du kehrst in fremder Hausung ein, Und sind doch alle Himmel dein; Trinkst Milch aus deiner Mutter Brust Und bist doch selbst der Engel Lust. Cox (stanza 6).

Thou who both heaven and earth dost sway, In strangers' inn are fain to stay; And though thy power makes angels blest, Dost seek thy food from human breast.

The concluding stanza is inferior to the others and suffers by comparison with the excellent lines of Miss Winkworth cited above: it is a very free paraphrase and leaves the impression of having been hastily constructed:

As each short year goes quickly round, Our hallelujahs shall resound; And when we reckon years no more, May we in heaven thy name adore!

Selected Stanzas:

From the Moravian Hymn Book, 1754.

Stanza 1. We sing to thee Immanuel! Thou Prince of life, salvation's well! Thou Morning-star, thou Eden's Flow'r The Lord of Lords whom Mary bore! Hallelujah. Stanza 2. We sing thee 'midst thy chosen race With all our strength we give thee praise; That thou so long expected guest Didst come to visit us at last.

Frances Elizabeth Cox, 1864, in the Schaff-Gilman Library of Religious Poetry.

Stanza 1. We sing to thee, Emmanuel, The Prince of life, salvation's well, The plant of heaven, the star of morn, The Lord of Lords, the virgin-born!

Stanza 2. All glory, worship, thanks, and praise, That thou art come in these our days! Thou heavenly guest, expected long, We hail thee with a joyful song.

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Germanica, 1865, p. 24.

 Thee, O Immanuel, we praise, The Prince of Life, and Fount of Grace, The Morning Star, the Heavenly Flower, The Virgin's Son, the Lord of Power! With all Thy saints, Thee, Lord, we sing, Praise, honour, thanks to Thee we bring, That Thou, O long-expected guest, Hast come at last to make us blest! E'er since the world began to be, How many a heart hath longed for Thee; Long years our fathers hoped of old Their eyes might yet Thy Light behold.

Befiehl du deine Wege.--(Goed. 185.)

[Trust in God.]

Appeared in *Crü. Praxis*, 1656, no. 333; *Wackernagel:* no. 66; *Bachmann:* no. 72 in 12 stanzas of 8 lines; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 620.

Lauxmann, in *Koch* VIII, 392, calls this hymn "the most comforting of all the hymns that have resounded on Paulus Gerhardt's golden lyre, sweeter to many souls than honey and the honey-comb." It is an acrostic on Luther's version of Psalm XXXVII, 5, "Befiehl dem Herren deine Wege und hoffe auf ihn, er wirds wohl machen," formed by the initial words of the stanzas, those of the *Wackernagel* edition being printed in blacker type. This acrostic form has been preserved by Jacobi and Stallybrass.

According to tradition Gerhardt wrote the hymn in a Saxon village to console his wife after they had been compelled to leave Berlin. But the hymn was printed as early as 1653, and although Gerhardt had to give up his position in 1666,¹⁹¹ he did not leave Berlin until his appointment to Lübben in 1669, while his wife died in Berlin in 1668. Hence there appear to be two good reasons for discrediting this story. We must assume, therefore, that the hymn was written during the Mittenwalde period when as yet he could have had no thought of a position in Berlin. The perfection of the hymn is strikingly evinced by the fact that it soon spread through Germany, finding its way into all hymn books and ranking as one of the finest hymns of its class. Lauxmann relates that it was sung when the foundation stone of the first Lutheran church at Philadelphia was laid, May 2, 1743, and again on October 20, when Muhlenberg, the father of the American Lutheran Church, held the opening service.

English Versions:

1. Commit thou all thy griefs.

A very free but spirited rendering omitting stanzas V, IX-XI, by J. Wesley in his *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739 (P. Works, 1869-72, Vol. I, p. 125), in 8 stanzas of 8 lines. Wesley has here caught, far more successfully than any other, the real ring and spirit of Gerhardt. His translation has been included in many hymn books and collections, and has come into very extended use, but generally abridged. In the *United Presb. H. Bk.*, 1852, it began "To God commit thy griefs." It is also found under these headings:

- (a) Thou on the Lord rely (stanza III).
- (b) Thy everlasting truth (stanza V).

(c) Give to the winds thy fears (stanza IX). (This is the heading under which it

appears in most American hymnals. Cf. p. 202.)

- (d) O cast away thy fears (stanza IX altered).
- (e) Through waves and clouds and storms (stanza X).
- (f) Leave to his sovereign sway (stanza XIII).
- (g) Thou seest our weakness, Lord (stanza XV).
- (h) Put thou thy trust in God.

This last is a greatly altered cento with the stanza arrangement as follows:

Wesley:	III	Ι	III	V
Cento:	1	2	3	4

In this form also it has appered in many hymnals.

2. Commit thy way, confiding.

A complete translation by Dr. H. Mills in the *Evang. Review*, Gettysburg, July, 1849, and his *Horae Ger.*, 1856, p. 172. His stanzas I, II, VI, XII, were included in the Lutheran General Synod's *Hymns*, 1852, and I, II, V, VI, XI, XII, in the Ohio *Luth. Hymnal*, 1880.

3. Thy way and all thy sorrows, Give thou into His hand.

A complete translation by Rev. A. T. Russell as no. 233 in his *Psalms and Hymns*, 1851, in 3 parts. Part II begins "In vain the powers of darkness / Thy will, O God, oppose": (Gerhardt's stanza V). Part III (Gerhardt's stanza IX) begins "Awhile his consolation / He will to thee deny."

4. Commit thy way to God.

A translation omitting stanzas IX, X, XII, by Mrs. Charles in her *Voice of Christian Life in Song*, 1858, p. 239. A cento of her version (Gerhardt's stanzas I, II, VI, VIII, XI) appears as no. 138 in Jellicoe's *Collection*, 1867, and another cento (Gerhardt's I, VI-VIII, XI) appears as no. 283 in Bishop Ryle's *Collection*, 1860.

5. Commit thy way, O weeper.

A free paraphrase in 6 stanzas of 4 lines by J. S. Stallybrass for the *Tonic-Solfa Reporter*, July, 1857, repeated in Curwen's *Child's Own H. Bk.*, 1862 and 1874.

6. Commit thou every sorrow, And care.

A translation of stanzas I-III, XII, by Miss Borthwick in Dr. Pagenstecher's *Collection*, 1864, no. 240.

7. Commit thy Ways and Goings.

J. C. Jacobi, 1720, 1722, 1732.

8. Commit thou thy each grievance.

In part I of the Moravian H. Bk., 1754 and 1849.

9. Commit thy ways, thy sorrows.

Mrs. Stanley Carr in her translation of Wildenhahn's Paul Gerhardt, 1845 and 1856.

10. Commit thy secret grief.

Miss Dunn, 1857, p. 89.

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11. Commend thy way, O mortal.
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In Madame de Pontes's Poets and Poetry of Germany, 1858, vol. I, p. 424.

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12. Commit thou all thy ways, and all.
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Mrs. Bevan, 1859, p. 124.

13. Commit thy way unto the Lord, thy heavy.

Dr. R. P. Dunn in Sacred Lyrics from the German, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 85.

14. To God thy way commending.

Miss Cox, 1864, p. 161; and in the Gilman-Schaff Lib. of Rel. Poetry, 1883, p. 510.

15. Commit whatever grieves thee.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 225.

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16. Commit thy way, O weeping.

Dr. J. Guthrie in his Sacred Lyrics, 1869, p. 92.

17. Commit the way before thee,

N. L. Frothingham, 1870, p. 164.

18. Commit thy course and keeping.

Dr. John Cairns, c. 1850, but first published in Edinburgh, 1881, as an eight-page tract.

In the interesting and now very rare old *Psalmodia Germanica*¹⁹³ compiled and edited by J. C. Jacobi there are three of Gerhardt's hymns--"Wie soll ich dich empfangen," "Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe," and "Befiehl du deine Wege." The book is dedicated to

...

¹⁹² cf. The Lutheran Hymnal, 1941, p. 520.

¹⁹³ 1st ed. 1720, later eds. in 1722 and 1732. Through the kindness of the Hartford Theological Seminary Library it was the privilege of the writer to have access to the 1722 edition.

"Their Royal Highnesses, Princess ANNE Pincess AMALIA, (sic!) AND

Princess CAROLINA,"

and in one paragraph of this dedication we read:

"As a sincere Desire to promote Divine Psalmody has prompted me to this Translation; so I presume to address the same, such as it is to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESSES, for no other End than to promote thereby the Singing the Praises of our blessed Redeemer"; etc.

In most cases facing the beginning page of the hymns is an inserted leaf (not numbered) containing the traditional melody unharmonized. It is a reasonably safe conjecture that these books of Jacobi were among the very first printed copies of anglicized German hymns, and the historical value and interest of the books themselves as well as the versions they contain cannot be overestimated.

The version of "Befiehl du deine Wege" is so free a paraphrase, combining, as it does, in the five stanzas ideas from the twelve of the original, and introducing new elements altogether, that except for the first and fifth strophes it is difficult to connect the themes definitely with any particular lines in Gerhardt's poem. The correspondence seems, however, to be approximately as follows:

Jacobi:	Ι	II	III	IV	V
Gerhardt:	1	25	7	7348	12
				10	

Which line of Gerhardt suggests the injunction "Shake off that yoke of Hell" (2, 6) is not clear: possibly here Jacobi had in mind the scriptural passage (Psalm XXXVII, 5, ff.) where in verse 8 we read "Cease from anger, and forsake wrath." Stanza 4:

And he shall clear the Dullness That sits upon thy Mind

perhaps finds its basis in stanza VII:

... was das Herze Betrübt und traurig macht!

or in stanza VIII:

Wann Er . . . Das Werk hinausgeführet, Das dich bekümmert hat.

To conclude his hymn, Jacobi again, as in strophe 2, dwells upon the punishment for sin, entirely an interpolation of his own, with no bearing on the original whatever: Redeem us all together

From Sin, World, Death, and Hell.

Finally it must be said that for the modern reader this version must seem little more than a distorted paraphrase, made still further difficult of interpretation and appreciation through the use of words far more remote from our modern English than is the German vernacular of the seventeenth century from the modern German. Phrases such as:

His Fatherly Dilection

is never at a stand (3, lines 7 and 8)

and

Our Life and Conversation Lead by Thy Holy Hand (5, lines 5 and 6)

seem not well calculated to carry out the hope that the translator utters on the last page of his "dedication":

"If the Lover of Psalmody, can find in these Hymns an edifying Sunday's Entertainment, which, it seems, has hitherto been too much wanting in Abundance of Families, the Translator will think his Time well bestow'd,

In another chapter¹⁹⁴ mention has been made of the relation of John and Charles Wesley to the Moravians. It is altogether probable that it was the singing of this hymn with its reference to winds and seas that first appealed to these Englishmen when on their voyage to America on the same vessel with a company of Moravians. John Wesley's version (1739) is the second of the three earliest translations of this hymn which has come into such extensive use both in Germany and English-speaking lands. A number of changes have been made by the translator, but in general the main features are quite faithfully reflected. Firstly he has divided the 8-line strophes into quatrains, has disregarded the feminine rhymes of lines 1 and 3 and changed to iambic tetrameter the original iambic trimeter ending in a feminine rhyme. These variations enable him often to introduce an additional thought, e. g. in line 3 "To his *sure truth* and tender care," where in Gerhardt there is only the idea of *"faithful care."* Again he profits by being able better to express in English the more pithy German; for example, in stanza 14: "When fully he the work hath wrought" reproduces very acceptably the idea contained in the compound "hinausgeführt."

Omitting stanza V Wesley gives a free but spirited version of the stanza beginning Hoff, O du arme Seele

Hoff und sei unverzagt . . . as

Give to the winds thy fears Hope and be undismayed God hears thy sighs and counts thy tears God shall lift up thy head.¹⁹⁵

Omitting also stanzas IX-XI inclusive, in which the original emphasizes or repeats in sameness of strain the thoughts of the earlier part of the poem, Wesley offers in his final strophe a strong conclusion, though he departs from the idea of Gerhardt's theme of *distress* for which termination is besought, and dwells upon the *weakness* to which man is prone. While Gerhardt asks to be guided to Heaven, to be *entrusted* ("empfohlen") to God's care, which one would expect for the appropriate

¹⁹⁴ Cf. p. 31.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. p. 124.

conclusion of a poem beginning *"Befiehl* du deine Wege," Wesley prays only that God's children may *remember* His care:

Let us, in life, in death, Thy steadfast truth declare And publish, with our latest breath, Thy love and guardian care!

The nearest date that can be set for the other early English translation of this most famous of Gerhardt's hymns is 1754 in the *Moravian Hymn Book* of that year where it appeared without the name of the author. It is very likely the work of the editor himself, Dr. J. Gambold; for it has many of the characteristics of other hastily made translations in his collection of "German Hymns in the Seventeenth Century." Many of the hymns of the early and exuberant development of Moravian hymnody seem at first sight like a highly-colored and almost morbid growth that had been grafted from without upon the stem of English church song. If the immediate impression this version makes is that of foreignness owing to its phraseology,¹⁹⁶ it must be remembered that in reality these efforts are part of a new development of a real spiritual life, at first perverted into fantastic forms, but certainly capable of culture and ultimately becoming a characteristic and permanent type of English hymn. An unbiassed critic must concede that the whole atmosphere of this hymn in spite of its crudity is still that of childlike simplicity and tender devotion to Christ.

The author has rendered all stanzas but the fifth ("Und ob gleich alle Teufel," etc.), omitting this possibly because Wesley before him (1739) had omitted it. The stanza is not far inferior to its prototype, stanza III¹⁹⁷ of Luther's "Ein' feste Burg," and would seem worthy of being included. The diction of the concluding lines shows evidently the influence of Wesley, who, as has been seen, departs here widely from the idea of Gerhardt. Wesley has:

Let us, in life, in death, Thy steadfast truth declare, And publish, with our latest breath, Thy love and guardian care!

The Moravian version reads:

Till, and beyond death's valley Let us thy *Truth declare* Yea then emphatically Boast of thy Guardian care.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Stanza 2. Rely on God who good is Fix on his work thy notice.
Stanza 8. Sometimes he his Assistance Does not directly show.
Stanza 9. When least thou hop'st that Favour He extricate thee will.
¹⁹⁷ Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär Und wollt uns gar verschlingen, etc.

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Bio of Paul Gerhardt

Miss Cox preserves the eight-line form and the original metre in her complete translation of the twelve stanzas. Taken as a whole her appeal is far less direct than Wesley's, her sentences and the ideas contained in them being much more involved. On the other hand, in the very first quatrain her word "Trust" gives the keynote of the whole poem at once, a touch that the original certainly contains and which no other translator has successfully reproduced in the first stanza. Strophe IX which is among those passed over by Wesley finds here a good English parallel in what appears to be a well-studied rendering:

Gerhardt:

Cox:

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Er wird zwar eine Weile Mit seinem Trost verziehen . . . Awhile, perchance to try thee, He seems to hear thee not, All comfort to deny thee, As if thou wert forgot; . . .

But undeniably the closest parallel, showing too that she was at home in both languages, is the concluding stanza. Where others fail her translation here excels in that it follows the idea which Gerhardt emphasizes throughout the poem, that of the heart *trusting*¹⁹⁸ in God:

End if thou wilt our sorrow, And our probation close; Till then we fain would borrow Strength to support life's woes: To thee *our way commending*, Whose wisdom orders best, We tread the pathway tending To heaven's eternal rest.

Much of the native beauty and lyric grace of this charming hymn is to be found in one of the less well known translations--that of Dr. John Guthrie (1869). He very appropriately designates the hymn "The Triumph of Trust," and seems to have divined Gerhardt's meaning and use of "Trost"¹⁹⁹ as being that comfort which has its source in Trust and Faith. Note Guthrie's treatment of this theme in stanza 2:

Trust him and soon with wonder His goodness shalt thou see Tis *faith* and prayer and waiting That draw the blessing down.

or again in stanza 8 where the true "Stimmung" is present:

Trust Him to guard and guide thee, And bid thy troubles flee *Trust* Him, whate'er betide thee . . .

Not as successful in the concluding quatrain as Miss Cox, but nevertheless sensible of what Gerhardt intended to be the closing theme, as has been noted already, Dr. Guthrie gives us this couplet:

That on thy care depending, We heavenward still may go....

¹⁹⁸ Lasz . . . uns . . . deiner Pflege . . . empfohlen sein (stanza XII).

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion of Gerhardt's use of the word "Trost" cf. p. 22.

Dr. John Kelly's version adheres more closely than any other to the metre and language, but it would be impossible by this means to popularize for the English reader Gerhardt's poetry. The translator's effects are altogether too labored, as is apparent in stanza 2 where the only virtue is the very doubtful one of the retention of the feminine rhyme:

The Lord thou must repose on If thou wouldst prosper sure, His work must ever gaze on If thine is to endure.

Throughout the poem occurs the same defect, a forcing of the rhyme:

evil	graciously	misery
cavil	early see	may we

In the last quatrain Kelly fails, as do the other translators, to bring out Gerhardt's strong repetition of the dominating theme, ending with the very inferior couplet So come we where prepar'd for Us is our bless'd abode.

Another translation that, like Kelly's is somewhat ultra-faithful to the original metres is that of Dr. A. T. Russell (1851). He has divided the hymn into three separate poems:

Part I, stanzas I, II, III, IV. Part II, stanzas V, VI, VII, VIII. Part III, stanzas IX, X, XI, XII.

In the very passage where others have made their poorest offering Russell has been unusually successful, namely in the last quatrain of stanza II ("Mit Sorgen und mit Grämen," etc.):

God yieldeth nought to sorrow And self-tormenting care: Nought, nought with Him availeth;--No power save that of prayer.

He has obtained literality in a marked degree in the fourth stanza as a close examination will show:

Weg hast du allerwegen,	Thy way is ever open;
An Mitteln fehlt dirs nicht;	Thou dost on nought depend;
Dein Thun ist lauter Segen,	Thine act is only blessing;
Dein Gang ist lauter Licht,	Thy path light without end,
Dein Werk kann niemand hindern,	Thy work can no man hinder,
Dein Arbeit darf nicht ruhn,	Thy purpose none can stay,
Wann du, was deinen Kindern	Since Thou to bless Thy children
Ersprieszlich ist, willst thun.	Through all dost make a way.

The success is plainly due to the fortunate choice of Anglo-Saxon equivalents and the coincidence of verse accent and important words. Contrast with this in Miss Cox's otherwise good translation her only poor stanza, all but unintelligible to modern readers through the use of the obsolete word "let" (line 6) for "hindrance."



Stanza 4. Resources rich possessing, That love still finds a way, Thy every act a blessing, Thy pathway cloudless day; In one unbroken tissue, Which no *let* e'er withstood, It brings to happy issue Plans for thy children's good.

It is unfortunate that a version so excellent in other respects should include this wide departure from the fervor and whole-heartedness of Gerhardt.

One final observation is interesting that in his last strophe Russell offers a compromise between Wesley's interpretation and that of Miss Cox:

Thy truth and Thy protection Forevermore we pray: With these in heavenly glory

Shall end our certain way.

This prayer for protection is closer to Gerhardt's lines and therefore better than Wesley's bold paraphrase, but it falls far short of the simple and forceful conclusion of Miss Cox:

To Thee our way commending, Whose wisdom orders best, We tread the pathway tending To heaven's eternal rest.

Selected Stanzas:

J. C. Jacobi in Psalmodia Germanica, 1722.

I.

Commit thy Ways and Goings, And all that grieves thy Soul, To him, whose wisest Doings Rule all without Controul: He makes the Times and Seasons Revolve from Year to Year And knows Ways, Means, and Reasons When Help shall best appear.

(Note: In the wording accompanying the musical score the second line reads "And all *what* grieves thy Soul.")

J. Wesley, 1739, in the Schaff-Gilman Library of Religious Poetry.

I.

Commit thou all thy griefs And ways into his hands, To his sure truth and tender care, Who earth and heaven commands.

Who points the clouds their course,

Whom winds and seas obey, He shall direct thy wandering feet, He shall prepare thy way. The cento given in most American hymnals: Stanza 1. Give to the winds thy fears; Hope, and be undismayed; God hears thy sighs and counts thy tears; God shall lift up thy Head. Stanza 2. Through waves and clouds and storms, He gently clears thy way; Wait thou His time, so shall this night Soon end in joyous day. Stanza 3. What though thou rulest not, Yet heaven and earth and hell Proclaim, God sitteth on the throne, And ruleth all things well. Stanza 4. Far, far above thy thought His counsel shall appear, When fully He the work hath wrought That caused thy needless fear. In the Moravian Hymn Book, 1754 (by Gambold, himself?). Stanza 1. Commit thou thy each grievance And Case into his Hands, To his sure Care and guidance, Who heav'n and earth commands: He who's the Clouds Director. Whom Winds and seas obey, He'll be thy feet's Protector, He shall prepare thy Way. (Note: the orthography of the Moravian Hymn Book has been retained.) A. T. Russell, in his Psalms and Hymns, 1851.



Stanza 1. Thy way and all thy sorrows, Give thou into His hand,--His gracious care unfailing, Who doth the heavens command. Their course and path He giveth To clouds and air and wind: A way thy feet may follow, He too for Thee will find.

H. Mills, 1856, in his Horae Germanicae.

Stanza 1. Commit Thy way, confiding, When trials here arise, To Him whose hand is guiding The tumults of the skies: There, clouds and tempests raging, Have each its path assign'd,--Will God for thee engaging, No way of safety find?

Frances Elizabeth Cox, 1864, in the Schaff-Gilman Library of Religious Poetry.

I.

To God Thy way commending Trust him whose arm of might, The heavenly circles bending, Guides every star aright: The winds and clouds and lightning By his sure hand are led; And he will, dark shades brightening, Show thee what path to tread.

J. Kelly, 1867, in his Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs.

Stanza 1. Commit whatever grieves thee At heart, and all thy ways, To Him who never leaves thee, On whom creation stays. Who freest courses maketh For clouds, and air, and wind, And care who ever taketh A path for thee to find.

J. Guthrie, 1869, in his Sacred Lyrics.

Stanza 1. Commit thy way, O weeping And care-encumbered soul, To His all-trusty keeping, Who guides the glowing pole. No cloud or wind fleets o'er thee But God directs its flow; That God will cleave before thee A path wherein to go.

Mrs. Charles, 1858, in Bishop's Ryle's Collection of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, 1883.

Stanza 1. Commit thy way to God;
The weight which makes thee faint--Words are to Him no load!
To Him breathe thy complaint.
He who for winds and clouds
Maketh a pathway free,
Through wastes or hostile crowds
Can make a way for thee.

Ist Gott für mich, so trete.--(Goed. 229.)

[Trust in God.]

Based on Romans, VIII, 31-39. Cf. Kock, IV, 457. Included in *Crü. Praxis*, 1656, no. 330; thence in *Wackernagel:* no. 63; *Unv. L. S.:* no. 418. Lauxmann, in *Koch*, VIII, 408, quotes Langbecker: "This heroic hymn of Gerhardt's is worthy to be placed side by side with Luther's 'Ein' feste Burg.'"

The poem was written undoubtedly at the time when the Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, Gerhardt's sovereign, threatened with his severe displeasure those of the Lutheran clergy who would not sign a declaration²⁰⁰ binding them not

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to say anything publicly against the Reformed party. To this, most probably, the words of the thirteenth stanza refer,

Kein Zorn der groszen Fürsten

Soll mir ein Hindrung sein.

This hymn, springing from a heart full of faith and courage, has gone into the hearts of many, especially the tried and afflicted, cheering and encouraging them in the struggles of faith. The third stanza in particular has often been made a blessing: Der Grund, da ich mich gründe,

Ist Christus und sein Blut; . . .

A pious watchman in Berlin who, when calling the hours of the night, used to sing suitable verses, once sang these lines before the house of a shoemaker, who with some friends, just then assembled late at night, was in danger of leaving the Church and setting up a self-righteous sect. The well-known words, coming so unexpectedly, had the desired effect, the shoemaker declaring to his friends, "As for me, I will rest upon that ground of Jesus and his blood, and not seek any other master." The final stanza:

Mein Herze geht in Springen

Und kann nicht traurig sein. . . .

has been the dying song of many a believing Christian.

English Versions:

1. If God be on my side.

A good translation omitting stanzas IV-VI, by Miss Winkworth in her *Lyra Ger.*, 1855, p. 130. Included, abridged, in *Holy Song*, 1869, and the *Evang. Hyl.*, 1880, N. Y.

Centos from this translation are:

(a) "If Jesus be my friend" (stanza I, line 5), in the Andover Sabbath H. Bk., 1858; Hatfield's Church Book, 1872, etc.

(b) "Since Jesus is my friend" (stanza I, line 5 altered), in Robinson's *Songs for the Sanctuary*, N. Y., 1865; *Laudes Domini*, 1884, etc.

(c) "Here I can firmly rest" (stanza II), in the *Andover Sabbath H. Bk.*, 1858; Pennsylvanian Lutheran *Church Book*, 1868.

2. If God Himself be for me.

A good translation omitting stanzas IV-VI, X, by R. Massie in his *Lyra Domestica*, 1864, p. 110; from this are varying centos, e. g. *Laudes Domini*, 1884, no. 378 beginning: "I build on this foundation" (stanza III).

3. Is God for me? I fear not.

A free but spirited version, omitting stanzas V, XI, XII, by Mrs. Bevan in her *Songs of Eternal Life*, 1858, p. 39. This version was repeated and abridged in Snepp's *Songs of Grace and Glory*. In Reid's *Praise Book*, 1872, it appears as three hymns, the first as above; (2) "There is no condemnation" (stanza VI), and (3) "In heaven is mine inheritance" (stanza X).

4. Is God for me? t'oppose me.

In full, by *J. Kelly*, 1867, p. 208. The Ohio *Luth. Hyl.* includes a part of this version, i. e. the translation of stanzas III, XIV, XV, beginning "My Faith securely buildeth."

5. Is God for me? what is it.

J. C. Jacobi, 1725, p. 41 (1732, p. 139). Included in the *Moravian H. Book*, 1754, and altered in Bishop Ryle's *Collection*, 1883. In later editions it is abridged, beginning "Is God my strong salvation?"



Bio of Paul Gerhardt

6. The world may rise against me round.

Also "The world may fall beneath my feet," translations of stanzas I and XIII, by Mrs. Stanley Carr in her translation of Wildenhahn's *Paul Gerhardt*, 1845 (1856, p. 173).

7. If Christ is mine, then all is mine.

A hymn of three stanzas in M. W. Stryker's *Church Praise Book*, 1884, no. 485, marked "Benjamin Beddome 1776." Another cento is given in Bishop Ryle's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, 1883, p. 71.

"If God is mine, then present things."

The earliest accessible English version is that of Jacobi, 1725, printed in the 1754 *Moravian Hymn Book*. The translations by this author are usually very crude and painfully laborious, but in the present case, with a few notable exceptions, he has very well caught the ring and spirit of Gerhardt. Later compilers and publishers of hymns would of course omit the lines:

"His Grace has cleansed and polished

My humble Soul within." (stanza 5.)

and

"All this I have digested." (stanza 12.)

Like many of the early translators of German hymns Jacobi is guilty of frequent imperfect rhymes:

Meritstanza 4spectrestanza 14alonestanza 15spiritconjecturebegun

If we overlook these defects the version is one of the best that has appeared so far in English or American hymnals and considerably above the standard²⁰¹ of the Moravian hymns of the early eighteenth century. The following lines offer a very true counterpart of the German:

"All woes give way and flee," line 4. "And that in Change and Chances He stands at my right hand." lines 13, 14. "The ground of my possession Is Jesus and his Blood." lines 17, 18. "Should Earth lose its foundation Thou stand'st my lasting Rock." lines 97, 98.

Bishop Ryle in taking over this version into his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* has made a number of alterations, presenting a cento of four stanzas. His stanza 3, for example, is a combination of Jacobi's last quatrain of stanza 9 and first quatrain of stanza 10:

Ryle (stanza 3).

For me there is provided A city fair and new; To it I shall be guided,--Jerusalem the true! Jacobi (stanza 9).

And how he hath provided A city new and fair Where things, our Faith did credit Shall to our eyes appear.

(stanza 10.)

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²⁰¹ Cf. pp. 30 and 71.

My portion there	e is lying,		My portion there is lying	
A destined Cana	an lot;		A destin'd Canaan-lot	
Though I am da	ily dying,		Tho' I am daily dying,	
My Canaan withers not.			My Heaven withers not.	
American congregations are familiar with the hymn:				
Since	Jesus	is	my friend	
(If)		(be)		

And I to him belong . . .

It is often called "The Rest of Faith," and is a cento of Miss Winkworth's very excellent version. Although she has not preserved the metre of the poem Miss Winkworth has thoroughly caught its spirit even imitating in the widely known last stanza²⁰² the sound sequence and alliteration:

My heart for gladness springs, It cannot more be sad, For very joy it laughs and sings, Sees nought but sunshine glad. The sun that glads mine eyes Is Christ the Lord I love, I sing for joy of that which lies Stored up for us above.

For free adaptations from this hymn cf. pp. 139 and 136.

Selected Stanzas:

J. C. Jacobi (1725) in the Moravian Hymn Book (ed. 1754).

Stanza 1. Is God for me, what is it That Men can do to me? Oft as my God I visit, All woes give way and flee.
²⁰³If God my Head and Master Defend me from above, What pain or what disaster Can drive me from his Love?

B. Beddome, 1776, in Bishop Ryle's Hymns and Spiritual Songs.

Stanza 1. If God is mine, then present things And things to come are mine; Yes Christ, His Word, and Spirit too, And glory all divine.

²⁰² Cf. p. 127.

²⁰³ In Bishop Ryle's collection the quatrain reads: If God be my salvation, My refuge in distress What earthly tribulation Can shake my inward peace?



 If He is mine, I need not fear The rage of earth and hell; He will support my feeble power And every foe repel.

Miss Winkworth in her Lyra Germanica, 1855, p. 130.

Stanza 1. If God be on my side, Then let who will oppose For oft ere now to Him I cried And He hath quelled my foes. If Jesus be my Friend, If God doth love me well, What matters all my foes intend, Though strong they be and fell? Here I can firmly rest, I dare to boast of this, That God the Highest and the Best, My Friend and Father is. From dangerous snares He saves, Where'er He bids me go He checks the storms and calms the waves, Nor lets aught work me woe. I rest upon the ground Of Jesus and His blood, For 'tis through Him that I have found The True Eternal God. Nought have I of mine own, Nought in the life I lead, What Christ hath given me, that alone Is worth all love indeed. His spirit in me dwells, O'er all my mind He reigns, All care and sadness He dispels, And soothes away all pains. He prospers day by day His work within my heart, Till I have strength and faith to say, Thou God my Father art! When weakness on me lies, And tempts me to despair, He speaketh words and utters sighs Of more than mortal prayer; But what no tongue can tell, Thou God canst hear and see, Who readest in the heart full well If aught there pleaseth Thee. etc.

Mrs. Bevan, 1858, in Snepp's Songs of Grace and Glory, 1872 (abridged version).

Stanza 11. Is God for me? I fear not, though all against me rise; When I call on Christ my Savior, the host of evil flies;

My Friend--the Lord Almighty, and He who loves me--God,

What enemy shall harm me, though coming as a flood?

I know it, I believe it, I say it fearlessly,

That God, the Highest, Mightiest, forever loveth me!

At all times, in all places, He standeth by my side; He rules the battle fury, the tempest and the tide.

J. Kelly, 1867, in his *Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs*. A SONG OF CHRISTIAN CONSOLATION AND JOY.

Stanza 1. Is God for me? t'oppose me A thousand may uprise;
When I to pray'r arouse me, He'll chase mine enemies.
And doth the Head befriend me, Am I belov'd by God?
Let foes then rise to rend me, The wild opposing brood!

Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud--(Goed. 239.)²⁰⁴

This beautiful poem of thanksgiving for the divine goodness in the gift of the delights of summer and of anticipation of the joys of Paradise appeared in the 1656 ed. of *Crü. Praxis*, no. 412, in 15 stanzas of 6 lines. It was also printed in H. Müller's *Geistliche Seelenmusik*, 1659, and included in *Wackernagel:* no. 103; *Bachmann:* no. 85; *Unv. L. S.:* 1851, no. 732. Cf. *Koch*, IV, 591; VIII, 141. Like Luther, who fondly loved nature and admired its beauties, Gerhardt showed himself in this inspiring poem a real lover of God's creation.

English Versions:

1. Go forth, my heart, and seek delight.

A good translation omitting stanza XIV, by Miss Winkworth, in the First Series of her *Lyra Ger.*, 1855, p. 136. Her translation of stanzas VIII-XI, beginning "Thy mighty working, mighty God," was included in the American *Sabbath Hymn Book*, 1858, and repeated in Boardman's *Collection*, Philadelphia, 1861.

2. The golden corn now waxes strong.

A good translation beginning with stanza VII, contributed by R. Massie to the 1857 ed. of Mercer's *C. P. and H. Bk.*, no. 463 (1864, no. 500). In the Appendix to the Second Series of *Lyra Domestica* Mr. Massie reprinted his translation at page 102, and prefixed a version of stanzas I-VI,

"Herzlich tut mich erfreuen

Die fröhlich Sommerzeit."

²⁰⁴ Cf. Friedrich von Spee's hymn: "Der trübe Winter ist vorbei"; also the Volkslied:

and B. Ringwald's

[&]quot;Gottlob, es ist vorhanden die frölich Sommerzeit."

beginning "Go forth, my heart, nor linger here." In this form it appeared in full in Reid's *Praise Book*, 1872.

3. Come forth, my heart, and seek delight.

Miss Cox, 1841 and 1864.

4. Go forth, my heart, and revel in joy's flow.

Also "And oft I think, if e'en earth's sin-stained ground," a translation of stanzas I, IX, by Mrs. Stanley Carr in her translation of Wildenhahn's *Paul Gerhardt*, 1845 and 1856.

5. Go forth, my heart, and seek for praise.

Dr. J. W. Alexander, in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1849, p. 419; reprinted in his work *The Breaking Crucible*, N. Y., 1861, p. 15.

6. Go out, my heart, and pleasure seek.

Miss Manington, 1863, p. 164.

7. Go forth, my Heart! the year's sweet prime.

E. Massie, 1866, p. 36.

8. Go forth, my heart, and seek delight, In this summer.

J. Kelly, 1867, p. 289.

9. Go forth, my heart, and seek the bliss.

Mrs. E. L. Follen, in her Lark and Linnet, 854, p. 30.

10. Go out, my heart, and seek delight.

A good translation omitting stanzas IV, V, VI, and XIV, by Miss Margarete Münsterberg, in her *Harvest of German Verse*, 1916.

None of Gerhardt's poetry has so well lent itself to English words as this hymn of praise for God's goodness and of contemplation of the joys in the next world, and the translators have without exception reproduced most successfully the exquisite feeling for nature which Gerhardt manifests, whether he be singing of forest and brook, or of flowers and fields. Only Miss Winkworth and Dr. Alexander of the four or five prominent translators omit stanza XIV, and they do so apparently on the ground that it contains a complexity of figures. Dr. Massie whose version except for the last stanza has more truly poetic lines than any other offers this paraphrase:

Make for thy spirit ample room, That thus I may forever bloom. Like plants which root have taken: Oh let me in thy garden be A flourishing and righteous tree, Which never shall be shaken.

So well have all the translators succeeded that it would be perhaps merely a matter of individual taste as to which of the many excellent lines are deserving of highest praise. Of stanza III Dr. Massie's verses are both more literal and harmonious than the others. Gerhardt sings:

Die Lerche schwingt sich in die Luft, Das Täublein fleugt aus seiner Kluft Und macht sich in die Wälder.

Dr. Massie interprets:

The lark mounts singing to the skies:

The dove forsakes her clefts, and flies To shady groves and alleys.

Miss Winkworth:

The lark soars singing into space, The dove forsakes her hiding-place, And coos the woods among.

Dr. Kelly:

The lark aspiring soars on high, Flies from her cleft the dove so shy, And seeks the woodland shadow.

Dr. Alexander:

The lark floats high before the breeze, The dove toward the forest-trees From covert speeds along.

This last version is marred by the accent's falling on the unstressed syllable of "toward" in line 2. Several of our American hymnals contain the cento of four stanzas from Miss Winkworth's version (Gerhardt stanzas VIII-XI incl.) whose ring gives the freshness appropriate in an outdoor hymn of Spring and Summer.

C. Winkworth, 1855, in her Lyra Germanica.

Stanza 1. Go forth my heart and seek delight In all the gifts of God's great might, These pleasant summer hours: Look how the plains for thee and me Have deck'd themselves most fair to see All bright and sweet with flowers.

- 8. Thy mighty working, mighty God, Wakes all my pow'rs; I look abroad, And can no longer rest;
 I, too, must sing when all things sing, And from my heart the praises ring, The Highest loveth best.
- 9. If Thou in Thy great love to us, Wilt scatter joy and beauty thus O'er this poor earth of ours; What nobler glories shall be given Hereafter in Thy shining heaven Set round with golden towers!
- What thrilling joy, when on our sight Christ's garden beams in cloudless light And rings with God's high praise; Where all the thousand seraphim In one accordant voice and hymn Their Alleluia raise!



11. O, were I there! oh, that I now
Before Thy throne, my God, could bow,
And bear my heavenly palm!
Then, like the angels would I raise
My voice, and sing thine endless praise
In many a sweet-toned psalm.
J. W. Alexander, 1849, in the Schaff-Gilman Library of Religious Poetry.
Stanza 1. Go forth, my heart, and seek for praise,
On these delightsome summer days,
In what thy God bestows!
How rich the garden's beauties be,
How lavishly for me and thee
It doth its charms disclose!
R. Massie, 1863, in the Schaff-Gilman Library of Religious Poetry.
Stanza 1. Go forth, my heart, nor linger here
In this sweet season of the year,
When God his gifts dispenses;
See how the gardens in their best
For you and me are gayly drest,
And ravish all the senses!
J. Kelly, 1867, in his Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs.

Stanza 1. Go forth, my heart, and seek delight In this summer time so bright, The bounties God displayeth, The garden's splendour go and see Behold how God for me and thee Them gorgeously arrayeth.

Miss Margarete Münsterberg, in her Harvest of German Verse, 1916.

Stanza 1. Go out, my heart, and seek delight, In this dear summer time so bright, In God's abundance daily; The beauty of these gardens see, And look, how they for me and thee Have decked themselves so gaily. Many hymn writers since Gerhardt have drawn from the same scriptural sources as he, and it would be presumption to attempt to prove that all these had received any direct impulse from his verses; yet it must be realized that it is to a certain extent impossible that the conceptions of the hymn writers of one age should remain inseparable from the ideas of later poets. Bayard Taylor, in speaking about what he calls "intellectual genealogies in literature," says: "Most authors may be shown to be not imitators, but the spiritual descendants of others, inheriting more or less of their natures."*Studies in German Literature*, 1879. In the pages which follow are cited some hymns containing phrases thoroughly suggestive of Gerhardt's lines which will contribute evidence in addition to that already adduced to show the prominent place his works hold as influencing English hymn writing.

HYMNS SHOWING ADAPTATIONS OF IDEAS AND EXPRESSIONS FROM GERHARDT'S POEMS.

(a) C. Wesley in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, p. 124. (Cf. Job. XIX,25-27.) Gerhardt (Goed. 331.)²⁰⁵

line

Stanza 1.

Stullzu 1.		inite	
	I know that my I. Redeemer lives:	Ich weisz, dasz mein Erlöser lebt:	1
	He lives, and on the Earth shall stand,	Er lebt	3
		Er lebt fürwahr, der starke Held,	5
	And tho' to Worms my Flesh he gives	Das Fleisch	30
		Wird	31
		zerbrochen	32
Stanza 2.	My Dust lies numbered in His Hand.	von Maden	33
	In This Reanimated Clay	So wird er mich doch aus der Erd	17
	I surely shall behold Him near,	H e r n a c h m a l s auferwecken;	18
	Shall see Him at the Latter Day	Ich selber werd in seinem Licht	50
		Ihn sehn und mich erquicken;	51
		Mein Auge wird sein Angesicht	52
	In all His Majesty appear.	Mit groszer Lust erblicken;	53
G(2			

Stanza 3.

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²⁰⁵ Cf. p. 81.

I fee	el what then shall raise me up,	Er wird reiszen aus Grab	mich dem	19
Th'	Eternal Spirit lives in me,	Sein Geist mir im Herze		
			(no. 229, 49)
This	s is my Confidence of Hope		cf. above no.	. 331, 52, 53
Tha	t God I Face to Face shall see.			
(b) C. Wesley in <i>H</i>	<i>Hymns and Sacred Poems</i> , p.	180.	(Goed. 33	1.)
Stanza 1.				
	I know that my Redeemer	lives Ich w	eisz, dasz mein	Erlöser lebt.
	And ever prays for me			
Stanza 13.			~	
	With me, I know, Thy dwells,	⁷ Spirit Sein (Jeist wohnt mir	'ım Herzen
	(cf. <i>Wesley</i> , p. 124, stanza 2 above.)	a 3, line	(no. 229, 49)
Stanza 15.				
	Jesu, I hang upon Thy Wo	ord, Das h	ab ich je und je (no	gegläubt . 331, 43 ff.)
	I stedfastly believe	Und f	asz ein fest Ver	
	Thou wilt return, and cla Lord,	im me, Ich w	erde den, der ev	vig bleibt
	And to Thyself receive.	In me	inem Fleische s	chauen;
Cf. also stanza 23.				
	Lord, I believe, and rest se	ecure		
	In Confidence Divine			
•	<i>Hymns and Sacred</i> , p. 217.	(Goed	<i>d</i> . 263.) ²⁰⁶	
1.	Jesu, my Savior, Brother, 1. Friend		Jesu, allerliel	oster Bruder,
	On whom I cast my every Care,		Ders am bes meint,	sten mit mir
	On whom for all things I depend,		Du mein A und Ruder	anker, Mast
	Inspire, and then accept my Prayer,		Und mein Herzensfreum	

13.	Here le anchor	et my Soul's sure be	Du m und R	nein Anker, Mast uder.
	Here wishfu	let me fix my l Eyes,		Cf. line 3 above.
		_		
(d) C. Wesley Sacred Po	y in <i>Hymns</i> ems, p. 146		(<i>Goed.</i> 2	29.)207
Stanza 1.				
	Jesu, my S my Hope,	trength,	Ist Gott für mich, so trete	1
	(Cf. lines 1,	2.)	Gleich alles wider mich;	2
	On Thee I o Care,	cast my	Nun weisz und gläub ich feste	9
	(Cf. lines 51	, 52.)	Dasz Gott, der Höchst und Beste	11
	With Confidence	humble look up	Mir gänzlich günstig sei,	12
	(Cf.	line 9.)	(Sein Geist) Vertreibet Sorg und Schmerzen	51
	And know hearst my Pr		Nimmt allen Kummer hin	52
		_		
(e) C. Wesley i Hymn Book, 17	•		(Goed. 111.) ²⁰⁸	
O come and dwell	in me,	Zeuch ein zu deinen	Thoren,	
Spirit of power with	hin	Sei meines Herzens	Gast,	
And bring thy glori	ious liberty	O hochgeliebter Geis	st.	5
From sorrow, fear a	and sin!			
The inward, deep d	lisease	Zeuch ein, lasz mich	empfinden	9 ff.
Spirit of health rem	nove	Und schmecken dein	e Kraft,	
Spirit of perfect ho	liness	Die Kraft, die uns vo	on Sünden	
Spirit of perfect lov	ve.	Hülf und Errettung s	chafft.	
		Entsündige meinen S	Sinn	
That blessed law of	f thine	Du bist ein Geist, de	r lehret	33
Father, to me, impa		Wie man recht beten	soll.	
The Spirit's law of	life divine,			

O write it in my heart.			
Thy nature be my law	Erfülle die Gemüter		
Thy spotless sanctity	Mit reiner Glaubenszier		
	Gib Freudigkeit und Stärke		
And sweetly every moment draw	zu stehen in dem Streit		
	Richt unser ganzes Leben	121	
	Allzeit nach deinem Sinn.		
	So hilf uns Frölich sterben	126	
My happy soul to Thee!	Und nach dem Tod ererben		
	Des ewgen Lebens Haus.		
_			
	—		
(f) C. Wesley in <i>Pilgrim</i>	— (Goed. 111.)		
(f) C. Wesley in <i>Pilgrim</i> <i>Hymnal</i> , no. 96.	(Goed. 111.)		
•		13	
Hymnal, no. 96.	Entsündige meinen Sinn	13 41 ff.	
<i>Hymnal</i> , no. 96. From our fears and sins release us	Entsündige meinen Sinn	-	
<i>Hymnal</i> , no. 96. From our fears and sins release us Israel's strength and consolation	Entsündige meinen Sinn Du bist ein Geist der Freuden	-	
<i>Hymnal</i> , no. 96. From our fears and sins release us Israel's strength and consolation	Entsündige meinen Sinn Du bist ein Geist der Freuden Erleuchtest uns in Leiden	-	
Hymnal, no. 96. From our fears and sins release us Israel's strength and consolation Joy of every loving heart.	Entsündige meinen Sinn Du bist ein Geist der Freuden Erleuchtest uns in Leiden Mit deines Trostes Licht. Du, Herr, hast selbst in Händen	41 ff.	

In his *Psalms and Hymns*, 1851, Rev. A. T. Russell includes a group of hymns entitled "The Sufferings of Our Lord." One of them, no. 94, of three stanzas, bears such a striking resemblance to Gerhardt's "O Welt, sich hier dein Leben"²⁰⁹ that we should be inclined to trace its source to this hymn, though it is signed merely with the author's initials A. T. R. and is offered as original:

Russell (stanza 1).	Gerhardt (stanza 1).
O World, behold Him dying		O Welt, sich hier dein Leben
	Who is thy life supplying;	Am Stamm des Kreuzes schweben!
	Behold! He dies for Thee:	Dein Heil sinkt in den Tod!
	He who in glory reigneth,	Der grosze Fürst der Ehren
	No scorn, no shame disdaineth,	Läszt willig sich beschweren
	From endless death my soul to free.	Mit Schlägen, Hohn und groszen Spott.
Stanza 2.		
	Now from my Savior floweth	Tritt her und schau mit Fleisze:
	The blood His love bestoweth	Sein Leib ist ganz mit Schweisze

On us that we may live!	Des Blutes überfüllt;
What grief His spirit rendeth!	Aus seinem edlen Herzen

Whilst thus He condescendeth His life for us His foes to give. Vor unerschöpften Schmerzen Ein Seufzer nach dem andern quillt.

Although its second and third lines are taken directly from the Bible, yet stanza 3 as a whole appears to be influenced by the thoughts in Gerhardt's stanzas VIII and III. Line 5 might well be regarded as a condensation of the repeated ideas of confession and repentance in Gerhardt's strophes. (Cf. line 19 "ich und meine Sünden"; line 25 "ich sollte büszen").

Russell (stanza 3).

Gerhardt.

	(Lines 43-45.)
Of His own will He dieth,	Du springst ins Todes Rachen,
Who to His Father crieth,	Mich frei und los zu machen
"O Father! mercy show:"	Von solchem Ungeheur
	(Lines 16 and 17.)
Come, children of transgression	Du bist ja nicht ein Sünder
To Jesus make confession;	Wie wir und unsre Kinder
	(Line 48.)
Your all to His great love you owe.	O unerhörtes Liebesfeur!

A hymn by Dr. Maltbie D. Babcock which has been included in several American hymnals would indicate that while the author may have had before him only the scriptural passage from the Psalms²¹⁰ as he composed his verses, yet because of the marked similarity of phraseology Gerhardt's hymn "Befiehl du deine Wege" must have been more or less familiar to him through the version of Wesley or another translator.

Rest in the Lord, my soul	Befiehl du deine Wege
Commit to him thy way	Und was dein Herze kränkt
What to thy sight seems dark as night	
To him is bright as day.	
	(Lines 9-12.)
Rest in the Lord, my soul	Dem Herren muszt du trauen,
He planned for thee thy life	Wenn dirs soll wolergehen;
Brings fruit from rain brings good from pain	Auf sein Werk muszt du schauen,
And peace and joy from strife.	Wenn dein Werk soll bestehn.
	(Lines 41-48.)

²¹⁰ Cf. Psalm XXXVII, 5-7, "Commit thy way unto the Lord . . . Rest in the Lord." Cf. p. 114 ff.

Rest in the Lord, my soul: This fretting weakens Thee;

Why not be still? accept his will

Thou shalt his glory see.

Maltbie D. Babcock, in the *Pilgrim Hymnal*, 1912.

Wesley's adaptation²¹¹ of the thought in "Ist Gott für mich, so trete" is but one of many sacred poems that treat this theme of the Christian's Hope. A hymn²¹² now familiar to many congregations written by James Montgomery²¹³ in 1872 and avowedly based on Psalm XXVII²¹⁴ bears so strong a resemblance to this poem of Gerhardt's that two stanzas are here cited to show first the similarity of treatment of the general subject of Faith in the Power of God, and particularly the marked traces of Gerhardt's influence upon the English verses.

		229).215
1.	God is my strong salvation:	Ist Gott für mich, so trete 1
	What foe have I to fear?	Gleich alles wider mich; 2
	In darkness and temptation	Was kann mir tun der 7 Feinde
		Und Widersacher Rott? 8
	My light, my help, is near.	Mein Glanz und schönes 26 Licht
	Though hosts encamp around me	Ist Gott für mich, so trete 1
	Firm to the fight I stand,	Gleich alles wider mich 2
	What terror can confound me	
	With God at my right hand?	Und bin geliebt bei Gott 6

²¹¹ Cf. p. 136.

²¹³ Cf. p. 32.

Hoff und sei unverzagt Gott wird dich aus der Höle,

Hoff, o du arme Seele,

Da dich der Kummer plagt, Mit groszen Gnaden rücken: Erwarte nur die Zeit, So wirst du schon erblicken Die Sonn der schönsten Freud.

Gerhardt (Goed.

²¹² [Quoted here in full.]

²¹⁴ "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?"

²¹⁵ Cf. p. 126.

Theodore Brown Hewitt

Place on the Lord reliance	Nun weisz und gläub ich 9 feste,
My soul with courage wait	dasz ich finde 19
His truth be thine affiance,	Das ewge wahre Gut 20
When faint and desolate.	Wenn ich gleich fall und 75 sterbe
His might thine heart shall strengthen	Sein Geist spricht meinem Geiste
His love thy joy increase	Manch süszes Trostwort zu:
Mercy thy days shall lengthen	
The Lord will give thee peace.	

James Montgomery, in his Songs of Zion, 1822.

With less direct influence than appears in the hymns hitherto mentioned, yet showing much of the spirit of "Auf den Nebel folgt die Sonne"²¹⁶ is Sarah Flower Adams' hymn, "He sendeth sun, he sendeth shower." The final line of each stanza introducing the theme of Resignation to God's Will may well have been suggested by the refrain "Was Gott gefällt."²¹⁷

He sendeth sun, he sendeth shower,	Auf den Nebel folgt die Sonne	1
Alike they're needful for the flower;	Auf das Trauren Freud und Wonne	2
And joys and tears alike are sent	Trost und Labsal, Meine Seele steigt	4, 5
To give the soul fit nourishment:	Hat mir meinen Geist erquickt,	9
As comes to me or cloud or sun,		
Father, thy will, not mine, be done!		
Can loving children e'er reprove	Gott Läszt keinen traurig stehn	50
With murmurs whom they trust and love?	Der sich Ihm zu eigen schenkt	52
Creator, I would ever be	Und Ihn in sein Herze senkt;	53
A trusting, loving child to thee:	Wer auf Gott seine Hoffnung setzt	54

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2.

²¹⁶ Cf. p. 68.

²¹⁷ Cf. p. 56.

As comes to me or cloud or sun, Father, thy will, not mine, be done! Oh, ne'er will I at life repine; Nu, so lang ich in der Welt 85 Enough that thou hast made it Haben werde Haus und Zelt 86 mine; ... Ich will all mein Leben lang 89 When falls the shadow cold of ... Hiefür bringen Lob und Dank. 91 death, I yet will sing with parting breath Ich will gehn in Angst und Not 99 Ich will gehn bis in den Tod 100 As comes to me or shade or sun, Ich will gehn ins Grab hinein 101 Father, thy will, not mine, be Und doch allzeit frölich sein 102 done. Sarah Flower Adams, 1841, in the Schaff-Gilman Lib. of Rel. Poetry.

A very familiar hymn in English-speaking countries is Thomas Rawson Taylor's "I'm but a stranger here" written in 1834. It was published in 1836 in his *Memoirs* and Select Remains, and headed "Heaven is my home. Air--'Robin Adair.'" In America it is usually sung to Arthur S. Sullivan's "Saint's Rest." The hymn so closely resembles Gerhardt's lines in "Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden"²¹⁸ that the parallels are given below:

1.	I'm but a stranger here;	Ich bin ein Gast auf 1 Erden
	Earth is a desert drear,	
	Heaven is my home.	Was ist mein ganzes 9 Wesen
	Danger and sorrow stand	Als Müh und Not 11 gewesen
	Round me on every hand,	
	Heaven is my fatherland, Heaven is my home.	Da ist mein Vaterland 4
2.	What though the tempests rage,	Mich hat auf meinen 17 Wegen

ige,

Theodore Brown Hewitt

Short is my pilgrimage,	Manch harter Sturm erschreckt;	18
Heaven is my home.	Blitz, Donner, Wind und Regen	19
And time's wild wintry blast	Hat mir manch Angst erweckt;	20
Soon will be overpast,	So will ich swar nun treiben	57
I shall reach home at last	Mein Leben durch die Welt	58
	Doch denk ich nicht zu bleiben	59
Heaven is my home.	In diesem fremden Zelt.	60
There at my Savior's side,	Mein Heimat ist dort droben,	65
I shall be glorified,	Da aller Engel Schaar	66
	Den groszen Herrscher loben	67
Heaven is my home,	Die frommen heilgen Seelen	41
	Die giengen fort und fort	42
There with the good and blest	Da will ich immer wohnen,	105
Those I loved most and best,	Bei denen, die mit Kronen	107
I shall forever rest;	Du ausgeschmücket hast	108
	Da will ich	109
Heaven is my home.	In meinern Erbteil ruhn.	112
Therefore I'll murmur not,	Hab ich doch müszen leiden	23
	Und tragen mit Geduld,	24
Whate'er my earthly lot,	Es musz ja durchgedrungen	53
	Es musz gelitten sein;	54
Heaven is my home.	So will ich zwar nun treiben	57
	Mein Leben durch die Welt.	58
For I shall surely stand		
There at my Lord's right hand;	Cf. lines 105-112, above,	quoted opp. stanza 3.
Heaven is my fatherland,		

Heaven is my home.

3.

4.

Other similarities to "Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden" are:

(a) "The Pilgrim," by Sarah H. Palfrey, in the Schaff-Gilman *Lib. Rel. Poetry*. A Pilgrim am I on my way

To seek and find the Holy Land . . .

This poem would perhaps bear but slight resemblance to Gerhardt's were it not for the final stanza where the element of joy is introduced:

While Joy shall spring

With me through heaven's straight door.

These lines are certainly suggestive of Gerhardt's words in his stanza XIII: Du aber, meine Freude . . . du zeuchst mich . . . Ins Haus der ewgen Wonne.

(b) "The Pilgrim's song," by H. F. Lyte, in his *Poems chiefly Religious*, 1833 and 1845,

Stanza 1. My rest is in heaven; my rest is not here; Then why should I murmur when trials are near? Be hushed, my dark spirit! the worst that can come But shortens thy journey, and hastens thee home.

- It is not for me to be seeking my bliss And building my hopes in a region like this: I look for a city which hands have not piled; I pant for a country by sin undefiled. . . .
- 4. Afflictions may damp me, they cannot destroy; One glimpse of thy love turns them all into joy: . .
- 5. Let doubt then, and danger, my progress oppose; They only make heaven more sweet at the close. .
- 6. A scrip on my back, and a staff in my hand, *I march on in haste through an enemy's land:* The road may be rough, but it cannot be long; And I'll smooth it with *hope* and I'll *cheer it* with song.

Although Lyte based his hymn on Hebrews IV, 9, "There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God," he treats in his concluding stanza the additional theme of hope and cheer which, as has been seen,²¹⁹ was a constant and favorite topic with Gerhardt. Since this chapter of Hebrews has no direct reference to this theme we have good reason to assume that from the striking similarity of language of the two hymns Lyte was influenced by Gerhardt's "Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden." Especially in stanza VII is the likeness most noticeable:

- So will ich zwar nun treiben
- Mein Leben durch die Welt,
- Doch denk ich nicht zu bleiben
- In diesem fremden Zelt. (Cf. Lyte stanza 6.)
- Ich wandre meine Straszen,

²¹⁹ Cf. p. 22.

Die zu der Heimat führt, (Cf. Lyte stanza 1.)

Theodore Brown Hewitt

Da mich ohn alle Maszen Mein Vater trösten wird. (Cf. Lyte stanza 5.)

(c) "In exile here we wander," by W. Cooke. [Septuagesima.] This hymn appeared in the *Hymnary*, 1872, under the signature "A. C. C." (i. e., "A Canon of Chester"), and is definitely known to have been suggested to Canon Cooke by Gerhardt's hymn. In Thring's *Collection*, 1882, stanza III, lines 4-8 is altered to:

And we shall rise in that great day In bodies like to Thine And with Thy saints in bright array, (Cf. lines 65, 66.) Shall in Thy glory shine. (Cf. line 104.)

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There are of course numerous adaptations of Gerhardt's work which have less merit than those which have been mentioned, but it would be beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss them. From our consideration up to this point we may draw the following conclusions: many translators have taken the liberty of altering the original versions thereby injuring perhaps just those hymns possessed of the greatest warmth and vigor and have in this way prevented our poet from being more fully acknowledged; at the same time the best of his hymns as devotional lyrics with a pathos and sympathy which are exceptionally beautiful and powerful have become naturalized in English-speaking countries by the really good translations and will always serve to enkindle devotion and strengthen grace in the true Christian worshipper.

FINIS.

APPENDIX

SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF TRANSLATORS

Alexander, James Waddell Beddome, Benjamin Bevan, Emma Frances Borthwick, Jane Buckoll, Henry James Burns, James Drummond Charles. Elizabeth Cox, Frances Elizabeth Dunn, Catherine Hannah Findlater, Mrs. (Sarah Borthwick) Frothingham, Nathaniel Langdon Gambold, John Guthrie, John Jackson, Samuel Macauley Jacobi, John Christian Kelly, John Kennedy, Benjamin Hall Manington, Alice Massie, Edward Massie, Richard Mills, Henry Molther, Philipp Heinrich Montgomery, James Russell, Arthur Tozer Stallybrass, James Steven Stryker, Melancthon Woolsey Thring, Edward Warner, Anna Wesley, Charles Wesley, John Winkworth, Catherine

Alexander, James Waddell, D.D., born 1804, graduated at Princeton, 1820, and was successively Professor of Rhetoric at Princeton, Pastor in New York, Professor of Church History, Princeton, and Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. He died in 1859. His works include some translations published about two years after his death, under the title *The Breaking Crucible and other*

Translations. Of these translations the most noted is "O Sacred Head now Wounded." He has translated nos. 25, 49, 239.²²⁰

Beddome, Benjamin, M.A. This prolific hymn writer was born at Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire, January 23, 1717, where his father was at that time Baptist minister. He was apprenticed to a surgeon in Bristol, but removing to London, he joined in 1739 the Baptist Church, and became one of the most respected Baptist ministers in England. In 1770 he received the degree of M.A. from Rhode Island College,²²¹ Providence. He died September 3, 1795. It was his practice to prepare a hymn every week to be sung after his Sunday morning sermon. Many of these found their way into the *General Baptist Hymn Book* of 1793, and other collections. His popularity is now mainly in America. He has translated no. 229.

Bevan, Emma Frances, née Shuttleworth, born at Oxford, 1827. Mrs. Bevan published in 1858 a series of translations from the German as *Songs of Eternal Life* (London) which are above the average in merit. She has translated nos. 185 and 229.

Borthwick, Jane, born 1813 at Edinburgh. Together with her sister, Mrs. Findlater, she translated from the German *Hymns from the Land of Luther* in four series. These translations have attained great success and hardly a hymnal in England or America has appeared without containing some of them. Under the signature of "H. L. L." Miss Borthwick has written various prose works and contributed many original poems to the *Family Treasury* and to other collections. She has translated nos. 185 and 284.

Buckoll, Henry James, M.A., born 1803. He was educated at Rugby and Queen's College, Oxford, graduating in 1826. He took Holy Orders in 1827 and died at Rugby in 1871. In 1839 he edited a *Collection of Hymns* for the Rugby Parish Church, and in 1850 compiled a new edition of the Collection for the Rugby School Chapel. That collection contains 14 of his hymns, a few of which were translations from the Latin and German. His *Hymns translated from the German* was published 1832. He has translated nos. 59, 60, 106.

²²⁰ The numbers refer to the page on which the poem begins in the Goedeke text.

²²¹ The early name of Brown University.

Burns, James Drummond, M.A., born at Edinburgh, 1823, and educated at Edinburgh University. In 1855 he became minister of Hampstead Presbyterian Church, London. He died in 1864. Among his hymns which have become widely popular are 39 translations from the German which appeared in the *Family Treasury*. They are rendered exactly in the meters of the originals and many had not previously been translated. He has translated no. 71.

Charles, Elizabeth, née Rundle, born in Devonshire, the author of numerous and popular works on the early Christian life in Great Britain, of Luther and his times and of Wesley and his work. She has made some valuable contributions to hymnody, including original hymns and translations from the Latin and German. They appeared in *The Voice of Christian Life in Song*, 1858. She has translated nos. 68, 142, 185.

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Cox, Frances Elizabeth, born at Oxford, well known as the translator of hymns from the German. Her translations were published as *Sacred Hymns from the German*, London, 1st ed., 1841, containing 49 translations printed with the original text together with biographical notes on the German authors. In the 2d ed., 1864, the number was increased to 56. She has translated nos. 60, 67, 68, 111, 118, 150, 185, 239, 293.

Dunn, Catherine Hannah, born at Nottingham, England, 1815, died 1863. In 1857 she published a little volume of 36 *Hymns from the German*. She has translated nos. 49, 60, 68, 89, 111, 139, 185, 293.

Findlater, Mrs. (Sarah Borthwick) born 1823, sister of Miss Jane Borthwick. She has translated nos. 60, 89, 139.

Frothingham, Nathaniel Langdon, D.D., born at Boston, 1793, and graduated at Harvard, 1811, where he was also sometime Tutor. From 1815 to 1850 he was Pastor of the First Church (Unitarian), Boston. He died in 1870. His *Metrical Pieces* were published in 1855 and 1870. He has translated nos. 59, 74, 122, 155, 185, 274.

Gambold, John, M.A., was born 1711, graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, B.A. 1730, M.A. 1734. Taking Holy Orders, he became, about 1739, Vicar of Stanton

Harcourt, Oxfordshire, but resigned 1742 and joined the United Brethren (Moravians) by whom he was chosen one of their bishops in 1754. He died in 1771. About 26 translations and 18 original hymns in the *Moravian Hymn Book* are assigned to him. One or two of his hymns, which were published by the Wesleys, have been claimed for them, but the evidence is in favor of Gambold. A collected edition of his works was published at Bath in 1789, and afterwards reprinted. He has translated nos. 49, 68, 71.

Guthrie, John, D.D., born 1814, graduated Edinburgh M.A. 1835. Sympathizing with the views of Dr. James Morison he was deposed from his pastorate and joined with Dr. Morison in forming the Evangelical Union, compiling in 1856 their hymn book. In 1869 he published *Sacred Lyrics; Hymns original and translated from the German, with versions of Psalms*. London, 1869. Many of these hymns have much beauty and sweetness. He has translated nos. 60, 68, 71, 100, 185.

Jackson, Samuel Macauley, from 1876 to 1880 pastor at Norwood, New Jersey, was born in 1851. He graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1870 and from Union Theological Seminary in 1873, after which he spent two years in travel, visiting Europe and the East. He was editor-in-chief of the New Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*, and the author of *Huldreich Zwingli (Heroes of the Reformation* Series), 1901, 1903; *Zwingli Selections*, 1901. He has translated no. 49.

Jacobi, John Christian, a native of Germany, was born in 1670, and appointed Keeper of the Royal German Chapel, St. James's Palace, London, about 1708. He held that post for 42 years and died in 1750. Among his publications are *Psalmodia Germanica* . . . *translated from High Dutch*.²²² He has translated nos. 25, 59, 76, 111, 185, 229, 235.

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Kelly, John, educated at Glasgow University, studied theology at Bonn, New College, Edinburgh, and the Theological College of the English Presbyterian Church. His translations of Gerhardt's *Spiritual Songs* were published in 1867. His *Hymns of the Present Century from the German* was published in 1886. He has translated nos. 3, 7, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25, 28, 49, 59, 60, 62, 65, 67, 68, 71, 74, 78, 80, 81, 83, 89, 91, 93, 95, 100, 106, 108, 118, 120, 122, 124, 130, 135, 139, 142, 150, 153, 155, 158, 161, 171, 173, 176, 178, 185, 200, 205, 209, 212, 217, 220, 224, 226, 229, 232,

²²² In the XVIIIth Century this term was current for "High German."

235, 239, 260, 263, 267, 271, 274, 284, 287, 289, 293, 296, 302, 304, 310, 312, 315, 319, 324.

Kennedy, Benjamin Hall, D.D., born 1804, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1827. He was later Professor of Greek in Cambridge University, and took Holy Orders in 1829. Besides several textbooks of the classics he published *The Psalter*, 1860, and also *Hymnologia Christiana*, 1863, which included numerous translations from the German.

Manington, Alice, born at Brighton, and later lived at Vienna. She published two sets of translations from the German, in 1863, and 1864. She has translated nos. 25, 60, 118, 150, 153, 158, 239, 312, 331.

Massie, Edward, M.A., was educated at Wadham College, Oxford; B.A. 1830, M.A. 1834. He took Holy Orders in 1830. He published in 1862 A *Few Hymns for Occasional Use in the Services of the Church*, and *Sacred Odes*, 1866 and 1867. The latter contain many translations from the German. He has translated nos. 19, 59, 118, 155, 239, 293 (2 versions).

Massie, Richard, born 1800. He published a translation of *Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs*, London, 1854, also *Lyra Domestica*, 1860. In 1864 he published vol. II which has an "Appendix" of translations of German hymns by various authors. He also contributed many translations of German hymns to Mercer's *Church Psalter and Hymn Book*, to Reid's *British Herald* and other periodicals. He has translated nos. 19, 25, 46, 47, 49, 108, 161, 176, 229, 235, 239, 293, 312.

Mills, Henry, D.D., born at Morristown, N. J., 1786, and graduated from Princeton in 1802. At the opening of the Auburn Theological Seminary in 1821 he was appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism and Oriental Languages from which he retired in 1854. He died at Auburn in 1867. In 1845 he published *Horae Germanicae; A Version of German Hymns*. This was enlarged in 1856. He has translated nos. 81, 161, 185, 235, 304.

Molther, Philipp Heinrich, born in Alsace, 1714. At Jena, where he studied theology, he joined the (Moravian) Brethren in 1737, and went to London 1739. He

was minister of the Brethren's congregation at Neuwied from 1750 to 1761, and spent the rest of his life 1762-1780 in Dublin and Bedford. In 1775 he was consecrated as bishop of the Brethren's Unity. He has translated nos. 71, 155, 256.

Montgomery, James, born 1771. His early years covered a varied experience as bookseller, auctioneer, printer's assistant. He became editor of the *Sheffield Iris* and continued this work for thirty-one years. He was twice imprisoned in the next two years for items which appeared in the columns of the *Iris*. He edited many poetical works, among them *Original Hymns for Public, Private and Social Devotion*, 1853, *The Christian Psalmist*, 1825, and *Songs of Zion*, 1822. Cf. pp. 31, 32, 139.

Russell, Arthur Tozer, M.A., born 1806, educated at Manchester College, York, and St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1829 he was ordained by the bishop of Lincoln. He was the author of many works covering a wide range of subjects of a religious nature, and his original hymns and translations have found their way into many hymnals. In 1848 various of his own hymns, original and translated from the German, appeared in *Hymns for Public Worship*, and in 1851 appeared *Psalms and Hymns*. He died in 1874. He has translated nos. 25, 40, 68, 150, 155, 158, 185, 209, 312.

Stallybrass, James Steven, born in Siberia in 1826, the son of Rev. E. Stallybrass of the London Missionary Society. He died in London in 1888. He was well known as an educationist, and translated from the German a number of scientific works. He also contributed many translations of German hymns and poems to the various publications of Mr. Curwen, e. g. *The Sabbath Hymnbook*. He has translated nos. 60, 185.

Stryker, Melancthon Woolsey, D.D., born in 1851, graduated at Hamilton College 1872 and Auburn Theological Seminary 1876. He has held pastorates at Auburn, Ithaca, Holyoke and Chicago, and has edited six works on hymns, contributing many original hymns and several translations. He was President of Hamilton College 1892-1917. He has translated nos. 155, 235.

Thring, Edward, M.A., brother of Godfrey Thring, was born 1821, and educated at King's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1844. He became Head Master of Uppingham School in 1853 and held this position until his death in 1887. He was the author of several important works for schools and colleges and the joint editor of a hymn book

to which he contributed some translations from the German. He has translated no. 60.

Warner, Anna, born near New York City about 1822. She is the author of the novel *Say and Seal*, 1859. She edited *Hymns of the Church Militant*, 1858; and published *Wayfaring Hymns, Original and Translated*, 1869. She has translated no. 89.

Wesley, Charles, the great hymn writer of the Wesley family, perhaps the great hymn writer of all ages, no less than 6500 hymns being ascribed to him. He was the youngest son and 18th child of Samuel and Susanna Wesley and was born at Epworth Rectory December 18, 1707, receiving his education at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He became one of the first band of Oxford Methodists, and went in 1735 with his brother John to Georgia as Secretary to Gen. Oglethorpe. His stay there was very short; he returned to England 1736 and shortly afterward came under the influence of Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians. His headquarters were at Bristol till 1771 when he moved to London devoting there much time to the spiritual care of the prisoners in Newgate. He died in 1788. Cf. p. 31.

Wesley, John, born at Epworth Rectory in 1703. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1729 became director of the little band of "Oxford Methodists." In 1735 he went as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Georgia where a new colony had been founded under the governorship of Gen. Oglethorpe. On his voyage he was deeply impressed with the piety and Christian courage of some German fellow travellers, Moravians. During his short ministry in Georgia he met with many discouragements and returned home much dissatisfied. In London he again fell in with the Moravians and from now on he labored to spread what he believed to be the everlasting gospel, travelling, preaching and making converts. He died at the age of 88 in the year 1791. The part which he actually took in writing the many hymns ascribed to the two brothers John and Charles is difficult to ascertain, but it is reasonably certain that more than thirty translations from the German, French, and Spanish, chiefly from the German, were exclusively his and although somewhat free they embody the fire and energy of the originals and have had a wide circulation. He has translated nos. 71, 185, 200.

Winkworth, Catherine, born in London in 1829. She took always a deep and active interest in the educational work in connection with the "Clifton Association for the Higher Education of Women" and kindred societies. She published (1) *Lyra*



Germanica, 1st Series 1855; (2) *Lyra Germanica*, 2d Series 1858; (3) *The Chorale Book for England* (containing translations from the German, together with music), 1863; and (4) *Christian Singers of Germany*, 1869. Although not the earliest of modern translators from the German into English, Miss Winkworth is surely the foremost in rank and popularity. Her translations are the most widely used of any from the German and have had more to do with the modern revival of the English use of German hymns than have the versions of any other writer. She has translated nos. 25 (2 versions), 49 (2 versions), 60 (2 versions), 62, 71, 76, 83, 95, 100, 108, 111 (2 versions), 122, 139, 150, 153, 155, 209, 217, 229, 232, 235, 239, 274, 284, 293, 298, 304.

TABULATIONS²²³

ALLITERATION (cf. p. 19)

Gerhardt clings to the traditional fondness of the German poet for alliterative phrases. If there be any virtue in the saw regarding "Apt alliteration's artful aid" our poet has found that virtue. The predominating sounds are the consonants; rarely is there alliteration of vowels. An enumeration shows the following results:²²⁴

Sequences of F, 12; of G, 36; of H, 20; of L, 27; of S, 30; of W, 20; of Z, 6. Of the other consonants there is an average of only two or three each.

	В
beiszt und brennt	153,47
	D
Ohne dasz du, die du hier	28,53
Ich will dein Diener bleiben	41,42
drang dich doch	47,7
Entzünde mich durch dich	47,40
dienen dir	150,94
	E (a) (i)
Und aller Erden Ecken	220,44
Ist ihr erfüllet	270,12
	F (V)
Fried und Freude	25,22
Freund und Feinde	77,47
für und für	93,3
Fried- und Freudenswort	95,2
Mit Freuden singen für und für	150,97
Ist meiner Feinde Freude	178,22
Trost, Friede, Freud und Leben	190,7
Frisch und freudig	232,98
Die vollkommene Freude	244,120
Freuden Fülle	274,3
Und fasz ein fest Vertrauen	331,44
	G
Gottes Gnad und Güt	7,49
Gott gönnt ihm Guts	13,80
ganz und gar	15,6

²²³ In these tabulations the poems are numbered according to the page on which they begin in the Goedeke text, thus: 153, 12 means poem no. 153, line 12.

²²⁴ The tabulation is not exhaustive. A few somewhat forced cases are omitted.

Gottes Grimm	30,112
Es grüszet dich mein ganzes Geist	44,5
Dem Geber aller Güter	59,3
Gegen Gott	62,68 & 69
Gnad und Gütigkeit	62,90
Gift, Gall und Ungestüm	74,20
Gut und Geld	80,32
Gall und Gift	81,23
Gut und Geld	86,32
Dasz dir Gott Glück, Gut und Ehr	89,3
Gnad und Güte	95,11
Gottes Gnad und Gab	97,13
güldne Gut und Geld	97,38
Gottes Geist	105,20
Gottes Grimm	111,75
Gutes gönnen	115,43
Geistes Gnad	135,79
dein Geist mir giebt	150,93
Gift und Gallen	153,14
Gut und Geld	153,57
Gottes Zorn und groszen Grimm	164,61
ganz und gar	178,8
Gold ist ihr Gott, Geld ist ihr Licht	190,17
Geist und Glauben	226,44
Hat er nicht Gold, so hat er Gott	226,49
Hie ist Gott und Gottes Grund	232,44
Gottes Gaben	239,3
Des groszen Gottes groszes Thun	239,44
Geld und Gut	242,65
Gibt uns Gott dies einge Gut	244,11
Gott und Gottes Gunst	248,11
ganz und gar	253,2
Dein Geberde, dein Gesicht	254,9
ganz und gar	255,41
Geduld ist Gottes Gabe Und seines Geistes Gut	267, 25 & 26
Gottes Grimm	273,7 (cf. 111,75 above)
ganz und gar	284,68
Güter und Gaben	293,23
Gut und Gaben	298,16

Gut und Gelde	319,9
Gut und Gelde	321,63
	н
Mein Herrscher, mein Helfer	5,61
Haus und Hof	7,32
Himmels Haus	21,26
Die Hände herzlich drücken	43,14
Ihr Herz und Hand ist hoch bemüht	51,29
Ich mein Heil und Hülfe hab	93,6
Meine Hülfe kömmt allein Von des F	*
Händen her	10ensten <i>75,7</i> & 0
Hiet und Hüter	120,4
hoch und herrlich	139,24
Weil heut der Herr der Herrlichkeit	171,3
hartes Herze	200,51
ich harr und hoff auf dich	212,99
Wol halt und herrlich siege	217,85
Haut und Hülle	220,36
Sein Hoheit ist des Höchsten Huld	226,54
Häupt und Halse	232,66
heilt und hielt	232,72
Heil und Hort	267,36
Herr im Haus	267,56
Heilen im Herzen	293,78
	K
Knecht und Kind	86,79
	L
Lob und Liebe	17,69
Lebens Leben	19,58
Lieb und Lust	25,54
Lieb und Leid	47,56
Des Lebens Leben lebet noch	51,5
Leben und Leiden	65,40
Ich lechze wie ein Land	65,46
liegt und legt	74,19
Lebens Lauf	89,85
lebt und lacht	139,44
Lust und Lachen	149,35
Alle Luft Laute ruft	155,5
Leib und Seele laben	164,64
Lebens Läng	164,101

Im ewgen Leben labe	173,96
Lebens Lauf	180,72
Lieb und Leid	209,41
Leib und Leben	229,93
Kein Lieben und kein Leiden	229,107
Lob und lieb	235,120
Ist viel mehr Lobs und Liebens wert	242,3
Sie thut ihm Liebes und kein Leid	242,9
Mein Leben lang	252,47
Lieb und Lust	260,89
Licht und Leben	271,44
Lebens Licht	284,98
Licht und Leben	313,19
Luft und Leben	328,50
	Μ
Mich und mein armes Leben	47,12
Entnehmen meinen Mut	74,29
Mein Vater musz mich lieben	83,10
Alle Menschen müszen leiden	274,86
	R
Regen, Reif, und Wind	10,71
Ruh und Rast	46,6
Reich und Rachen	62,55
Ruh und Rast	328,2
	S
Ich stund in Spott und Schanden	25,27
Springst und singst	28,47
In Schlaf und süszer Stille	30,48
schrickt und scheut	49,10
So sorgten sie zur selben Zeit	51,50
du sollt die Sonne schauen	59,16
Die Sünden aller Sünder	68,4
Schand und Sünden	76,35
stiehlt und stellt	80,31
Schand und Sünde	81,13
Der Seelen Sitz mit Sinn und Witz	83,21
Der Schatten einen Schemen	86,33
sanft und stille	86,94
	05.4

saint und sune	00,94
Spiesz und Schwerter	95,4

zerstörten Schlüsser Und Städte voller Schutt und Stein	95,39 & 40
Stahl und Steine	111,86
Zu stehen in dem Streit	111,14
Dein Stab, Herr, und dein Stecken	120,27
sanft und still	139,7
Ich steh im gewünschten Stande Scham und Schande	145,109 & 110
Sammt, Seiden	158,69
selig, süsz, und schön	200,19
Stahl noch Stein	209,61
Mit Schimpf und groszer Schande	212,128
Ist voller Freud und Singen Sieht lauter Sonnenschein Die Sonne	229,115, 116 & 117
Seine Strafen, seine Schläge	235,91
Hält sich selbst sauber; weisze Seid	242,43
Singt und springt	251,17
schwache Schnur	254,22
Schosz und Schutz	287,76
Sind seine Sorgen	293,32 & 33
Segnen	
Segnen Steht in steter voller Blütt	304,68
	304,68 T
Steht in steter voller Blütt	Τ
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben	T 108, 62
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben	T 108, 62 312,6
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel	T 108, 62 312,6 W
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn,	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird Um welcher willen	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63 30,2
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird Um welcher willen Aus welcher Wund	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63 30,2 30,307
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird Um welcher willen Aus welcher Wund Hast alles, was ich wünsch und will	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63 30,2 30,307 46,26
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird Um welcher willen Aus welcher Wund Hast alles, was ich wünsch und will Dich hat ein Weib der Welt gebracht	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63 30,2 30,307 46,26 47,16
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird Um welcher willen Aus welcher Wund Hast alles, was ich wünsch und will Dich hat ein Weib der Welt gebracht Mein Weirauch und mein Widder Wer dort wird mit verhöhnt, Wird hier auch mit gekrönt; Wer dort mit sterben geht,	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63 30,2 30,307 46,26 47,16 59,23
Steht in steter voller Blütt Thun und Toben Tod und Teufel Wind und Wetter Gott weisz wol, was wir vermögen Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn, Wenn uns wird Um welcher willen Aus welcher Wund Hast alles, was ich wünsch und will Dich hat ein Weib der Welt gebracht Mein Weirauch und mein Widder Wer dort wird mit verhöhnt, Wird hier auch mit gekrönt; Wer dort mit sterben geht, Wird hier auch mit erhöht	T 108, 62 312,6 W 10, 63 28,25 28,62 & 63 30,2 30,307 46,26 47,16 59,23 74,69-72

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Wol und Weh	139,37
Weg und Weisen	205,33
Der Weizen wächset init Gewalt	239,37
Wol und Weh	263,63
All deine Werk sind Wunder voll	287,47
Weirauch und Widder	293,29 (cf. 59,23 above)
Wort und Willen	293,75
	Z
Durch Zittern und durch Zagen	19,10
Mit Zittern und mit Zagen	30,39
Zorn, Zank	111,52
Zeit und Zahl	150,99
Zur rechten Zeit zu zähmen	169,11
Zu seinem Zweck und Ziel	185, 40
SPECIAL CA	SES OF ALLITERATION

Dein Schirm und Schild, dein Hülf und Heil	118,55
Wann Gottes Geist erhebt die Hand	173,41
Sein Herz ist voller Huld Und gönnt uns lauter Guts. Den Abend währt das Weinen, Des Morgens macht das Scheinen Der Sonn uns gutes Muts	180,35-40
Ich liebe dich und leide Pein Bin dein und doch betrübet	190,38 & 39
Lasset uns loben Seliges Sterben	270,5 & 6

ASSONANCE

5,	58	grünen und blühn
19,	1	gehn und treten
	45	Sei der Verlasznen Vater
	46	Berater
	47	Gabe
	48	Der Armen Gut und Habe.
23,	69	Der Rat und That erfinden kann
28,	47	springst und singst
	62	Wirst du und wir mit dir gehn
	63	Wenn uns wird

44,	2	Der herzlich
	3	Wie schmerzlich
46,	5	Du Träger aller Bürd und Last
	6	Du aller Müden Ruh und Rast
47,	7	Ach, wie bezwang und drang dich doch
	60	All seine Zeit vertreibe
60,	43	Breit aus die Flügel beide
	44	O Jesu, meine Freude
	45	Und nimm dein Küchlein ein!
65,	49	Saft und Kraft
68,	1	geht und trägt
	5	matt und krank
78,	12	selbst zum Helfer stellt
80,	40	Füll und Hüll
91,	58	schlecht und recht
100,	67	Weisz alle Weisheit
	70	Fleisz und Schweisz
111,	52	Neid und Streit
111,	82	Auf Reu der Freuden Blick
118,	49	sing und spring
122,	13	Gut und Blut
124,	27	Spreu zerstreuet
132,	16	Gut und Blut (cf. 122,13)
145,	47	Jagt und schlagt
	102	sing und klinge
	110	Scham und Schande
149,	15	Wunden unsrer Sünden
161,	88	Theil und Heil
164,	3	schlecht und recht (cf. 91,58)
	131	weit und breit
171,	1	weit und breit (cf. 164,131)
176,	12	So kennt, so nennt
193,	43	Tritt und Schritt
196,	4	Rat und That (cf. 23,69)
200,	32	Tag und Nacht
	38	Not und Tod
209,	110	Da wird mein Weinen lauter Wein,
	111	Mein Ächzen lauter Jauchzen sein.
212,	11	Rat und That (cf. 23,69; 196,4)

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217,	4	geht und steht
220,	45	Wer brachte Sonn und Mond herfür
	46	Wer machte Kräuter, Bäum und Thier
229,	45	Kein Urtheil mich erschrecket
	46	Kein Unheil mich betrubt
239,	28	Die Wiesen liegen
	44	Des groszen Gottes groszes Thun
242,	72	weit und breit (cf. 164,131; 169,1)
244,	43	des roten Goldes Kot
251,	17	singt und springt (cf. 28,47; 118,49)
253,	19	Kraft und Macht
254,	14	Gieng und hieng
260,	94	Rat und That (cf. 23,69; 196,4)
270.		In this poem note the unusual scheme of alliteration and sound sequence (regular except for one line) in the first four syllables of the concluding couplets of the first three stanzas:
stanza 1		
	5	lasset uns loben
	6	Seliges Sterben
stanza 2		
	11	Ihre Begierde
	12	Ist ihr erfüllet
stanza 3		
	17	Berkow, das feine, geschickte Gemüt
	18	Dessen Gedächtnisz
271,	15	Tod und Sterbensnot
274,	87	webt und lebet
284,	71	hebt und leget
287,	53	Tag und Jahre Zahl
		6
298,	125	webt und lebt (cf. 274,87)

DOUBLETS OF EXACT OR APPROXIMATE SYNONYMS (cf. p. 19)

	Α
Ach und Weh	104,8; 335,10
Adern und Geblüte	158,9
Angst und Not	25,55; 91,66; 150,89; 193,66; 209,26; 232,99; 325,24
Angst und Nöten	185,71
Angst, Furcht, Sorg und Schmerz	78,19
Angst und Pein	122,20; 224,5
Angst und Plagen	19,9
Angst und Qual	23,10; 164,97; 198,8; 271,12
Angst und Schmerzen	220,15
Angst und Trübsal	145,30
Angst und Weh	65,64; 164,53; 212,37
ängstet und bemüht	78,27
Arm und Kraft	284,88



B

Bahn und Lauf	304,16
Bahn und Steg	83,91; 248,79
Berg und Spitzen	217,22
betrübt und kränket	95,31
Bett und Lager	313,13
bewust und wolbekannt	139,52
brechen und fallen	293,67
Bund und Zeugnisz	91,27
Bürd und Last	267,32
Burg und Schlosz	190,90
	D
Dampf und Rauch	153,12
Dieb und Räuber	106,21
drück und quäle	108,56
	Ε
Ehr und Dank	324,46
Ehr und Dienste	111,15
Eilend und behend	315,54
emsich und bemühet	328,16
Ohn End und alle Masz	47,41
Erb und Theil	190,96
Erd und Kot	115,20
Erd und Staub	324,7

Erd und Thon	153,7	
Erkenntnisz und Verstand	260,82	
Ernst und Eifer	30,246	
	F	
fall und sterbe	229,75	
Fehl und Mängel	278,23	
Fels und Burg	145,14	
Fels und Stein	30,322; 127,53	
Feuer und Licht	242,29	
Fleisch und Blut	30,31; 217,42; 324,4; 325,12; 328,30	
Fleisz und Schweisz	100,70	
fliehn und haszen	81,40	
fleuch und haszt	229,82	
fliehn und laszen	71,89	
frech und geil	278,108	
sich freu und jubiliere	212,102	
Freud und Lust	97,49	
Freud und Seligkeit	209,97	
Freud und Singen	229,115	
Freud und Trost	51,181	
Freud und Wonne	158,25; 232,2	
Freuden und Lust	5,33	
Mein Freund und treuer Rat	217,39	
Fried- und Freudenswort	95,2	
Fried und Ruh	95,72; 205,83	
Frisch und freudig	232,98	
Füll und Hüll	80,40	
Furcht und Angst	120,19	
Furcht und Scheu	15,43	
Furcht und Schrecken	51,182; 229,58	
Furcht und Zagen	284,39	
G		
Gall und Gift	81,23	
ganz und gar	15,6; 178,8; 253,2; 254,41; 284,68	
ganz und neu	251,28	
Geist und Gemüte	271,2	
Geist und Sinn	78,18; 158,5	
Geist und Sinnen	135,78	
Geld und Gut	242,65	
Gemüt und Seele	108,55	

hoch und herrlich	139,24
Heu und Stroh	158,68
Herz und Sinn	83,1 & 2; 205,43
Herz und Mut	7,62; 267,16
Heil und Hülfe	93,6
Heil und Gnaden	293,76
Haus und Zelt	173,86; 232,86
Hans und Hof	7,32
Hasz und Neid	15,19
Hab und Gut	188,19
	H
Güt und Segen	
	21,27
Gut und Hen Gut und Waaren	17,56
Gut und Heil	80,52, 97,58, 155,57, 519,9, 521,05 17,56
Gilt und Geld(e)	324,8 86,32; 97,38; 153,57; 319,9; 321,63
Gras und Laub	324,8
Gram und Schmerze	25,43
Gram und Leid	135,127
Grab und Sarg	68,29
Gott und Retter	127,16
Gott und Hort	253,15
Gnad und Hulden	293,84
Gnad und Gütigkeit	62,90
Gnad und Güte	95,11
Gnad und Gunst	304,3
Gnad und Gab	97,13
Glück und Segen	108,88; 217,3
Glück und Heil	95,30
Glück, Gut und Ehr	89,3
Glück und Freude	173,28; 203,40
Glaub und Treu	103,2 173,28; 205,40
Glanz und Schein	103,2
Mein Glanz und schönes Licht	229,26
Glanz und Freudenlicht	40,15 118,54
Glanz und Bild	46,15
getrost und unverzagt Gift und Gallen	125,75 153,14
getrost und unbetrübt	271,1
gern und williglich	71,84
	71.04

Hohn und Spott	68,8; 183,17; 229,86
Hohn und groszem Spott	71,6
Huld und Gnaden	324,23
Hülf und Errettung	111,12
Hülf und Heil	118 55
Hülf und Rat	188,22
Hut und Güte	106,29
Hut und Wach	287,26
	J
in Jammer und in Not	198,10
Jauchzen und Freuden	5,72
	Κ
Kält und Frost	118,17
kann und mag	239,43; 274,85
kann und weisz	25,16
Klag und Sorge	226,12
klar und rein	287,39
Knecht und Kind	86,79
Mein Können, mein Vermögen	235,45
Kraft und Macht	253,19
	L
Last und Bürd	226,22
Laster und Schande	293,46
Leib und Leben	229,93
Leib und Seel(e)	7,85; 25,19; 30,129; 60,39; 71,52; 71,59; 83,20;
	93,29; 127,8; 164,64; 248,22; 325,15
lenke und führe	293,87
Lieb und Ehre	217,45
Lieb und Gnad	278,90
Lieb und Güt	78,25
Lieb und Huld	3,11; 7,60; 25,60; 30,329; 65,24
Lieb und Lust	25,54
Lieb und Treu	30,229
List und Tück	91,54
Lob und Preis	25,14; 248,5; 319, 13; 324,48
lobt und preist	10,90
Lob und Dank	97,22; 180,7; 232,91
Lohn und Sold	271,33
Luft und Höh	15,24
Lust und Freude	21,54; 180,88; 193,31; 226,68; 244,26

Lust und Freuden	124,9
	Μ
Macht und Kraft	108,84
March und Bein	158,42
Mark und Bein	328,28
Masz und Zahl	15,32
Masz und Ziel	10,45; 183,62; 232,84
	Ν
Neid und Hasz	321,10
Neid und Streit	248,60
	0
Ort und Raum	30,344; 161,39 & 40
	Р
Pein und Schmerz	328,60
Pest und Gift	51,240
Dein Pilgrim und dein Bürger	86,81
Preis und Dank	106,4
Preis und Ehr	150,7
	R
Ränk und List	80,33
Rat und Hülfe	307,4
Raub und Frasz	321,12
rein und gerecht	65,16
rein und hell	46,14
rein und klar	278,18
wir rennen, laufen	315,50
Ruh und Rast	328,2
Ruhm und Preis	302,74
rühmt und preist	176,12
	S
Sanft und gelind	224,37
sanft und still(e)	86,94; 139,7
Schand und Spott	103,30
Schand und Sünde	81,13
dein Schatz, dein Erb und Theil	119,53
Schild und Hort	93,39
Mit Schimpf und groszer Schande	212,128
Schirm und Schild	118,55
schläft und ruht	335,52

Theodore Brown Hewitt

schlägt und drückt	325,30
Schmerze und Sorgen	185,49 & 50
Schmerz und Weh	226,9
schön und klar	158,61
Das Schönste und Beste	293,97
schrickt und scheut	49,10
Schuld und Missethat	256,109
Sclav und Knecht	325,26
Seel und Geist	81,44
Dein Seufzen und dein Stöhnen	71,91

singen und loben	120,48
sinken und fallen	212,124
Sinn und Geiste	263,69 (cf. Geist und Sinn, q. v.)
Sitz und Ort	278,176
Sitz und Raum	7,35
Sonn und Zier	217,47
Sorg und Schmerzen	229,51; 307,46
Speis und Malzeit	244,45
Spiesz und Schwerter	95,4
Spott und Hohn	100,54; 135,47
Spott und Schanden	25,27
Dem Stab und dein Stecken	120,27
Stadt und Land	7,36
Stärk und Kraft	28,42; 271,19; 239,35
steif und fest	161,69; 178,37; 226,66
Stell und Ort	220,38; 310,27
Straf und Last	30,340
Straf und Zorn	224,9
Stuhl und Thron(e)	108,70; 205,84
Stund und Zeiten	60,34
Sturm und Regen	267,15
Sturm und Ungewitter	209,84
Sturm und Wellen	229,15
Sturm und Wetter	7,25; 93,30
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Than und Regen	118,16
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Thun und Machen Thun und Toben	19,23 108,62
Dein Tichten, dein Trachten, dein Thun	5,17
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Tod und Ende	31,192
trifft und schlägt	324,17
Tritt und Schritt	193,43
Trost und Freud(e)	25,18; 65,22; 196,36; 302,73
Alter Trost und alle Freude	108,41
Trost und Labsal	65,57; 232,4
Trost und Labsar	328,82
Trost und Schild	46,16
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Weh und Klagen	97,50
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Weis und Art	335,62
Weisheit und Verstand	139,51; 158,57
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Wind und Wetter	10,63
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Witz und Sinn	220,5
Wonn und Fröhlichkeit	310,72
Wort und Reden	278,20
Würd und Ehr	188,88
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ihre Zähren und Thränen	142,27 & 28
Zank und Geifer	321,11
Zeit und Stund	244,111
Zorn und Eifer	321,9
Zorn und Fluch	103,9
Zorn und Grimm	108,14
Zorn und groszem Grimm	164,61
Zweck und Ziel	185,40
	,

REPETITION²²⁵

Was ist doch gut ohn diesem Gut?	10,96
Wenn dies Gut nicht im Herzen ruht	10,97
Ist alles Gut verworfen	10,98
O Häupt voll Blut und Wunden,	49,1
Voll Schmerz und voller Hohn!	49,2
O Häupt zu Spott gebunden	49,3
O Häupt, sonst schön gezieret	49,5
Auf, auf, ihr sollt beginnen	60,5
Erdengut zerfällt und bricht	89,35
Seelengut das schwindet nicht	89,36
Aller Trost und alle Freude	108,41
Dein Erfreuen ist die Weide	108,43
Leuchte mir, o Freudenlicht	108,45
Zeuch ein zu deinen Thoren	111,1
Zeuch ein, lasz mich empfinden	111,9
Und schmecken deine Kraft ²²⁶	111,10
Die Kraft die uns von Sünden	111,11
Was Gott gefällt	139,5,10,15,20, etc. (i. e. the concluding line of each of these stanzas)
Wir singen dir, Emanuel	150,1
Wir singen dir in deinem Heer	150,6
Bist aller Haiden Trost und Licht,	150,43
Suchst selber Trost und findst ihn nicht	150,44
Du bist der süsze Menschenfreund	150,46
Doch sind dir so viel Menschen feind	150,47
Befiehl du deine Wege	185,1
Gibt Wege, Lauf und Bahn	185,6
Der wird auch Wege finden	185,7
Sollt ich meinen Gott nicht singen?	235,1
Sollt ich Ihm nicht dankbar sein?	235,2
Alles Ding währt seine Zeit	235,9
Gottes Lieb in Ewigkeit	235,10 (This couplet concludes each of the twelve stanzas)

²²⁵ The complete tabulation of words and phrases used in repetition is too bulky for printing. These few selections will serve to illustrate this characteristic of Gerhardt's poetry. Cf. p. 19.

²²⁶ Frequently, as here, the last word in the line is repeated as the first word in the next following line. Cf. 111,69 & 70; 149,44 & 45; 158,23 & 24; 161,117 & 118.

JUXTAPOSITION OF WORDS DERIVED FROM THE SAME ROOT, AND PLAYS ON WORDS (cf. p. 19)

Trotz sei dir, du trotzender Kot!	5,65
Erbarm dich, o barmherzigs Herz	7,76
Als das geliebte Lieben	25,35
Zum Fluch dem, der Ihm flucht	25,74
Das nennt der Lästrer Lästerwort	30,106
Kein Wächter mag zu mächtig sein	39,323
Drum, herzes Herze, bitt ich dich	47,28
Wer dich recht liebt, ergibt sich frei,	47,46
In deiner Lieb und süszen Treu	47,47
Der von unbeschnittnem Herzen	67,3



mit Beschneidung	67,5
Die Sünden aller Sünder	68,4
O Wunderlieb! o Liebesmacht	68,25
Die Trübsal trübt mir nicht	74,45
Das Unglück ist mein Glück	74,47
Gründst des tiefen Meeres Grund	76,28
Und wo kein Mensch nicht helfen kann	78,11
Sich selbst zum Helfer stellt	78,12
Und Vater meines Lebens	81,2
Wo du mein Leben nicht regierst	81,3
So leb ich hier vergebens;	81,4
Ja lebendig bin ich auch todt,	81,5
Der hat das rechte Leben	81,8
Der Wird zu Schanden, der dich schändt	91,5
Und wie mich der so hoch erhöht,	97,6
Der selbst so hoch erhoben	97,7
Helfer in der rechten Zeit	108,6
Hilf, o Heiland	108,7
Ein Freund der Freundlichkeit	111,50
Der Feindschaft bist du feind	111,53
Zu rühmen seinen Ruhm!	115,74
Kann uns doch kein Tod nicht tödten	122,43
Auch tödte mich durch deinen Tod	132,58
Lasz mich deinen Schutz beschützen	145,11
Wenn mir Lebenskraft gebricht;	145,76
Lasz mein Leben in dir leben	145,77

Ich steh im gewünschten Stande	145,109
Sein Licht und Heil macht alles heil	153,21
Du bist meines Leben Leben	155,70
dasz ich mein End	161,113
Auch also möchte enden	161,114
Durch Adams Fall gefallen	173,15
Durch dieses Fallen ist die Macht	173,16
Weg hast du allerwegen	185,25
kein Sinnen	220,79
Ihm hat ersinnen können!	220,80
Der Grund, da ich mich gründe	229,17
mein Vermögen	235,45
Nichts vermag, nichts helfen kann,	235,46
Sein Vermögen beizulegen	235,48
Wann andre löschen Feuer und Licht,	242,29
Verlöscht doch ihre Leuchte nicht	242,30
Ich lieb ihr liebes Angesicht	260,41
Gütig dem, der Gutes thut	307,79
Nun, der sei mein schönstes Gut	307,80

PLAYS ON WORDS

Herr Fromm ist fromm, das weisz man wol	13,82
Der Frommen Lohn	13,124 (cf. 13,82)
Sein Licht und Heil macht alles heil	153,21
Da wird mein Weinen lauter Wein	209,110
Wie seinem Mut zu Mute sei	223,123
Steht in steter voller Blüt	304,68



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 $^{\rm 227}$ Only 76 of the 131 poems have been included in this index.

1. Warum willst du drauszen stehen	108	51
2. Wie soll ich dich empfangen	25 CHRISTMAS	82
1. Frölich soll mein Herze springen		58
2. Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier	158	60
3. Kommt und laszt uns Christurn chren	312	79
4. O Jesu Christ, dein Kripplein ist	153	57
5. Schaut, Schaut, was ist für Wunder dar	310	79
6. Wir singen dir, Emanuel	150	110
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(GOOD FRIDAY (PASSIONTID	E)
1. Ein Lämmlein geht und träg die Schuld	68	104
2. Gegrüszet seist du, Gott, mein Heil	46	41
3. Hör an, mein Herz, die Sieben Wort	161	60
4. O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	49	86
5. O Herz des Königs aller Welt	47	41
6. O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben	71	42
7. Sei mir tausendmal gegrüszet	40	40
	EASTER	
1. Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden	: 74	44
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1. Gott, Vater, sende deinen Geist	: 173	62
2. O du allersüszste Freude	76	44
3. Zeuch ein zu deinen Thoren	111	52
	CROSS AND CONSOLATION	N
1. Ach treuer Gott, barmherzigs Herz	209	65
2. Barmherziger Vater, höchster Gott	212	66
3. Befiehl du dein Wege	185	114

4. Du bist ein Mensch, das weiszst du wol	220	67
5. Du liebe Unschuld du	3	36
6. Geduld ist euch vonnöten	267	72
7. Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille	274	74
8. Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn	83	48
9. Ich hab oft bei mir selbst gedacht	226	68
10. Ich habs verdient, was will ich doch	224	67
11. Ist Gott für mich, so trete	229	126
12. Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr	89	48
13. Noch dennoch muszt du drum nicht ganz	23	38
14. Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott	135	55
15. Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen	122	108
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	REPENTANCE	
1. Herr, höre, was mein Mund	65	41
2. Nach dir, o Herr, verlanget mich	91	49
3. Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken	62	41
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1. Auf den Nebel folgt die Sonne	232	68
2. Der Herr, der aller Enden	120	54
3. Gott Lob! nun ist erschollen	95	50
4. Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund	118	53
5. Nun danket all und bringet Ehr	78	46
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3. Ich danke dir demütiglich	205	65
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5. Ich Weisz, mein Gott, dasz all mein Thun	217	66
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4. Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden	284	74
5. Johannes sahe durch Gesicht	319	80
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7. Nun sei getrost und unbetrübt	271	73
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This index contains in general only the first lines of the translations and adaptations as they are given in Part II, Chapter II (pp. 35-143). The numbers refer to the pages on which the general discussions of the corresponding Gerhardt poems begin.

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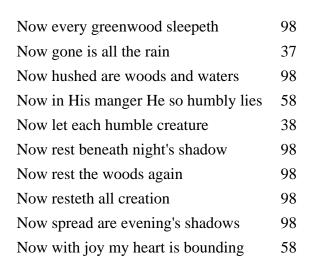
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This text is hyperlinked to translations of available at CCEL. The complete works of Catherine Winkworth are exhaustively linked; other texts were linked if they could be identified with one of the listed translations, or if no listed translation was available. An appendix contains translations from other printed sources²²⁹ of selected translations unrepresented in CCEL. (As is common practice, the secondary sources frequently alter or abridge the texts, sometimes without notice.)

Paul Gerhardt, 1648. Composite. Hymnal and Order of Service, #400

Shun, my heart, the thought forever That thou hast been cast away, Rest upon God's Word and favor, Never cease to watch and pray. E'en though thou unrighteous art, True and faithful is God's heart: Hast thou death deserved forever? God's appeased, despond thou never! Thou art, as is ev'ry other, Tainted with the bane of sin That the serpent through our father Adam, by the fall, brought in. But if thou God's voice dost hear, With a contrite heart draw near Unto God, he will receive thee, All thy sins He will forgive thee. Thou wilt find in Him a Father Who is patient, kind, and true, He doth love thee as no brother And no other friend can do. E'en our smallest cares He knows, He is touched by all our woes; Our most secret prayers He heareth, And our saddened hearts He cheereth. Hear His word, "As I am living, I the death of none would see,

But that every sinner, giving

²²⁹ 1925 Lutheran "Hymnal and Order of Service", 1913/1935 "Lutheran Hymnary", and 1912 "Moravian Hymn Book".

Up his heart, would turn to Me. How my heart with rapture burns When a prodigal returns! My own child I love to call him, And no evil shall befall him."

Never shepherd's heart so yearneth For the sheep that go astray As God's loving bosom burneth For His erring child alway. How He thirsts, and longs, and yearns For the soul that from Him turns! Couldst thou know His love so tender, Thou wouldst praise unto Him render.

Of such wondrous love and favor Open wide the door to me, And Thy goodness, precious Saviour, Let me ever taste and see. Love me, Lord, and let me be Ever nearer drawn to Thee; Let Thy Spirit lead and guide me, In Thy loving bosom hide me.

Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund, 1653

(1-5) 1765. J Haberkorn; (6, 7) 1746-54. M. Moravian Hymn Book, #23

I'll praise thee with my heart and tongue, O Lord, my soul's delight, Declaring to the world in song Thy glory, praise and might.

Thou art th'eternal source of grace, The fount of lasting bliss; From thee unto the human race Flows all true happiness.

On thee, almighty Lord of hosts, Depend our life and all; Thou keepest watch around our coasts, Protecting great and small.

Thy chastisements are nought but love; When we our sins confess, We thy forgiveness richly prove; 'Tis thy delight to bless. Hast thou not tended us and fed, E'en from our earliest days; Our souls with loving-kindness led Through many dangerous ways? God never yet mistake hath made

In his vast government; And all he doth permit or aid Is blest in the event.

Then murmur not, but be resigned To his most holy will; Peace, rest and comfort thou wilt find, My soul, in being still.

Salve mundi Salutare. 12th Cent. Bernard of Clairvaux. Sei mir tausendmal gegrüsset. 1653.

1754. J. Gambold, a. Moravian Hymn Book, #97

Thousand times by me be greeted, Jesus, who has lovèd me, And thyself to death submitted For my treason against thee: Ah, how happy do I feel, When 'fore thee I humbly kneel, See thee on the cross expiring, And true life for me acquiring.

Jesus, thee I view in spirit, Covered o'er with blood and wounds: Now salvation through thy merit For my sin-sick soul abounds: O who can, thou Prince of Peace, Who didst thirst for our release, Fully fathom all that's treasured In thy love's design unmeasured? Heal me, O my soul's Physician,

Wheresoe'er I'm sick or sad; All the woes of my condition By thy balm be now allayed: Heal the hurts which Adam wrought, Or which on myself I've brought; If thy blood me only cover, My distress will soon be over.

With the deepest adoration Humbly at thy feet I lie, And with fervent supplication Unto thee for succour cry: My petition kindly hear; Say in answer to my prayer, 'I will change thy grief and sadness Into comfort, joy, and gladness.'

Ist Gott füf mich, so trete.

1656. P. Gerhardt 1725. J. C. Jacobi, a. Moravian Hymn Book, #376

Is God my strong salvation, No enemy I fear, He hears my supplication, Dispelling all my care: If he, my Head and Master, Defend me from above, What pain, or what disaster, Can part me from his love? I fully am persuaded And joyfully declare, I'm never left unaided, My Father hears my prayer; His comforts never fail me, He stands at my right hand; When tempests fierce assail me, They're calm at his command. The ground of my profession Is Jesus and his blood; He giveth me possession Of everlasting good. To me his Spirit speaketh Full many a precious word--Of rest to him who seeketh

A refuge in the Lord. Should earth lose its foundation, He stands my lasting rock; No temporal desolation Shall give my love a shock; I'll cleave to Christ my Saviour, No object, small or great, Nor height, no depth, shall ever Me from him separate. My merry heart is springing, It can no more be sad; With laughter and with singing, In God's own sunshine glad; For Christ is now preparing His city new and bright, Where saints his throne are sharing And faith is turned to sight.

Wach auf mein Herz! und singe.

1648. P. Gerhardt. 1722. J. C. Jacobi, a. Moravian Hymn Book, #727

My soul, awake and render To God, thy great defender, The God of all the living, Thy prayer and thy thanksgiving.

When night had closed around me, The darkness helpless found me; But happy was my sleeping In his most gracious keeping.

With joy I still discover Thy light, O Lord, my Lover; My thanks shall be the spices Of morning sacrifices.

Be thou my only treasure, Fulfil in me thy pleasure, Thy word my spirit feeding, Thy light still onward leading.

Thy love, which once did find me,

To thee shall ever bind me; My life to thee be tending Beginning, middle, ending.

> P. Gerhardt, 1648. Mrs. Elizabeth Charles, 1848, alt. Lutheran Hymnary, #301

A Lamb goes uncomplaining forth, The guilt of all men bearing; Laden with all the sins of earth, None else the burden sharing! Goes patient on, grows weak and faint, To slaughter led without complaint, That spotless life to offer; Bears shame, and stripes, and wounds and death, Anguish and mockery, and saith, "Willing all this I suffer." That Lamb is Lord of death and life, God over all forever: The Father's Son, whom to that strife Love doth for us deliver! O mighty Love! what hast Thou done! The Father offers up His Son--The Son content descendeth! O Love, O Love! how strong art Thou! In shroud and grave Thou lay'st Him low Whose word the mountains rendeth! Him on the cross, O Love, Thou lay'st, Fast to that torture nailing, Him as a spotless Lamb Thou slay'st; His heart and flesh are failing--The body with that crimson flood, That precious tide of noble blood, The heart with anguish breaking! O Lamb! what shall I render Thee For all Thy tender love to me, Or what return be making? My lifelong days would I still Thee Be steadfastly beholding; Thee ever, as Thou ever me,

With loving arms enfolding, And when my heart grows faint and chill, My heart's undying light, O still Abide unchanged before me! Myself Thy heritage I sign, Ransomed to be forever Thine, My only hope and glory. I of Thy majesty and grace Would night and day be singing; A sacrifice of joy and praise Myself to Thee still bringing. My stream of life shall flow to Thee Its steadfast current ceaselessly In praise to Thee outpouring; And all the good Thou dost to me I'll treasure in my memory, Deep in my heart's depths storing! Shrine of my heart, give larger space For wealth that passeth measure! Thou must become a royal place For all-excelling treasure. Away, world, with thy golden hoard, And all the glories in thee stored, My treasure is in heaven; For I have found true riches now; My treasure, Christ, my Lord art Thou Thy blood so freely given! This treasure ever I employ, This ever aid shall yield me; In sorrow it shall be my joy, In conflict it shall shield me. In joy, the music of my feast; And when all else has lost its zest, This manna still shall feed me; In thirst my drink, in want my food, My company in solitude, To comfort and to lead me! And when I enter on Thy joys, With Thee Thy kingdom sharing, Thyself my robe of triumph, Lord, Thy blood my right declaring, Shall place upon my head the crown,

Shall lead me to the Father's throne, And raiment fit provide me; Till I, by Him to Thee betrothed, By Thee in bridal constume clothed, Stand as a bride beside Thee!

> P. Gerhardt, 1658. A. T. Russell, 1851. Lutheran Hymnary, #157

O how shall I receive Thee, How meet Thee on Thy way; Blest hope of every nation, My soul's delight and stay? O Jesus, Jesus, give me, By Thine illuming light, To know whate'er is pleasing And welcome in Thy sight. Thy Zion psalms is strewing With branches fresh and fair; And every soul awaking, Her anthem shall prepare; Perpetual thanks and praises Forth from our hearts shall spring; And to Thy name the service Of all our powers we bring. O ye who sorrow, sinking Beneath your grief and pain, Rejoice in His appearing, Who shall your souls sustain; He comes, He comes with gladness! How great is His good-will! He comes, all grief and anguish Shall at His word be still. Ye who with guilty terror Are trembling, fear no more; With love and grace the Savior Shall you to hope restore; He comes, who contrite sinners Will with the children place, The children of His Father,

The heirs of life and grace.

He comes, the Lord, to judgment; Woe, woe to them who hate! To those who love and seek Him He opes the heavenly gate. Come quickly, gracious Savior, And gather us to Thee, That in the light eternal Our joyous home may be.

> P. Gerhardt, 1667. J. Oxenford, 1859. Lutheran Hymnary, #332

I know that my Redeemer lives, In this my faith is fast; And whatsoe'er against Him strives Will surely fall at last. He lives, the mighty One, I know, Whose arm overcomes the strongest foe, Who death and hell hath vanquished. He lives, He lives; though dust shall lie Upon my mouldering head, Yet He will call me, by and by, To quit an earthly bed; And I shall waken at His voice, Rise re-embodied, and rejoice To look on my Redeemer. His promise, who hath ne'er deceived, In life and death I trust: The Lord in whom I have believed Will raise my sleeping dust: In this my very flesh that dies I shall revive, and with these eyes Shall see the God who made me. Myself shall see Him in my flesh, With all His glory bright; His presence shall my heart refresh, And fill my soul with light. Myself shall ever on Him gaze, Myself shall ever sound His praise,

Myself, and not another.

Rise, then, my soul, e'en now, and life In hope's divine abode! Let earth and Satan vainly strive To tear thee from thy God. The bier, the coffin, let them show The grave, the gloom, the worm--"I know That my Redeemer liveth."

> P. Gerhardt, 1653. Miss Frances E. Cox, 1864. Lutheran Hymnary, #383

I sing to Thee with voice and heart, Of all my joys the well; I sing, that, that I know Thou art My lips to all may tell; That Thou a fountain art of grace, With blessings richly stored For all, in every time and place, This well I know, O Lord. Cheer up, faint heart, rejoice and sing, All anxious fear resign; For God, the sovereign Lord and King, Is thy God, even thine: He is thy portion, He thy joy, Thy life, and light, and Lord; Thy counsellor when doubts annoy, Thy shield and great reward. In restless thoughts or dark despair Why spend the day and night? On Him who loves thee cast thy care; He makes our burdens light: Did not His love, and truth, and power Watch o'er thy childhood's day? Hath He not oft, in threatening hour, Turned dreaded ills away! His wisdom never plans in vain, Ne'er falters, or mistakes; All that His counsels wise ordain

A happy ending makes:

Upon thy mouth, then, lay thy hand, And trust His guiding eye; Thus, firm as rock, thy feet shall stand, Now and eternally.

> P. Gerhardt, 1553 M. B. Landstad, 1861 C. Doving, 1906 Lutheran Hymnary, #455

Blessed is the man that never Doth in godless counsel meet; Nor in sinners' way stands ever, Nor sits in the scorner's seat, But on God's all-perfect law Meditates with holy awe; Day and night he delves for treasure In the word--'tis all his pleasure.

As a tree that has been planted By the flowing waters fair, In its season e'er is granted Fruits and foliage to bear, So is he, the righteous, seen Ever fruitful, ever green, And his leaf shall wither never, All he does shall prosper ever.

To the wicked 'tis not given Such a happy lot to share; As the chaff by wind is driven So shall the ungodly fare; They in judgment shall not stand, Nor be in the righteous band: These the Lord forsaketh never, Those thall be cast off forever.

For the Lord His people knoweth, His pure eyes behold their way, And the blessing He bestoweth Is their heritage for aye: But the wicked ever tend To their doom and to their end: God will all the righteous cherish, But the wicked ones shall perish.

O du allersüsste Freude. 1648. P. Gerhardt. 1725. J. C. Jacobi, a; 1776. A. Toplady, a. Moravian Hymn Book, #199

Holy Ghost, dispel our sadness, Pierce the clouds of sinful night;
Come, thou source of sweetest gladness, Breathe thy life, and spread thy light.
From that height which knows no measure As a gracious shower descend,
Bringing down the richest treasure Man can wish, or God can send!
[Come, Thou best of all donations...]
[Known to Thee are all recesses...]
Manifest thy love for ever; Fence us in on every side;
In distress be our Reliever, Guard and teach, support and guide.

[Be our Friend on each occasion...]

When we die, be our Salvation, Raise us glorious from the grave; Perfect thus thy new creation, God! omnipotent to save.

> P Gerhardt. 1653. Lutheran Hymnary, #436

I will sing my Maker's praises, And in Him most joyful be, For in all things I see traces Of the good He meaneth me: Nothing else but love could move Him With such sweet and tender care All who try to serve and love Him Evermore to raise and bear. Yea, so dear doth he esteem me,

That the Son He loves so well

He hath given to redeem me From the quenchless flames of Hell; Well of life that springeth ever! Sea of love that hath no ground! Fruitless were my best endeavor Depth of love like Thine to sound. All which for my soul is needful He will carefully provide Nor of that is he unheedful Which my body needs beside: When my strength cannot avail me--At the best a broken reed--God appears; He will not fail me In the time of utmost need. As a father ne'er removeth All his love for some lost child, But the prodigal still loveth, Yearning to be reconciled; So my sins and many errors Find a tender pardoning God, Who doth not with penal terrors Chasten them, but with the rod. All His blows and scourges truly For the moment grievous prove, And yet, when I weigh them duly, Are but tokens of His love; Proofs that He is watching o'er me, And would, by the cross and rod, From this wicked world restore me To my Father and my God. Since then neither change nor coldness In His precious love can be, Lo! I lift my hands with boldness, As a child I come to Thee. Grant me grace, O God, I pray Thee, That I may with all my might Love, and trust Thee, and obey Thee, Till I reach the realms of light.

P. Gerhardt. 1653.

trans., Angelo A. Benson. 1862. Lutheran Hymnary, #342

Why, my soul, thus trembling ever? Have no fear: Christ is near; Naught from thee can sever, Heaven is thine, and Christ shall own thee; Faithful be Until He Shall with triumph crown thee. Painful cross if He should send me, Shall I faint With complaint, Lest the grief should end me? He hath borne the cross before me; Soon no pain Shall remain, Only peace be o'er me. Hopeful, cheerful, and undaunted, Everywhere They appear Who in Christ are planted; Death itself cannot appall them; They rejoice When the voice Of their Lord doth call them. Death cannot destroy forever; From our fears, Cares and tears, Soon shall it deliver. Doors of grief and gloom it closes, While the soul, Free and whole. With the saints reposes. Lord, my Shepherd, take me to Thee! I am Thine, Thou art mine, Even ere I knew Thee. I am Thine, for Thou hast bought me: Lost I stood, But Thy blood Free salvation brought me.

Thou art mine, and, for my guiding, Be my bright Shining light In my heart abiding! Savior dear! let me, attaining To Thy side, There abide, With Thee ever reigning!

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