

SCHWENCKFELDER HYMNS AND THEOLOGY

An Excursus on Some Representative Schwenckfelder  
Hymn Writers of the Sixteenth Century

read by E.J. Furcha

Union College of Theology, Vancouver

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Memorial University

St. John's, Newfoundland

Luther: The devil needn't have all  
the pretty tuncs for himself.

## SCHWENCKFELDER HYMNS AND THEOLOGY

The early church had the Psalms and the Middle Ages the Plain-song. Sixteenth century Reformers inherited both of these. Nonetheless, they sought new modes of praise which might enable the worshipping community of their day to participate meaningfully in "glorifying God".

Liturgical reform, desired by all prominent reformers of the sixteenth century and actively engaged in by some, necessitated a store of new hymns. Poets, however, were obviously scarce when Luther and Muentzer, Carlstadt and Zwingli- to name only a few of the great liturgists of the age - needed them most.

"Poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them, worthy to be used" writes Luther with characteristic frankness.<sup>1</sup> He himself undertook to remedy the situation by encouraging some of his friends to write hymns. The guidelines were plain: "Everywhere we are looking for poets. Now since you are so skillful and eloquent in German, I would like to ask you to work with us in this and to turn a psalm into a hymn. . . But I would like you to avoid new-fangled, fancied words and to use expressions simple and common enough for the people to understand, yet pure and fitting. . ."<sup>2</sup> Spalatin, to whom the above-quoted lines were addressed, apparently did not respond. However, by 1524 Luther himself had written some hymns. Others co-operated much in the same fashion in which Canadian hymnwriters today respond to contests, sponsored by Hymnary revision committees.

Luther might well have been a hard taskmaster, difficult to please. The first hymn book within the evangelical camp of the day, the so-called Achliederbuch, published by Jobst Gutknecht (Nuernberg, 1524) contained eight motet-like spiritual songs, four of which were Luther's own. Johann Walther's Geistliches Gesangbuechlein of the same year contained thirty-eight chorales, twenty-four of which were Luther's.

As editions of hymn books multiplied, countless hymns emerged in official Lutheran publications as well as in numerous "underground" publications. In quality and content these hymns are as varied as the entire age itself.

This paper is designed to explore tentatively some of the underground hymnody through an initial survey of some of the Schwenckfelder hymns of the day. Even though such hymns were collected at frequent intervals, little has thus far been said, to my knowledge, by way of analysis of these hymns.<sup>3</sup>

The renewed interest shown in things radical during the last few decades has long led me to gather information on Schwenckfelder hymns that might in some way yield a clue to the manner in which theological ideas of this particular brand were transmitted to followers and to others who were remotely attracted by the nobleman's line.

Two publications known to me have sought to explore Schwenckfelder hymnody. One is Allen A. Seipt's Schwenckfelder Hymnology, published in 1909 under the auspices of the Americana Germanica Press in Philadelphia. The author simply lists Schwenckfelder hymn collections known to him and

provides an occasional hymn text to make a special point.

The second publication is a proposed Ph.D. thesis outline submitted to the Faculty of the Hartford Seminary Foundation in 1910 by Elmer E.S. Johnson, entitled, "Adam Reisner of Mindelheim - Diplomat, Linguist, Historian and Poet." To my knowledge this promising piece of research was never developed beyond the stage of an outline. Mr. Johnson's interest obviously did not lie with the musical and poetic qualities of Reisner's work. He hardly gets beyond a listing of first lines on some fifty hymns found in Reisner's "teglichs Gesang Buch" (1596-1599). Not all of these, of course, are Reisner's own. Family connections, on the other hand, are more carefully followed up and point in the direction of some useful sociological survey of the times.<sup>4</sup>

If then, recent attempts to study Schwenckfelder hymnody yield little information, we must rely on earlier collections of hymns. Here the five volume Wackernagel collection proves the most readily accessible. Extensive comparative studies of the many hymn collections in Anabaptist, Moravian and other groups of the Left Wing of the Reformation will undoubtedly lead to further insights.<sup>5</sup>

Since even within the narrow range of Schwenckfelder hymnody there is a substantial body of material, we must needs limit this exploratory study to some selected writers and their hymns. By a comparison with contemporaries from the Anabaptist camp we may then be permitted to make a few general statements pertaining to these hymns, their theological content and their significance.

#### Sources

First of all a word about the possible sources from which Schwenckfelder hymn writers have drawn their material. Some of the

hymns, particularly those by Daniel Sudermann (1550-1631) have their musical roots in the Meistergesang. This musical form was particularly prominent in Nuernberg, early in the sixteenth century and later spread to other German cities.<sup>6</sup> Sudermann probably became acquainted with the School in Strasbourg (1589-91), though it is not yet definitely established whether he belonged to the Strasbourg School of master singers.<sup>7</sup>

Another source were the writings of Medieval mystics. These, notably among them Tauler, influenced the teaching of Schwenckfeld and his adherents to a large extent. It is not surprising therefore to find Sudermann, the most capable exponent of Schwenckfeld's ideas and a scholar in his own right, reflecting thought patterns of John Tauler, Meister Eckhardt and others like them.

In Adam Reisner (Reusner, 1496-1577?), we see traces of the Hebrew Psalter. A one-time student of the Humanist Reuchlin, Reisner is one of the most profound Schwenckfelder hymn writers. Four of his best hymns are metrical psalms, one of which (an adaptation of Ps. 31:1-5), is considered to be among the finest Psalm versions of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Holy Scripture is unquestionably the most important source of Schwenckfelder hymns. Not unlike Lutheran and Anabaptist hymn writers, Schwenckfelder hymn writers develop Scriptural admonitions, psalms and the like to the popular folk tunes of the period. (We shall return to this observation later in the paper.)

Allow me to cite some authors at this point by way of illustration. Wackernagel records three hymns by Raimund Weckher (1540-1570). Their content is characteristic of the time in combining contemporary concerns with Biblical themes which are interpreted in a rather literal Biblicist

manner. In the sixty three stanzas of "Ich steh in grossen sorgen" (Wackernagel, V, 773) the author reviews the Gospels in historiographical form. The obvious intention appears to be the glorification of Jesus of Nazareth, the "glorious king" who brings to his people "the clear light of God".

Alexander Heldt (1565 ff) concentrates on the Biblical accounts that deal with the Lord's Supper; but he shows interest also in the beneficial aspects of a well-used rod in Christian upbringing. ( Cf. Wackernagel, V, 777-780).

Sigmund von Bosch writes a deeply introspective type of hymn in which he describes the spiritual warfare that wages in his inward being between spirit and flesh. But he too returns in the majority of his hymns to the development of Biblical imagery.

Of the twenty-four hymns by Reisner found in the Wackernagel collection, four hymns contain images that can be traced to the Psalms.<sup>9</sup> In at least seven of these hymns images from the Book of Revelation are present.<sup>10</sup> The image of the celestial city of Jerusalem is the subject of a hymn of six stanzas. The opening letters of each stanza form the name of Jhesus (III, 170). Another song, describing the devastating rule of the anti-Christ also draws on the imagery of the Book of Revelation (W. III, 190). The poet describes the power of the Antichrist and warns Christian men of possible snares for them. At the same time, however, he speaks of the liberating effect of knowing Christ.

Nine hymns refer to events or statements found in the four gospels. "Der haan verkindet uns die zeit" (W. III, 171) is but one instance.<sup>11</sup> Other Biblical references are drawn from I Cor. 15, from Romans, the Acts, Genesis, Exodus and Daniel.<sup>12</sup>

In reading Reisner's hymns one is struck with the manner in which the poet uses Biblical language and imagery in a rather free, creative interpretation of the Bible's message of redemption and liberation. It must be stressed further that the work of Christ, his indwelling presence, the comfort and support for the individual seeker and Christ's glorified state at the right hand of God the Father are ever present motifs in Reisner's hymns.

We shall now turn briefly to a similar survey of Sudermann's hymns. Of the thousands of hymns the latter is supposed to have written, only fragments have survived. Wackernagel lists two hundred and ten in his collection.<sup>13</sup> Of these only about forty-five are primarily Scriptural in imagery and content. Several of these draw heavily on the Gospels, while a few contain references to Romans and other Epistles.<sup>14</sup> Only five are expositions of one of the Psalms. However, seven of the Sudermann hymns develop one chapter each of Canticles.<sup>15</sup> It would appear that these are the surviving fragments of a more complete collection or cycle. Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy are reflected in at least six hymns. Other Biblical books, however, are used sparingly or else the image has been obscured by extraneous matter. It is noteworthy in this connection that the "believing soul" (gläubige Seel) is a prominent motif in a great number of Sudermann's hymns. This fact has led Berger to the statement that the newness in these hymns is found in the fact "that the emphasis on Biblical revelation shifts to stress on the revelation in the individual soul" - albeit within the believing community.<sup>16</sup>

We have thus far taken a look at the sources of Schwenckfelder hymnody in general. In this connection we noted some of the more prominent

hymn writers of the period under discussion. Allen Seipt (Schwenckfelder Hymnology, p. 37) lists some sixteen writers who lived and worked within the Schwenckfelder camp during the sixteenth century. Undoubtedly Reisner and Sudermann are by far the most prominent. Berger states rightly that their work has not yet been recognized for its full value.<sup>17</sup> Further searching in European Archives and greater attention to the content of hymn writers of the more radical camps of the sixteenth century promises significant leads to a better understanding of the means by which theological insights and specific "sectarian" concerns were promoted among the common people of the day. The hymn has generally been a means of spreading new ideas in the evangelical cause of the sixteenth century. Next to the German Bible, the sermon and the catechism (and perhaps the tractate or pamphlet) it has been a strong means of outreach for it enabled the common man to rise above the ordinary routine of daily life, usually on the wings of familiar and popular tunes.<sup>18</sup>

#### Commonly Used Tunes

Rosella Duerksen in her Doctoral dissertation of 1956 lists in some detail all secular tunes she could discover in Anabaptist usage of the day.<sup>19</sup> Frequently also, Anabaptists employed the "sacred" tunes from other groups, freely adapting words and music for their special purposes.<sup>20</sup>

Extensive usage of a variety of singable and obviously widespread tunes becomes apparent. These tunes seem to have been the common property of the age to which Anabaptists, Schwenckfelders and others brought their own individuality and the specific religious and theological emphasis of their respective group.

There is an interesting irony in this observation. The Anabaptists



(and to a large extent, the same is true of Schwenckfeld's adherents), most conscious of the Christian's separation from the world, are deeply involved in the world in their use of secular tunes and styles.

Some of the tunes were naturally more popular than others. The one hundred thirty hymns of the Ausbund are set to seventy-three different tunes (Duerksen, p. 61). More than half of these are used only once. Forty-one are also found in Moravian and Hutterite hymn collections of the day. Which then were the most popular tunes? Miss Duerksen lists, "Ich stund an einem Morgen", "The Herzog Ernst Ton", the "Hildebrand Lied", "Ein Blum steht auf der Haide", "Der Schlemmer" or "Wo soll ich mich hinkehren" and the "Dollerweise" (Duerksen, Chapter 3).

Some of the minor tunes such as "Das Fraeulein von Britannia", "Koenig Laslos Ton", etc. are apparently not found at all among major Protestant groups of the day. (Duerksen, p. 108 ff). One is tempted to wonder whether left-wing Reformers of the sixteenth century already had their very own "gospel-type songs" which were not considered "kosher" in major groups of the period.

A similar review of the most prominent tunes employed by Schwenckfelder hymn writers yields the following list:

Reisner sets many of his poems to the tune "Iambica". Other tunes are "Der Haan", the "Bermer Ton", and "Koenig Friedrich's Ton". "Herzog Ernst's Weise", not infrequent among Anabaptists, is found with the Schwenckfelders also.

Sudermann, whose hymns in general are of a slightly later date seems to favour an occasional French tune. I noted at least four different tunes, for which I could not find the musical setting for the purpose of this paper.

Many of the hymns can be sung to a number of tunes. The slow manner of singing hymns, a tendency to carry a syllable through a number of notes or again to shorten it at will, makes it possible to sing any six line stanza, for example, to a given tune. Thus we often find the notation, "Wie alle lieder so vier ( sechs) Zeilen haben" (To be sung like any song with four (6) or whatever number of lines.

### Types of Spiritual Songs

Allow me to turn, at this point, to a survey of the types of spiritual songs found among Schwenckfelder hymnody. A rather strange kind of "spiritual song" not infrequent among the hymns of this time, is the Apologetic hymn. It is a curious mixture of a "regula fidei" and of open attacks -often derisive- of one's religious opponents. Among Schwenckfelder hymn writers Raimund Weckher (ca 1540-1570) and Alexander Berner (ca 1550) have specimens of this kind of verse making. Undoubtedly there were others, for the apologetic hymn appears to have been a common vehicle for spreading one's own belief while ridiculing the convictions of one's opponents.<sup>21</sup> I have chosen two writers to illustrate this colourful, if "unholy" form of religious poetry.

In a poem of sixteen stanzas of five lines each, Alexander Berner describes the Four Sects and Repugnant Churches by letting the Pope, Luther, Zwingli and an Anabaptist in turn praise their respective peculiarities of doctrine. The unregenerate man, hearing this disagree- controversy, turns away in disgust:

Der Weltmensch spricht, was kummerts mich  
das die glerten ietz spalten sich?  
bey keiner sect sich bessrung ich:  
Ich will beim Haufen bleiben, <sup>22</sup>  
sonst möcht man mich vertreiben.

However, when Christ enters, all grounds for argument are removed. None of the four has an excuse:

Christus der spricht, "secht all auff mich,  
auff menschen keiner verlasse sich,  
den rechten weg muss lehren ich,  
Mein Geist kan ich mittheilen, 23  
kein Mittel wuerdt euch heilen.

Another song of this type is an anti-Schwenckfeld contribution by Esaias Tribauer, published in 1571 under the title, Ein gesang wider die Teuflische und verfuerrische Sect der Schwenckfelder. Like the former it is set to a popular tune for greater effectiveness. However, the ridicule is more biting and much harsher than in the former case. The author plays on the syllable "Schwenck" ( swing, alternate, hence "be unreliable") and begins thus:

Ihr Schwenckfeldischen Schwencker,  
Schwencket euch her zu mir.  
Ihr seid doch rechte Stencker,  
Stinket wohl für und für  
Hörb was ich singen will:  
Gott wird es euch nit schencken  
wirdt euch zur hellen schwencken  
wern euer noch so viel.

As the writer elaborates on their "false" doctrines, he is not above invoking the Holy Spirit whose teaching he vows to follow by heeding the preached word and by honoring the Sacraments. Clearly, the author appeals to popular sentiment in deriding the inwardness of Schwenckfelder faith. That this form of "religious" poetry was not only tolerated, but even welcomed is indicative of the spiritual unrest of the period. In times of religious stress as during times of awakening, the religious man becomes acutely aware of himself in relation to God and to his fellow men. He reacts fervently against the threats to his integrity by the devices of men or by the forces of evil. It would appear then that the spiritual song of any such period, unless it be of the timeless quality of the finest liturgical material, reflects the

religious tenor of that age, while at the same time it contains the theological convictions of him who sings.

### Theological Content

To discover a correlation between theology and hymnody, I have reviewed some two hundred and forty hymns by A. Reusner and D. Sudermann.<sup>25</sup> The question we are asking is, to what extent these hymns reflect the theological tenets to which the nobleman himself subscribed. If one were to state his tenets succinctly one might venture the generalization that Schwenckfeld stood for a concept of the church as the body of believing regenerate men. Furthermore, he closely linked ecclesiology with his understanding of the glorified man Jesus whose "new creation" is God's unique way of sending the Christ to break the curse of man's fallen state.

The "old man", according to him, is capable of this rebirth because of the inward working of the Holy Spirit. By this regenerative work, a man is made participant in Christ's new humanity, thus eliminating the necessity of any outward means of grace. We note further that Schwenckfeld is acutely aware of the shortcomings of the Protestant Reformation. Again and again he speaks out against the apparent degeneration of the once promising reform efforts by Luther which in the nobleman's opinion threaten to turn into a new institutionalism. The marks of inward growth and sanctification are according to Schwenckfeld largely absent from the major Protestant Reformation movement.

In frequent references to "this last evil time, Schwenckfeld shows awareness of eschatological urgency.<sup>26</sup> Above all, he accepts Scripture as the sole guide of the natural man by which he is led to an experience of rebirth and to an opening of the ear of faith so that he

becomes capable of hearing the inwardly active voice of God. Such in brief are the major tenets of Schwenckfeld's theology.

They recur in striking faithfulness to the nobleman's thought in the hymns of his adherents. There is above all the motif of the regenerate man. It is prominent in descriptions of the "old Adam", in the distinction between false and truly regenerate Christianity and in descriptions of the renewing and saving power of Christ.<sup>27</sup>

That such keen interest in renewal would bring with it contemplative songs on the inner light,<sup>28</sup> the power of eternal wisdom, and the concept of union with God is a natural consequence. As we stated earlier, acquaintance with the mysticism of the Middle Ages gave the impetus to an intimate, almost erotic Jesus mysticism. Again and again, the union of the soul with Christ becomes the subject of Schwenckfelder hymns. This motif is enhanced by references to the poetry of the Song of Songs and the vivid bride-husband metaphors that can be found throughout Jewish-Christian literature.<sup>29</sup>

While the subjective element is prominent in Schwenckfelder hymns, hymns of praise can also be found which focus attention on the divine act of creation or else extol God's name because he is Lord of lords.<sup>30</sup>

Among the comparatively few spiritual songs of Reisner such hymns are relatively numerous.<sup>31</sup>

Hymns by other writers are generally not free of subjective concerns, however. The sorrows and despair of the individual are always mingled with expressions of theological significance.

Another type of hymn focuses attention on Christian knighthood. The vivid imagery of the knight, valiant in warfare and gentle in peace

toward the weak and oppressed lent itself readily to comparison with the struggle of the Christian man against sin and the devil. Many of these songs are realistic in their recognition of the ups and downs of such warfare. Thus the author of one such hymn comforts his readers by admitting to occasional defeat, but always anticipating eventual victory. The Christian knight must rise after each defeat and fight on boldly, for the victor's crown goes to the one who counts on Christ and returns to the scene of battle again and again. (Wackernagel V, 908). A delicate balance is suggested between divine grace which is assured and human initiative to be shown by the combatant in the warfare against sin.<sup>32</sup>

There are hymns which sing of the two natures of man, describe the school of Christ and glorify the inward word of God.<sup>33</sup> Other hymns describe the plight of the loving soul which yearns for her husband.<sup>34</sup> Humility, submission, quiet acceptance of suffering are other prominent themes.<sup>35</sup>

Christological considerations are reflected upon in yet another category of hymns. Here either the glorified Christ or the redemptive activity of Christ are prominent.<sup>36</sup>

Some hymns speak of spiritual nourishment and of the significance of the Lord's Supper, conceived as an inward communion with the living God rather than a sacramental act. (Wackernagel V, 777, 778, 935, 941). These are undoubtedly most "Schwenckfeldian" in nature. The very concept of inward spiritual communion is the nobleman's unique unitive principle. In place of such outward forms as ritual and "organized" churchmanship, Schwenckfeld advocates the spiritual table as the symbol of the Church's corporate nature in Christ. His followers include this concept of participation with Christ and with one another in their hymns.

It is noteworthy, in addition to find at least five hymns which are expressly directed against "outward" ceremonial Christianity. (Wackernagel V, 776, 790, 792, 894, 897). No such hymns are recorded by Wackernagel for any of the other religious groups of the time.

Other themes could be cited which are shared, however, by Schwenckfeld and contemporary as well as later hymn writers. They would therefore be of less interest to us in this connection.

I should like to give closer attention now to the subjectivist emphasis, noted above. It becomes particularly marked in the hymns that deal with the restoration of the soul, when in distress. This emphasis is pronounced in hymns of comfort, in confessions of guilt and in those describing divine wrath in all its awesome fierceness. The mood is that of surrender, bordering at times on Stoic fatalism.<sup>37</sup> "If it is Christ's will to give life, I'll take it; if not, I'll gladly die." Why is this so? We can state at least two reasons.

The Middle Ages had left their trace with an overly marked emphasis on man's guilt in the sight of God. In the case of persecuted minorities this was, of course, intensified by the pressure of suffering. Radicals of any kind had to fear the arm of civil authority. What recourse was there for people thus afflicted but to turn to God who through his Son offered release from bondage and compassionate love instead of punishment. Seen in this light, even the songs of apparent despair and fruitless introspection ring true with a note of hope and a vision of liberation. There is an unmistakable expression of unshaken trust in the following lines of one of Sudermann's Acrostics, patterned after a "Meistergesang".

Nun bistu ja mein Gott und Herr  
Auch Vatter noch, ich dein kind mehr  
dein eygen, werds auch bleiben  
In Ewigkeit: dis ist allein  
auss grosser gnad and liebe dgin,  
So ich dir muss zuschreiben.<sup>38</sup>

From the conviction that the world is evil and has betrayed the seeking soul, developed hymns with a clear message of renunciation of the world. Again it is Sudermann who best expresses this idea in a poem of 1584, set to the tune of the French Christmas Carol "Chantons Noel pour la vierge honorée".

O Blinde Welt wie hast du mich verführet  
von jugend an bis jetzt und noch zur Zeit.  
O arge Welt wie hast du mich bethoret  
und abgebracht von rechter bar so weit.  
O falsche welt,  
wollust and gelt,  
wee dem, der allhie auff dich helt.

Realizing the sweet charm with which the world had held him spell-bound, but also aware of the bitter end result, the poet finally tears himself free.

Far hin, o welt, Dir will ich urlaub geben<sup>39</sup>  
Far hin, o welt, ess muss gescheiden sein.

Some hymns are obviously beyond the scope of songs of meditation and inspiration for the public worship of God. Containing anywhere from twenty-five to sixty-four stanzas, they are mere artefacts of end-rhymes, stringing together in one song all possible theological positions which could be held by a Schwenckfelder. There is Christology and Soteriology, Old Testament imagery and the doctrine of the new man. There are baptism and the denunciation of the idolatry of accepting means of grace. All these are contained in one Schon new lied von der gottheyt und herrligkeyt unsers herm Jesu Christi nach seiner edlen menschheit.<sup>40</sup> The hymn is to be sung to the tune, "Ich stund an eynem morgen". It consists of sixty-



three stanzas of seven lines each.

How much more appropriate and impressive by comparison are the simple thematic songs of D. Sudermann such as, "Regier mich Herr nach deinem willen" (Wackernagel V, 824), or "Gottes gefuegen ist mein genügen" (Ibid., 821). In the latter hymn each stanza begins with one word of the theme.

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Gotts</u> hilff und gnad<br>mich allzeit hat errett. | <u>God's</u>                     |
| 2. <u>Gefü</u> gen wirt<br>der treue hirt.                 | <u>Designs</u>                   |
| 3. <u>Ist</u> es wohl war.                                 | <u>Are</u>                       |
| 4. <u>Mein</u> hertz und gmüt                              | <u>Quite enough</u> (Sufficient) |
| 5. <u>Genü</u> gen soll<br>mir herzlich woll               | <u>To me</u>                     |

Many other features of Schwenckfelder hymnody should be discussed; some hymns bear reproduction and translation. A rewarding study in itself would be a comparative analysis of the use of the Psalter among Schwenckfelders and other Radical Reformers of this period. To name the many hymn writers and list their numerous songs, would go beyond the scope of this excursus. Allen Scipt has done spade work for Schwenckfelder hymnody at this point. His work could, of course, be expanded. To do this, however, one would needs have to trace the sources in greater depth than could be done here.

We have by no means exhausted the unique manner in which hymns have served as vehicles for transmitting Schwenckfeld's ideas. With the aid of rhymes, alliteration and other poetic devices, difficult theological concepts were made accessible to the common man. Realizing the unique opportunity of this means of communicating the gospel, sixteenth century

hymn writers sought to provide suitable words to familiar tunes. Much of this material proved of no lasting value. However, it served a need and filled a great void in communal worship. After all, "art for art's sake" ought not be the sole criterion of hymnody. Indeed, good hymns are truly "a sacrifice of prayer and praise". In the hymn both the author and the singing "Gemeinde" give themselves - the best a man can offer. True worship - if it be communal - must be the "spiritual" sacrifice of all participants, not merely of the most gifted.

There is a tendency in such a view of worship to give way to mediocrity or to place undue stress on the subjective element in man's encounter with God. Nonetheless, unless we are prepared to accept the personal cry of despair, or the ego-centered hymn of praise - a continual examination of oneself in the mirror of Scripture or Creed - most of our hymns would never be sung, most prayers never spoken.

As is evident from our cursory investigation, most Schwenckfelder hymn writers of this early period in their development were no nightingales whose song would break the spell of the night; few were even poets. Yet, all they who sang, had a new song of the glorified Christ and his redemptive work among the men "who long in darkness lay". Such a song, at least partially ascribed to A. Reusner, shall conclude this brief survey.

Christ erstanden  
macht sein feind zu schanden,  
Hatt überwunden,  
dseligkayt uns funden,  
Und uns das leben  
durch sein todt gegeben  
Christus der Herre,  
könig der Ehren.

Diser welt kinder  
bleyben immer sunder,  
Christus verachten,  
ihn zu dempfen trachten  
Wirt doch Gott bleiben  
und sie under-treyben,  
Christus der Herre,  
k<sup>u</sup>nig der Ehren.

Seyn fleysch empfangen  
und am Creutz gehangen  
Hatt er ausgefüert,  
mitt Gotthaytt gezieret  
Ins Reyck gesetzt  
alles layds ergötzet.  
Christus ist Herre,  
k<sup>u</sup>nig der Ehren.

Das Christus k<sup>u</sup>nig  
gefelt der welt gar wenig:  
Er ist gepreyset,  
Gottes Son erweyset;  
Die ir vor st<sup>u</sup>nder  
Jetzt seid Gottes kinder,  
L<sup>o</sup>bt diesen herren,  
k<sup>u</sup>nig der Ehren. 41

### Footnotes

1. Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion" (1523), Luther's Works, vol. 53, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 36.
2. Martin Luther writing to Spalatin toward the end of 1523. Cf. Luther's Works, vol. 53, p. 221.
3. A.A. Seipt, Schwenckfelder Hymnology and the Sources of the First Schwenckfelder Hymn-Book Printed In America, (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1909). The author lists a number of sixteenth century hymn collections, the earliest of which dates back to 1546. He has further provided references to later collections. This author has perused some of the collections in the Schwenckfelder Historical Library in Pennsburg. A recent exhaustive study has not been made, to my knowledge.
4. The Faculty Minutes of April and May, 1911, show that Johnson was granted the degree Ph.D., but the work which he proposed to undertake, judged by the ambitious syllabus, was apparently never completed.
5. A most useful study of Anabaptist hymnody is Rosella R. Duerksen's Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1946 for the D.S.M. degree, entitled, "Anabaptist Hymnody of the 16th Century".
6. The Meistergesang is an art form which enjoyed widespread acceptance during the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. In some manner it replaced the earlier Minnegesang, but differed from it in form and content. When the art became widely used craft, rigid rules of poetry and music were established. These rules could be acquired in Singschulen which had originated with lay brothers. During the fifteenth century the Meistergesang reached its peak. Its most prominent schools were in Augsburg, Mainz, Nuernberg, Worms and Strasbourg. Richard Wagner has idealized the movement in his "Die Meister sänger von Nuernberg" (1868). For further details, cf. Der Große Brockhaus, vol. 7, Wiesbaden: 1953. See also Luther's Works, vol. 53, pp. 221 ff.
7. Cf. A.A. Seipt's Op. Cit., p. 45.
8. The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal, (St. Louis: Concordia, 1942), p. 369. Cf. also Corpus V. 828 ff. The hymn is reprinted in German hymn books of the American Schwenckfelder Church, published in Germantown (1762), Philadelphia (1813) and Skippackville (1859). The hymn, In Te Domine Speravi was published in Form und Ordnung Geystlicher Gesang und Psalmen (Augsburg, 1533). It is earlier than Reisner's conversion to Schwenckfeld's ideas, but may well be considered one of the earliest Schwenckfelder hymns.

9. Cf. Wackernagel III, 170-194. Of special interest are, In Te Domine Speravi, a paraphrase of Psalm 31, Mein hertz hat gutes wort betracht (Psalm 45), O mein seel, Gott den Herren lob (Psalm 104) and Auss tiefer not, O Herre Gott (Psalm 130). An echo of Psalm 72 is found in a hymn on the miraculous effects of the work of Christ (III, 128).
10. Cf. Wackernagel III, numbers 171,177,179,190,192-194.
11. For other examples, cf. Wackernagel, III, numbers 175,180,184,185, 186,187,189,190,193.
12. Wackernagel III, 182, is a paraphrase of the Ten Commandments. Number 183 in the same collection expounds Daniel 9, a prayer for forgiveness and redemption. Scattered instances from other parts of Scripture are frequent throughout the twenty-four hymns. At times, however, they are difficult to trace with certainty.
13. Cf. Wackernagel, V, numbers 794-1004. A.E. Berger, Lied-Spruch-und Fabeldichtung im Dienste der Reformation, Reclam Verlag, Leipzig, 1938, states that thousands of hymns by Sudermann were extant at one time. ( pp. 46-47).
14. Wackernagel V, 929,944,794,<sup>833,</sup>834,849,<sup>859,</sup>832,871,932. The hymn "Weil der Mensch nur geschaffen ist" (929), develops Romans 8:4. In "Hoer wunder gross" (944) Romans 5a is referred to in addition to other New Testament references. Some of the hymns allude to Scripture but do not always make specific reference to a given passage.
15. Wackernagel V, 984-989. Each of the hymns develops a key theme from one of the early chapters in Canticles. Cf. also numbers 881 and 960.
16. Berger, Op. Cit., p. 47. The author notes further that the unio mystica with God is significant. "Gott ist nirgends eigentlich so recht als in der Seel fuer sich." Cf. Wackernagel, V, 955 and 855.
17. Berger, Op. Cit., p. 46.
18. Fairly thorough analyses of the relation of hymn and folk tune and of the significance of the spiritual song or hymn during the sixteenth century are provided by numerous authors. Notably among these are F. Blume, Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchenmusik, (Kassel: Baerenreiter, 1965), Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Geschichte des Deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luther's Zeit, (Hannover:1861), A.E. Berger, Op. Cit., and others. One of the better collections of tunes is R. Liliencron, Deutsches Leben im Volkslied, 1884 (1966 reprint).
19. R.R. Duerksen, "Anabaptist Hymnody of the Sixteenth Century", D.S.M. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1956 (microfilm).
20. Ibid., p. 141.

21. Authors of such hymns used them well by setting the words to popular tunes and thus familiarizing common people with points of contention or Christian theology. Cf. Sebastian Franck, *On the Four Feuding Churches*, for a similar theme. The song is reprinted in Heinold Fast, *Der Link: Fluegel der Reformation*, (Bremen, Schuenemann Verlag, 1962), pp. 246 ff. See Appendix A.
22. Wackernagel V, 790:12 (translation my own).  
The unregenerate man says, "what do I care  
That all the scholars are divided?  
There is no change in any sect,  
So I'll remain with the crowd,  
Lest they exile me.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 790:15.  
Christ says 'look upon me,  
No one may rely on man.  
I must show the right way,  
I must transmit my spirit,  
No substitute can heal you.
24. *Ibid.*, V, 792:1  
You Schwenckfeldian swingers (turncoats?)  
Swing over to hear me.  
You are indeed real stinkers,  
stinking eternally.  
Hear what I'm about to sing:  
God will not let you by;  
He'll send to hell you by and by,  
Even though there be many of you.
25. Wackernagel III, pp. 134-144; V, pp. 547-676.
26. When compared to hymns of the Anabaptists, this category is not a prominent one in Schwenckfelder hymnody. Wackernagel V, p. 1415 lists three "eschatological" hymns for Schwenckfelders (774,789, 991) over against twelve such for Anabaptists (e.g. 1023,1038,1070, 1115,1108).
27. Wackernagel V, 903,911,922, and III, 820. By comparison, only one such hymn is found in the Wackernagel collection for Anabaptists, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic hymn writers.
28. Sudermann alone has at least fourteen hymns that contain the motif of the inner light (Wackernagel V, 792,954-956, 986-990). Wackernagel does not list any such hymns for Anabaptists, Lutherans and Roman Catholics of this period although it is not impossible that such hymns were sung by these groups.
29. Cf. Wackernagel V, 886,888,889,950-965. Stress is laid in these hymns on spiritual purity and on the inward unity of the soul with God which is more profitable than learning, etc.

30. Wackernagel, V, 802,831,879,880.
31. Wackernagel III, 172,174,182,193. In Te Domine Speravi as well as the hymn on the tri-une God (174) describe God in an objective fashion. Nonetheless, there is a subjective element when the writer issues a warning to all those who exclude themselves from communion with God by denying the divinity of Christ.
32. Wackernagel V, 908 (Translation mine)

How many a Christian knight  
 Falls wounded in the fight  
 'gainst sin, oft nearing death  
 Yet God gives him new breath.

Just let him boldly stand  
 Fight on and not relent.  
 Improve defence and shield;  
 To Satan never yield.

Then victory is sure,  
 As long as wars endure  
 For with Christ's help alone  
 We gain the victor's crown.

Other hymns depicting Christian kingthood and warfare are found in Wackernagel V, 877,908,999.

33. Wackernagel V, 779,780,782,846,925,926.
34. Wackernagel, V, 949,952,950,961,974,983,984,985,986,988-990.
35. Ibid., 882,891-893.
36. Christological motifs are found in Vom Reich und Gericht Christi, (Wackernagel, III, 192); Ein Lied vom glorificierten Christo, (Ibid., 184); and in other hymns of the period (Wackernagel V, 773,842,861).
37. Ibid., V, 836,837.
38. Ibid., V, 846:14.

Thou art now my God and Lord  
 And Father, too, I am thy child,  
 Thy very own from now unto eternity.  
 This I owe to thy great grace and love  
 Which I ascribe to thee.

39. *Ibid.*, V, 815.

O blind world, how thou hast goaded me  
From early youth till now.  
O evil world, how thou hast enchanted me  
And led me off the way.  
O false world,  
Lust and riches,  
Woe unto him who trusts thee.

-----  
Pass on, o world, I give you leave,  
Pass on, o world, we now must part.

Similar sentiments are found in No. 873 ("An earnest admonition to leave this world for the sake of eternal heaven"), and in almost all hymns that contrast the new state of man with his previous sinful state.

40. The author is Raimund Weckher (*Wackernagel V*, 773). Another such hymn by the same author is a polemical song entitled, "Ein New Lied" against Coccius. Playing on the similarity of sound, the author likens Coccius to a cuckoo who places his eggs in the nests of other birds. In other words he is a parasite (*Wackernagel V*, 774).

41. *Wackernagel III*, Number 184 (Stanza five has been omitted).

The risen Christ	Taking on flesh
Confounds all of his foes	He hung on the Cross
He has conquered,	And thus did accomplish.
Brought salvation to us	With divinity adorned
In giving life eternal	He placed us in his kingdom,
By his cruel death.	Freed from all woe.
Christ the Lord,	Christ the Lord,
King of all glory.	King of all glory.

This world's children	That he is king
Are forever sinners,	The world does cherish little.
They despise Christ,	He is most blessed,
Seek to keep him <i>allan</i> .	Reveals his divine Sonship.
Yet he will remain God	Once you were sinners,
And will thus confound them.	Now you are God's children.
Christ the Lord,	Praise ye the Lord,
King of all glory.	King of all glory.



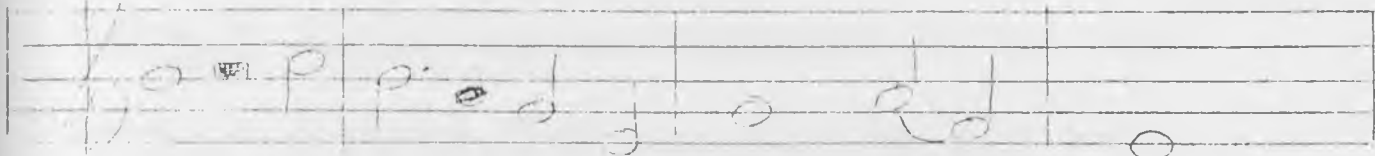
Appendix A

Music written - 1543;

Sebastian Franck: On the Four Feuding Churches.



1.	Pop- ish I'd ne- ver	want -- to be,	Faith sure is
	De - spite all out-ward	pomp and glo - ry,	Their hearts are
2.	No A- na- bap-tist	would-- I be.	Their ground's not
	They scare off oth- er	sects--- with ease.	They lack God's



1.	weak with monks-----and	all the priests.
	bleak. They hold-----us	up for sheer fools.
2.	firm. It rests on--ly on	a dunk-----ing.
	gifts. Since they-----stay	quite a-----part



1.	Their bel- ly's Cod	Filled with the rot	of
2.	They of-----ten smart	Un--der men's hate.	On



1.	rites and rules.	I'm not a fool,	with care----- I'll
2.	this account	more than the rest,	they live-----quite



play-- it cool.  
close to God.

Tune: "Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstehen"; also known as "Der Konigen von Ungarn Lied."

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