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Ein Prediger muss nicht allein *weiden*, also dass er die Schafe unterweise, wie sie rechte Christen sollen sein, sondern auch daneben den Woelfen *wehren*, dass sie die Schafe nicht angreifen und mit falscher Lehre verfuehren und Irrtum einfuehren. — *Luther.*

Es ist kein Ding, das die Leute mehr bei der Kirche behaelt denn die gute Predigt. — *Apologie, Art. 24.*

If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? *1 Cor. 14, 8.*

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Synode, der selige Wyneken, zum ersten Male Visitation in meiner Gemeinde. Bei solcher Gelegenheit pflegte er auch die Bibliothek des betreffenden Pastors in Augenschein zu nehmen. Mit der Durchmusterung der meinigen war er bald fertig, denn sie bestand wegen der Dürftigkeit meiner Verhältnisse aus nur wenigen Bänden. Dann wandte er sich mit ernstem Gesichte zu mir und fragte mich in barschem Ton: ‚Haben Sie denn gar keine Predigtbücher?' Durch die Art und Weise, wie diese Frage an mich gerichtet wurde, fast erschreckt, antwortete ich kleinlaut: ‚Ich habe weiter keine Predigten, als die in Luthers Werken enthalten sind.' Plötzlich heiterte sich sein Gesicht auf; wohlwollend klopfte er mir auf die Schulter und sagte: ‚Lieber Hoppe, das freut mich ganz ungemein. Die studieren und predigen Sie nur recht fleißig. Das ist das Beste, was Sie tun können für sich und für Ihre Gemeinde.' Dieses Wort habe ich mir gemerkt und auch befolgt."

Th. Engelder.

Luther's Use of Medieval Latin Hymns.

Luther possessed a versatile genius of surprising fertility. His university training had been almost entirely in the field of the humanities and in philosophy, and he had taken up theology only while acting as instructor at the universities of Wittenberg and of Erfurt; and yet he became one of the most profound theologians of the entire Christian era. He was no philologian, and yet he was able, chiefly on the basis of the most intensive form of home training, to present some of the most thorough linguistic discussions, in Greek and Hebrew as well as in Latin and German, which the period of the Reformation produced. He was no dogmatician in the present sense of the term; yet some of the clearest doctrinal expositions that have ever been printed issued from his pen. He was no political economist, and yet his statements pertaining to problems of this kind have not been excelled to this day. He was no trained educator, and yet his educational classics have given him a place in the front ranks of the foremost educators of all times.

But one of the most amazing features of Luther's versatility is his work in the field of liturgics, and in particular in the subsidiary fields of Christian hymnology and music. No sooner had he realized that for the sake of his objectives he would require a church service in the vernacular than he set out to make a thorough study of the field. He had not been in sympathy with the precocious and abortive attempts of Carlstadt to eradicate the ancient form of worship, nor was he iconoclastically inclined when he felt that the time had come to make the change. With characteristic conservatism he retained the general form and order of service to which the congregations had been

accustomed for centuries, making only such changes as were demanded by the principles of the Reformation. His method of procedure is ably set forth in his writings *Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeine* and *Das Taufbuechlein verdeutscht,* of the end of April, 1523; in his *Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens der Gemeine zu Leisnigk,* of the beginning of July, 1523; in his *Formula Missae et Communionis,* of December 4, 1523; and in his *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes,* of 1526. (Cp. St. Louis Ed., X, 220. 2136. 954. 226.)

Luther soon found that he needed German hymns for the services which he intended to have conducted chiefly in the vernacular. Fortunately he had an extensive knowledge of the entire Latin field, the classical as well as the medieval; and he was, of course, thoroughly familiar with the Roman order of service, as contained in the various missals, breviaries, and other service books, which he had used for more than fifteen years. He was somewhat diffident at first about attempting any work in this field himself, and he tried to get some of his friends interested in the field. A letter dating from the end of 1523 or the beginning of 1524 (St. Louis Ed., XXIa, No. 696; Aurifaber, II, 238b; De Wette, II, 590) and addressed to his friend Georg Spalatin contains the following request: "I have the intention, according to the example of the prophets and of the old Fathers of the Church, to prepare German psalms for the people in order that the Word of God may remain in the midst of the people also by means of singing. We are therefore making a search for poets everywhere; and since you have received the gift that you are thoroughly familiar with the German language and know how to express yourself in a pleasing way and since by manifold use you have developed this gift, therefore I pray you to cooperate with us in this matter and to undertake to put some psalms into verse, as you have my example therefor. But I should not like to have new words used and such as are employed only at court, so that, in agreement with the capacity of the people, the very simplest and most common words be sung, which still would be chaste and fitting, then also that the meaning be clear and that it express the sense of the psalms as nearly as possible. A certain amount of freedom must be employed: the sense must be retained, although the words may have to be dismissed or other, similar words be substituted. I do not possess the gift to prepare something on this order, much as I should like to. For that reason I want to try it out, whether you are a Heman, an Asaph, or a Jeduthun. The same request I should like to address to Johann Dolzig, who also has a rich and pleasing treasure of words, yet with this understanding, that you do this when you have leisure, which, as I surmise, is not often the case."

The results of this appeal were not very encouraging as far as Spalatin and Dolzig were concerned; but the seed had been sown, and

the fruit matured in a surprisingly short time. Even in 1523 two sheets in quarto form appeared, one with a hymn by Luther, *Nun freut euch, liebe Christen g'mein* (Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice), and one by Paul Speratus, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (Salvation unto Us has Come). But the year 1524 witnessed the beginning of modern German hymnology, since in that year was published the so-called *Achtliederbuch,* bearing the title: *Enchiridion, heisset auch: etlich christlicher Lieder, Lobgesang und Psalmen, dem reinen Wort Gottes gemaess, aus der Heiligen Schrift durch mancherlei Hochgelehrter gemacht, in der Kirche zu singen, wie es denn zum Teil bereits in Wittenberg in Uebung ist, Wittenberg 1524,* concerning which Wackernagel and others insist that it was printed in Nuernberg. This was followed, within the next twenty odd years, by the following original hymn-books of the period: *Enchiridion oder eyn Handbuechlein eynem yetzlichen Christen fast nuetzlich bey sich zu haben, zur steten Ybung und trachtung geistlicher Gesange und Psalmen. Rechtschaffen und kunstlich vertheutschet. MCCCCCXXIIII. Gedruckt zu Erffordt zum schwarzen Horne bey der Kremer Brucken. MDiiij.* (Contains twenty-five hymns, eighteen from the pen of Luther.) — *Geistliche Gesangbuechlein. Tenor. Wittemberg. MDiiij.* (Known as the Walther Hymnal; contains thirty-two hymns, including seven additional hymns by Luther.) — *Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittenberg. Dr. Martin Luther. MDXXIX. gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Joseph Klug 1529.* (This hymnal, like the others, passed through several editions.) — *Geystliche Lieder. Mit einer newen vorrhede, Dr. Martin Luther. Warnung D. M. L. Viel falscher Meister jetzt Lieder dichten, Siehe dich fuer und lern sie recht richten; Wo Gott hin bawet sein Reich und sein Wort, Da vil der Teufel seyn mit Trug und Mord. Leipzig. Gedruckt durch Valentin Babst in der Ritterstrassen. 1545.**

Luther's greatest activity in the field of hymn-writing was during the year 1524. No fewer than sixteen hymns are placed in this one year, of a total number of thirty-seven hymns and songs ascribed to him. And of these eight of a possible total of thirteen hymns were derived from the Latin hymnody of the Middle Ages, possibly nine. The remaining four or five hymns from this source followed when the material for the later hymnals was being prepared.

Now, it is an interesting fact that many of Luther's versions of hymns are so close to certain earlier translations that the similarity presents a challenge. That Luther was thoroughly familiar with the medieval field in the Latin cannot be doubted; but was he as familiar with earlier efforts at translating many of the medieval classics? Are

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* This list according to Wackernagel; also Koch, *Gschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs,* I, 84 ff.

his translations merely adaptations, in certain instances, of earlier versions, bearing the stamp of his genius, indeed, but frankly taken over, without recourse to plagiarism?

One of the clearest investigations in the field, chiefly on the basis of studies and texts offered by Crusius, Pasig, and Wackernagel, is that of Koch (*loc. cit.*). He divides Luther's hymns into two groups, the first one containing *Da pacem* (*Verleih uns Frieden gnaediglich* — In These Our Days So Perilous) and *Iesus Christus, Nostra Salus* (*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* — Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior), as being hymns not translated before, and the second group, consisting of the remaining hymns originally found in Latin, all of which, however, were extant in a German version before 1524 and some of which may have been known to Luther and used by him in preparing hymns for the various hymnals issued under his direction. The following hymns are found in this group: —

Victimae pascali (*Christ lag in Todesbanden* — In Death's Strong Bands the Savior Lay);

Veni, Redemptor gentium (*Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* — Savior of the Heathen, Come);

A solis ortus cardine (*Christum wir sollen loben schon* — Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One);

Grates nunc omnes reddamus (*Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ* — All Praise, Lord Jesus Christ, to Thee);

Veni, Creator Spiritus (*Komm, Gott Schoepfer, Heiliger Geist* — Come, God Creator, Holy Ghost);

Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple (*Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* — Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord);

Media vita in morte sumus (*Mitten wir im Leben sind* — Though in Midst of Life We Be);

Patrem credimus (*Wir glauben all an einen Gott* — We All Believe in One True God);

Te, Deum, laudamus (*Herr Gott, dich loben wir* — Lord God, Thy Praise We Sing);

Hostis Herodes impie (*Was fuercht'st du, Feind Herodes, sehr* — Why, Herod, Unrelenting Foe);

O lux beata Trinitas (*Der du bist drei in Einigkeit* — Thou who Art Three in Unity).

In order to have a comprehensive view of the problem stated above, all the hymns of Luther which are derived from the Latin, whether directly or through a possible intermediary agency or stage, are here offered in the original Latin, in a parallel column with early versions, if their use was probable or if the version is interesting, also with Luther's version and an English translation. In each case explanatory notes are added in order to facilitate the final conclusion. The arrangement is chronological, in the order in which Luther made use of the medieval Latin hymns.

1. Iesus Christus, Nostra Salus. (Huss.)

Iesus Christus, nostra salus,
Quod reclamat omnis manus,
Nobis in sui memoriam
Dedit hanc panis hostiam.

O quam sanctus panis iste!
Tu solus es, Iesu Christe!
Caro, cibus sacramentum,
Quo non maius est inventum.

Hoc domum suavitatis
Charitasque deitatis,
Virtutis eucharistia,
Communionis gratia.

Ave deitatis forma,
Dei unionis norma:
In te quisque delectatur,
Qui te fide speculatur.

Non est panis, sed est Deus,
Homo, liberator meus,
Qui in cruce pependisti
Et in carne defecisti.

Esca digna angelorum,
Pietatis lux sanctorum,
Lex moderna approbavit,
Quod antiqua figuravit.

Salutare medicamen,
Peccatorum relevamen,
Pasce nos, a malis leva,
Duc nos, ubi lux est tua.

(This is the *Carmen de coena sacra* of Johann Huss, but Julian says that his authorship is at least doubtful.)

Jesus Christus, unser Heiland,
Der von uns den Gottes Zorn wandt',
Durch das bittre Leiden sein
Half er uns aus der Hoelle Pein.

Dass wir nimmer des vergessen,
Gab er uns sein'n Leib zu essen,
Verborgen im Brot so klein,
Und zu trinken sein Blut im Wein.

Wer sich will zu dem Tisch machen,
Der hab' wohl acht auf sein' Sachen;
Wer unwuerdig hinzugeht,
Fuer das Leben den Tod empfaeht.

Du sollst Gott den Vater preisen,
Dass er dich so wohl wollt' speisen
Und fuer deine Missetat
In den Tod sein'n Sohn geben hat.

Du sollst glauben und nicht wanken,
Dass ein' Speise sei den Kranken,
Den'n ihr Herz von Suenden schwer
Und vor Angst ist betruebet sehr.

Solch' gross' Gnad' und Barmherzigkeit
Sucht ein Herz in grosser Arbeit:
Ist dir wohl, so bleib davon,
Dass du nicht kriegest boesen Lohn.

Er spricht selber: Kommt, ihr Armen,
Lasst mich ueber euch erbarmen!
Kein Arzt ist dem Starken not,
Sein' Kunst wird an ihm gar ein Spott.

Haett'st du dir was konnt erwerben,
Was duerft' ich dann fuer dich sterben?
Dieser Tisch auch dir nicht gilt,
So du selber dir helfen willt.

Glaubst du das von Herzensgrunde
Und bekennest mit dem Munde,
So bist du recht wohl geschickt,
Und die Speise dein' Seel' erquickt.

Die Frucht soll auch nicht ausbleiben;
Deinen Naechsten sollst du lieben,
Dass er dein geniessen kann,
Wie dein Gott an dir hat getan.

(The heading of Luther states: *"Das Lied S. Johannis Huss gebessert,"* but it seems more like a total recasting.)

(The remark of Lambert, *Luther's Hymns*, 104, is undoubtedly well taken: "Excepting the first two stanzas, there is scarcely a thought in Luther's hymn whose similarity to the Latin may be traced. . . . While the hymn of the Bohemian reformer contained a dogmatic explanation of the elements of the Lord's Supper, Luther's hymn offers knowledge concerning its significance and use and therefore affords the individual an important preparation for a worthy reception.")

2. Victimae Paschali. (Saec. 11).

Victimae paschali
Laudes immolent Christiani.
Agnus redemit oves,
Christus innocens Patri
reconciliavit peccatores.
Mors et vita duello
Conflixere mirando;
Dux vitae mortuus
Regnat vivus.
Dic nobis, Maria,
Quid vidisti in via?
"Sepulcrum Christi viventis
Et gloriam vidi resurgentis,
Angelicos testes,
Sudarium et vestes.
Surrexit Christus, spes mea,
Praecedet vos in Galilaeam."
Credendum est magis solae Mariae
veraci
Quam ludaeorum turbae fallaci.
Scimus Christum surrexisse ex
mortuis vere:
Tu nobis, victor Rex, miserere.

(Kehrein, *Sequentiae Latinae,* 81, remarks: *Auctor est Wipo,* which would place the sequence into the first half of the eleventh century. This claim, according to Julian, cannot be said to have been definitely established.)

(According to Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied,* I, 130, this sequence was the source of, and was used together with, various versions of *Christ ist erstanden,* of which the following is a characteristic sample.)

Erstanden ist der heylig Christ,
der aller Welt ein Troester ist.
Vnd wer er nit erstanden,
so wer die welt zugangen.
Vnd seydt das er erstanden ist,
so loben wir den Herrn Jesum Christ.
Drey frawen kamen zu dem Grab,
sie wolten den Herrn gesalbet han.
Sie funden do zwen Engel stan,
Die troesten die frawen lobesan.
Erschrecket nicht, seyt alle fro,
dann der jr sucht, der ist nit do.
Er ist erstanden aus dem grab
Wol an dem heylgen Ostertag.
Nun tret herzu und secht die stat
Da man jn hingeleget hat.
Secht an das tuch, darinn er lag
gewickelt biss an dritten tag.
Geet in das Galileysch land,
da finst jr jn, sagt er zu hand.
Gehet hin und sagts sant Peter an
vnd seinen juengern lobesan.
Nun singet all zu diser frist
'erstanden ist der heylig Christ.'
Des soll wir alle froehlich seyn
vnd er soll unser troester sein.

(All of the twenty-eight versions of *Christ ist erstanden* offered by Wackernagel show some influence of, or dependence upon, the Latin sequence, and this phenomenon may well be due to the fact that the sequence was, at least in a measure, the basis of some of the first Resurrection plays on the Continent and in England and that in the German Easter plays at least one stanza of the hymn *Christ ist erstanden* was sung in connection with the sequence in church and with the expanded Resurrection play after it moved out of the church.)

Christ lag in Todesbanden,
Fuer unsre Suend' gegeben,
Der ist wieder erstanden
Und hat uns bracht das Leben.
Des wir sollen froehlich sein,
Gott loben und dankbar sein
Und singen Halleluja!
Halleluja!

In death's strong grasp the Savior
lay
For our offenses given;
But now the Lord is risen to-day
And brings us life from heaven.
Therefore let us all rejoice
And praise our God with cheerful
voice
And sing loud hallelujahs.
Hallelujah!

(In the case of this hymn also we cannot say that Luther translated or that he used earlier versions; he took the thoughts of the sequence of the eleventh century and cast them into an entirely new form. The Paschal Lamb is there, and the redemption through the work of Christ is brought out, as is the true Easter joy; but beyond that the influence of the Latin sequence clearly did not go. Luther felt free to express his Easter message in agreement with the points which he knew to be essential.)

3. Veni, Redemptor Gentium. (Ambrosius.)

Veni, Redemptor gentium, Ostende partum virginis, Miretur omne saeculum; Talis partus decet Deum.	Kum har, erlöser volkes schar, erzöig die gburd der megde clar, Dz wundert alle welt gemein, wann solich gburt zimt got allein.
Non ex virili semine, Sed mystico spiramine Verbum Dei factum est caro, Fructusque ventris floruit.	Nüt von mannlichen samen ist, denn vs des helgen geistes frist Gotz wort die menscheit an sich nam, die fruht des libs hat blyet schon.
Alvus tumescit virginis, Claustra pudoris permanent, Vexilla virtutum micant, Versatur in templo Deus.	Der megde lib gewahsen hat, in küscher lib beslossen stat, Die von der tugend schynend har, got in sim temple nemment war.
Procedens thalamo suo, Pudoris aula regia, Geminae gigas substantiae Alacris ut currat viam.	Vs gat er von dem gaden sin und vs der megde künglich schrin Der zweyget ris in sinr substancz, dz er den weg louf frölich gancz.
Egressus eius a patre, Regressus eius ad patrem: Excursus usque ad inferos, Recursus ad sedem Dei.	Sin vsgang von dem vatter wz, sin widergang in vatters schas, Sin vflouf vucz in hellen pful, sin widerlouf zu gottes stul.
Aequalis aeterno patri Carnis tropaeo accingere, Infirma nostri corporis Virtute firmans perpeti.	Glich bistu vatters ewikeit, nun gürt dich bald in libes cleit, Die krangkeit vnsers libes ser mit tugend sterk vns yemermer.
Praesepe iam fulget tuum Lumenque nox spirat novum, Quod nulla nox interpolet Fideque iugi luceat.	Din kriplin nun vns allen schynt, ein nuwes lieht die naht enzünt, Das ouch kein naht erlöschen kan, dz lieht sönd wir im glouben han.
(Gloria tibi, Domine, Qui natus es de virgine Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu In sempiterna saecula.)	Got vater sy nun lob geseit vnd sinem sun in ewikeit Mit dem geist, der vns trösten wil nun vnd allzit in endes zil.

(Scholars unanimously ascribe this hymn to Ambrose. Cf. Koch, I, 80; Wackernagel, I, 16. 17; Mone, *Hymni Latini*, 42—45, who also explains the introductory stanza found in a *Breviarium Cisterciense:* —

Intende, qui regis Israel,
super cherubim qui sedes;
Appare Ephrem coram, excita
poteniam tuam et veni,

as being formed from an antiphon and a collect for the first Sunday in Advent.)

(The translation offered here is by Heinrich v. Loufenberg of Freiburg, shortly after 1445, the text being that printed by Wackernagel, II, 580. There is another translation of the fifteenth century: *Kom, erloser aller leute,* dated 1460. Wackernagel, II, 696. Both translations are fairly close to the original, but show no special poetical ability. Koch, I, 80, refers to another translation: *Der Heiden Heiland komme her,* of the end of the fifteenth century.)

Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland, Der Jungfrauen Kind erkannt! Dass sich wundre alle Welt, Gott solch' Geburt ihm bestellt.	Savior of the heathen, come, Virgin's Son, here make Thy home! Wonder at it, heaven and earth, That the Lord chose such a birth.

(A careful comparison of the Middle High German versions with the translation of Luther seems to indicate quite clearly that he did not make use of the earlier work of Loufenberg or of those of other poets of the fifteenth century. Though there is an occasional similarity in expression, there is no parallelism, and the instances of similarity may well be explained on the basis of the common original. It is interesting to note how close Luther remained to the hymn of Ambrose while he cast the Latin verses into the rugged form which is characteristic of all his earlier work. He may have known the earlier efforts; but if so, he chose not to use them as the basis of his own work.)

4. A Solis Ortus Cardine. (Sedulius.)

A solis ortus cardine
Ad usque terrae limitem
Christum canamus principem,
Natum Maria virgine.

Von anegeng der sunne klar
Bis an ein ende der werllde gar
Wir loben den süessen Jhesum chirst,
Der von der maid geporen ist.

Beatus auctor saeculi
Servile corpus induit,
Ut carne carnem liberans
Non perderet, quos condidit.

Ain füerer aller werllde prait
Der legt an sich des knechttes klait,
Er nam an sich menschleiche wat,
Das icht verdurb sein handgetat.

Castae parentis viscera
Coelestis intrat gratia:
Venter puellae baiulat
Secreta, quae non noverat.

Ain flos der käwsche herczen schrein,
Dar kam des heiligen geistes schein,
Das sy enphieng ain kindelein,
Das trueg verholn die maget rain.

Domus pudici pectoris
Templum repente fit Dei:
Intacta nesciens virum
Concepit alvo filium.

Ain hawss erschain ires leibes fein,
Das solt ein tempel gotes sein,
Das nie vmbruert kains mannes art,
Von ainem wortt sy swanger wart.

Enixa est puerpera,
Quem Gabriel praedixerat,
Quem matris alvo gestiens
Clausum Baptista censerat.

Darnach gepar sy in vil schier,
Sant Gabriel das kündet ir,
Vnd Johannes das kindelein
Erkannt ja in der mueter sein.

Foeno iacere pertulit,
Praesepe non abhorruit,
Parvoque lacte pastus est,
Per quem nec ales esurit.

Do auf ein hew wart er gelait
In ain kripp, die was nicht prait,
Daz schewet nicht daz kindelein,
Mit kleiner milch speist in dy mueter sein.

Gaudet chorus coelestium
Et angeli canunt Deo,
Palamque fit pastoribus
Pastor, creator omnium.

Sich fräwent die kör von hymmelreich
Vnd singent die engel alle geleich,
Den hyrtten es gekündet wart,
Der hyrtten schepher von hoher art.

(O qui parentis ubere
Heic dona vitae postulas,
Da Patris in convivio
Vitae perennis flumina.)

Dem höchsten got sey lob gesait,
Darczw dem kind und auch der maid
Vnd auch des heiligen geistes nar
Von werlt czu werlt an ende gar.

(There seems to be no doubt that this hymn is one by Caelius Sedulius and therefore belongs to the fifth century. It is given in Wackernagel, I, 45, as *hymnus acrostichis, totam vitam Christi continens.* The seven stanzas are those of the letters A to G, since these contain the story of the nativity.)

(The version here given is that by Johannes von Salzburg, who was active as translator and hymn-writer at the end of the fourteenth century. He added a doxology which is evidently an original effort, since it is not found in any of the transmitted forms of the hymn.)

Christum wir sollen loben schon,
Der reinen Magd Marien Sohn,
So weit die liebe Sonne leucht't
Und an aller Welt Ende reicht.

Now praise we Christ, the Holy One,
The spotless Virgin Mary's Son,
Far as the blessed sun doth shine,
E'en to the world's remote confine.

(Here again it is clear that Luther worked independently of any previous translation of which we have any knowledge. The fact that there is a similarity in a few phrases simply indicates the use of the common original. On the other hand, the version of Luther breathes a different spirit, one of greater freedom and power, in almost every line. His hymn is clearly an original translation.)

5. Grates Nunc Omnes Reddamus. (Notker Balbulus.)

Grates nunc omnes reddamus
Domino Deo,
Qui sua nativitate
Nos liberavit de diabolica potestate.
Huic oportet, ut canamus
Cum angelis semper:
Gloria in excelsis.

GElobet seistu, Jesu Christ,
daz du mensch geboren bist,
Von einer jungfroun, daz ist war,
des freuet sich aller engel schar.

Kyrieleison.

(This is a sequence by Notker Balbulus, ninth century, with the heading *De nativitate Domini, in galli cantu vel media nocte ad primam missam.* The printing in verse form, as given by Wackernagel, is merely for the sake of making a division, since there is neither rime nor rhythm in the sequence.)

(There is only one direct conference to the use of this stanza in the vernacular before Luther, in an *Ordinarium Inclitae Ecclesiae Swerinensis,* 1519, in the *officium* for Christmas Day. It sets forth the chief thought of the sequence as did some of the short Easter hymns or stanzas in the vernacular.)

Gelobet sei'st du, Jesu Christ,
Dass du Mensch geboren bist
Von einer Jungfrau, das ist wahr;
Des freuet sich der Engel Schar.
Kyrieleis!

All praise to Jesus' hallowed name,
Who of virgin pure became
True man for us! The angels sing
As the glad news to earth they bring:
Hallelujah!

(Here is an instance in which Luther took over the stanza which was in general use in many parts of the Church of Germany. But his poetical genius was stimulated thereby, so that he added six stanzas which develop the medieval stanza and present the entire Christmas-message. It is interesting to note that the *Kyrieleison* of the Middle Ages had clearly lost its original significance and was used as a refrain even for a doxology.)

6. Veni, Creator Spiritus. (Gregorius Magnus.)

Veni, Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita;
Imple superna gratia
Quae tu creasti pectora!

Kvm schöpffer gott, heiliger geist,
Gemüt der dynen heymbeleist,
Mit gnad vom hymel überlast
Die brüst so du geschaffen hast.

Qui diceris paraclitus,
Altissimi donum Dei,
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas
Et spiritalis unctio.

Du, der eyn tröster bist genannt,
Die gab, vom höchsten goot gesant,
Der lebend brunn, liebe, das fhür,
Die geistlich salbung ser gehür.

Tu septiformis munere,
Digitus paternae dexterae,
Tu rite promissum patris,
Sermone ditans guttura.

Du bist die sibenformig gnad,
Der rechten hand gotz fynger trad,
Des vatters glübt von hymelrich,
Die kelen machest reden rich.

Accende lumen sensibus,
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti(m).

Zünd vns das liecht der synnen an,
Ingüss liebe den hertzen wan,
Vnsers libs sweren bloidikeit
Mit tugenden sterck zu ewikeit.

Hostem repellas longius
Pacemque dones protinus,
Ductore sic te praevio
Vitemus omne noxium.

Den fyndt vertrib von vns ferr
Vnd gib vns dynen fryden, herr,
Das wir durk vorbeleitung din
Alls schadens mögend anig syn.

Per te sciamus, da, Patrem
Noscamus atque Filium,
Et utriusque Spiritum
Credamus omni tempore.

Durch dich gib vns den vatter kunt,
Den sun bekennen alle stund
Vnd dich, ir beider waren geist,
Dz wir dir gloubend allermeyst.

(Sit laus Patri cum Filio,
Sancto simul, Paraclito,
Nobisque mittat Filius
Charisma Sancti Spiritus.)

(Alt, *Christlicher Kultus*, I, 432, doubts the traditional authorship of Ambrose, and Mone, I, 242, says: "*Obiger Hymnus stimmt am meisten mit den Liedern Gregoris des Grossen ueberein, und ich halte ihn fuer den Verfasser.*")

Lob sy dem vatter mit dem sun,
Dem heiligen tröster im cummun,
Dz vns der sun gotz schick die gab
Des heiligen geists von hymel ab.

This version is ascribed to Ludwig Moser by Wackernagel, II, 872, being taken from *Der guldin Spiegel des Sunders*. Basel 1497.)

Komm, Gott Schoepfer, Heiliger Geist,
Besuch das Herz der Menschen dein,
Mit Gnaden sie fuell, wie du weisst,
Dass dein' Geschoepf' vorhin sein!

Come, God, Creator, Holy Ghost,
And visit Thou the souls of men;
Fill them with graces, as Thou dost,
Thy creatures make pure again.

(Also in this case it is not difficult to come to a decision with regard to the possible influence of the earlier German version on Luther. His hymn is a truly independent and original effort. Like Moser, he adheres very closely to the Latin version, a fact which would account for certain similar expressions; but he has cast the thoughts of Gregory in his own mold. His usual ruggedness is clearly apparent; but it is truly his own and not that of a previous hymnist.)

7. Veni, Sancte Spiritus, Reple. (Robert von Frankreich?)

Veni, Sancte Spiritus,
Reple tuorum corda fidelium,
Et tui amoris in eis ignem accende,
Quid per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum
Gentes in unitatem fidei congregasti.
Alleluia, Alleluia.

(This is an antiphon of the eleventh century, the only source that can come into consideration in connection with this hymn. The hymn which is usually mentioned in this connection, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus, Et emitte coelitus*, as given in Wackernagel, I, 105, and in Kehrein, 108, whose author is Robert of France, may also have been based upon the sequence, but is clearly not the basis of the Middle German hymn.)

Kom, heiliger gaist, herre got,
erfull mit deiner genaden pot
Der deiner glaubigen hercz vnde syn,
dein prunstig lieb entczunt in yn.
Der du durch dein leichtes glast
in einen gelauben gesammet hast
daz volk aus aller welde zungen,
des sey dir lob vnd er gesungen.
Alleluia, alleluia.

(This is one form of the version of the German hymn of one stanza as found in various forms during the late fifteenth century. Wackernagel, II, 748. There are slight variations in the copies of the hymn from the fifteenth and from the early sixteenth century.)

Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott,
Erfuell mit deiner Gnaden Gut
Deiner Glaeubigen Herz, Mut und Sinn,
Dein' bruenstig' Lieb' entzuend in ihn'n!
O Herr, durch deines Lichtes Glast
Zu dem Glauben versammelt hast
Das Volk aus aller Welt Zungen;
Das sei dir, Herr, zu Lob gesungen!
Halleluja!

Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord!
Be all Thy graces now outpoured
On each believer's mind and heart;
Thy fervent love to them impart.
Lord, by the brightness of Thy light
Thou in the faith dost men unite
Of ev'ry tongue and ev'ry nation,
We therefore sing with exultation:
Hallelujah!

(The remark of Julian concerning this hymn is well taken: "Martin Luther adopted this old German stanza with alterations and added two original stanzas, publishing the whole *Eyn Enchiridion*, Erfurt, 1524." It is evident from a comparison of stanzas 2 and 3 that these are not taken from the hymn of Robert of France, referred to above, nor even suggested by its thoughts, but that these two are original with Luther, being simply an expansion of the first stanza.)

8. Media Vita in Morte Sumus. (Notker.)

Media vita
In morte sumus.
Quem quaerimus adiutorem
Nisi te, Domine,
Qui pro peccatis nostris
Iuste irasceris.
Sancte Deus,
Sancte fortis,
Sancte et misericors Salvator,
Amarae morti ne tradas nos.

Im Mittel vnsers Lebens zeit
Sein wir mit dem Tod vmfangen:
Wen suchen wir der vns hilffe thu,
Dar durch wir Gnad erlangen,
Dann dich, HERR, alleine?
Der du vmb vnser Missethat
Billich gezirnet hast.
Heiliger HERRE Gott,
Heiliger starcker Gott,
Heiliger barmhertziger Heiland,
du ewiger Gott,
Lass vns nit versuchen
des bittern Todtes noth.
Lass vns dein Huld erwerben,
hilff vns auss aller Not.

(This antiphon is ascribed to Notker of St. Gall, d. 912. It is found in an eleventh-century manuscript and became a great favorite at a very early date as a "hymn of triumph over the grave, death, and hell.")

(The German rime version of the Latin antiphon seems to have originated about the middle or the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Wackernagel, II, 749 ff., gives ten versions, most of which are dated after the Reformation, although they all clearly are based upon the Middle German translation.)

Mitten wir im Leben sind
Mit dem Tod umfangen.
Wen suchen wir, der Hilfe tu',
Dass wir Gnad' erlangen?
Das bist du, Herr, alleine.
Uns reuet unsre Missetat,
Die dich, Herr, erzuernet hat.
Heiliger Herre Gott,
Heiliger, starker Gott,
Heiliger, barmherziger Heiland,
Du ewiger Gott,
Lass uns nicht versinken
In des bittern Todes Not.
Kyrieleison!

Though in midst of life we be,
Snares of death surround us;
Where shall we for succor flee
Lest our foes confound us?
To Thee alone, our Savior.
We mourn our grievous sin
which hath
Stirr'd the fire of thy fierce wrath.
Holy and gracious God!
Holy and mighty God!
Holy and all-merciful Savior!
Thou eternal God!
Save us, Lord, from sinking
In the deep and bitter flood.
Lord, have mercy.

(We are here likewise dealing with the use of the Middle High German stanza, slightly altered by Luther in order to bring all the thoughts of the litany in the expanded form of the second and third stanzas. Julian writes: "Luther . . . and added in two stanzas the Gospel delineation of life through Christ to the medieval picture of death.")

9. Patrem Credimus. (Author unknown.)

WIr glawben in einen got,
Schopper hymmels vnd der erden,
Mit worten her lis werden
Alle ding gar in zeynem gebot.
Von der czarten wart her geboren,
Marian der reynin aus irkorn,
Vns czu trost vnd aller cristenheit
Vor vns her wolde leyden,
Ob wir möchten vormeyden
Swere peyn den tot der ewykeyt.

(Till now no rimed version of the Nicene Creed in the Latin language has been discovered, and there seems to be every reason for believing that none existed.)

(This version dates from about 1417, being found on a manuscript which had the Apostolic Creed in prose form. Wackernagel, II, 509; Koch, I, 80.)

Wir glauben all' an *einen* Gott,
Schoepfer Himmels und der Erden,
Der sich zum Vater geben hat,
Dass wir seine Kinder werden.
Er will uns allzeit ernaehren,
Leib und Seel' auch wohl bewahren,
Allem Unfall will er wehren,
Kein Leid soll uns widerfahren;
Er sorget fuer uns, huet't und wacht,
Es steht alles in seiner Macht.

We all believe in one true God,
Maker of the earth and heaven,
The Father, who to us in love
Hath the claim of children given.
He in soul and body feeds us,
All we want His hand provides us,
Through all snares and perils leads us,
Watching that no harm betides us;
He cares for us by day and night,
All things are governed by His might.

(The comparison offered in the Middle German stanza and the hymn by Luther in 1524 [or 1525] shows that the conclusion of Lambert, *Luther's Hymns*, 83, is undoubtedly correct: "This is the Nicene Creed designed for liturgical use. It is an amplification of an ancient poem to which Hoffmann von Fallersleben refers. It is not a versification of the Credos of the Mass and is supposed by Klippgen to antedate 1524.")

10. Da Pacem, Domine.

Da pacem, Domine,
In diebus nostris,
Quia non est alius, qui pugnet pro nobis,
Nisi tu, Deus noster.

Gib Frieden, O Herr, in unsern Zeiten.
Halleluja!
Denn es ist kein andrer, der fuer uns streite,
Als du allein, unser Gott.
Halleluja!

(This is an antiphon of the sixth or seventh century, in use at every Mass, before the *Agnus Dei*, and familiar in a version as given above, although the German may not have been in general use.)

Verleih uns Frieden gnaediglich,
Herr Gott, zu unsern Zeiten!
Es ist ja kein andrer nicht,
Der fuer uns koennte streiten
Denn du, unser Gott, alleine.
(Gott, gib Fried' in deinem Lande,
Glueck und Heil zu allem Stande.)

In these days so perilous,
Lord, peace in mercy send us.
No God but Thee can fight for us,
No God but Thee defend us,
Thou, our only God and Savior.

(The version above is that of Luther, of the year 1529, with the two additional lines as they appeared in the *Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittenberg*, 1531. It is evident that Luther did not make use of the earlier German version, although there is a similarity due to close adherence to the original. When the forces of the Turks threatened to invade Germany, Luther made the translation, to be followed by the *collecta pro pace*, as it is in use to this day.)

11. Te Deum Laudamus. (Ambrosius?)

Te Deum laudamus,
Te Dominum confitemur,
Te aeternum Patrem
Omnis terra veneratur.

Tibi omnes angeli, tibi coeli
Et universae potestates,
Tibi cherubim et seraphim
Incessabili voce proclamant:

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus
Dominus Deus Sabaoth!
Pleni sunt coeli et terra
Maiestate gloriae tuae.
Etc.

(With regard to early German versions, Koch, I, 80, refers to a translation of the eighth century, *Thi got lopemes,* and to one of the fifteenth century, *Dich, Gott, loben wir,* which are not accessible. The Latin text shows a number of variations, since each succeeding editor felt free to make changes and additions. Ambrose is now no longer regarded as the author, although Koch still says of the hymn: *"Aus der ambrosianischen Zeit."* Alt ascribes it to Nicetus of Treves, *ca.* 535, while Julian associates it with John Cassianus or his school, in the first half of the fifth century.)

(Luther's translation exhibits all the characteristics of originality and of his hymnological genius. A reference in a letter of Luther to Crodelius leads to the supposition that Luther made this translation in 1528, and that quite independently of previous German versions. It appeared in Walther's hymn-book of 1529 and in the Klug edition of 1529 and 1535. See Lambert, *Luther's Hymns*, 118.)

12. Hostis Herodes Impie. (Sedulius.)

Hostis Herodes impie,
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia
Qui regna dat coelestia.

Ibant magi quam viderant
Stellam sequentes praeviam;
Lumen requirunt lumine,
Deum fatentur munere.

(Caterva matrum personat,
Collisa deflens pignora,
Quorum tyrannus millia
Christo sacravit victimam.)

Lavacra puri gurgitis
Coelestis agnus attigit;
Peccata quae non detulit
Nos abluendo sustilit.

(Miraculis dedit fidem
Habere se Deum Patrem,
Infirma sanans corpora,
Resuscitans cadavera.)

Novum genus potentiae:
Aquae rubescunt hydriae,
Vinumque iussa fundere
Mutavit unda originem.

(This hymn is unanimously ascribed to Sedulius, fifth century: *In epiphania Domini, ad vesperas.* There are only four stanzas in the original, as given by Wackernagel, I, 46, and in the *Breviarium Romanum, l. c.*, 345.)

(Three earlier translations are mentioned in connection with this hymn, namely, *Herodes, du gottloser Feind,* by Sixtus Dietrich; *Herodes, o du Boesewicht,* by Thos. Muenzer, whose hymn-book may have antedated 1523; and *Herodes, hoechster Gottesfeind,* by Cyriakus Spangenberg. But all three are ruled out as sources of Luther's translation, partly by the fact that they were contemporary productions, partly by the fact that Luther's version is totally unlike their translations. Cp. Wackernagel, Vol. III.)

Was fuercht'st du, Feind Herodes, sehr,
Dass uns gebor'n kommt Christ, der Herr?
Er such kein sterblich Koenigreich,
Der zu uns bringt sein Himmelreich.

Why, Herod, unrelenting foe,
Doth the Lord's coming move thee so?
He doth no earthly kingdom seek
Who brings His kingdom to the meek.

(The doxology added to this hymn is characteristic of the times, and Luther followed this custom with great success, as other hymns from his pen show. The entire translation is typical of his genius.)

13. O Lux, Beata Trinitas. (Ambrosius.)

O lux, beata Trinitas
Et principalis unitas,
Iam sol recedit igneus;
Infunde lumen cordibus.

Te mane laudum carmine,
Te deprecamur vesperi,
Te nostra supplex gloria
Per cuncta laudet saecula.

O Licht, sälige Dryualtigkhayt
Vnnd fürtrefflicht Aynigkhayt,
Dye feüren Sunn netz von vns weycht,
Gib vnns dein liecht das vnns erleycht.

Zw morgens soll wyer loben dich,
Am abent auch preysen frölich,
Vnser andacht dich loben soll,
Dw pist ewiger zyere voll.

Glori vnnd eer dem Vattern sey,
Dem Sun auch ewigs lob darbey,
Dem heyling Geyst auch des geleich,
Das geschech imer vnnd ewigkhleych.

(This is undoubtedly a hymn by Ambrose, although it has sometimes been ascribed to Sedulius. It has the superscription: *Dom. II. post octavam epiphaniae,* but was generally used as a morning hymn.)

(This translation is taken from the *Hymnarius Sigmundslust,* 1524, as given in Wackernagel, II, 1125. Most of the hymns in this collection are to be placed at the beginning of the sixteenth century.)

Der du bist drei in Einigkeit,	Thou who art Three in Unity,
Ein wahrer Gott von Ewigkeit,	True God from all eternity,
Die Sonn' mit dem Tag von uns weicht,	The sun is fading from our sight,
Lass leuchten uns dein goettlich Licht.	Shine Thou on us with heavenly light.

(Luther may have known of earlier translations, but his version bears the stamp of originality.)

The following summary is offered as the result of our investigation —

A. Translations original with Luther: —

1524. — 1. *Jesus Christus, nostra salus — Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (merely a few thoughts of the original Latin employed, otherwise a new hymn).

1524. — 2. *Victimae paschali — Christ lag in Todesbanden* (suggestion from the Latin and an early German stanza, otherwise original).

1524. — 3. *Veni, Redemptor gentium — Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland.*

1524. — 4. *A solis ortus cardine — Christum wir sollen loben schon.*

1524. — 6. *Veni, Creator Spiritus — Komm, Gott Schoepfer, Heiliger Geist.*

1529. — 10. *Da pacem, Domine — Verleih uns Frieden gnaediglich.*

1529. — 11. *Te Deum laudamus — Herr Gott, dich loben wir.*

1541. — 12. *Hostis Herodes impie — Was fuercht'st du, Feind Herodes, sehr?*

1543. — 13. *O lux, beata Trinitas — Der du bist drei in Einigkeit.*

B. Previous versions used in part: —

1524. — 5. *Grates nunc omnes reddamus — Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ* (first stanza taken over, six original stanzas added).

1524. — 7. *Veni, Sancta Spiritus, reple — Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* (first stanza used with alterations, two original stanzas added).

1524. — 8. *Media vita in morte sumus — Mitten wir im Leben sind* (first stanza recast, second and third added).

1524. — 9. *Patrem credimus — Wir glauben all' an einen Gott* (only certain lines and the verse form taken over, the hymn really original in all its parts).

P. E. Kretzmann.

Studie über die Eisenacher Epistel des Sonntags Misericordias Domini. Eph. 2, 4—10.

Zur gründlichen Vorbereitung auf die Predigt über diesen Text lese man die vortreffliche Erklärung von Eph. 2, 1—10 in D. Stöckhardts Epheserkommentar und den Exkurs über die Lehre von der Bekehrung ebendaselbst.

Die Eisenacher Konferenz hat diesen Text offenbar deswegen für den zweiten Sonntag nach Ostern bestimmt, weil darin von einer Auferweckung die Rede ist, freilich nicht in der Meinung, daß diese Auferweckung eine leibliche sei, wie die Auferweckung Christi, von der das