



HYMNS IN LITURGY AND LIFE KIRCHENLIEDER IN LITURGIE UND LEBEN

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Inhalt – Content

Editorial	7
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Kirchenliedgesang und -gebrauch – Hymn singing and use of hymns

Aija-Leena RANTA	
<i>Medieval hymns in liturgy. A case study from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland</i>	9
Ágnes WATZATKA	
<i>Learning about Faith by Singing: Narrative and Catechetic Hymns</i>	15
Gordon GILES	
<i>'I vow to thee, my country': Reflections after a media storm</i>	30

Präsentation historischer Gesangbücher, Kirchenlieder und Genres – Presentation of historical hymnals, hymns and genres

Lionel Li-Xing HONG	
<i>A study of the Chinese Catholic chant books and hymnals in the 'des Fontaines' Jesuit Collection</i>	36
Yu-Ring CHIANG	
<i>'O come, let us sing' – Die hundertjährige Geschichte eines Anthems in taiwanischen Gemeindeliederbüchern</i>	52
Nancy L. GRAHAM	
<i>African American spirituals and their British connection</i>	63

Präsentation neuer Veröffentlichungen – Presentation of new publications

a. Historische und systematische Veröffentlichungen – Historic and systematic publications

Scotty GRAY	
<i>'Hermeneutics of hymnody': A comprehensive and integrated approach to understanding hymns</i>	71

Joseph HERL und Peter C. RESKE	
<i>Producing a hymnal companion using primary sources</i>	81

b. Neue Kirchenliedsammlungen – New collections of hymns

Martin TEL	
<i>'Psalms for All Seasons'</i>	86

Gordon TAYLOR	
<i>150 Years of Salvation Army Song</i>	93

Gracia GRINDAL	
<i>A treasury of faith. Hymns texts on the epistle lessons in the Revised Common Lectionary</i>	96

Miszellen – Miscellaneous

Kristel NEITSOV-MAUER	
<i>Von Preußen nach Rom – Wandlung der estnischen Liturgie in den letzten 20 Jahren</i>	104

Christine PURCELL	
<i>The Pratt Green Collection of Hymns and Hymnology in Durham University Library</i>	113

Editorial

In the Summer of 2015 a joint conference of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Welsh Hymn Society, the Hymn Society in the United States and Canada and the Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie took place in Cambridge, UK. The theme of the conference was: *Hymns in Liturgy and Life*. Although this theme sounds rather general, it resulted in a solid series of main lectures and short presentations regarding the use of hymns in church, school and daily life. We are happy to be able to publish a series of short presentations in this volume of the *I.A.H. Bulletin*.

The topics of the short presentations show the variety of hymnological research. Hymnology is a broad research field, which goes beyond geographical and denominational boundaries. Not only do we need a multidisciplinary approach to fully understand hymns (see Scotty Gray's contribution to this volume), we are also challenged to study hymns in the broad context in which they are produced, sung, forgotten or contested (see Gordon Giles' contribution). Hymns usually are produced and sung in churches, but they have links to the musical, religious, literary, political and social context. Hymnology is not only a theological discipline, but also a cultural one. The *Luther Lieder*, for example, which are central in this Luther jubilee year (1517–2017), cannot be understood without taking into account the cultural dynamics and complexities of the late 15th and 16th centuries. In my opinion, it will be beneficial to the future of hymnology to further explore its own boundaries and to reach out to both theology and culture studies.

I am grateful to the lecturers and the hymn societies of the English-speaking countries for making it possible to publish the short presentations of the Cambridge conference and I hope that the discussions which started during the conference will be continued both in publications and future conferences. I also thank Barbara Lange, Elisabeth Fillmann and David Scott Hamnes for their editorial review of the contributions to this volume of the *I.A.H. Bulletin*.

Dr. Martin J.M. Hoondert, Tilburg, The Netherlands.

Editorial

Im Sommer 2015 fand in Cambridge, Großbritannien, eine gemeinsame Konferenz der Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, der Welsh Hymn Society, der Hymn Society in the United States and Canada sowie der Internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie statt. Das Thema der Konferenz lautete: *Kirchenlieder in Liturgie und Leben*. Obwohl dieses Thema eher allgemein klingt, führte es zu einer soliden Reihe von Hauptvorträgen und Sektionsbeiträgen über die Verwendung von Kirchenliedern in Kirche, Schule und Alltag. Wir freuen uns, eine Reihe dieser Kurzvorträge in diesem Band des *IAH-Bulletins* veröffentlichen zu können.

Die Themen der Kurzvorträge zeigen die Vielfalt der hymnologischen Forschung. Hymnologie ist ein breites Forschungsfeld, das über geografische und konfessionelle Grenzen hinausgeht. Wir brauchen nicht nur einen Zugang von vielen Disziplinen her, um Kirchenlieder vollständig zu verstehen (siehe Scotty Grays Beitrag in diesem Band), wir sind auch herausgefordert, die Lieder in dem breiten Kontext zu untersuchen, in dem sie verfasst, gesungen, vergessen oder strittig werden (siehe Gordon Giles' Beitrag). Kirchenlieder werden gewöhnlich im Raum der Kirchen verfasst und gesungen, aber sie haben Verknüpfungen zum musikalischen, religiösen, literarischen, politischen und sozialen Kontext. Hymnologie ist nicht nur eine theologische Disziplin, sondern auch eine kulturwissenschaftliche. Die Lutherlieder, z.B., die in diesem Jubiläumsjahr (1517–2017) im Zentrum stehen, sind nicht zu verstehen, ohne dass man die kulturelle Dynamik und die Verflechtungen des späten 15. und des 16. Jahrhunderts berücksichtigt. Nach meiner Überzeugung wird es für die zukünftige Entwicklung der Hymnologie von Vorteil sein, wenn sie ihre Grenzen erweitert und sich sowohl auf theologische als auch auf kulturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen erstreckt.

Ich danke den Referentinnen und Referenten, sowie den Hymnologischen Gesellschaften der englischsprachigen Länder dafür, dass sie es möglich gemacht haben, die Sektionsbeiträge der Konferenz in Cambridge zu veröffentlichen, und ich hoffe, dass die Diskussionen, die während der Konferenz begonnen haben, sowohl in Publikationen als auch bei zukünftigen Konferenzen fortgesetzt werden. Mein Dank gilt auch Barbara Lange, Elisabeth Fillmann und David Scott Hamnes für ihre redaktionelle Bearbeitung der Beiträge zu diesem Band des *IAH-Bulletins*.

Dr. Martin J.M. Hoondert, Tilburg, Niederlande.

Medieval hymns in liturgy. A case study from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

In this paper I will focus on two examples of using medieval hymns in present-day liturgy. These two hymns from the Hymn Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland are *Surrexit Christus hodie* and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*.

Medieval liturgical music has played a great role in my life for many years. As a doctoral student at the Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki, I am writing my dissertation on the Proprium Music in the Mass of Holy Margaret of Antiochia in the late Middle Ages in Finland. At the same time I am working as a consultant in the Diocese of Tampere and as a church musician in the Parish of Ylöjärvi, near Tampere. I have also taught Medieval chant and meditative and contemplative singing for 24 years.

In congregational work I like to use and introduce medieval music, especially antiphons and hymns. During my career spanning twenty-six years in Ylöjärvi parish I have noticed that some of the medieval hymns are sung quite seldomly. First this made me wonder if some of the hymn melodies are too difficult. Perhaps it would be possible to rehearse these with non-professional singers? Secondly, what part does notation play when people do not know hymns by heart? The third question is what kind of accompaniment is reasonable and adequate to use – or is it needed at all?

These three questions inspired the present case study. The main sources used in this presentation are the second, revised edition of the Hymn Book published in 2008, the website of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland (<http://evl.fi/virsikirja>) and a handbook *Virsikirjamme virret* (The Hymns of our Hymn Book), written by Tauno Väinölä in 2008.

The Hymn Book and its Medieval Content

The present Hymn Book was approved by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland 13 February 1986 and has been in use since the first Sunday of Advent 1987¹. In the revision 2008 some erroneous facts and mistakes in the origin of

¹ Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon virsikirja, Mikkeli 2008, p. 6.

some hymns were also corrected.² Later on some hymns were added to the revised edition, but they will not be discussed in this presentation.

Among the 632 hymns, 52 melodies are classified as medieval, and in 23 hymns the melody is unique, that is, it only occurs once in the whole Hymn Book. In 22 hymns both melody and lyrics are of medieval origin, for example *Dies est laetitiae, In dulci jubilo, Agnus Dei, Victimae paschali laudes, Veni, creator spiritus, Dies irae, dies illa, Deus, creator omnium, Te Deum laudamus, Vexilla Regis prodeunt* and *Surrexit Christus hodie*.

Most of the medieval hymns in our hymnal celebrate important Christian feasts: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and Trinity. The Christmas section includes 7 medieval hymn melodies, the Easter section (including Suffering and Death of Christ) 7, the Pentecost section 5 and the Trinity section 3. Also among the hymns for Holy Communion, 5 melodies have medieval origin, and they are used frequently during the Church Year. Of all the medieval hymns, over a half were included already in the first and second Finnish Hymn Books, published in 1583 and 1605 respectively. Although the tradition is long, there are seven old hymns that only found their way to our present-day Hymn Book. Both *Surrexit Christus* and *Vexilla Regis* are now in the Hymn Book for the first time.

Surrexit Christus hodie

This joyful medieval canticle of Bohemian origin is a good example of an old hymn which is easy to learn and sing. Its rhythmical clarity and the alleluia-phrases recurring in every verse make it possible to join in quite easily. *Surrexit Christus* is also used quite often in our parish; in the years 1988–2015 it was sung thirty-six times in Easter Vigil on the night of Holy Saturday and in the service on Easter Sunday and Easter Monday.



Figure 1: Hymn number 92, The Hymn Book of ELC of Finland.

² Tauno VÄINÖLÄ, *Virsikirjamme virret*, Hämeenlinna 32009, p. 8.

In the performance of *Surrexit Christus* there are four singers supporting the congregation, a djembe drum player and organ accompaniment changing verse by verse. The live recording was made during Easter Vigil 2015.³

Vexilla Regis prodeunt

Vexilla Regis is considered one of the greatest hymns in the liturgy. It was written by the poet Venantius Fortunatus. According to various sources he was born sometime between 530 and 540 in Treviso, near Venice. In 599 he became the bishop of Poitiers, where he died c. 609.⁴

In our Hymn Book this hymn is placed in the section ‘Suffering and Death of Christ’. The six-versed *Vexilla Regis* is mainly sung in Holy Week and on Good Friday. The hymn has two alternative melodies. The first alternative (72a) was composed by Bartholomäus Gesius in 1603 and rhythmically modified by Michael Praetorius in 1607. The second alternative (72b) is of medieval origin. This Gregorian melody follows the hymn text so perfectly that some suspect it might be composed by Fortunatus himself.⁵

In the main church of our parish we have kept a record of when the hymns have been sung. *Vexilla Regis* has been sung only eight times in the 27 years that the present Hymn Book has been in use. Unfortunately, the statistics of the hymns sung are not always complete; only the numbers of the hymns are mentioned in the diary of the church, and there is no indication which of the alternative melodies was applied. The medieval melody was definitely used twice, on Good Friday 2009 and on Wednesday in Holy Week 2015. In both cases I was responsible for the choice of music.

³ www.youtube.com/watch?v=2t9zFqV8Jj8, accessed on April 5, 2017.

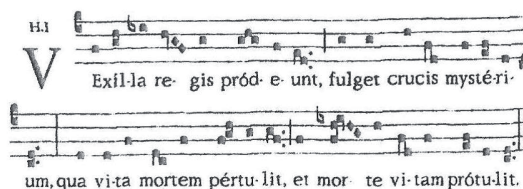
⁴ Tauno VÄINÖLÄ, *Virsikirjamme virret*, Hämeenlinna 2009, p. 85.

⁵ Background information concerning melody alternative 72b from <http://evl.fi/virsikirja>, accessed on June 27, 2015.



Figure 2: Hymn number 72b, The Hymn Book of ELC of Finland.

The chosen Latin version is from *Liber hymnarius*, published by Solesmes in 1983 (pp. 60-61). This version, “Vel ad libitum, secundum veterem editionem vaticanam”, has served as the model for the Finnish version.



Rehearsal Process

The decision to rehearse *Vexilla Regis* with three different groups – a vocal ensemble, a choir of elderly parishioners, and some voluntary members of the church choir – was made at the end of January 2015 and the process was started immediately thereafter. Firstly, I worked with a vocal ensemble called Vox Audiens (Listening Voice). The singers are non-professionals, although they can read four-line staff and square notation with Latin words. They are also used to singing medieval liturgical music and well-acquainted with the world of medieval hymns, including neumes. We trained twice per month.

The influence of the notation on the singing became clear when I worked with the second group, the senior citizens' choir of our parish. The choir was not

familiar with this hymn. I began by singing the first verse alone. At this time they were only listening. Then I sang it phrase by phrase and invited them to imitate me. After this, they tried to sing it from our Hymn Book, but the phrases did not flow any more, and the singers were not listening to the music or the natural accents of the words. So, we returned to rehearsing the hymn without notes, only by ear and singing by imitating. Later I made a simple notation for them, using only the round note heads without side bars written in the five-line staff. Every verse was written out and the natural accents were underlined in the text. Presently, the hymn started to reveal itself for the choir and after seven weeks, training once a week, they sang the three first verses in a Mass during Holy Week.

This process was very instructive for me. In the beginning the elderly singers were very doubtful if they could learn the hymn at all, even though most of them liked it. In the end several singers said: "It is so beautiful, as if we were in an abbey or even in heaven! This hymn opened a new world for us!" Those words were the best praise for rehearsing this wonderful hymn with them.

The third group, consisting of around ten voluntary middle-aged singers from the church choir, came along to support the singing congregation on the Wednesday evening of Holy Week. They used the same self-made notation as the choir of senior citizens, because we could only have two rehearsals. The singers learned the melody quite quickly; however the pitch used to fall without accompaniment. That is why I asked a co-worker of mine to play some archaic harmonies with his acoustic guitar. This simple accompaniment was used only in the Finnish verses to support the congregation.

A couple of verses of the live recording in the main church of Ylöjärvi: <https://youtu.be/JdzjrzrRL0> may be listed to here [accessed on April 6, 2017]. The vocal ensemble Vox Audiens sings the first verse in Latin, then the congregation sings the same verse in Finnish, and so on. After the sixth and last Finnish verse, Vox Audiens sings the seventh verse in Latin with Amen. The total duration of *Vexilla regis* was over ten minutes.

Conclusions

Medieval hymns are a true treasure of the Church, and even the most unfamiliar ones are worth rehearsing. Notation plays a significant role when people do not sing by heart. This became obvious with the senior citizens' choir members, who were not acquainted with the Gregorian melody (hymn 72b) at all. The exact note values written in our Hymn Book did not work well either with the seniors or the singers of the church choir. Even the vocal ensemble using only square notation had to start by concentrating on the flow of the melody and the natural accents of the text. Nevertheless, all three groups singing the hymn 72b found that the most important thing was to listen to the natural flow of music and the

beautiful union of music and words, and, of course, to follow the choir leader.

The use of instruments to accompany medieval hymns is an interesting challenge. Instruments can be used quite freely, depending on the acoustics of the room, the nature of the occasion and the number of singers and parishioners. The main question is always whether the accompaniment supports singing in an appropriate way to help singers hold the pitch. We are used to having accompaniment, nowadays one seldom hears a congregation sing without it. Gregorian melodies should ideally be sung unaccompanied but that is not easy. The acoustic guitar used in *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* could have been played a bit louder to lend more support to the congregation, but as mentioned earlier, it cannot be taken for granted that singers always listen to each other and to the accompaniment with a sensitive ear. When they do, any hymn will become living prayer, giving praise and glory to God and strengthening the togetherness and communal spirit of the congregation.

Mittelalterliche Hymnen und Lieder in der Liturgie – Eine Fallstudie aus der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Finnland

Zusammenfassung

In der Gemeindegarbeit führe ich gerne mittelalterliche Musik ein und nutze sie, besonders Antiphonen und Hymnen. Während meiner Zeit als Kantorin in der Gemeinde Ylöjärvi, in der ich über 26 Jahre tätig bin, habe ich beobachtet, dass einige der mittelalterlichen Lieder ziemlich selten gesungen werden. Das führte dazu, dass ich zum einen untersuchen wollte, ob einige der Hymnenmelodien zu schwierig sind oder ob es möglich sei, sie mit Laiensängern einzuüben. Zum zweiten, welche Rolle die Notation spielt, wenn die Leute Hymnen oder Lieder nicht auswendig kennen. Drittens, welche Art von Begleitung sinnvoll und adäquat zu gebrauchen ist – oder ob sie überhaupt nötig ist.

Ich unternahm eine Fallstudie, bei der ich zwei Lieder aus dem Gesangbuch der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Finnland benutzte, die aus dem Mittelalter stammen: *Surrexit Christus hodie* (*On Kristus noussut kuolleista*) und *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* (*Nyt liehuu viiri Kuninkaan*), und bei der ich einen Probenprozess und verschiedene Methoden der Begleitung erforschte. *Vexilla Regis* wurde mit drei verschiedenen Gruppen eingeübt – einem Vokalensemble, einem Chor älterer Gemeindeglieder und einigen freiwilligen Mitgliedern des Kirchenchors. Im Verlauf der Proben wurde klar, dass die Art der benutzten Notation eine substanzielle Rolle spielt, indem sie den natürlichen Fluss des Singens entweder fördert oder beeinträchtigt. Gregorianische Melodien sollten idealerweise unbegleitet gesungen werden, aber verschiedene Instrumente können verwendet werden, um den Sängerinnen und Sängern zu helfen, besonders, den Ton zu halten. Wenn Sänger und Sängerinnen lernen, mit einem empfindsamen Ohr aufeinander und auf die Begleitung zu hören, können auch mittelalterliche Hymnen, die ihnen neu sind, eingeübt und erfolgreich in der Liturgie genutzt werden. In den mittelalterlichen Hymnen und Liedern haben wir einen wahren musikalischen und geistlichen Schatz der Kirche, völlig imstande, in Menschen, die im 21. Jahrhundert leben, Anklang und Widerhall zu finden.

Learning about Faith by Singing: Narrative and Catechetical Hymns

In the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the Christian hymn is defined as “a sacred lyric for use in worship”.¹ Harry Eskew and Hugh McElrath define it in a more complex but exact manner as “[...] a lyric poem, reverently and devotionally conceived, which is designed to be sung and which expresses the worshipper’s attitude toward God or God’s purposes in human life”.² It is important to notice that the two definitions coincide in defining the hymn as a ‘lyric’ piece.

The model of the Christian hymns have been and remain the psalms of the Old Testament. The first Christians, indeed Jesus himself, prayed the psalms daily. Through the texts of the Mass and the Offices, psalms belong even today in daily prayer, and they continue to be a model and a source of inspiration for prayers and hymns. The hymns that we sing today, although dating from different times, may show similarities to psalms, in that they are addressed to God or to the community of faithful and they express religious feelings like praise, joy, penitence, conversion, hope, confidence, commitment, and so on.

In studying the old hymns contained in the newest Hungarian Catholic hymnal, *Éneklő Egyház*,³ I was astonished to note that many of them had an epic text instead of a lyric text. The origin of these hymns is the oldest Hungarian printed hymnbook, *Cantus Catholici* 1651.⁴

¹ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Volume 12, p. 28.

² Harry ESKEW, Hugh T. McELRATH, *Sing with understanding: An introduction to Christian hymnology*, Nashville (Tennessee) 1980.

³ *Éneklő Egyház. Római Katolikus Népektár liturgikus énekekkel és imádságokkal*, Budapest 1985, [Singing Church. Roman Catholic hymnal with liturgical songs and prayers].

⁴ Benedek KISDI ed., *Cantus Catholici Régi és Új, Deák és Magyar Ajitatos' Egyházi Énekek és Litániák: Kikkel a' Keresztyének esztendő által való Templomi Solennitásokban, Processiókban, és egyéb ajitatoságokban szoktak élni [...]* Lőcse 1651, (Cantus Catholici old and new, Latin and Hungarian spiritual and religious songs and litanies, which are regularly used by Christians in the annual Church solemnities, processions and other devotions). This hymnal was issued in several augmented and revised editions: 1675, 1703, 1798, and another hymnal with the same title with no connection to this was issued in 1674.

Cantus Catholici

Cantus Catholici 1651 is a diocesan hymnal, and as such, it precedes the series of diocesan hymnals issued under the influence of the Enlightenment at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The presence of vernacular hymns in the Catholic churches of the 17th century was not then an important issue. The documents of the Council of Trent (and the bishops trying to conform to these documents) were concerned about regulating the repertoire of the primary liturgies, namely the Mass and the Offices. As vernacular hymns were not part of these, as these hymns were basically meant for processions, litanies and other devotions, their practical presence was not of major importance. The question of the singing in the parish was usually the responsibility of priests, who often delegated to the care of the cantors. Catholic vernacular hymnals were in most cases compiled by cantors, monks or priests in private collections, in which the new texts and melodies of the compiler prevailed.

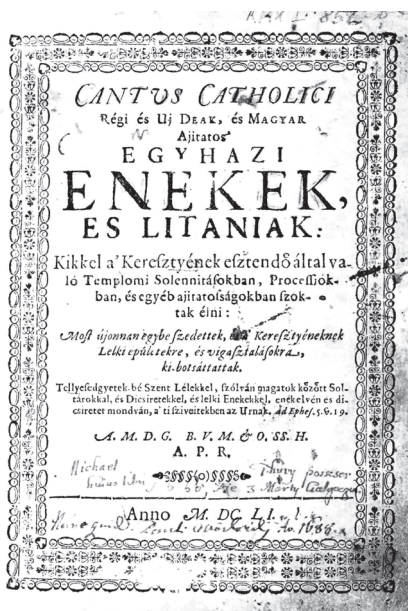


Figure 1: Title page of *Cantus Catholici* 1651

The birth of the *Cantus Catholici* as an official diocesan hymnal was determined by the special historical situation of the Catholic church in Hungary in the mid-17th century. In 1651, Hungary was divided into three regions. Its northern and western region belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy, its central region in-

cluding its capital was part of the Turkish Empire, its eastern regions enjoyed relative independence but paid tribute to the Turkish Empire.

The already divided country experienced further division following the reformation. Three protestant denominations were established in Hungary: Evangelical (Lutheran), Reformed (Calvinist), and Unitarian. Politics favoured the Protestant movement: the riches of dissolved monasteries and bishoprics were used to support the resistance against the Turkish expansion. At the end of the 16th century more than 80% of Hungary was Protestant.

Realising that half of his diocese had converted to Lutheranism, and that his faithful were living as a minority among Lutherans, bishop Benedek Kisdi (1598–1660) saw that by promoting Catholic vernacular hymns he might prevent Catholics from singing Protestant hymns and being gradually absorbed by the flourishing Lutheran communities. Good hymns with clear theological content, rendered in elegant Hungarian would help the Catholics of his diocese to remain true to their Catholic faith. Bishop Kisdi commissioned the Jesuit Benedek Szöllősy to compile an official hymnal for the diocese of Eger.

Benedek Szöllősy (1609–1656), a teacher of grammar and a gifted rhetorician, collected the best known and most beloved Latin and Hungarian hymns. Furthermore, he translated many of the Latin texts into Hungarian, and wrote a few new texts. The new hymnal was also provided with printed tunes. It was structured according to the pattern of liturgical books.

No.	Chapter	Texts				Tunes
		Double	Lat	Hu	All	
i	Advent	2	–	4	6	6
ii	Christmas	7	14	8	29	27
iii	New Year & Epiphany	3	–	2	5	5
iv	Lent	5	1	1	7	7
v	Easter	3	–	8	11	11
vi	Ascension & Pentecost	5	–	–	5	5
vii	Eucharist	2	2	3	7	7
viii	Te Deum & Jesu dulcis	1	–	1	2	1
ix	To the Virgin Mary	6	6	7	19	15
x	To the Saints	1	1	10	12	8
xi	For different occasions	–	–	7	7	5
xii	Psalms	–	–	12	12	7
xiii	Litanies	–	–	8	8	11
xiv	Miscellaneous	6	1	2	9	9
xv	Appendix	1	11	4	16	5
Total		42	36	77	155	129

Table 1: Contents of the *Cantus Catholici* 1651

It is interesting to see how many Latin hymns are included. Many of them were published together with their Hungarian translation. Hymn texts found in both Latin and Hungarian using the same tune are considered as one hymn. Other hymns are presented in either Latin or Hungarian.

The texts of the hymns are of different length, the shortest has a single stanza. The longest texts are Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria* with 47 stanzas, the Exhortatio ad Poenitentiam of Dominicus Carthusianus (1382–1461) with 42 stanzas, a poem in Hungarian about the inferno with 52 stanzas, and *Salve mundi Salutare* by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, an extensive hymn on the crucified Jesus in seven parts with 74 stanzas altogether. However, these are exceptions. Most of the texts range between five and twelve stanzas.

Stanzas	Lyric hymns	Epic hymns	Total
1-4	9	1	10
5-6	25	8	33
7-8	27	9	36
9-12	23	12	35
13-20	10	10	20
21-74	10	2	12
–	9	–	9
Total	113	42	155

Table 2: Stanza length of hymns

About one quarter of the hymns have epic texts. In attempting to define the content of the texts, I have established roughly five text categories: genuine lyric hymn texts, poetic hymn texts, narrative texts, catechetic texts, and narrative texts with catechetical elements.

1. Genuine lyric hymn texts

Most of our hymns belong to this first category, the genuine lyric hymn. Examples of models are the 41st psalm (*Sicut cervus*), which expresses thirst after God, and the 50th psalm (*Miserere mei Deus*), which is a beautiful expression of penitence and of hope in the mercy of God.

2. Poetic hymn texts

I call a 'Poetic hymn' a lyric hymn text which is written in an elegant style, abounding in figures of speech, metaphors, allegories, and so on. The following example is nothing but a conglomerate of metaphors and epithets:

Rex clementissime, Jesu dulcissime, Fili Dei & Mariae [...].
Te mundi pretium, coeleste praemium, figurae velant istae.

Ave flos Virginum, o sponse sanguinum, ave caro Salvatoris.
Tua dulcedine, totum me detine, perennis fons amoris.

Grande mysterium, o desiderium mei cordis accende.
Coeli delitias, veras divitias, hic mi Jesu ostende.

O mundi victima, te sitit anima, te quaerit pie Jesu.
Jesu spes unica, huic te communica, sacratae carnis esu. (etc.)

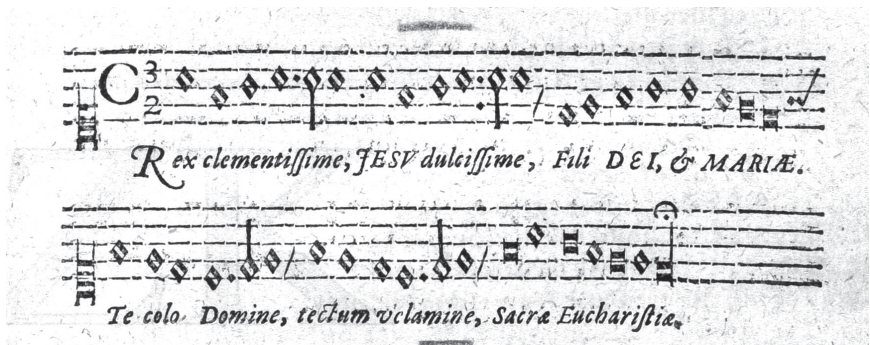


Figure 2: *Rex clementissime*

Genuine poetic hymns are addressed to God and contain prayers, invocations and so on. The following three types of hymns are narratives about the persons of the trinity (God the Father, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit) in the third person, as if the hymn user is not in their presence. The hymn character usually appears only at the end, in the last stanza, through a petition or a doxology, or both.

3. Narrative hymns

The narrative hymn is similar to a ballad of folk origin: it relates facts in a simple and direct manner, using regularly stanzas of a clear and simple structure. The first example from this type is a rare example of pure narrativity: *Patris Sapientia*, a hymn relating the passions of Christ on Good Friday, connecting them to the prayer times of the office.

Patris Sapientia, Veritas divina,
Deus homo captus est, *hora matutina*.
A notis discipulis cito derelictus,
A Judeis traditus, venditus & afflictus.

Hora prima Dominum ducunt ad Pilatum,
Et a falsis testibus multum accusatum,
Colaphis percutiunt manibus ligatum;
Vultum Dei conspuunt, lumen coeli gratum.

Crucifige! clamitant *hora tertiarum*,
Illusus induitur, veste purpurarum;
Caput ejus pungitur corona spinarum:
Crucem portat humeris ad locum poenarum.

Hora sexta Jesus est Cruci conclavatus,
Et est cum latronibus, pendens deputatus.
Hora nona Dominus Jesus expiravit,
Eli! clamans spiritum Patri commendavit. [etc.]

Some of the narrative hymns have refrains, like folk ballads, or one or two repeated verses within one stanza. This is the structure of the universally sung Easter processional hymn, *Surrexit Christus hodie*, where only the first and the third verse have changing texts, while the second and the fourth verses are refrains containing the acclamation: *Alleluja, laus sit Deo, Deo nostro*.

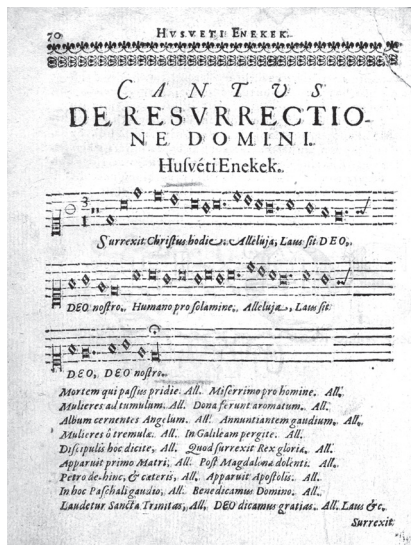


Figure 3: *Surrexit Christus hodie*

Like folk ballads, some narrative hymns contain dialogues. Such an example is the hymn *Csordapásztorok* [Shepherds of the flocks], a Hungarian composition probably from the 17th century. Here we have the chorus relating the events of Christmas eve, followed by an address by the shepherds to the Virgin Mary, asking her to wake up her son. The Virgin first declines to wake her baby, but she finally gives in. The shepherds supplicate the baby Jesus, asking him to forgive their sins. At the end, the refrain sings praises to the Holy Trinity.

4. Catechetic hymns

This type of hymn text is similar to the narrative text, as it very often uses the same simple sentences, but it relates this material more to theological aspects, connections and interpretations rather than biblical text models. I have called this type a ‘catechetic’ hymn, because it reminded me of previously attended religion lessons. The hymn *Dies est laetitiae* explains the theological aspects of the incarnation of Jesus, his humanity and deity, his birth from a virgin, and so on.

Dies est laetitiae
 In ortu regali,
 Nam processit hodie
 De ventre virginali
 Puer admirabilis,
 Totus delectabilis
 In humanitate,
 Qui inaestimabilis,
 Est et ineffabilis
 In divinitate.

Orto Dei filio
 Virgine de pura,
 Ut rosa de lilio,
 Stupescit natura,
 Quem parit juvencula,
 Natum ante secula
 Creatorem rerum,
 Quod uber muniditiae,
 Dat lac pudicitiae
 Antiquo dierum.

1. Royal Day that chasest gloom!
 Day by gladness speeded!
 Thou beheld'st from Mary's womb
 How the King proceeded;
 Whom, True Man, with praise our Choir
 Hails, and love, and heart's desire,
 Joy and admiration;
 Who, True God, enthroned in light,
 Passeth wonder, passeth sight,
 Passeth cogitation.

2. On the Virgin as He hung,
 God, the world's creator,
 Like a rose from lily sprung, –
 Stood astounded nature:
 That a Maiden's arms enfold
 Him That make the world of old,
 Him that ever liveth:
 That a Maiden's spotless breast
 To the King Eternal rest,
 Warmth and nurture, giveth!⁵

In the next hymn, *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, we have a highly refined example of the use of a simple ballad-like style with concise sentences, rendering a clear theological message. Reminiscent of the structure of the ballad form, there is a repeated half verse and a repeated full verse within one stanza.

⁵ John Mason NEALE, Thomas HELMORE, *Carols for Christmas-tide*, London 1853.

Figure 4: *Puer natus in Bethlehem*

Puer natus in Bethlehem
Unde gaudet Jerusalem.

A child is born in Bethlehem,
Exult for joy, Jerusalem!

Assumpsit formam Hominis
Verbum Patris altissimi.

The Son of God the Father,
In the highest has taken flesh.

Tanquam Sponsus de thalamo
Processit Matris utero.

Like a bridegroom from the chamber,
He proceeds from the womb of the mother.

Hic jacet in praesepio
Qui regnat sine termino.

Lo he who reigns above the skies,
There in a manger lowly, lies.

Cognovit bos et asinus
Quod Puer erat Dominus.

The ox and ass in neighb'ring stall,
See in that child the Lord of all.⁶

⁶ Translation by Hamilton M. MacGILL, *Presbyterian Hymnal*, 1876.

5. Narrative hymns with catechetical elements

Narrative texts are seldom purely narrative, restricting themselves to biblical text paraphrasing, just as theological texts may contain descriptive action paraphrasing. It appears that quite often the two content forms appear together, alternating in the same text. The next example, *Nobis Sancti Spiritus gratia*, is a hymn to the Holy Spirit. It consists of two parts. In the first, the history of the sending of the Holy Spirit is related in a ballad-like form, then in the second, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, as we know them from the hymn *Veni creator*, are explicated.

(narrative)

De Maria Virgine, Christus fuit natus, / Crucifixus, mortuus, atque tumulatus.
Resurgens discipulis fuit demonstratus, / Et ipsis cernentibus in Coelos levatus.

Suum Sanctum Spiritum Deus delegavit, / In die Pentecostes suos confortavit.
Et de linguis igneis, ipsos inflammavit, / Relinquere orphanos eos denegavit.

Septiformem gratiam omnes acceperunt: / Quare idiomatica cuncta cognoverunt.
Ad diversa clymata mundi recesserunt, / Fidemque Catholicam deprædicaverunt.

(catechetical)

Spiritus **Paraclytus** fuit appellatus, / **Donum Dei Charitas, fons vivificatus.**
Spiritualis unctio, ignis inflammatus, / **Septiformis gratia, Charisma** vocatus.

Dextrae Dei digitus, virtus spiritalis, / Nos defendat, eruat, ab omnibus malis.
Ut nobis non noceat Daemon infernalis, / Protegat & nutriat, foveat sub alis. [etc.]

Origin of the epic hymns

After having defined the different types of texts, I then attempted to identify their origin. The following list contains the epic hymns connected to the liturgical year which were included in the newest Hungarian hymnal, sourced from *Cantus Catholici* 1651.

No.	Lit. time	First line	Genre	Author, time
1.	Advent	<i>Mittit ad Virginem</i> <i>Küldé az Úristen</i>	Sequence	Petrus Abelardus 1079–1142
7.	Christmas	<i>Puer natus</i> <i>Gyermek születék</i>	Benedicamus trope	Anonymous 14 th century

10.	Christmas	<i>Dies est laetitiae</i> <i>Nagy örömnep ez</i>	Hymn	Adam de Saint Victor † 1146
11.	Christmas	<i>In natali Domini</i> <i>Születésén Istennek</i>	Hymn	Anonymous 14 th century
18.	Christmas	<i>En Virgo parit filium</i> <i>Krisztus Jézus született</i>	Cantio	Anonymous 13 th century
41.	Passiontide	<i>Patris sapientia</i> <i>Atyának Bölcsessége</i>	Hymn	Egidio da Colonna 14 th century
48.	Easter	<i>Surrexit Christus hodie</i> <i>Feltámadt Krisztus</i>	Processional hymn	Anonymous 14 th century
50.	Easter	<i>Krisztus feltámadott</i> <i>[Christ ist erstanden]</i>	Trope	Anonymous 12 th century
59.	Ascension	<i>Ascendit Christus hodie</i> <i>A Krisztus mennybe</i>	Benedicamus trope	Anonymous 15 th century
63.	Pentecost	<i>Nobis Sancti Spiritu</i> <i>Minekünk adattassék</i>	Hymn	Pope John XXII 1331

Table 3: Epic Hymns connected to the liturgical year in the Hymnal *Éneklő Egyház* 1985

As the table shows, most of the epic hymns are presented with their original sequences and tropes, and most were produced in the period between the 11th and 15th centuries, reflecting the spirituality of the Middle Ages. The beloved (vernacular?) hymns and cantios not included in the newly printed Roman Missals and Antiphonals, which replaced the older local ones after the Council of Trent, found refuge in the collections of hymns meant for non-liturgical use.

Realizing that the hymns *Nobis Sancti Spiritus* and *Patris Sapientia* were sung as parts of the offices, I came upon another question: may office hymns be narrative? Are narrative texts an invention of the Middle Ages, or do they have deeper roots?

Comparing the texts of the different hymns in a Roman Antiphony,⁷ I came to the following conclusions: office hymns are regularly lyric, in this case they are usually not longer than 6 stanzas; but the hymns of the important feasts are longer, and contain extensive narrations and explanations. The long epic hymns include *A solis ortu cardine* (for the Lauds of Christmas day), *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* (Passion Sunday), *Ad regias Agni dapes* (in the Eastertide), and *Iam Christus astra ascenderat* (for the Matins of Pentecost). Some of these were written in the 4th and 5th centuries. Below, I present two examples of epic office hymns.

⁷ *Compendium Antiphonarii et Breviarii Romani* [...] Editio Stereotypica, Ratisbonae, Romae et Neo Eboraci, Pustet 1898.

A solis ortus cardine (Caelius Sedulius † ~450)

2. Beatus auctor sæculi
 Servile corpus induit:
 Ut carne carnem liberans,
 Ne perderet quos condidit.

2. Blest Author of this earthly frame,
 To take a servant's form He came,
 That, liberating flesh by flesh,
 Whom He had made might live afresh.

3. Castae Parentis viscera
 Coelestis intrat gratia:
 Venter Puellae bajulat
 Secreta, quæ non noverat.

3. In that chaste parent's holy womb
 Celestial grace hath found its home;
 And she, as earthly bride unknown,
 Yet calls that Offspring blest her own.

4. Domus pudici pectoris
 Templum repente fit Dei:
 Intacta nesciens virum,
 Concepit alvo Filium.

4. The mansion of the modest breast
 Becomes a shrine where God shall rest:
 The pure and undefiled one
 Conceived in her womb the Son.⁸

Iam Christus astra ascenderat (5th century)

5. Impleta gaudent viscera,
 Afflata Sancto Spiritu,
 Vocesque diversas sonant,
 Fantur Dei magnalia.

5. With joy the Apostles' breasts are fired,
 By God the Holy Ghost inspired:
 And straight, in divers kinds of speech,
 The wondrous works of God they preach.

6. Notique cunctis gentibus,
 Graecis, Latinis, Barbaris,
 Simulque demirantibus,
 Linguis loquuntur omnium.

6. To men of every race they speak,
 Alike Barbarian, Roman, Greek:
 From the same lips, with awe and fear,
 All men their native accents hear.

7. Judaea tunc incredula,
 Vesana torvo spiritu,
 Madere musto sobrios
 Christi fideles increpat.

7. But Juda's sons, e'en faithless yet,
 With mad infuriate rage beset,
 To mock Christ's followers combine,
 As drunken all with new-made wine.

8. Sed editis miraculis
 Occurrit et docet Petrus,
 Falsum profari perfidos,
 Joele teste comprobans.

8. When lo! With signs and mighty deeds,
 Stands Peter in the midst, and pleads:
 Confounding their malignant lie
 By Joel's ancient prophecy.⁹

⁸ John Mason NEALE, Thomas HELMORE, *Carols for Christmas-tide*, London 1853.

⁹ <http://divinumofficium.com/www/horas/English>

This discovery leads to the conclusion that narrative texts were not an invention of the high and late Middle Ages, and not something necessarily unfit for the liturgy. They were actually the imitation and recreation of ancient patterns already established in the hymns of the offices.

Reading the texts of a number of hymns, I often had difficulties in identifying them as either narrative or catechetical. In most cases the texts of the old office hymns proved to be a combination of both. I then realised that I was incorrect in dividing the epic hymns into three categories; more relevant for their historical development is that the texts of the epic hymns are essentially combinations of biblical material and theological interpretations. Which means that the epic hymns are not 'narrative' or 'catechetical', but 'narrative and catechetical'. The 'pure' texts seem to be random exaggerations of either aspect, and they appear more often in later products, as imperfect copies of the old patterns.

The fact that some of the office hymns have instructive texts means that the intention of teaching through the liturgical texts is a very old one, going back to the 4th century, when hymn composing and singing became fashionable. In the distant past the singing of hymns was not only an opportunity for spiritual growth, but also a way to learn about faith, about the events and mysteries of the faith, and about the teachings of the Church. This happened in a time when average people could not read and write, and there were few other means for their religious education than holding instructive sermons for them and providing them with informative hymn texts.

The intention of teaching the faithful is clearly evident also in *Cantus Catholici* 1651. Not only the hymns of the liturgical year are epic and informative, there are eleven hymns dedicated to the saints and martyrs, which describe their lives, their deeds and martyrdom in a similar ballad-like style. Nine of these are more recent products and only have Hungarian texts. Two have both a Hungarian and a Latin text.

A hymn about the apostles, listing their activities and deaths, originally 25 stanzas in length, was also included in the new hymnal, although in reduced form with seven stanzas.¹⁰

¹⁰ Éneklő Egyház, No. 213.

A' SZENT APOSTOLOKROL
REGI ÉNEK.

Az igaz Hitben, végig meg-maradgyunk, Noha ez
földön szűkfég, nyomorganuk. Sok gyalázatot érte-
szenvednünk: Végre meg-is halunk.

Például vadnak a' szent Apostolok: Kiknek szavokra száma-
lan Országok, Meg-térítették roppantott Vára-
lok. Christus hi-
tirt.

Mert elméjeket igaz tudománnyal: szíveket erős dihatatóság-
gal, Meg-erősíték hogy ne gondolnának, Senkinek átkával.

Mennyeiekben magokat foglalák: A' földieket pedig meg-utá-
lák, Mind e' Világot semminck-alíták, s' Christust el-hagyák.

Mintz

Figure 5: Hymn on the Apostles

An extensive hymn about Mary Magdalene, was also included, with four stan-
zas instead of the original 20.

Szent MARIA Magdolnáról
22. July.

Oh nag' szeretetnek fel-gerjett tűzes lángja,
Penitencziának eleven szép formája; Kinek ez vi-
lágra fok lélek javára, ki-terjedett példája.

Oh

Figure 6: Hymn about Mary Magdalene

The hymn about Saint Stephen, the apostolic King of the Hungarians, who brought about the conversion of Hungarians to Western Christianity, appears to be a long history lesson in 14 stanzas. It was included in the new hymnal with only three.¹¹

¹¹ *Éneklő Egyház*, No. 278.

My incursion into the content of the old hymnal *Cantus Catholici* brought me results I did not expect. Most of the epic hymns taken from the *Cantus Catholici* and included in the newer hymnal in Hungarian were created at least 200-300 years earlier than its publication, other up to 400-600 years earlier. These old hymns connect the modern hymn singing to its oldest patterns and roots: the hymns of the 5th century, and show us the ancient and constant attitude of the Church toward its faithful in supporting and strengthening their devotion through teaching.

Beim Singen etwas über den Glauben lernen: Erzählende und katechetische Lieder

Zusammenfassung

Das christliche Kirchenlied wird üblicherweise als lyrisches Gedicht definiert. Es hat seine Modelle in den Psalmen, die von den ersten Christen regelmäßig gebetet wurden und die Teil der Liturgie wurden. Diese Studie untersucht den Ursprung, die Geschichte und Bedeutung von Kirchenliedern, die nicht mit der üblichen Definition des Kirchenlieds übereinstimmen und einen epischen Text haben.

Ausgangspunkt der Forschung ist das ungarische Gesangbuch *Éneklő Egyház* 1985, in dem die Kirchenlieder mit epischem Text aus dem ersten ungarischen volkssprachlichen Gesangbuch stammen, *Cantus Catholici* 1651. Die Texte dieses alten Gesangbuchs können in fünf Gruppen kategorisiert werden: 1) genuin lyrische Texte, 2) poetische Texte, 3) erzählende Texte, 4) katechetische Texte, 5) erzählende Texte mit katechetischen Anteilen.

Untersucht man den Hintergrund und Ursprung der epischen Texte (Kategorien 3, 4, 5), erscheinen sie als Cantionen, Sequenzen und Tropen, die Einschübe in das Hauptmaterial der Messe und Stundengebete waren und im 11.–15. Jahrhundert ihre Blütezeit hatten. Da einige der untersuchten Lieder Stundengebetslieder sind, wird die Forschung auf das Corpus dieses Repertoires ausgedehnt. Die Texte der Stundengebetslieder können auch in lyrische und epische Lieder unterschieden werden. Die meisten der Lieder sind lyrisch und haben eine durchschnittliche Länge von 5-6 Strophen. Die Lieder zu den wichtigen Festen sind gewöhnlich länger und haben epische Texte. Diese Texte können nicht als erzählende oder katechetische Texte kategorisiert werden, sondern sind meist eine Kombination erzählender und katechetischer Teile.

Die alten Stundengebetslieder wie auch die mittelalterlichen waren in einer lehrenden Absicht für die Gläubigen gedacht, in Zeiten, als arme Leute nicht lesen und schreiben konnten, und ihre religiöse Erziehung nur durch Predigten und informative Lieder geschehen konnte, die über die Ereignisse und die Geheimnisse des Glaubens belehrten.

Der *Cantus Catholici* enthält weitere epische Lieder im Sanctorale, wo das Leben der Heiligen und ihr Martyrium beschrieben wird. Einige davon wurden ebenfalls in das neue Gesangbuch übernommen.

So zeigt *Cantus Catholici*, zusammengestellt in einer schwierigen geschichtlichen Zeit, als Ungarn in drei Teile geteilt war und drei verschiedene protestantische Konfessionen nahe bei den zahlenmäßig verminderten Katholiken präsent waren, eine ähnliche Haltung des Lehrens wie die alten Hymnen des 5. Jahrhunderts.

Wenn sie auch nicht mit der Definition des Kirchenlieds übereinstimmen, scheinen epische oder erzählend-katechetische Lieder ein wertvolles Erbe der Vergangenheit zu sein, das die bleibende Absicht der Kirche gegenüber den Gläubigen zeigt, ihre Andacht durch Unterrichten zu stärken.

I vow to thee, my country: **Reflections after a media storm**

Introduction

Here are some words I wrote in the introduction to my book *The music of praise*, published in the year 2000.¹

From time to time the English Press will discover a vicar, or perhaps an organist who has strong feelings about not allowing 'Jerusalem' to be sung at a wedding or funeral, and the nation's attention will suddenly, and briefly be turned to asking whether this is indeed a hymn, and whether it is appropriate for Christian worship. The Church will be accused of being out of touch, and someone will allege that the reason that no-one goes to church any more is because 'I vow to thee my country' and 'Jerusalem' are banned, when really they are fine hymns with rousing tunes, evoking green English fields and a bit of acceptable national pride.

In reply, others will write to the newspapers defending a ban and saying that 'unquestioning sacrifice' in warlike contexts is not to be applauded or encouraged, and pointing out that the hymn is hardly appropriate for a wedding anyway. Given the distinctive lack of specifically 'wedding' hymns, this is a brave thing to say. Others will make fun of it all, suggesting that the words should be changed to something like "I vow to thee my husband", although this would make the phrase 'and there's another country' rather suspicious.

Then after a day or two, some real news will occur, and the question will be forgotten, left to smoulder in the hearts of those who feel that the Church of England has rejected them by 'banning' the hymn that Princess Diana had at her wedding (and her funeral). "Why can't we have a jolly good sing?" they will ask, and no-one will dare to answer. Denying the British non-churchgoing public the opportunity to have a jolly good rendition of THAXED or JERUSALEM every few years, is not something that anyone in the Church wants to do publicly. Hence these hymns remain in the 'National' section of many hymn books, and will likely stay there for many years to come.

These paragraphs turned out to be ironically prophetic when thirteen years later I was asked to write an article for the *Church Times* (the Ecclesiastical News-

¹ Gordon GILES, *The music of praise. Through the Church year with the great hymns*, BRF, Oxford, 2000, pp. 11-12.

paper of the Church of England). In it I provided a balanced account of the hymn *I vow to thee, my country* (see Appendix for the full text of this hymn) and its origins and I discussed the varying attitudes found towards this hymn, and while affirming its value on one hand also went so far as to offer an alternative version for those who find the hymn ‘obscene’ in content. The article was, I thought, balanced and reasonable.²

The article was picked up by the English national *Daily Mail*, who published both in print and online a scurrilously dishonest misrepresentation of my thoughts on the hymn, and portrayed me as someone who wanted to alter or ban it, putting words into my mouth accordingly.

To offer the necessary background information, I quote here the article, retrieved from the *Daily Mail* website, published the 9th of November, 2013:

The Reverend Gordon Giles, one of the Anglicans’ leading authorities on hymns, declared that “I Vow to Thee My Country” should be rewritten if it is to be sung by modern congregations. His verdict was delivered in advance of the remembrance weekend when the hymn, which is especially valued by military families, will feature in thousands of services across the country and the Commonwealth.

Its patriotic words, written in the final year of the First World War, speak of the ‘final sacrifice’ made by those that love their country, and end with a promise of peace in heaven. The hymn has been among the most popular since the 1920s. It was a favourite of both Princess Diana and Margaret Thatcher, and was sung at Lady Thatcher’s funeral at St Paul’s in April.

But Mr Giles – a former succentor responsible for hymns at St Paul’s – called “I Vow to Thee My Country” ‘dated’ and ‘unjust’. He said in an article in the Church Times: ‘Many would question whether we can sing of a love that “asks no question”, that “lays on the altar the dearest and the best” and that juxtaposes the service of country and that “other country” of faith. Should we, undaunted, make the sacrifice of our sons and daughters, laying their lives on the altar in wars that we might struggle to call “holy” or “just”? The notion of vowing everything to a country, including the sacrifice of one’s life for the glorification of nationhood, challenges sensibilities today.’³

A media storm

The *Daily Mail* publication raised a media storm. The public rose up against me, and the *Daily Mail* website had 896 comments – ranging from those who disagreed to calls for my defrocking.

Fortunately, someone who knows me managed to post the final comment, which is still there to see, which says:

² The articles and comments may be accessed on this link: <http://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2013/8-november/comment/opinion/can-‘i-vow-to-thee’-be-renovated>

³ www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2494028/Patriotic-hymn-I-Vow-To-Thee-My-Country-obscene-fit-Christians.html.

It seems that none of the people here have not actually read the article in the Church times!!! Gordon Giles has been grotesquely misinterpreted. He said NO such things as portrayed in this DM article. We even sung the very anthem proudly and loudly like we do every year in his church. So before you chastise and rudely call people names, get YOUR FACTS RIGHT!!! DM you should be ashamed of yourselves. Gordon Giles is a much respected vicar and you have categorically incorrectly read and interpreted his article.⁴

I also received many letters, criticizing me for views I did not hold (which was how I was able to endure their venom), one of the pleasanter ones of which included this comment:

think you've demeaned the country which has cradled you, the denomination which has enveloped you and the call which has employed you. And that is a shame. A public repentance would be in order if you were as courageous as the many service personnel who will be singing this hymn tomorrow and on Monday. I hope you do repent and put this silliness behind you. It would do you, the Church and also the public perception of faith the world of good if you did. Or maybe better still, leave the Church (which should be mindful of country) and go into politics. You'll have more effect.⁵

Another person wrote this:

How confused you are. How muddled is your thinking. Has it ever occurred to you that the views you've expressed (as quoted in the Daily Mail today) are one of the reasons why church attendance is falling and the pews are empty? Has it ever occurred to you how offensive your views are to military personnel, their families, and a great many Britons?

Those who made the ultimate sacrifice for King and country in the past 100 years, particularly during World War II, will be remembered on Sunday and throughout the years ahead, but instead you choose to quibble about the words of a hymn that was the favourite of a Princess that captured the hearts of the nation and a Prime Minister who was the best thing that happened to Britain since Churchill.

„I Vow To The My Country“ will be remembered and sung.

You Mr Giles, will not be remembered and your praises will not be sung.⁶

One should, I suppose, be thankful for small mercies. Others wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in this kind of vein:

Dear Lord Archbishop,

As a Christian I read with some dismay the comments of the Reverend Gordon Giles

⁴ See www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2013/8-november/comment/opinion/can-'i-vow-to-thee'-be-renovated

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

accusing me of using obscenities when singing I Vow to Thee My Country. As a Christian and having served my country for 12 years in the Royal Navy and 37 Years in the Fire Service I wonder what right the Reverend Giles has to insult me in such a way. Would he like to change the words to William Blake's 'Jerusalem' as it is too violent? I already find I am having to fight for my Christian beliefs in an ever changing environment and insulting the few Christians left does not help our cause. Perhaps a little more time spent in prayer for the more unfortunate of this world would be a more constructive use of the Reverend Giles' time.

Another person attached various sentiments and interpretations of my character and political beliefs to their somewhat bizarre attack:

Good morning,

I have just read the news item shown at the link below and am outraged. All I wish to say to you is keep your vile cultural Marxism out of the one true religion. Keep it out of the church. If you want to pronounce your politically correct views go get a job with the fourth Reich in Brussels.

Meantime, shut up.

I replied personally to everyone who wrote to me, sending them a copy of the original article and explaining what I had set out to do. One or two actually wrote back, and I even got an apology.

Notwithstanding the venom, some correspondents and callers were in favour of the view the *Daily Mail* put in my mouth, and rang me to say that they agreed with everything I had said. Which of course, I hadn't!

Reflection

But, to be serious in the face of the whole, slightly surreal experience, we might ask, and reflect upon why a hymn can provoke such a reaction. It is perhaps encouraging that we care so much about a hymn – or that others do at least. We can dismiss those who were nasty, who in the most unpleasant terms accused me of not being Christian, but it is important and interesting to try to analyze what lies underneath. Are these people simply miserable, bigoted, unthinking, prejudiced warmongers? Or is there an opportunity for mission, growth, or enlightenment here? I rather hoped so, which is why I wrote back to everyone, and often received apologies. Even the Member of Parliament who has had been so bold – and perhaps naïve – to criticize me in the *Daily Mail* article itself, apologized to me for not actually reading what I had written before passing comment and judgment.

So, what have we learned? You tell me! The advice from Lambeth Palace (the Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury) was 'don't discuss these hymns'.

This would be shame of course if we are to be effectively censored by the fear of reprisal, or misrepresentation. Or silenced by those who don't in fact want to be challenged at all. For a hymn that is popular has a foothold in the psyche of society and therefore opens insights to the things that really matter – life, death, love, pain, sacrifice. And we have always hoped and maintained that worship and especially hymn singing unites us, and brings out the best in us. Yet that is not always so: here is a hymn that divides people and makes them behave in appalling ways. Whatever anyone thinks of what I wrote, whether I got my facts right, wrote in a sufficiently balanced manner, or was naive, publicity seeking or simply stupid, one fact is sure: *I vow to thee, my country* is loved by many and hated by many. That a hymn can provoke such a reaction is, I think, of great significance and is probably encouraging. For as Oscar Wilde put it 'There is only one thing worse than being talked about, and that is not being talked about.' Hymns are still being talked about in the public sphere, and we should all strive to make that conversation honest, coherent, and instructive.

Appendix

I vow to thee, my country, all earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love;
The love that asks no question, the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best;
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.

And there's another country, I've heard of long ago,
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know;
We may not count her armies, we may not see her King;
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering;
And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness, and all her paths are peace.

Urbs Dei (The city of God) or The Two Fatherlands, Cecil Spring Rice (1859–1918)

Das Lied *I vow to thee, my country*: Betrachtungen nach einem „Mediensturm“

Zusammenfassung

Im November 2013 schrieb der Verfasser einen wissenschaftlichen Artikel über *I vow to thee, my country*, in dem er die beiden Positionen einer alten Debatte über den Gebrauch des Liedes im Gottesdienst vorstellte und damit schloss, sowohl seinen Weitergebrauch zu befürworten, als auch vorzuschlagen, dass eine leicht angepasste Version (die nicht von ihm selbst stammt) den Anliegen derer dienen könnte, die starke Einwendungen gegen seine Sprache und Gefühlslage erheben. Die britischen Zeitungen *Daily Mail* und *Huffington Post* griffen den eigentlich unparteiischen Artikel auf, wobei sie ihn grob verfälschten. Der Beitrag bietet Überlegungen darüber an, wie und warum ein Kirchenlied ein Jahrhundert, nachdem es geschrieben wurde, solche Reaktionen provozieren kann, und was das über die öffentliche Wahrnehmung von Kirchengesang aussagen könnte.

A study of the Chinese Catholic chant books and hymnals in the *des Fontaines* Jesuit Collection

Introduction

With a total of more than half a million volumes, the *des Fontaines* Jesuit Collection is a rich assemblage of books composed of publications used for the education and formation of French Jesuits. The Chinese special collection, with more than 12,000 volumes, contains books, largely related to the mission of the Society of Jesus in China (from the 16th century to 1773 and from mid-19th century to 1949). These were owned by André d'Hormon (1881–1965), a French sinologist who spent more than 50 years in China. In addition, the collection includes Chinese books gathered by Jesuit missionaries while they worked and evangelized in China. In 1998 and 1999, the Society of Jesus and the Municipal Government of Lyon agreed to transfer the books, including the Chinese special collection, to the Municipal Library of Lyon for a duration of 50 years, in order that the extensive resources might be made accessible to more scholars and researchers, as well as general readers. The *Fonds chinois jésuite* is now catalogued and archived under the Chinese Department of the library. In February 2015, I conducted research at the Municipal Library of Lyon, and examined the Chinese collection related to Chinese sacred music.¹

The collection contains 10 chant books and hymnals,² and the details are listed below in chronological order:

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the Ministry of Science and Technology for providing the grant for this research (MOST 103-2628-H-030-002-MY2) and to Mr. Marc Gilbert 馬日新, Director of the Chinese Collection Department and Mr. Olivier Bialais 雷橄欖 for their invaluable assistance during the research process.

² In addition to publications in book form, there are pamphlets and miscellaneous song sheets attached to books as appendices. These are not discussed in this paper.

No.	Year	Title	Imprint	Remarks/Call Number
1	1904	經歌摘要 <i>Cantus sacri / Jing ge zhai yao</i> ³ (‘Selection of Sacred Chants’)	河間府：勝世堂 Hejianfu: Sheng shi tang	SJ ZSI 00521
2	1913	聖歌 <i>Chants sacrés en chinois / Sheng ge</i> (‘Sacred Songs’)	Zi-ka-wei: Imprimerie de T’ou-sè-wè	SJ SZI 00527 Possibly the first edition
3	1915	經歌摘要 <i>Jing ge zhai yao</i>	河間府：勝世堂 Hejianfu: Sheng shi tang	Not in catalogue
5	1921	聖教歌選 <i>Sheng jiao ge xuan</i> (‘Collection of Catholic Songs’)	獻縣：勝世堂 Xianxian: Sheng shi tang	SJ ZSI 00717 Second edition
5	1921	經歌摘要 <i>Cantus sacri / Jing ge zhai yao</i>	河間府：勝世堂 Hejianfu: Sheng shi tang	SJ ZSI 00520
6	1924	經歌摘要 <i>Cantus sacri / Jing ge zhai yao</i>	河間府：勝世堂 Hejianfu: Sheng shi tang	SJ ZSI 00524
7	1930	聖教歌選 <i>Sheng jiao ge xuan</i>	張家莊 Zhang jia zhuang	SJ ZSI 00518 The fifth lead print edition 五次鉛印
8	1947	聖樂 <i>Sheng yue</i> (‘Sacred Music’)	天津崇德堂 Tianjin: Chong de tang	SJ ZSI 00718
9	n.d.	<i>Chants sacrés</i>	N.p.: n.p.	SJ ZSI 00525 ⁴
10	n.d.	增補聖教歌選 <i>Zeng bu sheng jiao ge xuan</i> (‘Supplements to the Collection of Catholic Songs’)	N.p.: n.p.	SJ ZSI 00519

Table 1: List of Chinese Catholic Chant Books and Hymnals in the *des Fontaines* Jesuit Collection

From the chart, we observe that these chant books and hymnals were mostly published by two printing houses, Imprimerie de T’ou-sè-wè 土山灣印書館 in Zi-ka-wei 徐家匯 and Sheng shi tang in Xianxian (Imprimerie de Sienhsien 獻縣印書館). Imprimerie de T’ou-sè-wè (1864), operating under Zi-ka-wei of Shanghai in the Jiangnan Apostolic Vicariate 江南代牧區, and Imprimerie de Sienhsien (1874), in the South-East Region of the Zhili Apostolic Vicariate 直隸東南代牧區 (currently in Hebei province), were the two most influential publication centers for the Jesuits.

These music publications can be categorized into chant books and hymnals.

³ For the titles and bibliographical information of these hymnals, I have followed the Chinese Romanization in the on-line catalogue of the Municipal Library of Lyon.

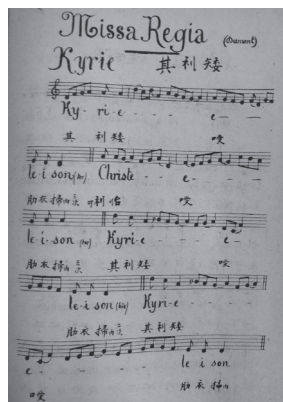
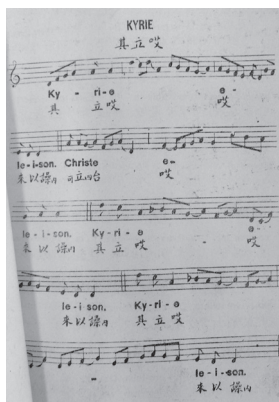
⁴ It should be Extraits des ‘Chants sacrés’ 詠唱經文撮要 from T’ou-sè-wè with the bulk of the pages missing.

The distinction between the two lies in the source of the music. Chant books, such as 1, 3, 5, 6, and 9 in the chart, contain mostly Latin plain chants, and hymnals, including 2, 4, 7, and 8 in the chart, consists of Chinese sacred songs. This article analyzes these two different types of sacred music by investigating the origin of its melody, lyrics, and settings for their usage in order to reconstruct the scenario for the development of Catholic sacred music in China from the second half of 19th century to the first half of the 20th century.

Chant books

Before the liturgical renewal ordered by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), holy mass was celebrated in Latin in the Catholic Church all over the world, and China was no exception. As the sacrament of the Eucharist – the mass – is the source and summit of the life of all Catholics, the missionaries worked hard to ensure that Chinese Catholics could fully participate in the divine worship, especially on solemnities and feast days. One of their efforts was to compile music manuals consisting of the most commonly used Gregorian chants⁵ so that the Chinese people could learn the plainchants sung in Latin mass and other liturgical services. The *des Fontaines* Collection assembles five chant books, including four different versions of *Jing ge zhai yao* ('Selection of Sacred Chants', referred to as *Cantus Sacri* below). Among these, the 1915 edition has verbal texts only, and *Extraits des 'Chants sacrés'* from T'ou-sè-wè exists in the collection, but with the bulk of it missing. Therefore the discussion here is mainly based upon three editions of *Cantus Sacri* that have accompanying music scores.

⁵ In the contemporary Chinese documents found, Latin liturgical chants are often called, 'jingge 經歌' or 'gejing 歌經', literally 'text-chant' or 'chant-text,' which captures the most important feature of plainchants, that is, the texts are the primary focus and should be clearly understood.

Figure 1-1: *Cantus Sacri*, 1904Figure 1-2: *Cantus Sacri*, 1921Figure 1-3: *Cantus Sacri*, 1924

Published by Imprimerie de Sienhsien in 1904, *Cantus Sacri* is a small booklet of 85 pages.⁶ From the remark, ‘Ju jen ban 聚珍板,’ we know that the booklet was printed in movable type. Presented in chant notation,⁷ this edition contains two Latin masses, *Missa Regia* and *Missa pro defunctis* (including the responses of the faithful for the mass), and 35 other Latin chants (with some of them having two or three different melodic versions). These songs are arranged without clear demarcations, but in general they are chants used for the Ordinary of the mass, propers for important solemnities, Benedictions of the Blessed Sacrament and Marian devotion.

The preface for *Cantus Sacri* manifests the purpose for the publication of the book. The author of the preface emphasizes that the publication allows the congregation to imitate the angels in singing praise to God and views chanting as an important and glorious act for Catholics. As denoted by the Chinese title, the volume includes the most important and commonly used liturgical chants.

Liturgical texts are words praising God. Chanting the texts is to conjoin words and music to extol the glory of God. The angels are the best in singing praise to God, so the task belongs to the angels, whose voices are worthy to be heard and who set up a superior model in music and rhythm too. As we sing these texts to adore the Lord, we follow the example of the angels and fulfill our duty for the glorification of God. It is important that we should be aware of the significance of the solemn task and our privilege in partaking

⁶ The pictures of musical examples and book covers are taken by the author unless otherwise indicated.

⁷ The typeface of the notation looks similar to the Pustet edition of the *Graduale Romanum*, but with variations.

in the work. When we sing, we have to moderate the melody and tempo so that it will be a pleasure for God to listen to and so that we don't betray our model, the angels. Therefore this booklet entitled *Selection of Sacred Chants* gathers together the most important chants and presents the key guidelines for chanting with the hope it suffices to provide an aid to better sing praise to God.⁸

Here, the 'key guidelines for chanting' designate '經歌摘要凡例' ('Several Rules for Chanting'), which is an instruction in methods for singing Gregorian chants. The author introduces the musical notations for Gregorian chants, including clefs, notes (nota; '謳大'), the flat symbol, pauses, the preparatory note, and the Chinese transliteration system, as well as the appropriate tempo for chanting. In addition, there is an appendix with samples of modal scales in the key of C ('豆鑰匙') and of F ('法鑰匙'). This could be the earliest Chinese instruction on singing Gregorian chants and its notation systems.⁹

The 1921 edition of *Cantus Sacri* was set by means of lithography and was expanded to 106 pages. One of the most important revisions for this edition is that the music score is modernized to the five-line staff. Other changes include the addition of *Missa de angelis* and instead of 35 chants, there are 38 Latin chants, with some of them from the previous edition deleted and others added. In *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* published in 1921, there is a brief description of the content of *Cantus Sacri*, 'Ce recueil de 106 pages contient la *Messe Royale*, la *Messe des Anges*, la *Messe des Défunts*, ainsi que les chants ordinaires pour les Bénédiction du Saint-Sacrement.'¹⁰ Besides songs for the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, we find others, especially those for veneration of the Virgin Mary, Joseph, and other saints which could be used before or after the Benediction.

The 1924 edition of *Cantus Sacri* is further expanded to 118 pages. Compared to the 1921 edition, there is no significant change in format. This edition keeps the three masses and adds a couple more Latin chants, which now amount to 42 entities. Supplemental chants include *Pueri Hebraeorum*, the antiphon

⁸ '經文乃讚美天主言。歌唱經文，乃將經文和以聲韻，以詠其讚美天主之言。夫詠歌讚美天主，首推天神。其職亦歸於天神。而聲韻可聽。中音中節。亦莫如天神。故吾人歌唱經文。讚美天主。即是倣效天神。盡讚美天主之職分。於以知其職極大，其分極榮。唱時必當音韻中節。悅主聽聞。方不愧為倣效天神。爰於聖教經歌中。摘其尤要者。集為一本。名曰經歌摘要。並列唱經要規數條。聊為詠歌讚主者之一助云。' *Cantus Sacri*, Xianxian 1904, p. 1.

⁹ As for a more comprehensive introduction to Gregorian chant, Fr. P. Odoric Te'eng O. F. M (成和德) from Hubei Province compiled a *Cantus Gregoriani Methodus* into Chinese from different sources. The book, published by St. Lewis Industrial School in 1920, is a rare book about ways of singing Gregorian chants. Please refer to *Bibliographie*, in: *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, Beijing 1920, pp. 342-343.

¹⁰ Please refer to *Bibliographie*, in: *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, Beijing 1921, pp. 438-439. It is worth noting that the second edition of *Sheng jiao ge xuan* was published in the same year.

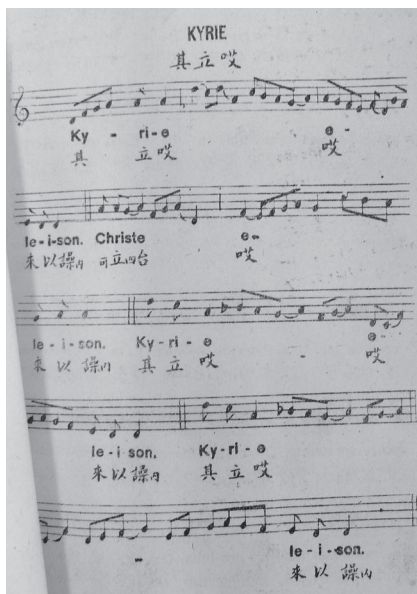
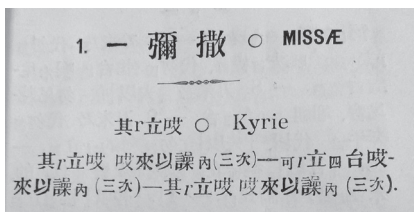
for the Palm Sunday procession, *Ecce lignum*, the chant sung as the cross is revealed at the Service of the Lord's Passion on Good Friday, the *Alleluia* used on Holy Saturday, and the special chants for masses celebrated by bishops.

These various editions of *Cantus Sacri* share one attribute, that is, all of them use Chinese characters to approximate the pronunciation of the Latin for the text. The following music examples present the *Kyrie* for *Messe Royale*, 1^{er} *ton* composed by Henri du Mont (1610–1684); the first uses chant notation [Example 1-1], the second and the third use five-line staff notation (the typography places the Latin text above the Chinese transliteration) [Example 1-2 and 1-3], and the fourth version presents the text without any musical notes or instructions [Example 1-4]. *Messe Royale* by Henri du Mont was used in France for the most solemn feasts, and this tradition was introduced to China by French Missionaries. It was, in other words, once very popular among Chinese people, and was included in many Catholic chant books and hymnals.¹¹

Example 1-1: *Kyrie* from *Cantus Sacri*, 1904, p.1

Example 1-2: *Kyrie* from *Cantus Sacri*, 1921, p.1

¹¹ *Messe Royale* was first published in 1669. According to related research, the mass was chanted in China as early as 1860. Please refer to Ka Chai NG, *The Indigenization of Gregorian Chant in Early Twentieth-Century China – The Case of Vincent Lebbe and His Religious Congregation*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, the Chinese University of Hong Kong), Hong Kong 2007, p. 44.

Example 1-3: *Kyrie* from *Cantus Sacri*, 1924, p.1Example 1-4: *Kyrie* from *Cantus Sacri*, 1915, p.1

From these examples, we can see that there is no standardized transliteration system in the early practices, so that for the same chant the Chinese characters used in different chant books can vary considerably. For example, the Latinized Greek word 'Kyrie' has been translated in three different ways: 'Ji Li Ai (基立矮) / Chi Li Ai (其利哎) / Chi r Li Ai (其 r 立哎).' In order to capture better the accent and tone of the original Latin, subtle typographical indications were used. These include smaller fonts for consonants at the end of a phrase so that the congregation knew that they should be pronounced lightly or adding the letter *r* to indicate the trill sound, which does not exist in Chinese phonemes. Considering the comparatively primitive technology in the printing industry and the manual efforts required for typesetting, we can see how the missionaries were attentive to details in order that the Chinese Catholics could better verbalize the Latin chants. In the meantime, it is also interesting to note that the *u* sound is often written as *ü* which indicates an influence of the mother tongue of the French missionaries.

In terms of the melodic style of these sung texts, the majority derive from Gregorian chants with only a few exceptions. For example, in the 1904 version,

an *Ave Maria* is included, with the music score presented in chant notation. Without scrutiny, it could easily be taken as one of the Latin chants, when in fact it is a rhythmic song because not only is the bar system used but also the rhythmic pattern is specified by using a punctum to indicate quarter notes and a rhombus for eighth notes [Example 2-1]. The *Ave Maria* collected here was composed by Louis Lambillote, a Jesuit, and it was also included in an earlier chant book entitled *Recueil de chants sacrés* 1851¹² [Example 2-2]. Besides these two versions, the song was also printed in modern musical notation in the third edition of *Chants sacrés* 詠唱經文 published by Imprimerie de T'ou-Sé-Wé [Example 2-3].¹³ The two versions have essentially the same melodic structure, but the rhythmic patterns differ because the four-line staff version does not show the dotted notes. Fr. Lambillote indicated that the tempo of this *Ave Maria* should be 'slow and religious,' and should be modulated according to Gregorian chants. What is done in Example 2-1 perfectly embodies the aesthetic intention of the composer.



Example 2-1: *Ave Maria* from *Cantus Sacri*, 1904, p. 73

Example 2-2: *Ave Maria* from *Recueil de chants sacrés*, 1851, p. 135

Example 2-3: *Ave Maria* from *Chants sacrés*, 1935, p. 287

Chinese Catholic hymnals

Along with those Latin chant books that were published for liturgical services, the Jesuit missionaries also compiled hymnals of Chinese sacred songs during the same period. The *des Fontaines* Collection preserves an early version of

¹² Louis LAMBILLOTTE, *Recueil de chants sacrés*, Paris 1851, p. 135. From <https://books.google.fr/books?id=MwTsLdEtub4C>, accessed on June 30, 2015.

¹³ *Chants sacrés*, Shanghai 1935, p. 287. The second note in the score is obviously a typo.

Sheng ge 聖歌 ('Sacred Songs') by Imprimerie de T'ou-sè-wè, the second and fifth editions of *Sheng jiao ge xuan* 聖教歌選 ('Selections of Catholic Songs'), and its supplemental version published by Imprimerie de Sienhsien.

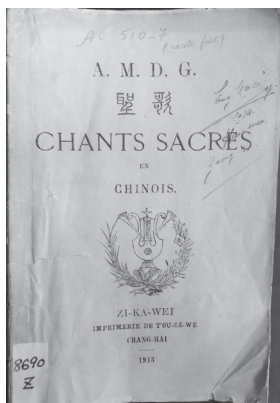


Figure 2-1: *Sheng ge*, 1913



Figure 2-2: *Sheng jiao ge xuan*, 1921



Figure 2-3: *Sheng jiao ge xuan*, 1930

According to the printing-house catalogue, *Sheng ge* was compiled by Fr. Joseph Chen-liang 沈野求, SJ and was made using lithographs.¹⁴ The catalogue does not indicate the year of publication, and the 1913 edition in the *des Fontaines* Collection does not mark the number of the edition on its cover. The current copy is the earliest edition that I have discovered up to now, and very likely the first edition of this important hymnal. Besides its Chinese title, its cover page also bears a French title, *Chants sacrés en chinois* ('Sacred Songs in Chinese'). From the 1st edition to the 6th edition, the hymnal contains 100 songs; it was not until the 7th edition, printed in 1933, that the content was expanded to include 107 songs.¹⁵ These songs are divided into five volumes: 1. Songs for various Catholic virtues (No. 1-15), 2. Songs for the feasts of the Lord (No. 16-46), 3. Songs for the Marian feasts (No. 47-63), 4. Songs for the devotion to the Virgin Mary (no. 64-83), 5. Songs for the feasts of saints (No. 84-100). Volumes 2, 3 and 5 are related to the feast days of the Catholic liturgical year, and the others focus on fostering the faith of Catholics and on the veneration of Mary.¹⁶

¹⁴ *General Catalogue of Chinese Catholic Books*, Hong Kong, Z-561.

¹⁵ The eighth edition of *Sheng ge* is the more common version. The author has seen copies in the library of St Joseph's Seminary in Macau and the library of the Beijing Major Seminary.

¹⁶ The fact that songs about the Virgin Mary form a separate category is an indication of the significance of Marian devotion in the development of the Catholic Church in China. Jesuit missionaries were avid promoters of the mysteries related to the Mother of God. Whereas diffe-

There are two editions of *Sheng jiao ge xuan* of Sienhsien in the *des Fontaines* Collection. The second edition covers 173 pages with 105 Chinese hymns divided into three volumes. The basic principle for dividing the volumes is quite similar to that of *Sheng ge*. The first volume incorporates the first and second categories; the second volume, the third and fourth (by doing so, all the Marian songs are assembled together.).

The fifth edition is expanded to 174 pages with 134 songs, which are further sub-divided into seven groups, namely, Hymns for Retreat, Hymns for the Feasts of the Lord, Hymns for the Blessed Sacrament, Hymns for the Sacred Heart, Hymns for the Virgin Mary, Hymns for St. Joseph, Hymns for Angels and Saints. The publication date of *Zeng bu sheng jiao ge xuan* 增補聖教歌選 ('Supplements to the Collection of Catholic Songs') is unknown. It is possible that it is a revision based upon the fifth edition with 14 added songs. Musically, some of these Chinese hymns were written for 2-4 vocal parts. The multiple voicing is comparatively rare in the original hymnal. The following is a comparative chart between *Sheng ge* and *Sheng jiao ge xuan*, which shows the similarity in categorization of the two hymnals in question, as well as the number of songs collected in each category:

<i>Sheng ge</i>			<i>Shen jiao ge xuan</i>			
	No. of songs		2 nd edition No. of songs	5 th edition	No. of songs	No. of common songs
The Various Catholic Virtues	15	Vol 1	50	Retreat	18	3
Feasts of the Lord	31			Feasts of the Lord	29	13
				Blessed Sacrament	15	4
				Sacred Heart	12	4
Feasts of the Virgin Mary	17	Vol 2	32	Virgin Mary	41	19
Marian Devotion	20					
Feasts of the Saints	17	Vol 3	23	St. Joseph	7	2
				Angels and Saints	12	5
TOTAL	100		105		134	50

Table 2: A Comparison of the categorization of *Sheng ge* and *Sheng jiao ge xuan*

rent missionary groups in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties might have adopted distinctive strategies in evangelization, they shared the common love and veneration for the Virgin Mary. For more discussion on Marian devotion, please refer to Jeremy CLARKE, S.J., *The Virgin Mary and Catholic Identities in Chinese History*, Hong Kong 2013.

Based on this comprehensive comparison, *Sheng ge* and the 5th edition of *Sheng jiao ge xuan* contain about 50 songs with the same melody and a similar title. These songs formed a core corpus of the Chinese hymns used in the missionary regions for which the Jesuit missionaries were responsible. An analysis of the collections in these two hymnals finds some common attributes in the making of Chinese hymns during the early 20th century in China:

1. Though the hymnals bear Chinese title and verbal texts, most of the songs adopt pre-existing western melodies. As many of the Jesuits working in China came from France, a large proportion of the songs find their origin in French *cantiques*. For example, in the 5th edition, where some of the names of French church musicians are acknowledged¹⁷, it is the works by Fr. Louis Lambillotte, a 19th century French Jesuit priest, that are most favored and selected most often.¹⁸ Occasionally, popular and well-known tunes by Bach, Haydn, and Handel are interspersed to add variety to the selection. In general, this reflects the fact that the music and hymns used for liturgical practices and prayer services in the Catholic Church in China rely heavily on canonical western sacred music, and its impact can be found even in the hymnals used today.
2. Similar to the practice in the west, the same melody could be used for more than one song with different versions of Chinese lyrics. Good examples can be found in *Sheng ge*. The lyrics of Song *shengxin renai ge* 頌聖心仁愛歌 ('Praise for the Benevolence of the Sacred Heart,' No. 45) and *Hao-cio shengxin jinlian ge* 號求聖心矜憐歌 ('Plea for the Mercy of the Sacred Heart,' No. 46), and 救靈歌 ('Salvation of the Soul,' No. 8 in *Sheng jiao ge xuan*) express religious sentiments with different tones and perspectives, yet they are cast into the same music, the famous melody by Aloys Kunc (*Pitié, mon Dieu*). *Kunanci* 苦難詞 ('Lyrics for the Passion,' No. 28) and *Shengmu tongkuci sanze* 聖母痛苦歌三則 ('Stabat Mater III,' No. 63) are both set to *Au sang qu'un Dieu*, a popular Lenten hymn in France, which was based upon a melody composed by the Italian composer, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736).

¹⁷ These include: Gounod, Moupou, Levé, Méhul, Adam, Neyrat, Basuiau, Msg. Gay, Labat de Sère, Hitzemane, Guillermin, Gastoué, Kunc, Labordes, Moreau, Martineau, Albinger, Bordes, Souchier, Brault, and Soreau. (The names of the composers are presented as they appear in the hymnal.) Among these composers, Hippolyte Basuiau (蘇念澄, 1824–1886) deserves attention not only because he was a Jesuit priest, but he came to China for evangelization in 1865 and passed away in 1886 in Shanghai. Many of his works were included in hymnals published in France.

¹⁸ From the table of content of *Sheng jiao ge xuan*, there are 11 songs composed by Fr. Lambillotte, most of them Marian hymns. It is possible that the hymnals edited by Fr. Lambillotte in France served as the source of several songs in *Sheng jiao ge xuan*.

3. Only a small number of songs use Chinese-style melodies. In *Sheng ge*, there are two *Yesu fuhuo ge* 耶穌復活歌 ('Hymn for the Resurrection of Jesus') with lyrics based upon an existing Chinese translation of *O Filii et Filiae*. The second (No. 30) [Example 3-1]¹⁹ uses music similar to the traditional Latin chant²⁰, while the other (No. 29) features Chinese-style music. [Example 3-2]²¹ Combining pre-existing liturgical and prayer texts with original Chinese music is another way for creating sacred hymns. Similar examples can be found in *Yesu shengtian ge* 耶穌升天歌 ('Hymn for the Ascension,' No. 31) and *Shengmu dextru daowen* 聖母德敘禱文 ('Litany of Loreto,' No. 82).

Example 3-1: *Yesu fuhuo ge* (II) from *Sheng ge*, 1926, p. 45, National Digital Library of China

Example 3-2: *Yesu fuhuo ge* (I) from *Sheng ge*, 1926, p. 44, National Digital Library of China

4. Last, but not least, in one particular song, Chinese and Western music were combined to create a hybrid. *Shengmu shengxin ge* 聖母聖心歌 ('Hymn for the Sacred Heart of Mary,' No. 86 in *Sheng jiao ge xuan* and No. 59 in *Sheng ge*) is an interesting example worthy of discussion. The version in *Sheng jiao ge xuan* [Example 4-1]²² copies the music of *De concert avec les Anges*, a

¹⁹ *Sheng ge*, Shanghai 1926, p. 45, National Digital Library of China, from <http://mylib.nlc.gov.cn/web/guest/search/minguotushu/medaDataDisplay?metaData.id=500495&metaData.lld=504984&ldLib=40283415347ed8bd0134834eef150010>, accessed on April 23, 2012.

²⁰ This variation of the melody is the same as the *O Filii* in: *Manuel Paroissial en usage à Saint-Sulpice*, Paris 1932, p. 236. This further illustrates the importance of French sources for the repertoire of Chinese Catholic Sacred Songs.

²¹ *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²² *Sheng jiao ge xuan*, Xianxian 1932, p. 114. National Digital Library of China, from <http://mylib.nlc.gov.cn/web/guest/search/minguotushu/medaDataDisplay?metaData.id=500488&metaData.lld=504977&ldLib=40283415347ed8bd0134834eef150010>, accessed on April 23, 2012. For the original song, please refer to Louis BOUHIER, *300 cantiques anciens et nouveaux: à l'usage des maisons d'éducation des communautés et des paroisses*. Montréal 1907, p. 237, from http://archive.org/details/cihm_72751, accessed on July 20, 2015. The editor of *Sheng jiao ge xuan* mistakenly attributed this song to Lambillotte. This error was inherited by later Chinese Catholic hymnals.

popular French *cantique*. The same music is used for *Tianshen muhuang ge* 天神母皇歌 ('Hymn for the Queen of the Angels,' No. 77) in *Sheng ge*. However, the second *Shengmu shengxin ge* 聖母聖心歌 [Example 4-2]²³ keeps the western music for the verse, but the music for the refrain is replaced by a Chinese-style melody. This hybridity, which embodies the context of the East-West encounter, is an interesting trial in the creation of Chinese hymns.

86 聖母聖心歌

聖 聖 瑪 利 亞 仁 愛 無 涯 爾 心
聖 德 燦 雲 霞 聖 瑪 利 亞 貞 潔
無 瑕 天 主 時 時 與 爾 偕 聖 母 聖 心 至 潔
至 貞 上 愛 天 主 下 愛 人 今 我
衆 人 齊 來 欽 敬 求 爾 聖 心 施 仁 恩

Example 4-1: *Shengmu shengxin ge* from *Sheng jiao ge xuan*, 1932, p. 114, National Digital Library of China

聖母聖心歌

Nº 59

聖 聖 瑪 利 亞 仁 愛 無 涯 爾 心
聖 德 燦 雲 霞 聖 瑪 利 亞 貞 潔
無 瑕 天 主 時 時 與 爾 偕
聖 母 聖 心 至 潔 至 貞
上 愛 天 主 下 愛 人
今 我 衆 人 齊 來 欽 敬
求 爾 聖 心 憐 我 們

Example 4-2: *Shengmu shengxin ge* from *Sheng ge*, 1926, p. 84, National Digital Library of China

- While the music relies heavily on works by western composers, the Chinese lyrics could be an exact translation from the original, a loose paraphrase of the original, or even a completely new text written to suit the melody. For example, both hymnals include a song entitled, *Jiaoyao ge* (教友歌, 'Hymn for Catholics', no. 1 in *Sheng jiao ge xuan* and No. 2 in *Sheng ge*) that originates from the French traditional hymn called, *Je suis chrétien*.²⁴ The two Chinese texts are not exactly the same.²⁵ The version in *Sheng ge* follows the original French more closely. Keeping the general content of the verses, the text was translated into Chinese but rearranged in different

²³ *Sheng ge*, Shanghai 1926, p. 84.

²⁴ The original hymn can be found on <http://romaaeterna.jp/piex/piex132.html>, accessed on April 6, 2017.

²⁵ It is rather common that songs with the same title and same melody in the two hymnals have different lyrics. Another example is *Shengshen jianglin ge* 聖神降臨歌 ('Hymn for Pentecost') by a composer named Lamy.

stanzas, while preserving the main elements of the original. The other version keeps the basic scope of the refrain of the original French version, but instills important doctrines of the Catholic faith in the stanzaic verse. These two versions also embody the common practices in handling lyrics. With a few exceptions of the more literary and classical prayer texts that were translated back in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, the lyrics of the hymns tend to be vernacular and colloquial with some occasional ornate expressions. The simple style is conducive to the understanding of the texts – the congregation can assimilate the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith as they sing along.

Sacred Music in liturgical services and public worship

What is the significance and the role of these hymns in the liturgical services and religious life of the Catholics in China during the first half of the 20th century? The following passage from an article published in the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* offers us a glimpse into the dynamics between three types of sacred music and their use in China for the liturgy and life of the Catholics:

It is good that our Church can sing the prayers in Chinese [...] These chants have existed for more than three centuries and are exceptional treasures. Nevertheless, when possible, Latin chants should be sung at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The *Missa pro defunctis* should be sung on occasion. Christians will be happy to see that chants are sung for solemn mass on feast days. If Chinese hymns are appropriate for low masses, then on ceremonies of feast days, solemn masses should be arranged to enhance their solemnity.²⁶

The short passage mentions three types of sacred music in China for the liturgy and life of the Catholics. The first is Chinese prayers. During the late 16th and early 17th century, missionaries who came to China translated important Catholic prayers, such as the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Salve Regina* into classical Chinese. They compiled prayer books for occasions of religious devotion, and more importantly these prayers were set to Chinese-style music so that they could be chanted. *Shengyue Jingpu* 聖樂經譜, an anthology of sacred hymns compiled by Fr. Joseph-Marie Amiot, SJ (1718–1793) is a notable example. Fr. Amiot sent a number of manuscripts back to France, his home country, and

²⁶ 'Nos chrétiens chantent leurs prières chinoises ; c'est excellent. ... Ces chants, vieux de trois siècles, sont ce que nous pouvons désirer de mieux de leur genre. ... Néanmoins il faut bien aussi chanter des motets en latin pendant les saluts du S. Sacrement, là où la chose est possible; il faut parfois chanter une messe des morts ; chanter une messe solennelle aux jours des fêtes: Nos chrétiens le désirent. Si les chants chinois sont très bien à leur place pendant la célébration des messes basses, il faut savoir rehausser la solennité des fêtes pas [sic] les cérémonies et chants des grands messes.' *Le chant des fidèles à l'église*, in: *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 1923, p. 459.

among them there is a volume entitled, *Musique sacrée* with a subtitle in French, 'Recueil des principales prières mises en musique chinoise.' This album of 13 Chinese sacred songs served as a handy device to proselytize the Chinese people and strengthen their faith.²⁷ It became such a strong tradition that some of the songs discussed in this article, such as the *Shengmu duxu daowen* 聖母德敘禱文 in *Sheng ge* followed the model set up by *Shengyue jingpu*.

The second category designates music used in formal rituals. The rule of thumb is, the more ceremonious the liturgical services, the more solemn the music. For this reason, in addition to the several sets of Latin masses collected in *Cantus Sacri*, the author of the article quoted above also recommended that the chants collected in the chant books could be used to enhance the glory of worship. There are also chants from *Cantus Sacri* that are appropriate for the occasions of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, rituals that were highly regarded by the contemporaries in France as well as in China.

It is important to point out what seems like the insurmountable barrier of the Latin language for Chinese people at that time; even with the publication of chant books like *Cantus Sacri*, most of the Catholics could but mimic the chants in Latin without adequate comprehension. Consequently, it is all the more important that hymns in the vernacular language be available for local people to assist the formation of their faith. This explains why missionary priests devoted so much of their efforts to the compilation and publication of hymnals and chant books during the early 20th century. According to the passage quoted from the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, the third type of songs, those written in the vernacular language and related to important feast days in the liturgical year, can be used in low mass, which does not require singing of the proper. These Chinese hymnals incorporate important songs for feast days, especially those related to the Virgin Mary and saints. Moreover, a number of songs are included to teach important Catholic teachings, for example the status of God, the concept of salvation, and the promise of eternal life. These songs can be used for devotional gatherings to glorify God and sanctify the faithful. The comparatively large number of songs for the veneration of the Virgin Mary, which forms an independent category, suggests the prominent stature of the Mother of God within the Chinese cultural context.

²⁷ For a detailed introduction and analysis of *Shengyue jingpu*, please refer to Li-Xing HONG, *Catholic Music in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century China: A Study from a Liturgical Perspective*, in: A. Addamiano, F. Luisi (eds.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di musica sacra*. In occasione del centenario di fondazione del PIMS, Rome 2013, pp. 1231-1245.

Conclusion

The chant books and hymnals in the *des Fontaines* Jesuit Collection represent a partial evolution of the publication of Catholic sacred music materials, from which we can delineate a general picture of the development of Chinese Catholic sacred music, especially its richness and diversity. From these Jesuit hymnals, we recognize the efforts of the missionaries who adopted different approaches to introduce western sacred music into China. These hymnals not only unveil the missionaries' accomplishment in incorporating the musical tradition of the Church, theological concepts, liturgical services of the Church, as well as cultural dialogue and exchanges, but also explicate the religious life and its expression among Chinese Catholics from the fin de siècle to the 1950s.

Eine Untersuchung der chinesischen Lieder- und Gesangbücher in der jesuitischen Sammlung *Les Fontaines*

Zusammenfassung

Die Publikation von chinesischen Lieder- und Gesangbüchern hat eine lange Tradition und wurde von der Leitung der Kirche wegen der Fähigkeit der Musik, den frommen Glauben von Katholiken zu inspirieren, hoch geschätzt. Missionare nutzten Gesänge und Kirchenlieder ausgiebig als Mittel der Evangelisation, und ihre Auswahl spiegelt Diversität nicht nur in ihrem persönlichen ästhetischen Geschmack wieder, sondern auch ihren jeweiligen nationalen und kulturellen Hintergrund. Die besonderen Charakterzüge in verschiedenen Regionen und Gemeinden in China tragen zu der Vielfalt der Musik bei, die für die Aufnahme in diese Lieder- und Gesangbücher ausgewählt wurde. Die jesuitische Sammlung *Les Fontaines*, aufbewahrt in der Stadtbibliothek von Lyon, Frankreich, enthält zahlreiche von den jesuitischen Missionaren gesammelte Lieder- und Gesangbücher des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts aus China. Der Beitrag untersucht und analysiert den Inhalt dieser Veröffentlichungen, um das Szenario der liturgischen und der Andachtsmusik, die in den katholischen Ritualen und dem religiösen Leben der katholischen Gläubigen im China des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts verwendet wurde, zu rekonstruieren.

***O come, let us sing* – Die hundertjährige Geschichte eines Anthems in taiwanischen Gemeindeliederbüchern**

Der Anfang

Im Jahr 1918 wurde in Taiwan ein Ergänzungsband für das amoyische Gesangbuch *Ióng Sim Sin Si* (1918) mit 20 Liedern herausgegeben.¹ Unter den 20 Liedern befand sich eine Übersetzung des amerikanischen Chorgesangs *O come, let us sing* (O kommt, lasst uns singen) unter der letzten Nummer (Nr. 171).

Das Lied wurde von Margaret Mellis Gauld (1866–1960) nach Taiwan gebracht, und als eine Übung für Chorgesang verwendet. In Kanada heiratete Pfarrer William Gauld (1861–1923) Margaret Mellis Gauld im Jahr 1892. Im gleichen Jahr gingen die beiden nach Taiwan, wo Margaret Mellis Gauld dann 40 Jahre lang als Kirchenpädagogin arbeitete.

Über *O come, let us sing* berichtete der pensionierte Pfarrer Lee (*1939) folgende Geschichte:² Als Margaret Mellis Gauld im Pfarrerseminar Musikvorlesungen hielt sowie den Chor dirigierte, verlangte sie von allen Teilnehmern, dass sie die Noten des *Excell's Anthems* haben mussten, in die das Lied aufgenommen wurde (Abb. 1). Daher war dieses Lied allen Absolventen des Pfarrerseminars der presbyterianischen Kirche in Taiwan damals ein Begriff.

¹ Das letzte amoyische Gesangbuch *Ióng Sim Sin Si* (1897) beinhaltete 151 Lieder. Darum begann der Ergänzungsband in Taiwan mit der Nummer 152. Die 20 Lieder wurden unter den Nummern 152 bis 171 aufgezählt.

² Pfarrer Lee erinnert sich, dass das Lied aus dem *Excell's Anthems* gekommen ist. Chin-Hsin LEE, *Zur Geschichte des Liedes "O come, let us sing"*, in: Taiwan Church News of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, Nr. 2762/2763 (31. Jan.–13. Feb. 2005).

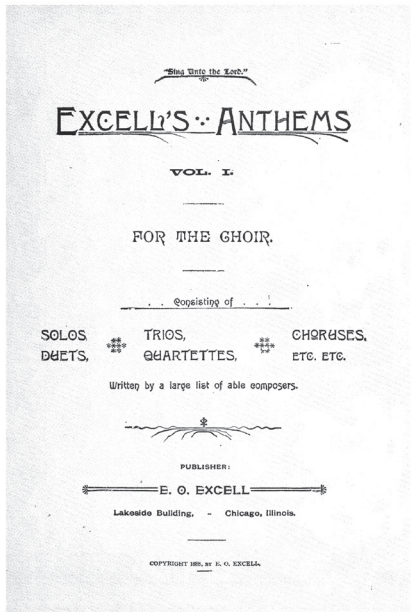


Abb. 1: *Excell's Anthems I*, Ausgabe 1886

Edwin Othello Excell (1851–1921), Sohn eines deutschen Pfarrers, gab das *Excell's Anthems* in Chicago heraus. Excell war Musiker, und arbeitete mit dem amerikanischen Erweckungsprediger Samuel Porter Jones (1847–1906) über 20 Jahre zusammen. 1883 gründete Excell die Firma E. O. Excell Co., die einst mit einer Auflage von einer Million Büchern als der größte Gesangbuchverlag der USA galt.³ Excell selbst schrieb mindestens 32 Liedtexte und 26 Liedmelodien.⁴ Die Hefte des *Excell's Anthems* waren sicher ein Ergebnis der Erweckungsbewegung von Samuel Porter Jones, an dessen Predigtkampagnen Excell teilnahm.⁵ Zwischen 1886 und 1899 kamen insgesamt sechs Bände des *Excell's Anthems* heraus.⁶ Der Inhalt des ersten Bandes (1886), in den das Lied *O come, let*

³ Russell SANJEK, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years*, Bd. II: *From 1790 to 1909*, Oxford University Press 1988, S. 258.

⁴ Edwin Othello EXCELL, *Excell's Anthems for the Choir* (Bd. 1 u. 2 im Doppelband), Chicago 1886, 1888.

⁵ „E. O. Excell“, in: *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E._O._Excell, aufgerufen am 31. Januar 2015.

⁶ Weitere Bände sind: E. O. EXCELL, *Excell's Anthems for the Choir* (Bd. 3 u. 4 im Doppelband). Chicago 1890, 1893; *Excell's Anthems for the Choir* (Bd. 5 u. 6 im Doppelband), Chicago 1899.

us sing aufgenommen wurde, besteht aus insgesamt 48 Liedern – 14 Melodien daraus stammen von Edwin Othello Excell selbst und acht Melodien von Henry A. Lewis.⁷ Über den Komponisten Henry A. Lewis wissen wir nicht viel. Er hat für alle Bände des *Excell's Anthems* insgesamt 18 Melodien geschrieben (Tab. 1) und trug neben Excell sehr viel zu den Heften bei:

Band	Nr.	Seite	Titel
1	5	8	<i>Bless the Lord</i>
	6	144	<i>Come unto me</i>
	13	31	<i>How beautiful</i>
	26	147	<i>O come, let us sing</i>
	28	64	<i>O that my sin were gone</i>
	29	50	<i>Peace on earth</i>
	39	131	<i>Sing Jehovah's praises</i>
	45	112	<i>The beacon light</i>
2	59	205	<i>Gracious Spirit, love divine</i>
3	119	22	<i>Make a joyful noise</i>
	141	50	<i>Who shall ascend?</i>
4	163	377	<i>Love divine</i>
	175	352	<i>Praise ye the Lord</i>
	183	342	<i>Something for thee</i>
5	199	137	<i>God be merciful</i>
6	256	350	<i>I heard the voice of Jesus</i>
	264	232	<i>Jesus, and shall it ever be</i>

Tabelle: Kompositionen von Henry A. Lewis in den 6 Bänden des *Excell's Anthems*

Herkunft des Liedes

Bei dem Text des Liedes *O come, let us sing* aus Psalm 95 denkt man meistens an den berühmten Komponisten Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759) und an seine gleichnamige Komposition. Der Text wurde seit dem 6. Jahrhundert von Benediktinern gesungen, und gilt als das älteste römische Invitatorium der Matutin überhaupt.⁸

⁷ Die anderen Kompositionen waren von Beirly, Davis, Dungan, Evans, Fairbank, Gounod, Himmel, Kinkel, Kirkpatrick, Leslie, Sweney und Tomas jeweils mit einem Lied; Condé, Danks, Ogden, Root und O'Kane, jeweils mit zwei Liedern; und Hall mit 4 Liedern. E. O. EXCELL, *Excell's Anthems for the Choir* (Band 1 u. 2 im Doppelband), Chicago 1886.

⁸ E. A. LIVINGSTONE (2013), *Venite*, in: The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Christian

Das Lied wurde im 17. Jahrhundert in der anglikanischen Kirche als canticle für das Morgengebet *Venite* gesungen.⁹ Mit den puritanischen Siedlern hat sich das Lied von Großbritannien aus auch in den USA verbreitet. Es steht auch heute noch in der aktuellen Ausgabe des *Book of Common Prayers* der Episkopalkirche in den USA.

Im 19. Jahrhundert waren in den USA viele Chorgesänge mit dem Text *O come, let us sing* bekannt. In der Musiksammlung der Library of Congress findet man in den 1880er Jahren mindestens 12 verschiedene Chorlieder, die mit *O come, let us sing* betitelt sind, jedoch NICHT von Georg Friedrich Händel (HWV 253) stammen.¹⁰ Darunter befindet sich auch ein Lied von B. F. Alleman, auf dem man noch den Eingangsstempel der Library of Congress vom 26. Dezember 1885 erkennt (Abb. 2).



Abb. 2: Ausgabe von 1885 in der Library of Congress

Church, (3. Ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford Reference: <http://www.oxfordreference.com>, aufgerufen am 31. Januar 2015.

⁹ "Venite" (2001), *Grove Music Online*: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, aufgerufen am 31. Januar 2015.

¹⁰ B. F. ALLEMAN, *O come, let us sing to the Lord*, in: *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music, 1870–1885*, Collection of American Memory in Library of Congress 1885. <http://memory.loc.gov/music/sm/sm1885/27700/27764/001.gif>, aufgerufen am 20. Juli 2009.

Die taiwanischen Ausgaben

Wie erwähnt, wurde das Lied *O come, let us sing* zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1918 in das taiwanische Gesangbuch *Ióng Sim Sin Si* ohne Noten aufgenommen (Abb. 3). In den folgenden Versionen der Gesangbücher *Sèng Si* von 1923 und 1930 wurde es mit wenigen textlichen Änderungen weiterhin publiziert (Abb. 4).

Aus dem Jahr 1926 ist die erste Musikausgabe von *O come, let us sing* bekannt. Sie galt als eine Notenausgabe des *Sèng Si* 1923.¹¹ In ihr wurde das Werk auf Taiwanisch in römischer Lautschrift und parallel zu einer chinesischen Version gedruckt, wie es damals in der taiwanisch-presbyterianischen Kirche üblich war (Abb. 5).

Die nächste Notenausgabe war die im *Sèng Si* 1937, dem sogenannten „alten Gesangbuch“, das von 1937 bis 1964 verwendet wurde. Dieses Gesangbuch besteht aus 342 Liedern. Das Lied *O come, let us sing* wurde unter der Nummer 333 mit *Si-Phian 95 phin* (Psalm 95) betitelt. Über einen Zeitraum von knapp 30 Jahren wurde das Gesangbuch in der Gemeinde verwendet, daher haben viele Gläubige das Lied häufig gesungen (Abb. 6). Besonders hervorzuheben ist in dieser Ausgabe vor allem die Notation: Neben der Notenschrift auf fünf Linien wurde auch die Tonic-Sol-fa-Notation dargestellt, die ehemalige britische Missionare aus ihrer Heimat nach Asien brachten, und die sie seit ihrer Kindheit gut kannten.

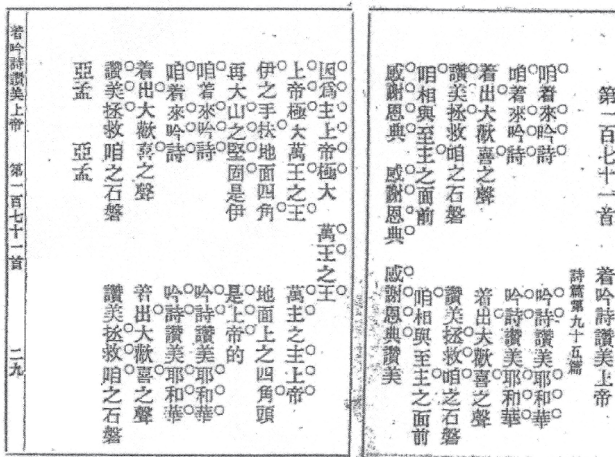


Abb. 3: *Ióng Sim Sin Si* (1918–1919, S. 28-29)
1918–1919 着吟詩讚美上帝

¹¹ Das *Sèng Si* 1923 wurde mit 188 Liedern herausgegeben, aber die beiden nächsten *Sèng Si* Ausgaben von 1926 und 1930 beinhalteten 192 Lieder. Unter den vier dazu gegebenen Liedern war auch eine japanische nationale Hymne dabei.

Obwohl das Lied in der *Sèng Si* 1964 nicht enthalten ist, wurde es durch den 1976 nach Amerika ausgewanderten taiwanischen Komponisten Tyzen Hsiao (1938–2015) noch stärker popularisiert, weil er im Jahr 1982 für die taiwanische Version des *O come, let us sing* eine Chorausgabe einrichtete¹⁴ und sich dadurch das Lied in den Kirchen weiterverbreiten konnte, so dass es bis heute oft als Chorgesang im Gottesdienst gesungen wird. In der Gemeinde hielten das Lied sogar viele Gläubige unwissentlich für eine originale Schöpfung von Tyzen Hsiao.

Die neue Edition des Gesangbuchs *Sèng Si* 2009 nimmt das Lied *O come, let us sing* in den Anhang („Special Anthems“), wo es bereits in der Ausgabe von 1923 stand. Dieses Mal nimmt es unter den sechs darin zur Auswahl stehenden Liedern die erste Stelle ein, der Musik von Henry A. Lewis blieb man treu. Ein amerikanisches Anthem fand endlich als ordentliches Gemeindelied Eingang in ein taiwanisches Gesangbuch.

Anthem und Gemeindelied

Um die folgenden Fragen zu klären, sind mehrere Überlegungen nötig: Erstens gilt es zu fragen, vor welchem Hintergrund das Lied *O come, let us sing* entstand. Zweitens ist das kirchenmusikalische Umfeld der britischen Editorin zu beleuchten, und drittens soll die Edition des Gesangbuchs in Taiwan diskutiert werden.

1. Das britische *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* von 1904 wurde 1920 mittels eines Ergänzungsbands in Amerika erweitert. Darin war der Artikel *Hymn-Books With Tunes* zu lesen. Er befasste sich damit, dass die amerikanische Kirche bis 1850 noch kein Gemeindegesangbuch hatte, das Texte und Melodien umfasste, während die Melodienhefte (*Tune-Books*) für Gesangsschulen oder Chöre angewandt wurden. Später wurden auch für den Zweck der Sonntagsschule und für *social meetings* sowie für *evangelistic gatherings* verwendet. Der Begriff eines *service-book*, also eines Gesangbuchs für die Liturgie, entstand erst nach 1850. Ab 1861 hat man mit den *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in England angefangen moderne Kirchengesangbücher zu editieren. Nach 1880 wurden sie popularisiert, und verschiedene Konfessionen publizierten ihre eigenen Kirchengesangbücher,¹⁵ die Gottesdienstbücher mit Gebeten, Gottesdienstordnungen, Bekenntnissen und Informationen zu Liedern enthalten.

¹⁴ TAIWAN MUSIC INSTITUTE. NATIONAL CENTER FOR TRADITIONAL ARTS, *Who's Who in Taiwan Music—Work List of XIAO Tai-Ran*, in: The Online Database of Taiwanese Musicians 2011, <http://musiciantw.ncfta.gov.tw/list.aspx?p=M019&c=&t=3>, aufgerufen am 4. April 2015.

¹⁵ Waldo Selden PRATT, *Hymn-Books with Tunes*, in: *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. American Supplement, Bd. 6, New York, the Macmillan Company 1920, S. 249-250.

Das liturgische Gesangbuch trennt die Aufgaben für die Gemeinde und die musikalischen Beiträge des Kirchenchores strikt. Das Lied *O come, let us sing* (1886) stammt aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Amerika. Ein Zeitraum, in dem die Kirchenchöre lange Anthems von S. S. Wesley und anderen interpretierten und die Gemeinde an das zwölfminütige *Hör mein Bitten* von Felix Mendelssohn Bartoldy gewöhnt war.¹⁶ Als Träger der meisten liturgisch-musikalischen Aufgaben fungierte der Chor.

2. Die britische Herausgeberin Kathleen E. M. Moody war zwischen 1950 und 1985 beruflich in Taiwan. Da es sich bei dem Lied *O come, let us sing* um „Ein Anthem für Chor, aber nicht um ein Kirchenlied für die Gemeinde“ handelte, wurde es nicht in das Gesangbuch integriert.

Es war ein Zeitraum der Umwandlung, in dem die traditionellen viktorianischen Kirchenlieder noch als Hauptrepertoire der Kirchen gesehen wurden und daneben auch populäre Musik, wie englische Carols und Volksmelodien mit religiösen Texten gesungen wurden. In die neuen Gesangbücher begann man Erweckungslieder und neue musikalische Bearbeitungen von Vaughan Williams aufzunehmen. – Das war die Situation in England in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Danach wurden die Kirchenlieder zweigeteilt: die einen in den 1960er-Jahren von den Nonkonformisten in die von der charismatischen Bewegung geleiteten Worship Songs, die anderen entstanden als eine Art Gegenmaßnahme der Kirchenliedexplosion, nämlich als neueditierte Gesangbücher der verschiedenen Konfessionen.¹⁷

3. In einer derart turbulenten Ära ergab sich in der presbyterianischen Kirche Taiwans auch der Wunsch nach einem neuen Gesangbuch. Man verwendete damals noch das „alte Gesangbuch“, das seit 1937, als das Land noch unter japanischer Besatzung war, über 40 Jahre lang verwendet wurde. Im Jahr 1964 kam endlich das neue Gesangbuch heraus, in dem die Liederanzahl von 342 auf 530 vergrößert wurde, das aber ohne das Anthem von *O come, let us sing* auskam.

Am Anfang waren die Gemeinden in Taiwan noch einfach und ihre Größen überschaubar. Daher bestand 1918 noch kein Bedarf, zwischen der Funktion des Kirchengesangbuchs für den Kirchenchor und für die Gemein-

¹⁶ Peter Le HURAY/John HARPER, *Anthem. §5. History c1770–c1890*, in: Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press 2001, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00998>, aufgerufen am 4. April 2015.

¹⁷ Nicholas TEMPERLEY, *Hymn. §3. The modern English hymn*, in: Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press 2001, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13648>, aufgerufen am 5. April 2015.

de zu unterscheiden. Das Gesangbuch wurde ausschließlich im Gottesdienst verwendet. Das Lied wurde direkt als einstimmiger Gemeindegesang transkribiert und ins Gesangbuch aufgenommen.

Der Zustand der Gemeinde hat sich inzwischen geändert: Die Fähigkeit der Gemeinde, elaborierten Chorgesang zu interpretieren, hat sich erhöht. So bieten die weiteren Ausgaben, deren Noten wir in den Editionen von 1926 und 1937 (Abb. 5 und Abb. 6) gesehen haben, komplette und umfassende Versionen der Gesangbücher.

Die Kirche war 1964 sowohl aufgrund ihrer wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen als auch wegen der Ausbildung des Kirchenchors in der Lage, das Repertoire in Gemeindelieder und Chorgesänge zu trennen. In Amerika und England kristallisierten sich die Funktionen eines musiktragenden Kirchenchors in der Liturgie heraus. Deshalb sprach die damalige Herausgeberin ihre Meinung für die Edition eines Gemeindeliederbuchs aus: Die Gemeindelieder und Chorgesänge sollten voneinander getrennt werden.

Die neue Edition des Gesangbuchs (2009) beinhaltet das Lied *O come, let us sing* im Anhang („Special Anthems“) und stellt es damit als zusätzliches, optionales Lied bereit. Aufgrund der „alten Gewohnheit“ kam das Lied wieder ins Gesangbuch zurück. So wird das Gesangbuch nicht nur von der Gemeinde im Gottesdienst, sondern auch von dem Chor und im privaten Kreis gesungen – überall wo geübte Sänger gemeinsam musizieren können. Diese Wiederaufnahme belegt einen Kompromiss zwischen dem „Gesetz“ und dem situationsbedingten Gebrauch, der einen höheren Stellenwert einnimmt, als die reine Tradition.

Zum Schluss

Nach einem halben Jahrhundert verschiedener Entwicklungen sind es heutzutage eher die Merkmale der Worship Songs, wie z. B. die alltagsnahe Einfachheit der Sprache und die leicht zu memorierenden Melodien, welche die junge Generation der Gemeinden anziehen. Die traditionellen Gemeindelieder und ihre Bearbeitungen sind besonders auf theologischer Ebene seriöser. Ihre komplexen kompositorischen Prinzipien und ihre niveauvolle Poesie sind eine hochgeschätzte Kunst, die heute vielen jüngeren Gottesdienstteilnehmern leider nicht mehr zugänglich ist, weil sie von Anfang an die Musik nur auditiv memoriert haben und die Lieder ohne Noten singen, beziehungsweise die Noten nicht lesen können. Um das Lied *O come, let us sing* auch heute noch und immer wieder zu singen, ist eine ziemlich hohe musikalische Qualifikation erforderlich. Die Zukunft des Liedes im Alltagsgebrauch ist somit ungewiss.

Hörbeispiele

1. *Thanksgiving services for the 150th anniversary of PCT's mission in Taiwan*, aufgerufen am 5. April 2015:
<http://www.tubechop.com/watch/6558704>; (original)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q11C1MLQnXE>
2. *Thanksgiving services for the 80th anniversary of Kaohsiung Synod of PCT*, aufgerufen am 23. Mai 2010:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WS7U42ilx7Q>
3. *Evangelical Formosan Church of Irvine, CA, USA*, aufgerufen am 25. Nov. 2014: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2I5RZ9H1_8
4. *Evangelical Formosan Church of Irvine, CA, USA*, aufgerufen am 18. June 2011: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fu-HULTrZec>
5. *TJC Taipei Choir*, aufgerufen am 5. Sep. 2009:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYgv9VI4Dl4>

O come, let us sing – The century-old story of an anthem in Taiwanese hymnals

Summary

O come, let us sing by Henry A. Lewis was published in 1868 in Chicago. This American choral anthem was in widespread use in the United States of America at the end of the 19th century. The Canadian missionary Margaret Mellis Gauld (1866–1960) brought the anthem to Taiwan. It was included in many Taiwanese hymnals (as a congregational hymn) between 1918 and 1937. In the hymnal *Sêng Si* (1964), however, it was abandoned because Kathleen E. M. Moody (1920–2014), the then British publisher of the hymn, claimed that this was an anthem for choir, not a congregational hymn. After a forty-five-year interruption, the song was reinstated in *Sêng Si* in 2009 as the first of six “special anthems” in the appendix. An American choral anthem has thus become a popular Taiwanese congregational hymn. In this article, the following questions are discussed: How might a choral anthem be transformed into a congregational hymn? Should a choral anthem be included into a congregational hymnal? Should there be limits to the number of choral works in such a hymnal? Should an anthem be sung only by a choir? What is the difference between choral singing and church singing in today’s church?

African American spirituals and their British connection

Introduction

A peculiar genre of religious folk song sprang to the American public's attention after the Civil War with a collection of songs from the coast of South Carolina. These simple songs are referred to variously as Negro spiritual, slave song, southern spiritual, sorrow song, African American spiritual, or Sea Island songs. The songs were 'discovered' by Yankee soldiers and relief workers during the American Civil War. The first published collection is *Slave Songs of the United States*¹ appearing in 1867 and collected from the islands off the coast of South Carolina. But, the reception history of these spirituals begins in Tennessee. Thanks to the efforts of the inceptive teachers and administrators of what is now Fisk University, their Jubilee Singers began regular concert tours, presenting the spirituals to the white folk. Concert halls and public venues in the United States and Europe were packed with admirers in the early years, from 1871 through the 1880s. Former slaves and children of former slaves added their cultural affectation to the carefully edited arrangements of their music directors. Amidst either the criticism or support garnered during the next one hundred plus years, the spiritual became a solid part of Americana. Even today, an American choir travelling throughout the world is expected to present at least one spiritual in their program.

The spirituals

The spirituals are difficult to classify. As categorizing and labels are almost a cultural universal, a polemic discussion of origin began about fifty years after the music came to light. Academics and hopeful historians declared that this music came straight from Africa and was more reflective of slavery than Christianity. Popular romantic thought has the songs wielding encrypted messages for runaway slaves, giving a revisionist ownership of these songs to the slaves and their descendants. Yet, the texts are primarily Biblical and entirely in English. Their message reflects the angst of all who have suffered on earth as

¹ Wm. F. ALLEN, Chas. P. WARE, Lucy McKim GARRISON, *Slave Songs of the United States*, New York, 1867.

well as the excited anticipation of relief. The tunes are simple and singable. The slaves recorded nothing in terms of the actual music or poetry of the spirituals, and neither did anyone else while slavery existed. All collections from 1867 onwards bear the effects of personal taste, Western musical practice, time, human error, and other misinterpretations.

Gospel hymns and spiritual songs

St. Paul uses the Greek phrase *ψαλμοὶς καὶ ὕμνοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ*² in his letter to the Ephesians and *ἐαυτοὺς ψαλμοὶς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς*³ when he addresses the Colossians. In every English Biblical translation since William Tyndale's (1494–1536) version, published in 1534, this phrase has been translated 'psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.'⁴ For nearly 500 years, congregations and denominations have been arguing steadily about the definition of this phrase and its relation to performance practice.

Hymnody in the United States is divided into several periods. The colonial and early national surges of hymnology occurred during the Great Awakening, roughly the 1730s through the 1750s. The next rush, known as the Second Great Awakening, covers the period from the 1790s through the 1840s and the output is enormous. These are the years when most of the music in this study either originated or was reassembled. The second half of the nineteenth century, which includes the revealing of the Negro spiritual, coincides with what is often referred to as the Social Gospel Movement or city-revival period. It is here that the gospel hymns were born. Don Yoder (1921–2015), an expert on the folklore of Pennsylvania and the German spirituals of the Mennonites and Amish, defines a gospel song as 'similar to a spiritual in that its ideas are drawn from the imagery and vocabulary of the Bible, but its ornamentation is Victorian. The gospel hymn is ornate and sentimental, where the spiritual is a direct, elemental, folk-level song.'⁵

'White spirituals'

George Pullen Jackson (1874–1953), a professor of German at Vanderbilt, had an insatiable interest in folk hymnody of the American South. He gathered an extensive and impressive collection of song, through the many volumes of hymns, spirituals and 'Sunday School' songs released in the American hymnal-

² Ephesians 5:19, <http://biblehub.com/commentaries/ephesians/5-19.htm>, accessed on October 10, 2015.

³ Colossians 3:16, <http://biblehub.com/colossians/3-16.htm>, accessed on October 10, 2015.

⁴ Douglas W. GRAHAM, personal interviews, 2007–2014, Detroit.

⁵ Don YODER, *Pennsylvania Spirituals, Pennsylvania Folklife Society*, Lancaster 1961, p. 82.

publication explosion of the late 1800s. Through association with John Lomax (1867–1948), Cecil Sharp (1850–1924), Anne Gilchrist (1863–1954), Annabel Buchanan (1902–1972) and many others, Jackson examined the music relative to the waves of immigration to the American South from colonial times into the twentieth century. He visited religious campgrounds, meeting houses, community sings, churches, individuals and any other venue, black or white. He soon found unmistakable connections between the folk cultures of Great Britain and the United States, and lightly acknowledged an African and Caribbean influence with their derivatives, as well.

Jackson found lines of music and texts between the material from two continents too similar and frequent to be a coincidence. Many of the spirituals and Sunday school songs are extracts or recognizable paraphrases from 18th-century British hymnody. He published several volumes of examples, songs, and interpretation and coined the phrase ‘white spiritual’. Despite much opinion to the contrary, neither this phrase nor Jackson’s meticulous and copious research is racist – blatant or subtle.⁶ The term ‘white spirituals’ reveals his apparent insensitivity to popular opinion that attributed ownership to the American black community, only a generation or two away from slavery. Yoder declares the songs ‘cousins’ and never denies Jackson’s conclusions. His colloquial, but firm, opinion is that spirituals ‘changed colour once they crossed the mountains.’⁷

During the last third of the 20th century much was written about the origins and purpose of these spirituals. The songs captured global attention during the US Civil Rights Movement. After the 1960s, many newly enfranchised scholars of black history, James H. Cone (b.1938), Eileen Southern (1920–2002), John Lovell, Jr. (1907–1974), and Dena Epstein (b. 1916) to name a few, produced historical accounts of African American music.⁸ Much of this seems to be stacked with an understandable longing for possession of space in the elusive records and story of slavery. While vehemently criticizing Jackson’s prose, these researchers usually ignore the musical evidence presented by Jackson, as well as the ubiquitous characteristics of folk music in general. Emotion, theology, and cultural opinion pushed out the actual musical construction aspect of the spiritual tradition. The fact that these songs were not well known by the upper-echelon, the educated urbanites, sparked the questions of origins and development of the genre. What most people didn’t realize was that this type of singing had

⁶ George Pullen JACKSON, *White and Negro Spirituals: Their Lifespan and Kinship*, Locust Valley NY, 1943.

⁷ Don YODER, op. cit. p. 119.

⁸ James H. CONE, *The Spirituals and the Blues*, Maryknoll NY 1972; John LOVELL Jr., *Black Song: The Forge and the Flame*, New York 1972; Eileen SOUTHERN, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, New York 1971; Dena J. EPSTEIN, *Sinful Tunes and Spiritual Songs*, Urbana 1977.

existed for at least 250 years and that this unaccompanied, unison style, 'the old way', or the 'usual way' had been dismissed as inferior in England as early as the 1500s. In the colonies and young republic, strong attempts were made to eradicate the style all together, given the general insistence of rural mediocrity placed on the genre.

Finding your roots

When the origin debate was most active, anthropology was a new discipline. Interest in eugenics had peaked but huge repercussions remained. Africa was in the midst of colonization issues and struggling to be noticed. Throughout the 20th century, opinions were rendered, with and without objective scholarship. Myths were created, and new terms invented.

'We all want to know where we come from', says literary critic and teacher, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (b. 1950)⁹ Over the past decade, Gates has conducted many case studies of prominent Americans as to their familiar roots by using DNA samples and filtering them through the *Human Genome Project*. Gates' results are revealed in a rather lively and fascinating PBS series, beginning with *African American Lives*, and now entitled *Finding Your Roots*. Guests on the program have their assumed family history tested and sometimes changed with genetic and historical evidence. Even Gates, whose family considers themselves African American, was surprised to find his roots are 50% Northern European. The first segment of the program features an almost comical, unlikely reunion with Gates and his newfound relatives in a small village in Ireland! Several of the guests in this series who bear the physical characteristics of blacks, whites, and Asians harboured family information proved false by this new research tool. After each airing, the viewer is left pondering the possible myths within the treasured accounts of his or her unique background.

In his book, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, Don Yoder provides a vivid and detailed description of the early American camp-meetings garnered from letters, church publications, family recollections, historical documents and denominational archives. He says that the spiritual replaced the more didactic and pedantic hymnology and metrical psalmody of the colonial and European influence with live, rather than literary, songs. The music sessions were folk-dominated rather than clergy-dominated, a main difference from the revivals of Great Britain. There were no hymnbooks, and not just because the participants were illiterate, but it was difficult to read with torchlight, or while clapping, waving, or sup-

⁹ Henry Louis GATES, Jr., *African American Lives*, The Public Broadcasting System, 2006, Episode 1.

porting fellow ‘mourners’ (A revival term for the attendants).¹⁰ The Methodists tried to keep hymnals in use, but the people resisted and cast them aside.

By the mid-20th century, major Christian denominations in the USA began to include these songs in their respective hymnals. The Cokesbury hymnals of the very early 20th century bore a section entitled ‘slave songs’, but the first mainstream hymnal to contain a spiritual was the 1940 Hymnal of the Episcopal Church in the United States.¹¹ It was *Were You There When They Crucified My Lord*. The hymnal also included the tune McKEE composed by Harry T. Burleigh. The Presbyterians and Methodists added these two plus *Lord, I Want to Be a Christian* and *Let Us Break Bread Together* to their hymnals published in the 1950s. After the American Civil Rights movement, hymn committees began to look at all the spirituals as possible inclusions in the new editions of their congregational books. The primary hymnals of the Lutherans and Episcopalians in the 1980s included only few spirituals. Both denominations and the Roman Catholics, however, published successful hymnal supplements of spirituals and the camp-meeting songs.

In 1988, the *United Methodist Hymnal*¹² included 30 spirituals edited by William Farley Smith (1941–1997) and in 1990 the *Presbyterian Hymnal*¹³ showed 23, edited by Melva W. Costen (b. 1933). These figures do not reflect the numerous camp-meeting hymns also in the books. *The New National Baptist Hymnal* 2001¹⁴ has well over forty.

Lining-out

There is a curious thread from these songs that directly entwines itself into the spirit of the singer. Most church musicians and worshippers in the United States can quickly pinpoint a spiritual. Identifying other origins of hymn tunes, e.g. English, French, German, is, however, elusive and mostly non-existent. *Were You There*, *Balm in Gilead*, and *Let Us Break Bread Together* have attained beloved status worldwide.

Most Americans, unaware of the hundred years of research in this area, persist in identifying this type of song by one name, the Negro spiritual. Yoder defines the Biblical meaning of the terms ‘Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs’, as used by the German Protestants in 19th century Pennsylvania. ‘Psalms’ are

¹⁰ Don YODER, op. cit., p. 42.

¹¹ *The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America*, New York 1940.

¹² Carlton YOUNG, ed., *The United Methodist Hymnal: Book of United Methodist Worship*, Nashville, United Methodist Publishing House, 1989.

¹³ Linda J. McKIM, ed., *The Presbyterian Hymnal*, Louisville 1990.

¹⁴ *New National Baptist Hymnal*, Nashville 2001.

generally the metrical versions of the one hundred and fifty psalms that appear in the Old Testament. This was the preferred type of service singing for the Pennsylvania Presbyterians and others of the Reformed traditions. At that time, 'hymns' meant composed literary pieces written by British or American evangelists. 'Spiritual songs' were the 'freer, spirit-motivated songs that grew up in the emotion-charged atmosphere of the camp-meeting and other revival seasons of early America.'¹⁵ From the Civil War onward the term 'choruses' was often used, and after the war, the public turned the word spiritual from an adjective into a noun. Jackson added 'white spiritual' and 'black spiritual' to popular definition, and a controversy was lit.

A psalm-sing, or lining-out-Dr.-Watts-style afternoon, is an entirely different venture in sound. There are no books, no notes, no pitches. Today, the leader might be reading the psalm, but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the precentor would have the psalm text memorized. The sound is indescribable. There are neither incorrect notes nor harmonies, and in musical terms, it might be labelled heterophonic. Like as not, the singers hold hands. Psalms of joy, of despair, of praise, and of desolation are sung with passionate abandon. Jackson refers to the Dr. Watts lining-out as 'surge songs'.¹⁶ He admits to hearing remnants of African roots and folkways in the music and says that, 'without a doubt, the most astounding demonstration of folk manner in singing [...] it is the tonal extravagance that has thus far baffled all those who would have studied them [...]. The listening white person is utterly confused, cannot make musical head of tail out of what he hears. European concepts of melody, rhythm, music fail to help him through the maze.'¹⁷

George Pullen Jackson published the only details on lining-out in the twentieth century. Apparently, either this song form was so far outside of the public radar – as Jackson believed – or it was deemed so old fashioned that it wasn't worth the effort. Not a musician, pastor, African culturist, historian, or hymnologist tackled the genre, except in passing.

In 2006, William T. Dargan published his book, *Lining Out the Word*.¹⁸ This is a refreshing work of history, personal experiences and anecdotes for a look at the practice of hymn-singing in a marginalized culture. Dargan treats all previous research with respect, though he will examine discrepancies. With the enigma that is hymn-singing among the slaves, Dargan discusses the works of various collectors and suggests that respective conclusions depend on the

¹⁵ Don YODER, op.cit., p. 9.

¹⁶ G.P. JACKSON, op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Wm. T. DARGAN, *Lining Out the Word*, Los Angeles 2006.

cultural variances of those conclusions, e.g. camp-meetings or soldiers singing by the fireside.

African American, Willie Ruff (b. 1931) is a Yale-educated jazzman from Sheffield, Alabama. After more than ten years of research and travel, Ruff believes lining-out from Great Britain, especially Scotland, evolved into the call-and-response of spirituals and gospel music that influenced other American musical styles. 'The basic stuff that would be spirituals, blues, ragtime, jazz, bebop – everything else that came later – has some of this genetic DNA,' says Ruff. 'Put another way, it means those musical forms have an antecedent from somewhere far from the slaves' native Africa.'¹⁹

Ruff's journey of discovery started as a child in his home Baptist church in northwest Alabama when he would listen to elders present the line during services. As a small child, this totally captured his attention and imagination. The elders, some born into slavery, said the lines in unison. They were dirge-like, impassioned melodies. The singers were illiterate and poor, but they had passion in their singing. Not surprisingly, Ruff, the child, assumed this music was unique to black congregations in the United States, and that it stemmed from slavery. 'It was mysterious – totally without instruments and not with a beat. [It was] the most soulful music. We're talking about people at the bottom, here. And yet, they sang like they had more power than the President of the United States. It was quite wonderful to see janitors and farmers with that kind of deep emotion and surety. That was their *'Blessed Assurance.'*'²⁰

He started to see this music disappear, and after a while Ruff thought it completely gone. In the late 1990s, Ruff was at home in northern Alabama looking for a catfish dinner, and at a friend's suggestion he found one at a rural black Presbyterian church. As he left the car, he was nearly knocked over by the sound coming from the church service in progress. It was the lining out from his childhood. His ensuing research took Ruff from the Hebrides to the isolate southern and mountain communities to hear the remnants of this lining-out in Gaelic and English. In 2005, Ruff organized a conference at Yale on this subject and invited congregations from the Isle of Lewis, Alabama and Kentucky to participate. The simultaneous radio recording was heard by Jane Bardis, in Oklahoma. Bardis, a Creek native American, subsequently contacted Ruff and told him that the elders of the Creeks still used the lining-out tradition. In my own experience, I heard a congregation on Kauai singing this way in their native Hawaiian. Both the Creeks and Hawaiians were strongly influenced by Moravian and English missionaries in the 1800s, bearing the history of English hymnody.

¹⁹ Willie RUFF, producer, *A Conjoining of Ancient Song*, New Haven 2013.

²⁰ Willie RUFF, op. cit.

Concluding comments

Is this music appropriate for corporate worship? That is, are the songs communal or devotional in nature? Are they only appropriate for sentimental or political remembrance? Can they be sung solely by African Americans? Does their association with the Civil Rights movement displace the religious elements? Satisfying and final answers will never emerge from this debate. Over 150 years after the spirituals became part of the genre that is American religious folksong, these songs appear in the same places that they always did: concerts, recitals, and worship services. Once something has been touched by the Gospel, ownership is divine.²¹

Afroamerikanische Spirituals und ihre britische Verbindung/Verwandtschaft

Zusammenfassung

Afroamerikanische Spirituals sind schwierig zu klassifizieren. Eine polemische Diskussion über den Ursprung hat romantische und mythische Fehlaufassungen dieser Musik seit fast 150 Jahren begleitet. Dieser Artikel untersucht ihren Weg durch Psalmsingen und Erweckungsversammlungen im Freien ebenso wie die Einflüsse aus Afrika, aus den Erweckungsbewegungen im 19. Jahrhundert und aus dem sozial-diakonischen Bereich und wirft ein neues Licht auf die Wurzeln dieser Lieder. Vorschläge zum wirkungsvollen Gebrauch dieser Musik im Gottesdienst aufgrund der Verbindung der Spirituals zu den Lesungen des Lektionars bilden einen weiteren Teil des Artikels.

²¹ Robin GIBBONS, *Personal interview*, Christ Church, Oxford 2007.

Hermeneutics of hymnody: A comprehensive and integrated approach to understanding hymns

Hymns are a beautifully rich and complex polyphony of thoughts and feelings and sounds. There are biblical, theological, liturgical, literary, musical, historical, biographical, sociocultural, and practical voices in this polyphony.

The larger academic community has shown an increasing interest in interdisciplinary studies. In what has been an age of specialization there is now a renewed interest in other disciplines growing out of the recognition of a need for dialogue regarding common elements of content and methodology. In many fields of study, business, and industry we are living in a new age of synthesis.

Scientists are exploring new interrelations among the fields. The Pulitzer Prize winner Harvard professor of science Edward O. Wilson said:

“[...] the natural sciences has begun to shift [...] toward new kinds of synthesis – ‘holism,’ [...] We are approaching a new age of synthesis, when the testing of consilience is the greatest of all intellectual challenges.”¹

Stephen Hawking, the world-famous physicist and cosmologist from right here in Cambridge, has spent much of his life pursuing a Theory of Everything (TOE) to explain and link all physical phenomena. He said, “My goal is simple. It is a complete understanding of the universe, why it is as it is and why it exists at all.”²

In spite of all the interdisciplinary studies and synthesis in many other fields, hymnology remains largely a fragmented discipline. There is not an extended work that treats in any depth the multiple and related dimensions of hymnody

¹ Edward O. WILSON, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1998, p. 267, pp. 11-12.

² John BOSLOUGH, *Stephen Hawking's Universe*, Avon Books, New York, 1985, p. 77.

– the biblical, theological, liturgical, literary, musical, historical, biographical, sociocultural, and applied dimensions of hymnody. This is what I have attempted to do in *Hermeneutics of Hymnody*.³

It is precisely the simultaneity and interaction of the multiple facets, the ‘polyphony’, that provide such a beautiful quality of finer hymnody and create such difficulty in discussing it.

There are at least two reasons for this serious lack of a holistic approach and exploration of the relationships. One obvious reason is that most of us do not have the necessary skills in the diverse, though related, disciplines involved in hymnody. I claim no expertise in all of the diverse fields of hymnology, but have an interest and some study in the areas. Those with expertise in each area have seemed disinclined to explore deeply the other areas. Consequently laypersons and many specialists have been deprived of the larger truth and beauty that is inherent in this basic form of Christian expression.

A second reason for the lack of an interrelated study of and especially the writing about hymns is that it is difficult to present the complexity and simultaneity of the many diverse but related dimensions. The complex elements of a hymn are happening at the same time in a short span of time. Prose, unlike music, does not lend itself to polyphony. It is difficult to speak or write clearly about several things that are happening at the same time. Hymnody is complex and discussing it is complex. There is a profound need for a more comprehensive and integrated approach to hymnology. This can be addressed best by more dialogues between those most skilled and knowledgeable and more conversation among those specialists.

In the finest hymnody, the biblical, theological, liturgical facets are bound up with a historical/biographical and sociocultural context and are expressed in distinctive literary and musical forms. All these elements are present in fine hymns and have vital relationships. Obviously, not all of the elements have the same weight and balance in every hymn, but they should be present and should be considered.

A comprehensive and integrated hermeneutics of hymnody may, to some degree, be illustrated by an interpretation of Bishop Timothy Dudley-Smith’s *The stars declare his glory* and its musical setting by Richard Proulx.

³ Scotty GRAY, *Hermeneutics of Hymnody: A Comprehensive and Integrated Approach to Understanding Hymns*, Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc., Macon, Georgia, 2015.

History and biography

An important voice in the polyphony of hymnody is the voice of history and biography. I have been working with Bishop Dudley-Smith for some time and am writing a study of his hymns with some biography. He is certainly one of the great hymn writers of our age.

His hymns have been used for the Enthronement Service of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1991, for the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 2002, and for the papal mass of the visit of Pope Benedict XVI to Washington, D. C., in 2008. In January of 1991, Bishop Dudley-Smith was awarded by the Archbishop of Canterbury a Lambeth Degree with special reference in the citation to services to hymnody. In 2003, he was appointed as an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) "for services to hymnody". In 2011, the Royal School of Church Music, Salisbury, UK bestowed on him a Fellowship, its highest honor. His hymns have been translated into Chinese, Danish, Estonian, French, German, Japanese, Korean, Latvian, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, and Welsh and have appeared in almost 300 hymnals throughout the world. Several of his hymns have firmly established themselves in the minds and hearts of many 20th-century worshipers. Sir John Betjeman, poet laureate of England, in a broadcast of 1976, spoke of Dudley-Smith's hymn, *Tell out, my soul*, as "one of the few new hymns to establish themselves in recent years."⁴ The bulletin of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland following the July 1987 Westminster Abbey hymn sing referred to Timothy Dudley-Smith whose work "has a dignity scarcely matched in contemporary English hymnody [...]".⁵

The stars declare his glory was written in the middle of the 1970s, a time Dudley-Smith, in his two-volume biography of John Stott, called 'a troubled world.' There is in the midst of this larger historical, sociocultural milieu a very personal, biographical dimension in that Dudley-Smith considers this hymn a favorite among his own hymns and a hymn based on one of his favorite Psalms. At the beginning of the decade of 'a troubled world', this hymn, as does the Psalm on which it is based, draws us to 'a celebration of nature and Scripture'.

Bible

A crucial voice in the polyphony of hymnody is the biblical voice. Hymns must be consistent with scriptural teaching. There is an awesome responsibility on those who write hymns, translate hymns, compile hymnals, choose hymns, and

⁴ Timothy DUDLEY-SMITH, *A House of Praise*, p. 421.

⁵ *Hymn Society Bulletin* (Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland), 172, Vol. 11, No. 11, July 1987, pp. 233-237.

sing hymns to understand and honor the biblical words and meanings. Hymns must flow from and contribute to a correct understanding and application of Scripture.

Hymns may, of course, have biblical roots in a variety of ways – quotation, a mosaic of quotations, versification, paraphrase, allusion, or may not quote or even make a clear allusions to biblical events or language and still be ‘biblical’ in the sense that they are consistent with biblical teaching. Almost without exception, Dudley-Smith’s hymns, whatever their specific historical/cultural context, have biblical references or allusions. *The stars declare his glory* is one of Dudley-Smith’s many metrical psalms. It is based on Psalm 19 and follows carefully the flow of thought of the Psalm.

Theology

The theological voice in the polyphony of hymnody is diverse and must be considered by those who choose and sing hymns. Creation and nature are frequent themes in Dudley-Smith’s hymns primarily because of his recognition of the creating hand of God in all around him and perhaps partly because of his close touch with nature in his beloved Cornwall in England. Some of these hymns are indeed among his finest as he sees the redeeming work of God reflected in the creating work of God.

In *The stars declare his glory* there is an awesome sweep of creation and providence in the opening sentence which forms the whole of the first stanza and again in the sentence that forms the entire second stanza. The third stanza moves to the wisdom, sweetness, richness, love, and light of the Lord’s commandments, “a law of love within our hearts, a light before our eyes.” The final stanza is a prayer “[...] that he who orders the heavens and gives the stars their laws will also direct and order the lives of his children.” These basic, important theological concepts are vitally interrelated with and founded on the Scriptures and speak to “a troubled world” at the beginning of the decade in which they were written and to our own troubled world.

Liturgy

The liturgical voice places a hymn in the meaningful flow of the church year, the season, the particular Sunday, and the place in the service itself. In Lectionary B of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which is so much a part of Dudley-Smith’s worship tradition, Psalm 19 is indicated for the Sunday closest to September 28, but this hymn is appropriate for a multitude of different weekly services and for many special occasions in most Christian traditions. The hymn expresses great biblical truths and profound theological concepts suitable to either public or private worship in the meaningful flow of the liturgy. This is a great hymn

of assurance of God's presence in all of his creation and of his speaking to us in his word.

Literature

The literary voice of hymnody is an imaginative, creative language which shapes diction, grammar, syntax, sound, tone, voice, meter, rhyme, speed, movement, mood, rhetorical figures, rhythm, form, and the interrelations of these to give beautiful, powerful, memorable expression to the biblical and theological concepts so basic to liturgy, and to inspire the mind to soar above the limits of discursive prose.

The beautiful opening stanza of *The stars declare his glory* contains the expressive oxymoron "soundless music" wrapped in a meaningful alliteration of sibilants celebrating the silences of space. I. A. Richards, in his *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* and many other writers discuss the effects in both prose and poetry that the very sounds of words, even parts of words, have on feelings, moods, and thoughts beyond their grammatical or lexical meanings. This has interesting and very challenging implications for the musical settings of texts. Within the first five words there sparkle three brilliant 'r' sounds adding to the visual image and meaning. Then there opens that awesome sweep of creation and providence in that one opening sentence which forms the whole of the first stanza. The short statement about the stars is followed by a long, five-line statement, about all of heaven. The strong verbs 'declare,' 'springs,' and 'sings' propel the mind into the stillness of night, the 'vault of heaven,' and 'the silences of space.' The declaration of God's glory, 'the witness of the Master's hand in all created things,' and the stars' 'song' are paradoxically proclaimed through the 'mute witness,' 'the silences of space,' and 'the soundless music.' What begins as a declaration of God's glory and an affirmation that 'the vault of heaven springs [...]' is suddenly hushed in the 'mute witness,' 'the silences of space,' and the 'soundless music,' all conveyed through that masterful use of sixteen, smooth, powerfully depictive sibilant 's' sounds in the one-sentence opening stanza. A similar use of sibilants is found in Wesley's *O for a thousand tongues* where fifteen sibilants occur in the same context of calm and peace in the four short lines: "Jesus, the name that calms my fears, / That bids my sorrows cease; / 'Tis music in the sinner's ears; / 'Tis life and health and peace."

In the second stanza, the descriptive negatives, the stillness of space, and the silences of night give way to the brilliance of dawn and the brightness of day. The words 'burn and blaze' with the 'splendour' of 'dawn,' and 'the rising sun ... that writes in fire across the skies' are set aglow by the four, carefully placed brighter 'i' vowel sounds and the twelve brilliant 'r' sounds in this one stanza.

The third stanza moves, like the Psalm, from the ‘celebration of nature’ to the ‘glory of Scripture’ with the alliteration of God’s ‘law,’ ‘love,’ and ‘light’ and the use of metaphors of ‘honey,’ ‘prize,’ ‘law,’ and ‘light.’ It is a central message of the Psalm and of the hymn that the God of all creation has deemed it good to reveal himself to humanity, to grant humanity his life-changing law which is at the same time pleasant for one who is receptive. There is in this stanza the keyword of Christianity – love, which must be reflected to God and to one’s neighbor. For the Christian, the law is the ‘law of love within our hearts, a light before our eyes.’

As does the Psalm, the hymn ends with a prayer asking, as Dudley-Smith explains, “[...] that he who orders the heavens and gives the stars their laws will also direct and order the lives of his children.” The personal mood seems to be enhanced by the pleasant long ‘a’ sounds of the rhyme and the prevailing and assuring ‘m’ sounds. The personal even intimate note in this final stanza is also conveyed with six of the seven meditative ‘m’ sounds connected with personal pronouns and the significant word ‘my’ is implored in the middle of lines and at the beginning and middle of lines.

A majestic tempo of cross rhyme (a b c b d b) and the 76 86 86 meter lend a breadth to the text that is appropriate to the themes and moods. Counter rhythms of short clauses and long, sweeping sentences; the very sounds of the words and the reiterations of those sounds; and the unobtrusive uses of anaphora, alliteration, metonymy, mesarchia, mesodiplosis, personification, paradox, and metaphor inspire the mind to soar above the limits of discursive prose and to sense, in some small way, the grandeur of both God’s creation and his word.

Music

The musical ‘voice’ gives the biblical, theological, and liturgical content and the literary expression of that content a whole new dimension. *The stars declare his glory* is provided with a lovely musical setting in Richard Proulx’s *ALDINE*, composed in 1983 for this text. The American-born Proulx studied at the Royal School of Church Music in England and was known as an organist, educator, and composer of more than 300 works including sacred and secular choral works, song cycles, two operas, instrumental compositions, organ works, and diverse forms of congregational music, as well as a consultant for numerous hymnals.

His setting of Dudley-Smith’s *The stars declare his glory* is sensitive in its temporal, melodic, harmonic, and formal aspects to the biblical, theological, and literary facets of the text and is a hymn tune suitable in many liturgical contexts. The singable, diatonic melody (except for one climactic note)

is sparse in its rhythmic figures with only four, but they are used judiciously, sensitive to enjambments of the text, and beautifully balanced with the melodic contours. This kind of economy of musical materials is appropriate for hymn tunes. The singable melody is given fresh harmonies that move beyond those of traditional 19th-century hymnody and there are only some two beats in the entire hymn tune that are absent a 'traditional' dissonance formed by a passing tone, neighboring tone, appoggiatura, suspension, retardation, or pedal tone, all yielding a constant eighth-note movement to every beat of the tune except the first and it is a tense dominant 13th chord which 'resolves' to a dissonant, accented passing tone that inaugurates that constant momentum. This propels each musical and textual phrase into the next, honoring the enjambments that are part of the single sentence that makes up each stanza. Following the modified repeat of the opening musical phrase there is, for the text 'and through the silences of space' a change of rhythm, a lovely movement to a minor dominant chord (with the only chromatic tone in the melody clearly anticipated in the contrary motion in the accompaniment). This is the musical apex of the tune and provides a tonic, agogic, and dynamic accent on important words in each stanza – 'space,' 'skies,' 'hearts,' and 'Lord' from which the music then floats down with the text, 'their soundless music sings' in the first stanza. There are expressive melismas on the words 'silences' and 'soundless.'

Practice

The effective practical voice of hymnody is best achieved by applying everything we know about a hymn to the best 'performance' of the hymn. The best education of a congregation is our meaningful performing the hymn in a way that reflects our deep understanding of every aspect of the hymn and their interrelated aspects.

Proulx's setting lends itself to subtle varieties of media, tempi, and volume that can reflect the meanings and moods that are different in each stanza and that can be enhanced by an organist's sensitive registration and playing and by a choir's sensitive singing. The opening stanza might be sung by a soloist, the second stanza by the choir, and the two final stanzas with their resultant phrases, 'So shine the Lord's commandment [...]' and 'So order too this life of mine, [...]' sung by the congregation. Singing in this way could introduce the congregation to the melody, demonstrate for the congregation how a hymn might be sung, and present the message of the hymn in a forceful way. The careful singing of this hymn even by untrained singers can be a worship experience where the beauty of the literary expression and the musical setting present the biblical truths, emphasize the theological insights, and contribute to the larger liturgical context.

Sociocultural aspects

The sociocultural voice relates to the geopolitical, ethnic character and to the geographical origin, ancestry, language, traditions, customs, religion, art, and ideology of the people at the time of the writing and must be considered about the people in our congregations who sing the hymn today. There are sometimes wide sociocultural differences (education, finances, aesthetic, and values) within a congregation and these must, as far as possible, be respected in the selection of hymns.

Conclusion

The stars declare his glory illustrates, as does all fine hymnody, the vital interaction of the historical/biographical/sociocultural, biblical, theological, liturgical, literary, musical, and practical voice in the polyphony that is hymnody. A more thorough understanding of the multiple and interrelated facets of such hymns requires a comprehensive and integrated hermeneutics.

There is much to recommend new and vital dialogues between and conversations among those involved with hymns to explore more deeply the interrelations of the biblical, theological, liturgical, literary, musical, historical/biographical/sociocultural, and practical voices in this polyphony of hymnody.

Such a hermeneutics can contribute profoundly to the writing of texts, composing of tunes, evaluating texts and tunes, editing of hymnals, selecting hymns for worship, and, ultimately to the singing hymns with the spirit and with understanding.

1. The stars de - clare his glo - ry; the vault of hea - ven springs
 2. The dawn re - turns in splen - dor, the hea - vens burn and blaze;
 3. So shine the Lord's com - mand - ment to the sim - ple wise;
 4. So or - der too this life of mine, di - rect it all my days;

mute wit - ness of the Mas - ter's hand in that all mea - cre - at - ed
 the more sweet ris - ing sun re - news the race sures all our
 the med - than hon - ey to the taste, more rich in - than an - y
 the no - cence and

things, and through the si - lenc - es of space
 days, and a writes in fire a cross the skies
 praise, law of love with in our hearts,
 praise, my rock, and my re - deem - ing Lord,

their God's sound - less mu - sic sings,
 a ma - jes - ty and praise,
 in a light be - fore our eyes,
 all my words and ways.

Figure 1: *The stars declare his glory* based on Psalm 19

Words: *The stars declare his glory*, Timothy Dudley-Smith (b. 1926)

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**Hermeneutics of Hymnody: Ein umfassender und integrierter Ansatz
zur Interpretation von Kirchenliedern**

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag stellt das Werk des Verfassers *Hermeneutics of Hymnody* (Hermeneutik des Kirchenlieds) vor, das einen umfassenden und integrierten Zugangsweg zur Interpretation von Kirchenliedern beschreibt, indem die biblischen, theologischen, liturgischen, literarischen, musikalischen, praktischen und historisch-biographisch-soziokulturellen Dimensionen erkundet werden. Der Ansatz fordert eine feinere Sensibilität für diese vielfältigen Facetten und ihr tieferes Verständnis, auch dafür, wie sie in guter Hymnodie unterschiedlicher Zeiten und Traditionen in wesentlicher Wechselbeziehung zueinanderstehen. Dieser Zugang erwuchs aus jahrzehntelanger Liedauswahl und -anleitung, aus jahrzehntelanger hymnologischer Lehre in einer höheren theologischen Ausbildungsstätte, Jahren des Vorsitzes bei Begehungen von Universitäten und Seminaren für nationale und regionale Akkreditierungsagenturen und Jahren ausgiebigen Reisens und Lebens in anderen Kulturen.

Producing a hymnal companion using primary sources

Introduction

Using hymnal companions can be a frustrating experience. Companion authors, pressed for time, tend to copy from previous companions, who have copied from previous companions, with the ultimate source often John Julian's monumental *Dictionary of Hymnology*, whose last edition appeared in 1907, or some 19th-century reference work. Information on a hymn's origin is too often inaccurate, making finding the original sources in a library difficult, if not impossible. And companion authors rarely cite their sources of information, so it is hard to know whether what one reads is trustworthy.

And so when we were asked to edit a companion for the *Lutheran Service Book*, the 2006 hymnal of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, we asked for, and were given, the freedom to do our work from primary sources. As of October 2015, we have assembled 2,676 scans of texts, translations, and tunes from 1,363 unique primary sources collected from 285 libraries and from digital repositories on the Internet. Over two-thirds of the 641 hymn essays are now finished, and so far we have made 148 changes to attributions given in the published hymnal.¹ The book is scheduled to be published in 2018 by Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis. We have also consulted a number of secondary sources. See the online *Bibliography for source research in hymnody*, available at www.cune.edu/FacWeb/joseph.herl/misc/IncompleteBibliography.pdf.

Recent discoveries concerning hymns

We cannot begin to estimate how many new discoveries we have made of hymns' origins. One recent finding concerns John Mason Neale's hymn *Stars of the morning*, [so] *gloriously bright*. That hymn for St. Michael and All Angels has long been credited to Neale as a translation from the Greek *Canon of the Bodiless Ones*. But it now appears that Neale translated at most only the first stanza, and that from a different Greek source. The essay on this hymn argues that it makes more sense to call the entire text an original composition by Neale.

¹ The number 148 reflects the state of the project in October 2015. A year later, in October 2016, the number of changed attributions stands at 413.

Another discovery is the origin of the Christmas hymn *Away in a manger*. It has long been thought to have had a Lutheran origin; but in fact it appeared in a Universalist magazine, *The Myrtle*, in 1884, a year before its first appearance in a Lutheran source.² The intended tune, according to *The Myrtle*, was that of Henry Bishop's popular song *Home, sweet home*. On the page after *Away in a manger* is a temperance song that could conceivably be sung to the same tune: "A pledge I make / No wine to take; / Nor brandy red / That turns the head; / Nor whisky hot / That makes the sot; / Nor fiery rum / That ruins home." That is followed by "The Triple Pledge" against alcohol, smoking, and cursing and by a 9 stanza poem "Where there's drink there's danger."

Then there is the Welsh tune CWM RHONDDA, which traditionally sets *Guide me, O thou great Jehovah* [or *Redeemer*] by William Williams (Pantycelyn). Apparently the tune's composer, John Hughes, was earning so much from occasional printings of the tune that he did not allow it to be put into a permanent collection because it would earn less. Meanwhile, two variants of the sixth phrase of the tune developed, one used in Britain and the other in America. They are in fact not all that different, because the American version uses the British tenor part as the tune, and vice versa. Which was the original? Bernard Massey addressed this question twice in 2000 in the *Hymn Society Bulletin*, and John Rhys did so in 2010. Rhidian Griffiths has also done quite a bit of work on the problem. But no one could be certain of the answer because no copy of the hymn festival program from 1907, where the hymn was first sung, was known. Thus matters stood until 2013, when Herl chanced upon the website of the Pontypridd Museum and saw a photograph of a program for a *cymanfa ganu* held at "Capel Rhondda" on Sunday, 1 November 1907. The museum's curator, Brian Davies, tracked down the original program, which was in the possession of a woman whose grandmother had attended the 1907 hymn festival and had saved the program. So now we know the answer: the British version is the original.³

Incidentally, the date on the program is wrong – in 1907 the 1st of November was on a Friday, not a Sunday. In response to our query, Brian Davies checked local newspapers and discovered a notice placing the festival on Sunday 17 November 1907. The date on the program itself appears to have been a printer's error.

² *The Myrtle* 34 (Boston, May 3, 1884), p. 6. The first Lutheran source was *Little Children's Book: for schools and families*, by authority of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America (Philadelphia, 1885), no. 113.

³ Joseph HERL, *Earliest source of Cwm RHONDDA found*, in: *The Hymn Society Bulletin* (Summer 2015), pp. 98-102.

Biographical discoveries

In addition to hymn essays, this companion includes nine longer essays providing a general overview of Christian hymnody with an emphasis on American Lutheran contributions and nine essays covering theological and practical considerations. There are also about 640 biographies of authors, translators, composers, and arrangers. The total number of biographies continues to change as research on the hymns and their attributions proceeds. We are sometimes discarding biographies or finding that new ones are needed.

While it might have been desirable, it has proven impossible to consult primary sources for every fact in a biography (for example, birth place and date, career details, publications and contributions, death place and date, and even spelling of the name). Instead, we adopted the policy that we would confirm important facts in at least two published sources. If there was a disagreement, we went to the primary sources, such as birth and baptismal records, death and funeral records, obituaries, and autobiographical material, which is often found in the prefaces and forewords to published collections.

There were more than a few biographies that required extra attention and some mysteries that were solved. The translation of *O Jesulein süß, o Jesulein mild* (*O Jesus so sweet, O Jesus so mild*) was prepared by Frieda Pietsch, but we knew nothing about this woman. It was reported in another hymnal companion that she must have been affiliated with our church body because the earliest source of her translation was published by our own publisher, Concordia Publishing House.⁴ Searches of genealogical records showed a Frieda Pietsch who was born in Australia and later took the married name Priebbenow. An email to a Priebbenow living in Australia resulted in the reply that Frieda was his mother and a translator of hymns. She wrote the translation as a young woman before marriage, and it appeared in the periodical *The Australian Lutheran*.⁵ This deeper digging resulted in a complete biography and the identification of the primary source of her translation.

Another mystery was the composer of the tune DENBY. The only information we had was that it was written by a man named Charles J. Dale in 1904. We did not know the source of the tune or any biographical details of the man, not even his nationality. Dale had been forgotten to time, but his son, the Nobel laureate Sir Henry Hallett Dale, had not. A biography of the son revealed that the father (who generally went by his initials C. J. Dale) was in the pottery business and an amateur musician.⁶ He contributed to *The Methodist Hymn-Book with Tunes*,

⁴ C. T. AUFDEMBERGE, *Christian Worship: Handbook*, Milwaukee 1997, pp. 382, 810.

⁵ *The Australian Lutheran* 20 (December 20, 1932), p. 1.

⁶ W. S. FELDBERG, Henry Hallett DALE, in: *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the*

which was published by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1904, and was the first publication of the tune in question.⁷

One of the most difficult nuts to crack was Alan McDougall, the translator of the hymn *Christe, lux mundi, salus et potestas* (*Christ, mighty Savior, Light of all creation*). It was known that McDougall published his translation in 1916, but subsequent hymnals and companions gave essentially no other biographical information. At some point McDougall had changed his name to A. S. B. Glover. (Changing one's name is simply not playing fair with biographers!) An obituary in a publishing trade journal provided the clue that Glover had been an editor at Penguin Books.⁸ This curious personality was described as being a polymath who was hired at Penguin after the Penguin staff grew tired of him sending back copies of published books marked with errata. He is believed to be the source of one of the characters in Morchard Bishop's novel *The Green Tree and the Dry*, and his varied career included stints as a conscientious objector convict during the First World War, a tattooed man with the circus, and a translator and editor.⁹ It was said that he was covered from the neck down in tattoos. When he was working later in life as an editor, he would wear a fingerless glove on his right hand to cover the tattoos. Is this perhaps the reason he took the name Glover?

Organization of hymn essays

The layout of the hymn essays is similar to what one finds in the German hymnal companions. The first half of the essay is the hymn's historical summary. The author is given, then the earliest published source, with page numbers, heading to the hymn, the first line, number of stanzas, and a comment correcting an error in Julian's *Dictionary of hymnology*. Then follow references to scholarly editions, if any, and commentaries. Similar information follows for the sources of the translation. For every original text or translation in English, each change in our hymnal from the earliest source is given. A bibliography follows listing the most important secondary sources.

The historical summary for the tune gives the tune name, its pronunciation, its derivation, a historical category, its composer, and information from its earliest sources, including the tune name in the source, the composer attribution, the text, the final note of the melody, and the voicing.

Following the historical summary is an essay covering the text's back-

Royal Society 16 (November 1970), pp. 77-144. See also Dale's obituary in: *The Musical Times and Singing-Class Circular* 53 (July 1, 1912), p. 456.

⁷ *The Methodist Hymn-Book with Tunes*, London 1904, no. 484.

⁸ *The Bookseller* (January 15, 1966), p. 108.

⁹ Steve HARE, ed., *Penguin Portrait: Allen Lane and the Penguin Editors 1935-1970*, London 1995, pp. 120-133.

ground, a discussion of the text, and a discussion of the tune, with sources of information in footnotes. The essays, which were farmed out to over a hundred authors, are signed.

Experiences of editing

If using hymnal companions is a frustrating experience, editing them can be downright exasperating. One marvels at the work that scholars such as Julian did in an age before online catalogs, Google searching, and e-mail. Julian and others amassed tremendous collections of hymnals and other sources. But these huge collections, focused on the subject of hymnology as they were, cannot even begin to compare to the overwhelming amount of information we have at our fingertips.

So one must understand the difference between searching and researching. It takes almost no effort to find countless primary and secondary sources digitized and fully searchable (although we are still awaiting a good way to search musical notation). Library catalogs are no longer available only in card catalogs. Librarians and archivists around the globe are only an email away. What once required careful thought and planning, phone calls, letters, and expensive international travel can be done today with an email and a camera on a phone. New and forgotten sources are turning up regularly in former Eastern Bloc countries. Attempting to produce a hymnal companion using primary sources would have been nearly unthinkable not so many years ago. But today, with the dizzying number of resources available, the task for the researcher and the editor becomes one of discernment. We must wade through search results to glean information that is pertinent, trustworthy, and useful; and the responsibility to be both thorough and accurate is even greater now that we have such tools.

Erstellung einer Gesangbuchbegleitpublikation unter Nutzung von Primärquellen

Zusammenfassung

Viele Herausgeber englischsprachiger Begleithandbücher zu Gesangbüchern haben dazu geneigt, Informationen aus vorangegangenen Handbüchern zu übernehmen, für die die Basisquelle oft Julians *Dictionary of Hymnology* 1907 oder ein Nachschlagewerk aus dem 19. Jahrhundert war. Die Herausgeber des Handbuchs zum *Lutheran Service Book* 2006 der Lutherischen Kirche – Missouri Synode, Joseph Herl und Peter C. Reske, verwenden stattdessen Primärquellen, sammeln die früheste Fassung jedes Texts, jeder Übersetzung und jeder Melodie im Gesangbuch, was bis jetzt zu über 400 geänderten Zuordnungen und Befunden geführt hat. Das Buch soll 2018 im Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis erscheinen.

Als Beispiele werden in diesem Beitrag neue Informationen vorgestellt, die die Autorschaft des Liedes *Stars of the morning, so gloriously bright*, die früheste Quelle des Textes *Away in a manger* und der Melodie CWM RHONDDA, sowie die Biografien von Frieda Pietsch, Charles J. Dale und Alan McDougall betreffen.

Psalms for All Seasons¹

Editorial note

The sectional was not a formal presentation. There was no prepared manuscript. In the sectional, Martin Tel provided some background on the publishing of the book *Psalms for All Seasons*. Then the participants sang through examples of Psalm settings, focusing on Psalms 96 and 14. Tel provided commentary throughout the sectional. What follows here is Tel's introduction and commentary.

Introduction

This anthology of liturgical psalm settings was published in 2012. I served as the senior editor of the volume. The project began as an assignment for a denominational hymnal servicing the Reformed Church in America and the Christian Reformed Church in North America denominations. This hymnal was published in 2013: *Lift Up Your Hearts: Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs*². As part of the Dutch Reformed traditions in North America, psalm singing figured prominently in these denominations, particularly the Christian Reformed denomination. The hymnal committee was mandated to include representation of all 150 Psalms in the new hymnal.

I served as chairperson of the psalms committee for the hymnal project. Our group considered the previous Psalters of our denominations. These Psalters consisted exclusively of metrical forms of psalms. The implication of singing a psalm as a metrical hymn is that the congregation gives assent to the sung text. This made the singing of many of the psalms untenable. Though we had complete metrical Psalters, there were clearly some psalms that were never sung. While we accepted the denomination's mandate to have all psalms represented in the new hymnal, we questioned the logic of knowingly including instances that even we could not imagine anyone using. We hoped to do something better than providing unsung metrical place-holders for each psalm.

¹ *Psalms for All Seasons: A Complete Psalter for Worship* was published in 2012 by Faith Alive Christian Resources (Grand Rapids, Michigan).

² Grand Rapids, Michigan: Faith Alive Christian Resources.

Our psalms committee collated all the psalm resources in North American denominational hymnals and Psalters and began to comb through them. Soon we had side by side the Lutheran chant Psalter, Roman Catholic antiphons and folk settings, Reformed metrical settings, global settings, Psalm settings from Iona and Taizé, Orthodox and Anglican chants, and modern praise songs. We had collected much more than we could include in the hymnal. In fact, we looked at literally thousands of psalms. Viewing these songs side by side, we became convinced that we had something to offer the broader church, beyond our small Reformed denominations. The idea for a stand-alone ecumenical Psalter was conceived.

However, it had to be acknowledged that there was no ecumenical hue and cry for a robust Psalter. No one was thinking in these terms. And here is where good ideas often come to a dead end – unless there is someone willing to assume the financial risk of the project. We were fortunate to have the Calvin Institute of Christian Worship (www.worship.calvin.edu) step in to invest in the project. The investments have been returned, I am happy to say. As of this presentation the Psalter is going into its fourth printing.

Having poured over these thousands of psalm instances, the committee still came up short on some of the psalms, particularly the heretofore ‘unsung’ psalms. We created a wish list which was sent to the Hymn Society in the United States and Canada (HSUSC). This list quickly jumped the Atlantic. I rechecked my correspondence and confirmed that it was David Lee who picked up our wish list and shared it with the Hymn Societies in Great Britain, and Ireland (HSGBI). Eventually we began hearing from folk in Australia and New Zealand too.

For more information with regard to the rationale and approach to this Psalter, I quote from the Introduction:

This Psalter is designed to promote faithful and fruitful use of the biblical psalms in Christian worship. It arises out of a sense of wonder at the psalms’ spiritual vitality, rugged beauty, and enduring pastoral relevance for communities all over the world. It is guided by three overarching commitments: to encourage thoughtful and faithful engagement with the text of each psalm; to feature musical choices that are singable and accessible; and to be hospitable to a relatively wide range of traditions and cultures.

It is composed of contributions from the long history of Christian psalmody as well as from the recent outpouring of new psalm settings from a wide range of Christian traditions and cultures. Whereas most collections of psalmody focus on one approach, this volume draws freely from a wide variety of approaches and styles, providing multiple options and making it possible to easily compare the strengths of each. (p. ii)

In addition to the 150 Psalms, we also included four canticles and, by including four composite prayer services, we were also able to sneak in four musical set-

tings of the Lord's Prayer. The volume includes many indices. One worth noting is the *Index of Genre and Musical Styles* (p. 1105 ff.). Since this book represents so many different traditions and Christian denominations, one might inherently feel lost. We got the sense from those looking over our shoulders that it would be useful to be able to quickly locate 'home base' for any given community.

Psalm 96

Let us look at Psalm 96 (p. 596). This is how each psalm in the Psalter begins, with a full translation from the *New Revised Standard Version* (NRSV), a fairly conservative translation from the Hebrew to which all the ensuing instances can be held up. Though there is great potential for the Psalter to pull Christians together, we recognize that historically the way we have sung psalms in church has divided Christians. You have, for instance, the Scottish Psalter which attempts to get it all in. You have the Watts tradition, happy to have Jesus dropped into the psalm. You have lectionary traditions that might cut out less palatable portions of an assigned psalm. At the end of the 20th century popular praise choruses latched on to single verses of psalms. With such diverse and potentially divisive approaches to psalm singing, we sought to ensure that the entire Psalter was present and accounted for, and that users of the book had a critical baseline for each psalm.

While we were at it, we set the NRSV text for responsive reading. This is not done in slavish every-other-verse fashion. We sought in the responsive layout to uncover shifts in the psalm, and thereby uncover meaning in the psalm. The entire Psalter is pointed for singing. Even as some communions only speak the psalms, at the other end of the spectrum are those communions that would only chant the psalms. Instructions for chanting can be found in the introduction. In the appendix there are general refrains that can be used with this chanting.

Each NRSV setting is followed by a spoken psalm prayer. These are not generic Trinitarian blessings tacked on to the psalm, a one-size-fits-all approach. Rather, these prayers model different approaches a psalm prayer might take – sometimes Christological, sometimes affirming of the psalm, sometimes actively pushing back against the psalm. And finally, there is a brief footnote for each psalm suggesting something of the literary structure of the psalm and its potential uses in the Christian liturgy.

What follows on pp. 597-605 are the musical settings of Psalm 96. By paging through this section we can get an idea of the breadth of styles, sources and traditions.

Selection 96A, *Come and Sing a New Song*, introduces us to music from the Punjabi region of India and Pakistan. The Punjabi text is translated by Ali-

son Blenkinsop. We had a desire to honor different traditions of singing. I-to Loh advised us with regard to the presentation of Asian compositions. This one came to us with a Western harmonization (Geoff Weaver) which works very well. We do not want to dismiss this sort of fusion. But whenever possible we provide suggestions for more authentic accompaniment. Here a simple ostinato pattern allows for unison singing. (In the back of the book performance notes are provided. See pp. 1077-1094.)

Our next example is uniquely American, from the early 20th century. If you turn to 96B, you find a metrical setting entitled *Sing to the Lord, Sing His Praise* set to the tune WESLEY. The tune is by Lowell Mason, famous for establishing singing in the curriculum of American schools in the 19th century. The text comes from the *Psalter* published by the United Presbyterian Church in 1912. These Presbyterians were part of the more conservative psalm singers who never acquiesced to the looser versifications of Isaac Watts which became popular among mainstream Presbyterians in the United States. In an attempt to preserve psalm singing in the early 20th century, the United Presbyterians presented a *Psalter* with fresh language and set to tunes which were mostly indigenous to America. Much of the 1912 *Psalter* is still used by some groups today, including the Christian Reformed Church. The hand-in-glove match of text and tune make many of these settings winsome and enduring.

Turning to 96C, we have an entirely different type of psalm setting. This responsorial setting comes from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. In the *Psalms for All Seasons* volume we provided a setting from the Evangelical Lutheran Psalter for each psalm or portion of psalm that appears in the Revised Common Lectionary. Lutherans in America tend to chant the psalms congregationally, using very simple tones such as we find here. For the lectionary psalms we also provided at least one refrain. These are useful where the verses are chanted by a cantor or choir. Here the congregation might frame the psalm with a sung antiphon that reflects both the content of the psalm and the psalm's location in the lectionary. When lectionary psalms appear in more than one season of the church year, additional refrains are sometimes provided.

We now sample a setting of Psalm 96 which combines efforts from both the HSGBI and the HSUSC. The versification at 96D, *Sing, Sing, Sing to the Lord*, is a text by Christopher Idle. It came to our committee as text only. The meter [6.8.7.5.5.5.5.8.8] prevented us from attaching it to any common tune! Iteke Prins learned that this text had landed in our hopper and she offered a new tune, SING. It captures the joy and playfulness of Idle's text.

Quickly moving through the rest of Psalm 96, take note of 96E, *Sing a Song to God*, a Filipino song by Francisco F. Feliciano, SALIDUMMAY. The stark accompaniment of hand claps and xylophone ostinato comes straight from I-to Loh.

The punctuation of the refrain “Ay, Ay, Salidummay” is just enough to remind singers of the song’s provenance. There is no time signature and no pronounced sense of strong or weak beats. Together with the ostinato accompaniment the setting is mesmerizing. It tells us something of the singers in the Philippines.

The setting at 96F, Scott Soper’s *Sing to the Lord a New Song*, creates an overt connection to the Christmas season by using the tune ES IST EIN ROS ENTSPRUNGEN. Indeed, Psalms 96, 97 and 98 are part of the Christmas lectionary cycle. The choice of tune, however, is counterintuitive. Unlike our robust singing of *Joy to the World* (Watts, Psalm 98), this quiet singing of Psalm 96 suggests something of a cosmic song, like the distant music of the spheres, or the deep song of the whale – a more austere joy.

Now, we turn to 96G, *Sing to the Lord No Threadbare Song*. Carl Daw, past director of the HSUSC, wrote this wildly imaginative text. It is set to a playful tune by Alfred Fedak, CANTICUM NOVUM. It begs the writing of new songs, but not just any new song. Nothing threadbare, nothing toothless, no sentimental platitudes, but *raise a song just off the loom, fresh-woven, strong, and dense*.

And rounding off Psalm 96, we have another fusion setting, this one by Helen L. White. At 96H, *O Sing a New Song*, we have a four-part chant setting which is certainly Anglican chant inspired. But the harmonies are jazzy. While this Psalter includes many bona fide Anglican chant psalms, such as C.V. Stanford’s setting of Psalm 150 (150E), this setting may be more at home in New York than York.

Psalm 14

Psalm 96 is already a joyful hymn. It provides quite a range of material to explore. But before we finish, let us consider one more psalm which might not be conducive to the affirmative singing of a ‘hymn.’ Psalm 14 is such a psalm. The opening line: *The fools say in their hearts, “There is no God.”* If this was the title of a hymn, you can see why worship planners might have an allergic reaction to this psalm! Consider three ways that this psalm has been recast for congregational use.

At 14A we have a setting by David Lee. First of all, consider the refrain Lee provides: “Oh that your salvation and rescue would swiftly come to renew your people”. It is important in this case that the first line, the refrain the people sing, is not about ‘the fools.’ Hebrew poetry does not assume that the first line is the banner for the Psalm. The use of a refrain or antiphon can redirect us to the thrust of a psalm. Here, Lee takes the last verse as the theme. Also, the performance notes suggest what Lee intended – that the verses could be sung by a cantor or ensemble.

There is a spectrum to the psalms, and likewise in the way that we sing

them or respond to them. Some, like Psalm 96, are pure affirmation and we can sing them as hymns. On the other end of the spectrum, like Psalm 109, we find cursing psalms that we need to wrestle with – and we might frame the psalm with a congregational response, but we can't sing them. In the middle are psalms that call us to meditate, to contemplate – and that can best be done by having a soloist or choir sing the heavy lifting verses, with the congregation responding with a thematic verse or refrain. Furthermore, Lee's choice of melody, *RORATE CAELI*, points toward Advent. It might indicate for some the liturgical role of the psalm – a longing for God's coming reign of justice in Jesus Christ.

Turning to 14B we find the psalm set for chant with another refrain, framing the psalm for another interpretation altogether. Now the congregation sings, *Prone to wander, Lord, I feel it, prone to leave the God I love*. Here the congregation's refrain points to the apostle Paul's use of Psalm 14, where we are the fools, we have sinned, we have gone astray.

And 14C provides something other than a musical setting. Here we have liturgical material, a prayer of confession, that can be used in conjunction with the musical setting. When a psalm finds a prominent place in either the gospels or epistles of the New Testament (the book of Psalms is the most quoted book in the New Testament), a liturgical prayer can help to uncover this connection.

I realize this gives only a taste of what is in this volume. I hope it is a teasing taste and that you will come back for more. While the ways Christians have sung Psalms in the past proved to be divisive, today a return to the Psalter can serve to unite us, deepening our prayers and heightening our joys.

For more information about the resource, *Psalms for All Seasons*, visit the website www.psalmsforallseasons.org.

Psalms for All Seasons

Zusammenfassung

Bei diesem Beitrag handelt es sich um einen Vortrag ohne Manuskript. Martin Tel beleuchtete Hintergründe der Entstehung der Sammlung *Psalms for All Seasons*. Die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer sangen Psalmversionen daraus, die der Autor kommentierte; im Blickpunkt standen die Psalmen 96 und 14. Der hier abgedruckte englische Text gibt die Einleitung des Buches und die Kommentare zu den genannten Psalmen wieder.

Das Projekt begann als Idee, eine Sammlung von Psalmen für die reformierte Kirche in Amerika zu schaffen. Zu diesem Zweck sichtete ein Redaktionsteam alle Psalmen in nordamerikanischen Gesangbüchern. Bald war ein buntes Nebeneinander von lutherischen Psalmversionen für Chor, römisch-katholischen Antiphonen, Versionen aus dem Bereich der Folk- und der

Weltmusik, von reformierten metrischen Vertonungen ebenso wie Psalmvertonungen von Iona und Taizé, orthodoxen und anglikanischen Gesängen und auch modernen Lobliedern („praise songs“) zusammengetragen. Es war weit mehr Material vorhanden, als in einem Gesangbuch veröffentlicht werden konnte. Aus dieser Situation ging die Idee für einen eigenständigen singbaren ökumenischen Psalter hervor. Dank des Calvin Institute of Christian Worship (www.worship.calvin.edu), das dieses Projekt finanzierte, kam die Sammlung *Psalms for all Seasons* zustande, die inzwischen in die 4. Auflage geht.

Detaillierte Informationen zu Hintergründen, Absicht und Gebrauch des Psalters sind auf der Internetseite www.psalmsforallseasons.org zu finden.

150 Years of Salvation Army Song

A new song book

In 2015, The Salvation Army (which was founded by William Booth in East London in 1865 as a revival mission) celebrated its 150th anniversary. To coincide with this anniversary, a new edition of *The Song Book of The Salvation Army* was launched on Founders' Day, 2 July 2015, at a Salvation Army International Congress at the O2 Arena in London. In the early years, the East London Christian Mission used a penny *Revival Hymn Book* containing 118 hymns, which William Booth had compiled for his revival meetings. An *Enlarged Revival Hymn Book*, including 338 hymns, was published in 1868, followed by *The Christian Mission Hymn Book* in 1870, *The Salvation Army Song Book* in 1878, *Salvation Army Songs*, 1899 and 1930, and *The Song Book of The Salvation Army*, 1953 and 1986. The latest new edition published in 2015 includes over 1000 songs and choruses, and is intended to serve Salvation Army congregations in English-speaking countries around the world.

The new book is one of the most diverse collections of hymns and spiritual songs currently available in the English-speaking world. It includes revivalist and camp meeting hymns, sacred songs, Sunday-school songs, gospel songs, worship songs and 'real hymns', ancient and modern, as well as many songs written by Salvationists, which for various reasons are sung by few other church congregations. All these streams flow together, making a rich diversity of congregational song, which the compilers hope will serve the needs of Salvationists for the next generation.

Each new Salvation Army song book has been a revision of its predecessor, and this has enabled The Salvation Army through the years to maintain a high degree of continuity, while adding a selection of new hymns and songs from a variety of sources to refresh our worship. Some of the new hymns included in the latest edition are already well-known, while we hope that others will become favourites.

Book or projector?

There were many sceptics who wondered why anyone would want to publish a printed hymn book when so many congregations now use some form of projector, and when hymns and songs often have a very short shelf-life, so that the book would be out of date by the time it appeared in print. The compilers of the new Salvation Army Song Book addressed this question, but it was agreed that a printed hymn book would make a statement about our identity as a movement, and would indicate what we value or commend, musically and spiritually. We also wanted to encourage the use of the song book for personal reflection and study, which is not possible when hymns and songs flash across the screen, a few lines at a time. We thought that it was also important to keep in circulation some of the older songs and choruses on which many of our brass band compositions are based. We did not want the new song book to be just a 'heritage hymn book', but to be part of a living tradition, with congregations happy to sing songs written 150 or more years ago, as well as those written recently.

Compiling the new song book

The new book was compiled at great speed, in the hope of publishing new material while it was still reasonably fresh. However, that aim was negated by the fact that it took several years to prepare all the musical arrangements, scored for a full brass band, and other instruments. The compilers invited suggestions and recommendations from around the world before deciding what to omit, or what to add. Differing views were expressed from Britain, Australia and the United States, but we tried to make a balanced judgment about what to include, in order to represent as wide a range of opinion as possible. We hoped that the book would be welcomed and accepted in all of the English-speaking countries, not just in Britain.

We had to decide on the arrangement of the songs: whether it should be alphabetical, or based on some kind of subject classification. Some members of the Song Book Council favoured a straightforward alphabetical sequence, but others felt that the arrangement should reflect our theology. After discussion, the Council adopted a simple, doctrinal arrangement, dividing the songs into two broad categories: those which describe attributes of God – Father, Son and Holy Spirit –, and those which reflect 'Our Response to God', whether through our meeting together for worship, our understanding of the doctrines of Salvation and Holiness, or the practical expression of our Christian life and service.

Tunes

Salvationists are more flexible in their choice of tunes than most congregations, so Salvation Army Tune Books do not have a specific tune assigned to each song. The tunes are arranged in the order of the metrical index, so that the

worship leader can choose an appropriate tune. Salvationists sing with only the words in front of them, and learn the tunes by heart. To illustrate how this works in practice, a selection of songs from the new Song Book were sung to tunes chosen from the new Tune Book:

- *To be like Jesus* (John Gowans) – Tune: TO BE LIKE JESUS (John Larsson);
- *Breathe on me, breath of God* (Edwin Hatch) – Tune: BREATH OF GOD (Ron Foot);
- *Safe in the shadow of the Lord* (Timothy Dudley-Smith) – Tune: CREATOR GOD (Norman Warren);
- *When you prayed beneath the trees* (Christopher Idle) – Tunes: KELVINGROVE (Scottish traditional) and WIDFORD (John Barnard);
- *We need each other's voice to sing* (Thomas Troeger) – Tune: CHECKENDON (John Barnard)
- *There is a hope that burns within my heart* (Stuart Townend and Mark Edwards) – Tune: THERE IS A HOPE (Stuart Townend and Mark Edwards).

Das Song Book of The Salvation Army

Zusammenfassung

Der Autor stellt die neue Ausgabe des *Song Book of The Salvation Army* [Liederbuch der Heilsarmee] vor, das 2015 zum 150-jährigen Geburtstag der Heilsarmee erschien. Er war Mitglied des Beirats für das Gesangbuch, das über 1000 Lieder und Choruse enthält und für alle Heilsarmee-Gemeinden der englischsprachigen Länder gedacht ist.

Es ist eine der vielfältigsten Sammlungen geistlicher Lieder, die es in diesem Raum zurzeit gibt, und umfasst bekannte und bisher wenig verbreitete Erweckungs-, Zeltmissions- und Sonntagsschullieder, geistliche Lieder, Gospel- und Worshipsongs und alte und moderne „echte“ Kirchenlieder und Lieder von Heilsarmeeangehörigen, die in Gemeinden anderer Konfessionen wenig gesungen werden. Es soll die Bedürfnisse der nächsten Generation erfüllen und Teil einer lebendigen Tradition sein.

Die Entscheidung für die Publikation als Buch fiel, um einerseits ein Zeichen der Identität zu setzen und andererseits ein geeigneteres Medium für die persönliche Liedreflektion bereitzustellen, als es zeilenweise Liedprojektionen im Gottesdienst sind. Man wollte ältere Lieder dokumentieren, auf denen viele Kompositionen für Heilsarmee-Bands beruhen, doch nicht nur eine Darbietung des Erbes zusammenstellen.

Die musikalischen Band-Arrangements, besonders für die neuen Lieder, wurden in einem zeitaufwändigen weltweiten Diskussionsprozess mit dem Ziel großer Breite ausgesucht. In der Heilsarmee gibt es viel seltener feste Text-Melodie-Verbindung als in den meisten anderen Konfessionen, deshalb sind die Melodien im Melodienbuch nach einem metrischen Index angeordnet, aus dem die Gottesdienst-Leitenden eine passende für das jeweilige Lied auswählen. Dieses Verfahren wurde vorgeführt, indem die Anwesenden in der Sektion einige Lieder und Melodien des neuen Liederbuchs sangen. (Auswahl im englischen Text.)

**A treasury of faith.
Hymn texts on the epistle lessons in the
Revised Common Lectionary**

Over the past ten years I have been writing hymn texts on the lessons in the Revised Common Lectionary. I began with the Gospel lessons, moved to the Old Testament, and just completed the Epistle lesson book, published in July 2015.¹ The epistles are more difficult to write on because they tend to be theological, abstract and filled with good advice. The Gospels and Old Testament lessons on the whole had images and stories that could feed my imagination as I worked to compose new texts that would preach or teach something from those selections that would connect with a less that biblically literate reader. The epistles presented a challenge and after six years of writing a hymn every week, I felt myself falling into old habits and grew weary of myself. As I struggled to refresh my palette, so to speak, I began to think that different forms, tighter rhymes and complicated controls on the poetry would force me to be more creative. Whether that ultimately happened is for others to judge, but it did sharpen my craft, I think. What follows are several of the hymn texts that resulted from that discipline. All of these texts, and many of their tunes, can be accessed at the Wayne Leupold website, www.wayneleupold.com.

1. The first one, *As a Broken Branch in Winter* (*A Treasury of Faith*, p. 11), is a meditation on the beginning of I Cor 1:9, “God is faithful by whom you were called into the fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.” The short bit of text speaks warmly of how we are indeed all connected in the fellowship we have in Christ, but that is an abstract notion. Rather than paraphrasing it, I wanted to write a sermon or meditation on the texts.

What imagery could I use to make the idea or theological topic more con-

¹ Gracia GRINDAL, *A Treasury of Faith: Lectionary Hymn Texts New Testament Series A, B, and C* (Wayne Leupold Editions) Colfax, North Carolina, 2015.

crete? The Bible is filled with such images, and for me the one that seemed most fruitful was the notion of the vine and branches, a richer set of images than fellowship. Furthermore, for me the hymn needed a story. While it could have been an exploration of all the ways we are connected, I thought experientially, that hymns with a story in them are more compelling. John Newton's *Amazing Grace* does that very well. So the hymn developed into something of a testimony, a form I well knew as a Lutheran pietist who grew up hearing many such stories in my youth of the path from darkness to light, from death to life. Nothing tells that as well as the imagery of the briar and the rose.

As a broken branch in winter
Clatters in the blowing wind,
I was lost – a rootless sinner –
Unaware that I had sinned,
For my weary soul had turned
Dry as deserts parched and burned

Suddenly a voice was crying:
“Come, your life is not your own;
though you think you live, you’re dying;
see, your heart is hard as stone.
Come to me and I will give
All you need to truly live.”

Life streamed through my soul and body
When he marked me with his cross.
Bound me to a branch that’s budding,
Soon to blossom like a rose;
Heaven blooming green and fresh
In my broken heart of flesh.

Rich in what cannot be counted,
I am heir to Christ, my Lord,
In whose love I now am founded,
Grafted into him, restored.
Easter rises in my bones;
Healed and whole I am his own!

2. The great verses in Rm 5:3-5, have always moved me, not just with their meaning, but their rhetorical schemes. The Greeks called this scheme Anadip-

losis, or the repetition of the last word of the phrase as the first word of the next phrase: "Not only that, but we rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not put us to shame, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us."

Although my hymn (*A Treasury of Faith*, p. 22) is not filled with anadiplosis, I wondered if it would be possible to play with the form and make the last word in the prior stanza the first word in the next stanza. I could not make '*character*' fit so put it in the middle of the last stanza. And I admit it is not a good word to sing in a hymn. But there it is. In these days of terror and fear, it seemed to me 'hope' should be the main idea, so beginning and ending with the word felt right.

Hope, although the earth is quaking,
High above tall buildings shaking,
Sheer terror threatens all around,
In Christ we stand on solid ground:
His giving to us will not cease;
His love fills us with heaven's *peace*.

Peace, although spring floods are roaring,
Though a world of nations warring,
The strongholds we have trusted in
Collapse before the roaring wind.
Despite all this, Christ helps us face
The storms and keeps us in his *grace*.

Grace, through all the woe appearing,
All the grief and pain we're bearing,
When sorrow fills our empty cup,
We have a sure and certain hope:
For we can hear his glory sing
Beyond our deepest *suffering*.

Suff'ring brings our Savior near us,
Here to earth to love and hear us,
While giving us the strength to live
With all the character he gives.
In grief and terror we look up
And see the one in whom we *hope*.

3. Like the Baroque poets, whom I revere as being among the greatest in English or German, the idea of a shape poem – rather like George Herbert’s *Easter Wings* or Philip Nicolai’s *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* which, when justified from the center looks like a chalice, I thought it would be fun to see if I could write a shape hymn myself. There are few shapes that would work for a hymn, among them the chalice and the cross (*A Treasury of Faith*, p. 29). The cross seemed most difficult, so for Good Friday, I wrote a shape hymn that looks like three crosses. John Faustini, one of the composers who has composed tunes for my texts, thought on first looking at it that it would be very difficult to set, but when he began he soon realized it was pretty standard issue, rather iambic, close to the typical ballad form.

Because
 He was
 The son of Adam, he was heir
 To all the sin of Eden’s pair.
 By blood
 True God,
 God’s Son,
 He won
 The fight
 That night.

He cried,
 Then died,
 Obeying all the good of heav’n
 Where God the Father’s Word was giv’n.
 So he
 Obeyed,
 Took up
 The cup:
 His pain,
 Our gain.

For he
 Would be
 The final sacrifice for sin,
 So now eternal life begins.
 High Priest
 Hold fast
 And give

What lives
Forgiv'n
By heav'n.

4. Another form, an old English form, the bob and wheel, uses long lines with short lines. While this text is not exactly a bob and wheel form, it uses the idea with the short line at the end of longer lines. While the form could be used for any topic, this hymn for Pentecost (*A Treasury of Faith*, p. 40), based on looking at the stained glass windows in my home church, made me think of how Pentecost brings us all together in our variety and diversity – the one light shining through many colored lights – to show the theological truth of how the Spirit both speaks to all cultures and is one light.

As the windows shine with light,
Sparkling with rich colored glory,
Christ appears before our sight
As we speak and tell his story:
How our God has made us one
Through the Son.

In the music and the Word,
In the bread and wine, we hear it
As the gifts of Christ, our Lord,
Are made living by the Spirit:
All are sent from God above,
Filled with love.

From the sun all nature thrives,
Light brings life to all creation;
Every single thing that lives
Builds on Christ, our sure foundation.
By his Spirit, we unite
In his light.

Holy Spirit, send your pow'r.
Make us one, in light together,
As the glass helps sunlight flow'r
In the early summer weather.
All the colors come from one:
God's own Son.

5. Another form that has been used by hymn writers over time is the acrostic. While it is also inside baseball as Americans say about conversations that are little understood outside the game, it gave me a discipline – and when the hymn is engraved, the singer (should they be observant) will be able to see the title appearing in the first words of each line. The verses from Jm 2:1-17 also worry Lutherans, so I thought a bit of play might loosen up my pen as I meditated on the verse, *Faith Without Works Is Dead*. The acrostic helps me elaborate on the idea in a way maybe even to fight a bit with James, while accepting the truth of what he says. “Works cannot save.” Just want to make sure people don’t think works will do it! The next hymn is derived from *A Treasury of Faith*, p. 118.

Faith without works is dead.
Faith makes us free to move.
It gives the soul and body strength;
It fills our hearts with love.

Without our faith in Christ,
We will not see the need
Nor think a loving sacrifice
Will help our loving deeds.

Works cannot save, they show
The love Christ gives to us:
His love for us helps others know
The love born on the cross.

Is any love on earth
Not anxious for itself?
God’s love we know, a second birth,
Is like to nothing else.

Dead to the world and sin,
Faith helps us reach the ones
Whose needs and sorrows never wane,
Who need to know the Son!

6. Anytime one gets near the grand and eloquent phrases of Rm 8, one wants to live up to them somehow. The Spirit interprets these groans too deep for words – how to say that another way, not better – one can hardly improve on Paul here – I found an image that spoke to me. I have spent the past eight years

in the company of babies and it always amuses me how the mothers and older sisters can interpret the gurgles of the baby. Not profound, but another way to show how the Spirit works with us (*A Treasury of Faith*, p. 103).

As the heavens drench the earth with rain,
So the Spirit floods our hearts with prayer,
Prayers that fill the empty wells of pain,
Prayers the Spirit helps the Father hear.

As we need the Spirit teaches us:
What is deepest, not expressed by words.
Groans arising from our lips in trust
That the Spirit speaks so they are heard.

As a mother knows her infant's cries,
So the Spirit knows the words we speak
And interprets them as they arise
To the Father for the life we seek.

All we ask for with the Spirit's help
Will be given from the Father's heart
As the Spirit floods the empty wells
With the springs of love our Lord imparts.

7. Then finally there are occasions that present themselves while one is writing a hymn. When Egil Hovland died (1924–2013), around Transfiguration Sunday in 2013, I remembered with pleasure his almost mystical description of watching the sun rise on Easter morning from a hill outside his home town and his crying out, We won! We won! Egil also had a warm sense for angels and their ministry, so I wrote this hymn for the Sunday after his death that catches some of his love of the light and the resurrection (*A Treasury of Faith*, p. 154; Transfiguration, see 2 Cor 3:12-4:2).

Angels dance around us
In the morning sun;
Glorious light surrounds us
Like an Easter dawn.
Jesus stands before us
Changed to heavenly light;
Hear the angel chorus
Sing of heaven's heights.

Only children see them
In the dancing rays;
There in faith they meet them,
Moved by truth and grace.
Light descends from heaven;
Earth is now restored.
All we have been given
Shines in Christ, our Lord!

Glory breaks like thunder
Here within the room,
As we kneel in wonder
Where his glory looms.
Children see the angels
Dancing light on air,
Bright with starry spangles,
Breaths of shining prayer.

Ein Glaubensschatz: Lieder zu den Epistellesungen im Revised Common Lectionary

Zusammenfassung

Die Autorin erläutert ihre kurz zuvor erschienenen Kirchenlieder zu den Epistellesungen im revidierten ökumenischen Lektionar für Nordamerika. Sie beschreibt die Herausforderungen, die sich daraus ergeben, dass Lieder zu den meist theologischen Texten oder Ratschlägen für den Gemeindeaufbau kaum wie andere bibeltextgebundene Lieder auf Bilder und Geschichten aufbauen können. Ein Lösungsansatz, mit dem die Poesie interessant und lebendig gehalten werden soll, besteht darin, artifizielle, poetische Bauformen zu nutzen, wie Wiederholung, Achrosticha oder dichte Reimfolge.

Von Preußen nach Rom – Wandlung der estnischen Liturgie in den letzten 20 Jahren

Vorgeschichte

Estland, der kleinste und nördlichste der baltischen Staaten, ist seit der Reformation fast durchgehend lutherisch gewesen, abgesehen von den gelegentlichen Gegenströmungen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte (Gegenreformation und Russische Orthodoxie). Das Luthertum ist ein wesentlicher Teil der estnischen Kultur gewesen, was maßgeblich dazu beigetragen hat, dass die estnische Bevölkerung am Ende des 19. Jahrhundert zu 95% alphabetisiert war.¹

Die estnische lutherische Kirche und ihre Liturgie waren nach der Reformation, von 1583–1721 von der schwedischen Kirche geprägt. Danach war Estland zwar bis 1918 Teil des russischen Zarenreichs, die Oberschicht blieb aber deutsch oder schwedisch, und das Land konnte – auch kirchlich gesehen – dadurch weitgehend Autonomie bewahren. Die Pfarrer waren überwiegend deutsch.

Ein Meilenstein der estnischen Liturgiegeschichte war die im Jahre 1832 herausgegebene Agende für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in Russland (für die Konsistorialgebiete Moskau und St. Petersburg), die auf die preußische Agende vom 1829 zurückgeht.

¹ Toomas PAUL, *Eesti piiblitõlke ajalugu. Esimestest katsetest kuni 1999. Aastani* [Die Geschichte der estnischen Bibelübersetzung: von den ersten Versuchen bis zum Jahr 1999], in: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Emakeele Seltsi toimetised 72, Tallinn 1999, S. 487.



Abb.1 Titelblatt der Agende für die Provinz Brandenburg, 1829.

Die estnische Agende, die bis in die 1990er Jahre gute Dienste leistete, basiert auf der Agende von 1832. Die erste Übersetzung ins Estnische erfolgte 1897, sie wurde 1901 in Reval gedruckt (estn. *Agenda ehk Käsiraamat Evangeliumi-Lutheruse-Usu kogudustele Vene riigis*)². 1951 und 1979 wurde das Buch (nun *Eesti Evangeeliumi Luteri Usu Kiriku Agenda*) in Uppsala/Schweden gedruckt, zum letzten Mal 1994 in Tallinn. Die alte Kirchenordnung war in Zeiten der ersten Republik (1918–1940) bekannt und weit verbreitet: in Kirchen und Schulen, in Stadt und Land – ca. 90% der estnischen Bevölkerung war lutherisch. 1922 gab es in Estland 1,1 Mio. Einwohner³, davon gehörten ca. 920.000 zur lutherischen Kirche.⁴

² Digitalisat: <http://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/en/collections/20347>, aufgerufen am 02.10.2016.

³ Ene-Margit TIIT, *Eesti rahvastik. Viis põlvkonda ja kümme loendust* [Estnische Bevölkerung. Fünf Generationen und zehn Volkszählungen], Eesti Statistikaamet, Tallinn 2011, S.34.

⁴ <http://www.eelk.ee/ajalugu.php>, aufgerufen am 02.10.2016.

Neue Zeiten brechen an

Ende der 1980er Jahre, mit dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion, waren die Kirchen Anlaufstellen für viele Leute, die neue Freiheiten (oder gerade alte Traditionen) und Möglichkeiten suchten. Alle, die in die lutherische Kirche strömten, haben die alte preußische Liturgie kennengelernt. In den 1990er Jahren hielt man sie jedoch für altbacken und machte sich daran, eine neue zu schaffen bzw. aus den alten Quellen wieder neu zu erstellen.

Für den liturgischen Ausschuss (*Liturgiline komisjon*) der Estnischen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche (EELK) bestand das entscheidende Problem darin, dass die Liturgie nicht als Einheit geschaffen worden war. „Ein Korn von hier, ein anderes von dort“ war keine Möglichkeit mehr. Es musste eine neu geschriebene Liturgie (Missa-Musik) her.⁵

Als erste Maßnahme wurde die bestehende Liturgie musikalisch angepasst, so wurden die Gesänge beispielsweise in bequemere Lagen transponiert und die Melodien mit vierstimmigen Sätzen versehen.

Übrigens: als vierstimmige Gemeindebegleitung wurde bis ins 21. Jahrhundert aus dem sogenannten „Punschel“ gespielt, benannt nach dem Verfasser Johann Leberecht Ehregott Punschel (1778–1849). Dieses Choralbegleitbuch, in dem die Lieder nach dem Versmaß aufgeteilt waren, erschien erstmals 1839, die 16. und zugleich letzte Auflage 1935⁶. Ein modernes Choralbuch der EELK wurde 2002 veröffentlicht.

In der bisher angewendeten Liturgie wurde der Text mit der Musik besser in Einklang gebracht. Als Erneuerung wurde zusätzlich eine Liturgie, die von dem finnisch-schwedischen Kirchenmusiker Kaj-Erik Gustafsson geschrieben wurde, in Gebrauch genommen. Ein Büchlein mit zwei verschiedenen Missa-musiken wurde dann 2001 neu veröffentlicht.

Die Liturgiereform geht weiter

Parallel zu den ersten Schritten wurde ein Liturgiemusik-Wettbewerb gestartet mit dem Gedanken, am Ende eine einheitliche, neue und moderne Liturgie zu haben. Bischof Einar Soone sagte:

„Christus ist derselbe gestern, heute und morgen, die Gemeinde jedoch muss zusammen mit der Welt sich ständig erneuern. Da ist es wichtig, die Gemeinde mehr in den Gottesdienstablauf zu integrieren und, – da die lutherische Kirche traditionell sehr wortorientiert ist –, die Liturgien der anderen christlichen Kirchen als Beispiel betrachten, u.a. die der römisch-katholischen Kirche.“

⁵ <http://www.sirp.ee/archive/2001/27.04.01/Muusik/muusik1-4.html>, aufgerufen am 14.07.2015.

⁶ https://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Leberecht_Ehregott_Punschel, aufgerufen am 20.10.2015.

Der Vorsitzende des liturgischen Ausschusses der lutherischen Kirche, Bischof Tiit Salumäe (damals noch Propst) nannte ein Problem: Für die Mitglieder der nichtchristlichen Familien sollte die Liturgie attraktiver werden. Er mahnte aber, dass die Erneuerungen nicht über Nacht erfolgen dürften.⁷

Im Oktober 2001 wurde dann eine Konferenz abgehalten (estn. *Kirikumuusika konverents – uus missamuusika*)⁸, auf der die neuen Musiken vorgestellt wurden. Es gab vier neue Liturgien – drei von estnischen Komponisten: Jaanus Torrim, Mart Siimer, Riho Ridbeck und die des oben erwähnten Kaj-Erik Gustafsson. Als fünfte wurde eine Mischform vorgetragen: die alte Liturgie mit partiell neueren Teilen.

Alle neuen Liturgien wurden auch in den größeren Kirchengemeinden aufgenommen, die als „Probegemeinden“ titulierte waren. Dabei wollte man herausfinden, welche Liturgien sich eignen und welche eher nicht. Obwohl man nach den Probejahren keine einheitlichen Ergebnisse erhoben hat, da die Gemeinden selbst entscheiden konnten, ob sie eine neue Liturgie anwenden oder nicht, ist das Handbuch jedoch als Ergebnis zu betrachten, denn zwei von den ganz neuen Liturgien sind darin vertreten, wie auch die oben schon erwähnte Mischform, die an erster Stelle unter den Missamusiken abgedruckt ist.

In unserer Mariengemeinde in Tartu, wo ich damals Organistin war, hatten wir zwei verschiedene Liturgien. Eine von Ostern bis Advent (eine der neuen Liturgien) und eine weitere für die übrige Zeit des Kirchenjahres (die alte bzw. die Mischform, die später auch im Kirchenhandbuch erschien).

In der Zwischenzeit sind zu diesen Liturgien noch einige andere hinzugekommen, u. a. eine volkstümliche *Regilaulumissa*, übersetzt: Schlittenliedmissa. *Regilaul* (Schlittenlied) ist die älteste Form des estnischen Volkslieds, das immer einen Vorsänger oder eine Vorsängerin hatte. Der Melodieumfang ist relativ gering, auch rhythmisch gibt es nicht so viele Variationen. Das Lied ist von Wiederholungen geprägt und dadurch sehr meditativ, wirkungs- und charaktervoll.⁹

Von der Konferenz zum Handbuch

Als Ergebnis der Arbeit des liturgischen Ausschusses in den Jahren 2002–2008 wurde der Entwurf des gottesdienstlichen Handbuches vorgelegt. Die Arbeit wurde von Diskussionen von Geistlichen und verschiedenen Gruppen begleitet, nach Angaben von Dr. theol. Thomas Andreas Pöder wurden die Aus-

⁷ <http://www.sirp.ee/archive/2001/27.04.01/Muusik/muusik1-4.html>, aufgerufen am 14.07.2015.

⁸ <http://www.eelk.ee/t-missam.html>, aufgerufen am 29.09.2015.

⁹ S. dazu Anu KÖLAR und Kadri HUNT, *Folk Hymn Singing in Estonia: Folk Hymns as a Source of Cyrillus Kreek's Composition*, in: IAH-Bulletin 33/2005.

einandersetzungen immer stärker, bis im Frühjahr 2008 der Entwurf des neuen Handbuches (*Kiriku käsiraamat*) neben der alten Agenda als zweites Gottesdienstbuch anerkannt wurde. Allerdings ist damit ein kirchenrechtliches Problem verbunden, worauf T. A. Pöder hinweist¹⁰: Das Handbuch hat nicht die Anerkennung der gesamtkirchlichen Synode (estn. *Kirikukogu*). Alle wichtigen Entscheidungen – und zweifellos gehört das gottesdienstliche Handbuch als zweitwichtigstes Buch nach der Bibel dazu – müssen mit einer Zweidrittelmehrheit der Synodalen getroffen werden. Da nur die Hälfte der Geistlichen der Reform zustimmte, blieb ihr die Zustimmung der Synode versagt. Es wurde daraufhin jedoch durch das Konsistorium des bischöflichen Rates beschlossen, das Handbuch als eine ebenbürtig legitime Liturgiequelle zu billigen.

Als Mitglied der Synode und auch des Ausschusses für Dogmatik, kritisiert Pöder in vielen Artikeln die rechtliche Seite des Verfahrens. Das gilt auch für die musikalische Erneuerung der Liturgie. Das nun mit Genehmigung des bischöflichen Rates im Jahre 2009 erschienene Handbuch des Gottesdienstes (estn. *Jumalateenistuste käsiraamat*, erster Teil des insgesamt aus vier Teilen bestehenden Kirchenhandbuches) beinhaltet drei musikalische Ausführungen, neben der alten zwei neu komponierte, von denen besonders die letzte relativ kompliziert zu singen ist.

Eines ist leider unumstritten: sowohl die dogmatisch-theologischen Überzeugungen (u.a. mit dem Tabernakel verbundene Riten im Gottesdienst) als auch stark von Gregorianik geprägte musikalische Formeln, die in den Liturgien angewendet werden, spalten die sowieso sehr kleine Estnische Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche.

Problematik eines sehr kleinen Landes

Hier können wir eine Umstellung des Denkens vom Vertikalen zum Horizontalen beobachten. Für die Gemeindeglieder, die ja nun aufgefordert sind, sich mehr im Gottesdienst zu beteiligen, sind die neuen Liturgien dermaßen schwierig, dass es für die Gemeinden, die teilweise wenig Traditionen und kontinuierliche liturgische Erfahrungen haben, fast unmöglich ist mitzusingen. Dazu kommt meines Erachtens noch die allgemeine Tendenz, weniger singen zu können (durch Musik-Konserven und Handys). Der Ruf der Esten, ein singendes Volk zu sein, trägt. Esten singen gerne in Chören, aber nicht alleine. Wenn in der Kirche z.B. nur 10 Menschen sind, kann man keine solchen Liturgien praktizieren.

¹⁰ Toomas Andreas PÖDER, *Mida teha, et kirikukäsiraamat meie kirikut ei lõhuks* [Was zu tun ist, damit das Kirchenhandbuch unsere Kirche nicht zerstören wird], in: Eesti Kirik 13, 01.04.2009, S. 3.

Anfang der 90er Jahre, gab es einen Mangel von Kirchenmusikern und manchenorts musste man eben ohne Begleitung zurechtkommen. Dabei war es aber eben die vertraute Liturgie, die die Gemeinden gut gesungen haben, auch ohne Begleitung. Heute ist das Bild ein anderes: man findet in Estland gute Organistinnen oder Organisten, weiß aber nicht, wo man welche Liturgie trifft, wenn man herumreist. Auch für Pfarrer und Pfarrerinnen ist es aus diesem Grund schwierig, Gottesdienst in verschiedenen Gemeinden zu halten.

Heilig, Heilig u. s. w.

(I.)

Nº 11.

Hei - lig! Hei - lig! Hei - lig ist der Herr, und
 Hei - lig! Hei - lig! Hei - lig ist der Herr, und
 Hei - lig! Hei - lig! Hei - lig ist der Herr, und
 Hei - lig! Hei - lig! Hei - lig ist der Herr, und

al - le Lande und al - le Lande sind sei - ner Eh - re voll.
 al - le Lande und al - le Lande sind sei - ner Eh - re voll.
 al - le Lande und al - le Lande sind sei - ner Eh - re voll.
 al - le Lande und al - le Lande sind sei - ner Eh - re voll.

Abb. 2 *Heilig, heilig*, Preussische Agenda 1829.

K Pü - ha, pü - ha, pü - ha on mei - e Ju - mal,

me Is - sand See - ba - ot. Tae - vas ja maa,

tae - vas ja maa on täis Te - ma au.

Hoo - si - an - na kõr - ges! Kii - de - tud ol - gu, kes tu - leb

Is - san - da ri - mel. Hoo - si - an - na kõr - ges!

Abb. 3 *Püha, püha* (Sanctus), aus *Missamuusika*, Tallinn 2001, nach der estnischen Agende von 1902.

Püha (Sanctus)

Kõik koos:

Pü-ha, pü-ha, pü-ha on Is-sand Ju-mal

Se-ba-ot.

Tae-vas ja maa on täis Si-nu kir-kust.

Hoo-si-an-na kõr-ges. Kii-de-tud ol-gu,

kes tu-leb Is-san-da ni-mel. Hoo-si-an-na

kör-ges. Hoo-si-an-na kõr-ges.

või

Pü-ha, pü-ha, pü-ha on Is-sand Ju-mal

Se-ba-ot. Pü-ha, pü-ha, pü-ha on

Is-sand Ju-mal Se-ba-ot. Tae-vas ja

maa on täis Si-nu kir-kust. Hoo-si-an-na kõr-ges.

Tae-vas ja maa on täis Si-nu kir-kust.

Hoo-si-an-na kõr-ges. Pü-ha, pü-ha, pü-ha

on Is-sand Ju-mal Se-ba-ot. Kii-de-tud ol-gu,

kes tu-leb Is-san-da ni-mel. Hoo-si-an-na

kör-ges. Hoo-si-an-na kõr-ges.

Abb. 4 Püha, püha (Sanctus), aus dem neuen Handbuch *Kiriku käsiraamat* von 2009.

Im Vorwort des Handbuches schreibt der damalige Erzbischof, dass das neue Handbuch für die Einheit der Liturgie sorgen sollte. In Wirklichkeit ist die estnische Kirche so tief gespalten wie noch nie, nicht zuletzt aus liturgischen Überzeugungen und Traditionen.

Pfarrer Toomas Nigola hat die Erfahrungen der Gemeinde in seinem Blog gesammelt:

Die Änderung der Formeln ist ein Grund überhaupt nicht zum Gottesdienst zu kommen. Wobei diese Begründung gerne von den Gottesdienstbesuchern in Anspruch genommen wird, die sowieso einen Grund suchen zu fehlen, oder diejenigen, die von den Änderungen nur gehört haben. [...] Man kann die Änderungen auch nur denen erläutern, die da sind, d.h. den Gottesdienstbesuchern. Die anderen schließen ihre Ohren mit der Begründung, etwas, das anders ist als bisher, kann nicht gut sein.¹¹

In Estland, wo heute nur 12% ev.-lutherisch sind, ist die Situation der Gemeinden sowieso nicht gerade einfach – da es keine finanziellen Abkommen zwischen der Kirche und dem Staat gibt, muss jede Gemeinde für sich sorgen. Daher kämpfen die Gemeinden oft ums nackte Überleben und da bleibt nicht so viel Energie übrig für liturgische Diskussionen. Diese überlässt man den Gelehrten „da oben“ – die Situation ähnelt teilweise schon ein wenig *Star Wars* – womit der Graben nicht nur zwischen den verschiedenen Pfarr-Parteien, sondern auch zwischen Volk und Kanzel verläuft. Die Frage nach der Sinnhaftigkeit des Streits bleibt für viele Kirchgänger unbeantwortet.

From Prussia to Rome – The transformation of the Estonian liturgy over the last two decades

Summary

A milestone in Estonian Lutheran liturgy was the document issued in 1832 for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Russia, which dates back to the Prussian order of 1829. Much of this liturgical material was sung in almost unaltered form from 1832 until the 1990s. At this time, the Committee on Liturgical Affairs decided to improve or to renew these liturgies through a complete revision. As a consequence, a Church Handbook appeared in four parts in 2009. This handbook was rejected by the Synod. It has caused a fierce internal discussion which continue to this day.

The link to the subject of “Rome” in the title can be derived both from the texts as well as from the musical changes in the liturgy. Gregorian chants are included in the extensive new handbook (the first part alone consists of over 700 pages), and other revisions include a holy calendar and numerous prayer texts strongly oriented towards the Middle Ages. The new handbook should provide unity in liturgy. However, in reality the Estonian church is very much a divided church, not least in the discussion of liturgy and tradition.

¹¹ <http://www.pkala.net/diarium/index.php/2006/09/09/liturgiast-luterlusest-ja-muust/>, aufgerufen am 14.07.2015.

The Pratt Green Collection of Hymns and Hymnology in Durham University Library

In this contribution to the IAH Bulletin I will present a significant collection of hymns and hymnology held in one of the UK's most prestigious universities: Durham University. This university in the north east of England was founded in 1832, the oldest university in England after Oxford and Cambridge. Durham has a long ecclesiastical history, the magnificent Cathedral housing the shrine of St Cuthbert and the tomb of St Bede. The Castle was once the home of the Prince Bishops of Durham, bishops who wielded temporal as well as ecclesiastical power. It is a beautiful city, visited by pilgrims and scholars over many centuries.

Durham University Library was established in January 1833 on Palace Green, now part of a World Heritage site. The initial collection was 160 volumes donated by Bishop Van Mildert. Today the Library's collections amount to over 1.6 million printed items, major collections of manuscripts and archives, and a rapidly increasing range of online resources. In order to house the original stock of the University Library, Bishop Van Mildert had a gallery constructed in 1834 within Cosin's Library, founded by Bishop John Cosin in 1669 as the Episcopal or Diocesan Library on Palace Green.

Over the years, the Library on Palace Green extended its space to occupy the Exchequer Building, dating from 1450, and built 19th and 20th century additions. In recent years the Library has moved away from being a lending library, to provide first class research facilities for the Special Collections housed there, and state of the art exhibition galleries.

Pratt Green Collection

The Pratt Green Collection is housed in Palace Green Library. Founded in 1987 with a gift of books from Dr Fred Pratt Green, it contains books, periodicals, manuscripts, papers and sound recordings related to hymns and hymnology. It has been added to by generous donations and bequests over the years, and now numbers about 3500 printed items, (measuring ca 30 metres) plus a further 5

metres of manuscripts and papers. Part of the collection's purpose is to facilitate the study of the alterations made in standard hymnals from one edition to another, and the changes in taste, theology and liturgy they represent. The printed items are all included in the University Library catalogue, and can be browsed online. The manuscripts are listed in the Special Collections catalogue, with a full listing of the contents. Any item discovered in the catalogues can be requested, and consultation is carried out in the new Barker Research Library, part of Palace Green Library.

Fred Pratt Green

The founder of the Collection was Fred Pratt Green, English Methodist minister and prolific hymnwriter. He was born near Liverpool in 1903, died in 2000, and wrote drama and poetry from an early age. When he retired in the late 60s he was co-opted to a working party appointed to prepare a supplement to the 1933 edition of the *Methodist Hymn Book*, and it was this involvement which sparked off the intense burst of creativity which was to make him one of the foremost modern hymnwriters. From the late 1960s to the 1980s he produced some 300 hymns and Christian songs, and hymnals published in the last three decades of the 20th century have commonly included more of his hymns than those of any other modern writer. He set up the Pratt Green Trust, a charity to further the cause of hymnody, by deploying the royalty income from his hymns for the benefit of authors, composers and users of hymnody. For many years the Trust has supported the Pratt Green Collection, and we are very grateful for that support.

Contents of the collection

As you would expect, the works of Fred Pratt Green are well represented, with copies of his plays and poems as well as his hymns. The Library catalogue lists 130 items under his name, covering his literary works, hymnbooks and tapes of hymns and interviews. The earliest is *Farley goes out: a missionary play* published around 1928. It is set in the 18th century, and includes the singing of a verse of a hymn in Act 1, and also at the end, where the author has instructed that it should be followed by a closing prayer before any applause for the actors. The hymn is *Now O God thine own I am* written by Charles Wesley. Pratt Green recommended the tune ROUSSEAU, not a tune which *Hymnary.org* assigns to these words.

The Collection also has publications of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Hymn Society in the United States and Canada. These are mainly represented by the journals produced by both Societies, and other publications, notably the *Occasional publications* of the Hymn Society of GB and Ireland, an ongoing series which began in 1939. It is worth just mentioning

that first *Occasional paper*, published in April 1939, is found in the Collection in print form, but also accessible to members of the Hymn Society as a digitised work via the Society website. It is entitled *The constituents of a good hymn* and had its origins in a paper given at the 1938 Hymn Society conference, also held in Cambridge.

The printed collection contains publications from 1729 to 2015 (the most recent acquisition being Timothy Dudley Smith's *A House of Praise* collected hymns, 2002–2013, part 2, donated by the author – Bishop Timothy is a great supporter of the collection). Most of the printed collection is in the English language, but there are hymnbooks in languages such as Latin, Welsh, Swedish, Finnish, and quite a number of German items.

We have some relatively early works, notably a 1729 publication: *The whole book of psalms: with the usual hymns and spiritual songs. Together with all the ancient and proper tunes sung in churches, with some of later use.* [...] by John Playford. We also have a 1782 copy of John Wesley's *A collection of hymns, for the use of the people called Methodists*, one of 17 printed editions of this title in the Collection, ranging from 1782 to 1983. We have electronic access to a couple of earlier editions (1780 and 1781) as well as many later editions.

Moving forward, we have a small collection of copies of the 1906 English hymnal, donated by Mrs G. Warr, three of which have annotations by Percy Dearmer. In one copy he has checked each hymn against other hymnals to see where else they have been published. He also has a little code for the quality of some hymns. Written in the inside cover is the key to the code: S- sentimental, NT- not true and B- bloody! There's a wealth of research potential there!

Turning from printed books to the manuscripts in the Collection, we have a great deal relating to Fred Pratt Green himself, as well as other archives. We have the papers of John Wilson, who was known to many members of the HSGBI as vice-president of the Society. He died in 1992, shortly before the annual conference of the Hymn Society which was in Liverpool that year. His papers include manuscript and typescript copies of talks, lectures and broadcasts, some with tape-recordings, with titles such as *The use of hymns in worship*, *Who cares about hymns*, and *My Desert Island Hymns*. It is clear that he delivered some of these more than once, and his annotations would make interesting reading for anyone researching his hymnology.

Letters by Fred Pratt Green

And of course there is much from Fred Pratt Green himself. Throughout his hymn writing career he kept scrap books, which now are located in Emory University, but we have photocopies of them. Amongst our files of Fred's papers we have a particularly interesting one of letters written by him to his niece, Mrs

Sylvia Barnett. These are fascinating to read, as they span Fred's later years, and include information about visits and activities. In September 1982 he wrote about a trip overseas. He said "We had a fabulous time in the States, as guests of the Hymn Society of America. [...] a week in Atlanta, Sacramento, The Gulf of Mexico, and Austin the capital of Texas. The Americans are so generous and considerate [...]."

In July 1997 he refers to a hymn session with a German group "the German leader has been translating some of my hymns into German" The result of this was: *12 hymns of Fred Pratt Green / in deutschen Übertragungen von Friedrich Hofmann*. This is an amended typescript copy, presented by the Pratt Green Trust in 2002.

The following month he wrote: "In October I've promised to go to Durham University for the inauguration of a Hymnody Centre which has been made possible by grants from the Pratt Green Trust." (He goes on to say that the English Professor has offered to bring him to Durham and home again. This was of course Prof Dick Watson, described by Fred at that time as "youngish, and an authority on Victorian literature and hymnody").

In a letter of 16th November 1988 Fred says "I have decided to finish my hymnwriting." Shortly after that he and Marjorie moved to Cromwell House, a retirement home, and several letters describe the house and gardens, and some of the other residents. His letters to Sylvia were always upbeat, reading them gives a lovely insight to the man whose hymns we love to sing.

Research

The Collection is a major research resource. Several people here have used it for academic or private research, notably Professor Dick Watson who had an office in the Library during the many years he worked towards publication of the *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*. The titles of some PhD theses from Durham are evidence of this rich research resource. I give a few examples, which also indicates the ecumenical nature of the collection:

- Margaret Leask, *The development of English-language hymnody and its use in worship; 1960–1995*, Durham 2000.
- Thomas Muir, "*Full in the panting heart of Rome*": *Roman Catholic church music in England, 1850–1962*, Durham 2004.
- Martin Clarke, *Music and theology in nineteenth-century Britain*, Durham 2007.
- Joseph Harper, *Towards an understanding of Tractarian hymnody: a critical appraisal of the interaction between theology, poetry and music in Anglican hymnody between 1840 and 1900*, Durham 2010.
- There was also a substantial PhD thesis on the wider literary output of Fred Pratt Green: Maureen Harris, *The drama, poetry and hymns of Fred Pratt Green*, Durham 1995.

The University has recently started teaching a final year undergraduate module on Music Theology, and many of the books on the extensive reading list are in the Collection, bringing undergraduates into Palace Green Library to consult those books. A current postgraduate in the Music department, Graham Cory, is using the collection while researching the life and output (musical and theological) of John Bacchus Dykes, Victorian hymn tune composer who was precentor and minor canon of Durham Cathedral and later vicar of St Oswald's Church in the city.

Information about the Pratt Green Collection is to be found at the website:
www.durham.ac.uk/library/asc/collection_information

Die Pratt-Green-Sammlung von Kirchenliedern und Hymnologica in der Universitätsbibliothek Durham

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag stellt die Pratt-Green-Sammlung in der Palace-Green-Bibliothek an der Universität Durham (Nordostengland) vor. Sie wurde 1987 von dem bedeutenden Kirchenlieddichter Fred Pratt Green gegründet und von der Pratt-Green-Stiftung finanziell gefördert. Sie bietet ausgezeichnete Forschungsbedingungen und ist eine reiche Ressource für hymnologisch Forschende. Sie umfasst ca. 3.500 gedruckte Werke seit 1729, die im Onlinekatalog der Universitätsbibliothek erschlossen sind, und fünf Regalmeter Manuskripte (verzeichnet in einem tief erschließenden Spezialkatalog) und ungebundenes Material, auch seltene, nicht im Buchhandel vertriebene Publikationen, z.B. aus hymnologischen Gesellschaften, darunter eine verbesserte Typoskriptkopie *12 hymns of Fred Pratt Green / in deutschen Übertragungen von Friedrich Hofmann* von 1986. Nicht schriftliches Material, vor allem von Fred Pratt Green, z.B. Interviewmitschnitte, ist ebenfalls archiviert. Alles im Katalog zu Findende kann bestellt werden; bibliothekarische Beratung wird durch die Barker-Research-Library geleistet. Informationen sind zugänglich unter www.durham.ac.uk/library/asc/collection_information.

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