

3

Nineteenth Century Evangelical Cantionals from Gdańsk

Jolanta Woźniak

Academy of Music, Gdańsk

This article sets out to provide additional information on the issue presented in the work by Franz Kessler entitled *Danziger Gesangbücher*,¹ in which the author described Protestant cantionals published in Gdańsk in the years 1586–1793, both in German and in Polish. Since Gdańsk cantionals from the nineteenth century were not discussed by Kessler, further research into this subject is needed in order to present a full picture.

When describing Protestant religious publications from nineteenth-century Gdańsk, it is worthwhile examining evangelical cantionals in German, which were the most numerous at that time. Polish language editions of Protestant cantionals ceased to be published by Gdańsk printers in the nineteenth century — the last Polish cantional published in Gdańsk dates from 1803.² What is of interest is thus the collection of nineteenth-century German-language evangelical cantionals from Gdańsk, held at the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Gdańsk.

In the nineteenth century the city of Gdańsk was part of the state of Prussia.³ Adopting the Prussian governmental, legal and administrative system could not fail to influence the denominational situation. The authorities' policies gave preference to the Lutheran faith. Thus, during the Prussian times, the Evangelical-Augsburg church had the largest number of the faithful among the denominations co-existing in Gdańsk.⁴ Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the nineteenth-century cantionals preserved in the

Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences are mainly the evangelical ones of the Lutheran faith.⁵

The story of evangelical cantionals published in Gdańsk reaches back to the sixteenth century. From 1568 Gdańsk possessed an institution, established by Lutheran pastors, called “Geistliche Ministerium”. This was a collegiate body of Gdańsk pastors who collaborated closely with the City Council. One of the tasks of the “Geistliche Ministerium” was to attempt to put into order the song repertory in the Evangelical-Augsburg church. However, it was not until 1719 that the institution succeeded in having the first so-called *Danziger Gesangbuch* published by a Gdańsk publisher, Thomas Johann Schreiber. The most significant part in the shaping of the Lutheran song repertory in Gdańsk was played by the new *Danziger Gesangbuch*, published in 1764, again by Schreiber’s printing works. By the end of the eighteenth century, this cantional had been reprinted many times,⁶ and the traditions of this book, extremely popular in the second half of the eighteenth century, survived in the Gdańsk community into the next century.

A review of nineteenth-century evangelical cantionals from Gdańsk needs to start with the 1804 edition, which refers directly to the *Danziger Gesangbuch* edition from 1764. Daniel Ludwig Wedel⁷ — the new owner of what had previously been Schreiber’s printing office and now became the “Prussian Court Printing Office” — turned back to the eighteenth-century typographical traditions. He retained the same editorial shape of the cantional, which can be seen in the title page, with the 1804 version unchanged graphically from that of 1764 (see figures 3.1. and 3.2.). Like the 1764 version, the 1804 cantional contains the same repertory of 1126 texts of songs (without music) in the same order. Words of the songs are divided into 37 chapters, ordered according to consecutive church seasons of the year (chapters I–XV); the following chapters (XVI–XXXVII) systematise the texts according to different dogmatic themes.⁸

I.	Sonntagsgesänge	XX.	Von der christlichen Kirche
II.	Adventsgesänge	XXI.	Von den Gnadenmitteln, besonders von dem Worte Gottes
III.	Weihnachtsgesänge	XXII.	Von den Gnadenmitteln, besonders von der heiligen Taufe
IV.	Neujahrgesänge	XXIII.	Von den Gnadenmitteln, und zwar von der Busse
V.	Gesänge auf das Fest der Erscheinung Christi	XXIV.	Von den Gnadenmitteln, und zwar von dem Glauben
VI.	Gesänge auf das Fest der Reinigung Mariä	XXV.	Von den Gnadenmitteln, und zwar von dem heil. Abendmahl
VII.	Gesänge auf das Fest der Verkündigung Mariä	XXVI.	Von den Gnadenmitteln, und zwar vom Gebeth
VIII.	Passionsgesänge	XXVII.	Lob- und Dankgesänge
IX.	Ostergesänge	XXVIII.	Morgengesänge
X.	Himmelfahrtsgesänge	XXIX.	Tischgesänge
XI.	Pfingstgesänge	XXX.	Abendgesänge
XII.	Gesänge auf das Fest der heil. Dreifaltigkeit	XXXI.	Vom christlichen Tugendwandel überhaupt
XIII.	Gesänge am Tag Johannis des Täufers	XXXII.	Vom christlichen Tugendwandel nach eines jeden Stand und Beruf
XIV.	Gesänge am Tage der Heimsuchung Mariä	XXXIII.	Creutz- und Trostgesänge
XV.	Gesänge auf das Michaelisfest	XXXIV.	Sterbegesänge
XVI.	Gesänge von Gott und seinen Eigenschaften	XXXV.	Von der Auferstehung
XVII.	Von Gottes Werken und wohlthaten nach dem ersten Artikel	XXXVI.	Vom jüngsten Gerichte
XVIII.	Von dem göttlichen Erlösungswerke nach dem andern Artikel	XXXVII.	Von der Ewigkeit
XIX.	Von den Gnadenwirkungen und Wohlthaten nach dem dritten Artikel		

Table 3.1: *Danziger Gesangbuch* from 1764. The arrangement of chapters

The 1804 Gdańsk cantional edition includes mainly texts of songs from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and fewer eighteenth century ones. This can be explained by the fact that the main body of the repertory canon came from the first version of the cantional, dating from 1719. The second edition, from 1764, did include eighteenth-century texts, such as those of Christian Gellert (1715–1769); however, they constituted a minority in relation to the very rich repertory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹

Thus, already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the popular *Danziger Gesangbuch* in its 1764 version appears to have been conservative in

view of its “outdated” song repertory. The idea of “modernising” the Gdańsk cantional may have been given additional support by the new political status of Gdańsk. After the first annexation of the city by Prussia, in the years 1807–1815, Gdańsk was given the status of a Free City. These political circumstances probably provided direct motivation for the Gdańsk “Geistliche Ministerium” to edit a new evangelical cantional. In 1810 the well-known Gdańsk printing works of Karl Heinrich Müller¹⁰ published a cantional entitled *Christliche Religions-Gesänge* (see figure 3.3.). It represents the type of songbook characteristic of the Enlightenment.¹¹ The rationalistic and moralising tendencies of the period are apparent in the attempt to arrange the texts of the songs in four chapters, the titles of which bear witness to the didactic aspirations motivating the selection:

- (i) Glaubenslehre
- (ii) Sittenlehre
- (iii) Hilfsmittel der Besserung und Tugend
- (iv) Gesänge zu besonderen Zeiten und Umständen.

The author of the foreword to this cantional — Carl Friedrich Bertling (1754–1827), a senior member of the Gdańsk “Geistliche Ministerium”, emphasised the significant value of religious singing as “ein reiner Quell der Erkenntnis des Erhabensten, sowie der Gesinnungen”.¹² The cantional *Christliche Religions-Gesänge* contains 925 texts of songs (without music). They date from various periods of the formation of choral repertory, from the period of Reformation (1517–1560), as well as Counter-Reformation (1560–1648) and Pietism (1648–1756). The richest repertory is typical of the Enlightenment period (1756–1817)¹³. It is dominated by songs of Christian Gellert and Johann Andreas Cramer (1723–1788) — representative of German literature which promoted the ideas of the Enlightenment. One should also note the appearance of texts by Gdańsk authors, such as the local pastor of the church of the Holy Trinity, Jacob Gottlieb Ehwalt (1765–1844). Gdańsk pastors were also frequently the authors of new settings of old sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts of songs.¹⁴

The cantional *Christliche Religions-Gesänge* must have been very popular with the people of Gdańsk, since a number of reprints followed in a short time. The second edition (1820), like the first one, was printed by Müller, the third (1828) by another printing works in Gdańsk, belonging to Louis Botzon — with no changes to the contents of the collection and still with the same external appearance.¹⁵ The only change to the second and third editions was that 25 new texts were added in place of the previous ones which were decided to be of no use.

The next, fourth edition of the evangelical cantional from Gdańsk appeared in 1841. Although it was a continuation of the editorial sequence *Christliche Religions-Gesänge*, the title was changed to *Gesangbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst*. This in an unambiguous manner defined the intended audience of the new edition, published by the printing works of Friedrich Samuel Gerhard¹⁶ (see figure 3.4.). The 1841 cantional thus not only had a new graphic appearance, but most importantly, the contents of the collection were different. The songs were also systematised in a new way, which was a move away from the didactic purpose of the 1810 cantional. Texts of the songs (without music) were divided into five chapters:

- (i) Vom Christliche Glauben überhaupt
- (ii) Von der Schöpfung
- (iii) Von der Erlösung
- (iv) Von der Heiligung
- (v) Vom Christliche Sinn und Wandel.

In the foreword to the cantional, written by Carl Heinrich Bresler (1797–1860), the pastor of the St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, we are told that the main source of the texts was still the *Danziger Gesangbuch* from 1764. However, the number of songs was cut by half. Out of 1126 songs from the eighteenth-century cantional, 614 remained. Many songs inherited from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were omitted, on the assumption that they were unsuitable for use in religious services in their original form. Nevertheless, the foreword underlined their value as a source of inspiration for writing new texts. The reduction by half of the number of texts in the 1841 cantional

in relation to the eighteenth-century version brought about a reduction by half of the price of the individual copies of the songbook. The foreword drew attention to this commercial aspect, noting at the same time that the price of the old Gdańsk cantional was the highest for this type of German-language publication.¹⁷

The majority of the repertory in the 1841 cantional made use of the old texts, often re-edited. Texts by Paul Gerhard (1607–1676), Christian Gellert (1715–1769) and the pietist texts by Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737) dominated the collection. The majority of these works were lyrical, sentimental and contemplative; there were fewer moralising texts, typical of the previous editions of the Gdańsk cantional. Thus the text selection revealed the influence of the ideas of Pietists, who encouraged stimulation of religious feeling through personal religiosity and emotionality in order to deepen the religious experience. These tendencies were in agreement with the audience's need for a new cantional, and corresponded to the tastes shaped by the influence of the philosopher of religion, Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), who transferred religion from the rational to the emotional plane. The search for texts of songs which would reflect the romantic preferences of the reader in the 1840s expanded to include new sources of religious texts, going beyond the framework of the old editions of the Gdańsk cantional. According to the foreword to the 1841 edition, these included the following song collections: *Berliner Liederschatz* (1832, 1840); part I of the collection by Carl Johann Spitta *Psalter und Harfe* (1833); Albert von Knapp's *Evangelische Liederschatz für Kirche und Haus* (1837) and Ewald Rudolf Stier's *Gesangbuchnoth* (1838).¹⁸

The 1841 cantional, brought up to date by the inclusion of new repertory, was very popular. The next, fifth edition came out as early as 1844, published again by the printing works of F.S. Gerhard. By the second half of the nineteenth century further editions of *Gesangbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst* were being published by other printing works from Gdańsk — those of Adolf Gumprecht and Albert Wilhelm Kafemann.¹⁹

The 1841 cantional owes its special popularity in nineteenth-century Gdańsk to the fact that, included with it, was a special “supplement” with choral me-

lodies. Until then, Gdańsk cantionals (published without music, as has been mentioned earlier) indicated only the “note”, the text incipit of a familiar melody to which the text was to be sung, placed by a given text. Melodies which provided the “notes” were to be found in the so-called “choral-books”, which gave organ settings of the songs.²⁰ These existed in manuscript versions as material of use only to the organist, and thus did not satisfy the needs of the faithful in general. However, the 1841 cantional from Gdańsk found itself in a special position. In the same year, Gerhard’s printing works published a collection of choral melodies entitled *Melodien zum Gesangbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst .Für Kirche, Schule und Haus.* using the lithographic technique (see figure 3.5.). The collection of 136 choral melodies was edited by the pastor of the St Mary’s Church, Theodor Friedrich Kniewel (1783–1859) — a theologian, doctor of philosophy and a gymnasium teacher in Gdańsk, who was also a practicing musician and composer, known in nineteenth-century Gdańsk primarily as the organiser of musical life.

As a pastor and a musician, Kniewel was in a particularly good position to edit the musical “supplement” to the Gdańsk cantional. When selecting choral melodies most representative of the Lutheran traditions, Kniewel also added eight melodies of his own. In this way the attempt to create a canon of choral melodies for the Gdańsk cantional also endowed it with an individual local character. One cannot emphasise enough just how important was this musical “supplement” to the 1841 edition of the cantional from Gdańsk. Until then the functioning religious texts remained under-defined by not being ascribed to particular melodic variant. This was achieved by the collection of 136 choral melodies presented by Kniewel.²¹ The next edition of the collection was published in 1856 by the printing works of Edwin Groening²².

Religious songs were an important element in the shaping of the spiritual personality of the Lutherans. For this reason, in nineteenth-century Gdańsk, during the period when the Evangelical-Augsburg church had the largest congregation, one can observe a particular interest on the part of publishing houses in printing Lutheran cantionals. The high frequency and the variety of Gdańsk editions represents more than a response of local printing works to the needs of the local community. It also provides evidence of the increasing

potential of Gdańsk printing works, which kept up with the development of nineteenth-century printing technology.



Fig. 3.1. Cantional from 1764. Title page: *Danziger / Gesangbuch / welches auf / E. Hochedlen Rath's / Verordnung / zum allgemeinen Gebrauch / der Kirchen und Haus / Andachten / von / Em. Ehrwürdigen Ministerio / der ungedänderten Augsp. Conf. allhier / aufs Neue vermehrt / und / nebst einem / Anhange von Gebeten / herausgegeben worden ist. / Danzig, / gedruckt und verlegt von Thom. Joh. Schreibern. / 1764.* (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ref. No. Od 15201^{2a} 8°)



Fig. 3.2. Cantional from 1804. Title page: *Danziger / Gesangbuch, / welches auf / E. Hochedlen Rath's / Verordnung / zum allgemeinen Gebrauch / der Kirchen= und Haus= / Andachten / von / Em. Ehrwürdigen Ministerio / der ungedänderten Augsp. Conf. allhier / aufs Neue vermehrt / und nebst einem / Anhang von Gebeten / von Neuem herausgegeben / worden ist. / Danzig, / gedruckt und verlegt von Daniel Ludwig Wedel. / 1804.* (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ref. No. Od 15206 8°)

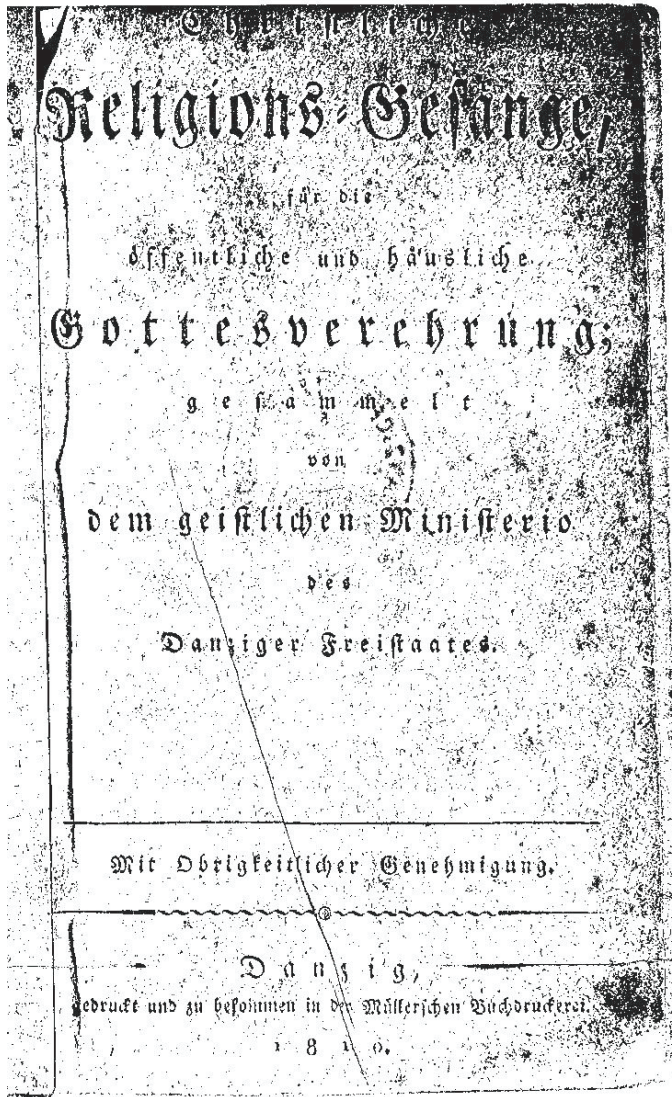


Fig. 3.3. Cantional from 1810. Title page: *Christliche / Religions = Gesänge, / für die / öffentliche und häusliche / Gottesverehrung; / gesammelt / von / dem geistlichen Ministerio / des / Danziger Freistaates. / Mit Obrigkeitlicher Genehmigung. / Danzig, / gedruckt und zu bekommen in der Müllerschen Buchdruckerei. / 1810.* (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ref. No. Od 15210 8°)

Gesangbuch

für

den evangelischen Gottesdienst.

Vierte Ausgabe.

Mit Genehmigung Eines Königl. Hochw. Consistorii der Provinz Preußen.

Danzig,
Verlag und Druck von Fr. Sam. Gerhard.
1841.

Fig. 3.4. Cantional from 1841. Title page: *Gesangbuch / für / den evangelischen Gottesdienst. / Vierte Ausgabe. / Mit Genehmigung Eines Königl. Hochw. Consistorii der Provinz Preußen. / Danzig. / Verlag und Druck von Fr. Sam. Gerhard. / 1841.* (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ref. No. Od 15210⁴ 8°)

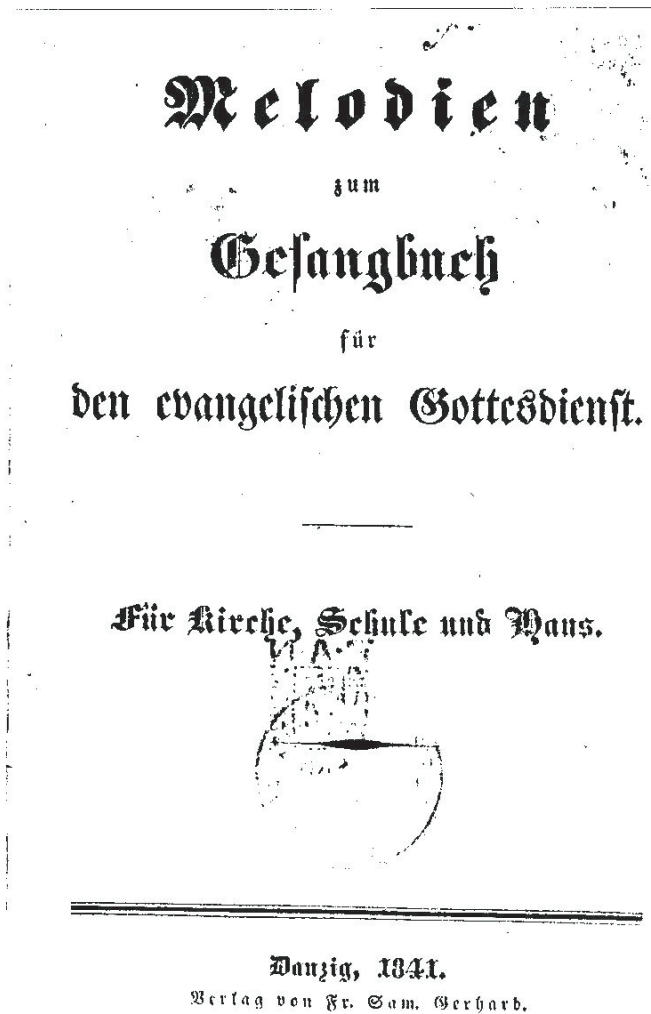


Fig. 3.5. Musical supplement to the 1841 cantional. Title page: *Melodien / zum / Gesangbuch / für / den evangelischen Gottesdienst. / Für Kirche, Schule und Haus. / Danzig, 1841. / Verlag von Fr. Sam. Gerhard.* (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ref No. Od 15215 8°)

Notes

- 1 F. Kessler, *Danziger Gesangbücher 1586–1793*, Lüneburg 1998.
- 2 This is the *Pieśnioksiąg czyli Kancyonał Gdański* published by Krzysztof Celestyn Mrongowiusz in the Gdańsk publishing house of J.E.F. Müller. Nb.: the second edition of the Mrongowiusz cantional appeared in 1840; however, no longer in Gdańsk, but in the publishing house of G.F. Hartung in Königsberg. Cf. W. Chojnacki, *Bibliografia polskich druków ewangelickich ziem Zachodnich i Północnych 1530–1939*, Warszawa 1966; also V. Kostka, ‘Polnische evangelische Gesangbücher in Danzig (1586–1803)’, in: *Das geistliche Lied im Ostseeraum* (Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft Bd. 13) Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 137–153.
- 3 The first annexation of Gdańsk by Prussia (1793–1807), Free City of Gdańsk (1807–1815), Gdańsk within the Prussian state (1815–1870), Gdańsk in the German Empire (1870–1920). Cf. *Historia Gdańska*, ed. E. Cieślak, vol. III Gdańsk 1993, vol. IV Sopot 1998.
- 4 For instance, during the years 1791–1800 in Gdańsk the Lutherans constituted 74.2 %, the Catholics 23.1 %, and the Calvinists 2.7 % of the faithful. Cf. J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne w Gdańsku w latach 1601–1846*, Gdańsk 1995, p. 171.
- 5 In nineteenth-century Gdańsk there functioned 8 Lutheran parishes, but by then there were no Calvinist parishes. Calvinists, who constituted only 3% of the population of Gdańsk, made use of two churches (St Elizabeth’s until 1838 and St Peter and St Paul from 1821).
- 6 Consecutive editions of *Danziger Gesangbuch* from 1764 appeared in: 1766, 1768, 1770, 1771, 1774, 1778, 1782, 1785, 1793. Cf. F. Kessler, op.cit., p. 82.
- 7 Daniel Ludwig Wedel took over Thomas Johann Schreiber’s printing works in 1780. In 1793 Wedel’s publishing house attained the rank of “Hofbuchdruckerei”.
- 8 Consecutive editions of this cantional printed by Albert Wilhelm Kafemann (1856, 1869, 1881) preserved this chapter arrangement, which follows the 1764 version. The only change is the increase in the number of texts of songs to 1150.
- 9 In the 1804 edition of the cantional there is a preponderance of repertory from the times of Martin Luther (1483–1546), Johann Rist (1607–1667), Paul Gerhardt (1647–1676) and Salomon Franck (1659–1725).
- 10 In the nineteenth century the printing works of K. H. Müller were in competition with Wedel’ Royal Prussian printing works.
- 11 F. Kessler, ‘Christliche Religionsgesänge. Ein Danziger Gesangbuch aus der Zeit der Aufklärung’, in: *Preußische Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Bernhart Jähniq zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Arnold et al., Marburg 2001, pp. 569–582.
- 12 *Christliche Religions-Gesänge* [...], Danzig 1810, Vorrede p. 6.
- 13 Cf. F. Kessler, *Christliche Religionsgesänge...*, op. cit., p. 577.
- 14 These were: pastor of the St Mary’s Church, Abraham Friedrich Blech (1762–1830), pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Friedrich Rink (1770–1811), and pastor of the Church of St John, Heinrich Vogt (1758–1812).
- 15 One should note here that consecutive reprints of the cantional from 1810 listed on the publisher’s title page noted the change in the political status of Gdańsk from “Danziger Freistaats” to “Stadt Danzig”.
- 16 F. S. Gerhard took over the running of Müller’s printing works in Gdańsk in 1838.

- 17 *Gesangbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst*, Danzig 1841, *Vorwort*, p. IV.
- 18 *Ibid.*, *Vorwort*, pp. IV–V.
- 19 The sixth edition from 1851, and the editions from the seventh to the ninth (no date) came from the printing works of A. Gumprecht, the tenth edition (no date) from the printing works of A. W. Kafemann.
- 20 For *Danziger Gesangbuch* from 1764 (and its later versions) the source of choral melodies was the anonymous eighteenth-century *Choral-Buch nach dem Danziger Gesangbuch* held at Biblioteka Gdańska PAN (Ref. No. *Ms 4019*). For *Christliche Religions-Gesänge* from 1810 the source was the choral book entitled *Choralmelodien zum neuen Danziger Gesangbuch*, 1810 von Benjamin Gotthold Siewert. The manuscript, Ref. No. *Ms 4252*, from the so-called “Gdańsk Collection”, is at present held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz.
- 21 Cf. J. Woźniak, “‘Melodien zum Gesangbuch für evangelischen Gottesdients. Für Kirche, Schule und Haus.’ Evangelische Lieder aus Danzig (1841)”, in: *Das geistliche Lied im Ostseeraum*. (Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft Bd. 13), Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 171–175.
- 22 *Melodien zum Gesangbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst; zunächst in Danzig. Für Kirche, Schule und Haus. Zweite sorgfältig revidirte und verbesserte Auflage [...]*, Danzig 1856, Verlag und Druck von Edwin Groening.