Theology and the Hymnody of the Sixteenth-Century German Unity of Brethren

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THEOLOGY AND THE HYMNODY OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN UNITY OF BRETHREN

An Honors Thesis
Submitted to the Department of History and The Robert E. Cook Honors College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Bachelor of Arts

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Introduction

While previous scholarship considered the earliest Reformation-era congregational hymnody from the perspective of its contributions to later repertories, telling us much about the development of Protestant church music from the sixteenth century, this approach leaves a place for the study of its creators and the role of hymnody in their world. The Unity of Brethren, a Czech and German faith of Hussite heritage in Bohemia and Moravia, are widely acknowledged as the first group to employ congregational singing as a central aspect of their worship. Therefore, an understanding of early congregational singing must trace its roots to the Brethren and their conception of music in worship despite later groups’ dominance in the historical record.

This study seeks to understand the Unity’s German hymnody based upon its value

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1 While many scholars refer to this group as the Bohemian Brethren, this title does not accurately describe them. First, “Bohemian” implies Czech ethnicity, and the Unity had both Czech and German members. Second, the term also suggests a central location in Bohemia, but the Unity also formed congregations in Moravia. In addition, the group referred to itself as the Unitas Fratrum, so Unity of Brethren, or shortly, Brethren, is used throughout this study in keeping with its original identity. In studies of congregational music, the Brethren are often acknowledged but rarely analyzed: “popular singing as part of worship was an invention of the reformers: first the Bohemian Brethren, then the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists, then Anabaptists, Anglicans, and Presbyterians, the Congregationalists and Separatists...” Walter Blankenburg, “The Music of the Bohemian Brethren,” in Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music: A History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), p. 513. The early Brethren only included unison vernacular songs in their hymn tradition. While most reformers employed vernacular texts and many shunned the elaborate choral singing of contemporary Roman Catholics, not all gave equal emphasis to hymn singing. For example, Zwingli prohibited choral singing in Zurich, and in England, fourteenth-century Lollards eliminated music from their services. Later, Calvinists in Britain and on the continent included only metrical psalms in their services. Contrasting and better-known than the radical traditions were the four-part Lutheran chorales.
to the Brethren themselves. Their songs confirmed their identity as a community of God, separated the Brethren congregation from the world around it, and proclaimed its devotion to apostolic faith in the face of an uncertain future. At the same time, hymnody preserved the past by reminding the Unity of its Hussite roots. Therefore, the German hymnal that Michael Weisse, a Brethren priest, compiled in 1531 represents a composite of these functions, and its structure reveals the Unity’s theological foundations: faith in Christ, the principles of living “correctly” in his chosen community, and their collective importance to salvation.

In addition, the act of singing itself must lie at the center of our historical understanding. The printed hymn merely served as a symbol until a group of singers interpreted it as music. Therefore, hymns functioned as a union of text and melody in which each enhanced and contributed additional meaning to the other. A text on a page could express the Unity’s ideas about salvation and the community, but it drew the congregation together around this identity much more effectively when coupled with melody, which allowed the singers to share in the transmission of religious ideas. Therefore, as the act of hymn singing formed a community of faith, it also created a vocabulary rooted in the elements of late-medieval popular culture. This vocabulary was not the sole property of educated churchmen, but also belonged to the singers themselves, implying that the content of religious music used in worship differed little from popular religious song. Thus early Reformation hymnody remained closely tied to contemporary popular devotion, and Brethren hymns provide a rare window into the world of the common person in the sixteenth century. The roots of modern congregational singing can
be viewed through this window, traced to the Brethren communities of nearly five centuries ago.

Taken together, these issues indicate that for early reformed groups, aspects of theology and practice were closely related, and the Unity of Brethren structured their world around these elements. Among the Brethren, congregational singing offered praise to God, identified His chosen community, assumed a position vital to both professing and creating faith, and integrated the composition, transmission, and performance of hymns into Brethren theology. To the sixteenth-century Unity of Brethren, the act of singing assumed a role so central to the creation of faith that it comprised an element of theology in itself.
Map: Czech and German Congregations of the Unity of Brethren

Chapter One
Dissent, Unity, and Theology

The Unity of Brethren's theological heritage grew from the early fifteenth-century roots of the Hussite movement. After the burning of Jan Hus at the Council of Constance in 1415, his teachings spread throughout Bohemia and pervaded the popular religion of his native region. Thus while Hussitism began as a theological debate among churchmen, it soon grew into widespread heresy, and it remained a popular movement throughout its history.¹ The Hussite movement assumed a place in the context of contemporary religious crises and Bohemia's volatile political climate. In combination with the Great Schism, disputes among Czech nobles, and increasing poverty in the peasant class, the execution of Hus sparked trends in popular piety that persisted in Bohemia and Moravia for over a century.² In its early-fifteenth-century criticisms of the Roman Catholic church, the popular Hussite movement rejected the infallibility of doctrine and emphasized the free preaching of the Word of God.³ Within the context of late-medieval popular belief in the imminence of the apocalypse, Hussites interpreted Catholic corruption as a sign of the

last days. Therefore, Hussitism spread as a reaction to theological and political problems and as an outgrowth of late-medieval popular piety and culture.

Reactions to these political, economic, and religious crises resulted in the formation of a number of popular Hussite groups in the early fifteenth century. While conservative Utraquists, who held the Hussite belief in communion in both kinds but still upheld Rome's teachings and supremacy, remained an independent and dominant faith throughout the period of reform, radical Czech Hussites began to plant the seeds of Brethren faith. Anticlerical extremists reacted against Roman Catholic corruption by sacking monasteries and killing over half of the priests in radical Hussite areas in less than one year. Other Hussites, motivated by apocalyptic expectation, established an isolated community at Tábor in the 1420s in which they practiced equal sharing of goods. By 1431, the Táborites composed a confession of their faith, which acknowledged only teachings and practices based in scripture. Although such radicals

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7 Rudolf Ričán, *The History of the Unity of Brethren*, trans. C. Daniel Crews (Bethlehem, PA: The Moravian Church, 1992), p. 10. In "Neither Mine nor Thine," Thomas Fudge claims that the radical Hussites attempted to create a communist society. However, a Marxist paradigm does not entirely describe their economic principles. Táborites only held all property in common in the period immediately after the sect's founding. Although common property persisted throughout their existence, it eventually served only to fund the church itself, while individuals also held private property. Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 388-9.
8 Ričán, *History of the Unity of Brethren*, p. 8. Denying doctrines lacking a basis in scripture became common throughout Reformation Europe. For example, it formed the basis for Luther's revolt.
represented extreme interpretations of Hussite teachings, many of these groups later combined to form the Unity of Brethren. Therefore, their early dealings with the Church and with each other contributed significantly to the development of Brethren theology.

Early Hussite history is marked by violent conflicts with the Roman Catholic church, which called for multiple crusades against Hussites during the first third of the fifteenth century. The crusaders failed to eradicate the Hussite armies, leaving them to continue their faith in the hills of Bohemia and to interpret victory as proof of God’s approval. Because “the overarching rubric of Hussitism contended that the establishment of the primitive church ethos was the ultimate ideal,” Hussites further interpreted their victories in the name of God as an assurance that they had successfully revived the apostolic community. Consequently, the Hussites incorporated the idea of holy warfare into their regional religious identity.

In 1434, the Hussites reached an agreement with the Council of Basel, putting an end to Roman Catholic crusades in the Czech lands. This Compactata outlined the principles of Hussite faith, many of which remained at the center of their teachings after the Unity of Brethren’s founding. First, the Hussites demanded the right to utraquism, or frequent communion and the sharing of the cup with the laity. This emphasized their

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10 Fudge, “Neither Mine nor Thine,” p. 32.
12 Rican, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 36.
desire to recreate the apostolic community, since Hussites modeled their interpretations of the Eucharist on the Last Supper and Christ’s giving the cup to the disciples. It also set them apart from Roman Catholic practice, which only offered bread to the laity. In addition, Hussites emphasized the importance of the community of believers by requiring public retribution for sins. Their emphasis on the apostolic community established the teachings of Christ above all temporal authorities and denied the infallibility of church leaders. The Compactata also established free preaching of the Word as a primary tenet of Hussite faith. In other words, Hussites believed that laypeople had the right to publicly read or preach the Word of God. This presented a stark contrast to the controlled preaching of Roman Catholicism. Finally, the Hussites requested a reduction of papal powers, although they still depended on sympathetic Roman Catholic priests for the sacraments. The Compactata highlights the Hussite ideal of recreating the apostolic community, practicing this faith on the basis of scripture, and remaining outside of the control of temporal authorities. In addition, because radical Hussites and conservative Utraquists disagreed over points of the Compactata, civil war between the groups ensued, leading to violent persecution of radicals such as Táborites.

Early Hussites did not unify as a single church, but rather existed as a collection of independent congregations tracing their theological heritage to Hus and his writings. While Hussite theologians interpreted these teachings differently, several leaders became

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13 Fudge, The Magnificent Ride, p. 137.
14 Fudge, The Magnificent Ride, p. 146.
15 Aston, Faith and Fire, p. 21 and Rican, p. 36.
influential in the founding of the Unity of Brethren. The Unity initially formed when followers of the theologian Jan Rokycana came together around the preacher Rehor of Prague in 1457. The Unity also based their early theology on the teachings of Petr Chelčický, a Táborite leader who called for separation from the world. Thus the early Unity of Brethren represented both the Táborites’ radical apostolic community, as well as the Utraquists’ moderate teachings on the sacrament, to develop a theological composite of earlier Hussite faiths.

Because they believed that Christ’s chosen people “[did] not belong to the world,” the first Czech band of the Unity of Brethren moved from Prague to the village of Kunvald in the early months of 1458 to build an apostolic community. The Unity expressed their moral dissatisfaction with existing groups and believed that true believers had to withdraw from the worldliness of other faiths to attain salvation. They also felt that the Church’s political dealings manifested such worldliness, and therefore refused to participate in secular government and shunned their Hussite predecessors’ violence. Because they considered the rest of the world too sinful to hope for salvation, the Brethren intended to create their community in God’s image while they waited for the

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16 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 27.
20 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 32.
second coming of Christ.\textsuperscript{21} As persecutions forced radical Hussites into hiding, the Unity accepted these survivors into their secluded community, lending the group its title and its identity as an association of the chosen.\textsuperscript{22}

In 1467, Brethren communities decided that they could no longer accept the authority of Roman Catholic priests. Through a lot, the Unity chose their first three priests.\textsuperscript{23} The ordination of Brethren priests represents an important step in their church structure's evolution as the number of communities grew. Over the next five years, the Unity formed an independent church based on the authority of congregational elders, who chose local priests to serve individual communities. A council of elders from all congregations formed a synod, which later evolved into an advisory board for the central theological leader. This group eventually became known as the Inner Council.\textsuperscript{24} Highlighting the Unity's emphasis on community organization, this system also arose from the early radical Hussites' communal structure and the Unity's continuing belief in the apostolic congregation.

Although the early Unity was theologically diverse, it was culturally and ethnically homogeneous. The Unity was originally comprised entirely of Czechs who formerly identified with other local Hussite movements, and their descendents. However, cultural diversity increased in the latter half of the fifteenth century. In 1480, the Unity

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Rican, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 26.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Rican, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 29.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Rican, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 39. It is important to note that because the Brethren chose their first priests through random selection, they broke from Roman Catholic apostolic succession, which traced all priests' authority to Christ's charge to Peter.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Rican, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 51.
\end{itemize}
accepted several hundred Waldensians who sought refuge from religious persecutions in Germany. 25 Waldensian and Brethren theology bore several similarities, especially in their mutual search for the true apostolic church, the emphasis on the importance of scripture above all earthly teachings, and the rejection of worldly excesses and immorality. 26 The Germans formed their own congregations in Landskron and Fulnek, remaining geographically separated from the surrounding Czech congregations despite their theological commonalities. 27 The German Brethren congregations enjoyed more political stability than their Czech counterparts. For example, in 1481, King Matyáš temporarily forced the Czech Brethren to leave Moravia for the hills of Poland. Disputes over involvement in worldly affairs arose in the 1490s, splitting the Czech congregations into two opposing parties. 28 The German branch, on the other hand, continued to develop their congregations throughout this period, relatively unaffected by internal disagreement and political persecution. Therefore, while the German congregations traced their

25 Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, p. 72. Bohemia and Moravia, which were more tolerant than other parts of Europe, often sheltered groups persecuted throughout the later middle ages. Jarold Knox Zeman, “The Rise of Religious Liberty in the Czech Reformation,” Central European History 6, no. 2 (June 1973): p. 144. Waldensianism was a late-medieval heretical movement. The sect sought to re-establish the apostolic community, taking vows of poverty and withdrawing from secular society. As with the Hussites, Waldenses denied temporal authority and emphasized the free preaching of the Word. Although the movement was originally centered in Spain, France, and Italy, it spread throughout Europe by the sixteenth century.


27 Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, p. 72. German and Czech Brethren settled in both Bohemia and Moravia (see Map, p. 4). While it was predominantly Czech in both areas, the Unity in general never exceeded one percent of the population in Bohemia and three percent in Moravia. Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 299.

28 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 48.
religious heritage directly to the Hussites rather than to their Waldensian forebears and shared the Czech Unity's confessed theology, their culture diverged from the Czech Brethren. In other words, the German Unity were Hussite in religion but still German in ethnicity and culture. Although both the Czech and the German Brethren remained theologically united, they were not culturally homogeneous. The commonalities between different branches of the Unity often linked them in confessed theology and practice if not in language and popular traditions, and they must be viewed as united yet varied groups.

This theological unity resulted from the centralization of Brethren leadership, which largely defined the role of both Czech and German congregations within the overall framework of the Unity's faith. While the German branch developed without the turmoil that the Czechs endured, the Unity's theological center still rested with Czech scholars in Prague and influenced Czech and German branches alike. Centralized leadership reached its most developed form under Brother Lukás of Prague in the 1490s. Lukás' teachings were especially significant in their emphasis on the Unity's ideals of essential, ministrative, and non-essential things. The essential things—faith, hope, and

29 Although a significant number of Germans settled in Bohemia and Moravia in the fourteenth century, they assimilated into Czech groups or evacuated by the time of the Hussite wars. It is clear that the two groups co-existed and communicated in the early fifteenth century, but "Bohemia became increasingly Czech" by 1500. John M. Klassen, Warring Maidens, Captive Wives, and Hussite Queens: Women and Men at War and Peace in Fifteenth Century Bohemia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 10. The remaining German population in sixteenth-century Moravia probably descended from these original settlers and generally remained isolated. Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, p. 60. Thus while sixteenth-century Czech and German Brethren groups communicated, increased language barriers and the introspective nature of Brethren congregations places the focus squarely on individual congregations and their piety. Because of these differences and the increased numbers of German speakers in Moravia as Anabaptists took refuge there, the German Brethren interacted more frequently with other currents in the Reformation than the Czechs. Zeman, "The Rise of Religious Liberty," p. 143.

30 Řícan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 69.
love—were attributes necessary for attaining salvation. The Brethren believed that
ministrative things, such as the Word of God, the sacraments, and Christ, led humans to
the essential things and thus indirectly to salvation. Finally, the non-essential things
comprised the church structure and religious practices, which supported the essential and
ministrative aspects of Brethren faith.31 While earlier Brethren theology also included
this doctrine, Lukáš increased its importance by teaching that because of the church’s
extensive role in educating believers in the nature of salvation, it was both essential and
ministrative.32 Thus the Brethren strongly focused upon the role of the community in the
process of salvation and its theological function in worship despite their belief that human
actions could not directly contribute to salvation.33 Lukáš’ teachings on the essential,
ministrative, and non-essential things also represent the organization of Brethren theology
into a hierarchical structure of beliefs which then governed and defined other religious
ideas and practices. To the sixteenth-century Unity, the interpretation of salvation and the
functioning of the congregation thus became part and parcel of the same theological
principle.

While Lukáš took steps to centralize Brethren theology, it still remained under the
influence of local priests who represented a variety of beliefs and practices in the Unity’s
early years.34 Lukáš gained further power within the Unity over the next two decades,

31 Řícán, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 33.
33 Amédeo Molnár, “The Brethren’s Theology,” in Rudolf Řícán, The History of the Unity of
34 Marianka S. Fousek, “The Perfectionism of the Early Unitas Fratrum,” Church History 30, no.
becoming head of the Inner Council in 1518.\textsuperscript{35} He remained the Unity’s recognized theological leader until 1531.\textsuperscript{36} However, despite the progress toward theological centralization during Lukás’ life, the Unity retained its roots as a popular movement and remained open to accepting those who found no theological place in established faiths.

One of the first and most significant new theological arrivals occurred in the winter of 1517/18, when three German monks joined the Unity. Jan Mnich, Johann Zeising, and Michael Weisse left their monastery after accusations of Lutheran sympathies, but found shelter and theological commonalities with the Unity.\textsuperscript{37} While all three brought theological ideas from the German Reformation, Weisse made notable contributions to the Unity. Ordained as a Brethren priest in 1531, he probably ministered to the German Brethren congregations at Landskron and Fulnek since 1522.\textsuperscript{38} As the editor of the first German Brethren hymnal in 1531, he contributed to the development of the Unity’s hymnody and its functions within their theology. Finally, as a German native, he used his language abilities and prominence as a theologian to spread Brethren ideas to German speakers outside of the Unity.\textsuperscript{39} Weisse’s abilities and leadership allowed him to assume a key role in the development of German Brethren culture and its dealings with the Reformation.

\textsuperscript{35} Rčan, \textit{History of the Unity of Brethren}, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{36} Strupl, “Confessional Theology,” p. 286.
\textsuperscript{37} Zeman, \textit{The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren}, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{38} Zeman, \textit{The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren}, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{39} Rčan, \textit{History of the Unity of Brethren}, p. 124.
Weisse played upon his position as a German-speaking Brethren leader to become a critical contact between the Unity and Luther. As late as 1519, Luther remained skeptical about the Brethren, condemning them as heretics because of their teachings on baptism and communion. Luther’s knowledge of the Unity improved through correspondence with Lukás and a familiarization with the German Brethren catechisms of 1521 and 1522. However, seeking to improve relationships with other evangelical Germans, Weisse and Jan Roh, another prominent Unity member, visited Luther without the authorization of Lukás for the first time in 1522. Lukás approved several subsequent visits in 1523 and 1524 with the purpose of discussing the correct Brethren theology and its relationship with Lutheranism. After 1524, the Unity turned their attention to other Protestant groups, and direct contact with Luther ceased until 1533. Although brief, these meetings with Luther represent the first significant exchanges with reformed groups outside of Bohemia and Moravia, and they assumed a prominent position in the Unity’s development.

The 1520s brought further contacts with other groups and the possibility of additional theological mergers. After 1524, the Unity’s interest in other reformed...
theologies temporarily shifted to Anabaptism. They visited the Unity, bringing Anabaptist ideas. Interest in Anabaptism lingered in the Unity throughout the decade, intensifying when Moravia sheltered a group of Anabaptists and reaching such a pitch that leaders discussed a merger between the two groups in 1528. Weisse also became involved in discussions over Zwinglianism, and these ideas appear to have diffused through the German congregations at Landskron and Fulnek. Weisse’s sympathies with Anabaptism and Zwinglianism contrasted with other Brethren leaders’ interest in Calvinism, creating a degree of theological diversity within the Unity.

Therefore, even among the Brethren themselves, controversy over theological variations arose. For example, Lukáš sent a letter to the Brethren in Moravia condemning Lutheran leanings in an attempt to curb Weisse and his fellow former monk Zeising. Clearly, Lukáš feared that other theologies would threaten the solidarity of the Unity’s teachings:

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45 Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, p. 75.
46 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 118. Anabaptists stressed adult baptism and a believer’s free choice to follow Christ. They also rejected temporal authority, promoted withdrawal from the world, and forbade violence.
47 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 120.
48 Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, p. 107 and Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 124. As the reformer of Zurich, Zwingli emphasized the ultimate authority of the Word of God, argued against papal powers, and promoted a symbolic understanding of the Eucharist. As with the Brethren, he intended to re-establish the apostolic church. However, Anabaptism also connotes radical reform unassociated with Zwingli. While exposure to Zwingli’s ideas is evident, the Anabaptist groups that interacted with the Unity were probably moderate congregations taking refuge in Bohemia and Moravia. Therefore, it is unlikely that they were directly associated with either Zwingli’s civil reform of Zurich or radical German Anabaptist groups.
49 Pelikan, Obedient Rebels, p. 130.
50 Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, p. 77.
Watch these people who have arisen against the Unity with their fancy German ways. They have more confidence in Germans and the German views. They boast of their [knowledge of] languages and exegesis. For they wish to build up the Germans and carry the fire [of controversies] into our midst. But know assuredly that this is as though Satan had conspired against the Unity through them.

Thus the question of why contacts with other reformed groups caused the Unity to strengthen their own beliefs rather than conform to similar and more widespread faiths must be further considered.

Although the proposed merger with the Anabaptists never occurred, its possibility highlights the similarities between Brethren faith and the ideas of other reformers. As with the Anabaptists, the Brethren originally preferred adult baptism, although they later allowed children to be baptized as well. Like many reformers, the Brethren rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, although they continued to differ from other Protestants regarding the nature of communion. For example, the Unity taught that Christ was present, but only as a true believer received the sacrament. In addition, they could offer no explanation of how this transformation occurred and did not distinguish between spiritual and physical presence. The Unity believed that only God could control such matters, and human intermediaries could not bring believers closer to salvation by

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53 Ríčan, *History of the Unity of Brethren*, p. 52. While the Brethren allowed childhood baptism, they maintained that it remained incomplete until confirmation, thus placing the emphasis on the adult believer's conscious choice to become a member.

54 Ríčan, *History of the Unity of Brethren*, p. 31.
guessing at the nature of spiritual mysteries.\textsuperscript{55} Despite apparent commonalities with other reformed groups, the Brethren "tended to preserve the exclusivist self-righteousness traditionally characteristic of the radical strain in the Bohemian Reformation."\textsuperscript{56} German Brethren hymnody, on the other hand, suggests that this identity, while firmly conceived, existed in a dialogue with its theological heritage, the elements of sixteenth-century popular belief, and other currents in Reformation thought. In short, Michael Weisse’s 1531 German hymnal brought theological debates and principles into the traditions of Brethren congregations, creating a blend of piety and practice that assumed a key role in the Unity’s development.

\textsuperscript{55} Říčan, \textit{History of the Unity of Brethren}, p. 53. The Unity generally did not differentiate between Christ’s spiritual and physical presence. As a result, Luther characterized the Unity’s interpretation of the Eucharist as merely symbolic and believed that the Brethren differed drastically from his teachings on the Real Presence.

Chapter Two
The Brethren Hymnal as Theological Statement

One of the most persistent dilemmas in the study of religion is whether to approach it as a set of held beliefs or as a set of practices. The dilemma is the more acute in the case of popular belief, where the ideas behind religious practices are rarely formulated clearly and concisely in any formal conceptual structure. Often they appear only through the practices, yet they also give meaning to them. The two must be studied as inextricably linked.¹

With a mixture of belief and practice, confessional theology and popular piety, the Unity of Brethren’s hymns present such a dilemma. Although historians of the Czech Brethren have largely ignored the Unity’s hymns, recent scholarship argues that religious songs more generally are essential to understanding a congregation’s faith and acts of worship.² Furthermore, hymnologists attempt to trace a faith’s outlines and structures through the organization and contents of its hymnals.³ In the case of the German Unity of Brethren, hymnals’ development and structure, writers’ methods of hymn composition, and the

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² For example, Jarold Knox Zeman noted that he consulted every existing source except for hymns in his works (emphasis mine). Zeman, The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia 1526-1628: A Study of Origins and Contacts (The Hague: Mouton, 1969). Concerning the use of hymns to determine a reformed group’s theology, Fudge writes that “it is instructive and illuminating to consider the intriguing suggestion that the piety of a religious community or movement cannot be extrapolated fully from its creeds and theological writings alone but must also take into consideration its songs.” Thomas A. Fudge, The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), p. 208.
processes of dissemination reveal the inherent connections between their congregations' faith and practices.

Just as the Unity of Brethren traced their theological roots to Jan Hus and his followers, their tradition of monophonic congregational singing also arose from Hussite popular and religious song. While some Hussites considered imagery and music sinful and dangerous indulgences, Margaret Aston attributes the trend towards eliminating religious art within the movement to the influence of late-medieval popular heresy rather than to Hus himself. Although Hus considered extravagant ceremonies among the vices of the Roman Catholic church, he did not entirely exclude imagery and music from his ideal of Christian worship. Rather, “liturgical art, for Hus, [provided] essentially a vocabulary for intelligent religion.” In short, Hus objected only to excesses in art while he supported imagery and music that aided in acts of worship based in scripture.

After the creation of the Unity from its component groups of Hussites, Brethren hymn composers took up the musical traditions of Hus’s popular following. While individual Hussite and early Brethren songs survive in manuscript, the first complete songbook attributed to the Czech Brethren dates from 1501. Containing 87 songs, the 1501 hymnal demonstrates Brethren hymnody’s growth from its popular Hussite beginnings through its development into its unified form. Researchers attribute ten

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hymns to earlier Hussite and Brethren leaders, and Lukás of Prague probably influenced
the book’s content. Credited with composing the words to eleven of the original hymns,
Lukás may also have translated 66 hymns from Latin to Czech for the 1501 hymnal.7
Lukás’ hymns “sing about the church, which recognized and honored God’s salvation in
Christ, rejoiced in the message of the gospel, truly instructed the singer and the listener in
the faith, and warned against Antichrist.”8 The early-sixteenth-century hymns contained
elements of Latin liturgical music as well as the tradition of popular piety. Since these
elements flourished in Michael Weisse’s hymnal, the messages of Lukás’ Czech songs
foreshadow the theological content of the Unity’s later German hymns.

The survival of Weisse’s 1531 Ein New Gesengbuchlen provides a vital link to
Hussite and early Brethren musical traditions as well as an outline of the Unity’s beliefs
in their sixteenth-century context. Although the Unity published expanded editions of the
1501 Czech hymnal in 1505 and 1519, neither survives. Weisse based his 1531 hymnal
on the lost 1519 Czech book and earlier German manuscripts, allowing us to retrace the
development of the Unity’s musical traditions.9 Therefore, the 1531 hymnal allows a
retrospective understanding of earlier German Brethren hymnody and its connections to
Hussite song.10

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7 Walter Blankenburg, “The Music of the Bohemian Brethren,” in Friedrich Blume, Protestant
Church Music: A History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), p. 593 and Ríčan, History of the Unity of
Brethren, p. 104.
8 Ríčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 104.
9 Blankenburg, “Music of the Bohemian Brethren,” p. 595 and Ríčan, History of the Unity of
Brethren, p. 160.
While the texts and melodies of the 1531 hymnal demonstrate connections to the past, they also assume a place in the context of the contemporary Unity’s usage of congregational song. The structure of Michael Weisse’s 1531 hymnal illustrates multiple purposes and uses for Brethren hymnody. Weisse divided the 157 hymns into 18 categories, which form a structure organizing tenets of the Unity’s faith (See Table I). Their titles provide clues to the central theological themes of their respective contents. Furthermore, some titles indicate settings in which the Unity may have employed their hymnody. The divisions and distribution of hymns among these categories reflect the priorities of Brethren theology and the structures of their faith. This organization implies additional formal divisions within the hymnal and equally emphasizes Christ and the Brethren community.
### Table I: Contents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Hymns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. On Christ becoming flesh</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. On the birth of Christ</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. On the circumcision</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. On the Epiphany</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. On the suffering of Christ</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. On the resurrection</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. On Christ’s ascension to heaven</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. On the Holy Ghost</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Praise songs</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Prayer songs</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Teaching songs</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Songs on the times of day</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Songs for children</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Songs for enjoyment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. By the graves of the dead</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. On the last days</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. On the right faith</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. On the Testament of the Lord</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The arrangement of the first eight categories chronologically traces the life of Christ from His birth to the appearance of the Holy Ghost to the apostles (See Table I). Two conclusions emerge about the Unity’s theology and practice. First, the chronological organization outlines the church year. For example, hymns on the birth of Christ and the crucifixion were especially appropriate for Christmas and Easter respectively.12 In addition, vestiges of the Roman Catholic feast days remain in the hymnal. For example,

11 All notes refer to hymns by number and are listed in Appendix One.
Weisse included “O Christ Our Salvation,” a hymn that clearly notes that when Christ was eight days old, he was circumcised “following Jewish custom.” Weisse appropriately placed this hymn in the chronology between songs on the birth of Christ and those on the appearance of the star in the east, providing ties to the traditional Roman Catholic feast day of the circumcision of the Lord. Similarly, “When Jesus Christ God’s Son” notes the placement of Pentecost in the chronology, describing the Holy Spirit’s appearance “on the fiftieth day after Easter . . . nine days after Christ ascended to heaven,” further confirming the church year’s outlines. This organization reinforces the importance of the life of Christ in the Unity’s theology and hymnody and emphasizes the church year as a means of structuring faith.

Furthermore, this focus on the church year indicates that while the Unity attempted to remain separated from the outside world, vestiges of the Roman Catholic church year tied them to established faiths, keeping Brethren belief in a familiar context. Throughout Europe, familiar themes pervaded Reformation culture, and people understood new ideas through traditional contexts. Protestant groups understood “the Reformation through the familiar and the traditional, using the associations of popular culture and popular belief.” For example, Lee Palmer Wandel argues that in Zwingli’s Zurich, contemporary woodcuts associated the Eucharist with familiar household

15 Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 190.
objects. Similarly, Roman Catholic laity related to the medieval mass through its parallels with the motions of daily life. In general, Reformation-era culture and the transmission of its principles largely depended on ideas and actions already well-known to the people. Thus the familiar structures and themes of Christ’s life assumed a central role in the Unity’s understanding of individual hymn texts and the transmission of theology.

A second conclusion that emerges from the concentrations of hymns in the first eight categories of the 1531 hymnal concerns the Unity’s understanding of the nature of Christ (See Table II). The Unity concentrated most strongly on Christ’s birth, crucifixion, and resurrection. The hymnal’s organization reveals that the Unity’s emphasis fell most heavily on the presence of Christ on earth, while his ascension to heaven and the appearance of the Holy Spirit remain secondary to the idea of Christ as flesh. The Unity thus associated salvation with earthly life. Because the Brethren congregation comprised community life as a whole, this association highlighted its central role in the Unity’s faith.

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20 See Chapters Four and Five.
Table II: Church Year and Concentrations of Christology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On the resurrection</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the suffering of Christ</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the birth of Christ</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Christ becoming flesh</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Holy Ghost</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Epiphany</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Christ's ascension to heaven</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the circumcision</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The distribution of related theological ideas throughout the entire hymnal further reflects the heavy concentration on Christ’s life, suffering, and resurrection. For example, in the total of 157 hymns, references to Christ on earth occur approximately three times as frequently as mentions of Christ in heaven.\(^1\) Similarly, hymns mention the crucifixion and resurrection more often than the Holy Ghost.\(^2\) The pervasiveness of these theological ideas further supports the hymnal’s over-arching Christological structure.

This focus on Christ as a living and suffering savior played a central role in the Unity’s ideal of salvation and the ways in which the Brethren expressed this tenet in their

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\(^1\) Textual references to Christ on earth: Weisse, *Ein New Gesangbuchlein*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 69, 70, 75, 79, 80, 98, 107, 108, 109, 110, 151. Textual references to Christ in heaven: 27, 60, 61, 62, 69, 70, 73, 78, 83, 95, 127, 142, 148, 149, 150, 151, 157.

hymnody. In addition, late-medieval Christians in dissenting sects focused on Christ's trials to demonstrate the parallels between His life and the persecutions they suffered, and the Unity's beliefs about the congregation also held a prominent place in Brethren theology. Therefore, their community organization and practices contributed to the entire hymnal's theological function.

The hymnal's organization further suggests the theological importance of the congregation to the Unity of Brethren. While the first eight categories in the hymnal clearly concentrate on the life of Christ, the titles of the latter ten categories allude to practical aspects of the Unity's hymnody (See Table I). These categories largely focused on the settings in which the Brethren could employ hymnody: at home, in education, and on other occasions such as funerals (See Table III). Weisse did not organize each of the hymnal's latter categories around a central theological principle or event in the church year, but rather around the ways in which the Brethren used these principles in practical settings or an idea's specific applications to the Unity. Hence these categories emphasize the actions of the Unity itself, while the earlier categories clearly focus upon the divine. In other words, the first eight categories outline the Christological basis for Brethren faith and the last ten imply the practical applications of this faith. This means that the Unity employed hymnody to both communicate spiritual principles and to define the nature of their community's worship.
Table III: Hymn Concentrations (Categories 9-18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prayer songs</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise songs</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs on the times of day</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching songs</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Testament of the Lord</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the graves of the dead</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the right faith</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs for children</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs for enjoyment</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the last days</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although the organization of the hymnal’s categories outlines Brethren faith, these formal divisions do not restrict the distribution of theological ideas. Rather, theological principles occur across multiple categories, creating a dialog between theology and practice in which one influenced and defined the other. The hymn texts in any given section may contain references to Christ as flesh, the most prominent aspect of the Unity’s Christology.  

Similarly, textual references to the role of the congregation also occur in the categories on the life of Christ. Since the Brethren often blended...
Christological and communitarian principles in a given hymn, ideas must be analyzed as they occur across the hymnal's divisions as well as within them in order to understand their relationships within the Unity's theology. While theological functions may occur across formal divisions, it cannot be argued that the division lacks theological purpose. Instead, the categories serve to define the relative importance of ideas and to organize the hymns within over-arching theological and practical concepts of Christology and community. Categorization created a means of understanding ideas that occurred across formal divisions, and this combination of ideas dictated both spiritual and earthly principles.

As a whole, the combination of the Unity's Christology and the implied practical uses of their hymnody created underlying relationships between faith and practice (See Table IV). To the Brethren, while faith dictated practice, religious practice also formed a vocabulary with which they communicated theology.

as Christ's army: 21, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 42, 46, 47, 53, 56, 58, 59, 61, 64, 66.
Table IV: Hymn concentrations in all categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prayer songs</td>
<td>12.10%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise songs</td>
<td>10.83%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the resurrection</td>
<td>10.83%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the suffering of Christ</td>
<td>10.19%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the birth of Christ</td>
<td>8.28%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs on the times of day</td>
<td>8.28%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching songs</td>
<td>7.01%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Testament of the Lord</td>
<td>5.73%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Christ becoming flesh</td>
<td>4.46%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Holy Ghost</td>
<td>3.82%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the graves of the dead</td>
<td>3.18%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the right faith</td>
<td>3.18%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Epiphany</td>
<td>2.55%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs for children</td>
<td>2.55%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Christ's ascension to heaven</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs for enjoyment</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the last days</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the circumcision</td>
<td>1.27%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>99.99%</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The concentrations of hymns in all categories confirm that the Unity focused its theological attention on both the nature of Christ and on the functioning of their religious community. In combination with the occurrence of similar theological ideas across formal divisions, this confirms that the categorical divisions are representative of the overarching Christological and communitarian structure of Brethren faith, but this organization cannot be interpreted as an alienation of theology from practice. In short, a given hymn was theologically linked to the Christological structure of the first half of the hymnal while remaining tied to the second half as it emphasized the community as the environment for salvation and worship. As with the Lutherans, who used hymnals "to
give thanks and praise to God, to express the community’s common spiritual interests, to arouse the individual’s religious emotions and help imprint on his mind the salient points of doctrine,” the Brethren employed hymn singing for a number of purposes: as an act of praise, a means of religious education, and a force in unifying the community.25 The Unity therefore emphasized both faith in Christ and the community’s role in worship, and the 1531 hymnal dually focused on theology and congregation. In practice, hymns defined and blended spiritual and earthly teachings, bringing the Brethren community into a close ideological relationship with Christ and endowing it with theological importance. Thus the hymn repertory as a whole interpreted theology within Brethren congregations, and through their central role in communitarian worship, religious songs assumed a theological role in themselves.

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Since the Unity traced its hymnody’s heritage to Hussite beginnings, its music grew and evolved from this culture. As with the Hussites, who incorporated variations of familiar Roman Catholic songs, the Unity adapted texts and melodies from other groups to their own traditions. In addition, the Brethren adopted popular religious songs into their hymn repertories. Therefore, scholars must also view the Unity’s hymnody from the perspective of its relationship to popular and predominantly oral cultures and place the evolution of the texts and melodies of sixteenth-century printed sources in the context of pre-existing vernacular written and oral traditions. In their hymn singing, the Brethren applied traditions from their spiritual heritage to their present faith, and the German hymn repertory of 1531 reveals that the Unity actively engaged with the musical traditions of other groups. Within Brethren communities, the incorporation of these disparate traditions and the adaptation of familiar textual and musical elements contributed to the congregation’s understanding of its separation from other previous and contemporary faiths.

In the 1531 hymnal, Weisse compiled hymns from the 1519 Czech Brethren hymnbook, as well as other songs that he “corrected and improved from the oldest
Brethren.' His specific reference to the Czech hymnal, or Kancionál, reinforces the importance of earlier traditions in the development of sixteenth-century Brethren hymnody. A late-medieval Kancionál contained melodies and texts collected from Hussite popular religious songs, Latin plainchant, and vernacular folk music. Weisse’s collection confirms this influence and binds the German hymnal of 1531 to its past in the re-workings of Latin church music and vernacular religious songs.

Approximately one-third of Weisse’s hymns can be traced conclusively to Latin sources, and he included Latin titles of songs which he translated or adapted (See Appendix Two). While some of the hymns borrow only the melody or merely maintain the main themes in the text, others directly translate portions of Latin texts. For example, Weisse used the Latin “Te deum” as the source for the Brethren hymn “O God We Praise Thee” (for translations and textual comparisons, see Appendix Three), providing a direct translation from the Latin text to the vernacular. This confirms the

4 Without archival sources on local variants in chants or folk songs, it is impossible to conclusively trace the origin of every hymn. In addition, without access to such sources, it is often impossible to determine whether a both text and melody are derived from a common source. Other hymns, however, can be easily traced to Latin sources through Weisse’s indications or their strict adherence to source melodies.
5 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen. All notes refer to hymns by number (listed in Appendix One). No. 80, “O got wir loben dich,” and “Te deum,” Ron Jeffers, ed., Translations and Annotations of Choral
connections between the German hymnal and the medieval liturgy, as well as its transmission to Weisse through the German Unity’s adoption of the Czech Kancionál tradition of translation and adaptation.® Like other reforming groups, the Brethren emphasized making familiar texts available in the vernacular. 7 By translating texts to the congregation’s language, the Unity made hymns accessible to all members and ensured their understanding of the hymnal’s content.

In order to expand their hymn repertory, the German congregations, which were relative newcomers to the Unity, adapted the vernacular traditions of the earlier Czech Brethren to their own congregations. Thirteen of the German hymns can be traced with certainty to Czech sources, which often draw upon Latin originals in their turn.® In addition, while Brethren theology evolved throughout the Unity’s first century, the continuous use of traditional hymns maintained the spirit of earlier ideas. In other words, while Luther acknowledged Weisse as “a good poet,” a large portion of Weisse’s texts

7 For example, Luther was known for German translations of Latin texts. However, contemporary Lutheran hymnals still included Latin texts for congregational singing, while the Brethren only included German texts. For example, see Johann Walter, *Das geistliche Gesangbüchlein*, ed. Walter Blankenburg (Worms: Peter Schöffern, 1525; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979). All notes refer to tenor partbook. Sig. Hlv, “Deus misereatur nostri,” and Valentin Babst, *Geistliche Lieder mit einer neuen vorrheide D. Martin Luther*, in *Das Babstche Gesangbuch*, ed. Konrad Ameln (Leipzig: 1545; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966), sig. Rlv, “Nunc Angelorum gloria.” In addition, Lutheran hymns occasionally mixed Latin and German texts, as in the popular Christmas carol “In dulci jubilo, nu singet und seid froh,” Babst, *Geistliche Lieder*, Rlv. In short, the Brethren hymnal, which included no Latin hymn texts, adhered more strictly to the principle of vernacular hymn singing.
were re-workings of earlier examples and thus served as a bridge between his congregation’s past and present.⁹

Taken together, Weisse’s adaptations of songs familiar to German speakers, as well as modifications of Latin texts such as the “Te deum,” demonstrate that borrowing material from earlier traditions was an important technique in the creation of vernacular hymnody. In addition, since the hymns did not ideologically divorce text from melody, the musical implications of borrowing also merit consideration.

Because of their roots in Roman Catholic and popular Hussite traditions, the hymns of Weisse’s 1531 book were not independent compositions, but rather records of music that the Unity previously circulated through manuscripts or oral tradition. Since the Unity of Brethren began as a poor congregation whose members often could not afford or read their own manuscripts, members memorized texts as communities grew.¹⁰ Logically, in the years before the compilation of the Unity’s hymnals, the practice of memorization extended to hymns. Even after the rise of printing, the laity often sang hymns from memory in Reformation-era communities throughout Europe.¹¹ Within the context of inconsistent and often limited levels of literacy, congregational singing served as a method for communicating ideas to those who could not read and for involving them

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⁹ Babst, Geystliche Lieder, sig. AIVv.
in further transmission of religious ideas.¹² In this way, melody functioned as a memory aid to the singer, providing assistance in recalling texts: "a familiar melody, a regular meter, and a rhyme scheme would all help hearers to recollect sung texts they had heard for a longer time and in greater detail than they would a spoken text."¹³ By 1531, the relationship between music and text contributed significantly to the uses of the hymnal within Unity congregations and as a means of communication with other reformed groups. In turn, other Protestants also employed similar tactics in their hymnody.¹⁴ As he adapted melodies from familiar sources and compiled them into a hymnal, Weisse maintained musical as well as textual and historical aspects of the Unity’s religious heritage and continued the tradition of vernacular hymn singing in German Brethren communities.

Such attention to popular culture played an important role in the Unity’s congregational song, especially in its educational functions and in the transmission of ideas. Hymn composers throughout Reformation Europe “used metrical texts because these could be fitted to folk tunes already known to the people as secular songs.”¹⁵ In this regard, Brethren hymnody bore similarities to its contemporaries. Furthermore, Weisse allowed for the application of alternate melodies to his texts, which enabled the congregation to employ well-known melodies in a religious setting.

¹⁴ For example, Lutheran hymn writers also paid close attention to the matching of a melody with an appropriate meter and rhyme scheme. Gerald Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 231.
Weisse’s table of contents lists 41 texts that the congregation could sing with alternate melodies. Each of these texts contained four-line stanzas with lines of eight syllables, allowing singers to fit them to any tune matching this poetic structure. This regular form allowed the Brethren to use the texts with a variety of well-known popular tunes in addition to the melodies printed or indicated with the text. Similarly, singers could match the texts to any of the printed melodies of the appropriate form within the hymnal. In addition, the proportions of notated versus indicated melodies reveal the applicability of more than one text for a given melody (See Appendix Four). Earlier Hussites also applied multiple texts to the same melody in their hymnody. By the late fifteenth century, the Hussites produced more new texts than melodies, which logically required them to use more than one text for a given tune. Since Hussite songs re-used well-known melodies, they were highly practical in the context of late-medieval popular culture, which largely depended on oral transmission. Such practicality continued after the Unity’s founding, since Brethren hymns in general “show a tendency toward simplification, elimination of complex liturgical melodies and careful correspondence of text and music.” For example, the almost entirely syllabic nature of the text settings

16 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, sig. viv-viiv.
17 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, Nos. 1, 2, 13, 14, 15, 29, 32, 40, 41, 45, 48, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 99, 105, 106, 107, 112, 116, 117, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 147, 149, 150, 151, 156.
18 Weisse and other hymn writers sometimes used melody indications, which listed the title of the tune the congregation should sing, rather than printing musical notation with the text.
19 Sehnal and Braun, “Cantional,” p. 60.
eliminated the need for singers to match the proper syllable to extended melismas, or musical phrases in which singers sustained a single syllable over multiple notes (See Example I). In short, hymnodists were aware of the importance of the relationship between melody and text and used each to enhance the meaning of the other.

Example I: Syllabic Text Setting in Weisse’s Hymns

Lob - et got o lie - ben chris - ten, sing - et ihm mit dem psalm -

ist - en, ein new fro - lich lied, denn aus gross -

er lieb, macht got mit uns ein - en e - wig - en fried.

Translation: Praise God, you beloved Christians, sing to Him with the psalmists a new song, which out of great love makes eternal joy for God with us.


Close relationships between tune and text stemmed from a common Reformation-era compositional technique: the creation of contrafacta, or the application of a new text to a pre-existing melody. The preface to the Brethren hymnal of 1575 explains the
importance of using a familiar tune to best convey the text’s message to the congregation, and this idea was familiar to Unity leaders such as Weisse as the group’s hymnody evolved.\(^{21}\) Through his contrafacta, Weisse’s hymns reflect the style of contemporary popular religious music.\(^{22}\) In other words, writing contrafacta provided an ideal way for hymnists to maintain aspects of well-known texts and music while applying them in a new context. Contrafacta were among the most common Reformation-era songs, leading some scholars to argue against their musical significance.\(^{23}\) However, their role in the transmission of religious ideas cannot be discounted: the careful modification of a text and the selection of a melody carried a detailed message to the congregation, helping it to understand its identity and distinguish between differing faiths. Thus while the occurrence of contrafacta in itself was commonplace and cannot be termed a “special usage” of musical material, these hymns assumed a theological and pedagogic function that endowed them with significant power to create and control belief.

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\(^{22}\) Wolkan, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, p. 16. The melodies of contrafacta serve a further scholarly purpose: they often provide the only written record of sixteenth-century popular music, which was largely confined to the practices of oral culture. Marcus, “Hymnody and Hymnals,” p. 727.

\(^{23}\) For example, in the sixteenth century, musicians compiled volumes completely comprised of contrafacta. Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, p. 33. Similarly, it was previously argued that “the consistent re-use of older, particularly sacred, melodies is so fundamental to both the technique and spirit of medieval music that it does not constitute a special usage.” Robert Falck, “Contrafactum, §Before 1450,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Grove’s Dictionaries of Music, Macmillan, 2001), p. 367. More recently, considerations of polyphonic Renaissance compositions have sought to distinguish between a variety of types of borrowing, but the Unity’s monophonic music generally does not present this dilemma. Rather, while the study of Roman Catholic masses usually ignores the relationships between music and text, these very relationships serve to define the significance of monophonic Brethren hymnody as a communication tool. For consideration of borrowing in polyphonic mass settings and the “problematic” issue of relationships between music and text, see Honey Meconi, ed., *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.
The sixteenth-century method of writing contrafacta further strengthened the relationship between text and melody, uniting them into a single idea in the minds of the singers and listeners. Writers often created contrafacta by carefully adapting a specific text rather than simply matching any text of appropriate syllabic content to a given tune. In contrafacta, writers often maintained concepts from the original text in the new version. This represents a carefully calculated attempt to help the singer or listener understand the adaptation, because:

While it is true that the familiarity of the model structure was important to its transmission, one cannot discount the effect of the model text on the listener's understanding of the contrafactum. The original works were more than simply templates to provide structure to new ideas. The more familiar a model, the more likely that the listener would have been constantly comparing the new text to the original.

Hymn writers used contrafacta to deliberately express "correct" beliefs in a familiar context while displacing inappropriate but well-known content. Contrafacta thus reinforced the importance of the relationship between melody and text in the transmission and understanding of hymns.

The clearest examples of sixteenth-century contrafacta occur in musical propaganda or in re-workings of popular Roman Catholic songs aimed at purging them of themes offensive to reformed groups. By removing these themes, reformed groups could continue to use well-known musical content in a new theological context. Weisse demonstrated the importance of connections between old and new texts in his

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contrafactum, "O Gentle Jesus of the New Way." This hymn is loosely based upon a Marian devotional song, "O Gentle Mary of the Noble Way." However, the Unity's disapproval of Marian devotion is revealed in another hymn, "Praise the Heavenly Father and His Son," which told the congregation not to worship Mary as a deity. Therefore, "O Gentle Mary" was clearly inappropriate to the Unity, and they modified its content accordingly. Relationships between text and melody are evident in "O Gentle Jesus," whose source, "O Gentle Mary," is also modified in a similar Lutheran contrafactum. 

Comparison of the first stanzas of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Brethren versions reveals similarities belying the common source of both contrafacta.

Roman Catholic: 

Maria zart  
von Edler art  
Ein roß on alle doren.  
Du hast auß macht  
her wider bracht  
das vor lang was verloren.  
Durch Adams vall  
dir hat die wall.  
Sant Gabriel versprochen  
hillf das mit werd gerochen  
mein sund und schuld  
erwrib mir huld  
dan kein trost ist  
wo du nit bist  
barmherzigkeyt erwerben.  
Am letzten end  
Ich bit nit wend  
von mir in meinem sterben.  

Gentle Mary  
of the noble way,  
a rose among all thorns.  
You have, out of might,  
returned again  
that which was long lost.  
Through Adam's fall,  
you had the choice.  
Saint Gabriel spoke:  
help that which was fouled by  
my sin and guilt.  
Acquire honor for me,  
because there is no comfort  
unless you are bought  
with mercy.  
At the end  
I beg You not to turn  
from me in my death.

26 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 81, "O Jesu zart in newer art."
27 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 148, "Preis sey dir hymlicher vater und deinem sohn."
28 "Zu dysem Lied/ wer es andechtiglich singt oder list" (1510), as printed in Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), p. 110.
Lutheran:

_ O Jesu zart_
_ göttlicher art_
_ ain roß on all doren._
_ Du hast auß macht_
_ herwider pracht_
_ das vor lang was verlren._
_ Durch Adams vall_
_ dir wart die wal_
_ Vor got vatter versprochen_
_ Auf dass nit würd gerochen_

_/mein sund und schuld_
_ erwarsstu huld, wenn kain_
_ tröst ist wo du nit bist_

_/barmherzigkeit erwerßen_
_ wer dich nit hat, und dein gnat_

_/der muss ewigklich sterben._29_

Unity of Brethren:

_ O Jhesu zart_
_ inn newer art_
_ entpffangen und geboren_
_ Du hast uns alles widerkart_
_ was adam het verloren_
_ imm Paradies_
_ da er verlies gotes bund_
_ und geseze_
_ fallend ins teufels neze_
_ daraus der todt_
_ und alle not_
_ uber ihn kam und_
_ kraft gewan._30_

O gentle Jesus
in God's way
a rose among thorns.
You have, out of might,
returned to splendor
that was long lost.
Through Adam's fall
the choice waited for you.
For God the Father spoke
on that which became
fouled by
my sin and guilt, which
expects no honor, because
there is no strength is where
you are not
awaited with mercy.
He who does not have You
and Your grace,
must eternally die.

O gentle Jesus
in the new way
conceived and born,
You have returned to us
all that Adam had lost
in paradise,
that he deserted God's way
and laws,
and fell into the Devil's nets.
Out of death
and all misery, You
overcame the Devil and
won strength.

Italicized words highlight words or ideas that are common to multiple versions of the contrafacta. All transcriptions maintain sixteenth-century spelling and punctuation.

29 Hans Sachs, "Das Liebt Maria zart" (1524), as printed in Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, _Music as Propaganda for the German Reformation_ (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), p. 107.

30 Weisse, _Ein New Gesengbuchlen_, No. 81, "O jhesu zart."
In short, the Protestant contrafacta altered references to Mary while maintaining less controversial ideas such as the danger of sin and the power of salvation. Although Weisse omitted stanzas in his version and altered the text more extensively than the 1524 Lutheran contrafactum, both maintained key words and ideas from the original Catholic song. In addition, Weisse listed “Gentle Mary” as the source for his hymn, eliminating the possibilities of his modification of another devotional song or original composition.\footnote{Weisse, *Ein New Gesengbuchlen*, No. 81, “O jhesu zart.”}

Familiar themes in such contrafacta contributed significantly to the composition and transmission of Brethren hymnody.

Weisse’s provisions for applying multiple texts to a single melody also demonstrate that content could play a considerable role in textual substitution. The hymnal includes three texts that the Brethren applied to the melody of “Dies est laetitiae,” a Latin Christmas song common in the German-speaking Protestant tradition (See Example II).\footnote{Weisse, *Ein New Gesengbuchlen*, No. 7, “Als Adam in paradis;” No. 9, “Weyl Maria schwanger ging;” No. 23, “Als jhesus geboren war.” Melody of “Dies est laetitiae” notated in Weisse, sig. BIIv.} German songwriters widely used “Dies est laetitiae” as a source melody in contrafacta, with four polemical variations conclusively traced to it.\footnote{Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, pp. 92-93. Oettinger does not include Weisse’s three texts in her count of the German contrafacta.} In the case of polemical music, Rebecca Wagner Oettinger attributes the frequent use of such songs as bases for contrafacta to their widespread popularity. Because the people knew the tunes...
as hymns before the Lutheran adaptations were composed, contrafacta allowed for easier learning and transmission of the new text.  

Example II: Dies est laetitiae


Although the German polemical contrafacta and Weisse's hymns were clearly intended for different contexts, the principles applied to popular propaganda to ensure quick and easy learning also appear in hymnody intended for worship. First, for example, since

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34 Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, pp. 92-93.
many German speakers already knew the tune of “Dies est laetitiae,” the congregation only had to learn the new religious text, thus simplifying the process of teaching the new hymn. Furthermore, because writers of contrafacta often maintained common textual themes between multiple versions of a song, the similarities between “Dies est laetitiae” and Weisse’s texts reveal sensitivity to the importance of familiarity in the composition and learning of new hymns. Like “Dies est laetitiae,” all three of Weisse’s adaptations relate to Advent and Christmas. He placed one text among the hymns on Christ becoming flesh and included the second with those on the birth of Christ, while the third is located with the hymns on the appearance of the star.35 Weisse suited his three adaptations to the same setting as the original, making them natural vernacular candidates to supplant the Latin version, and the congregation could use a familiar tune in its traditional setting while applying any of the new vernacular lyrics. Because the singers already knew the melody, these contrafacta saved steps in the learning process, making them a valuable teaching tool for the Brethren.

Similarly, Weisse’s hymnal also includes an adaptation of a popular Lutheran hymn, “We Are In the Middle of Life.”36 The Brethren version bears clear textual ties to the Lutheran, maintaining four lines that recur in each verse while modifying the


remaining content. A direct comparison of the Brethren and Lutheran versions’ first verses reveals the similarities between the texts:

Unity of Brethren:

Wyr waren inn grossem leyd.
in Adam all gestorben.
wer hat uns die selikeyt
bey got wider erworben.
Christus nur alleine
der sich hie geopffert hat
für adams sünd inn todt.

*Heyliger herre got*
*Heyliger starcker got*
*Heyliger barmherziger vater*
und *ewiger got,*
danck sey dir gesaget,
das du aus lawtrer gnad
für uns hie deinen sohn
hast lassen busse thun,
und uns widerstaten die verlorne kron.  

We were in great suffering,
in Adam all had died.
Who had bought our salvation
again from God?
Only Christ alone,
who had offered himself
for Adam’s sin and death.

*Holy Lord God*
*Holy powerful God*
*Holy merciful father*
*and eternal God,*

we thank You
that You sent Your Son
here for us
and let Him take the penalty
and returned to us heaven’s lost crown.

Lutheran:

Mitten wir im leben sind,
mit dem tod umfangen,
wer such wir der hüllfe thu,
das wir gnad erlangen.
Das bist du Herr alleyne,
uns reüet unser missetat,
die dich Herr erztüren hat,

*Heiliger herre Gott,*
*Heiliger starcker Gott,*
*Heiliger barmherziger Heyland*
du *ewiger Gott,*

We are in the middle of life
caught in death,
Who will help us
obtain grace?
You alone are God,
and we repent for our misdeeds.
that angered You.

*Holy Lord God,*
*Holy powerful God,*
*Holy merciful savior,*
*You eternal God,*

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38 Differences in spelling of the first line reflect variations between the Lutheran first line ("Mitten wir im leben sind") and the Brethren melody indication title ("Mitten wir in leben sein").
lassen nicht verfincken,
in das bittere todes not,
Kyrieleison.  

let us not sink
in the bitter suffering of death,
Lord have mercy.

The Brethren hymn's remaining stanzas continue the pattern of varying the text of the Lutheran verse while precisely maintaining the refrain. While the obvious textual parallels maintain traditional content in the Brethren adaptation, the melody indication in Weisse's hymnal implies further significance to the use of familiar tunes in congregational hymnody. Weisse often used melody indications rather than musical notation, but they usually refer to a notated melody located elsewhere in the hymnal (See Appendix Four). Although the Brethren hymn "We Were In Great Suffering" indicates the melody of "We Are in the Middle of Life," it does not refer to a page on which the singers could find the notated melody. This means that the congregation could not rely upon a printed melody in order to sing this hymn. The lack of a notated melody therefore indicates an assumed knowledge of the tune. In this case, Weisse's hymn bore both textual parallels and a melody so common that notation was unnecessary, again confirming the importance of familiar contexts for new ideas.

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39 Walter, sig. AIIIv. Italicized words indicate commonalities between Lutheran and Brethren versions. The Greek text included in the final line reveals the hymn's popular origin and musical form. The hymn was rooted in the popular tradition of songs of acclamation, which originally modified the Kyrie and maintained the words "Kyrie eleison" in their verses. Contractions of "Kyrie eleison" led the form to be commonly known as the "Leise." Like other sixteenth-century Leisen, the Brethren text eliminates the Greek closing words, but it still maintains the poetic and musical form of the original Leise. Johannes Riedel, ed., Leise Settings of the Renaissance and Reformation Era, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, Vol. XXXV (Madison: A-R Editions, 1980), p. vii.

40 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlein, No. 104, "Wyr waren inn grossem leyd." Other melody indications in the hymnal refer to a notated melody found elsewhere in the hymnal.
However, comparison of a familiar melody and a new text was not always marked with the close resemblance found in the contrafacta on “Gentle Mary” or in the Brethren variation of Lutheran songs. Rather, some hymns maintain a model melody while employing an entirely new text. Although this might entail a simple substitution of one text for another, examination of such hymns reveals theological reasons that at first lie beneath the surface for employing a particular model song. A striking example in Weisse’s hymnal, “O Father God, Blessed in Eternity,” modifies the Marian Vesper hymn “Ave maris stella.” While we are familiar with the Unity’s dislike of Marian devotion through the “Gentle Mary” contrafacta, “O Father God” supplants its model text with new verses proclaiming the dangers of incorrect faith (See Appendix Five). Comparison of the Latin text and the Brethren revision show that a drastic break from the model could contain just as much power as a subtle variation. For example, the Catholic text praises Mary’s holiness and prays for her to be an intermediary to Jesus. The Brethren text, on the other hand, details the Unity’s struggles against “the enemy... [who] takes all the world to heart.” Oettinger argues that songwriters used such drastic modifications to highlight the differences between traditional and reformed faiths as they linked the opposing texts to a common melody in the mind of the singer or listener. Such hymns defined the Brethren as a community apart from the world. Therefore, both the ideas

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42 Jeffers, Translations and Annotations, pp. 102-3.
44 Oettinger, Music as Propaganda, p. 123.
contained in songs and the reasons that hymnody became an important communication tool to the Unity stem from their basic theological principles, which emphasized the entire community's religious function. By ensuring that every member could become actively involved in hymn singing and its theological message, Brethren hymnody placed the community's religious role at the roots of the composition and use of congregational song.

A contrafactum's content provides vital clues to its uses in sixteenth-century Brethren congregations. By connecting new ideas to a familiar theme in the mind of the listener and singer, hymns served a theological purpose within the Unity. The songs provided a basis for comparisons between traditional and reformed beliefs. In addition, using themes already present in late-medieval culture allowed the Brethren to recover portions of their musical heritage that were previously associated with offensive Roman Catholic beliefs. As the hymns highlighted the differences between the old and new ways, they also provided a smooth transition between the two traditions, indoctrinating members into a faith that differed drastically from those surrounding it. Thus the power to unite the congregation while dividing it from other faiths proved vital to the hymnal's theological function.

Additionally, the overarching theological premise of easing believers into new ways and inciting comparison with the old reveals hymn writers' desire to help the laity learn and understand religious ideas. If hymnals expressed theology in practice, the ways

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in which sixteenth-century congregations transferred musical culture proved equally vital to their overall function. Well-known religious or folk themes played an important role in this transmission. Given the Unity’s tradition of memorization, the process of learning hymns conferred additional importance to familiar themes and melodies, as well as the relationship of these aspects of hymnody to theology and congregational life as a whole.

In addition, the Unity’s hymns bear stylistic similarities to the songs of other reformed faiths. Protestants often adapted the styles of their hymns to the laity to allow for easier transmission. For example, hymn writers used relatively simple vernacular language, allowing uneducated singers to understand the texts, and melodies that did not extend past the interval of an octave, which would easily lie within the vocal range of an untrained singer. The majority of Weisse’s hymns fit these criteria. A regular rhyme scheme also aided the congregation in learning texts. For example, 63 of Weisse’s 157 hymns consistently employ an AABB rhyme scheme. These simple rhymes aided the singer in remembering the following lines of text.

Many of Weisse’s hymns also employ a motivic structure, in which the composer organized the tune around a melodic fragment (See Example III).

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Motivic organization lends itself to the oral transmission of melodies since their repetitive nature allows for easy memorization or oral teaching. Thus the Brethren could learn hymns through either oral or written means so that the community as a whole could perform the songs. When considered in conjunction with debate over levels of literacy and its importance in sixteenth-century communication, the definition of hymn singing as a combination of aural, oral, and written processes further illustrates its function as a tool for the dissemination of religious ideas and its theological significance to the Unity.

A printed hymnal often creates assumptions about the singer’s ability to read and thus to recreate a hymn relying solely upon the understanding of textual and musical notation. Although literacy rates in sixteenth-century Bohemia and Moravia are

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Example III: Motivic Organization


48 Brackets indicate two motives that recur throughout the hymn, either in exact repetition or variation; (1) and (2) indicate the individual motives and their derivations. Commas indicate musical and poetic phrases.
uncertain, it appears that the Hussite influence caused a decline in literacy in the fifteenth century. Since Hussite armies destroyed monasteries, an important environment for education, the first reformers' agenda hindered rather than furthered literacy, despite the Hussite commitment to the free communication of the Word among all believers. In this regard, the influence of Hussite anticlericalism on education and literacy is irrefutable. However, further development or decline of literacy in the next century is nearly impossible to trace. R. W. Scribner estimates that the rate of illiteracy in parts of contemporary Germany was as high as 90 percent. In any case, illiteracy was significant

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49 František Šmahel, “Literacy and heresy in Hussite Bohemia,” in Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530, edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 253. Literacy in the Unity is equally difficult to determine based upon the German Brethren’s Waldensian heritage. For example, while Audisio has demonstrated that French Waldensians owned more books than other groups surrounding them, this cannot forward the argument for widespread literacy and a large number of competent readers. Furthermore, even when groups possessed books, oral culture still pervaded far more readily into daily life. Gabriel Audisio, “Were the Waldensians More Literate Than Their Contemporaries (1460-1560)?,” in Heresy and Literacy 1000-1530, ed. Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 184-5.

50 The question of literacy levels is complicated by the general difficulty of making such determinations about early modern society. While modern thought distinguishes between “illiteracy” and “functional” or “basic” literacy, medieval and early modern definitions must also take into account the differences in ability between reading Latin and the vernacular. Richard L. Venezky, “Definitions of Literacy,” in Toward Defining Literacy, ed. Richard L. Venezky, Daniel A. Wagner, and Barrie S. Ciliberti (Newark, DE: International Reading Association, 1990), p. 3, and Irwin S. Kirsch, “Measuring Adult Literacy,” in Toward Defining Literacy, ed. Richard L. Venezky, Daniel A. Wagner, and Barrie S. Ciliberti (Newark, DE: International Reading Association, 1990), p. 41. For example, Adam Fox questions whether early modern literacy should be determined by the ability to sign one’s name, read a sign in the vernacular versus a Latin text, or write a letter. Adam Fox, Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Given the disparity between competency in reading and the ability to write, techniques such as counting signatures therefore prove problematic. For discussion of signature counts, see R. S. Schofield, “The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England,” in Literacy in Traditional Societies, ed. Jack Goody (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 322. As a result of these difficulties, Thomas Fudge suggests defining literacy based upon a person’s familiarity with theological or political ideas rather than attempting to statistically determine specific levels of reading or writing. Fudge, The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1998). In short, determinations of literacy and their applications to hymn singing must take both the theological ideas transmitted and practical issues of literacy and education into account.

throughout congregational hymnody's development in Bohemia and Moravia, but the magnitude of its role cannot be precisely determined. Therefore,

A more useful approach is to accept that there was some degree of literacy . . . but to try to appreciate its importance through an understanding of forms of communication and opinion formation at the time. This enables us to argue that it was not so much literacy as such that was important, but how literacy interacted with other forms of communication, especially oral forms, as well as the social context in which ideas were received and internalized.52

According to Leo Treitler, historians must differentiate between the “literate” and “written” transmissions of past music, “using literate to refer to transmission that depends on writing and reading, as distinct from the mere circulation of music in writing.”53 As a result, the question of literacy levels becomes secondary to the ways in which the hymnal functioned within a tradition that historians cannot clearly distinguish as either oral or written.

Thus the function of the hymnal as a written record of ideas to be transmitted through oral as well as printed means illustrates the purpose of educating the Brethren in the “correct” beliefs, and aspects of hymn transmission become important to an understanding of the uses of song in Brethren life and theology. The prevalence of

53 Leo Treitler, “Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music,” Speculum 56, no. 3 (July 1981): p. 475. Similarly, Adam Fox argues against the alienation of literacy from oral traditions in historical research, concluding that in the sixteenth century, written and oral cultures worked together: “The contents of print did not destroy circulation by word of mouth. Sometimes it enshrined material picked up from the oral realm; certainly it fed back into it. . . far from undermining oral circulation, print had greatly reinvigorated and refreshed something which was in danger of disappearing.” Fox, Oral and Literate Culture, p. 9.
contrafacta, the persistence of common and familiar themes, and the careful attention to crafting hymns in a style appropriate for easy use in congregational singing made the hymnal well-suited to both oral and written traditions. All of these factors combined to make the hymns easily accessible to the laity and imply both theological and practical purposes, including the education of members in the correct faith, the definition of the community, and the expression of shared beliefs through the act of singing. Therefore, Weisse’s hymnal was a musical action as well as a musical record, and the ways in which the Brethren understood and used their hymns in practice must assume a place beside our own understanding of their written form. The structure and contents of the hymnal and the way it was understood assume practical and spiritual meanings, endowing hymnody with additional significance as an act of worship.
The use of hymnody to enumerate the Unity's theological foundations to its members and to define the group's role in sixteenth-century religious culture implies an over-arching pedagogic function, carefully designed to present theological ideas to the congregation in a familiar setting and instill the "correct" faith in believers. Because of these dual functions of education and persuasion, the line between pedagogy and propaganda in Brethren hymnody must be carefully drawn.

However, the sixteenth-century meaning and functions of propaganda differed from more recent definitions. Modern thought has colored the understanding of propaganda as a communication technique, giving rise to connotations of deception and coercion. This distorts the original meaning of propaganda and obscures its application to the spread of ideas in Reformation Europe: "perhaps the most neutral usage [in this context] would be that of 'opinion formation.'"1 While the Unity used Weisse's hymnal in communication with other groups, implying a purpose as propaganda, the presence of children's hymns and other teaching songs also argues for the hymnal's use in the

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creation of opinions within the Unity itself. In this sense, propagandistic aspects of the Unity's communication through hymns were actually an extension of their pedagogic function. Therefore, in order to classify Brethren hymns as propaganda, it must be conceded that this propaganda is largely pedagogic in nature.

Furthermore, the use of the hymnal in the definition of the community and in the communication of theological principles to the entire congregation also creates an overarching function indicative of "pedagogic propaganda" of the Reformation, which declared correct Protestant theology and asserted the reforming group as God's true church. In this sense, Weisse's hymnal as a whole satisfies this pedagogic function, since it aimed to outline the "correctness" of Brethren faith and God's approval of their ways. As a means of teaching, sixteenth-century hymnody provided a way for the Unity to express its doctrines to the congregation and to serve as a guide for present life.

Within this pedagogic context, elements of late-medieval and early modern popular belief and their relationships to theology and popular culture combined to form religious identities within Brethren communities.

In the Unity's German hymnody, these aspects of theology, education, and community combined to create structures by which members could further understand

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2 "Propaganda sometimes sounds as if it is an attempt to win over opponents, but we should not automatically assume that it is 'really' addressed to them. We cannot rule out the possibility that propaganda may be primarily addressed to one's own supporters and is intended to create solidarity and to confirm them in their opinions..." Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, pp. xxii-xxiii. Similarly, historians consider visual media as "ideological sign systems" that assume various meanings when interpreted in different contexts. Therefore, words, signs, and symbols could create different opinions within a group and also in communication with others. Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 8-9.

3 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, p. 220.
and communicate their faith's purposes. Weisse concluded the hymnal with a reference to this integral pedagogic function: he dedicated the book “to the praise and glory of God alone and for the learning of His otherworldly.”

In addition, the act of congregational singing itself formed opinions within the Unity, since it drew the community together around a theological or devotional idea. As all members participated together, congregational singing allowed ideas to be spread to a large number of singers or listeners at the same time. Therefore, hymnals became an early form of mass media. Since hymnals served the purpose of spreading information, examples of their power in the creation of opinions defined their functions as both propaganda and pedagogy. As propaganda, the hymn repertory created religious identities within the Unity, illuminating its efforts to understand and use its theological heritage, affirm its present faith, and spiritually prepare for an uncertain future.

As with other aspects of Brethren theology and practice, the tradition of congregational singing stemmed from their Hussite past. However, while the non-violent Unity refused to engage in combat, fifteenth-century Hussites largely based their songs in the agenda of holy war. For example, a battle song defined the Hussite purpose:

Ye warriors of God
and of His Law,
pray for God's help,

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and believe in Him,
so that with Him you will
ever be victorious!

Christ will make good all your losses,
He promises you a hundred times more;
whoever gives his life for Him,
shall gain life eternal;
blessed is everyone who dies for the truth.

. . . Thus ye shall shout exultant:
‘At them, hurrah, at them!’
Feel the pride of the weapon in your hands
And cry: ‘God is our Lord!’

In part, this text defines the Hussites as God’s chosen people. As the Hussite movement fought for its survival, it used such propaganda to unify and motivate the army. While the militaristic Hussites logically defined themselves as “warriors of God,” the persistence of such rhetoric in the hymns of the pacifist Unity served as pedagogic propaganda, defining the sixteenth-century community of faith and contributing to its religious identity.

Militaristic references in the texts of the 1531 hymnal preserved the heritage of religious warfare in Brethren ideology, although it took on new meanings in its later contexts. For example, a hymn on the resurrection describes Christ’s love and tells the faithful to follow his teachings and join the army of the Lord. Similarly, a hymn on the suffering of Jesus asks Christ to “assemble [His] army and rule it with true teachings to

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8 Weisse, Ein Neues Gesengbuchlein, No. 47, “Gebenedeyt sey unser heylandt.”
praise [His] name and grace." Such hymns emphasize the Unity’s separation from other faiths and the secular world. Placed against the context of early Hussitism, however, they originally defined “the rhetoric of holy war [and] faithfulness to God.” In conjunction with the sixteenth-century Brethren desire to separate themselves from what they perceived as a corrupt world, this rhetoric also identifies the Unity as spiritual warriors. Since the Hussites believed that they could “consecrate their hands in the blood” of those they fought, the non-violent Brethren interpreted their inherited position as the army of God as divine approval of their current revival of the apostolic community. The idea of the Brethren as God’s chosen spiritual fighters, passed through generations of Czech forefathers, reappears in the Unity’s perceived role in sixteenth-century society.

The Brethren also used scripture to identify themselves as Christ’s spiritual warriors. An additional reference to violence in the name of God lies in the indication of Ps. 94 on the hymnal’s title page. The inclusion of this psalm further implies that the Brethren considered themselves God’s chosen congregation. It told the Unity that God would avenge the enemies of His holy fellowship:

O Lord, the God who avenges,
O God who avenges, shine forth.
Rise up, O Judge of the earth;
pay back to the proud what they deserve.
How long will the wicked, O Lord,
how long will the wicked be jubilant?

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. . .Blessed is the man you discipline, O Lord, the man you teach from your law; You grant him relief from days of trouble, till a pit is dug for the wicked. For the Lord will not reject his people; He will never forsake his inheritance. Judgment will again be founded on righteousness, and all the upright in heart will follow it.

. . .He will repay them for their sins and destroy them for their wickedness; the Lord our God will destroy them.\(^\text{12}\)

The Brethren thus transferred the power to avenge the evils of the world to God rather than retaining it in their congregation. Although the Hussite ideology of defending the true ways of God continued throughout the sixteenth-century Unity, their role shifted to that of spiritual warriors backed by His power. While militaristic rhetoric was a vestige of the Unity’s violent Hussite past, it also served to define their role as God’s chosen community in a non-violent period.

From its militaristic Hussite roots, the Unity of Brethren grew as a community of faith, withdrawn from a world they considered too sinful for salvation. This mission continued to hold a place at the heart of the Unity’s theology over 50 years after its founding. In addition to defining the Unity as Christ’s spiritual warriors, Weisse’s hymns emphasize three further attributes of this “saving community”: the newly born true believer, the “otherworldly” nature of the saved, and the identification of the Brethren as God’s chosen children. These attributes defined the Unity’s members, articulated its purpose, and formed the vocabulary by which the Brethren communicated in the context

\(^{12}\) Ps. 94: 1-3, 12-15, 23, NIV.
of sixteenth-century popular belief and the world Reformation, or the non-Hussite Protestant movement outside of Bohemia and Moravia.

In Weisse's hymnal, references to the second birth of believers highlight the importance of salvation and reinforce the community's integral role in that process. For example, a funeral hymn describes the birth of a saved believer from a life of sin:

Der mensch in deinem zorn,  
extpfangen unnd geborn,  
ist zu deym willen todt.  
Aber du, herre got,  
 machest durch deinen geist  
. . .das er lebt inn newer geburt  
lieb und lust hat zu deinem wort.  

Man in Your anger,  
conceived and born,  
is dead to Your will.  
But You, Lord God,  
. . .make him live in new birth  
through Your spirit  
and he has love and  
happiness through Your word.

Although this hymn directly addresses the eternal life of the believer after death, taken together with other occurrences of this theme in Weisse's hymnal, it becomes clear that the Brethren believed that they could be "born again" during their earthly lives and that the Unity's congregations were an integral part of this process. For example, "Praise God, O Beloved Christians," a hymn on the birth of Christ, offers thanks from the "newly born" believers for the arrival of the true savior. Such examples, selected from some twenty references to new birth within Weisse's hymnal, demonstrate that the Unity strongly and overtly declared their emphasis on the "newly born" believer in hymnody.

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14 Weisse, *Ein Neues Gesangbuch*, No. 12, "Lobet got o lieben christen."
In combination with the apocalyptic fervor of the sixteenth century, the prospect of salvation through faith strong enough to provide new birth in Christ spoke to the mission of the Brethren as an imitation of the apostolic community. As apostles born anew in Christ, whether through faith on earth or salvation after death, such hymns strengthened the identities of Brethren congregations and assured them of redemption at Christ’s imminent second arrival. This depiction of the believers’ spiritual rebirth emphasized an additional characteristic of the Unity’s ideal community: the otherworldly nature of the saved. Twenty-five hymns refer to the praise of the “otherworldly.” Although this could refer to choirs of angels, several hymns explicitly cite the Brethren as a community apart from all other earthly groups. For example, a hymn on the resurrection tells the “otherworldly” to “celebrate and praise Christ all together.” The remainder of the hymn reminds the believers to praise God for sending Christ to sacrifice Himself for the sins of the world. Finally, the text proclaims that not only the angels in heaven, but also the faithful on earth, should praise Christ. In combination with claims about the Unity’s righteousness, such references to the “otherworldly” in Weisse’s hymnal further confirm that they refer to the Brethren themselves and not merely to heaven’s angels. One hymn, addressing the imminent end of time, states “O you

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16 Studies confirm the pervasive nature of apocalyptic ideologies in Reformation Europe. For example, Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk; Rebecca Wagner Oettinger Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2001); and Robin Bruce Barnes, Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

17 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, Nos. 8, 9, 11, 17, 19, 21, 24, 34, 43, 52, 56, 59, 65, 68, 69, 73, 75, 80, 101, 114, 122, 137, 143, 146, 156.

18 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 52, “Ihr ausserwelten frewet euch.”

19 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 52, “Ihr ausserwelten frewet euch.”
righteous, be joyful because the Lord has listed you in heaven." The Unity clearly believed that they could accomplish salvation in their communities before their earthly lives ended. A second example, a hymn praising Jesus as the only savior and listing his instructions for the correct faith, also refers to the sanctity of the Unity's ways. In the eleventh stanza, Christ tells the Brethren that "their way is good." Although this represents a solitary example of Christ's overt approval of the Unity, it further emphasizes the expression of the Brethren as a church constructed in the true way of Christ. In short, the Brethren believed that their community was the chosen Unity of God in which they could achieve salvation.

The definition of community identity pervaded the Unity's practice of congregational singing. In addition, the wide usage of hymnody within Brethren communities implies that spiritual principles and practical applications shared a central role in their religious thought. While the Unity of Brethren's congregational singing was of primary importance in their worship services, the shared focus on theology and practicality led Brethren communities to integrate their hymn repertory into their daily lives by singing at home and emphasizing hymnody as a pedagogic tool. The texts of Brethren hymns themselves reflect these purposes, and the settings in which the Unity

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20 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuechlen, No. 143, "O ihr alle die ihr euch."
21 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuechlen, No. 109, "Christus unser heil."
used these hymns documented their perspectives on faith and the congregation’s mission as the saving apostolic community.

Weisse’s hymnal dictates hymnody’s uses outside of official worship. For example, he included songs on the times of day as one of the hymnal’s 18 categories. These hymns include descriptions of daybreak and sunset, making them especially appropriate for use at these times. Additionally, Weisse included specific instructions on when the Unity should sing these hymns. For example, he instructed the Brethren to sing a hymn giving thanks for the new day early in the morning. Although church services customarily occurred at this time, defining the hymn’s purpose as primarily a portion of the congregation's activities during worship, similar directions for additional hymns confirm that Weisse intended the hymns for use at other times. This is most clearly evident in a hymn giving thanks for the completion of the day and describing the setting of the sun. The hymn’s heading directs the Brethren to sing the hymn in the evening just before going to bed. Assuming that the Unity actually followed these directions, Weisse’s instructions confirm that Brethren communities incorporated their tradition of hymn singing into their daily lives. In any case, such specific directions indicate church leaders’ attention to hymn singing and theologians’ understanding of the relationship between God and the community.

24 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 126, “Die sonne wirt bald untergehn.”
25 Similarly, Adam Fox notes that music accompanied many aspects of life in Reformation Europe, such as group singing during work and ballad singing in public places. Adam Fox, Oral and Literate Cultures in England 1500-1700 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 27-9. Thus the extension of singing from worship into family life was naturally a part of sixteenth-century culture, although this does not discount its impact on the creation of religious identities.
Textual evidence within the hymns themselves also suggests that congregational singing held a central position within the German Unity's religious life. Over 10 percent of the hymns contain references to worship as a corporate action, and many specifically indicate congregational singing (See Appendix Six). Furthermore, the Unity altered sacred Latin texts in order to increase their emphasis on the community, such as the adaptation of Ps. 130 that grammatically stresses the importance of communal worship.

While the original psalm's first verse, "Out of the depths I cry to you, O Lord," is written in first person singular, the Brethren version's first lines are clearly modified to use the plural, as they state "Out of the depths let us cry to God from our whole hearts."26 Although the remainder of Weisse's text differs significantly from the psalm, the 1524 Lutheran version of Ps. 130 confirms their common source: the Lutheran text specifically refers to the Latin incipit of the hymn, "De profundis," and both the Lutheran and Brethren versions employ the same chant melody, "A solis ortu cardine," although the melody underwent slight alterations to accommodate the translation (See Example IV).27

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26 Ps. 130, NIV and Weisse, Ein Neues Gesangbuchlein, No. 133, "Aus tiefer not."
27 Weisse, Ein Neues Gesangbuchlein, No. 133, Johann Walter, Das geistliche Gesangbuchlein, ed. Walter Blankenburg (Worms: Peter Schöffern, 1525; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), sig. AVv and sig. HIIIv (all notes refer to tenor partbook).
Example IV: Melodic comparisons: Brethren and Lutheran versions of “A solis ortu cardine.”

Unity of Brethren

Lutheran


28 Brackets indicate melodic material common to both versions of “A solis ortu cardine.”
Weisse’s alterations paid close attention to the source melodies and texts while adapting their meanings to Brethren ideologies and usages. These adaptations placed beliefs appropriate to the Unity in a well-known context and separated the Brethren from other groups.

The incorporation of references to the community confirms that worshipping together had both theological and practical significance to the Brethren. For example, the Easter hymn “Today We Sing With One Voice” associates the ideal of the Unity’s saving community with the traditional theology of the resurrection. Furthermore, passages emphasizing worship as an act of the community consistently occur in conjunction with the references to the saving power of Christ. While such attention to the nature of salvation is often assumed in sacred music, its association with the congregation creates a close and fundamental relationship between the idea of salvation through Christ and the community as an aid to salvation. Scholars of Lutheran hymnody have noted that evangelical communities used hymn singing to create a community identity and later to confirm that identity among believers. Similarly, Brethren hymns and their use in

29 In addition, the similarities between the Lutheran and German Brethren hymns suggests that further study of the musical contacts between these groups merits further study.

30 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 53, “Singen wir heut mit gleichem mund,” Frieder Schulz, “Singen wir heut mit einem mund: Hymnologisch-liturgische Studie zu einem Osterlied der Böhmischen Brüder,” Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie 32 (1989): p. 56. Schulz argues that this theological association occurred through depictions of well-established Orthodox iconography in the hymn text. Because of the Unity’s proximity to Eastern European groups, this imagery would likely have been familiar to its leaders and perhaps to its congregations.


worship assisted the Unity in defining the role of its communities and the importance of these congregations in ensuring salvation for individual members. By confirming the Brethren as the true community of God, the hymns also illustrated the importance of separation from the world around them.

While scholars trace this emphasis to its Hussite roots and the Unity’s founding desire to withdraw from the corruption of the world in preparation for the Last Days, it also assumed a place within the context of sixteenth-century popular piety and the Unity’s continuing goal of separating itself from a sinful world. Traditional prophecy placed the appearance of the Antichrist between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. To the sixteenth-century Unity, this meant that the apocalypse was imminent and their preparation essential. As with other reformed faiths, the Brethren drew upon their belief in the rise of the Antichrist to proclaim Christ’s holiness and confirm that as God’s true followers, they were the only people prepared for the coming apocalypse. To the Unity of Brethren, the idea that they were in the midst of the Last Days encompassed every aspect of life, and their theology and hymnody reflected this sentiment. Given the importance of hymnody to the Unity of Brethren, the prevalence of apocalyptic expectation in their hymns is not surprising. Apocalyptic themes in the Unity’s music further defined its community structure and the importance of hymnody in creating this identity.

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33 Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk, p. 184.
34 Barnes, Prophecy and Gnosis, p. 43.
Weisse's 1531 hymnal reveals that the Unity's ideas about the apocalypse rarely deviated from the traditional sixteenth-century Protestant view. For example, one of Weisse's hymns, "The Last Day Comes Here," clearly describes the Brethren perspective on the second coming: "Many false prophets will arise... who will lead the world into shame through their deeds and teachings."\(^5\) The hymn also instructed the Unity to flee from the Antichrist and advised them that God provided the way to salvation: "Let us go in the way of the Lord... because the Last Day comes ever near to us."\(^6\) The significance of this passage lies in its connections between the Brethren ideal of salvation through faith in Christ's sacrifice and the views of popular piety. It further reveals the Unity's emphasis on the congregation as a unit and its importance to faith and worship. Therefore, the expressions of popular piety in the Unity's hymnody also illuminate the ways in which the hymns supported and defined these structures of faith and community.

Like other sixteenth-century reformed groups, the Unity's objections to the papacy served as evidence of the reign of the Antichrist. The ways in which this idea is manifested in song bear similarities to popular German polemical music of the day: while the reformers did not explicitly name the pope as the Antichrist, contextual clues reveal the text's true intentions.\(^7\) For example, one of Weisse's hymns states: "Our enemy is Satan, flesh, world, and Antichrist... against whom our souls have struggled day and

\(^{5}\) Weisse, *Ein New Gesengbuchlein*, No. 142, "Es geht schier der letzte tag herkommen."

\(^{6}\) Weisse, *Ein New Gesengbuchlein*, No. 142, "Es geht schier der letzte tag herkommen."

night.” Furthermore, a hymn proclaiming Christ as the only intermediary to God declares that any person who claims to be as important to salvation as Christ’s sacrifice is a false prophet who consorts with the devil. Finally, one of Weisse’s songs “on the right faith” offers a prayer: “O Father of mercy, we thank You eternally because You redeemed our hearts and led us out of Babylon.” Taken together, these examples confirm the common belief that the problems of the Roman Catholic church were a sign of the Antichrist’s influence in the world. Apocalyptic hymnody also reinforced the Unity’s identity as a congregation set apart from the world in preparation for the Last Days.

The presence of the Antichrist in Babylon— or figuratively, the pope in Rome— provided evidence that the Last Days were at hand, thus defining the Unity and others who had predicted this downfall as the correct believers and the truly saved. By using the common Reformation propaganda technique of “binary opposition,” or the juxtaposition of good against evil, the Unity reinforced their separation from the world. In addition, such songs on the Last Days provided evidence that “God Himself had preordained victory for [the true faith] if they held to their belief.” In a world that saw the search for the Antichrist as the most reliable sign of doomsday, such contrasts between faith and spiritual darkness served as comfort in the face of destruction and a guarantee of salvation for the righteous. Therefore, Brethren communities also defined their separation from the

41 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, p. xvii.
world in terms of this popular piety and its expression in song. Paradoxically, this stark separation also brought the Unity into closer theological relationships with other reformed groups, and the popular culture of German Brethren congregations in Bohemia and Moravia bore close similarities to the popular ideas of ethnic Germans in other parts of Europe. Thus these cultures communicated with each other, sharing source material and exchanging ideas.

Within the Unity, the salvation assured in apocalyptic hymnody charged members to bear the truth of Christ’s message in the face of Antichristian opposition. It provides a case study demonstrating the all-encompassing relationship between song and faith in lives defined by both declared theology and popular piety. In Brethren congregations, theology, popular belief, and hymnody combined to create opinion and identity, forging an inextricable relationship between theology and practice in which each concept embodied the other. The interconnectedness of theology and practice created both a method of communication and an article of faith, leading the Brethren community to a vital religious role and assuring members of salvation by defining the importance of withdrawal from the world.
In the Unity, congregational singing served as an act of worship and created a group identity. Although the Brethren incorporated the notion of the saving or apostolic community into their theology from the time of the earliest Hussite founders, within the context of the sixteenth-century Reformation, this emphasis on community structure gained a new degree of importance. R. W. Scribner argues that in Reformation teachings, "the concept of the Church as largely the clergy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy is rejected as false. Instead, an appeal is made to the experience of community, the basic functional unit of sixteenth-century society."1 Although the Unity predates the world Reformation, much of its German hymnody serves the same purpose. In addition to the importance of textual definitions of the Brethren ideal of community, the act of singing together contributed to the creation of the Unity's identity as a group.2 In short, the role of hymnody in the creation of religious identities implies an educational function for the community as a whole. Further consideration of the uses of hymnody within Brethren

2 Rebecca Wagner Oetinger, Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 47-48. Although Oetinger discusses the creation of identities through group singing in relation to Lutheran music, this principle is also applicable to other reformed groups.
congregations confirms this pedagogical function and the importance of hymn singing in the Unity's theology.

While the Unity's hymnody defined the nature of its communities in the present, it also provided for their future through the indoctrination of the next generation of believers. Hussites used educational hymns for children since the early fifteenth century. A Bohemian Decalogue from 1417 refers to the prevalence of children's songs, implying that Hussite children and adults alike widely knew such hymns. Just as the sixteenth-century Unity of Brethren adopted practices from Hussite hymnody, they also continued the tradition of educational song.

Weisse's hymnal contains texts and melody indications for four children's songs, as well as references to four other songs that the children should learn. The texts provide an outline of key points in Brethren theology and refer to the Unity's emphasis on the community in worship, providing an introduction to the faith of the community's elders. Children's songs stressed elements of Brethren theology found throughout the hymnal and also reflected aspects of the Unity's theology which were not directly stated in its other sections. For example, these hymns instructed children to keep the Sabbath day and avoid taking oaths, conveying two central tenets of the Unity's faith. The inclusion of such specific tenets in pedagogic hymnody indicates that the Brethren paid close attention

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4 Michael Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, ed. Konrad Ameln (Jungen Buntzel: Georgen Wylmschwerer, 1531; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), Nos. 129-132; additional hymns indicated sig. LXiv-LXIIr. All notes refer to hymns by number (listed in Appendix One).
5 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 131, "Kinder mercket fleistig."
to indoctrinating members into the community’s ways. Therefore, the Unity emphasized the “correct faith,” its introduction to new members of the community, and its use in hymns to make a distinction between the faith of the Unity and other groups.

Children’s hymnody served as a pedagogic tool and emphasized the hymn repertory’s function as a means of communicating theological ideas. For example, one hymn tells the children to “learn and sing together” in order to become familiar with the Ten Commandments. The first and second stanzas also state that the children should study God’s teachings together while they were still young so that they would continue in the “correct faith” throughout their lives. Such references are representative of the songs throughout this section of the hymnal; all four hymns indicate the Unity as God’s chosen people or emphasize worship as a corporate act. This attention to the Brethren community’s structure and its application in worship is in keeping with the rest of the hymnal, and the Unity could therefore apply the message of the children’s songs to the entire congregation. Earlier Hussite traditions also shared hymns between generations, since “songs and rhymed compositions for children... [had] a double educational purpose: children easily remembered the song texts and taught them to relatives and other

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6 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 131, “Kinder mercket fleistig.”
7 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 131, “Kinder mercket fleistig.” In this regard, the Unity was very similar to contemporary reformed groups. Martin Luther also held that religious education was especially important for the young and involved the entire community in the process. Furthermore, he emphasized the use of education to indicate the differences between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism to his followers. Gerald Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 35, p. 130, and p. 224.
8 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, Nos. 129-132.
Thus songs directed to children reflected Brethren faith in general, as they could instruct adults as well as the children to whom they were explicitly directed.

The Unity also applied hymns written for the community at large to its children. Weisse cross-referenced hymns directed to the community as a whole and printed outside of the category of children’s hymns. After the last printed children’s hymn, he listed the titles and page numbers of the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, Commandments, and directions for salvation. As well as its indication of the sharing of hymns throughout the community, such cross-referencing further defined Brethren communities as the keepers of the true apostolic faith while separating them from Roman Catholic practice. The inclusion of the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Ten Commandments was especially significant because knowledge of these texts in the vernacular traditionally indicated reformed faith and separation from Rome. Weisse’s translations of these texts stressed “correct” faith for both children and adults so that those brought up in the Unity’s faith grew into an understanding of its religious identity. The fourth pedagogic hymn cross-referenced in Weisse’s children’s songs, “Christ our savior,” further communicated this identity to members. This hymn describes Christ’s instructions on salvation and assures the Brethren of His approval of their church.

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10 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, sig. LXiv-LXIIr.
12 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 109, “Christus unser heil.”
Therefore, children's hymns emphasized the Unity's separation from the ways of established faiths and communicated this difference to members. As hymn singing reinforced the Unity's identity as God's chosen community, it educated members in these principles. Pedagogic hymns thus contributed to the communication of a separatist identity to the Brethren.

The Unity extended this pedagogic function by using hymns to communicate additional theological principles to the congregation as a whole. Weisse's inclusion of eleven teaching songs also indicates pedagogy for Brethren adults, since he clearly separated the category from the children's hymns. This section of the hymnal largely expressed doctrines specific to the Unity and its theological development. While they all traced their theological heritage to Hus, multiple church leaders adapted their principles to current circumstances and influenced the evolution of Hussite and subsequent Unity theology over the next century. For example, it is already clear that radical Hussites interpreted ideas about violence in the name of God differently than the later Brethren did. Some historians have portrayed such changes as "opportunism," implying that the Brethren sacrificed their true beliefs for the survival of their church. However, Milos Strupl convincingly argues that this evolving theology was a mark of a developing faith that constantly adjusted as it further considered issues of salvation. Instead of viewing changing theologies as a sign of weakness, the Unity of Brethren should be considered as

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13 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, Nos. 105-115.
a community willing to adjust its beliefs "for the sake of the Church Universal and the
glory of its heavenly Lord." Logically, the contents of the 1531 hymnal expressed the
Unity’s current local theological orientation.

Although the pedagogic significance of familiar texts and melodies is evident, the
theological principles communicated through these means also assumed a vital role in
Brethren hymnody. If the hymnal was a pedagogic tool for the community at large, the
doctrines expressed within it represented attempts to teach the "correct" faith to the
congregation in order to better create the ideal of the universal apostolic church.
Therefore, in the 1531 hymnal, Weisse pedagogically focused on the proper belief about
the Eucharist and reflected on the nature of salvation.

Weisse’s hymns on the Eucharist demonstrate the importance of "correct" faith to
the German Brethren ideal of salvation and shed light on theological variations
throughout the Unity. Traditionally, the Unity “believed in the presence of the body and
blood of Christ without a solution to the question of how Christ is present.” While the
Brethren believed that the bread was the physical or spiritual body of Christ upon the
believer’s reception, they looked upon the doctrine of transubstantiation with contempt.
When debates over how to solve the problem of the Real Presence occurred, they were
confined to church leaders. However, Weisse’s hymns indicate that in practice, doctrine

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15 Charles Zika, "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century
16 Rudolf Říčan, The History of the Unity of Brethren, trans. C. Daniel Crews (Bethlehem, PA:
The Moravian Church, 1992), p. 53.
17 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 31.
on Communion varied among the Unity. Selections from the 1531 hymnal confirm that "there was an almost completely symbolic interpretation of the Lord's Supper in some sections of the Unity." For example, Weisse's text for a Communion hymn tells the singers that "He who does not have Christ in his heart, but rather only seeks Him in wine and bread cheats his confidence because what he seeks he does not find. Awake, Christians, and see that you do not listen to any false prophets when they come and freely say that Christ is there [in the sacrament] personally." Similarly, the next hymn in the book states that "the Sacrament remains wine and bread and is not changed into God."

While these hymns reject the Roman Catholic idea of transubstantiation, they also demonstrate that the belief in the presence of Christ at the moment of reception was not entirely uniform throughout the Unity of Brethren.

Weisse's directions for performing these hymns make unlikely the possibility that he intended them as propaganda rather than for use in worship. For example, Weisse indicated that priests should administer the Lord's Supper at the conclusion of the hymns, implying that the Brethren used these songs in the context of congregational worship. As hymns intended for congregational singing, such texts further aimed to educate the membership in the proper faith and practice of that particular branch of the Unity.

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19 "Wer christum nicht im herzen hat/sonder nur sucht in wein und brot/ den betreugt seine zuversicht/denn was er sucht das findet er nicht./Wacht ihr Christen und seht euch fur/ das euch kein falsch prophet verfuir/ wenn sie kommen und sagen frey/das christus personlich da sey." Weisse, *Ein New Gesengbuchlen*, No. 150, "Da christus von uns scheiden wolt."
Therefore, in addition to the German Unity’s differences from the Czechs in language and heritage, these hymns highlight variations in theology and popular piety that occurred among congregations.

Similarly, the hymnal demonstrates the Unity’s beliefs about the nature of salvation, revealing their emphasis on Christ’s humanity. Taken as a whole, the hymnal contains over fifty references to salvation through Christ. However, in some hymns, the Trinity and the Holy Spirit, whose explicit connection to salvation merited one and three references respectively, also served to define Brethren theology. While the Unity believed in the interconnectedness of the aspects of the Trinity, the overwhelming focus on Christ implies that their concept of salvation depended on His ministry as well as the resurrection. Finally, this concentration on Christ as flesh and His saving sacrifice led the Unity to reject temporal church authority. For example, the Unity believed that the faithful should regard Christ as the only true bishop. Weisse’s final hymn contains a heading reminding the singers that “Christ alone was [their] intermediary to God.” The Unity thus associated salvation with the supremacy of Christ in His humanity and used this principle to structure their church order.

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23 Trinity: Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, No. 71, Holy Spirit: Nos. 8, 73, 96. While other hymns mention the trinity and the Holy Spirit, these four maintain the most explicit links to the idea of salvation.
24 Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, Nos. 61, 62, 88, 97, 122, 132.
Ideas about Christ therefore played a decisive role in the creation of Brethren theology and their ideal of the apostolic community. The Reformation idea of justification through faith alone also appears in the Unity’s sixteenth-century hymnody, associating their faith in the suffering Christ to the overarching idea of His ultimate power to save while de-emphasizing the contemporary Roman Catholic notion of good works. For example, a song intended for teaching instructs the Brethren to believe in Christ “from the bottom of their hearts” and imitate his deeds but does not imply that these actions are necessarily associated with salvation. Such texts shed further light on the nature of the Unity’s faith: they believed in what one historian terms “the living faith,” or “faith in God” rather than “faith about God.” In other words, Christ had already accomplished salvation for those pursuing the living faith and all human actions were irrelevant. Therefore, the hymns’ teachings on salvation raise a persistent question: if the actions of congregations were unimportant, why did the Brethren focus themselves on the creation of the apostolic community?

The answer to this question and a key to hymnals’ theological role in congregational worship therefore lies in the Unity’s idea of essential, ministrative, and

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27 Strupl, “Confessional Theology,” p. 281. Such views on the nature of faith were common in Reformation thought. For example, Zwingli focused strongly on “where Christ might be ‘present’... in acts of brotherly love, gestures, relations, behavior, and in the lives of evangelical Christians-- the Reformed communion service, the cadences of the Christian year, and preaching.” Thus issues such as Christ’s presence were closely related to ideas about the “correct” faith both in the Unity and elsewhere, further focusing their theology on the role of the reformed community. Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 196.
28 Amédeo Molnár, “The Brethren’s Theology,” in Rudolf Rikan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren*, trans. Daniel C. Crews (Bethlehem, PA: The Moravian Church, 1992), p. 393. This view suggests parallels with Calvinism within the Unity that have yet to be fully explored.
non-essential things. To the sixteenth-century Brethren, the essential things for salvation were God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, as well as associated attributes such as faith, hope, and love. The Brethren maintained that a person who believed in these essential things could be saved. The ministrative things were the representations of God on earth that aided the believer to salvation: the Word of God and the sacraments. Finally, the non-essential things were those that aided in the transmission of the essential and the ministrative, namely the church order. Clearly, Weisse designed his hymnal to illustrate the nature of God, salvation, and the true way of the church. In this sense, the hymnal and the act of singing functioned as non-essential things, aiding the believer in the search for the essential and ministrative. However, when Lukáš of Prague preached that the church was essential as well as ministrative, he implied that the dividing lines between these categories were not as clear as theologians had previously claimed. This places additional emphasis on the role of the church and its ability to guide believers to salvation, drawing together theology and practice in Brethren congregations.

If the 1531 hymnal created a community and taught the proper ordering of the church to the faithful, then the practice of hymn singing itself took on a central theological function. Since the Unity "appreciated theology as a congregational, communal function of the whole church," a communal action such as singing was clearly derived from this function and ministered to its goal of educating members in what the Unity perceived as the true faith. Taken together, the outlining of the major tenets of

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29 Říčan, History of the Unity of Brethren, p. 33.
Brethren belief and the definition of the Unity as the chosen community of the Lord demonstrate that hymnody as action, repertory, and idea comprised the Unity's theology within its musical traditions. In short, if theology was the "communal function of the whole church," hymnody in turn became a communal enactment of theology.
Epilogue

Tradition holds that Jan Hus sang hymns at the stake in 1415.¹ A century before Luther's revolt in Wittenberg, Hussites practiced a musical tradition that scholars typically associate with the Reformation. While other groups rose to prominence and cultivated their own chorale traditions, monophonic congregational hymnody continued to hold a place at the heart of the Unity of Brethren's worship throughout the sixteenth century.²

As Lutheran music began to flourish, the Brethren suffered brutal persecution, forcing survivors to convert to more dominant faiths or maintain their traditional ways in the isolation of Moravia's hills until the famous revival at Herrnhut in 1722. These descendents migrated to the New World and formed the early American Moravian Church, which brought some of the first concert music to the United States.³ Clearly, the sixteenth-century Unity of Brethren cannot be seen as a mere footnote in the history of music despite their relatively short and secluded existence.

² For example, the four-part Lutheran chorale receives greater attention as a development in congregational song and in the history of western music in general.
Before persecution disrupted their communities, the Brethren communicated with the Reformation through their hymns, whether deliberately through their search for the universal church or inadvertently through the increased exchange of music brought by printing. Further exploration of these communications would likely shed additional light on the enduring nature of congregational song. Given the integral role that hymnody played in the structuring of Brethren communal worship, its ability to create identities also merits consideration in the contexts of other faiths in a variety of eras. Thus Brethren hymnody paradoxically represents both the Unity’s most significant bequest to later faiths as well as an expression of the principles that brought about its demise.

Clearly, early reforming communities found solidarity in song. For the sixteenth-century German Brethren, the act of singing became not only an expression of faith, but also one of the tenets that created faith itself. Religious music was more than a decoration for worship; for the Brethren, it served to unite all aspects of secular and religious life. Through the careful combination of theological content and practical function, hymnody declared the Brethren mission to its members while separating it from other groups. As it involved members in the active definition of theological foundations, song forged an identity within Brethren communities. The expression of this identity remains the most vital aspect of German Brethren hymnody, and Michael Weisse’s hymnal provides a detailed record of its growth. Despite the significance of its

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4 Printing proved crucial to the spread of music throughout German-speaking areas. For example, 288 German hymnbooks were published and circulated throughout Europe between 1524 and 1570, and Protestants likely had access to the hymnals of a number of reformed faiths. Joseph Herl, Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 88.
theological content, however, the Unity's hymnody must ultimately be considered in its living form: centuries after its publication, the 1531 hymnal provides the collective voice of faith enacted and defined through song. If Hus died while singing alone, the Brethren lived by singing together.
Appendix One: Hymns by Title

1. Von adam her so lange zeyt, sig. Alr-v
2. Lob sey dem almechtigen got, sig. AlIr-v
3. Danct wir gott dem vater, sig. AlIr-v
4. Glawbige seel schaw dein herr und kdnig will kommen, sig. AIIIv-AIIIv
5. Menschen kind merck eben, sig. AIIIv-AIVv
6. Als der guetlige got, sig. AVv-AIVv
7. Als adam imm paradis, sig. AVIIv-AIXv
8. O Vater der barmherzikeyt, sig. AXIXv-AXIr
9. Weyl Maria schwagner gieng, sig. AXIr-AXIIv
10. Es ist heut ein fröhlich tag, sig. AXIIv-BIV
11. Last uns fröhlich und eintrechtig singen, sig. BIV-BIIv
12. Lobet got o lieben christen, sig. BIV-BIIIv
13. Lob singet got und schweiget nicht, sig. BIIIr-BIVr
14. Adam hett uns ganz verterbet, sig. BIVr-v
15. Kompt her o ihr völker kompt her, sig. BIVv-BIVv
16. Eyn kind ist uns geboren heut, sig. BIVv-BIVIIv
17. Frew dich heut o jerusalem, sig. BIVIIv-BVIIr
18. Singet lieben leutt, sig. BVIIIr-BIXr
19. Got sah zu seiner zeyt, sig. BIXr-BXr
20. O Christe warer gotes sohn, sig. BXr-BXIr
21. Lob sey gott der samen, sig. BXIr-BXIIr
22. O Christe unser selikeit, sig. BXIIr-v
23. Als jhesus geboren war, sig. BXIIv-CIr
24. O jhesu der heiden liecht, sig. CIIr-v
25. O Jhesu der du uns zu gut, sig. CIIv-CIIr
26. O Jhesu schöñ und wolgestalt, sig. CIIr
27. O süßer herre jhesu christ, sig. CIIIv-CIIIv
28. Jhesus christus gotes son von ewikeit, sig. CIIIv-CIVv
29. Got het einen weinberg gebawt, sig. CIVv-CIVv
30. Als got seinen sohn, sig. CIVv-CIVIIv
31. Christus warer gotes sohn, sig. CIVIIv-CIXv
32. Seht hewt an wie der messias, sig. CIXv-CXv
33. Wünderlich dyng hat sich ergangenn, sig. CXv-CXIVv
34. O ihr christen seht an der kdnig und heylant, sig. CXIVv-DIIv
35. Christus der uns seligmacht, sig. DIIv-DIIIIv
36. Gelobt sey got, sig. DIIIIv-DIIIr
37. Lobsing heut o christenheit, sig. DIIIr-DVr
38. O Christglawbig mensch bedenck heut wie dich dein got, sig. DVr-DVIr
39. O ihr christen dancksaget got, sig. DVIr-DVIr
40. Die propheten han prophezeit, sig. DVIr-v
41. Sundiger mensch schaw wer du bist, sig. DVIIV-DVIIVv
42. O mensch hör und nyhm zu herzen heut und alle tag, sig. DVIIIv-DXr
43. Frewet euch heut o yhr christen und lobet den herren, sig. DXr-v
44. Gelobt sey gott ymm höchsten trohn, sig. DXIr-v
45. Mit frewden wollen wyr singen, sig. DXIIr-Elr
46. Christus ist erstanden, sig. Elr-ElIr
47. Gebenedeyt sey unser heylandt, sig. ElIr-ElIIr
48. Christus leid den tod mit gedult, sig. EIIR-EIIIr
49. Gnad und warheit ist vorhanden, sig. EIIIr-EIVv
50. Christe der du den neuen bund, sig. EVv-EVIr
51. Wol auf ihr christen frewet euch, sig. EIVr-EVIIr
52. Ihr ausserwelten frewet euch, sig. EVIIr-v
53. Singen wir heut mit gleichem mund, sig. EVIIr-EVIIIv
54. Singen wir fröhlich allesampt, sig. EVIIIv-EIXv
55. Christus ist erstanden, sig. EIXv-Exr
56. Christus der heilant, sig. EXr-EXIr
57. Frewt euch heut alle gleich, sig. EXIr-EXIIv
58. Die zeit ist jetzt ganz freudenreich, sig. EXIIv-FIr
59. Got dem vater der barmherzikeit, sig. FIr-IIIr
60. Lob und preys dancksagung und herlikeyt, sig. FIIIr-FIIIr
61. Singet fröhlich lieben leut, sig. FIIIr-FVr
62. O Christe der du erstanden, sig. FVr-FVIIr
63. Als jhesus christe gotes son mit seiner leiblichen person von diser welt abscheiden wolt, sig. FVv-FVIv
64. O Got schepffer heiliger geist, sig. FVIv-FVIIv
65. Kom heiliger geist warer got, sig. FVIIv-FIXr
66. Singen wir heutt aus herzen grund, sig. FIXr-v
67. Heiliger geist herre got, sig. FXr-v
68. Kom heiliger geyst herre got, sig. FXv-FXIr
69. Wir glawben inn got den vater, sig. FXlV-FXIIr
70. O Götliche dreifaltikeit, sig. FXIIr-GIr
71. O liecht heilig dreifaltikeit, sig. Glr-v
72. Got dem vater sampt seinen sohn, sig. Glv-GIIr
73. Lob unnd ehr mit stetem danckopffer, sig. GIIr-GIIIr
74. Got dem vater im höchsten tron, sig. GIIIr-GVr
75. O herre got wir loben dich, sig. GVr-GVIr
76. Last uns loben unsern got, sig. GVr-GVIIr
77. O glawbig herz gebenedey, sig. GVIIr-GVIIIr
78. Lob sey dir herre got gesungen, sig. GVIIIr-GIXr
79. Gebenedeit und gelobt sey heut und alzeit die heilige dreifaltikeit, sig. GIXr-GXIr
80. O got wir loben dich, sig. GXIr-HIIr
81. O jhesu zart in newer art, sig. HIr-HIIIr
82. O jhesu du verheischner heilant, sig. HIIIr-HVlr
83. Jhesu zu allerzeit, sig. HVlr-HVIIv
88. O Got der du bist ein geist, sig. HVIIIr-v
89. O herre jhesu christ, sig. HIXr-HXr
90. Last unns schreyen alle gleich, sig. HXr-HXIr
91. Begeren wir mit innikeit, sig. HXIr-v
92. O got vater von ewikeit, sig. HXIv-HXIIr
93. O ewiger barmherziger got, sig. HXIIr-JIr
94. O vater der barmherzikeyt, sig. JIr-JIr
95. Barmherziger ewiger got, sig. JIIr-JIIIr
96. Genediger und milter got, sig. JIIIr-JIIIr
97. O Got vater imm höchsten tohrn, sig. JIIIr-v
98. Vater der barmherzikeit, sig. JIIIv-JVv
99. O jhesu warer gottes sohn, sig. JVIr-v
100. O vater der barmherzikeit, sig. JVv-JVIIr
101. O bieten wir mit innkeit, sig. JVIIv-JVIIIv
102. Gelobt sey got der seinen sohn, sig. JVIIIv-JIXr
103. Almechtiger ewgier got, sig. JIXr-JXr
104. O höchster got von ewikeit, sig. JXr-JXIr
105. Frewen wir uns all inn ein, sig. JXIr-JXIV
106. Die zeit ist jetzt ferlich, sig. JXIV-JXIIv
107. O got vater gebenedeit inn ewikeit, sig. JXIIv-KIv
108. Wyr waren inn grossem leyd, sig. KIv-KIIR
109. Zu got heben wir herz und sihn, sig. KIIV-KIIIv
110. Das seind die heiligen zehn gebot, sig. KIIV-KIIIr
111. Got dem vater sey lob und danck, sig. KIIIv-KVr
112. O wie fröhich ist die zeyt, sig. KVv-KVIr
113. Christus unser heil, sig. KVIr-KVIIR
114. Got der vater hat seinem sohn unns zu gutt, sig. KVIIR-KVIIr
115. O mensch sih wie hie auf erdreich, sig. KVIIr-KVIIIr
116. Wer gotes diener werden wiel, sig. KIXr-v
117. Weltlich ehr und zeitlich gut, sig. KIXv-KXv
118. Dem könig vom öbersten reich, sig. KXv-KXIv
119. O wechter wach und bewar deine sinnen denn die feinde kommen für deine zinnen wollen dein schloss gewinnen, sig. KXIIr-v
120. Es geht daher des tages schein, sig. LIr-v
121. Der tag bricht an unnd zeyget sich, sig. LIv-LIIR
122. Der tag vertreybt die finster nacht, sig. LIIR-v
123. Christglaubig mensch wach auf wach auf, sig. LIIV-LIIIr
124. Der himmel schon und wolgestalt, sig. LIIIR-v
125. Vater imm höchsten tohrn, sig. LIIIv-LIIIIr
126. Grossmechtiger ewiger got, sig. LIIIr-v
127. Den vater dortoben, sig. LVr
128. Es ist jetzt die vesperzeit, sig. LVv-LVIr
129. Die sonne tritt dem abennd nehr, sig. LVIr-v
126. Die sonne wirt bald untergehn, sig. LVlv-LVIIr
127. Die sonne wirt mit ihrem schein, sig. LVIIr
128. Christe du wares liecht und göttliche klarheit, sig. LVIIIr-v
129. O Jhesu der du seligmachst, sig. LVIIIv-LIXv
130. O herre jhesu christ, sig. LIXv-LXr
131. Kinder mercket fleistig auf unnd last uns samptlich lernen, sig. LXv-LXIr
132. Messiah o jhesu gotes sohn, sig. LXIr-v
133. Aus tieffer not last unns zu got, sig. LXIIr-MIr
134. Kert euch zu mihr o lieben leut, sig. MIr-v
135. Ker umb ker umb der jünger sohn, sig. MIv-MIIv
136. O vater herre got, sig. MIv-MIIIv
137. Nu loben wir mit innikeit, sig. MIv-MIIIv
138. Nu last uns den leib begraben, sig. MVr
139. Preis sey dem almechtigen got, sig. MVv-MVIr
140. So last uns dein leib behalten, sig. MVIr-v
141. O Ihr christen wacht denn der letzte tag wirt schier kommen, sig. MVlv-MVIIv
142. Es wirt schier der letzte tag herkommen, sig. MVlv-MVIIIv
143. O ihr alle die ihr euch, sig. MVIIIv-MXv
144. Christus schickt aus inn alle welt, sig. MXv-MXIv
145. Als christus mit seiner leer, sig. MXlv-MXIIv
146. Gelobt sey got von ewikeit, sig. MXIIv-NIIIr
147. Ser gros ist gotes giütikeit, sig. NIIv-NIIIr
148. Preys sey dir hymlicher vater und deinem sohn, sig. NIIIIr-Nv
149. Christus der heer vergos sein blut, sig. NVr-NVIr
150. Da christus von uns scheiden wolt, sig. NVIr-NVIIr
151. Christus inn leiblicher perschon, sig. NVIIr-NVIIIr
152. Amen sprech wir alle gleich, sig. NVIIIr
153. Amen sprechen wir eintrechtig, sig. NVIIIv-v
154. Wir glawben all und bekennen frey, sig. NVIIIv
155. O christe warheit und leben, sig. NIXr
156. Thut buss thut buss o lieben leut, sig. NIXr-NXr
157. Alzeit ists ser gut und hoch von nöten, sig. NXr-NXIr

## Appendix Two: Latin Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Latin Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Von adam her so lange zeyt</td>
<td>Veni redemptor gencium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Menschen kynd merck eben</td>
<td>Ave ierarchia celestis et pia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. O vater der barmherzkeyt</td>
<td>Kyrie fons boniatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Es ist heut ein fröhlich tag</td>
<td>Cum sanctis omnibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Lobet got o lieben christen</td>
<td>Grates nunc omnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Lob singet got und schweiget nicht</td>
<td>A solis ortu cardine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Kompt her o ihr völker kompt her</td>
<td>O Sancta mundi domina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Eyn kynd ist uns geboren heut</td>
<td>Nobis est natus hodie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Got sah zu seiner zeyt</td>
<td>Ave rubens rosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Jhesus christus gotes son</td>
<td>Jhesus christus nota salus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Got het einen weinberg gebawt</td>
<td>Rex christe factor omnium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Als got seinen sohn</td>
<td>Varus panis angelorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Christus warer gottes sohn</td>
<td>Patris sapiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Seht hewt an wie der messias</td>
<td>Vesilla regis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Christus der uns seligmacht</td>
<td>Patris sapiencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. O christglawbig mensch bedenck heut</td>
<td>Crux fidelis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. O ihr christen dancksgaget gott</td>
<td>Stabat mater dolorosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Die propheten han prophezeit</td>
<td>Vesilla regis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. O mensch hör und nyhm zu herzen</td>
<td>Lamentacio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Frewet euch heut o yhr christen</td>
<td>Mortis en cum gloria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Christus ist erstanden</td>
<td>Surgit in hac die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Wol auf ihr christen frewet euch</td>
<td>En morte pater divinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Ihr ausserwelten frewet euch</td>
<td>Triumphat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Singen wir heut mit gleichem mund</td>
<td>Triumphat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Frewet euch heut alle gleich</td>
<td>Salve festa dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Die zeit ist jetzt ganz freudenreich</td>
<td>Hoc festum venerantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Lob und preys dancksgung</td>
<td>Modulemur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Singet fröhlich lieben leut</td>
<td>En emoia tipica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Als jhesus christus gotes son</td>
<td>Beata nobis gaudia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Kom heiliger geist warer got</td>
<td>Urbs beata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Kom heiliger geyst herre got</td>
<td>Veni sancte spiritus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. O göttliche dreifaltkeit</td>
<td>O lux beata trinitas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. O liecht heilig dreifaltkeit</td>
<td>O lux beata trinitas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Got dem vater sampt seinen sohn</td>
<td>Grates nunc omnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. Lob unnd ehr mit stetem danckopfier</td>
<td>Ave pulcerina regina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. Last uns loben unsem got</td>
<td>Mens surget fidehum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. O got wir loben dich</td>
<td>Te deum laudemus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. O jhesu du verheischner heilant</td>
<td>Ave preclara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. O jhesu zu allerzeitz</td>
<td>Congaudent angelorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. O herre jhesu christ</td>
<td>Sanctorum meritis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. O got vater von ewikeyt</td>
<td>Kyrie fons boniatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. O ewiger barmherziger got</td>
<td>Kyrie cunctipotens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. O vater der barmherzkeyt</td>
<td>Kyrie magne deus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91. Barmherziger ewiger got</td>
<td>Angeli et archangeli</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.</td>
<td>Genèdiger und mîlter got</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93.</td>
<td>O got vatter imm höchsten trohn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.</td>
<td>O bieten wir mit innikeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99.</td>
<td>Almechtiger ewiger got</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.</td>
<td>O got vatter gebenedeit inn ewikeyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.</td>
<td>Got dem vater sey lob und danck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.</td>
<td>O mensch sîh wie hie auferdreich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>Weltlich ehr und zeitlich gut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>Christglawbig mensch wach aufwach auf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>Der himmel schöhn und wolgestalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>Es ist jetzt umb die vesperzeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>Die sonne tritt dem abendad mehr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128.</td>
<td>Christe du wares liecht und göttliche klarheit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134.</td>
<td>Kernt euch zu mihr o lieben leut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135.</td>
<td>Kerumb kerumb du jünger sohn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136.</td>
<td>O vater herre got</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137.</td>
<td>Nu loben wir mit innikeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146.</td>
<td>Gelobt sey got von ewikeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148.</td>
<td>Preys sey dir hymlishcer vater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150.</td>
<td>Da christus von uns scheiden wolt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix Three: Textual Comparisons, “Te deum” and “O got wir loben dich”

Te Deum laudamus:
Te Dominum confitemur.
Te aeternum Patrem

omnis terra veneratur.
Tibi omnes Angeli,
tibi Caeli et universae Potestates,
tibi Cherubim et Seraphim
incessabili voce proclamant:

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus:
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt coeli et terra:
majestatis gloriae tuae.

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,
te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.

Te per orbem terrarum
Sancta confitetur Ecclesia:
Patrem immensae majestatis:

We praise thee, O God;
we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.
All the earth doth worship thee,
the Father everlasting.
To thee all Angels,
the Heavens, and all the Powers,
the Cherubim and Seraphim
proclaim without ceasing:

Holy, Holy, Holy,
Lord God of Hosts!
The heavens and earth are full
of the majesty of thy glory.

The glorious chorus of the Apostles,
the admirable company of the Prophets,
the white-robed army of Martyrs
praises thee.

Throughout the whole world
the holy Church gives praise to thee,
the Father of infinite majesty;

O got wir loben dich;
bekennen dich einen herren.
Der ganz erdboden preiset
dich,
Almechtigen ewigen vater
Das thun auch alle engel
die himel und all kreften,
Cherubin und seraphin
singen dir mit unaufhörlicher
stime:
Heilig, heilig, heilig
Bistu herre got sebaot.
Vol seind himmel und erden
Der maiestat deiner herlikeit.
Das löbliche heer deiner
boten
Verkündiget deine warheit.
Das selbe theten auch allezeit
Die heiligen prophten.
Die tewre todt deiner
merterer giebet diser warheit
zeugnis.
All ausserwelten frome
christen
Bekennen dich auf dem
ganzen erdenkreis,
Einer vater unaussprechlicher
herlikeyt
Venerandum tuum verum, et unicum Filium:
Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum.

Tu Rex gloriae, Christe.
Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.

Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,
non horruisti Virginis uterum.

Tu devicto mortis aculeo,
aperuisti credentibus regna coelorum.

Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes,
in gloria Patris.
Judex crederis esse venturus.

Te ergo quaesumus,
tuis famulis subveni,
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.

Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis
they praise your admirable, true,
and only Son;
and also the Holy Spirit, our
Advocate.
You are the King of glory, O Christ.
You are the eternal Son of the
Father.

To deliver us, you became human,
and did not disdain the Virgin’s
womb.

Having blunted the sting of death,
You opened the kingdom of heaven
to all believers.
You sit at the right hand of God,
In the glory of the Father.
You are believed to be the Judge
who will come.
Therefore, we beseech you,
come to the aid of your servants,
Whom you have redeemed by your
precious blood.
Make them to be numbered with thy

Und deinen einigen son
jhesus christ
gleicher gotheit und
wirdikeit;
Des gleichen den heiligen
geist, allerbesten tröster.
O süßer herre jhesu christ,
Du bist ein könig der ehren
Und ein ewiger eingebornes
sohn
Gotes deines vaters.
Du hast die menschheit von
einer junckfrauen an dich
genommen
das du erlöstest all
auzerwelten.
Und nach dem du den tod
uberwunden,
habstu den glaubigen eröffnet
der himmel reych.
Nu aber sizestu zur rechten
gotes
in der herlikeit deines vaters.
Von dannen wirstu kommen
Alle welt zu richten.
O herr wir bieten du woltest
nu allen denen hülfte thun
Die du mit deinem blut teurer
Erkauft hast.
Hilff das sie hie auf erden
in gloria numerari.
Salvum fac populum tuum Domine,
et benedici haereditati tuae.
Et rege eos, et extolle illos
usque in aeternum.
Per singulos dies, benedicimus te;

et laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum,
et in saeculum saeculi.

Dignare, Domine, die isto
sine peccato nos custodire.
Miserere nostri, Domine,
miserere nostri.

Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos,
quemadmodum speravimus in te.

In te Domine, speravi:
non confundar in aeternum.
saints in glory everlasting.
Save your people, O Lord,
and bless your inheritance.
Govern them, and extol them
from now into eternity.
Day by day, we bless thee;

and we praise your name for ever,
yea, for ever and ever.
Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us
this day without sin.
Have mercy upon us, O Lord,
have mercy upon us.
Let thy mercy be upon us, O Lord,
as we have trusted in thee.
In thee, O Lord, I have trusted:
let me never be confounded.

dein teilhaftig werdenn.
Sich dyr herzlich einleiben
und ewiglich inn dir bleiben.
O regier sie, das sie deinen
besten willen verbringen.
Dein heiliger namen werd
uberal
gepreiset, und deine gnad und
gerechtikeit inn uns reichlich
erweiset.
O herr las uns wider deinen
bund
kein arges beginnen,
und vergieb uns all unser
schult
und leyt uns fröhlich vonn
hinnenn.
Thu mit uns nach deiner
barmherzikeyt
wie wir denn auch örđentlich
vertrauen.
O herr sey uns genedig
Und las uns nicht zu
schanden werden.

## Appendix Four: Notated and Indicated Melodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Notated Melody</th>
<th>Indicated Melody</th>
<th>Printed location of indicated melody (by hymn number)</th>
<th>Indicated or Alternate Melody</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Von adam her so lange zeyt</td>
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<td>2. Lob sey dem almechtigen got</td>
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<td>3. Danct wir gott dem vater</td>
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<td>4. Glaubige seel schaw dein herr</td>
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<td>5. Menschen kind merck eben</td>
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<td>6. Als der gütige got</td>
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<td>7. Als adam imm paradis</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Dies est laetitiae</td>
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<td>8. O Vater der barmherzikeyt</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Weyl Maria schwanger gieng</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Dies est laetitiae</td>
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<td>10. Es ist heut ein fröhlich tag</td>
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<td>11. Last uns fröhlich und eintrechtig singen</td>
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<td>12. Lobet gott o lieben christen</td>
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<td>13. Lob singet gott und schweiget nicht</td>
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<td>14. Adam hett uns ganz verterbet</td>
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<td>15. Kompt her o ihr völker kompt her</td>
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<td>16. Eyn kind ist uns geboren heut</td>
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<td>17. Frew dich heut o jerusalem</td>
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<td>18. Singet lieben leutt</td>
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<td>19. Got sah zu seiner zeyt</td>
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<td>20. O Christe warer gotes sohn</td>
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<td>21. Lob sey gott der samen</td>
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<td>22. O Christe unser seligkeit</td>
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<td>23. Als jhesus geboren war</td>
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<td>Als adam in paradis</td>
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<td>26. O Jhesu schöhn und wolgestalt</td>
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<td>27. O süsser herre jhesu christ</td>
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<td>28. Jhesus christus gotes son von ewikeit</td>
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<td>29. Got het einen weinberg gebawt</td>
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<td>30. Als got seinen sohn</td>
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<td>31. Christus warer gottes sohn</td>
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<td>32. Seht hewt an wie der messias</td>
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<td>34. O ihr christen seht an der konig</td>
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<td>35. Christus der uns seligmacht</td>
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<td>37. Lobsing heut o christenheit</td>
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<td>38. O Christglawbig mensch bedenck heut</td>
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<td>39. O ihr christen dancksaget gott</td>
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<td>43. Frewet euch heut o yhr christen</td>
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<td>44. Gelobt sey Gott ymm höchsten trohn</td>
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<td>46. Christus ist erstanden</td>
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<td>47. Gebenedeyt sey unser heylandt</td>
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<td>48. Christus leid den tod mit gedult</td>
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<td>49. Gnad und warheit ist vorhanden</td>
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<td>50. Christe der du den neuen bund</td>
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<td>51. Wol auf ihr christen frewet euch</td>
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<td>53. Singen wir heut mit gleichem mund</td>
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<td>55. Christus ist erstanden</td>
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<td>56. Christus der heilant</td>
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<td>57. Frewt euch heut alle gleich</td>
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<td>58. Die zeit ist jetzt ganz freudenreich</td>
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<td>O Christe der du erstanden</td>
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<td>63.</td>
<td>Als jhesus christe gotes</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>O Got schepffer heiliger geist</td>
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<td>Kom heiliger geist warer got</td>
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<td>66.</td>
<td>Singen wir heutt aus herzen grund</td>
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<td>Heiliger geist herre got</td>
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<td>Kom heiliger geyst herre got</td>
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<td>Wir glawben inn got den vater</td>
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<td>Got dem vater im höchsten tron</td>
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<td>O herre got wir loben dich</td>
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<td>O glawbig herz gebenedeay</td>
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<td>O got wir loben dich</td>
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<td>81.</td>
<td>O jhesu zart in newer art</td>
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<td>82.</td>
<td>O jhesu du verheischner heilant</td>
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<td>Jhesu zu allerzeit</td>
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<td>O Got der du bist ein geist</td>
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<td>O herre ihesu christ</td>
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<td>Last unns schreyen alle gleich</td>
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Die Zeit ist jetzt ganz freudenreich

O lux beata trinitas

Grates nunc omnes

Lob und ehr mit stetem dankopffer

O got der du bist ein geist
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<td>O got vater von ewikeit</td>
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<td>O Got vater imm höchsten trohn</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Frewen wir uns all inn ein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beata nobis gaudia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nu frewt euch lieben christen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mitten wir im leben sein</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frewen wir uns all inn ein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singet lieben leut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Danck wir got dem vater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stabat mater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Kyrie fons bonitatis*  
*Pange lingua gloriosi*
<p>| 116. Es geht daher des tages schein | x |
| 117. Der tag bricht an und zeyget sich | x |
| 118. Der tag vertreybt die finster nacht | x |
| 119. Christgläubig mensch wach auf | x | 120 | Veni creator |
| 120. Der himmel schön und wolgestalt | x |
| 121. Vater imm höchsten thron | x |
| 122. Grossmechtiger ewiger got | x | x | 112 | Wergotes diener werden viel |
| 123. Den vater dortoben | x |
| 124. Es ist jetzt die vesperzeit | x |
| 125. Die sonne tritt dem abennd nphr | x | 124 | Lucis creator |
| 126. Die sonne wirt bald untergeh | x | x | 69 | Wir glauben inn got den vater |
| 127. Die sonne wirt mit ihrem schein | x | x |
| 128. Christe du wares lech | x |
| 129. O Jhesu der du seligmachst | x | x | 81 | O jhesu zart |
| 130. O herre jhesu christ | x | x | 123 | Den vater dort oben |
| 131. Kinder mercket fleistig | x |
| 132. Messiah o jhesu gotes sohn | x | x | 61 | Singet fröhlich lieben leut |
| 133. Aus tieffer not last unns zu got | x |
| 134. Kert euch zu mihr o lieben leut | x |
| 135. Ker umb ker umb der jünger sohn | x | 122, 134 | Grossmechtiger, Conditor alme |
| 136. O vater herre got | x | x | 85 | Sanctorum meritis |
| 137. Nu loben wir mit innikeit | x |
| 138. Nu last uns den leib begraben | x |
| 139. Preis sey dem almechtigen got | x | 141 | O ihr christen wacht |
| 140. So last uns dein leib behalten | x |
| 141. O Ihr christen wacht denn der letzte tag | x |
| 142. Es wirt schier der letzte tag | x |
| 143. O ihr alle die ihr euch | x |
| 144. Christus schickt aus inn alle welt | x | 117 | Der tag bricht an |
| 145. Als christus mit seiner leer | x | x | 101 | Frewen wir uns |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Melody</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Gelobt sey got von ewikeit</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Ser gros ist gottes güttikeit</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Preys sey dir hymlischer vater</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Ave maris stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Christus der heer vergos sein blut</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Da christus von uns scheiden wolt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Christus inn leiblicher perschon</td>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Ser gros ist gottes güttikeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Amen sprech wir alle gleich</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>O got der du bist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Amen sprechen wir eintrechtig</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Begeren wir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Wir glawben all und bekennen frey</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>28, 87</td>
<td>Jhesus christus, Begeren wir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>O christe warheit und leben</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Thut buss thut buss o lieben leut</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Alzeit ists ser gut und hoch von nöten</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hymns marked as melody indications without reference to a page number do not refer to a specific page or title within the hymnal.

Total notated melodies: 114
Total indicated melodies: 46

Appendix Five: Musical and Textual Comparisons—
“Ave maris stella” and “O Got vater gebeneid”

Roman Catholic

A - ve mar - is stel - la, Dei
Ma - ter al - ma, At - que sem - per Vir - go -
Fe - lix cae - li por - ta.

Ave, maris stella,
dei Mater alma,
atque semper Virgo,
felix caeli porta.

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore,
funda nos in pace,
mutans Evae nomen.

Salve vincla reis,
profer lumen caecis,
mala nostra pelle,
bona cuncta posce.

Monstra te esse matrem,
sumat per te preces,
qui pro nobis natus
tulit esse tuus.

Virgo singularis,

Hail, Star of the Sea,
loving Mother of God,
and Virgin immortal,
heaven’s blissful portal!

Receiving that “Ave”
from the mouth of Gabriel,
reversing the name of “Eva,”
establish us in peace.

Break the chains of sinners,
bring light to the blind,
drive away our evils,
and ask for all good things.

Show thyself to be a mother,
that, through thee,
he may accept our prayers,
he who, born for us,
chose to be your Son.

O incomparable Virgin,
inter omnes mitis, 
nos culpis solutos, 
mites fac et castos.

Vitam praesta puram, 
iter para tutum, 
ut videntes Jesum, 
semper collaetemur.

Sit laus Deo Patri, 
summo Christo decus, 
spiritui Sancto, 
tribus honor unus. Amen.

meek above all others, 
make us, freed from our faults, 
meek and chaste.

Keep our life pure, 
make our journey safe, 
so that, seeing Jesus, 
we may rejoice together forever.

Let there be praise to God the Father, 
and glory to Christ the most High, 
and to the Holy Spirit, 
and to the Three be one honor. Amen.

Unity of Brethren

O Gott vater gebenedeit inn ewikeyt, 
sih heut an durch deine barmherzikeyt, wie so viel feind nach unsrem leben stehn, 
und ser listig mit uns umbgehn.

O God father, blessed in eternity, 
through your mercy see today 
how so many enemies stand 
against us, 
and so cunningly associate with us.
Der böse feind geht en unterlas
umb uns her,
brimmet als ein gremmiger lew und beer,
thut fleis das er uns lebendig verschlünd,
fellet inn irthumb unnd tod stünd.

Wo er durch sich selbst an unns nicht
schaffen kan,
so geht er und herzet alle welt an,
das sie mit frefel deine gnad veracht,
und sich mit grimm an dein volck macht.

So lest auch das fleisch unsrem geiste keine rhu,
sonder richtet ihm vil ungemauch zu,
kriget mit ihm und wiel sein herre fein,
unnd der förchtet ewige pein.

Disem geist der mit dem fleische
kemmpft allezeit,
und inn nöten umb beistandt
zu dir schreyt,
verley krafft das er ihm nicht unterlieg,
sonder frey überwind und sieg:

Unser feind ist satan fleisch welt
und Antichrist
wider welches geift grimm und arge list,
unser geyst tag und nacht
zu streiten hat,
O thu ihm beistant herre got.

O leg uns den tewren harnsch
der warheyt an,
das wir siecher wandern auf deiner ban,
sterck inn uns glauben lieb und zuersicht,
das uns nicht schad der böse wicht.

O herr las dich mild und barmherzig erfinden,
Und hilff das wir herschen allen stünden,

The evil enemy goes about us,
take care that he
falls in error, sin, and death.

Where he cannot make himself
through us,
so he goes and takes all the world to
heart,
that they who scorn Your grace
come growling upon your people.

So do not let the flesh overtake our
spirit,
rather correct very closely,
battle with him and
make his lord fear eternal pain.

This spirit that with the flesh
always struggles,
and in misery needs help
cries to you,
grant strength that he does not trap
me, rather overcome and say:

Our enemy is Satan, flesh, world,
and Antichrist,
against which our spirit is angry,
our spirit day and night
has struggled,
O give assistance, Lord God.

O give us the dearest truth,
that we such wanderings
in Your way,
strengthen in us faith, love, and
assurance,
that we will not be shamed by sin.

O Lord may you mildly and
mercifully invent
and help that we rule over sin,
dem bösen feind und seinem ganzen heer,  
deinem namen zu lob und ehr.  

Amen singen wir eintrechtig aus herzen brunst,  
O vater du woltest aus lieb und gunst,  
durch jhesum christum deinen lieben sohn,  
uns allzeit hülf und beistant thun.

Source: Liber Usualis (New York: Desclée, 1956), pp. 1259-61; Ron Jeffers, ed.,  
(Corvallis, OR: Cascade Printing, 1988), “Ave maris stella,” pp. 102-3; and Michael  
Weisse, Ein New Gesengbuchlen, ed. Konrad Ameln (Jungen Buntzel: Georgen  
Wylmshwerer, 1531; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), No. 103, “O Got vater  
gebenedeit.”

the evil enemy, and his whole army,  
in order to praise Your name.

We all sing Amen from our hearts,  
O Father, out of love and grace,  
through Jesus Christ your beloved  
son,  
You are always our help.
Appendix Six: References to Congregational Worship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last uns fröhlich und eintrechig singen</td>
<td>Let us sing happily all together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singen wir... mit frewden und mit gleichem mund</td>
<td>We sing... with joy and with the same mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singet ihm fröhlich alle gleich</td>
<td>Sing happily all together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihr ausserwelten frewet euch/ und lobet christum alle gleych</td>
<td>Celebrate, you otherworldly, and praise Christ all together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singen wir heut mit gleichem mond.</td>
<td>Today we sing with one voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singen wir fröhlich allesampt</td>
<td>We sing happily all together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So singen wir all inn ein alleluia</td>
<td>So we sing all as one &quot;alleluia.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frewt euch heut alle gleich</td>
<td>Celebrate today all together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O bruder lobet den herren alle gleich</td>
<td>O brothers, praise the Lord all together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So singen wir ihm all inn ein</td>
<td>So we sing to Him all as one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasst uns schreyen alle gleich zur Vater</td>
<td>Let us cry all together to the Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wir begeren heut alle gleich</td>
<td>Today we wish all together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frewen wir uns all inn ein</td>
<td>We are joyful all together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herzlich singen mit gleichem mund.</td>
<td>We sing heartily with one voice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So singen wir inn gleichem thou.</td>
<td>So we sing in the same tune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen... singen wir all aus herzen grund.</td>
<td>Amen... we all sing from the bottom of our hearts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Primary Sources

The Bible. New International Version.


Secondary Sources


_____.


Strupl, Milos. “Confessional Theology of the Unitas Fratrum.” *Church History* 33, No. 3 (September 1964): 279-293.


