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Layers of Meaning: Intertextuality in Early Anabaptist Song

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Layers of Meaning:
Intertextuality in Early Anabaptist Song

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Abstract

Anabaptism is one of the smaller, less well-known movements of the sixteenth-century Reformation. Very little musicological research regarding this separatist group has been done, partly due to their small size, lack of engagement in the contemporary religiopolitical landscape, and the near non-existence of musical notation within the movement’s musical repertoire. The largest extant collection from the first half-century of Anabaptism, *Etliche Schöne Christliche Geseng/wie sie in der Gefengkniß zu Passaw im Schloß von den Schweitzer Brüdern durch Gottes gnad geticht und gesungen worden*, was published anonymously in 1564 and expanded in 1583 with the additional title of “*Ausbund, das ist*.”

The collection is comprised entirely of contrafacts. Scholars have identified the origins of most of the source tunes that *Etliche Geseng* references, though they have not frequently considered the relationships that exist between models and contrafacts aside from shared melodies. Expanding on Rebecca Wagner Oettinger’s categories of intertextual relationships as presented in her book *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*, one is able to gain insight into the musical lives and cultural awareness of the *Etliche Geseng* authors. Patterns identified through the study of intertextual relationships even have the potential to indicate the origins and perhaps even the subject matter of model songs that are no longer extant.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Stephanie P. Schlagel, for her tireless assistance with this project. Her patient counsel guided me through the writing process, directed my analytical energies, and soundly critiqued my ideas and my text. I doubt I could have completed this project without her help.

I would also like to thank the Mennonite Historical Library, housed at Goshen College (IN), for allowing me to examine the 1564 *Etliche schöne christliche Geseng wie sie in der Gefengknüß zu Passau im Schloß von den Schwitzer Brüder durch Gottes gnad getieht und gesungen worden* in December, 2014 before sending it off for restoration. Examining the physical document clarified many details of its physical appearance, and photographs from that visit serve to enhance this document. Joe Springer, the curator, also provided essential assistance in my research of the physical document. He provided me with side-by-side text comparisons of the same songs preserved in various sources, and helped to identify the watermark on the pages of the songbook. Mr. Springer also provided me with several examples of song pamphlets roughly contemporaneous with the book at the center of this study.

I thank the Tangeman Sacred Music Center at the University of Cincinnati for their generous travel grant that allowed me to make the aforementioned trip to the Mennonite Historical Library. The visit was invaluable to this project and I feel honored to have received the organization’s support.

Thanks are also in order for Kevin Grace, head of the Archives and Rare Books Library, University Archivist, and Senior Librarian at the University of Cincinnati, for meeting with me prior to my visit to the Mennonite Historical Library. Mr. Grace kindly advised me on what to
look for and how to best use my time in Goshen. His assistance enabled me to make the most of my time with the 1564 songbook, further enriching this thesis.

Lastly, I would like to thank my partner, Allison, for her support, encouragement, and critique. She served as a sounding board for my ideas and helped to refine my understanding of the theological positions of early Anabaptists. Without her, this project would never have been completed.
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Introduction

The creation of contrafacts was a popular practice during the sixteenth century, particularly in the context of the Reformation. Using an existing song to rapidly create memorable propaganda and polemic appealed to both Protestants and Catholics, and thus these contrafacts quickly found their way into pamphlets and broadsides throughout German-speaking Europe. Anabaptists, a smaller group of reformers, also made significant use of contrafacts.

The single largest source of Anabaptist hymnody from the first half-century of the movement is *Etliche schöne christliche Geseng wie sie in der Gefengkniß zu Passau im Schloß von den Schwitzer Brüder durch Gottes gnad getieht und gesungen worden*, hereafter referred to as *Etliche Geseng*. The collection contains fifty-three contrafacts all written by members of an Anabaptist subgroup known as the Phillippites after they had been captured in the city of Passau in Bavaria along the Danube. The contrafacts refer to thirty-three different melodies, draw on at least five different repertories, and are authored by at least five different Anabaptists (excluding the one joint composition by fourteen different prisoners). While scholarship has previously explored the contrafact texts, source tunes, and social element of Anabaptists contrafacts, no one has yet taken a detailed look at the intertextual connections between source tunes and contrafacts.

Rudolf Wolkan’s major study of Anabaptist song from 1903, entitled *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer*, reviews the whole of early Anabaptist song in broad terms.\(^1\) The work is outdated,

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\(^1\) Rudolf Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (Berlin: Verlag B. Behr, 1903).
however, and much of the information contained within is available from more recent sources. Wolkan also did not have access to *Etliche Geseng*, which was only rediscovered in 1928 by Mennonite historian Harold S. Bender.²

Rosella Reimer Duerksen completed a general study of early Anabaptist hymnody in 1956.³ Like Wolkan, Duerksen takes a broad tack by focusing on all sixteenth-century Anabaptist songs. She also makes a special point of highlighting the Anabaptists’ reliance on other repertories in the creation of their contrafacts. Her dissertation identifies most of the source tunes early Anabaptists used, including those in *Etliche Geseng*, and paves the way for Ernst Sommer, who systematically categorized almost every known source tune used by the early Anabaptists.

Sommer’s article, “Die Melodien der alten deutschen Täufer-Lieder,” contains an exhaustive table that identifies hundreds of source tunes for Anabaptist contrafacts and includes every instance of each in Anabaptist song collections.⁴ Sommer also groups the source tunes into eight different repertories: *Hymnen-Melodien, Meistersinger-Töne, Weisen geistlicher Volkslieder, Kirchenlied-Melodien der Reformationzeit, Gesänge der Täufer, Gesänge “In eigener Melodei” der Täufer, Melodien weltlicher Lieder* (subdivided into *Erzähllieder* and *Weltliche Lieder anderen Inhalts*), and *Töne, deren Herkunft unbestimmt und nicht nachweisbar*

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Sommer, like Duersken, is primarily concerned with the origin of the melodic material. This is mildly problematic when one Anabaptist contrafact indicates a second Anabaptist contrafact as the source tune, although each scholar does provide enough information for the reader to locate said Anabaptist contrafact, as well.

Beverly Durance’s thesis on the *Ausbund*, the successor of *Etliche Geseng*, focuses primarily on a social understanding of Anabaptist song. Durance concentrates on unifying themes like common understanding and experiences (suffering), common purpose, a common enemy, common urgency, and the bond of singing. While her study is more text-centered than those prior, she gives little consideration to the potential intertextual connections in these contrafacts. Rather, she brushes off the source tunes by describing the act of contrafacting in the Anabaptist songs as the “logical and simplest alternative” to original composition among a community without many trained musicians.

Robert Riall’s studies of the *Etliche Geseng* texts are perhaps some of the most thorough. In *The Earliest Hymns of the Ausbund*, Riall provides a translation of and commentary on the 1564 collection, including a lengthy introductory essay. Riall relies on Sommer, Duersken, and

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5 Hymn melodies, Meistersinger tunes, wise spiritual folksongs, Church melodies of the Reformation, Anabaptist songs, Anabaptist songs “in their own melody,” melodies of secular songs (subdivided into narrative songs and other secular songs), and tunes whose origins are unknown. Ibid., 153–158.


7 Ibid., 29.

Wolkan to identify source tunes and summarizes discussions of disputed contrafact attributions in various sources. Riall’s second, more extensive study, *First Suffering, then Joy: The Early Anabaptist Martyr Songs*, offers a more detailed critique of the song texts and theorizes about the organization of the collection. However, Riall also did not set out to explore the intertextual connections between source text and contrafact text.

Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, writing with regard to German Reformation music as propaganda, provides the inspiration and methodology for this study. Her work thoroughly explores Protestant and Catholic music related to the sixteenth-century Reformation, including an analytical system for contrafacts. This system identifies three categories of intertextual relationships: transmutation, or the “correction” of theologically unappealing texts; apposition, or the redefinition of Christ’s enemies; and inversion, or the ironic combination of a sacred tune and sacrilegious text. While her analysis is focused primarily on Catholic and Lutheran music, there is great potential for her system to be adapted to a study of Anabaptist contrafacts. In fact, Maureen Epp has already taken some of the first steps in studying the songs of *Etliche Geseng* as contrafacts with intertextual connections. Epp considers two songs from the later expansion of

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11 Ibid., 103–104.

Etliche Geseng, the Ausbund, and convincingly argues that the text of both source tunes and both contrafacts are related.

The present study considers the songs of *Etliche Geseng* primarily as contrafacts: songs that have been retexted, creating an intertextual relationship between a model and derived work that share a melody. By contextualizing the song collection this manner, the attitudes and theological tenets of the *Etliche Geseng* authors are revealed in a new way. The research of Wulkan, Duerksen, and Sommer, who have identified many of the source tunes used in *Etliche Geseng*, are essential to this study. Riall’s attention to detail in translating, annotating, and critiquing the collection also enables consideration of these songs as contrafacts. Oettinger’s insightful analytical system can also be expanded and adapted when applied to the Anabaptist repertory, as demonstrated by Epp.

The thesis begins by considering *Etliche Geseng* as an independent document. Chapter one summarizes the collection’s origins in the Passau prison and its subsequent anonymous publication in 1564, and explores the contents of the collection. Chapter two provides context for the Passau songs by detailing the Swiss genesis of the radical reform movement and forced Anabaptist migration that resulted in the capture of over 50 practitioners of the faith in Passau. The authors of the *Etliche Geseng* contrafacts were among those apprehended at Passau. Lastly, the chapter considers Anabaptist attitudes and theological beliefs as they relate to the songs in *Etliche Geseng*.

The third chapter provides an analysis of the Passau contrafacts. Those that present an apparent intertextual relationship are grouped into the broad categories of consonant and dissonant, depending on whether the contrafact text agrees with that of the model or contrasts with it. These two broad descriptors are then subdivided into more precise subcategories that
more precisely describe the type of intertextual relationship that exists, based on Oettinger’s categories, but modified to suit the specific nature of the Anabaptist collection: affirmation, authority, transmutation, apposition, and inversion. The thesis concludes with some thoughts as to the broader application of the analytical system, including the assistance it could provide in speculating on the origin of a particular song or in piecing together the contents of source tunes whose text is no longer extant.

The intertextual relationships of the *Etliche Geseng* contrafacts are summarized in the Appendix. This is the first attempt to systematically categorize the intertextual relationships of the collection. The table provides the author, first line, *tonangabe* (indicated source tune), its type of repertory, and the category of intertextual relationship and a point of consonance or dissonance (that is, the idea that connects the two texts).
Chapter I: *Etliche schöne christliche Geseng wie sie in der Gefenckniß zu Passau im Schloß von den Schweitzer Brüder durch Gottes gnad getieht und gesungen worden*

I.1 The significance of *Etliche Geseng*

*Etliche Geseng* is the oldest extant large collection of early Anabaptist song, though it is by no means the first time that such songs appeared in print. The actual song collection bears the publication date of 1564, nearly thirty years after its contents were composed in the Bavarian city of Passau. Prior to 1564, many of the songs circulated individually and in smaller groups as manuscripts and pamphlets, primarily in Anabaptist circles.¹ The collection served as core of an emerging Anabaptist song repertory. *Etliche Geseng* is a rich source for the study of early Anabaptist musical and theological expression and an excellent example of sixteenth-century contrafacting.

The 1564 songbook contains fifty-three contrafacts, a preface, a poetic conclusion, and a song index spanning 120 leaves. While the collection was more than doubled with the publication of the 1583 *Ausbund*, which still kept the Passau songs grouped together at the end of the book, the earlier fifty-three-song collection is hardly insignificant in size.² *Etliche Geseng* itself may have been an expansion of another Passau collection that is no longer extant,


² Because of the significant overlap between *Etliche Geseng* and the *Ausbund*, songs are identified by their assigned number in both sources when available. *Ausbund* numbers correspond with the modern *Ausbund* rather than the 1583 publication.
suggesting that it is perhaps the culmination of a years-long effort to gather the songs written by those Philippite Brethren imprisoned in the Bavarian city. When these Anabaptist songs, both from the Passau group and from other sources, circulated independently or in small groups, it is likely that they underwent a number of changes and revisions, as evidenced by discrepancies between the text of two sources for “Gott Zebaoth, der war, und ist” (*Etliche Geseng* 29, *Ausbund* 107), and three for “Mit lust so wil ich singen” (*Ausbund* 6). However, these changes do not alter the general theological, and thus also intertextual, content of the songs.

Even though *Etliche Geseng* is one of the most significant sources of early Anabaptist song, the physical document itself remains something of a mystery. The date 1564 is printed on the cover page, but no printer or place of publication is listed (Figure 1). As *Etliche Geseng* was a collection of songs written by and probably compiled for a heretical religious sect, it is unlikely that the printer had any desire to identify him- or herself. Since the document features no musical notation, it could have been printed by any number of publishers, as the text required no special tools or training. The water mark, the *oxenkopf* with a “T” and an “x” (see Figure 2) was

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3 Riall suggested that *Etliche Geseng* could also have been an expansion of a previous collection of Passau songs, though no such earlier version remains. Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*, 29.

4 The contemporary Mennonite hymnal *Ein schön Gesangbüchlein* expands *Etliche Geseng*’s seventh verse into two verses. The subject and imagery of the verse from *Etliche Geseng* remains unchanged in *Ein schön Gesangbüchlein*. Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*, 29.

5 Joe Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library in Goshen, IN, provided me with a side-by-side comparison of the song in a ca. 1545/46 pamphlet, the 1583 *Ausbund*, and the modern *Ausbund*. The differences between the pamphlet and the 1583 *Ausbund* are primarily small changes to single words and occasionally single lines. For instance, the fifth line of the first stanza in the pamphlet begins with “dann ewigs leben” while the 1583 *Ausbund* reads “Der ewiglich.” A more significant change occurs in the fourth line of the third stanza: “all ding nympt sye wol an” in the pamphlet becomes “Ohn sie mag nichts beston” in the 1583 *Ausbund*. Differences between the 1583 and modern *Ausbunds* are all changes to capitalization, spelling, and punctuation. For instance, in the final line of the third stanza, “Auch ander leut vergiftt” becomes “Auch ander Leut vergift.”
commonly used by a wide variety of paper manufacturers throughout Switzerland and the German-speaking territories, and thus is of little aid in determining even where the paper may have been manufactured. The only clue to the collection’s origin, then, is the title’s reference to the “Schweitzer Brüdern,” indicating that it was, at the very least, associated with the Swiss Anabaptists. The very fact that Anabaptists found these songs significant enough to print in spite of the risks that the printer and anyone found to be in possession of the product of the document might face, broadcasts its significance among early Anabaptist circles.

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7 Transcriptions of text not preserved in later sources, such as the title page of *Etliche Geseng*, maintains the original orthography.
In 1583, *Etliche Geseng* was superseded by *Ausbund, das ist: Etliche schöne Christliche Lieder*... arguably the Christian hymnal with the longest-running continual usage in the tradition. The *Ausbund* did not merely replace *Etliche Geseng*, however; rather it added eighty songs to the front of the collection while maintaining fifty-one of the fifty-three Passau contrafacts. Since that time, the *Ausbund* has remained largely unchanged. Later editions in Europe added seven

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8 A third song, “Freuwte euch ir Christen alle” (*Etliche Geseng* 38.), appeared in the 1583 *Ausbund* but was not preserved in any later editions, creating a slight discrepancy in the numbering systems of the 1583 and modern *Ausbunds*. Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*, 333.
songs after the Passau collection, while American printings added ten. People of the Amish faith still use the *Ausbund* today, continually reprinting it as needed. The songs of *Etliche Geseng* have thus been in use for at least 452 years.

The final reasons that *Etliche Geseng* is particularly suited for study are its popularity and its function as a means of musical and theological expression. The collection enjoyed widespread use in Anabaptist circles: it was ubiquitous enough to have appeared as evidence against alleged Anabaptists at one of the largest public disputations challenging the sect, the Frankenthal Disputation of 1571, held in the Palatinate.9 The document stands as one of the very few voices of unity within a disorganized and divergent movement, perhaps exceeding even some of the early confessions of faith in its ability to express Anabaptist theological beliefs.10

1.2 The contents of *Etliche Geseng*

As standalone songs, these contrafacts already provide a window into the thoughts and beliefs of the Passau prisoners and their fellow radical reformers across Europe. Robert Riall, a scholar of Anabaptist history, perceives that these songs treat four different subjects: Christ’s external and internal word, holiness, suffering, and joy and resignation.11 Beverly Durance, on the other hand, considers themes that are potentially unifying across the broader movement, including common understanding and experience (suffering), common purpose, a common


enemy, common urgency, and the bond of singing. The presence of the theme of suffering in the Passau collection is undeniable. Many of the songs lament the treatment of Anabaptists in the world (Europe) as they speak of pain and freedom or release, which perhaps could be read as a metaphor for death and subsequent ascension into heaven. Perhaps the most helpful categorization of the songs for a study of intertextuality, however, is by genre: songs of praise, exegetical songs, Psalm paraphrases, and, perhaps, even martyr songs. These genres signal types of relationships: exegetical contrafacts based on Catholic and Lutheran songs are likely to contrast theological positions, whereas Psalm paraphrases and songs of praise are better positioned to be read in agreement with their source tunes.

While the contents of Etliche Geseng function within these genres at face value, consideration of the repertories and genres the Passau prisoners chose to utilize as source tunes reveals further layers of meaning, as well as the specific ways each contrafact reacts to the text of its source tune. In the practice of contrafacting, the fact that two texts share the same musical material creates an intertextual relationship. This relationship can be either consonant or dissonant; the newly composed text is either supportive of or supported by the preexisting text, or the newly composed text contradicts the preexisting text in some way. The links between source text and contrafact text can be more precisely described in terms of categories of relationships. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger explores these categories with regard to Catholic and Lutheran repertories in her book Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation. Oettinger’s

12 Durance, 121 ff.

categories include transmutation, or “Christian corrections”; apposition, or “the redefinition of ‘Christ’s Enemies’”; and inversion, or “verkehrte Welt.”

Even though *Etliche Geseng* is entirely made up of contrafacts, and thus not necessarily indicative of whether or not the songwriters had any real sort of musical training, some scholars have speculated as to whether any Meistersingers were among the ranks of the Passau prisoners as a means of explaining their musical activity. William Schreiber, scholar of Anabaptist history, suggests that Hans Betz, the most prolific author in the Passau collection, may have learned the art of the Meistersinger while working as a weaver in Eger. However, in the absence of evidence of a Meistersinger school in Eger, Schreiber posits that the proximity of Nürnberg, about eighty miles away, enabled Betz to cultivate the “poetic skill and versatility” of the Meistersingers. Other evidence Schreiber presents in defense of his Betz-Meistersinger connection includes Betz’s use of the Luther Bible, the version of the bible all Anabaptists probably used; his use of a limited vocabulary; and his use of a variety of meters in songs that contain a variable number of stanzas. Schreiber never considers the implications of the fact that Betz’s songs are all contrafacts, and in addition to his fairly weak arguments, he also admits that

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14 Ibid., 104, 112, and 122.


16 Ibid., 131.

17 Ibid., 131, 132, 133.
Betz’s songs do contain “unbecoming reflections, suppression of inflections, undue abbreviations, or lengthening.” Other scholars also not similar weaknesses.

Riall completed an extensive analysis of *Etliche Geseng* in a more comprehensive version of *The Earliest Hymns of the Ausbund* and offers an alternative summary of Betz’s output, along with the rest of the Passau songs. Riall notes that the Passau songs are “typical sixteenth century contrafacta, metrically and musically dependent on the stock folk tunes and Meistersänger models available for both secular and religious themes.” Riall also demonstrates at great length that any artistry in the Passau collection is a product of the model songs, not the skill of the contrafactors, as “the Passau song writers show no particular artistic aptitude.”

With the Passau prisoners’ limited musical abilities, both with regard to singing and composing, the choice of contrafacting as a method of song creation is a logical one. The creation of contrafacts was not necessarily strictly due to the low skill of the prisoners, however. Contrafacts were being created by both Catholics and Lutherans during the Reformation as part of an ongoing propaganda war. The choice of source tune for these songs was not arbitrary, but rather was a vital part of communicating a polemical message, and an intertextual analysis can more fully reveal this message.

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18 Schreiber, 131.


20 Ibid., 23.

21 Ibid., 23. Riall takes particular care to dissect the works of both Hans Betz and Michael Schneider, the two most prolific contrafact creators in the Passau group, in order to demonstrate the prisoners’ lack of any significant poetic skill, 23–31.
The lack of musical notation in the Passau contrafacts strengthens the intertextual connection in the mind of the reader, as well. Using a textual heading, or tonangabe, to identify the tune to which a contrafact is set rather than musical notation prompts the singer to recall not only a known melody, but also its text, thus juxtaposing both in the mind’s ear. While the Passau contrafacts do not demonstrate a point-by-point critique of their models, the contrafact text does often appear to comment on the source text as a whole.

The repertories that the Etliche Geseng authors drew from for source tunes include Anabaptist song (16 contrafacts), Lutheran song (15 contrafacts), Daybreak songs (6 contrafacts), Erzähllieder (medieval ballads; 4 contrafacts), contemporary secular song (4 contrafacts), and popular Volkslieder (2 contrafacts). Anabaptists treated these repertories variously when creating intertextual relationships during the contrafacting process, and sometimes also treated different genres within the same repertory differently. The complete list of contrafacts and their intertextual relationships is in the Appendix. This is the first attempt to systemically analyze and categorize all of the songs in Etliche Geseng with regard to their intertextual relationships. The table includes identifying information, such as folio number, author, first line, and tonangabe of each contrafact, along with the repertory from which the source tune comes, the intertextual relationship between source tune and contrafact, and the concept that links both sets of text (labeled “Point of Consonance/Dissonance”).

22 Except for “Brandenburgers Ton,” which is omitted in many secondary sources for no discernable reason, the author has chosen to use the standardized orthography that appears in Ernst Sommer, “Die Melodien der alten deutschen Täufer-Lieder,” Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie 17 (January 1, 1973): 101–164. For the incipits and texts of the Etliche Geseng songs, the author has chosen to use the orthography of the modern Ausbund, with the exception of those songs that were not reprinted in subsequent editions: Etliche Geseng 3, 17, and 38.
Since the Anabaptists imprisoned at Passau were being held by Catholic authorities and had just been expelled from a Catholic part of Moravia, one might expect them to find a friend in another enemy of the Catholic Church: Martin Luther. The prisoners predictably spoke about Catholicism with animosity; the Passau songs in *Etliche Geseng* are not shy about using the “pope is the antichrist” trope. However, the Anabaptists vehemently rejected Lutheran teachings regarding salvation and baptism and were pursued and condemned as heretics with equal fervency in both Catholic and Lutheran territories. As such, both major religious groups were subject to the verbal condemnations of Anabaptist authors. That nearly half of the songs in *Etliche Geseng* are modeled on Lutheran tunes in spite of this animosity reflects the complex Anabaptist-Protestant relationship apparent in the subtextual conversation between original texts and contrafact texts.

Contrafacts on Lutheran songs generally fall into one of two categories: criticisms of Lutheran theology and Psalm paraphrases. Some of the particular elements of Protestant theology that the Anabaptists criticized included of the *sola fide* doctrine and infant baptism. The Passau group was also not shy about decrying Lutheran persecution of Anabaptism, either. Contrafacters demonstrated a more convivial attitude towards Lutheran Psalm paraphrases or metrical renderings of Psalms. When the Passau prisoners used them, they did not create new renderings of the same Psalms, but rather adopted the tunes to set other Psalms. It is likely that the prisoners already sang the Lutheran Psalm-songs and used the tunes to expand their repertoire.

Anabaptists also used a lot of popular songs without obvious religious associations. Daybreak songs occur most frequently in this repertory. The well-known “Ich stund an einem morgen” is among such songs, though others that are from this repertory are more difficult to
identify. The Passau prisoners typically treated Daybreak songs as sources of authority for Psalm paraphrases, and their specific texts do not appear to be subjects of criticism in *Etliche Geseng*. The lighter treatment of these songs is likely a function of the late-Medieval and early-Renaissance associations the genre had with devotion. Since these songs were considered devotional in nature, they make excellent models for a group so focused on piety as the Anabaptists, and thus found particular favor when the Passau prisoners sought to paraphrase a Psalm.

Works by other Anabaptists comprise the final group of source tunes that demonstrate a clear trend with regard to intertextual relationships. One of the most frequently used is Moravian Anabaptist Oswald Galait’s “O Sohn David,” to which four new texts were set in this collection. However, Galait’s original is no longer extant. It seems unlikely that another Moravian Anabaptist like Galait would have inspired critical contrafacts. Rather, Galait’s song is more likely to have inspired contrafacts with similar subjects or which explore similar theological ideas, as other contrafacts on Anabaptist songs did.

Within these repertories, the Passau prisoners appeared to find some songs that were more agreeable to them than others, and thus they created more contrafacts on these tunes. The Hutterite song “Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide,” is perhaps the single most frequently used tune, inspiring five contrafacts.23 “O Sohn David,” mentioned above, and the Lutheran “Wär

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23 Each occurrence of the *tonangabe* spells the source tune’s incipit a little bit differently, sometimes adding the word “steht” after “Blümlein.” It is most likely that all of these contrafacts refer to the same Hutterite song, in spite of the varied spellings and verbiage, as they all share the same poetic form rather than varying forms.
Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit” each have four contrafacts; a smattering of other Lutheran songs and popular songs each have two.

“Ein Blümlein” is about Anabaptists suffering for their faith, preserved in the Hutterite songbook Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder.\textsuperscript{24} It seems only fitting, then, that this would have been a popular song in the castle prison. “Ein Blümlein” is itself a contrafact on the secular “Tollners Melodie.” The fact that the Etliche Geseng designated “Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide” rather than “Tollners Melodie” as the tonangabe indicates that the Passau prisoners, or at least the Etliche Geseng printers, considered the songs to be contrafacts on “Ein Blümlein” rather than on “Tollners Melodie.” Theoretically, the average singer would have called to mind the full text of the designated tonangabe rather than that of the original tune. All of the contrafacts with apparent relationships to “Ein Blümlein” are in some way consonant.\textsuperscript{25}

The contrafacts on “Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit,” on the other hand, are highly critical of the Lutheran tradition. Three of the songs take advantage of the Lutheran origin of “Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit” and use it to strengthen their criticisms of Protestant beliefs. The other contrafact, “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron” (Etliche Geseng 6, Ausbud 85), is more critical of the prisoners’ Catholic captors than of Protestants.

\textsuperscript{24} Die Lieder der Huttersichen Brüder, edited by the Hutterischen Brüder in Kanada (Cayley, Alberta: n.p., 1962).

\textsuperscript{25} Chapter III provides a more detailed consideration of the idea of “consonant” texts.
There is no way to know the relationship between Galait’s “O Sohn David” and its contrafacts because the text of the source tune does not survive beyond the first two lines. These are preserved in a Hutterite songbook, and reveal nothing more than the incipit does. Based on Anabaptist treatment of other songs within their own tradition, one might assume that “O Sohn David” generally reinforces the messages of its contrafacts, rather than to contrast them.

The tunes that the Passau prisoners contrafacted were almost certainly songs familiar to the group. While they may have had some access to books or writing materials, or perhaps to someone else who could write down their songs, it is unlikely that they were provided with written examples of Lutheran, Anabaptist, or popular songs in the harsh conditions of the Passau prison. Based on usage, it would appear that two of the prisoners’ favorite tunes, “Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide” and “O Sohn David,” were a part of the Moravian Anabaptist tradition. Perhaps this could also serve as an indication of their popular use in contemporary Moravian communities, revealing something of musical taste at the time. It would also appear that Moravian Anabaptists were very familiar with some of the more popular Lutheran tunes, as well as popular songs.

Although Etliche Geseng is an excellent source for the study of early Anabaptist beliefs, it certainly does not stand alone as the sole witness to the movement. The history of Anabaptism is fairly well documented, and scholarship over the course of the past

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26 As an example of the harsh conditions in Passau, many of the prisoners died of neglect after a few years. Hans Wiedemann, “The Story of the Anabaptists at Passau,” Mennonite Quarterly Review 39, no. 2 (April 1965): 102.
century has carefully pieced together a picture of early Anabaptism, which serves to contextualize the current study. It is necessary to locate *Etliche Geseng* within this tumultuous religious environment and establish supporting evidence of Anabaptist thought and theology before fully engaging with an analysis of intertextual relationships.
Chapter II: The Anabaptist Context

II.1 Early Swiss Anabaptists

An Anabaptist subgroup known as the Phillipites is responsible for the creation of the contrafacts of *Etliche Geseng*. The Philippites were just one small group of Anabaptists among many in German-speaking Europe. The members of this group had moved to Moravia in the late 1520s and early 1530s, and a number of them attempted to move back west to the homes they had left in Swabia and Württemburg in 1535. To fully understand the theological ideas expressed in *Etliche Geseng*, one must first become familiar with Philippite theology and practice. However, very little record of these beliefs survives. It is therefore necessary to investigate the predecessors of the Philippites, as well as their Moravian contemporaries. A survey of the history of Anabaptism provides sufficient context for the study of the *Etliche Geseng* contrafacts.

The genesis of Anabaptism is a complicated matter. Perhaps the only larger body of reformation scholarship is that on Luther, himself. Historically, a single-origin theory has been the most popular narrative attached to Anabaptism. This theory holds that the movement began with a small group of Zwinglian reformers in Zurich who subsequently spread their beliefs throughout Europe. Beginning in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars began to favor an alternative polygenesis theory. While the first adult baptisms that would be associated

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2 The following works are some of those which rely on the polygenesis theory: William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975); C. Arnold
with the Anabaptist movement undoubtedly occurred in the house of one of Huldrych Zwingli’s followers, Felix Manz, three parallel movements that were not necessarily directly descended from the Zurichers sprang up in other parts of Europe. Not surprisingly, without any central organization, these disparate movements connected by the label “Anabaptist” developed strong regional variations. This is not to say that each Anabaptist tradition was not in communication with or influenced by others, but rather that trying to identify a single, standard, theological expression among early Anabaptist groups would be a fruitless endeavor. One of the few significant points of unity among various regional Anabaptist groups, however, is song.

The first Swiss Anabaptists, while not directly linked to the Philippites who authored the songs in *Etliche Geseng*, nonetheless paved the way for subsequent Anabaptist groups, including said Philippites. A number of Zwinglian reformers in Zurich, among them Conrad Grebel, George Blaurock, Felix Manz, and Simon Stumpf, form the core of the Swiss Anabaptist movement, which began with Grebel’s rebaptism on January 21, 1525.


3 Stayer, 85.

4 The matter is obscured further by the fact that contemporary writers make little mention of the Swiss Anabaptists. Sebastian Franck, for example, wrote that Anabaptism began in 1526 and that its primary leaders were Balthasar Hubmaier, Melchior Rinck, Hans Hut, Hans Denck, and Ludwig Hätzter, all undoubtedly important early figures, but not the first. Alejandro Zorzin, “Reformation Publishing and Anabaptist Propaganda: Two Contrasting Communication Strategies for the Spread of the Anabaptist Message in the Early Days of the Swiss Brethren,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 82, no. 4 (October 2008): 503.

Scholarship abounds regarding the first adult baptism in January of 1525. Conrad Grebel is often given the title Father of Anabaptism because he performed the first adult baptism at the January 1525 meeting in Manz’s house. According to the Hutterite Chronicle, on the night of January 21, 1525 George Blaurok “stood up and asked Conrad Grebel in the name of God to baptize him with true Christian baptism on his faith and recognition of the truth.”

Grebel, like many of the other first generation leaders, was born into a relatively wealthy family and found inspiration in Renaissance Humanism. In his youth, he attended universities in Basel, Vienna, and Paris, finishing at none. Grebel was intensely drawn to humanist thought thanks in large part to Heinrich Glarean, with whom he studied in Basel and Paris. His propensity towards violence and womanizing, however, interfered with his studies and caused problems with the schools. Grebel eventually ended up back home in Zurich where he joined Zwingli in his reform efforts. Grebel was drawn to Zwingli’s Erasmian humanism, and Zwingli’s attitudes and ideas are evident in the works of his students, such as Grebel. Even the rejection of

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6 The early Hutterites kept excellent records. The most notable collection of these records is The Chronicle of the Hutterite Brethren, first compiled by the Vorsteher in the second half of the sixteenth century. Future generations continued to add to the volume up until 1665. The complete volume was unknown to European scholars of the next few centuries, existing only in the Russian Hutterite colonies and then in America. Rudolf Wolkan reintroduced the complete volume to the academic community in 1908 and prepared an edition of it in Vienna in 1923. A. J. F. Zieglschmid prepared another edition in 1943, preserving the original spelling and punctuation. The author has chosen to use an English translation that draws from both the Wolkan and Zieglschmid editions and was translated by the Hutterian Brethren in consultation with Mennonite historian Leonard Gross. For more information about the Hutterite Chronicle, see Robert Friedmann, “Hutterite Chronicles,” Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, 1953, <http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hutterite_Chronicles>.


8 Estep, 33.
infant baptism and embrace of adult baptism appear to have been Zwinglian in origin, although Zwingli never publically supported Anabaptist practices.

Another early reformer, George Blaurock, was a charismatic Swiss priest prior to joining Grebel and Manz in Zurich. He came to Zurich to meet with Zwingli, but was disappointed with his working method of allowing the city council to control the pace and degree of reform. In January of 1525 he was present at the bible study in Manz’s house where the first rebaptism occurred, and the Hutterite Chronicle records that there Blaurock asked Grebel to baptize him, and Blaurock in turn proceeded to baptize all others present.

One of Manz’s greatest contributions to Anabaptism was his emphasis on pacifism. Manz was the first and only first-generation Swiss leader to be outspoken in his opposition to the use of force and violence in the name of religious reform. Pacifism would eventually become a central tenet of the vast majority of Anabaptist groups. Manz was an educated man, like Grebel, and had also been drawn to Zwingli’s bible studies and eventually would participate in those held by the laity. Few of his writings survive today, but many of those that do reflect views that would become standard for various Anabaptist groups, including the Passau prisoners, such as the

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9 Blaurock translates to “blue coat,” possibly a reference to Blaurock’s dressing habits. In modern artistic renderings, George Blaurock is often depicted in blue.


11 The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren, 45.

12 Snyder notes that in letters penned to Thomas Müntzer, those sections referring to pacifism and nonviolence are clearly written in Manz’s hand, and few of the other early leaders felt very strongly on the matter. “The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism,” 526.

13 A notable exception is the Münster rebellion, discussed below.
aforementioned pacifism, or the insistence that baptism be performed only for people who wished to live a more holy life.\textsuperscript{14}

An event known as the disputation of October, 1523, or the second disputation of 1523, is likely the incident that prompted Grebel, Blaurock, Manz, and other early Swiss Anabaptists to split from Zwingli.\textsuperscript{15} During the disputation, Zwingli brought the concerns of his group before the Zurich city council and called into question the use of icons and the observance of the Mass. The council agreed to phase out these elements, but reserved the right to control the pace of reform. Zwingli happily submitted to their authority, being patient in his reform efforts. His radical followers, on the other hand, were not pleased with this concession.\textsuperscript{16} Grebel demanded the immediate abolition of the Mass, which he called an “abomination.”\textsuperscript{17} When Zwingli replied by tactfully deferring to the council’s authority, another of Zwingli’s followers named Simon Stumpf reportedly declared “Master Huldrych! You have no authority to place the decision in Milords’ [the council’s] hands…”\textsuperscript{18} The extremists’ anger eventually led them to meet without Zwingli and take matters of reform into their own hands, working outside the church and outside the city council.

\textsuperscript{14} Snyder, “The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism,” 532.

\textsuperscript{15} Disputations were public hearings where matters of theology were debated and the actions of people like Zwingli were evaluated. During the second disputation of October, 1523, Zwingli debated the merits of iconography and the Mass.

\textsuperscript{16} Snyder, “The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism,” 513.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 512.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 512–513.
Very little documented evidence survives detailing the exact nature of the Zurich radicals’ disagreements with Zwingli. Most of what is extant comes from Zwingli many years later, and there is reason to believe that his accounts may not be entirely truthful or accurate.\textsuperscript{19} Among other claims about the radical reformers, he described them as undertaking serious acts of sedition punishable by death. Snyder notes that Zwingli wrote some of these accounts several years after the incidents occurred, and could very well have been his attempt at revisionist history.\textsuperscript{20} Since Zwingli had condemned the actions of the Anabaptists, he was in part responsible for their eventual persecution. In these later writings he does not appear to address the matter of infant baptism directly, even though it was a central issue in the dispute. Those executed for practicing Anabaptism included several of Zwingli’s former followers, and he was likely trying to defend himself for his role in their deaths. Indeed, much of the scholarship on this subject goes to great lengths to discredit Zwingli’s accounts.\textsuperscript{21}

Whatever problems there may be with Zwingli’s writings, when read as a rationalization for his actions, they may reveal something of the nature of his relationships to the radicals after the disputation. Zwingli accused his radical former followers of suggesting the establishment of a separate church, encouraging the murder of priests, arguing against tithing, advocating for a community of goods,\textsuperscript{22} requesting that only people who knew they were without sin be allowed

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 520–521.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 521.

\textsuperscript{21} Snyder reviews this scholarship in “The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism,” 522.

\textsuperscript{22} A community of goods is a communistic economic system where the concept of individual ownership does not exist, but rather all things are held in common by the group, as inspired by the biblical
join the church, and supporting total political anarchy, all as part of an isolationist group.\footnote{Snyder, “The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism,” 521.}

Snyder proposes, however, that rather than advocating complete separation and isolation or “full-scale territorial reform,” the radicals had intended to follow the same model that would be used by other Anabaptists with whom they were communicating and who had also been significantly influenced by Zwingli, such as Balthasar Hubmaier and Wilhelm Reublin.\footnote{Ibid., 523.} This reform “would be supported by political power, but would define its own reform autonomously, without political interference…”\footnote{Ibid., 523.} which brings to mind Grebel’s and Stumpf’s frustrations regarding the disputation of October, 1523.

More convincing than Zwingli’s account of Anabaptist beliefs is a document known as the Schleitheim Confession, or the Schleitheim Articles, written in 1527 when regional Anabaptist leaders came together in the city of Schleitheim. The Schleitheim Articles are not necessarily reflective of earlier Anabaptist beliefs, and were not readily accepted by all early Anabaptist groups, but they did find favor in many communities.\footnote{Ibid., 557; Wenger and Snyder, “Schleitheim Confession,” GAMEO, 1990. <http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Schleitheim_Confession>.

book of Acts. While this was, indeed, a key feature of Moravian Anabaptism, there is little evidence that the Zurich reformers ever seriously tried to implement this system.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{Snyder, “The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism,” 521.}
  \item \footnote{Ibid., 523.}
  \item \footnote{Ibid., 523.}

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The text of the Schleitheim Confession is readily available from many sources in both the original German and in English translation, thanks to its popularity among modern Anabaptist groups.\textsuperscript{27} The document consists of seven articles describing Anabaptism as practiced in and around Switzerland. They are: baptism, the ban, the breaking of bread, separation from abomination, shepherds in the congregation, the sword, and the oath. While the articles explain themselves well enough, there are some points and that should be highlighted or that merit further explanation.

Adult baptism became the defining element among Anabaptist groups and the article concerning its practice supports the writings that come after it, including Riedemann’s \textit{Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith}, discussed below, and the songs of \textit{Etliche Geseng}. Baptism is reserved for those who have repented and now live according to Christ’s teachings. The strong language found in many criticisms of infant baptism also appears here, the practice being referred to as “the highest and chief abomination of the pope.”\textsuperscript{28} Baptism is also closely tied to the practice of communion as a prerequisite, outlined in the third article.\textsuperscript{29}

The fourth and sixth articles both reference violence, or “the sword,”\textsuperscript{30} and take a position that, while not initially popular with the early Anabaptists, eventually became a major defining principle throughout various branches of the movement, including the Passau prisoners. The first

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} The author has chosen to use John C. Wenger’s 1945 translation of a 1533 print of the Schleitheim Confession. The translation appears within his article on the document. John C. Wenger, "The Schleitheim Confession of Faith,” \textit{Mennonite Quarterly Review} 19, no. 4 (October 1945): 243–253.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 248.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 248–249.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 249–250.
\end{itemize}
mention of pacifism is in the fourth article, addressing “separation” from that which is evil. The writers insist that they, as true followers of God, must withdraw from the evil in the world and from “Babylon and earthly Egypt,” or the political and social world of Europe. The following paragraph makes clear that these are references to contemporary Catholic and Lutheran religious and political authorities, specifically calling out “popish and antipopish works and church services, meetings, and church attendance… civic affairs… and other things of that kind, which are highly regarded by the world….” These religious and political activities and locales are listed right alongside institutions more frequently rejected by devout religious authorities such as “drinking houses,” indicating the great disdain Anabaptists held for them. The last paragraph of this article addresses violence directly as the final item in a long list of “abominations”: “Therefore there will also unquestionably fall from us the unchristian, devilish weapons of force—such as sword, armor and the like, and all their use [either] for friends or against one’s enemies—by virtue of the word of Christ, Resist not [him that is] evil.”

The sixth article elaborates further on this pacifistic attitude, and is devoted entirely to the issue of “the sword.” One of the longer articles, this section of the confession provides a more nuanced critique of violence and reveals some of the conflict that existed among early Anabaptist leaders regarding pacifism. The authors indicate that violence is of God but is “outside the

31 Ibid., 249.
32 Ibid., 249.
33 Ibid., 249.
34 Ibid., 249–250.
perfection of Christ.”\textsuperscript{35} Therefore, the use of violence for the protection of good people and the punishment of evil was acceptable to these early Anabaptists. However, because Christ advocated against the use of violence, those who follow Christ (read: Anabaptists) should not be a party to such actions. Rather, punishment in Anabaptist communities was to be carried out via “the ban”: exclusion from religious activities such as communion and, in more extreme interpretations, the faith community. The section concerning the sword continues by addressing the issue of whether an Anabaptist might serve as a judge in the case of a dispute in which he might pass a sentence. The Anabaptists at Schleitheim wrote that they would opt to withdraw from such scenarios: the Anabaptist authors asserted that they simply would not serve as magistrates. By refusing to hold a position of political power, such as that of the magistrate, those gathered at Schleitheim reasoned that they could maintain separation from that which is worldly, as is stated in the fourth article.

This history, along with the evidence of the Schleitheim articles, gives witness to the earliest form of Anabaptism. As word of these events spread, other Anabaptist groups were influenced by them. Over time, many of the foundational ideals of Swiss Anabaptism also became theological tenets that many Anabaptist groups shared. This influence also found its way eastwards into Moravia, which became a chief destination for migrating Anabaptists seeking relief from persecution. It is the Anabaptists who ended up in Moravia that are responsible for the contrafacts of \textit{Etliche Geseng}.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 250.
II.2 Anabaptists in Moravia and Peter Riedemann’s *Account*

Anabaptism first found its way into Moravia in 1526 when Balthasar Hubmaier, formerly a Catholic priest and one of the more highly educated first-generation Anabaptist leaders,\(^{36}\) was invited to the region by the lord of Nikolsburg, Johann von Liechtenstein. It is likely that von Liechtenstein was baptized by Hubmaier, and from that time forward many Anabaptists found a home in Moravia.\(^{37}\) The political culture of Moravia probably also contributed to the tolerance of Anabaptism, as local lords greatly valued their autonomy and refused to be unified religiously, despite attempts by the ruling Hapsburgs to make Moravia exclusively Catholic.\(^{38}\) Landowners were happy to allow Anabaptists fleeing persecution in western Europe to work their land, and over time Anabaptists gained a reputation as highly skilled farmers.

The founder of the Moravian Anabaptist group that would eventually author the songs of *Etliche Geseng* was Philipp Plener, also called Philipp Blauärmel or Philipp Weber.\(^{39}\) Plener converted to Anabaptism in 1526 or 1527 near Strasbourg and was active for about the next

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\(^{36}\) The term “first-generation leaders” here refers to those individuals who joined the movement and died before 1530. These people were instrumental in the creation and initial spread of Anabaptism, but did not live long enough to see it evolve. Second-generation leaders, as defined in this document, are those active c. 1530-1550. These include figures such as Peter Riedemann, Jakob Hutter, David Joris, and Menno Simons.


\(^{38}\) Ibid.

\(^{39}\) Blauärmel (blue sleeves) and Weber (weaver) probably refer to Philipp Plener’s profession as a dyer or weaver. It was common for many Anabaptists exchange their real surnames for the names of their professions in order to help protect their identities. This trend helps explain some of the problems historians have had tracing the hymn author Michael Schneider, discussed below.
decade as a minor Anabaptist leader, moving to Auspitz in Moravia in 1527. Like most other Moravian groups, these followers of Plener, known as Philippites, adopted the practice of community of goods, where all possessions were shared among the group. These communities were known as *bruderhofs*. The three largest groups practicing community of goods in the region prior to 1531, the Philippites in Auspitz, the Gabrielites in Rossitz, and a group of Tyroleans also in Auspitz, merged in that year, selecting Gabriel Ascherham, leader of the Gabrielites, as their bishop. When a charismatic young leader named Jakob Hutter arrived from the Tyrol in 1533, the former leader of the Tyroleans was removed, and they became known as the Hutterites. Tension escalated among the three groups after Hutter’s arrival, and they broke apart along their original lines of separation. As the Philippite and Gabrielite leaders died and their followers began to scatter, group members still living in Moravia joined the Hutterites.

As Anabaptists who developed their beliefs while living in Moravia, the Philippites had much in common theologically with the other Moravian groups that eventually coalesced as the Hutterites. Perhaps the most striking difference between Moravian and early Swiss Anabaptists is the Moravians’ insistence on living in a community of goods, both a religious and economically advantageous practice. Some scholars speculate that “Wir schreyen zu dir” (*Etliche Geseng* 17) was actually removed from the collection when it became the *Ausbund* because it

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41 Friedmann, “Philippites.”

42 Friedmann, “Philipp Plenar (16th century).”

43 Ibid.
emphasized community of goods living. However, Riall points out that the Swiss Brethren in 1564 were no more inclined to endorse community of goods than later generations, that other songs with strong references to communal living were not removed, and that other songs that were not preserved in later editions made no reference to the practice.  

Few sources detailing the beliefs of early Moravian Anabaptists are extant, making it difficult to give a comprehensive explanation of that faith tradition. The most comprehensive document known to date is Peter Riedemann’s Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehr und Glaubens von den Brüdern, so man die Hutterischen nennt, ausgangen durch Peter Riedemann. The title translates to “Account of our Religion, Doctrine, and Faith of the Brethren that are called Hutterites, given by Peter Riedemann,” and is sometimes also known as Peter Riedemann’s Hutterite Confession of Faith; hereafter it will be referred to as Account. This document is considered to be the most authoritative description of early Hutterite (and thus Moravian) faith. Some even consider it to be greatest source on early Anabaptist belief and practice. An understanding of the Account is vital for an intertextual study of Etliche Geseng because it contains a number of theological expressions and religio-political attitudes also found in the Passau song collection.

Riedemann was a shoemaker in Austria and was first imprisoned as an Anabaptist from 1529 to 1532 in the city of Gmunden in Upper Austria. Soon after his escape he joined the

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46 Ibid., 61–62.
Moravian Anabaptists. This is also around the same time that Jakob Hutter arrived, as well. Riedemann did quite a bit of missionary work, spreading Anabaptist ideas throughout Franconia. He was arrested again in Nürnberg in 1533 and was released in 1537. Riedeman was imprisoned yet again in 1540, initially in Marburg, but was moved to Wolkersdorf soon thereafter. Riedemann was allowed to come and go from the Wolkersdorf castle as he pleased, as many Anabaptist prisoners at Wolkersdorf were allowed to do, so it is no surprise that he easily escaped and returned to Moravia in 1542.\(^{47}\) It is during this final imprisonment that Riedemann authored at least part of his *Account* as an explanation of his personal faith (and perhaps also that of the Hutterites more broadly) to his captors and to the Protestant ruler Philip of Hesse.

The *Account* is a juxtaposition of two documents, one written while Riedemann was in Marburg, the other while he was in Wolkersdorf. The publisher of the *Account* likely had no reason to consider chronology when publishing the document, and thus the letter from Wolkersdorf is in the first position and the work from Marburg is in the second. The Marburg portion of the account is also believed to have been written in response to the lines of questioning Riedemann was subjected to there, as well as to an agreement designed by the reformer Martin Bucer to ease tensions between Anabaptists and the territorial church in Hesse. The document, known as the Tasch/Bucer *concordia*, was a compromise that allowed the Anabaptists who agreed to it to live at variance with the local church. Riedemann evidently

\(^{47}\) Ibid., 64.
encountered questions about the *concordia* during the nine-day discussion between himself and local clergy shortly after his arrest early in 1540 and sought to respond to it in writing.\(^ {48}\)

This earlier document is divided into six “tracts” focused primarily on the separation of territorial church from the “true church.”\(^ {49}\) The first and second tracts outline this separation most clearly, attacking both Catholics and Lutherans. Riedemann is severely critical of other contemporary expressions of the Christian faith. Previous generations are said to have been “seduced by papistry,” and thus now live in sin of which they must repent.\(^ {50}\) Adult baptism is defended by the argument that those who have grown up in a community practicing a godless form of Christianity must willingly choose to repent of it, signified by baptism. Because Anabaptists considered the actions of Catholics and Lutherans not to have been motivated by God, “their baptism is naught.”\(^ {51}\) Riedemann continues by explaining how parents have led their children astray by teaching them how to confess God verbally but not to live righteously; the Lutherans, who have learned to serve God but have not left their “abominations,” are worse than their predecessors, even.\(^ {52}\) The second tract continues with less harsh language and functions more to affirm the holiness of the separated than to actively criticized Catholics and Protestants.

Such loathing for Catholics and Protestants, often lacking much in the way of subtlety, made its way into the songs of *Etliche Geseng*. “Wo kommt das her, o Jesu Christ” (*Etliche

\(^ {48}\) Ibid., 66–67.

\(^ {49}\) Ibid., 67.

\(^ {50}\) *Account*, 149.

\(^ {51}\) Ibid., 150.

\(^ {52}\) Ibid.
Geseng 48, Ausbund 125) is perhaps one of the most strongly-worded criticisms of Catholics, repeatedly referring to pope as “Satan” and lamenting his persecution of the “pious” (read: Anabaptists).\footnote{Stanza 38 most clearly connects the pope and Satan: the author claims that Satan “sells pardon in the place of God,” a clear reference to the sale of indulgences.” Riall, 423.} Other songs are more tactful, such as “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron” (Etliche Geseng 6, Ausbund 85). This song makes reference to the “Pharaoh,” who has hindered the signers, a probable reference to the Philippites’ Catholic captors or to the pope himself. This connection is strengthened by the intertextual analysis discussed in Chapter 3.

The Wolkersdorf portion of the account begins by spelling out Moravian Anabaptist beliefs as they relate to the Apostle’s Creed, paralleling the structure of the concordia, and by defending specific Hutterite practices.\footnote{Packull, 67.} Riedemann likely had a number of resources available to him as a function of the very loose security at the castle, perhaps receiving input from members of his home community in Moravia during their visits.\footnote{Ibid., 68.} One resource that Riedemann almost certainly had readily at his disposal is the Bible, as the Account contains almost two thousand references to scripture.\footnote{Ibid., 63.} The practice of incessantly referencing scripture was common among early Anabaptists and appears also in the Passau songs, though some inconsistencies suggest that perhaps these imprisoned authors were relying on memory or took some liberty with certain biblical narratives.
Beliefs expressed in both the Wolkersdorf section of the account and in *Etliche Geseng* include pacifism and the conviction that Christians live without sinning after adult baptism, the latter being the Anabaptist clarification of Luther’s “by faith alone” doctrine. Riedemann’s sections “Concerning Remorse” and “Concerning Repentance” outline the attitude Anabaptists should have concerning sin. One must first show remorse for one’s sinful behavior by recognizing “how wrong, evil, harmful and destructive [sins] are.” Remorse leads to repentance and each works within a person to ensure that they sin no more. The second song of *Etliche Geseng*, “Merkt auf ihr Völker allgemein,” is the one of several to address this idea, with phrases such as “If you would be saved, then you must leave your sins,” “one should leave one’s sins,” and “whoever, therefore, is forgiven of sin should not do it any more.” The contrafact clearly criticizes those who claim to be Christians but continue to live in sin, a sentiment echoed by Riedemann’s *Account*. To further direct this criticism towards Lutherans, the Passau prisoners chose a well-known Lutheran song as their model.

The “Concerning the Law” and “Concerning the Gospel” sections in the *Account* reveal the nuanced approach that Anabaptists took to the issue of salvation by faith. The complaint that Anabaptists had with the Lutheran *sola fide* doctrine is not so much the concept of faith, but rather the implications of a salvation by faith alone. Riedemann uses Mosaic law, that which “showeth, pointeth out and maketh men conscious of sin,” to demonstrate that salvation requires not only faith, but also an effort to avoid sinful behavior: salvation can only be achieved through

57 *Account*, 59.

58 Ibid., 59–61.

59 Stanzas 1, 2, and 5 as translated in Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*, 62–63.
recognition of sin, remorse for sin, and an effort to refrain from sin.\textsuperscript{60} The gospel, then, is the good news that God enables people to avoid sin through faith. This understanding of faith and salvation is expressed in “Herr Gott Vatter/von dir allein” (\textit{Etliche Geseng} 34, \textit{Ausbund} 112), which describes the entire process that Riedemann outlined in the \textit{Account}. The author describes being born pure while also falling from grace by his birth. The author lived in sin, which was made known to him through God’s law. Stricken with remorse, the author is saved by God’s grace and argues that those who have received such salvation should live no more in sin.

Lastly, Anabaptist pacifism is explained in such sections of Riedemann’s \textit{Account} as “Concerning Warfare” and “Concerning the Making of Swords.” Aside from adult baptism, pacifism is one of the most recognizable traits of many Anabaptist communities. Not originally of great import, pacifism became significant for those groups wishing to differentiate themselves from the Münsterites, discussed below. This was certainly the Passau prisoners’ strategy, and such a distinction was also made by Menno Simons in the Netherlands around the same time.\textsuperscript{61} In song, \textit{Vorsteher} Michael Schneider expressed such pacifist sentiment through “O Herre Gott in deinem Thron” (\textit{Etliche Geseng} 8, \textit{Ausbund} 87). The song emphasizes commands for

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Account}, 65.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{61} Hans Wiedemann, “The Story of the Anabaptists at Passau,” \textit{Mennonite Quarterly Review} 39, no. 2 (April 1965): 101–102. Menno Simons’s most important publication, \textit{A Foundation and Plain Instruction of the Saving Doctrine of Our Lord Jesus Christ}, first published in 1539, directly addresses the issue of the Münsterites in its “Appeal to Corrupt Sects” section. Additionally, in the 1871 English translation the preface begins with this note: “The following Preface shows to whom this book was addressed, and was written at the time when the errors of Munster [sic] yet prevailed.” This note from the nineteenth century indicates that distancing other Anabaptists from the Münsterites was a significant priority for quite some time. Menno Simons, “Foundation and Plain Instruction of the Saving Doctrine of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” in \textit{The Complete Works of Menno Simong}, ed. John F. Funk and Brother (n.p.: Forgotten Books, 2012).
\end{flushright}
Christians to love and generally espouses a loving message, all to the tune of “Ein feste Burg,” the famous Lutheran tune full of militant imagery.

II.3 The Anabaptists at Münster and the Philippite Migration

The Philippites’ migration back across the German lands was prompted by events that took place in the city of Münster in the early 1530s. The city council had instituted Lutheran reforms, but Münsterite reformer Bernhard Rothmann wished to see magisterial reforms like those of the Swiss cities. Influenced by an apocalyptic vein of Anabaptism associated with Anabaptist leader Melchior Hoffman, Rothmann openly advocated adult baptism beginning in 1533; he was baptized himself in 1534. Rothmann, along with preachers from Wassenberg, convinced the majority of Münster’s citizenry to support Anabaptism, leading to the overthrow of the city council. The expelled bishop of Münster then laid siege to the city for over a year. This siege would temporarily bring Catholics and Lutherans together to oppose Anabaptism. Jan Matthijs, a Melchiorite from the Netherlands, led the resistance until Easter of 1534, the day he had predicted the world would end. On that day, Matthijs led a group of about thirty in a charge against the bishop’s forces and all of them were slain. Jan van Leyden took his place, instituting a community of goods and legalizing polygamy.


63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.
The siege continued on through June of 1535, when the bishop’s forces finally gained entrance to the city. Jan van Leyden and others were captured, tortured, displayed in various parts of Europe, and then executed in January of 1536. Their bodies were hung in cages from the church tower as a warning against Anabaptism and against rebellion. The cages are still hanging there to this day (Figure 3).
Word of the Münsterite rebellion spread across Europe, and the clergy and the nobility redoubled their efforts to extinguish the Anabaptists. Anabaptist leaders, such as Menno Simons, repeatedly tried to distance themselves from the Anabaptists in Münster in their writings by denouncing the Münsterites and upholding the pacifism that was central in many other Anabaptist groups. When the ruling class in Moravia heard about the events in Münster, their tolerant attitude towards the Anabaptists living on their lands changed, and these Anabaptists, too, were forced to flee and go into hiding.

The onset of persecution in a previously friendly environment prompted the Philippites to move from Auspitz back to their homes in Swabia and Württemberg. Prior to setting out, Philipp Plener, in his last act as bishop, named Michael Schneider the new Vorsteher, or leader, of a group of about sixty people heading west along the Danube River. Near the city of Passau, fifty-two of this group were captured over the course of four weeks, including Schneider.

The officials at Passau had relatively few dealings with Anabaptists prior to 1535, as they had successfully crushed the Anabaptist groups that had sprung up in the earlier years of the movement. Most Anabaptists captured in Passau previously either recanted (some more than

66 Wiedemann, 101.

67 Michael Schneider is also known as Michael Yettelhauser. As mentioned previously, it was common for Anabaptists to be known by their professions rather than their real surnames. “Schneider” indicates that the Vorsteher was probably a tailor. John S. Oyer discusses the issue of Schneider’s name in more detail in his article “Michael Schneider: Anabaptist, Hymnist, Recanter,” Mennonte Quarterly Review 65, no. 3 (July 1991): 256–286.

68 Friedmann, “Philippites.”

69 Wiedmann, 101.
once) or were killed. The Philippites testified about their pacifism, vehemently denying any connection to the Münsterites and strongly objecting to the question of whether any of them had taken up arms against Christendom or the West, but were still not permitted to continue on their journey. They were spared death sentences, but were held indefinitely until most had either escaped or died. Only Hans Haffner and his wife, Agnes, were released, sometime between 1540 and 1555, by the new bishop: the two were banished from the country.

While in the prison at Passau the Philippites, led by Schneider, wrote many songs, all of them contrafacts. Anabaptists regularly sang in prisons. Several accounts are documented in The Martyr’s Mirror, a large, seventeenth-century historical account of Anabaptism compiled from various written accounts by the Anabaptist Thieleman J. van Braght. Anabaptists even sang while being burned at the stake, to the point where executioners began to use tongue screws to silence them.

The socio-economic backgrounds of many early Anabaptists may have prompted the decision to create contrafacts rather than newly composed songs. Aside from some of the most famous first- and second-generation leaders, many Anabaptists were members of the middle-class or the laity, and likely had minimal musical training. As early as the proto-Anabaptist movement in Zurich leaders like Grebel and Manz directly supported the reading and

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., 102.

72 The Martyr’s Mirror; Durance, 2.

73 Tongue screws were small hinges that would be clamped over the tongue and tightened in order to make it swell to the point that the victim could no longer speak.
interpreting of scripture among the laity, an attitude that was at one time supported even by the Zurch city council.\footnote{Snyder, “The Birth and Evolution,” 505, 508.}

The Schleitheim Confession hints at how few educated persons operated within the early Anabaptist movement when it treats the issue of pastors in the church. The confessional document makes no mention of special education or training for leaders, but rather lists the only requirement for becoming a leader as being “one who out-and-out has a good report [is respected] of those who are outside the faith.”\footnote{Wenger, 250.} Should a pastor meet some unfortunate end, a common occurrence in hostile Europe, a new one is to be ordained “in the same hour,” presumably from same community.\footnote{Ibid.} Perhaps as many as eighty percent of sixteenth century leaders were “middle- and lower-echelon leaders who remain faceless and almost nameless,”\footnote{Oyer, 256–257.} leaving behind very little written evidence of their existence, perhaps also indicative of their middle-class or commoner status in contemporary society.

A number of Anabaptists are identified not by name, but by trade. Michael Schneider, one of the two most represented authors in \textit{Etliche Geseng}, was in all likelihood a tailor (Schneider translates to tailor), and one of his companions, Hans Pfeiffer, who was also called Hans Beck, a baker (Beck translates to baker). This widespread trend indicates that many Anabaptists were, indeed, of a working class. As such it is unlikely that many Anabaptists, if any, had extensive musical training. In a movement overwhelmingly led and populated by

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\footnotemark] Snyder, “The Birth and Evolution,” 505, 508.
\item[\footnotemark] Wenger, 250.
\item[\footnotemark] Ibid.
\item[\footnotemark] Oyer, 256–257.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
common people with very limited education, it is no wonder that simple, monophonic songs became the standard repertoire. This is not to say, however, that Anabaptists with some musical facility did not exist.

These working class Philippites composed the contrafacts of *Etliche Geseng* with full awareness of the short history of their religious movement. The content of the songs reflects Moravian Anabaptist values and was conceived of in contrast to contemporary faith communities (i.e., Catholics and Lutherans). Beyond the surface-level content of the contrafacts, however, lies deeper meaning that is uncovered though a study of the intertextual relationships between source text and contrafact text. These relationships emphasize many of the beliefs outlined by the survey of early Anabaptist history and theology, and demonstrate one of many ways the radical reformers interacted with those around them.
Chapter III: Intertextual Relationships

III.1 Types of Intertextual Relationships

The world of sixteenth century contrafacts is fertile ground for the study of intertextuality. Superimposing a new text on a melody associated with an existing and familiar text creates intertextual relationships. Those contrafacts without musical notation rely solely on textual rubrics, or tonangaben, to communicate the appropriate melody. As such, these contrafacts are accessible only to singers familiar with the original melody and text, forcing the contemporary singer to recall first the original tune and its text, and to then substitute the new text for the old.

Contrafacts were widespread throughout German-speaking territories in the form of pamphlets and broadsides. Sermons, propagandistic messages, and songs spread through these media were intended to be read or sung aloud by literate people in the company of their fellow citizens who could not read.¹ The wedding of text and melody, especially of a new text to a familiar melody, increases the memorability of said text. The juxtaposition of messages, one heard with the mind’s ear, the other sung aloud, adds new and deeper meaning to the song. Hans Sachs, the famous Meistersinger, participated in this tradition by “translating and ‘Christianly correcting’ eight traditional songs in 1524 and 1525.”²

² Ibid., 104.
The composition of the *Etliche Geseng* contrafacts was primarily text oriented, not only as a function of the genre generally, but also because the Passau prisoners were working class individuals without musical training. The conditions within the Passau prison were also not as relaxed as those in Wolkersdorf, where Peter Riedemann was held and had free access to a variety of written materials, such as bibles, and was allowed to come and go as he pleased. Yet the Philippites must have had some degree of liberty, as they were able to write down and disseminate at least fifty-three songs. They may have even had access to German bibles, as the contrafacts contain a large number of scriptural allusions. At least one prisoner, *Vorstieher* Michael Schneider, was entertained in the home of one of his examiners prior to his recantation, escape, and resettlement in Nuremburg.\(^3\) Most prisoners maintained their Anabaptist convictions and produced songs of theological significance throughout their term of imprisonment, which ended in death for many.\(^4\)

The format of these songs as they are preserved in *Etliche Geseng* is consistent with other contemporary broadsides and pamphlets, including other Anabaptist pamphlets. Figure 4 depicts a representative page from the 1564 collection: the heading begins with “Ein ander Lied,” followed by an indication of a source tune either with the phrase “im thon” or “in der weiß,” the incipit of the source tune, and the initials of the author of the new text, “M. S.” for Michael Schneider in this case. The identification of a tune with an existing text was vital not only for the

\(^3\) The fifty-three songs are those collected in *Etliche Geseng*. The songs contain numerous scriptural references, indicating that the prisoners either had access to a Bible they could understand, or they knew much of the scripture they used by memory. Evidence of Michael Schneider’s visits to the house of his examiner, Ruprecht von Mosham, is cited in John S. Oyer, “Michael Schneider: Anabaptist Leader, Hymnist, Recanter,” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 65, no. 3 (July 1979): 263.

singing of a contrafact, but also for the conveyance of its message through intertextual relationships.

Figure 4 Facsimile of Etliche Geseng, f. 10r
Oettinger emphasizes the importance of intertextuality in her book *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*: “The concept of intertextuality is crucial to a proper understanding of Reformation-era polemical song. Although some songs were set to new melodies, the vast majority recycled old tunes, the messages of which were retained in part or in whole, intentionally or unintentionally.” Modern audiences are, of course, unable to fully understand all the implications of a given sixteenth-century text pairing, but careful study of the intertextual relationships created by contrafacts still significantly informs a modern reading of them. Oettinger continues by introducing a classification system for these relationships within the Protestant-Catholic repertory.

Oettinger identifies three categories that describe the relationships apparent in her chosen repertory: transmutation, or correction; apposition, or redefining God’s enemies; and inversion, or *verkherte Welt*. Many examples of transmutation involved using a Marian song to set a Christocentric text, thereby “correcting” the worship of Mary, as the Lutherans understood the practice to be idolatrous. Hans Sachs created several contrafacts on Marian tunes, such as “Maria zart” (changed to “O Jesu zart”), shifting their focus from Mary to her son.7 Contrafacts with an appositive relationship to their model invited singers and listeners to “hear between the lines” to make connections between texts. One of the most popular models for appositive contrafacting was “O du armer, Judas.” Contrafacts within this complex used the tune’s association with the

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5 Oettinger, 102.

6 Ibid., 103–104.

7 Ibid., 104 ff.
betrayer of Christ to cast contemporary figures as Christ’s enemies. The pope was frequently the
target of these songs. Inverted contrafact texts bear little or no connection to the texts of their
source tunes. Rather, the intertextual relationship is not created by the contents of the original
text, but rather the faction with which the model tune is associated. Contrafacters were able to
use the tune to launch an attack against its associated faith community. According to Oettinger,
“by retexting songs that were well loved by Catholics, Protestants also had a potent tool to mock
traditional believers.” As an example, one contrafact on the Christmas carol “Resonet in
laudibus” reads as follows:

You priests, heed what I say:
many of you are already mourning.
No peasant will have any funeral Mass
any more; Luther writes
that it is deception.
Your annual fair is ending,
the anniversaries are also ripped asunder,
what a shame!
Eya, eya.
Thus your church consecration also has no more value,
and nobody respects a pilgrimage anymore,
everything comes to an end.
Today everything is over,
this year everything is over that brought
much money into your household for a long time.

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8 Ibid., 112 ff.
9 Ibid., 123.
10 Ibid., 131.
While both inversion and transmutation criticize beliefs and practices of another group, transmutation specifically addresses ideas presented by the text of the model song, while inversion attacks the faction to which the song is thought to belong more generally.\textsuperscript{11}

Each of these methods of contrafacting is in some way cognitively dissonant: each presents a new text that in some way contradicts the existing one. However some Anabaptist contrafacts clearly draw meaning from the juxtaposition of new and old texts without presenting dissonance. As such, I propose qualifying Oettinger’s theoretical framework by using a two-part description for each class of intertextual relationship in the Anabaptist context. The first descriptor is either dissonant, as in Oettinger’s categorization of the Lutheran repertory, or consonant, applicable to relationships in which the source text reinforces the newly composed text. The second part of the description details more specifically the nature of the dissonant or consonant intertextual relationship. This would include Oettinger’s categories of transmutation, apposition, and inversion, as well as other similar categories that emerge from a close study of \textit{Etliche Geseng}.

\textbf{III.2 Consonant Affirmation}

In cases of consonance, the original text supports the new text in some way. These are points of agreement between early Anabaptist theology and ideas explored in the repertory from which they drew. When the imprisoned Philippites contrafacted a song written by an Anabaptist, this was the primary relationship between texts.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 122 ff.
The single most used tune in *Etliche Geseng*, “Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heiden,” is of probable Hutterite origin, and is an example of an Anabaptist source tune. “Ein Blümlein” itself appears in Hutterite songbooks with a *tonangabe* of its own, “Tollner’s melodie,” which is perhaps a *Volkslied*. Thus, “Ein Blümlein” itself is also a contrafact.\(^\text{12}\) The Passau collection makes no reference to this original melody, however, leading one to conclude that either the Passau prisoners or *Etliche Geseng’s* editor knew the Moravian Anabaptist song independent of its source tune. This renders the intertextual relationship between “Blümlein” and “Tollners melodie” irrelevant: the singers using *Etliche Geseng* would have been prompted by the *tonangabe* to recall the Hutterite text, rather than that of “Tollner’s Melodie.”

\[\text{\cite{Sommer1973}}\]

\[\text{\cite{Duerksen1956}}\]

\[\text{\cite{Riall2003}}\]

Since no extant sources indicate that “Ein Blümlein” was, in fact, part of either a sacred or a secular folk tradition, it is most likely that the Passau authors or the *Etliche Geseng* editors considered all songs that used the “Blümlein” *tonangabe* to be derived from a Moravian Anabaptist source. The present study is not concerned with the origin of a given melody, as Sommer and Duerksen are, but rather with what text the melody was associated in the mind of the contrafactor. Therefore, “Ein Blümlein” and all other models songs with multiple associated texts will be classified by the text indicated by the *tonangabe*: “Ein Blümlein” will be considered a Moravian Anabaptist song, and an intertextual analysis will draw only from the Anabaptist text of the model.
“Blümlein” itself appears to be a song well-suited for singing in prison. The text, a sample of which is provided below, bemoans the woes of those who are hated by the world for following Jesus, using the imagery of a lone flower on the heath. Based on its frequent use in *Etliche Gesneg* as a *tonangabe*, it likely also enjoyed heavy use with its original text as a Philippite lament for their imprisonment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ein Blümlein auf der Haiden,</th>
<th>A little flower on the heath,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Das mag wohl Jesus sein,</td>
<td>That may well be Jesus,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darum trag ich groß Leide,</td>
<td>Therefore I bear great sorrow,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daß ich nicht bei ihm sollt sein.</td>
<td>That I shall not be with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darum will ich mich maßen,</td>
<td>Therefore I will take my measure,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will all Welt lassen stan,</td>
<td>I will reject all the world,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mein eigen Willen hassen,</td>
<td>I will hate my own will,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wohl auf der engen Straßen,</td>
<td>Happy on the narrow path,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will auf die Heiden angahn.</td>
<td>I will challenge the heathens.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herr Gott in deinem Reiche,</th>
<th>Lord God in your kingdom,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vater im Himmels-Thron,</td>
<td>Father on the throne of heaven,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erhör uns gnädigliche,</td>
<td>graciously hear what we pray to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was wir dich bitten thun.</td>
<td>Do not leave your people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thu dein Volk nicht verlassen</td>
<td>In this valley of sorrow,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In diesem Jammerthal,</td>
<td>the whole world hates us,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alle Welt thut uns hassen,</td>
<td>cruel beyond measure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grausam über die Massen,</td>
<td>It persecutes us everywhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verfolgt uns überall.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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14 Author’s translation.


Since “Blümlein” is from the the Moravian Anabaptist tradition to which the Philippites also belonged, the intertextual relationships between it and its contrafacts do not fit into the framework Oettinger established for the Lutheran repertory. Transmutation, apposition, and inversion are all critical of the model or the faction with which the model is associated, the Passau prisoners did not criticize their own tradition in the contrafacts of Etliche Geseng. The new texts in Etliche Geseng confirm that the apparent relationships between “Ein Blümlein” and its contrafacts are consonant: they affirm the sentiments expressed in Blümlein’s text. These contrafacts expand on the imagery of Jesus and his followers being spurned by an evil world. “Herr Gott in deinem Reiche” (Etliche Geseng 18, Ausbund 96) is an excellent example of this type of consonant affirmative relationship. The abgeseng of the first stanza reads “Do not leave your people/in this valley of sorrow./The whole world hates us./cruel beyond measure” (full first stanza below).\textsuperscript{17} This recalls the corresponding section of the source tune, which declares the evil of world: “I will reject all the world… I will challenge the heathens.”\textsuperscript{18}

III.3 Consonant Authority

Other instances of the “Ein Blümlein” tune are not quite as clearly related. “Ein Liedlein will ich singen” (Etliche Geseng 10, Ausbund 89), authored by Hans Betz, parallels quite closely the first line of the model (Blümlein, Liedlein; Heiden, singen), but bears little resemblance to its content. The contrafact reads as a confession of faith regarding communion rather than

\begin{enumerate}
\item Translated in Riall, \textit{The Earliest Hymns}, 151.
\item Author’s translation, “Will all Welt lassen stan…Will auf die Heiden ansgahn.” \textit{Die Lieder der Huttersichen Brüder}, 321.
\end{enumerate}
proclaiming the injustices of persecution at the hands of an evil world. In this case, “Blümlein” might be seen as a source of consonant authority for a statement of faith. Because the tune’s referenced text belongs to the same Moravian Anabaptist tradition as the contrafacters, the tune is particularly well-suited to carry such a statement.

“The Liedlein” outlines the details of Anabaptist faith regarding communion while also referencing a belief in salvation achieved solely through faith in Jesus, asserting the importance of community, and surreptitiously attacking Catholic oppressors (verses 1–3, 5, and 15 are reproduced below). The first stanza serves as an invocation. It calls on God while also using imagery that recalls the Eucharist, foreshadowing the content of the subsequent sixteen verses.19

The Anabaptist beliefs in the importance of the consumption (reading) of scripture and the strictly symbolic power of the Eucharist are outlined in verses two and three: the word, which could refer to either scripture or to Christ, is metaphorically compared to food, while “what goes in through the mouth,” which would include the Eucharist, “does not nourish the soul,” but rather “strengthens only the body.”20 The distinction between Christ as the metaphoric bread and Christ as present in the Eucharist is explored in the fifth verse, where Betz paraphrases the biblical book of John: “I [Chirst] am the bread for life,/not as the Fathers there in the wilderness ate bread/and still died.”21 Stanzas six through nine, also reference adult baptism, while verse fifteen ridicule the Catholic Church for its use of ornate iconography.

19 Riall also makes note of the Eucharistic connection, Ibid., 94, 99.

20 Translated by Riall, Ibid., 94.

21 This clarifies Betz’s previous statement that the bread promised to the ancient Israelites, while analogous with the mana eaten in the wilderness after the Exodus, was actually Christ. Stanza four could be read in support of transubstantiation, “Heaven’s bread…refers to Christ,” thus prompting the clarifying stanza five. Riall, The Earliest Hymns, 94–95.
1. Ein Liedlein will ich singen,
   Das sollt ihr wohl verstahn,
   Von himmelischen Ding
   Thu ich es heben an.
   Die Speiß sollen wir niessen,
   Allhie in dieser Zeit.
   Herr Gott! laß uns her fliessen
   Dein göttlich Wort so süsse,
   Daß wirs schmecken bereit.

2. Zwo Speiß, vernimm mich eben,
   Der Mensch allhie geneußt.
   Die erst ist Geist und Leben,
   Das göttlich Wort sie heißt.
   Das ist die Speiß alleine
   Der Seelen in der Zeit,
   Fleußt her von Gott so reine,
   Machet mit ihm gemeine,
   Wohl in die Ewigkeit.

3. Die ander Speiß thu merken,
   Dieselb der Natur ist,
   Den Leib allein thu stärken
   Allhie in dieser Frist.
   Was eingeht durch den Munde,
   Dasselb die Seel nicht speißt,
   Ihr Speiß halt du vernommen,
   Von Gott thu sie herkommen,
   Sie ist der Heilig Geist.

5. Christus thut Zeugniß geben
   Im Evangelio,
   Ich bin das Brod zum Leben,
   Nicht wie die Väter doch
   In der Wüsten Brod gessen,
   Und doch gestorben seyn.
   Sein Wort soll’n wir ermess
   Das gibt der Seelen Raste,
   Ist Geist, Leben Allein.

15. Darum auch hat gesehen
    Abram des Herren Tag,
    Das ist allein geschehen,
    Durch Gottes Geist und Gab.
    Laß dir das Ziel nicht rücken,
    Welches ist Jesus Christ,
    Der Feind der thu sich schmücken
    Mit sein verkehrten Stücken,
    Damit betriegend ist. 22

“Ein Liedlein” clearly outlines several Anabaptist beliefs that differ from other contemporary theologies. However, unlike the contrafacts examined by Oettinger, this contrafact references a song of the Anabaptist tradition. Thus, the choice of model does not assert differences between Anabaptist and other contemporary belief systems. Rather, the choice of a

22 Ausbund, 464–465, 469.
song “owned” by Anabaptists reinforces that Anabaptist ownership of the beliefs outlined in the contrafact.

Another way that Anabaptists practiced consonant authoritative contrafacting is in the use of a source tune of the same or of a similar genre, but from another tradition. This appears in *Etliche Geseng* in the form of metrical renderings of Psalms. The presentation of paraphrased Psalm texts in the vernacular was common during the Reformation. The Anabaptists were evidently familiar with some of the popular German Lutheran metrical Psalms, using them as source tunes for their contrafacts. Some of the most popular examples in *Etliche Geseng* include “Aus tiefer not,” Psalm 130, and “Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchten steht,” Psalm 128.

Luther’s “Aus tiefer not,” was the model for two contrafacts: “Wen der Herr die Gfengknus Zion” and “Herr Gott streit wider meine feindt,” both of which are Psalm paraphrases (Psalm 126 and Psalm 35, respectively). It is likely, then, that the Anabaptists found “Aus tiefer not” to be an especially appropriate tune for their metrical Psalm rendering because it already set another Psalm. While the texts of source tune and contrafact bear little resemblance to one another in content, both are in the same genre. The consonant relationship between the songs in the listener’s mind is a result of the roots both texts have in the Psalms.

Another body of source tunes with largely consonant intertextual relationships are daybreak, or tageweis, songs. Many contrafacts of these daybreak songs are also Psalm paraphrases. While originally Volkslieder or Minnesänger songs, they gained an increasingly strong connotative association in the sixteenth century with devotion.23 Some of these songs appear to no longer be extant, such as “Tagweis von eins königs Tochter,” and “Gegen dem tag

23 Duerksen, 104.
hört man die hanen Fräen.” The famous lied “Ich stund an einem morgen” is also among the
tagweis songs referenced in Etliche Geseng and bears striking poetic and formal resemblance to
those contrafacts based on the aforementioned unknown “Tagweiß von eins königs Tochter.” It
is impossible to determine, however, whether the “königs Tochter” tagweiß is another name for
“Ich Stund an einem morgen” or whether it references another song of the same genre with a
similar structure.

III.4 Consonant Apposition

“In Gottes namen heb’n wir an” (Etliche Geseng 44, Ausbund 121) provides a final
element example of a consonant intertextual relationship. The tonangabe, “Jörg Wagners Ton,” is
actually of very little help to modern scholars in identifying the song to which it refers. The
Anabaptist martyr Jörg Wagner is the author of one extant hymn preserved both in the first part
of the Ausbund and in Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder. However, of all the contrafacts set to
“Jörg Wagners Ton,” “In Gottes namen” and twenty-one others, have five lines per stanza, while
the song by Wagner has eight.24 A poetic match can be found, however, in song written about
Wagner, rather than by him: “Wer Christo hie will folgen nach” (Ausbund 11, Die Lieder Der
Hutterischen Bruder pg. 10).25

This source tune fits firmly in the genre of the martyr song, a musical work about an
Anabaptist or other person of faith who was killed on account of his or her beliefs. While this
genre is common among Anabaptist circles and appears in the first part of the Ausbund, it is

24 Ibid., 133.

25 Duerksen, 134.
apparently absent from the Passau collection. The text holds Wagner up as a man to be admired for his piety. An introduction addresses a young listener, lecturing him or her about the sacrifices following Christ requires and cautioning that following Christ may require the listener to bear Jesus’s cross: “Das Creuz er auch muß tragen.”26 The second stanza brings in the character of “Jörg der Wagner” and explains that he was a man who lived a life in accordance with the traits espoused by the first verse: “Also that Jörg der Wagner auch.”27

The content of the Passau contrafact, “In Gottes namen heb’n wir an,” parallels that of the martyr song. Hans Betz, the author of this contrafact, prays that “we may remain [God’s] witness… even as far as death,” and “Whoever… wants to be a servant of Christ…must suffer persecution.”28 Betz repeatedly writes of death throughout this song and of the rewards of martyrdom in a way that resonates strongly with the text of the source tune. This is as close as any of the songs in Etliche Geseng come to the popular genre of the martyr song.

With both model and contrafact being of the same genre, the martyr song, the relationship is one of consonant authority, similar to Anabaptist contrafacts of Psalm paraphrases. However, in considering the subject of “In Gottes namen heb’n wir an,” the corporate “we”—himself and his fellow prisoners—that Betz emphasizes throughout, it appears that he has replaced the subject of the original song. This reading resembles Oettinger’s category of apposition. As mentioned above, in this category a figure in a model song is often replaced with a different

26 Ausbund, 60.
27 Ibid., 60.
28 Riall, 384, 385.
figure in its contrafact, primarily in an effort to cast the latter in the position of an enemy of God, a contradictory or dissonant relationship.29 In “In Gottes namen hab’n wir an,” Betz replaced the figure of Wagner with his companions. Thus this song exemplifies the category of consonant apposition.

III.5 Dissonant Transmutation

The Passau prisoner also engaged heavily in dissonant contrafacts similar to those described by Oettinger. The category of transmutation includes works considered to be “a reclamation of… Medieval folk piety… and an attempt to improve upon the original [text].”30 Transmutation addresses theological ideas presented in the source text by changing them to satisfy the beliefs of the contrafacter. As such, transmutation is an inherently dissonant category. The clearest of Oettinger’s examples of transmutation comes from Hans Sachs, a shoemaker and Meistersinger from Nuremberg. Sachs created contrafacts on eight traditional songs in 1524 and 1525, adjusting each to reflect Lutheran perspectives on the same subjects.31 Sachs’s transmuted songs were published on broadsides and used the names of the source tunes as titles for each, with the addition of “changed and Christianly corrected.”32 The practice of altering theological

29 Oettinger, 112 ff.
30 Ibid., 104.
31 Ibid., 104–105.
ideas presented in a given song in order to appeal to a Protestant audience became central to Lutheran songwriting.33

The Anabaptists, too, practiced transmutation as a way to “correct” the theological ideas presented in the text of a song. Some previous studies considered Etliche Geseng and its successor, the Ausbund, to be nothing more than a reclamation of secular tunes or of songs that were not theologically correct to the Anabaptist mind.34 As has been demonstrated above, however, these contrafacts are much more than a simple cleansing of popular tunes.

In an article exploring some of the possibilities presented by Oettinger’s analyses of Lutheran contrafacts, Maureen Epp demonstrates a (dissonant) transmutative relationship in “O Gott Vater ins Himmels Throne,” Ausbund 55, though she did not call it such.35 This contrafact is based on the Catholic hymn “Pange lingua,” which potentially prompted the contrafactor to address theological positions relating to communion. The author, in fact, contrasts Catholic and Anabaptist understandings of the practice through the process of contrafacting.

Thomas Aquinas’s “Pange lingua,” widely known in German translations in the sixteenth century contemplates the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Therefore, it would be a comfortable choice for Anabaptists to use when addressing the issue of communion.36 The

33 Ibid., 112.

34 This conclusion is perhaps most explicitly stated in Durance, 31.


36 The other possible source tune is Fortunatus’s “Pange lingua,” which considers the Passion story and its theological implications. Epp concludes that because Aquinas’s hymn was in such wide use due to its association with the Feast of Corpus Christi, was translated into the German vernacular several
Anabaptist text connects suffering and communion, emphasizes fellowship as part of the sacrament, and states that in order to understand and participate in the act, one must renounce the ways of the world and live a holy life. Noticeably absent from “O Gott Vater in Himmels Throne” is any mention of transubstantiation, since the Anabaptists were strongly opposed to this doctrine. Therefore, the Anabaptist contrafact “corrects” the Catholic understanding of communion represented in “Pange lingua” and its associated doctrine by substituting a distinctly Anabaptist understanding of the same: communion as a practice of fellowship reserved for those living a holy life according to an Anabaptist interpretation of the Bible and inherently tied to suffering, rather than as the divine mystery of transubstantiation.

An example of dissonant transmutation within the Passau collection is Michael Schneider’s “O Herre Gott in deinem thron” (Etliche Geseng 8, Ausbund 87). Here Schneider contrasts Anabaptist and Lutheran, rather than Anabaptist and Catholic, beliefs regarding violence and pacifism using the Lutheran source tune “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.” The Anabaptist contrafact is significantly longer than its Lutheran model at twenty-two stanzas; “Ein feste Burg” has only four. As such, the Anabaptist contrafact can hardly be expected to offer a line-by-line commentary on the model. The extreme length is due in part to the fact that Schneider does not always feel compelled to confine individual thoughts or sentences to single stanzas, resulting in multiple instances of enjambment. Rather than limiting each verse to a

times, and has a connection to the Anabaptist text, it is more likely to be the tune referenced by the Tonangabe of “O Gott Vater ins Himmels Throne.” Epp, 46.

37 The fifth stanza of “O Gott Vater in Himmels Throne” specifically states that “the old man must completely perish/with his works…” in Epp’s translation. Epp, 44–45.
single idea, for instance, the first three stanzas together form an exegesis of the scriptural passage Matthew 22.37–40.

Beyond enjambment between stanzas, Schneider also stretches some of his sentences across two subsequent verses, as in stanzas two and three. As such “O Herre Gott in deinem Thron,” is hardly a shining example of poetic artistry. Riall concludes that great artistic aspirations were far from the minds of the Passau prisoners, who were instead “exploring… how they might replace traditional learning with inner enlightenment,” where “traditional learning” refers to acquisition of poetic and literary skill.38 Being more concerned with content than with form, it is of little surprise that this contrafact, alongside many others, functions more like a twenty-two-verse sermon than a popular or memorable song in the Lutheran tradition. However, even though Schneider deviates from his model in its length and by introducing enjambment, he does retain the standard bar form of the Lutheran original.

The Lutheran model “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott” speaks of being beset by enemies and triumphing over them through the help of Jesus Christ. The first stanza sets up the conflict by referring to God as “defense and weapon” and subsequently introduces the “old, evil enemy.” On the surface, the “old, evil enemy” appears to reference Satan, the biblical enemy of God and God’s people. However, the Protestants may have also been referencing the pope or Catholicism in general, those being old figures against which the young Protestant movement was fighting both ideologically and militarily. The literal military conflict between Lutherans and Catholics plays particularly well into the image of a “battlefield” Luther presents in subsequent verses.

38 Riall, First Suffering, 32.
The second stanza depicts a hopeless situation wherein the righteous Lutherans are helpless at the hands of their enemies. Hope is given to the Protestants as God chooses a man to defend them: Jesus Christ. The third stanza predicts the Lutherans’ eventual triumph over their enemies, and the fourth assures them of this victory, if not in this life, then in “the Kingdom,” referring to heaven.

“O Herre Gott in deinem Thron,” on the other hand, speaks of love for one’s neighbor. The first three stanzas introduce the topic of love by referencing the biblical passage Matthew 22.37–40, a conversation between a Pharisee and Jesus: “He [Jesus] said to him [the Pharisee], ‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.’ This is the first and greatest commandment. And a second is like it: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”

Subsequent verses of “O Herre Gott in deinem Thron” refer to a variety of scriptural passages that deal with the subject of love, often love for one’s neighbor. These citations are drawn from the biblical books of John, Romans, 1 Corinthians, and 1 John. Such a wealth of allusions to the Bible indicates not only Schneider’s familiarity with scripture (significant because Schneider probably did not receive formal theological training), but also that his audience would probably be familiar with these passages. All of the references are from the New Testament, a common trend among Anabaptist writings and teachings.

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40 Riall, 80–85.

41 Alternatively, Schneider may have referenced these passages as a Vorsteher attempting to teach principles of the Anabaptist faith to his followers. However, since Schneider and his fellow prisoners were already staunch Anabaptists, it seems more likely that this song and the others in the collection were written as a comfort rather than as an instructional tool, although they may have been
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott

1. A sturdy fortress is our God
a good defense and weapon.
He helps us free from all afflictions
that have now befallen us.
The old, evil enemy
now means to deal with us seriously;
great power and much cunning
are his cruel armaments;
on earth is not his equal.

2. With our own strength is nothing
done,
very soon we are entirely lost;
but fighting for us is the righteous
man,
whom God himself has chosen.
Do you ask, who he is?
His name is Jesus Christ,
the Lord Sabaoth
and there is no other God;
he must hold the battlefield

3. And if the world were full of devils
who wanted to devour us entirely,
we would not fear so much,
we will succeed nevertheless.
The prince of this world,
no matter how angry he appears,
he will nevertheless do nothing to us;
that means, he is already judged.
A little word can bring him down.

4. The Word they shall leave
standing
and receive no thanks for this;
he is certainly with us on the

O Herre Gott in deinem thron

1. O Lord God in your throne
You have given first
to your people many laws and customs
by which shall they live.
At the same time, all
have been destroyed [but] two through
Jesus Christ
which is love
to you and the neighbor

2. We heard the same
from Christ our Lord
when he speaks the law will stand
As the prophets teach.
All is fulfilled in two commandments
The first is love God with your heart
in all your mind
with all your soul and powers

3. regarding the other, also do love
as your neighbor as yourself
Then you have already fulfilled
the law and the prophets.
For what man loves God,
keeps his commandments,
shall be recognized by this
yes who are
the men who love God

4. Who now says he loves God
and but does not keep
With whole diligence/assiduity his
commandments
shall be chastised [as] a liar
for Christ himself has said:
Who keeps stiffly to my commandment

used as such by others outside of the prison. Werner Packull, on the other hand, suggests that Peter Riedemann had access to a Bible during his imprisonment half a decade earlier in Austria. Werner O. Packull, “The Origins of Peter Riedemann’s Account of our Faith,” Sixteenth Century Journal 30, no. 1 (1999): 63. It is possible, then, that the Passau prisoners had similar access, although there is no way to know for certain.
battlefield
with his spirit and talents.
They may take your life,
goods, honor, child, and wife,
let all this occur
yet from it they have no profit;
The Kingdom still remains for us.  

5. Who has been born of God
since God himself is love
all that he has chosen
they practice it.
Love is never lacking
It affects the good
for all time
it is ready
For God's praise and honor

6. It does no harm to one's neighbor
as Paul teaches us
It is always ready
to honor one's brother highly
it is already peaceable and friendly
has no anger
nor has
any deception nor does it lie
instead [it does what is] good from the heart

The message of “O Herre Gott in deinem Thron” is reinforced and clarified by the concept of dissonant transmutation when considered in the context of its source tune, “Ein feste Burg.” First, Lutheran songs were actually popular amongst the Münsterite Anabaptists, as mentioned above in Chapter II. For the Passau prisoners, this association would have highlighted the militant tone of Luther’s lyrics, and no doubt the Anabaptist contrafacters were eager to distance themselves from such acts of violence. Indeed, upon their capture the Passau

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43 Riall, The Earliest Hymns, 80–81.

44 Riall, The Earliest Hymns, 86.
prisoners repeatedly attempted to refute claims that they were associated with the Münsterites by emphasizing their own dedication to pacifism. In this contrafact, Anabaptist pacifism is cast in sharp contrast to Münsterite and Lutheran militarism. Also, since the Anabaptists were being held prisoner in a Catholic city, the “correcting” of a song glorifying violence and militarism could have functioned as an indictment of their captors’ violent behavior. The Anabaptists strengthen their position on nonviolence by referring to Jesus as a source of authority, just as the Lutheran text does. However, whereas Jesus leads the Lutherans into battle in “Ein feste Burg,” Jesus commands the Anabaptists to love both God and neighbor in verses 1–3 of “O Herre Gott in deinem Thron.” Verses 4, 9–11, and 17–18 offer further support from the words of Christ, and scripture in general is quoted or paraphrased in eighteen of the twenty-two stanzas. Selected verses from both model and contrafact above further illustrate their dissonant transmutative relationship.

III.6 Dissonant Apposition

Dissonant relationships in Anabaptist contrafacts are not limited to transmutation: the Passau prisoners also engaged in dissonant apposition. Within the Lutheran repertory, apposition refers to “the redefinition of ‘Christ’s enemies.’” Oettinger’s appositive examples include contrafacts based on “O du armer Judas.” In these tunes, the figure of Judas, the betrayer of Christ, is replaced by a contemporary, sixteenth-century figure. The implication is clear if one is familiar with the “O du armer Judas” text: the person named in the contrafact is a chief enemy of

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45 Wiedemann, 101–102.
Christ as Judas was, and thus is also an enemy of the Christian religion in general. Since the purpose of these contrafacts was to besmirch a contemporary opposing individual or institution, rather than to honor them, this type of apposition is dissonant.

Applying the category of apposition to Passau contrafact requires it to be modified in the context of this new repertory. In Oettinger’s examples of Lutheran apposition, the text of an original song might refer to a biblical religious enemy, while the text of the contrafact would name a Reformation-era religious enemy, such as the pope, monks and priests, the Catholic theologian Thomas Murner, or, in the hands of Catholic contrafacters, Lutheran preachers in place of the original figure. Because of Oettinger’s specific interest in Lutheran-Catholic contrafacts, this understanding excludes many Anabaptist contrafacts that perform a very similar function with regard to redefining both biblical and contemporary figures.

The category of apposition can be expanded to include contrafacts that redefine any character in a song, be it contemporary or biblical, friend, or foe. This interpretation preserves Oettinger’s criterion that the new text retain the general meaning of the original while changing the focus of the song. This allows for the inclusion of contrafacts without an enemy as their subject. Anabaptist appositive contrafacts more often redefine Christ’s allies rather than his enemies. Since the songs in Etliche Geseng were primarily written by the imprisoned Philippites, one would expect them to reassure the prisoners that God was on their side, and thus their imprisonment was not in vain.

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46 Oettinger, 112.

47 Ibid., 116, 118, 120.
One Anabaptist contrafact that partly functions to redefine Christ’s allies is “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron” (*Etliche Geseng 6, Ausbund 85*) based on the Lutheran “Wär Gott nicht mit uns disse zeit.” The Protestant song clearly makes a connection between the Lutherans and the ancient Israelites. The first stanza establishes that the song is speaking for Israel (“so soll Israel sagen”) but the constant use of the first person plural (“uns”) suggests that the Lutheran singers are meant to draw parallels between themselves and the ancient Israelites as allies of God. As the narrative unfolds, the song speaks of the Israelites’ (and thus the Lutherans’) deliverance from enemies and of their liberation, calling to mind specifically the biblical Exodus from Egypt.

In the case of “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron,” not every verse of this contrafact runs exactly parallel to the original. This is partly because “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron” is longer than “Wär Gott nicht mit uns disse Zeit.” This is not unusual, as many *Etliche Geseng* contrafacts have more verses than their models. A one-to-one correspondence between pre-existing and new text also does not preclude an appositive relationship, as Oettinger demonstrates when she comments on Lutheran examples wherein parallel language is nonexistent beyond a handful of lines.

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48 Johann Walter, *Geystliche gesangk-Buchleyn* (Wittenberg: n.p., 1524), f. XVIr

49 Ibid., f. XVIr–XVIv.

50 Two other songs also based on “Wär Gott nicht mit uns disse zeit,” “Herr Gott Vatter/von der allein” (*Etliche Geseng 34, Ausbund 112*) and “Merckt auf fir Christen allgeleich” (*Etliche Geseng 36, Ausbund 114*), dwarf the model with thirty and twenty-four verses, respectively.

51 Oettinger, 116.
The Passau contrafact “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron” redefines God’s allies and could potentially identify God’s enemies. However, thorough analysis of the relationship between these two sets of text requires first a clear understanding of the Lutheran text. As mentioned previously, the song is about Israel, possibly referring to the Exodus from Egypt. The text is primarily in the first person plural, implying a connection between the singers and the subject. The first verse details the woes of the group and emphasizes their dependence on their God while also establishing Israel as the focus of the song. The second verse elaborates on what horrific things would befall Israel, or the singers, were God not there to save them. The third verse closes out the song by giving thanks that God has released Israelites, or the singers, from bondage and has set their souls free. The Anabaptist contrafact clarifies the Passau prisoners’ understanding of the liberation of the soul.

“Herr Gott Vater in deinem thron” is written in a form that occurs frequently in the Passau songs: an invocation to God followed by the main body of the hymn, be it a narrative or a defense of Anabaptist principles, and a concluding doxology or some sort of praise to God. The invocation clearly sets up the Anabaptists as the central figures and frames the song as a corporate prayer.\(^{52}\) The second verse then makes clear reference to the Israelites enslaved in Egypt by invoking the name “Pharaon” or Pharaoh. More language from the biblical book of Exodus is used later in the verse as well when the author, Michael Schneider, speaks of the sea dividing. Here Schneider betrays that the Passau prisoners expected imminent martyrdom, which would allow them to be liberated in the afterlife, much as the Israelites crossed the Red Sea into

\(^{52}\) Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*, 74.
Another implication of the parallelism between the prisoners and the ancient Israelites is that the Passau group considered those who oppose them to be enemies of God’s children as the Pharaoh of ancient Egypt was.

The third and fourth verses give voice to the Anabaptist emphasis on mercy towards one’s enemy, a notion found in many Anabaptist hymns and writings. Phrases like “since they do not understand how they have treated us would you grant them your mercy?” call to mind the story of Christ on the cross pleading for mercy on behalf of his executioners because they did not know what they were doing. The fourth stanza pleads for the conversion of the prisoners’ enemies as the prisoners testify “with [their] blood.”

The final stanza praises the prisoners’ God and speaks of commending one’s spirit, one’s life, into God’s hands. This verse supports the idea that Schneider and the other prisoners were anticipating martyrdom and saw it as a liberation. It also strengthens the tie between the third verse and the image of Jesus being executed on the cross. It would seem the Anabaptists made a habit out of comparing themselves to Christ and his suffering in many of their hymns and other writings.

The Anabaptists could have appropriated this song themselves without altering it, as the content seems wholly agreeable to their theology, and perhaps they did. However, small

53 Ibid., 75.
54 From Riall’s translation, The Earliest Hymns, 74.
55 Ibid., 74.
56 Duerksen, 21.
57 Although, as with “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott” above, “Wär Gott nicht mit uns dise Zeit” was a popular song among the Münsterite Anabaptists. The Passau group, having been accused of being
changes in “Herr got Vater in deinem Thron” reveal much about the prisoners’ thinking. For instance, the Anabaptist contrafact does tangentially address the idea of liberation as seen in the final verse of the Lutheran song, but the tone of the Anabaptist song is significantly different. Schneider speaks of his oppressors as if they still hold him rather than as if he and his fellows had been delivered from them (they are imprisoned, after all). They hint at the liberation of their spirits, rather than their bodies. So while the very appropriation of the song could be read as an Appositive relationship, where Anabaptists supplanted the Lutherans as the singers, and thus God’s allies, creating a contrafact of the song deepens that relationship by allowing the Anabaptists to add their own voice to the song, clearly replacing the Protestants as God’s chosen people and casting Catholics as God’s enemies. Perhaps the strongest indication of the appositive relationship of the contrafact emerges from a comparison of the first verse of the source and the second verse of the derived work, demonstrated below. The Anabaptist contrafact refocuses the song, replacing Lutheran subjects with Anabaptist subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wär Gott nicht mit uns disse zeit</th>
<th>Herr Gott Vater in deinem thron</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit so soll Israel sagen</td>
<td>2. Herr Gott Vater der Pharao Hat uns lang thun verhindern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit wir hätten müßt verzagen</td>
<td>Und uns nicht wollen ziehen lohn Das Opfer dir zu bringen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die so ein armes häuflein sind,</td>
<td>Nun aber spaltet sich das Meer, Hilf uns O Vater unser Herr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veracht’t von so viel menschenkind</td>
<td>Mit freuden dadurch dringen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die an uns setzen alle 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58 Walter, f. XVIr

60 Ausbund, 450–451.
1. Were God not with us at this time
   So shall Israel say
   Were God not with us a this time
   We would have to fail
   They were such a small group
   Despised by so many men
   They all set to us

2. Lord God Father the Pharaoh
   Has long hindered us
   And has not wanted to let us go
   To bring you the sacrifice.
   But now the sea splits
   Help us O Father our Lord
   To carry through with joy

The Anabaptists also redefined God’s enemies. Although they do not explicitly name contemporary foes, as Oettinger’s examples do, they implicitly connect their jailers and perhaps all of Catholicism to the Pharaoh in the Exodus story. The complaint that the Pharaoh has hindered them for some time and would not let them go (verse 2, lines 1–3) is a clear reference to the Philippites’ position as prisoners of the state in a Catholic city. Not only does the contrafact refocus the singer’s attention away from Lutheran protagonists and towards Anabaptist ones, then, it also replaces the original antagonist, “viel menschenkind,” with a new one, “der Pharao.”

One might wonder if Schneider and the other Passau prisoners also considered Luther and his followers to be the “Pharaon” as well. While there was much animosity between Anabaptists and Lutherans, “Herr Gott Vater” lacks specific names that Anabaptists often used in songs and tracts to refer to Lutherans, such as “learned ones,” or “Church of Sin.” It seems unlikely that the Lutherans would be a subject of criticism here if they were not named in one of these ways.

59 Author’s translation

61 Riall, The Earliest Hymns, 74.
III.7 Dissonant Inversion

Oettinger’s final type of relationship between source and derived song is inversion, or *verkehrte Welt*. Oettinger describes inversion as follows: “Often the text of a contrafactum will bear no apparent affinity to the poetry of a sacred original, especially when that original was a prominent part of the religious culture of the day... By retexting songs that were well loved by Catholics, Protestants also had a potent tool to mock traditional believers.”⁶² Oettinger goes on to state specifically that contrafacts in this category do not engage in theological discourse but rather ridicule the solemnity of Catholic sacred music by replacing the holy with the profane.

This category fits the Lutheran repertory quite well, but it would be impossible for any of the songs of *Etliche Geseng* to be classified under this heading, for the Anabaptists were nearly obsessed with piety and the Passau prisoners wrote only about matters of faith. Yet there are songs in the Passau collection that do not appear to relate directly to the text of their source tune, but upon further examination appear to address in some way the group from which the source tune came. Rather than mocking another’s virtue, the author of the contrafact presents a detailed theological argument that takes religious tenets of the song’s original group not referenced in the song and turns them on their head. In many ways, this practice in the Passau collection closely resembles transmutation in that it can “correct” the theology of the faction with which the model was associated. The distinction is this: transmutation is the “correction” of specific ideas presented in the source tune while inversion is an attack against another faith community inspired by a song that originates with that faction. Inversion demonstrates a greater awareness of rival groups, their associated songs, and their theological differences than transmutation.

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⁶² Oettinger, 122–123.
which demonstrates only an awareness of the theological issues presented by an individual work. The principle of inversion could even potentially help to identify the origins of source tunes that no longer survive.

If Oettinger’s category of inversion is thus broadened, it can include the songs of *Etliche Geseng*; however, the term *verkehrte Welt* must be dropped or relegated to a subcategory, since *verkehrte Welt* in popular usage in the late-medieval world indicated that the sacred was made profane. While the Christian idea of inversion, “the last will be first, and the first will be last,” runs throughout Anabaptism, the idea of the sacred made profane is something that Anabaptists would have soundly rejected.

One of the contrafacts of “Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit” fits this broadened category of inversion: “Herr Gott Vatter/von dir allein” (*Etliche Geseng* 34, *Ausbund* 112) by Hans Betz. There is nothing in Betz’s song that addresses ancient Israel, allies of God, or enemies of God. Betz does not even build on the liberation idea, a common theme in the Passau collection, found in the third stanza of the source text. Rather, Betz constructs a thirty-stanza explanation of the prisoners’ theological understanding of the law of the Old Testament and its fulfillment in Jesus Christ.

Betz’s text introduces the idea that Old Testament law serves to instruct people through a personal struggle with sin. Sentiments such as “I sought only… whatever is against God,” “I

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63 That is not to say that contrafacters engaging in transmutation were not aware of the beliefs and repertories of other groups, but rather that such knowledge is not a prerequisite for transmutative contrafacts.

64 Oettinger, 123.

pursued common sin,” and “I lived without law,” outline the author’s struggles before he came to know God’s law, after which he realized that he was condemned to hell only to be rescued by God’s grace.66 This summarizes the first ten verses. Starting in verse eleven, however, criticisms of Protestants become almost blatantly obvious. Betz asks “Should we then live in sin so that grace get the upper hand?” clearly criticizing the Lutheran doctrine of salvation through faith alone. That single phrase reorients the entire song in light of its Lutheran source tune, and subsequent redundant explanations of the function of “the law” are read subtextually as a contrast between Anabaptist and Lutheran ideas of salvation. In verse 21, in particular, when Betz accuses the listener of living in sin, a double meaning surfaces: not only does the song address the lay person who may be living in sin, but in the context of this contrafact the verse also admonishes the Lutherans from whom the tune was borrowed. By pairing a Lutheran tune with a common anti-Lutheran trope, the Passau prisoners turned a song belonging to the Protestants into a vehicle for criticism of the very people from whence it came.

III.8 Further Applications of Intertextual Analysis

In some instances, the relationship between source tune and contrafact is not apparent. For a certain number of songs, the text of the source tune seems have no relationship to the contrafact, such as “Mit freuden wölln wir singen” (Etliche Geseng 22, Ausbund 100), which is modeled on “Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide.” For others, the source tune is no longer extant and cannot even be definitively linked to a particular author or religious group. Such would

66 Riall, 304–305.
appear to be the case of the song “Nun dancket Gott von Herzen,” which has three contrafacts in *Etliche Geseng*. The name suggests that the tune is some sort of German Reformation song, a hypothesis that is supported by an analysis of its contrafact “Merckt auf ihr Menschenkinder” (*Etliche Geseng* 15, *Ausbund* 94), which could indicate the origin and perhaps even the subject matter of the source tune.

“Merckt auf ihr Menschenkinder” is an exegetical song that presents paraphrased scripture in the form of a monologue from God in the first ten stanzas. Continuing on, the author, most likely Michael Schneider, presents a harsh criticism of “hypocrites” and those who identify themselves as Christians but whose deeds are yet sinful. This association by itself calls to mind the Anabaptist attitude towards Lutherans, and this link is cemented in verse 24 when the author refers to the “sünde gmein,” or “Church of Sinners,” a common trope among Anabaptist songs and writings.

Considering the similar language used in “Merckt auf ihr Menschenkinder” and several Passau contrafacts on Lutheran tunes, it seems quite likely that “Nun dancket Gott von Herzen” is Lutheran in origin. The references to hypocrisy alone suggest an attack on Lutherans, as the Anabaptists were well known to have criticized the Protestants with regard to their emphasis on the “by faith alone” doctrine and the perceived lack of emphasis on holy living. This connection is solidified by referencing the “Church of Sin,” a common slur used by Anabaptists to refer to

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67 The third contrafact, “Christus der Herr ist gangen” (*Etliche Geseng* 32, *Ausbund* 110.), lists the name of a Volkslied as the Tonangaben and includes “Nun dancket Gott von Herzen” as an alternate tune.

68 The tune is included in her list of German Reformation songs. Duerksen, 139.

69 The Ehrenpreis manuscript indicates that the contrafact is by Micahel Schneider. Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*, 129.
the Lutherans. At the very least, the relationship between “Nun dancket” and “Merkt auf ihr Menschenkinder” would be one of inversion; if Nun dancket addressed salvation through faith, the contrafact would be related by transmutation.

“Ach, Gott, wie ist die Welt so Toll” is also interesting as a source tune, although the exact nature of its relationship to the contrafact “Wo kompt das her O Jesu Christ” (Etliche Geseng 48, Ausbund 125) is unclear. Poetically, “Wo kompt” differs from every other tune in the collection: each stanza is only four lines and consists of two rhymed couplets, while all of the others adhere to more complicated formal patterns. Duerksen suggests that “Ach Gott” is likely a Reformation text, although it does not match the weightier forms of the other such songs that the Anabaptists borrowed, such as bar form. The contrafact reads as a long complaint about the fallen and sinful state of the world. The phrase “wie ist die Welt so Toll,” “why is the world so mad?” also encapsulates the general sentiment of the contrafact.

While it is impossible to determine with certainty the relationship between source text and contrafact text, it appears likely that it may be consonant affirmative, or possibly consonant transmutative. If the Passau prisoners wrote “Wo komt” to complement “Ach, Gott, wie ist die Welt so Toll” with their own thoughts on how “mad” the world was, then the relationship could be read as affirmative. If the prisoners “corrected” Protestant themes presented by the original text, transmutation would be a better descriptor. This type of consonant transmutation mirrors the relationship of some later French Protestant contrafacts of Orlando di Lasso’s chansons. The contrafacts created by Simon Goulart and Jean Pasquier contained altered text that made it more
appropriate for pious listeners while also maintaining the sentiments of the preexisting chansons, creating a consonant transmutative relationship.  

These six categories, consonant affirmation, authority, and apposition and dissonant transmutation, apposition, and inversion, serve potentially as the basis for a larger, more comprehensive system for the classification of intertextual relationships. The system reflects influential factors in the creation of contrafacts, brings into sharper focus criticisms and theological statements already apparent in these texts, and reveals trends in the treatment of certain types of source tunes. The evidence revealed by an analysis of these intertextual relationships can even help to identify the character of source tunes that have since been lost.

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Conclusion

Early Anabaptists had rich musical lives. This is revealed in anecdotes detailing martyrs who sang in prison and during their executions, as well as in the song pamphlets and collections they left behind. Music has become one of the legacies of subsequent Anabaptist groups, such as the Amish, known for their odd and enthusiastic singing, and the Mennonites, known for their fondness of four-part hymns. The early artifacts have even more to tell than the simple story of a people with a desire to make music, however.

At fifty-three songs, *Etliche Geseng* is the earliest extant collection of Anabaptist hymnody of significant size. With such a large amount of material, this book may be one of the most revealing windows into the singing and compositional practices of early Anabaptists. It also complements our existing knowledge of Anabaptist theology, particularly of the early Moravian groups. The study of intertextual relationships also reveals that Anabaptists participated in the culture of contrafacting in much the same way as their Lutheran and Catholic counterparts.

The various forms of intertextuality that the Philippites engaged in demonstrate even more about the prisoners. Consonant affirmative contrafacts illustrate the Passau group’s use of familiar songs of their own tradition to strengthen their own resolve and to reinforce their theological beliefs by elaborating on themes presented in the model texts. Consonant authoritative contrafacts exemplify an awareness of the function of model tunes and the respect the prisoners may have had for them. There was a sense of appropriateness and suitability of certain model texts to certain kinds of contrafact texts, as in the use of Lutheran metrical psalms and daybreak songs for Anabaptist psalm paraphrases. In the case of “In Gottes namen heb’n wir an,” a consonant appositive relationship demonstrates that the prisoners predicted that they
would die for their faith, and sought to place themselves in the company of another famous martyr through song.

Dissonant relationships, even more than consonant relationships, are indicative of the Passau group’s knowledge of their own theological system and the way that it differed from other contemporary ones. Dissonant transmutation demonstrates how Anabaptists were able to contrast their own beliefs to those presented in specific model songs. Dissonant apposition gives witness to some of the ways that Anabaptists conceived of themselves in relation to Lutherans and Catholics, shifting attention to themselves as protagonists and God’s allies, while also redefining others as God’s enemies. “Herr Gott Vater in deinem Thron” does just that, supplanting the Israelites with themselves and comparing the pope and their Catholic captors to the Pharaoh and the ancient Egyptians that enslaved the people of God. Dissonant inversion indicates that the Passau prisoners had very broad knowledge of other factions, and were able to connect these groups with their associated songs and theological beliefs. The result is the ironic combination of a given tune with a text that attacks the melody’s associated faith community.

The applications of this type of analysis even go beyond deepening our knowledge of Anabaptist musical practice. Identifying patterns of Anabaptist contrafacting, like the tendency to use Lutheran psalm paraphrases to set Anabaptist ones, or to invert Protestant songs with phrases like “Church of Sin,” can help identify the origins of unknown songs and possibly hint at their contents. Such is the case with the model tune “Nun dancket Gott von Herzen” and its contrafact “Merckt auf ihr Menschenkinder.” Studying the text of “Merckt auf ihr Menschenkinder” gives further weight to the supposition that “Nun dancket” is a Lutheran song, and might suggest that it deals with the “by faith alone” doctrine.
Intertextual analysis can also be applied to the large body of early Anabaptist contrafacts beyond *Etliche Geseng* that are preserved in manuscripts, pamphlets, and books like the *Ausbund* and *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder*. Oettinger’s system can be further exampled and coupled with the existing scholarship on this repertory to begin analyzing it at an even deeper level.
Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


Appendix

Relationships between the contrafacts of *Etliche schöne Christliche Geseng/wie sie in der Gefengknüß zu Passaw im Schloß von den Schweizer Brüdern durch Gottes gnad geticht und gesungen worden* and their source tunes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>folio</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Tonangabe</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Point of Consonance/Dissonance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4v</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Herr Gott Vater zu dir ich schrey</td>
<td>Berner Ton</td>
<td>Erzähltlieder</td>
<td>None Apparent</td>
<td>N/A¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8r</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Merckt auss ir Völcker allgemein</td>
<td>Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Dissonant Inversion</td>
<td>Faith alone doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Lobt den herren ir heyden all? (117th Psalm)</td>
<td>Wer das Elend bauen will</td>
<td>Erzähltlieder</td>
<td>None Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>O Herre Gott hilff mir in deinem namen (54th Psalm)</td>
<td>Gegen dem Tag hört man die Hahnen kräen</td>
<td>Daybreak Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Devotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9v</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Sich wie sein ists vnd lieblich schon (133rd Psalm)</td>
<td>Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchten steht</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Psalm Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10r</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Herr Gott Vater in Deinem Thron</td>
<td>Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Dissonant Apposition</td>
<td>Pope/Catholics as Pharaoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10v</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Wenn der Herr die Gfengknus Zion (126th Pslam)</td>
<td>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Psalm Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11r</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>O Herre Gott in deinem thron Gott</td>
<td>Ein fest Burg is unser Gott</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Dissonant Transmutation</td>
<td>Violence/Nonviolence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Where the relationship between source tune and contrafact is not apparent, or where the source tune is no longer extant or cannot be identified, no point of consonance or dissonance can be firmly established. For some contrafacts lacking an extant source tune, it is possible to speculate on a possible point of consonance or dissonance based on the emphasis of the contrafact’s text. The former is indicated by “N/A,” the latter by parentheses.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Point of Consonance/Dissonance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>13v</td>
<td>(W)^2 (E)^3</td>
<td>Fur Gott Den Herren wölln wir gan</td>
<td>Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song^4</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Christ atones for human sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>14v</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Ein Liedlein wil ich singen</td>
<td>Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Anabaptist ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>16v</td>
<td>(Wolkan) (E)</td>
<td>Gelobt sey Gott der Herre</td>
<td>Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Suffering as Christ suffered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>18r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>O Menschen kind vernimm mich wol</td>
<td>An Wasserflüssen Babylon</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation/Dissonant Inversion</td>
<td>Faith alone doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>20r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Merckt auff mit fleiß</td>
<td>O Sohn David</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>23v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Mich verlangt zu allen zeiten</td>
<td>Dank sagen wir dir, Gott</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Suffering in order to inherit the kingdom of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>24v</td>
<td>(E) Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Merckt auff ir Menschenkinder</td>
<td>Nun danket Gott von Herzen</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>(Faith alone doctrine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 “(W)” refers to an attribution according to Rudolf Wolkan’s *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (Berlin: Verlag B. Behr, 1903), but does not occur in *Etliche Geseng* or the *Ausbund*, as noted by Riall, *The Earliest Hymns of the Ausbund: Some Beautiful Christian Songs Composed and Sund in the Prison at Passau, Published in 1564* (Kitchiner, Ontario: Pandora, 2003).

3 “(E)” refers to an attribution appearing in the seventeenth-century Hutterite “Ehrenpreis manuscript,” but not in *Etliche Geseng* or the *Ausbund*, as noted by Riall, *The Earliest Hymns*.

4 Duerksen erroneously categorizes this song as Lutheran, probably due to its eventual popularity among Protestants. The text of this song is by the Anabaptist Georg Grünwald, which is acknowledged by Riall in *The Earliest Hymns*. 

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>27v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Mie lust vn dem freuden wil ich Gott lobsingen</td>
<td>Wach auf, mein Seel</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>God leading his followers through this life and into heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>28v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Wir schreyen zu dir Herre Gott</td>
<td>Brandenburgers Ton</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>30r</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Herr Gott in deinem Reiche</td>
<td>Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Suffering and Following Christ's example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>57v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Wolauff wolauff du Gottes Gmein</td>
<td>Ungnad begehr ich nicht von dir</td>
<td>Secular Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Marriage Imagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>33r</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>O Herre Gott/groß ist die not</td>
<td>O Herre Gott, dein gein göttlich Wort</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Dissonant Transmutation</td>
<td>Faith alone doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>35v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Es hett ein Mannzwen knaben</td>
<td>Nun danket Gott von Herzen</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>(Faith alone doctrine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>38v</td>
<td>Joint Composition⁵</td>
<td>Mit freuden wölln wir singen</td>
<td>Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>40v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider and Hans Betz</td>
<td>Ir Christen rein</td>
<td>O Jesu Zart</td>
<td>Volkslied</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Christ's atoning sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>42v</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Mein mut vn dem steht mir dahin</td>
<td>O Sohn David</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>47r</td>
<td>Michael Schneider</td>
<td>Merckt auff ir Christen allgemein</td>
<td>Es sind doch selig alle die</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵ Each of the 14 stanzas is authored by a different prisoner. Authors are identified only by initials and abbreviated names: 1 H.B., 2 H.M., 3 P.S., 4 C.O., 5 J.J., 6 H.R., 7 H.O., 8 K.H., 9 B.G., 10 H.H., 11 H. Haff., 12 H. Til., 13 M.G., 14 Ber. S.
<table>
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<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Point of Consonance/Dissonance</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>50r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Unser Vatter im Himmelreich</td>
<td>Wie man die sieben Wort singt</td>
<td>Volkslied</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Words of Christ at the Last Supper and on the cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>50v</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Nun wolt ich geren singen</td>
<td>Bruder Veit</td>
<td>Erzähllieder</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>54r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Ir Christen gmein</td>
<td>O Sohn David</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>59r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Gott Zebaoth der War vnd ist</td>
<td>Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstah</td>
<td>Secular Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>God's Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>63r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Christus das Lamb</td>
<td>O Sohn David</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>66v</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Merckt auff ir Völcker gmeine</td>
<td>Ein Blümlein (steht) auf der Heide</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Suffering as Christ suffered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>69r</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Christus der Herr ist gangen</td>
<td>Entlaubet ist der Walde</td>
<td>Secular Song/Unknown</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>71v</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Herr Gott Vatter im Himielreich</td>
<td>Es sind doch delig alle die</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Following God's Commands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>74v</td>
<td>Hans Betz</td>
<td>Herr Gott Vatter/von dir allein</td>
<td>Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Inversion</td>
<td>Faith alone doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>77v</td>
<td>(E) Torechten Jung</td>
<td>Wacht auff Ir Brüder werde</td>
<td>Wach auf, mein Herz und Psalter</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>79r</td>
<td>(E) Bernard Schneider</td>
<td>Merckt auff ir Christen allgeleich</td>
<td>Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Inversion</td>
<td>Faith alone doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>82r</td>
<td>(E) Bernard Schneider</td>
<td>O Herre Gott mein not thu ich dir klagen</td>
<td>Gegen dem Tag hört man die Hahnen kräen</td>
<td>Daybreak Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Devotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>83r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Freuwt euch ir Christen alle</td>
<td>Merkt auf, ihr Christen alle</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>folio</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Incipit</td>
<td>Tonangabe</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Point of Consonance/Dissonance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>85r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Ich wil von ganzem herzen mein</td>
<td>Es ist das Heil uns kommen her</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>87v</td>
<td>(E) Hans Betz</td>
<td>Groß vnbild thut mich zwingen</td>
<td>Ich stund an einem Morgen</td>
<td>Daybreak Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>90v</td>
<td>(E) Hans Betz</td>
<td>Wach auff/wach auff/O Menschen Kind</td>
<td>Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Affirmation</td>
<td>Christ atones for human sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>93v</td>
<td>(E) Hannß Gärber</td>
<td>Von herzen wölln wir singen</td>
<td>Hildebrand</td>
<td>Erzähllieder</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>96r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Von herzen wil ich loben</td>
<td>in der Tagweis von eins König's Tochter</td>
<td>Daybreak song</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>98r</td>
<td>(E) Hans Betz</td>
<td>In Gottes namen heben wie an Jörg Wägners Thon</td>
<td>Jörg Wägners Thon</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Consonant Apposition</td>
<td>Martyr song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>100r</td>
<td>(E) (Wolkan) Hans Betz</td>
<td>Gelobt sey Gott im höchsten Thron</td>
<td>Mensch, nun willst du selig sein</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>101r</td>
<td>(E) Hans Betz</td>
<td>Hilff Gott das ich mög singen</td>
<td>Ach Gott, wem soll ichs klagen</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>104v</td>
<td>(E) Hannß Gärber</td>
<td>Ir kinder Gottes alle</td>
<td>Ich stund an einem Morgen</td>
<td>Daybreak song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>108r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Wo kompt das her O Ihesu Christ</td>
<td>Ach Gott, wie ist die Welt so toll</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6 No evidence exists that places Hans Zimerauer with the Passau prisoners apart from a manuscript that attributes this song to him (Wolkan, 40). Riall prefers the Ehrenpreis manuscript’s attribution to Hans Betz and posits that the Wolkan’s manuscript may have misattributed the song as a consequence of its common first line (Riall, The Earliest Hymns, 383.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>folio</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Tonangabe</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Point of Consonance/Dissonance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>113r</td>
<td>(E) Hans Betz</td>
<td>Ich wil loben den Herren (34th Psalm)</td>
<td>Wach auf in Gottes Namen</td>
<td>Anabaptist Song</td>
<td>Not Apparent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>115r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Hert Gott streit wider meine feindt (35th Psalm)</td>
<td>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Psalm Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>117r</td>
<td>(E) Hans Betz</td>
<td>Also redt der warhafftig Gott (50th Psalm)</td>
<td>O Herre Gott, dein gein göttlich Wort</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Psalm Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>118r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>Herr Gott the mich erhören (86th Psalm)</td>
<td>in der Tagweis von eins Königs Tochter</td>
<td>Daybreak song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Devotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>119r</td>
<td>unattributed</td>
<td>O Herr nicht stolz ist mein herz doch (131st Psalm)</td>
<td>Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furchten steht</td>
<td>Lutheran Song</td>
<td>Consonant Authority</td>
<td>Psalm Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>